Ambrose

Collected Works

DELPHI CLASSICS

Ancient Classics Series

The Collected Works of

AMBROSE

(c. 340-397)

Contents

The Translations

On the Duties of the Clergy
On the Holy Spirit
On the Decease of His Brother Satyrus
Exposition of the Christian Faith
On the Mysteries
Concerning Repentance
Concerning Virgins
Concerning Widows
Memorial of Symmachus
Sermon against Auxentius
Selected Hymns
Letters
Concerning the Sacraments (Pseudo Ambrose)

The Latin Texts

List of Latin Texts

The Dual Texts

Dual Latin and English Texts

The Biographies

Saint Ambrosius, Bishop of Milan (1911) by John Llewelyn Davies
St. Ambrose (1913) by James Francis Loughlin

The Delphi Classics Catalogue

© Delphi Classics 2020
Version 1

The Collected Works of

AURELIUS AMBROSIUS

By Delphi Classics, 2020

COPYRIGHT

Collected Works of Ambrose

First published in the United Kingdom in 2020 by Delphi Classics.

© Delphi Classics, 2020.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the prior permission in writing of the publisher, nor be otherwise circulated in any form other than that in which it is published.

ISBN: 978 1 91348 738 6

Delphi Classics

is an imprint of

Delphi Publishing Ltd
Hastings, East Sussex
United Kingdom
Contact: sales@delphiclassics.com

DELPHI CLASSICS

www.delphiclassics.com

The Translations

Ambrose was born in c. 340 in Augusta Treverorum, Gallia Belgica, Roman Empire, modern day Trier, Germany.

Roman ruins of the Imperial Baths at Trier

On the Duties of the Clergy

Translated by H. de Romestin, E. de Romestin and H. T. F. Duckworth

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER 1.
CHAPTER 2.
CHAPTER 3.
CHAPTER 4.
CHAPTER 5.
CHAPTER 6.
CHAPTER 7.
CHAPTER 8.
CHAPTER 9.
CHAPTER 10.
CHAPTER 11.
CHAPTER 12.
CHAPTER 13.
CHAPTER 14.
CHAPTER 15.
CHAPTER 16.
CHAPTER 17.
CHAPTER 18.
CHAPTER 19.

CHAPTER 20.
CHAPTER 21.
CHAPTER 22.
CHAPTER 23.
CHAPTER 24.
CHAPTER 25.
CHAPTER 26.
CHAPTER 27.
CHAPTER 28.
CHAPTER 29.
CHAPTER 30.
CHAPTER 31.
CHAPTER 32.
CHAPTER 33.
CHAPTER 34.
CHAPTER 35.
CHAPTER 36.
CHAPTER 37.
CHAPTER 38.
CHAPTER 39.
CHAPTER 40.
CHAPTER 41.
CHAPTER 42.
CHAPTER 43.
CHAPTER 44.
CHAPTER 45.
CHAPTER 46.
CHAPTER 47.
CHAPTER 48.

CHAPTER 49.
CHAPTER 50.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER 1.
CHAPTER 2.
CHAPTER 3.
CHAPTER 4.
CHAPTER 5.
CHAPTER 6.
CHAPTER 7.
CHAPTER 8.
CHAPTER 9.
CHAPTER 10.
CHAPTER 11.
CHAPTER 12.
CHAPTER 13.
CHAPTER 14.
CHAPTER 15.
CHAPTER 16.
CHAPTER 17.
CHAPTER 18.
CHAPTER 19.
CHAPTER 20.
CHAPTER 21.
CHAPTER 22.
CHAPTER 23.
CHAPTER 24.
CHAPTER 25.

CHAPTER 26.
CHAPTER 27.
CHAPTER 28.
CHAPTER 29.
CHAPTER 30.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER 1.
CHAPTER 2.
CHAPTER 3.
CHAPTER 4.
CHAPTER 5.
CHAPTER 6.
CHAPTER 7.
CHAPTER 8.
CHAPTER 9.
CHAPTER 10.
CHAPTER 11.
CHAPTER 12.
CHAPTER 13.
CHAPTER 14.
CHAPTER 15.
CHAPTER 16.
CHAPTER 17.
CHAPTER 18.
CHAPTER 19.
CHAPTER 20.
CHAPTER 21.
CHAPTER 22.

Saint Ambrose by Claude Vignon, Minneapolis Institute of Art, c. 1623

INTRODUCTION.

ST. AMBROSE, ESTEEMING very highly the dignity of the ministerial office, was most desirous that the clergy of his diocese should live worthily of their high vocation, and be good and profitable examples to the people. Consequently he undertook the following treatise, setting forth the duties of the clergy, and taking as a model the treatise of Cicero, *De Officiis.*

The writer says that his object is to impress upon those whom he has ordained the lessons which he had previously taught them. Like Cicero, he treats of that which is right, becoming, or honourable [*decorum*], and what is expedient [*utile*]; but with reference not to this life but to that which is to come, teaching in the first book that which is becoming or honourable; in the second, what is expedient; and in the third, considering both in conjunction.

In the first book he divides duties into "ordinary," or the way of the commandments, binding upon all alike; and "perfect," which consist in following the counsels. After treating then of some elementary duties, such as those towards parents and elders, he touches upon the two principles which lead the mind, reason and appetite, and shows that what is becoming consists in thinking of good and right things, and in the subjection of the appetite to reason, and supplies certain rules and examples, ending with a discussion on the four Cardinal Virtues, Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance.

In the second book, passing from what is becoming to what is expedient, he points out that we can only measure what is really expedient by reference to eternal life, in contradiction to the errors of heathen

philosophers, and shows that what is expedient consists in the knowledge of God and in good living. Incidentally he shows that what is becoming is really that which is expedient, and ends the book with several chapters of practical considerations.

In the third book he treats of duties of perfection, and lays down as a rule that in everything we must inquire what is expedient, not for individuals, but for many or for all. Nothing is to be striven after which is not becoming; to this everything must give place, not only expediency but even friendship and life itself. By many examples he then proves how holy men have sought after what was becoming, and have thereby secured what was expedient.

The object of St. Ambrose in basing his treatise on the lines of that of Cicero would seem to have been the confutation of some of the false principles of heathenism, and to show how much higher Christian morality is than that of the Gentiles. The treatise was probably composed about a.d. 391.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER 1.

A Bishop's special office is to teach; St. Ambrose himself, however, has to learn in order that he may teach; or rather has to teach what he has not learned; at any rate learning and teaching with himself must go on together.

1. I THINK I shall not seem to be taking too much on myself, if, in the midst of my children, I yield to my desire to teach, seeing that the master of humility himself has said: Come, you children, hearken unto me: I will teach you the fear of the Lord. Wherein one may observe both the humility and the grace of his reverence for God. For in saying the fear of the Lord, which seems to be common to all, he has described the chief mark of reverence for God. As, however, fear itself is the beginning of wisdom and the source of blessedness — for they that fear the Lord are blessed — he has plainly marked himself out as the teacher for instruction in wisdom, and the guide to the attainment of blessedness.

2. We therefore, being anxious to imitate his reverence for God, and not without justification in dispensing grace, deliver to you as to children those things which the Spirit of Wisdom has imparted to him, and which have been made clear to us through him, and learned by sight and by example. For we can no longer now escape from the duty of teaching which the needs of the priesthood have laid upon us, though we tried to avoid it: For God gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers. Ephesians 4:11

3. I do not therefore claim for myself the glory of the apostles (for who can do this save those whom the Son of God Himself has chosen?); nor the grace of the prophets, nor the virtue of the evangelists, nor the cautious care

of the pastors. I only desire to attain to that care and diligence in the sacred writings, which the Apostle has placed last among the duties of the saints; 1 Corinthians 12:10 and this very thing I desire, so that, in the endeavour to teach, I may be able to learn. For one is the true Master, Who alone has not learned, what He taught all; but men learn before they teach, and receive from Him what they may hand on to others.

4. But not even this was the case with me. For I was carried off from the judgment seat, and the garb [*infulis*] of office, to enter on the priesthood, and began to teach you, what I myself had not yet learned. So it happened that I began to teach before I began to learn. Therefore I must learn and teach at the same time, since I had no leisure to learn before.

CHAPTER 2.

Manifold dangers are incurred by speaking; the remedy for which Scripture shows to consist in silence.

5. NOW WHAT ought we to learn before everything else, but to be silent, that we may be able to speak? Lest my voice should condemn me, before that of another acquit me; for it is written: By your words you shall be condemned. Matthew 12:37 What need is there, then, that you should hasten to undergo the danger of condemnation by speaking, when you can be more safe by keeping silent? How many have I seen to fall into sin by speaking, but scarcely one by keeping silent; and so it is more difficult to know how to keep silent than how to speak. I know that most persons speak because they do not know how to keep silent. It is seldom that any one is silent even when speaking profits him nothing. He is wise, then, who knows how to keep silent. Lastly, the Wisdom of God said: The Lord has given to me the tongue of learning, that I should know when it is good to speak. Justly, then, is he wise who has received of the Lord to know when he ought to speak. Wherefore the Scripture says well: A wise man will keep silence until there is opportunity. Sirach 20:7

6. Therefore the saints of the Lord loved to keep silence, because they knew that a man's voice is often the utterance of sin, and a man's speech is the beginning of human error. Lastly, the Saint of the Lord said: I said, I will take heed to my ways, that I offend not in my tongue. For he knew and had read that it was a mark of the divine protection for a man to be hid from the scourge of his own tongue, Job 5:21 and the witness of his own conscience. We are chastised by the silent reproaches of our thoughts, and

by the judgment of conscience. We are chastised also by the lash of our own voice, when we say things whereby our soul is mortally injured, and our mind is sorely wounded. But who is there that has his heart clean from the impurities of sin, and does not offend in his tongue? And so, as he saw there was no one who could keep his mouth free from evil speaking, he laid upon himself the law of innocency by a rule of silence, with a view to avoiding by silence that fault which he could with difficulty escape in speaking.

7. Let us hearken, then, to the master of precaution: I said, I will take heed to my ways; that is, I said to myself: in the silent biddings of my thoughts, I have enjoined upon myself, that I should take heed to my ways. Some ways there are which we ought to follow; others as to which we ought to take heed. We must follow the ways of the Lord, and take heed to our own ways, lest they lead us into sin. One can take heed if one is not hasty in speaking. The law says: Hear, O Israel, the Lord your God. Deuteronomy 6:4 It said not: Speak, but Hear. Eve fell because she said to the man what she had not heard from the Lord her God. The first word from God says to you: Hear! If you hear, take heed to your ways; and if you have fallen, quickly amend your way. For: Wherein does a young man amend his way; except in taking heed to the word of the Lord? Be silent therefore first of all, and hearken, that you fail not in your tongue.

8. It is a great evil that a man should be condemned by his own mouth. Truly, if each one shall give account for an idle word, Matthew 12:36 how much more for words of impurity and shame? For words uttered hastily are far worse than idle words. If, therefore, an account is demanded for an idle word, how much more will punishment be exacted for impious language?

CHAPTER 3.

Silence should not remain unbroken, nor should it arise from idleness. How heart and mouth must be guarded against inordinate affections.

9. WHAT THEN? Ought we to be dumb? Certainly not. For: there is a time to keep silence and a time to speak. Ecclesiastes 3:7 If, then, we are to give account for an idle word, let us take care that we do not have to give it also for an idle silence. For there is also an active silence, such as Susanna's was, who did more by keeping silence than if she had spoken. For in keeping silence before men she spoke to God, and found no greater proof of her chastity than silence. Her conscience spoke where no word was heard, and she sought no judgment for herself at the hands of men, for she had the witness of the Lord. She therefore desired to be acquitted by Him, Who she knew could not be deceived in any way. Yea, the Lord Himself in the Gospel worked out in silence the salvation of men. Matthew 26:63 David rightly therefore enjoined on himself not constant silence, but watchfulness.

10. Let us then guard our hearts, let us guard our mouths. Both have been written about. In this place we are bidden to take heed to our mouth; in another place you are told: Keep your heart with all diligence. Proverbs 4:23 If David took heed, will you not take heed? If Isaiah had unclean lips — who said: Woe is me, for I am undone, for I am a man, and have unclean lips Isaiah 6:5 — if a prophet of the Lord had unclean lips, how shall we have them clean?

11. But for whom was it written, unless it was for each one of us: Hedge your possession about with thorns, and bind up your silver and gold, and make a door and a bar for your mouth, and a yoke and a balance for your

words? Sirach 28:24-25 Your possession is your mind, your gold your heart, your silver your speech: The words of the Lord are pure words, as silver tried in the fire. A good mind is also a good possession. And, further, a pure inner life is a valuable possession. Hedge in, then, this possession of yours, enclose it with thought, guard it with thorns, that is, with pious care, lest the fierce passions of the flesh should rush upon it and lead it captive, lest strong emotions should assault it, and, overstepping their bounds, carry off its vintage. Guard your inner self. Do not neglect or contemn it as though it were worthless, for it is a valuable possession; truly valuable indeed, for its fruit is not perishable and only for a time, but is lasting and of use for eternal salvation. Cultivate, therefore, your possession, and let it be your tilling ground.

12. Bind up your words that they run not riot, and grow wanton, and gather up sins for themselves in too much talking. Let them be rather confined, and held back within their own banks. An overflowing river quickly gathers mud. Bind up also your meaning; let it not be left slack and unchecked, lest it be said of you: There is no healing balsam, nor oil, nor bandage to apply. Sobriety of mind has its reins, whereby it is directed and guided.

13. Let there be a door to your mouth, that it may be shut when need arises, and let it be carefully barred, that none may rouse your voice to anger, and thou pay back abuse with abuse. You have heard it read today: Be angry and sin not. Therefore although we are angry (this arising from the motions of our nature, not of our will), let us not utter with our mouth one evil word, lest we fall into sin; but let there be a yoke and a balance to your words, that is, humility and moderation, that your tongue may be subject to your mind. Let it be held in check with a tight rein; let it have its own means of restraint, whereby it can be recalled to moderation; let it utter

words tried by the scales of justice, that there may be seriousness in our meaning, weight in our speech, and due measure in our words.

CHAPTER 4.

The same care must be taken that our speech proceed not from evil passions, but from good motives; for here it is that the devil is especially on the watch to catch us.

14. IF ANY one takes heed to this, he will be mild, gentle, modest. For in guarding his mouth, and restraining his tongue, and in not speaking before examining, pondering, and weighing his words — as to whether this should be said, that should be answered, or whether it be a suitable time for this remark — he certainly is practising modesty, gentleness, patience. So he will not burst out into speech through displeasure or anger, nor give sign of any passion in his words, nor proclaim that the flames of lust are burning in his language, or that the incentives of wrath are present in what he says. Let him act thus for fear that his words, which ought to grace his inner life, should at the last plainly show and prove that there is some vice in his morals.

15. For then especially does the enemy lay his plans, when he sees passions engendered in us; then he supplies tinder; then he lays snares. Wherefore the prophet says not without cause, as we heard read today: Surely He has delivered me from the snare of the hunter and from the hard word. Symmachus said this means the word of provocation; others the word that brings disquiet. The snare of the enemy is our speech — but that itself is also just as much an enemy to us. Too often we say something that our foe takes hold of, and whereby he wounds us as though by our own sword. How far better it is to perish by the sword of others than by our own!

16. Accordingly the enemy tests our arms and clashes together his weapons. If he sees that I am disturbed, he implants the points of his darts, so as to raise a crop of quarrels. If I utter an unseemly word, he sets his snare. Then he puts before me the opportunity for revenge as a bait, so that in desiring to be revenged, I may put myself in the snare, and draw the death-knot tight for myself. If any one feels this enemy is near, he ought to give greater heed to his mouth, lest he make room for the enemy; but not many see him.

CHAPTER 5.

We must guard also against a visible enemy when he incites us by silence; by the help of which alone we can escape from those greater than ourselves, and maintain that humility which we must display towards all.

17. BUT WE must also guard against him who can be seen, and who provokes us, and spurs us on, and exasperates us, and supplies what will excite us to licentiousness or lust. If, then, any one reviles us, irritates, stirs us up to violence, tries to make us quarrel; let us keep silence, let us not be ashamed to become dumb. For he who irritates us and does us an injury is committing sin, and wishes us to become like himself.

18. Certainly if you are silent, and hide your feelings, he is likely to say: Why are you silent? Speak if you dare; but you dare not, you are dumb, I have made you speechless. If you are silent, he is the more excited. He thinks himself beaten, laughed at, little thought of, and ridiculed. If you answer, he thinks he has become the victor, because he has found one like himself. For if you are silent, men will say: That man has been abusive, but this one held him in contempt. If you return the abuse, they will say: Both have been abusive. Both will be condemned, neither will be acquitted. Therefore it is his object to irritate, so that I may speak and act as he does. But it is the duty of a just man to hide his feelings and say nothing, to preserve the fruit of a good conscience, to trust himself rather to the judgment of good men than to the insolence of a calumniator, and to be satisfied with the stability of his own character. For that is: To keep silence even from good words; since one who has a good conscience ought not to

be troubled by false words, nor ought he to make more of another's abuse than of the witness of his own heart.

19. So, then, let a man guard also his humility. If, however, he is unwilling to appear too humble, he thinks as follows, and says within himself: Am I to allow this man to despise me, and say such things to my face against me, as though I could not open my mouth before him? Why should I not also say something whereby I can grieve him? Am I to let him do me wrong, as though I were not a man, and as though I could not avenge myself? Is he to bring charges against me as though I could not bring together worse ones against him?

20. Whoever speaks like this is not gentle and humble, nor is he without temptation. The tempter stirs him up, and himself puts such thoughts in his heart. Often and often, too, the evil spirit employs another person, and gets him to say such things to him; but do thou set your foot firm on the rock. Although a slave should abuse, let the just man be silent, and if a weak man utter insults, let him be silent, and if a poor man should make accusations, let him not answer. These are the weapons of the just man, so that he may conquer by giving way, as those skilled in throwing the javelin are wont to conquer by giving way, and in flight to wound their pursuers with severer blows.

CHAPTER 6.

In this matter we must imitate David's silence and humility, so as not even to seem deserving of harm.

21. WHAT NEED is there to be troubled when we hear abuse? Why do we not imitate him who says: I was dumb and humbled myself, and kept silence even from good words? Or did David only say this, and not act up to it? No, he also acted up to it. For when Shimei the son of Gera reviled him, David was silent; and although he was surrounded with armed men he did not return the abuse, nor sought revenge: nay, even when the son of Zeruiah spoke to him, because he wished to take vengeance on him, David did not permit it. He went on as though dumb, and humbled; he went on in silence; nor was he disturbed, although called a bloody man, for he was conscious of his own gentleness. He therefore was not disturbed by insults, for he had full knowledge of his own good works.

22. He, then, who is quickly roused by wrong makes himself seem deserving of insult, even while he wishes to be shown not to deserve it. He who despises wrongs is better off than he who grieves over them. For he who despises them looks down on them, as though he feels them not; but he who grieves over them is tormented, just as though he actually felt them.

CHAPTER 7.

How admirably Psalm xxxix. [xxxviii.] takes the place of an introduction. Incited thereto by this psalm the saint determines to write on duties. He does this with more reason even than Cicero, who wrote on this subject to his son. How, further, this is so.

23. NOT WITHOUT thought did I make use of the beginning of this psalm, in writing to you, my children. For this psalm which the Prophet David gave to Jeduthun to sing, I urge you to regard, being delighted myself with its depth of meaning and the excellency of its maxims. For we have learned in those words we have just shortly touched upon, that both patience in keeping silence and the duty of awaiting a fit time for speaking are taught in this psalm, as well as contempt of riches in the following verses, which things are the chief groundwork of virtues. Whilst, therefore, meditating on this psalm, it has come to my mind to write on the Duties.

24. Although some philosophers have written on this subject — Panætius, for instance, and his son among the Greek, Cicero among the Latin, writers — I did not think it foreign to my office to write also myself. And as Cicero wrote for the instruction of his son, so I, too, write to teach you, my children. For I love you, whom I have begotten in the Gospel, no less than if you were my own true sons. For nature does not make us love more ardently than grace. We certainly ought to love those who we think will be with us for evermore than those who will be with us in this world only. These often are born unworthy of their race, so as to bring disgrace on their father; but you we chose beforehand, to love. They are loved naturally, of necessity, which is not a sufficiently suitable and constant teacher to

implant a lasting love. But you are loved on the ground of our deliberate choice, whereby a great feeling of affection is combined with the strength of our love: thus one tests what one loves and loves what one has chosen.

CHAPTER 8.

The word Duty has been often used both by philosophers and in the holy Scriptures; from whence it is derived.

25. SINCE, THEREFORE, the person concerned is one fit to write on the Duties, let us see whether the subject itself stands on the same ground, and whether this word is suitable only to the schools of the philosophers, or is also to be found in the sacred Scriptures. Beautifully has the Holy Spirit, as it happens, brought before us a passage in reading the Gospel today, as though He would urge us to write; whereby we are confirmed in our view, that the word *officium*, duty, may also be used with us. For when Zacharias the priest was struck dumb in the temple, and could not speak, it is said: And it came to pass that as soon as the days of his duty [*officii*] were accomplished, he departed to his own house. We read, therefore, that the word *officium*, duty, can be used by us.

26. And this is not inconsistent with reason, since we consider that the word *officium* (duty) is derived from *efficere* (to effect), and is formed with the change of one letter for the sake of euphony; or at any rate that you should do those things which injure [*officiant*] no one, but benefit all.

CHAPTER 9.

A duty is to be chosen from what is virtuous, and from what is useful, and also from the comparison of the two, one with the other; but nothing is recognized by Christians as virtuous or useful which is not helpful to the future life. This treatise on duty, therefore, will not be superfluous.

27. THE PHILOSOPHERS considered that duties were derived from what is virtuous and what is useful, and that from these two one should choose the better. Then, they say, it may happen that two virtuous or two useful things will clash together, and the question is, which is the more virtuous, and which the more useful? First, therefore, duty is divided into three sections: what is virtuous, what is useful, and what is the better of two. Then, again, these three are divided into five classes; that is, two that are virtuous, two that are useful, and, lastly, the right judgment as to the choice between them. The first they say has to do with the moral dignity and integrity of life; the second with the con veniences of life, with wealth, resources, opportunities; while a right judgment must underlie the choice of any of them. This is what the philosophers say.

28. But we measure nothing at all but that which is fitting and virtuous, and that by the rule of things future rather than of things present; and we state nothing to be useful but what will help us to the blessing of eternal life; certainly not that which will help us enjoy merely the present time. Nor do we recognize any advantages in opportunities and in the wealth of earthly goods, but consider them as disadvantages if not put aside, and to be looked on as a burden, when we have them, rather than as a loss when expended.

29. This work of ours, therefore, is not superfluous, seeing that we and they regard duty in quite different ways. They reckon the advantages of this life among the good things, we reckon them among the evil things; for he who receives good things here, as the rich man in the parable, is tormented there; and Lazarus, who endured evil things here, there found comfort. Luke 16:25 Lastly, those who do not read their writings may read ours if they will — if, that is, they do not require great adornment of language or a skilfully-treated subject, but are satisfied with the simple charm of the subject itself.

CHAPTER 10.

What is seemly is often found in the sacred writings long before it appears in the books of the philosophers. Pythagoras borrowed the law of his silence from David. David's rule, however, is the best, for our first duty is to have due measure in speaking.

30. WE ARE instructed and taught that what is seemly is put in our Scriptures in the first place. (In Greek it is called πρέπον.) For we read: A Hymn beseems You, O God, in Sion. In Greek this is: Σοί πρέπει ὕμνος ὁ θεὸς ἐν Σιών . And the Apostle says: Speak the things which become sound doctrine. Titus 2:1 And elsewhere: For it beseemed Him through Whom are all things and for Whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the Captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings. Hebrews 2:10

31. Was Panætius or Aristotle, who also wrote on duty, earlier than David? Why, Pythagoras himself, who lived before the time of Socrates, followed the prophet David's steps and gave his disciples a law of silence. He went so far as to restrain his disciples from the use of speech for five years. David, on the other hand, gave his law, not with a view to impair the gift of nature, but to teach us to take heed to the words we utter. Pythagoras again made his rule, that he might teach men to speak by not speaking. But David made his, so that by speaking we might learn the more how to speak. How can there be instruction without exercise, or advance without practice?

32. A man wishing to undergo a warlike training daily exercises himself with his weapons. As though ready for action he rehearses his part in the fight and stands forth just as if the enemy were in position before him. Or,

with a view to acquiring skill and strength in throwing the javelin, he either puts his own arms to the proof, or avoids the blows of his foes, and escapes them by his watchful attention. The man that desires to navigate a ship on the sea, or to row, tries first on a river. They who wish to acquire an agreeable style of singing and a beautiful voice begin by bringing out their voice gradually by singing. And they who seek to win the crown of victory by strength of body and in a regular wrestling match, harden their limbs by daily practice in the wrestling school, foster their endurance, and accustom themselves to hard work.

33. Nature herself teaches us this in the case of infants. For they first exercise themselves in the sounds of speech and so learn to speak. Thus these sounds of speech are a kind of practice, and a school for the voice. Let those then who want to learn to take heed in speaking not refuse what is according to nature, but let them use all watchful care; just as those who are on a watchtower keep on the alert by watching, and not by going to sleep. For everything is made more perfect and strong by exercises proper and suitable to itself.

34. David, therefore, was not always silent, but only for a time; not perpetually nor to all did he refuse to speak; but he used not to answer the enemy that provoked him, the sinner that exasperated him. As he says elsewhere: As though he were deaf he heard not them that speak vanity and imagine deceit: and as though he were dumb he opened not his mouth to them. Again, in another place, it is said: Answer not a fool according to his folly, lest you also be like to him. Proverbs 26:4

35. The first duty then is to have due measure in our speech. In this way a sacrifice of praise is offered up to God; thus a godly fear is shown when the sacred Scriptures are read; thus parents are honoured. I know well that many speak because they know not how to keep silence. But it is not often any one is silent when speaking does not profit him. A wise man, intending

to speak, first carefully considers what he is to say, and to whom he is to say it; also where and at what time. There is therefore such a thing as due measure in keeping silence and also in speaking; there is also such a thing as a due measure in what we do. It is a glorious thing to maintain the right standard of duty.

CHAPTER 11.

It is proved by the witness of Scripture that all duty is either ordinary or perfect. To which is added a word in praise of mercy, and an exhortation to practise it.

36. EVERY DUTY is either ordinary or perfect, a fact which we can also confirm by the authority of the Scriptures. For we read in the Gospel that the Lord said: If you will enter into life, keep the commandments. He says: Which? Jesus said to him: You shall do no murder, You shall not commit adultery, You shall not steal, You shall not bear false witness, Honour your father and your mother, You shall love your neighbour as yourself. These are ordinary duties, to which something is wanting.

37. Upon this the young man says to Him: All these things have I kept from my youth up, what lack I yet? Jesus said to him: If you will be perfect, go and sell all your goods and give to the poor, and you shall have treasure in heaven; and come and follow Me. Matthew 19:20-21 And earlier the same is written, where the Lord says that we must love our enemies, and pray for those that falsely accuse and persecute us, and bless those that curse us. Matthew 5:44 This we are bound to do, if we would be perfect as our Father Who is in heaven; Who bids the sun to shed his rays over the evil and the good, and makes the lands of the whole universe fertile with rain and dew without any distinction. Matthew 5:45 This, then, is a perfect duty (the Greeks call it κατόρθωμα), whereby all things are put right which could have any failings in them.

38. Mercy, also, is a good thing, for it makes men perfect, in that it imitates the perfect Father. Nothing graces the Christian soul so much as

mercy; mercy as shown chiefly towards the poor, that you may treat them as sharers in common with you in the produce of nature, which brings forth the fruits of the earth for use to all. Thus you may freely give to a poor man what you have, and in this way help him who is your brother and companion. You give silver; he receives life. You give money; he considers it his fortune. Your coin makes up all his property.

39. Further, he bestows more on you than thou on him, since he is your debtor in regard to your salvation. If you clothe the naked, you clothe yourself with righteousness; if you bring the stranger under your roof, if you support the needy, he procures for you the friendship of the saints and eternal habitations. That is no small recompense. You sow earthly things and receive heavenly. Do you wonder at the judgment of God in the case of holy Job? Wonder rather at his virtue, in that he could say: I was an eye to the blind, and a foot to the lame. I was a father to the poor. Their shoulders were made warm with the skins of my lambs. The stranger dwelt not at my gates, but my door was open to every one that came. Job 29:15-16 Clearly blessed is he from whose house a poor man has never gone with empty hand. Nor again is any one more blessed than he who is sensible of the needs of the poor, and the hardships of the weak and helpless. In the day of judgment he will receive salvation from the Lord, Whom he will have as his debtor for the mercy he has shown.

CHAPTER 12.

To prevent any one from being checked in the exercise of mercy, he shows that God cares for human actions; and proves on the evidence of Job that all wicked men are unhappy in the very abundance of their wealth.

40. BUT MANY are kept back from the duty of showing active mercy, because they suppose that God does not care about the actions of men, or that He does not know what we do in secret, and what our conscience has in view. Some again think that His judgment in no wise seems to be just; for they see that sinners have abundance of riches, that they enjoy honours, health, and children; while, on the other hand, the just live in poverty and unhonoured, they are without children, sickly in body, and often in grief.

41. That is no small point. For those three royal friends of Job declared him to be a sinner, because they saw that he, after being rich, became poor; that after having many children, he had lost them all, and that he was now covered with sores and was full of weals, and was a mass of wounds from head to foot. But holy Job made this declaration to them: If I suffer thus because of my sins, why do the wicked live? They grow old also in riches, their seed is according to their pleasure, their children are before their eyes, their houses are prosperous; but they have no fear; there is no scourge from the Lord on them. Job 21:7-9

42. A faint-hearted man, seeing this, is disturbed in mind, and turns his attention away from it. Holy Job, when about to speak in the words of such a one, began thus, saying: Bear with me, I also will speak; then laugh at me. For if I am found fault with, I am found fault with as a man. Bear, therefore, the burden of my words. For I am going to say (he means) what I do not

approve; but I shall utter wrong words to refute you. Or, to translate it in another way: How now? Am I found fault with by a man? That is: a man cannot find fault with me because I have sinned, although I deserve to be found fault with; for you do not find fault with me on the ground of an open sin, but estimate what I deserve for my offenses by the extent of my misfortunes. Thus the faint-hearted man, seeing that the wicked succeed and prosper, while he himself is crushed by misfortune, says to the Lord: Depart from me, I desire not the knowledge of Your ways. Job 21:14 What good is it that we serve Him, or what use to hasten to Him? In the hands of the wicked are all good things, but He sees not their works.

43. Plato has been greatly praised, because in his book on the State, he has made the person who undertook the part of objector against justice to ask pardon for his words, of which he himself did not approve; and to say that that character was only assumed for the sake of finding out the truth and to investigate the question at issue. And Cicero so far approved of this, that he also, in his book which he wrote on the Commonwealth, thought something must be said against that idea.

44. How many years before these did Job live! He was the first to discover this, and to consider what excuses had to be made for this, not for the sake of decking out his eloquence, but for the sake of finding out the truth. At once he made the matter plain, stating that the lamp of the wicked is put out, that their destruction will come; Job 21:17 that God, the teacher of wisdom and instruction, is not deceived, but is a judge of the truth. Therefore the blessedness of individuals must not be estimated at the value of their known wealth, but according to the voice of their conscience within them. For this, as a true and uncorrupted judge of punishments and rewards, decides between the deserts of the innocent and the guilty. The innocent man dies in the strength of his own simplicity, in the full possession of his own will; having a soul filled as it were with marrow. Job 21:24 But the

sinner, though he has abundance in life, and lives in the midst of luxury, and is redolent with sweet scents, ends his life in the bitterness of his soul, and brings his last day to a close, taking with him none of those good things which he once enjoyed — carrying away nothing with him but the price of his own wickedness.

45. In thinking of this, deny if you can that a recompense is paid by divine judgment. The former feels happy in his heart, the latter wretched; that man on his own verdict is guiltless, this one a criminal; that man again is happy in leaving the world, this man grieves over it. Who can be pronounced guiltless that is not innocent in the sight of his own conscience? Tell me, he says, where is the covering of his tabernacle; his token will not be found. Job 21:28 The life of the criminal is as a dream. He has opened his eyes. His repose has departed, his enjoyment has fled. Nay, that very repose of the wicked, which even while they live is only seeming, is now in hell, for alive they go down into hell.

46. You see the enjoyments of the sinner; but question his conscience. Will he not be more foul than any sepulchre? You behold his joy, you admire the bodily health of his children, and the amount of his wealth; but look within at the sores and wounds of his soul, the sadness of his heart. And what shall I say of his wealth, when you read, For a man’s life consists not in the abundance of the things which he possesses? Luke 12:15 When you know, that though he seems to you to be rich, to himself he is poor, and in his own person refutes your judgment? What also shall I say of the number of his children and of his freedom from pain — when he is full of grief and decides that he will have no heir, and does not wish that those who copy his ways should succeed him? For the sinner really leaves no heir. Thus the wicked man is a punishment to himself, but the upright man is a grace to himself — and to either, whether good or bad, the reward of his deeds is paid in his own person.

CHAPTER 13.

The ideas of those philosophers are refuted who deny to God the care of the whole world, or of any of its parts.

47. BUT LET us return to our point, lest we seem to have lost sight of the break we made in answering the ideas of those who, seeing some wicked men, rich, joyous, full of honours, and powerful, while many upright men are in want and are weak — suppose therefore that God either cares nothing about us (which is what the Epicureans say), or that He is ignorant of men's actions as the wicked say — or that, if He knows all things, He is an unjust judge in allowing the good to be in want and the wicked to have abundance. But it did not seem out of place to make a digression to meet an idea of this kind and to contrast it with the feelings of those very persons whom they consider happy — for they think themselves wretched. I suppose they would believe themselves more readily than us.

48. After this digression I consider it an easy matter to refute the rest — above all the declaration of those who think that God has no care whatever for the world. For instance, Aristotle declares that His providence extends only to the moon. But what workman is there who gives no care to his work? Who would forsake and abandon what he believes himself to have produced? If it is derogatory to rule, is it not more so to have created? Though there is no wrong involved in not creating anything, it is surely the height of cruelty not to care for what one has created.

49. But if some deny God to be the Creator, and so count themselves among the beasts and irrational creatures, what shall we say of those who condemn themselves to such indignity? They themselves declare that God

pervades all things, that all depend upon His power, that His might and majesty penetrate all the elements — lands, heaven, and seas; yet they think it derogatory to Him to enter into man's spirit, which is the noblest thing He has given us, and to be there with the full knowledge of the divine Majesty.

50. But philosophers who are held to be reasonable laugh at the teacher of these ideas as besotted and licentious. But what shall I say of Aristotle's idea? He thinks that God is satisfied with His own narrow bounds, and lives within the prescribed limits of His kingdom. This, however, is also what the poets' tales tell us. For they relate that the world is divided between three gods, so that it has fallen to the lot of one to restrain and rule heaven, to another the sea, and to a third the lower regions. They have also to take care not to stir up war one with the other by allowing thoughts and cares about the belongings of others to take hold of them. In the same way, Aristotle also declares that God has no care for the earth, as He has none for the sea or the lower regions. How is it that these philosophers shut out of their ranks the poets whose footsteps they follow?

CHAPTER 14.

Nothing escapes God's knowledge. This is proved by the witness of the Scriptures and the analogy of the sun, which, although created, yet by its light or heat enters into all things.

51. NEXT COMES the answer to the question, whether God, not having failed to show care for His work, now fails to have knowledge of it? Thus it is written: He that planted the ear, shall He not hear? He that made the eye, shall He not regard?

52. This false idea was not unknown to the holy prophets. David himself introduces men to speak whom pride has filled and claimed for its own. For what shows greater pride than when men who are living in sin think it unfit that other sinners should live, and say: Lord, how long shall the ungodly, how long shall the ungodly triumph? And later on: And yet they say, the Lord shall not see: neither shall the God of Jacob regard it. Whom the prophet answers, saying: Take heed, you unwise among the people: O you fools, when will you understand? He that planted the ear, shall He not hear? Or He that made the eye, shall He not see? He that rebukes the nations, shall He not punish? — He that teaches man knowledge? The Lord knows the thoughts of man that they are vain. Does He Who discerns whatsoever is vain not know what is holy, and is He ignorant of what He Himself has made? Can the workman be ignorant of his own work? This one is a man, yet he discerns what is hidden in his work; and God — shall He not know His own work? Is there more depth, then, in the work than in its author? Has He made something superior to Himself; the value of which, as its

Author, He was ignorant of, and whose condition He knew not, though He was its Director? So much for these persons.

53. But we are satisfied with the witness of Him Who says: I search out the heart and the reins. Jeremiah 17:10 In the Gospel, also, the Lord Jesus says: Why do you think evil in your hearts? For He knew they were thinking evil. Matthew 9:4 The evangelist also witnesses to this, saying: For Jesus knew their thoughts. Luke 6:8

54. The idea of these people will not trouble us much if we look at their actions. They will not have Him to be judge over them, Whom nothing deceives; they will not grant to Him the knowledge of things hidden, for they are afraid their own hidden things may be brought to light. But the Lord, also, knowing their works, has given them over unto darkness. In the night, he says, he will be as a thief, and the eye of the adulterer will watch for the darkness, saying, No eye shall see me; he has covered up his face. Job 24:14-15 For every one that avoids the light loves darkness, seeking to be hid, though he cannot be hid from God, Who knows not only what is transacted, but also what will be thought of, both in the depths of space and in the minds of men. Thus, again, he who speaks in the book Ecclesiasticus says: Who sees me? The darkness has covered me, and the walls have hidden me; whom do I fear? Sirach 23:18 But although lying on his bed he may think thus, he is caught where he never thought of it. It shall be, it says, a shame to him because he knew not what the fear of the Lord was. Sirach 23:31

55. But what can be more foolish than to suppose that anything escapes God’s notice, when the sun which supplies the light enters even hidden spots, and the strength of its heat reaches to the foundations of a house and its inner chambers? Who can deny that the depths of the earth, which the winter’s ice has bound together, are warmed by the mildness of spring? Surely the very heart of a tree feels the force of heat or cold, to such an

extent that its roots are either nipped with the cold or sprout forth in the warmth of the sun. In short, wherever the mildness of heaven smiles on the earth, there the earth produces in abundance fruits of different kinds.

56. If, then, the sun's rays pour their light over all the earth and enter into its hidden spots; if they cannot be checked by iron bars or the barrier of heavy doors from getting within, how can it be impossible for the Glory of God, which is instinct with life, to enter into the thoughts and hearts of men that He Himself has created? And how shall it not see what He Himself has created? Did He make His works to be better and more powerful than He Himself is, Who made them (in this event) so as to escape the notice of their Creator whenever they will? Did He implant such perfection and power in our mind that He Himself could not comprehend it when He wished?

CHAPTER 15.

Those who are dissatisfied with the fact that the good receive evil, and the evil good, are shown by the example of Lazarus, and on the authority of Paul, that punishments and rewards are reserved for a future life.

57. WE HAVE fully discussed two questions; and this discussion, as we think, has not turned out quite unfavourably for us. A third question yet remains; it is this: Why do sinners have abundance of wealth and riches, and fare sumptuously, and have no grief or sorrow; while the upright are in want, and are punished by the loss of wives or children? Now, that parable in the Gospel ought to satisfy persons like these; for the rich man was clothed in purple and fine linen, and dined sumptuously every day; but the beggar, full of sores, used to gather the crumbs of his table. After the death of the two, however, the beggar was in Abraham's bosom in rest; the rich man was in torment. Is it not plain from this that rewards and punishments according to deserts await one after death?

58. And surely this is but right. For in a contest there is much labour needed — and after the contest victory falls to some, to others disgrace. Is the palm ever given or the crown granted before the course is finished? Paul writes well; He says: I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day; and not to me only, but unto all them also that love His appearing. 2 Timothy 4:7-8 In that day, he says, He will give it — not here. Here he fought, in labours, in dangers, in shipwrecks, like a good wrestler; for he knew how that through much tribulation we must enter into the kingdom of

God. Acts 14:22 Therefore no one can receive a reward, unless he has striven lawfully; nor is the victory a glorious one, unless the contest also has been toilsome.

CHAPTER 16.

To confirm what has been said above about rewards and punishments, he adds that it is not strange if there is no reward reserved for some in the future; for they do not labour here nor struggle. He goes on to say also that for this reason temporal goods are granted to these persons, so that they may have no excuse whatever.

59. IS NOT he unjust who gives the reward before the end of the contest? Therefore the Lord says in the Gospel: Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Matthew 5:3 He said not: Blessed are the rich, but the poor. By the divine judgment blessedness begins there whence human misery is supposed to spring. Blessed are they that hunger, for they shall be filled; Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted; Blessed are the merciful, for God will have mercy on them; Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God; Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven; Blessed are you when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you for righteousness' sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for plentiful is your reward in heaven. A reward future and not present — in heaven, not on earth — has He promised shall be given. What further do you expect? What further is due? Why do you demand the crown with so much haste, before you conquer? Why do you desire to shake off the dust and to rest? Why do you long to sit at the feast before the course is finished? As yet the people are looking on, the athletes are in the arena, and thou — do you already look for ease?

60. Perhaps you say, Why are the wicked joyous? Why do they live in luxury? Why do they not toil with me? It is because they who have not put down their names to strive for the crown are not bound to undergo the labours of the contest. They who have not gone down into the race-course do not anoint themselves with oil nor get covered with dust. For those whom glory awaits trouble is at hand. The perfumed spectators are wont to look on, not to join in the struggle, nor to endure the sun, the heat, the dust, and the showers. Let the athletes say to them: Come, strive with us. The spectators will but answer: We sit here now to decide about you, but you, if you conquer, will gain the glory of the crown and we shall not.

61. They, then, who have devoted themselves to pleasures, luxury, robbery, gain, or honours are spectators rather than combatants. They have the profit of labour, but not the fruits of virtue. They love their ease; by cunning and wickedness they heap up riches; but they will pay the penalty of their iniquity, though it be late. Their rest will be in hell, yours in heaven; their home in the grave, yours in paradise. Whence Job said beautifully that they watch in the tomb, Job 21:32 for they cannot have the calm of quiet rest which he enjoys who shall rise again.

62. Do not, therefore, understand, or speak, or think as a child; nor as a child claim those things now which belong to a future time. The crown belongs to the perfect. Wait till that which is perfect has come, when you may know — not through a glass as in a riddle, but face to face 1 Corinthians 13:12 — the very form of truth made clear. Then will be made known why that person was rich who was wicked and a robber of other men’s goods, why another was powerful, why a third had many children, and yet a fourth was loaded with honours.

63. Perhaps all this happens that the question may be asked of the robber: You were rich, so why did you seize on the goods of others? Need did not force you, poverty did not drive you to it. Did I not make you rich,

that you might have no excuse? So, too, it may be said to a person of power: Why did you not aid the widow, the orphans also, when enduring wrong? Were you powerless? Could you not help? I made you for this purpose, not that you might do wrong, but that you might check it. Is it not written for you Save him that endures wrong? Sirach 4:9 Is it not written for you: Deliver the poor and needy out of the hand of the sinner? It may be said also to the man who has abundance of good things: I have blessed you with children and honours; I have granted you health of body; why did you not follow my commands? My servant, what have I done to you, or how have I grieved you? Was it not I that gave you children, bestowed honours, granted health to you? Why did you deny me? Why did you suppose that your actions would not come to my knowledge? Why did you accept my gifts, yet despise my commands?

64. We can gather the same from the example of the traitor Judas. He was chosen among the Twelve Apostles, and had charge of the money bag, to lay it out upon the poor, John 12:6 that it might not seem as though he had betrayed the Lord because he was unhonoured or in want. Wherefore the Lord granted him this office, that He might also be justified in him; he would be guilty of a greater fault, not as one driven to it by wrong done to him, but as one misusing grace.

CHAPTER 17.

The duties of youth, and examples suitable to that age, are next put forth.

65. SINCE IT has been made sufficiently plain that there will be punishment for wickedness and reward for virtue, let us proceed to speak of the duties which have to be borne in mind from our youth up, that they may grow with our years. A good youth ought to have a fear of God, to be subject to his parents, to give honour to his elders, to preserve his purity; he ought not to despise humility, but should love forbearance and modesty. All these are an ornament to youthful years. For as seriousness is the true grace of an old man, and ardour of a young man, so also is modesty, as though by some gift of nature, well set off in a youth.

66. Isaac feared the Lord, as was indeed but natural in the son of Abraham; being subject also to his father to such an extent that he would not avoid death in opposition to his father's will. Genesis 22:9 Joseph also, though he dreamed that sun and moon and stars made obeisance to him, yet was subject to his father's will with ready obedience. Genesis 37:9 So chaste was he, he would not hear even a word unless it were pure; humble was he even to doing the work of a slave, modest, even to taking flight, enduring, even to bearing imprisonment, so forgiving of wrong as even to repay it with good. Whose modesty was such, that, when seized by a woman, he preferred to leave his garment in her hands in flight, rather than to lay aside his modesty. Genesis 39:12 Moses, Exodus 4:10 also, and Jeremiah, Jeremiah 1:6 chosen by the Lord to declare the words of God to the people, were for avoiding, through modesty, that which through grace they could do.

CHAPTER 18.

On the different functions of modesty. How it should qualify both speech and silence, accompany chastity, commend our prayers to God, govern our bodily motions; on which last point reference is made to two clerics in language by no means unsuited to its object. Further he proceeds to say that one's gait should be in accordance with that same virtue, and how careful one must be that nothing immodest come forth from one's mouth, or be noticed in one's body. All these points are illustrated with very appropriate examples.

67. LOVELY, THEN, is the virtue of modesty, and sweet is its grace! It is seen not only in actions, but even in our words, so that we may not go beyond due measure in speech, and that our words may not have an unbecoming sound. The mirror of our mind often enough reflects its image in our words. Sobriety weighs out the sound even of our voice, for fear that too loud a voice should offend the ear of any one. Nay, in singing itself the first rule is modesty, and the same is true in every kind of speech, too, so that a man may gradually learn to praise God, or to sing songs, or even to speak, in that the principles of modesty grace his advance.

68. Silence, again, wherein all the other virtues rest, is the chief act of modesty. Only, if it is supposed to be a sign of a childish or proud spirit, it is accounted a reproach; if a sign of modesty, it is reckoned for praise. Susanna was silent in danger, and thought the loss of modesty was worse than loss of life. She did not consider that her safety should be guarded at the risk of her chastity. To God alone she spoke, to Whom she could speak out in true modesty. She avoided looking on the face of men. For there is

also modesty in the glance of the eye, which makes a woman unwilling to look upon men, or to be seen by them.

69. Let no one suppose that this praise belongs to chastity alone. For modesty is the companion of purity, in company with which chastity itself is safer. Shame, again, is good as a companion and guide of chastity, inasmuch as it does not suffer purity to be defiled in approaching even the outskirts of danger. This it is that, at the very outset of her recognition, commends the Mother of the Lord to those who read the Scriptures, and, as a credible witness, declares her worthy to be chosen to such an office. For when in her chamber, alone, she is saluted by the angel, she is silent, and is disturbed at his entrance, and the Virgin's face is troubled at the strange appearance of a man's form. And so, though she was humble, yet it was not because of this, but on account of her modesty, that she did not return his salutation, nor give him any answer, except to ask, when she had learned that she should conceive the Lord, how this should be. She certainly did not speak merely for the sake of making a reply.

70. In our very prayers, too, modesty is most pleasing, and gains us much grace from our God. Was it not this that exalted the publican, and commended him, when he dared not raise even his eyes to heaven? Luke 18:13-14 So he was justified by the judgment of the Lord rather than the Pharisee, whom overweening pride made so hideous. Therefore let us pray in the incorruptibility of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price, 1 Peter 3:4 as St. Peter says. A noble thing, then, is modesty, which, though giving up its rights, seizing on nothing for itself, laying claim to nothing, and in some ways somewhat retiring within the sphere of its own powers, yet is rich in the sight of God, in Whose sight no man is rich. Rich is modesty, for it is the portion of God. Paul also bids that prayer be offered up with modesty and sobriety. 1 Timothy 2:9 He desires that this should be first, and, as it were, lead the way of prayers to come, so

that the sinner's prayer may not be boastful, but veiled, as it were, with the blush of shame, may merit a far greater degree of grace, in giving way to modesty at the remembrance of its fault.

71. Modesty must further be guarded in our very movements and gestures and gait. For the condition of the mind is often seen in the attitude of the body. For this reason the hidden man of our heart (our inner self) is considered to be either frivolous, boastful, or boisterous, or, on the other hand, steady, firm, pure, and dependable. Thus the movement of the body is a sort of voice of the soul.

72. You remember, my children, that a friend of ours who seemed to recommend himself by his assiduity in his duties, yet was not admitted by me into the number of the clergy, because his gestures were too unseemly. Also that I bade one, whom I found already among the clergy, never to go in front of me, because he actually pained me by the seeming arrogance of his gait. That is what I said when he returned to his duty after an offense committed. This alone I would not allow, nor did my mind deceive me. For both have left the Church. What their gait betrayed them to be, such were they proved to be by the faithlessness of their hearts. The one forsook his faith at the time of the Arian troubles; the other, through love of money, denied that he belonged to us, so that he might not have to undergo sentence at the hands of the Church. In their gait was discernible the semblance of fickleness, the appearance, as it were, of wandering buffoons.

73. Some there are who in walking perceptibly copy the gestures of actors, and act as though they were bearers in the processions, and had the motions of nodding statues, to such an extent that they seem to keep a sort of time, as often as they change their step.

74. Nor do I think it becoming to walk hurriedly, except when a case of some danger demands it, or a real necessity. For we often see those who hurry come up panting, and with features distorted. But if there is no reason

for the need of such hurry, it gives cause for just offense. I am not, however, talking of those who have to hurry now and then for some particular reason, but of those to whom, by the yoke of constant habit, it has become a second nature. In the case of the former I cannot approve of their slow solemn movements, which remind one of the forms of phantoms. Nor do I care for the others with their headlong speed, for they put one in mind of the ruin of outcasts.

75. A suitable gait is that wherein there is an appearance of authority and weight and dignity, and which has a calm collected bearing. But it must be of such a character that all effort and conceit may be wanting, and that it be simple and plain. Nothing counterfeit is pleasing. Let nature train our movements. If indeed there is any fault in our nature, let us mend it with diligence. And, that artifice may be wanting, let not amendment be wanting.

76. But if we pay so much attention to things like these, how much more careful ought we to be to let nothing shameful proceed out of our mouth, for that defiles a man terribly. It is not food that defiles, but unjust disparagement of others and foul words. These things are openly shameful. In our office indeed must no word be let fall at all unseemly, nor one that may give offense to modesty. But not only ought we to say nothing unbecoming to ourselves, but we ought not even to lend our ears to words of this sort. Thus Joseph fled and left his garment, that he might hear nothing inconsistent with his modesty. Genesis 39:12 For he who delights to listen, urges the other on to speak.

77. To have full knowledge of what is foul is in the highest degree shameful. To see anything of this sort, if by chance it should happen, how dreadful that is! What, therefore, is displeasing to us in others, can that be pleasing in ourselves? Is not nature herself our teacher, who has formed to perfection every part of our body, so as to provide for what is necessary and to beautify and grace its form? However she has left plain and open to the

sight those parts which are beautiful to look upon; among which, the head, set as it were above all, and the pleasant lines of the figure, and the appearance of the face are prominent, while their usefulness for work is ready to hand. But those parts in which there is a compliance with the necessities of nature, she has partly put away and hidden in the body itself, lest they should present a disgusting appearance, and partly, too, she has taught and persuaded us to cover them.

78. Is not nature herself then a teacher of modesty? Following her example, the modesty of men, which I suppose is so called from the mode of knowing what is seemly, has covered and veiled what it has found hid in the frame of our body; like that door which Noah was bidden to make in the side of the ark; Genesis 6:16 wherein we find a figure of the Church, and also of the human body, for through that door the remnants of food were cast out. Thus the Maker of our nature so thought of our modesty, and so guarded what was seemly and virtuous in our body, as to place what is unseemly behind, and to put it out of the sight of our eyes. Of this the Apostle says well: Those members of the body which seem to be more feeble are necessary, and those members of the body which we think to be less honourable, upon these we bestow more abundant honour, and our uncomely parts have more abundant comeliness. 1 Corinthians 12:22-23 Truly, by following the guidance of nature, diligent care has added to the grace of the body. In another place I have gone more fully into this subject, and said that not only do we hide those parts which have been given us to hide, but also that we think it unseemly to mention by name their description, and the use of those members.

79. And if these parts are exposed to view by chance, modesty is violated; but if on purpose, it is reckoned as utter shamelessness. Wherefore Ham, Noah’s son, brought disgrace upon himself; for he laughed when he saw his father naked, but they who covered their father received the gift of a

blessing. Genesis 9:22 For which cause, also, it was an ancient custom in Rome, and in many other states as well, that grown-up sons should not bathe with their parents, or sons-in-law with their fathers-in-law, in order that the great duty of reverence for parents should not be weakened. Many, however, cover themselves so far as they can in the baths, so that, where the whole body is bare, that part of it at least may be covered.

80. The priests, also, under the old law, as we read in Exodus, wore breeches, as it was told Moses by the Lord: And you shall make them linen breeches to cover their shame: from the loins even to the thighs they shall reach, and Aaron and his sons shall wear them, when they enter into the tabernacle of witness, and when they come unto the altar of the holy place to offer sacrifice, that they lay not sin upon themselves and die. Exodus 28:42-43 Some of us are said still to observe this, but most explain it spiritually, and suppose it was said with a view to guarding modesty and preserving chastity.

CHAPTER 19.

How should seemliness be represented by a speaker? Does beauty add anything to virtue, and, if so, how much? Lastly, what care should we take that nothing conceited or effeminate be seen in us?

81. IT HAS given me pleasure to dwell somewhat at length on the various functions of modesty; for I speak to you who either can recognize the good that is in it in your own cases, or at least do not know its loss. Fitted as it is for all ages, persons, times, and places, yet it most beseems youthful and childish years.

82. But at every age we must take care that all we do is seemly and becoming, and that the course of our life forms one harmonious and complete whole. Wherefore Cicero thinks that a certain order ought to be observed in what is seemly. He says that this lies in beauty, order, and in appointment fitted for action. This, as he says, it is difficult to explain in words, yet it can be quite sufficiently understood.

83. Why Cicero should have introduced beauty, I do not quite understand; though it is true he also speaks in praise of the powers of the body. We certainly do not locate virtue in the beauty of the body, though, on the other hand, we do recognize a certain grace, as when modesty is wont to cover the face with a blush of shame, and to make it more pleasing. For as a workman is wont to work better the more suitable his materials are, so modesty is more conspicuous in the comeliness of the body. Only the comeliness of the body should not be assumed; it should be natural and artless, unstudied rather than elaborated, not heightened by costly and glistening garments, but just clad in ordinary clothing. One must see that

nothing is wanting that one's credit or necessity demands, while nothing must be added for the sake of splendour.

84. The voice, too, should not be languid, nor feeble, nor womanish in its tone — such a tone of voice as many are in the habit of using, under the idea of seeming important. It should preserve a certain quality, and rhythm, and a manly vigour. For all to do what is best suited to their character and sex, that is to attain to beauty of life. This is the best order for movements, this the employment fitted for every action. But as I cannot approve of a soft or weak tone of voice, or an effeminate gesture of the body, so also I cannot approve of what is boorish and rustic. Let us follow nature. The imitation of her provides us with a principle of training, and gives us a pattern of virtue.

CHAPTER 20.

If we are to preserve our modesty we must avoid fellowship with profligate men, also the banquets of strangers, and intercourse with women; our leisure time at home should be spent in pious and virtuous pursuits.

85. MODESTY HAS indeed its rocks — not any that she brings with her, but those, I mean, which she often runs against, as when we associate with profligate men, who, under the form of pleasantry, administer poison to the good. And the latter, if they are very constant in their attendance at banquets and games, and often join in jests, enervate that manly gravity of theirs. Let us then take heed that, in wishing to relax our minds, we do not destroy all harmony, the blending as it were of all good works. For habit quickly bends nature in another direction.

86. For this reason I think that what ye wisely do is befitting to the duties of clerics, and especially to those of the priesthood — namely, that you avoid the banquets of strangers, but so that you are still hospitable to travellers, and give no occasion for reproach by reason of your great care in the matter. Banquets with strangers engross one's attention, and soon produce a love for feasting. Tales, also, of the world and its pleasures often creep in. One cannot shut one's ears; and to forbid them is looked on as a sign of haughtiness. One's glass, too, even against one's will, is filled time after time. It is better surely to excuse oneself once for all at one's own home, than often at another's. When one rises sober, at any rate one's presence need not be condemned by the insolence of another.

87. There is no need for the younger clergy to go to the houses of widows or virgins, except for the sake of a definite visit, and in that case

only with the elder clergy, that is, with the bishop, or, if the matter be somewhat important, with the priests. Why should we give room to the world to revile? What need is there for those frequent visits to give ground for rumours? What if one of those women should by chance fall? Why should you undergo the reproach of another's fall? How many even strong men have been led away by their passions? How many are there who have not indeed yielded to sin, but have given ground for suspicion?

88. Why do you not spend the time which you have free from your duties in the church in reading? Why do you not go back again to see Christ? Why do you not address Him, and hear His voice? We address Him when we pray, we hear Him when we read the sacred oracles of God. What have we to do with strange houses? There is one house which holds all. They who need us can come to us. What have we to do with tales and fables? An office to minister at the altar of Christ is what we have received; no duty to make ourselves agreeable to men has been laid upon us.

89. We ought to be humble, gentle, mild, serious, patient. We must keep the mean in all things, so that a calm countenance and quiet speech may show that there is no vice in our lives.

CHAPTER 21.

We must guard against anger, before it arises; if it has already arisen we must check and calm it, and if we cannot do this either, at least we should keep our tongue from abuse, so that our passions may be like boys' quarrels. He relates what Archites said, and shows that David led the way in this matter, both in his actions and in his writings.

90. LET ANGER be guarded against. If it cannot, however, be averted, let it be kept within bounds. For indignation is a terrible incentive to sin. It disorders the mind to such an extent as to leave no room for reason. The first thing, therefore, to aim at, if possible, is to make tranquillity of character our natural disposition by constant practice, by desire for better things, by fixed determination. But since passion is to a large extent implanted in our nature and character, so that it cannot be uprooted and avoided, it must be checked by reason, if, that is, it can be foreseen. And if the mind has already been filled with indignation before it could be foreseen or provided against in any way, we must consider how to conquer the passion of the mind, how to restrain our anger, that it may no more be so filled. Resist wrath, if possible; if not, give way, for it is written: Give place to wrath. Romans 12:19

91. Jacob dutifully gave way to his brother when angry, and to Rebecca; that is to say, taught by counsels of patience, he preferred to go away and live in foreign lands, rather than to arouse his brother's anger; and then to return only when he thought his brother was appeased. Genesis 27:42 Thus it was that he found such great grace with God. With what offers of willing service, with what gifts, did he reconcile his brother to himself again, so

that he should not remember the blessing which had been taken away from him, but should only remember the reparation now offered?

92. If, then, anger has got the start, and has already taken possession of your mind, and mounted into your heart, forsake not your ground. Your ground is patience, it is wisdom, it is reason, it is the allaying of indignation. And if the stubbornness of your opponent rouses you, and his perverseness drives you to indignation: if you can not calm your mind, check at least your tongue. For so it is written: Keep your tongue from evil, and your lips that they speak no guile. Seek peace and pursue it. See the peace of holy Jacob, how great it was! First, then, calm your mind. If you can not do this, put a restraint upon your tongue. Lastly, omit not to seek for reconciliation. These ideas the speakers of the world have borrowed from us, and have set down in their writings. But he who said it first has the credit of understanding its meaning.

93. Let us then avoid or at any rate check anger, so that we may not lose our share of praise, nor yet add to our list of sins. It is no light thing to calm one's anger. It is no less difficult a thing than it is not to be roused at all. The one is an act of our own will, the other is an effect of nature. So quarrels among boys are harmless, and have more of a pleasant than a bitter character about them. And if boys quickly come to quarrel one with the other, they are easily calmed down again, and quickly come together with even greater friendliness. They do not know how to act deceitfully and artfully. Do not condemn these children, of whom the Lord says: Unless you are converted and become as this child, you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Matthew 18:3 So also the Lord Himself, Who is the Power of God, as a Boy, when He was reviled, reviled not again, when He was struck, struck not back. 1 Peter 2:23 Set then your mind on this — like a child never to keep an injury in mind, never to show malice, but that all things may be done blamelessly by you. Regard not the return made you by

others. Hold your ground. Guard the simplicity and purity of your heart. Answer not an angry man according to his anger, nor a foolish man according to his folly. One fault quickly calls forth another. If stones are rubbed together, does not fire break forth?

94. The heathen — (they are wont to exaggerate everything in speaking) — make much of the saying of the philosopher Archytas of Tarentum , which he spoke to his bailiff: O you wretched man, how I would punish you, if I were not angry. But David already before this had in his indignation held back his armed hand. How much greater a thing it is not to revile again, than not to avenge oneself! The warriors, too, prepared to take vengeance against Nabal, Abigail restrained by her prayers. From whence we perceive that we ought not only to yield to timely entreaties, but also to be pleased with them. So much was David pleased that he blessed her who intervened, because he was restrained from his desire for revenge.

95. Already before this he had said of his enemies: For they cast iniquity upon me, and in their wrath they were grievous to me. Let us hear what he said when overwhelmed in wrath: Who will give me wings like a dove, and I will flee away and be at rest. They kept provoking him to anger, but he sought quietness.

96. He had also said: Be angry and sin not. The moral teacher who knew that the natural disposition should rather be guided by a reasonable course of teaching, than be eradicated, teaches morals, and says: Be angry where there is a fault against which you ought to be angry. For it is impossible not to be roused up by the baseness of many things; otherwise we might be accounted, not virtuous, but apathetic and neglectful. Be angry therefore, so that you keep free from fault, or, in other words: If you are angry, do not sin, but overcome wrath with reason. Or one might put it thus: If you are angry, be angry with yourselves, because you are roused, and you will not sin. For he who is angry with himself, because he has been so easily roused,

ceases to be angry with another. But he who wishes to prove his anger is righteous only gets the more inflamed, and quickly falls into sin. Better is he, as Solomon says, that restrains his anger, than he that takes a city, Proverbs 16:32 for anger leads astray even brave men.

97. We ought therefore to take care that we do not get into a flurry, before reason prepares our minds. For oftentimes anger or distress or fear of death almost deprives the soul of life, and beats it down by a sudden blow. It is therefore a good thing to anticipate this by reflection, and to exercise the mind by considering the matter. So the mind will not be roused by any sudden disturbance, but will grow calm, being held in by the yoke and reins of reason.

CHAPTER 22.

On reflection and passion, and on observing propriety of speech, both in ordinary conversation and in holding discussions.

98. THERE ARE two kinds of mental motions — those of reflection and of passion. The one has to do with reflection, the other with passion. There is no confusion one with the other, for they are markedly different and unlike. Reflection has to search and as it were to grind out the truth. Passion prompts and stimulates us to do something. Thus by its very nature reflection diffuses tranquillity and calm; and passion sends forth the impulse to act. Let us then be ready to allow reflection on good things to enter into our mind, and to make passion submit to reason (if indeed we wish to direct our minds to guard what is seemly), lest desire for anything should shut out reason. Rather let reason test and see what befits virtue.

99. And since we have said that we must aim at the observance of what is seemly, so as to know what is the due measure in our words and deeds, and as order in speech rather than in action comes first; speech is divided into two kinds: first, as it is used in friendly conversation, and then in the treatment and discussion of matters of faith and justice. In either case we must take care that there is no irritation. Our language should be mild and quiet, and full of kindness and courtesy and free from insult. Let there be no obstinate disputes in our familiar conversations, for they are wont only to bring up useless subjects, rather than to supply anything useful. Let there be discussion without wrath, urbanity without bitterness, warning without sharpness, advice without giving offense. And as in every action of our life we ought to take heed to this, in order that no overpowering impulse of our

mind may ever shut out reason (let us always keep a place for counsel), so, too, ought we to observe that rule in our language, so that neither wrath nor hatred may be aroused, and that we may not show any signs of our greed or sloth.

100. Let our language be of this sort, more especially when we are speaking of the holy Scriptures. For of what ought we to speak more often than of the best subject of conversation, of its exhortation to watchfulness, its care for good instruction? Let us have a reason for beginning, and let our end be within due limits. For a speech that is wearisome only stirs up anger. But surely it is most unseemly that when every kind of conversation generally gives additional pleasure, this should give cause of offense!

101. The treatment also of such subjects as the teaching of faith, instruction on self-restraint, discussion on justice, exhortation to activity, must not be taken up by us and fully gone into all at one time, but must be carried on in course, so far as we can do it, and as the subject-matter of the passage allows. Our discourse must not be too lengthy, nor too soon cut short, for fear the former should leave behind it a feeling of aversion, and the latter produce carelessness and neglect. The address should be plain and simple, clear and evident, full of dignity and weight; it should not be studied or too refined, nor yet, on the other hand, be unpleasing and rough in style.

CHAPTER 23.

Jests, although at times they may be quite proper, should be altogether banished among clerics. The voice should be plain and frank.

102. MEN OF the world give many further rules about the way to speak, which I think we may pass over; as, for instance, the way jesting should be conducted. For though at times jests may be proper and pleasant, yet they are unsuited to the clerical life. For how can we adopt those things which we do not find in the holy Scriptures?

103. We must also take care that in relating stories we do not alter the earnest purpose of the harder rule we have set before us. Woe unto you that laugh, for you shall weep, Luke 6:25 says the Lord. Do we seek for something to laugh at, that laughing here we may weep hereafter? I think we ought to avoid not only broad jokes, but all kinds of jests, unless perchance it is not unfitting at the time for our conversation to be agreeable and pleasant.

104. In speaking of the voice, I certainly think it ought to be plain and clear. That it should be musical is a gift of nature, and is not to be won by exertion. Let it be distinct in its pronunciation and full of a manly vigour, but let it be free from a rough and rustic twang. See, too, that it does not assume a theatrical accent, but rather keeps true to the inner meaning of the words it utters.

CHAPTER 24.

There are three things to be noticed in the actions of our life. First, our passions are to be controlled by our reason; next, we ought to observe a suitable moderation in our desires; and, lastly, everything ought to be done at the right time and in the proper order. All these qualities shone forth so conspicuously in the holy men of Old Testament time, that it is evident they were well furnished with what men call the cardinal virtues.

105. I THINK I have said enough on the art of speaking. Let us now consider what beseems an active life. We note that there are three things to be regarded in connection with this subject. One is, that passion should not resist our reason. In that way only can our duties be brought into line with what is seemly. For if passion yields to reason we can easily maintain what is seemly in our duties. Next, we must take care lest, either by showing greater zeal or less than the matter we take up demands, we look as though we were taking up a small matter with great parade or were treating a great matter with but little care. Thirdly, as regards moderation in our endeavours and works, and also with regard to order in doing things and in the right timing of things, I think that everything should be open and straightforward.

106. But first comes that which I may call the foundation of all, namely, that our passions should obey our reason. The second and third are really the same — moderation in either case. There is room with us for the survey of a pleasing form, which is accounted beauty, and the consideration of dignity. Next follows the consideration of the order and the timing of things. These, then, are the three points, and we must see whether we can show them in perfection in any one of the saints.

107. First there is our father Abraham, who was formed and called for the instruction of generations to come. When bidden to go forth from his own country and kindred and from his father's house, though bound and held back by many ties of relationship, did he not give proof that in him passion was subject to reason? Who does not delight in the sweet charms of his native land, his kindred, and his own home? Their sweetness then delighted him. But the thought of the heavenly command and of an eternal reward influenced him more. Did he not reflect that he could not take his wife with him without the greatest danger, unused as she was to hardships, and so tender to bear insults, and so beautiful as to be likely to arouse the lust of profligate men? Yet he decided somewhat deliberately to undergo all this rather than to escape it by making excuses. Lastly, when he had gone into Egypt, he advised her to say she was his sister, not his wife.

108. See here what passions are at work! He feared for the chastity of his wife, he feared for his own safety, he had his suspicions about the lust of the Egyptians, and yet the reasonableness of performing his duty to God prevailed with him. For he thought that by the favour of God he could be safe everywhere, but if he offended the Lord he could not abide unharmed even at home. Thus reason conquered passion, and brought it into subjection to itself.

109. When his nephew was taken captive, Genesis 14:14 without being terrified or dismayed at the hordes of so many kings, he resumed the war. And after the victory was gained he refused his share of the spoil, which he himself had really won. Also, when a son was promised him, though he thought of the lost vigour of his body, now as good as dead, and the barrenness of his wife, and his own great age, he believed God, though it was against the law of nature.

110. Note how everything meets together here. Passion was not wanting, but it was checked. Here was a mind equable in action, which neither

treated great things as unimportant or little things as great. Here there was moderation in different affairs, order in things, fitness of occasion, due measure in words. He was foremost in faith, conspicuous in virtue, vigorous in battle, in victory not greedy, at home hospitable, and to his wife attentive.

111. Jacob also, his holy grandson, loved to pass his time at home free from danger; but his mother wished him to live in foreign parts, and so give place to his brother's anger. Sound counsels prevailed over natural feelings. An exile from home, banished from his parents, yet everywhere, in all he did, he observed due measure, such as was fitting, and made use of his opportunities at the right time. So dear was he to his parents at home, that the one, moved by the promptness of his compliance, gave him his blessing, the other inclined towards him with tender love. In the judgment of his brother, also, he was placed first, when he thought that he ought to give up his food to his brother. For though according to his natural inclinations he wished for food, yet when asked for it he gave it up from a feeling of brotherly affection. He was a faithful shepherd of the flock for his master, an attentive son-in-law to his father-in-law; he was active in work, sparing in his meals, conspicuous in making amends, lavish in repaying. Nay, so well did he calm his brother's anger that he received his favour, though he had feared his enmity. Genesis 33:4

112. What shall I say of Joseph? Genesis xxxix He certainly had a longing for freedom, and yet endured the bonds of servitude. How meek he was in slavery, how unchanging in virtue, how kindly in prison! Wise, too, in interpreting, and self-restrained in exercising his power! In the time of plenty was he not careful? In the time of famine was he not fair? Did he not praiseworthily do everything in order, and use opportunities at their season; giving justice to his people by the restraining guidance of his office?

113. Job also, both in prosperity and adversity, was blameless, patient, pleasing, and acceptable to God. He was harassed with pain, yet could find

consolation.

114. David also was brave in war, patient in time of adversity, peaceful at Jerusalem, in the hour of victory merciful, on committing sin repentant, in his old age foreseeing. He preserved due measure in his actions, and took his opportunities as they came. He has set them down in the songs of succeeding years; and so it seems to me that he has by his life no less than by the sweetness of his hymns poured forth an undying song of his own merits to God.

115. What duty connected with the chief virtues was wanting in these men? In the first place they showed prudence, which is exercised in the search of the truth, and which imparts a desire for full knowledge; next, justice, which assigns each man his own, does not claim another's, and disregards its own advantage, so as to guard the rights of all; thirdly, fortitude, which both in warfare and at home is conspicuous in greatness of mind and distinguishes itself in the strength of the body; fourthly, temperance, which preserves the right method and order in all things that we think should either be done or said.

CHAPTER 25.

A reason is given why this book did not open with a discussion of the above-mentioned virtues. It is also concisely pointed out that the same virtues existed in the ancient fathers.

116. PERHAPS, AS the different classes of duties are derived from these four virtues, some one may say that they ought to have been described first of all. But it would have been artificial to have given a definition of duty at the outset, and then to have gone on to divide it up into various classes. We have avoided what is artificial, and have put forward the examples of the fathers of old. These certainly offer us no uncertainty as regards our understanding them, and give us no room for subtlety in our discussion of them. Let the life of the fathers, then, be for us a mirror of virtue, not a mere collection of shrewd and clever acts. Let us show reverence in following them, not mere cleverness in discussing them.

117. Prudence held the first place in holy Abraham. For of him the Scriptures say: Abraham believed God, and that was counted to him for righteousness; Genesis 15:6 for no one is prudent who knows not God. Again: The fool has said, There is no God; Psalm 14:1 for a wise man would not say so. How is he wise who looks not for his Maker, but says to a stone: You are my father? Jeremiah 2:27 Who says to the devil as the Manichæan does: You are the author of my being? How is Arius wise, who prefers an imperfect and inferior creator to one who is a true and perfect one? How can Marcion or Eunomius be wise, who prefer to have an evil rather than a good God? And how can he be wise who does not fear his God? For: The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. Psalm 111:10

Elsewhere, too, it stands: The wise turn not aside from the mouth of the Lord, but come near Him in their confession of His greatness. So when the Scripture says: It was counted to him for righteousness, that brought to him the grace of another virtue.

118. The chief among ourselves have stated that prudence lies in the knowledge of the truth. But who of them all excelled Abraham, David, or Solomon in this? Then they go on to say that justice has regard to the whole community of the human race. So David said: He has dispersed abroad and given to the poor, His righteousness remains forever. The just man has pity, the just man lends. The whole world of riches lies at the feet of the wise and the just. The just man regards what belongs to all as his own, and his own as common property. The man just accuses himself rather than others. For he is just who does not spare himself, and who does not suffer his secret actions to be concealed. See now how just Abraham was! In his old age he begot a son according to promise, and when the Lord demanded him for sacrifice he did not think he ought to refuse him, although he was his only son. Genesis 22:3

119. Note here all these four virtues in one act. It was wise to believe God, and not to put love for his son before the commands of his Creator. It was just to give back what had been received. It was brave to restrain natural feelings by reason. The father led the victim; the son asked where it was: the father’s feelings were hardly tried, but were not overcome. The son said again: My father, and thus pierced his father’s heart, though without weakening his devotion to God. The fourth virtue, temperance, too, was there. Being just he preserved due measure in his piety, and order in all he had to carry out. And so in bringing what was needed for the sacrifice, in lighting the fire, in binding his son, in drawing the knife, in performing the sacrifice in due order; thus he merited as his reward that he might keep his son.

120. Is there greater wisdom than holy Jacob's, who saw God face to face and won a blessing? Genesis 32:29-30 Can there be higher justice than his in dividing with his brother what he had acquired, and offering it as a gift? Genesis 33:8 What greater fortitude than his in striving with God? Genesis 32:24-26 What moderation so true as his, who acted with such moderation as regards time and place, as to prefer to hide his daughter's shame rather than to avenge himself? Genesis 34:5 For being set in the midst of foes, he thought it better to gain their affections than to concentrate their hate on himself.

121. How wise also was Noah, who built the whole of the ark! Genesis 6:14 How just again! For he alone, preserved of all to be the father of the human race, was made a survivor of past generations, and the author of one to come; he was born, too, rather for the world and the universe than for himself. How brave he was to overcome the flood! How temperate to endure it! When he had entered the ark, with what moderation he passed the time! When he sent forth the raven and the dove, when he received them on their return, when he took the opportunity of leaving the ark, with what moderation did he make use of these occasions!

CHAPTER 26.

In investigating the truth the philosophers have broken through their own rules. Moses, however, showed himself more wise than they. The greater the dignity of wisdom, the more earnestly must we strive to gain it. Nature herself urges us all to do this.

122. IT IS said, therefore, that in investigating the truth, we must observe what is seemly. We ought to look for what is true with the greatest care. We must not put forward falsehood for truth, nor hide the truth in darkness, nor fill the mind with idle, involved, or doubtful matters. What so unseemly as to worship a wooden thing, which men themselves have made? What shows such darkness as to discuss subjects connected with geometry and astronomy (which they approve of), to measure the depths of space, to shut up heaven and earth within the limits of fixed numbers, to leave aside the grounds of salvation and to seek for error?

123. Moses, learned as he was in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, Acts 7:22 did not approve of those things, but thought that kind of wisdom both harmful and foolish. Turning away therefrom, he sought God with all the desire of his heart, and thus saw, questioned, heard Him when He spoke. Exodus 3:4 Who is more wise than he whom God taught, and who brought to nought all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and all the powers of their craft by the might of his works? He did not treat things unknown as well known, and so rashly accept them. Yet these philosophers, though they do not consider it contrary to nature, nor shameful for themselves to worship, and to ask help from an idol which knows nothing, teach us that these two

things mentioned in the words just spoken, which are in accordance both with nature and with virtue, ought to be avoided.

124. The loftier the virtue of wisdom is, the more I say we ought to strive for it, so that we may be able to attain to it. And that we may have no ideas which are contrary to nature, or are disgraceful, or unfitting, we ought to give two things, that is, time and care, to considering matters for the sake of investigating them. For there is nothing in which man excels all other living creatures more than in the fact that he has reason, seeks out the origin of things, thinks that the Author of his being should be searched out. For in His hand is our life and death; He rules this world by His nod. And to Him we know that we must give a reason for our actions. For there is nothing which is more of a help to a good life than to believe that He will be our judge, Whom hidden things do not escape, and unseemly things offend, and good deeds delight.

125. In all men, then, there lies, in accordance with human nature, a desire to search out the truth, which leads us on to have a longing for knowledge and learning, and infuses into us a wish to seek after it. To excel in this seems a noble thing to mankind; but there are only few who attain to it. And they, by deep thought, by careful deliberation, spend no little labour so as to be able to attain to that blessed and virtuous life, and to approach its likeness in their actions. For not he that says to Me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that does those things that I say. Matthew 7:21 To have a desire for knowledge without actions to correspond — well! I do not know whether that carries anything more with it.

CHAPTER 27.

The first source of duty is prudence, from whence spring three other virtues; and they cannot be separated or torn asunder, since they are mutually connected one with the other.

126. THE FIRST source of duty, then, is prudence. For what is more of a duty than to give to the Creator all one's devotion and reverence? This source, however, is drawn off into other virtues. For justice cannot exist without prudence, since it demands no small amount of prudence to see whether a thing is just or unjust. A mistake on either side is very serious. For he that says a just man is unjust, or an unjust man is just, is accursed with God. Wherefore does justice abound unto the wicked? says Solomon. Nor, on the other hand, can prudence exist without justice, for piety towards God is the beginning of understanding. On which we notice that this is a borrowed rather than an original idea among the worldly wise, for piety is the foundation of all virtues.

127. But the piety of justice is first directed towards God; secondly, towards one's country; next, towards parents; lastly, towards all. This, too, is in accordance with the guidance of nature. From the beginning of life, when understanding first begins to be infused into us, we love life as the gift of God, we love our country and our parents; lastly, our companions, with whom we like to associate. Hence arises true love, which prefers others to self, and seeks not its own, wherein lies the pre-eminence of justice.

128. It is ingrained in all living creatures, first of all, to preserve their own safety, to guard against what is harmful, to strive for what is

advantageous. They seek food and converts, whereby they may protect themselves from dangers, storms, and sun — all which is a mark of prudence. Next we find that all the different creatures are by nature wont to herd together, at first with fellows of their own class and sort, then also with others. So we see oxen delighted to be in herds, horses in droves, and especially like with like, stags, also, in company with stags and often with men. And what should I say on their desire to have young, and on their offspring, or even on their passions, wherein the likeness of justice is conspicuous?

129. It is clear, then, that these and the remaining virtues are related to one another. For courage, which in war preserves one's country from the barbarians, or at home defends the weak, or comrades from robbers, is full of justice; and to know on what plan to defend and to give help, how to make use of opportunities of time and place, is the part of prudence and moderation, and temperance itself cannot observe due measure without prudence. To know a fit opportunity, and to make return according to what is right, belongs to justice. In all these, too, large-heartedness is necessary, and fortitude of mind, and often of body, so that we may carry out what we wish.

CHAPTER 28.

A community rests upon justice and good-will. Two parts of the former, revenge and private possession, are not recognized by Christians. What the Stoics say about common property and mutual help has been borrowed from the sacred writings. The greatness of the glory of justice, and what hinders access to it.

130. JUSTICE, THEN, has to do with the society of the human race, and the community at large. For that which holds society together is divided into two parts — justice and good-will, which also is called liberality and kindness. Justice seems to me the loftier, liberality the more pleasing, of the two. The one gives judgment, the other shows goodness.

131. But that very thing is excluded with us which philosophers think to be the office of justice. For they say that the first expression of justice is, to hurt no one, except when driven to it by wrongs received. This is put aside by the authority of the Gospel. For the Scripture wills that the Spirit of the Son of Man should be in us, Who came to give grace, not to bring harm. Luke 9:56

132. Next they considered it consonant with justice that one should treat common, that is, public property as public, and private as private. But this is not even in accord with nature, for nature has poured forth all things for all men for common use. God has ordered all things to be produced, so that there should be food in common to all, and that the earth should be a common possession for all. Nature, therefore, has produced a common right for all, but greed has made it a right for a few. Here, too, we are told that the Stoics taught that all things which are produced on the earth are created for

the use of men, but that men are born for the sake of men, so that mutually one may be of advantage to another.

133. But whence have they got such ideas but out of the holy Scriptures? For Moses wrote that God said: Let us make man in our image, after our likeness, and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth. Genesis 1:26 And David said: You have put all things under his feet; all sheep and oxen, yea, and the beasts of the field, the fowls of the air, and the fishes of the sea. So these philosophers have learned from our writings that all things were made subject to man, and, therefore, they think that all things were produced also for man's sake.

134. That man was made for the sake of man we find stated also in the books of Moses, when the Lord says: It is not good that man should be alone, let us make him an helpmeet for him. Genesis 2:18 Thus the woman was given to the man to help him. She should bear him children, that one man might always be a help to another. Again, before the woman was formed, it was said of Adam: There was not found an help-meet for him. Genesis 2:20 For one man could not have proper help but from another. Amongst all the living creatures, therefore, there was none meet for him, or, to put it plainly, none to be his helper. Hence a woman was looked for to help him.

135. Thus, in accordance with the will of God and the union of nature, we ought to be of mutual help one to the other, and to vie with each other in doing duties, to lay all our advantages as it were before all, and (to use the words of Scripture) to bring help one to the other from a feeling of devotion or of duty, by giving money, or by doing something, at any rate in some way or other; so that the charm of human fellowship may ever grow sweeter among us, and none may ever be recalled from their duty by the fear of danger, but rather account all things, whether good or evil, as their own

concern. Thus holy Moses feared not to undertake terrible wars for his people's sake, nor was he afraid of the arms of the mightiest kings, nor yet was he frightened at the savagery of barbarian nations. He put on one side the thought of his own safety so as to give freedom to the people.

136. Great, then, is the glory of justice; for she, existing rather for the good of others than of self, is an aid to the bonds of union and fellowship among us. She holds so high a place that she has all things laid under her authority, and further can bring help to others and supply money; nor does she refuse her services, but even undergoes dangers for others.

137. Who would not gladly climb and hold the heights of this virtue, were it not that greed weakens and lessens the power of such a virtue? For as long as we want to add to our possessions and to heap up money, to take into our possession fresh lands, and to be the richest of all, we have cast aside the form of justice and have lost the blessing of kindness towards all. How can he be just that tries to take from another what he wants for himself?

138. The desire to gain power also enervates the perfect strength and beauty of justice. For how can he, who attempts to bring others under his own power, come forward on behalf of others? And how can a man help the weak against the strong, when he himself aspires to great power at the cost of liberty?

CHAPTER 29.

Justice should be observed even in war and with enemies. This is proved by the example of Moses and Elisha. The ancient writers learned in turn from the Hebrews to call their enemies by a gentler term. Lastly, the foundation of justice rests on faith, and its symmetry is perfect in the Church.

139. HOW GREAT a thing justice is can be gathered from the fact that there is no place, nor person, nor time, with which it has nothing to do. It must even be preserved in all dealings with enemies. For instance, if the day or the spot for a battle has been agreed upon with them, it would be considered an act against justice to occupy the spot beforehand, or to anticipate the time. For there is some difference whether one is overcome in some battle by a severe engagement, or by superior skill, or by a mere chance. But a deeper vengeance is taken on fiercer foes, and on those that are false as well as on those who have done greater wrongs, as was the case with the Midianites. Numbers xxxi For they had made many of the Jewish people to sin through their women; for which reason the anger of the Lord was poured out upon the people of our fathers. Thus it came about that Moses when victorious allowed none of them to live. On the other hand, Joshua did not attack the Gibeonites, who had tried the people of our fathers with guile rather than with war, but punished them by laying on them a law of bondage. Joshua ix Elisha again would not allow the king of Israel to slay the Syrians when he wished to do so. He had brought them into the city, when they were besieging him, after he had struck them with instantaneous blindness, so that they could not see where they were going. For he said: You shall not smite those whom you have not taken captive

with your spear and with your sword. Set before them bread and water, that they may eat and drink and return and go to their own home. Incited by their kind treatment they should show forth to the world the kindness they had received. Thus (we read) there came no more the bands of Syria into the land of Israel.

140. If, then, justice is binding, even in war, how much more ought we to observe it in time of peace. Such favour the prophet showed to those who came to seize him. We read that the king of Syria had sent his army to lie in wait for him, for he had learned that it was Elisha who had made known to all his plans and consultations. And Gehazi the prophet's servant, seeing the army, began to fear that his life was in danger. But the prophet said to him: Fear not, for they that be with us are more than they that be with them. And when the prophet asked that the eyes of his servant might be opened, they were opened. Then Gehazi saw the whole mountain full of horses and chariots round about Elisha. As they came down to him the prophet says: Smite, O God, the army of Syria with blindness. And this prayer being granted, he says to the Syrians: Follow me, and I will bring you to the man whom you seek. Then saw they Elisha, whom they were endeavouring to lay hold of, and seeing him they could not hold him fast. It is clear from this that faith and justice should be observed even in war; and that it could not but be a disgraceful thing if faith were violated.

141. So also the ancients used to give their foes a less harsh name, and called them strangers. For enemies used to be called strangers after the customs of old. This too we can say they adopted from our writings; for the Hebrews used to call their foes allophyllos, that is, when put into Latin, alienigenas (of another race). For so we read in the first book of Kings: It came to pass in those days that they of another race put themselves in array against Israel.

142. The foundation of justice therefore is faith, for the hearts of the just dwell on faith, and the just man that accuses himself builds justice on faith, for his justice becomes plain when he confesses the truth. So the Lord says through Isaiah: Behold, I lay a stone for a foundation in Sion. Isaiah 28:16 This means Christ as the foundation of the Church. For Christ is the object of faith to all; but the Church is as it were the outward form of justice, she is the common right of all. For all in common she prays, for all in common she works, in the temptations of all she is tried. So he who denies himself is indeed a just man, is indeed worthy of Christ. For this reason Paul has made Christ to be the foundation, so that we may build upon Him the works of justice, 1 Corinthians 3:11 while faith is the foundation. In our works, then, if they are evil, there appears unrighteousness; if they are good, justice.

CHAPTER 30.

On kindness and its several parts, namely, good-will and liberality. How they are to be combined. What else is further needed for any one to show liberality in a praiseworthy manner.

143. NOW WE can go on to speak of kindness, which breaks up into two parts, goodwill and liberality. Kindness to exist in perfection must consist of these two qualities. It is not enough just to wish well; we must also do well. Nor, again, is it enough to do well, unless this springs from a good source even from a good will. For God loves a cheerful giver. 2 Corinthians 9:7 If we act unwillingly, what is our reward? Wherefore the Apostle, speaking generally, says: If I do this thing willingly, I have a reward, but if unwillingly, a dispensation is given unto me. 1 Corinthians 9:17 In the Gospel, also, we have received many rules of just liberality.

144. It is thus a glorious thing to wish well, and to give freely, with the one desire to do good and not to do harm. For if we were to think it our duty to give the means to an extravagant man to live extravagantly, or to an adulterer to pay for his adultery, it would not be an act of kindness, for there would be no good-will in it. We should be doing harm, not good, to another if we gave him money to aid him in plotting against his country, or in attempting to get together at our expense some abandoned men to attack the Church. Nor, again, does it look like liberality to help one who presses very hardly on widows and orphans, or attempts to seize on their property with any show of violence.

145. It is no sign of a liberal spirit to extort from one what we give to another, or to gain money unjustly, and then to think it can be well spent,

unless we act as Zacchæus Luke 19:8 did, and restore fourfold what we have taken from him whom we have robbed, and make up for such heathenish crimes by the zeal of our faith and by true Christian labour. Our liberality must have some sure foundation.

146. The first thing necessary is to do kindness in good faith, and not to act falsely when the offering is made. Never let us say we are doing more, when we are really doing less. What need is there to speak at all? In a promise a cheat lies hid. It is in our power to give what we like. Cheating shatters the foundation, and so destroys the work. Did Peter grow angry only so far as to desire that Ananias and his wife should be slain? Acts 5:11 Certainly not. He wished that others, through knowing their example, should not perish.

147. Nor is it a real act of liberality if you give for the sake of boasting about it, rather than for mercy's sake. Your inner feelings give the name to your acts. As it comes forth from you, so will others regard it. See what a true judge you have! He consults with you how to take up your work, and first of all he questions your mind. Let not, he says, your left hand know what your right hand does. Matthew 6:3 This does not refer to our actual bodies, but means: Let not him who is of one mind with you, not even your brother, know what you do, lest you should lose the fruit of your reward hereafter by seeking here your price in boastfulness. But that liberality is real where a man hides what he does in silence, and secretly assists the needs of individuals, whom the mouth of the poor, and not his own lips, praises.

148. Perfect liberality is proved by its good faith, the case it helps, the time and place when and where it is shown. But first we must always see that we help those of the household of faith. Galatians 6:10 It is a serious fault if a believer is in want, and you know it, or if you know that he is without means, that he is hungry, that he suffer distress, especially if he is

ashamed of his need. It is a great fault if he is overwhelmed by the imprisonment or false accusation of his family, and you do not come to his help. If he is in prison, and — upright though he is — has to suffer pain and punishment for some debt (for though we ought to show mercy to all, yet we ought to show it especially to an upright man); if in the time of his trouble he obtains nothing from you; if in the time of danger, when he is carried off to die, your money seems more to you than the life of a dying man; what a sin is that to you! Wherefore Job says beautifully: Let the blessing of him that was ready to perish come upon me. Job 29:13

149. God, indeed, is not a respecter of persons, for He knows all things. And we, indeed, ought to show mercy to all. But as many try to get help on false pretences, and make out that they are miserably off; therefore where the case is plain and the person well known, and no time is to be lost, mercy ought to be shown more readily. For the Lord is not exacting to demand the utmost. Blessed, indeed, is he who forsakes all and follows Him, but blessed also is he who does what he can to the best of his powers with what he has. The Lord preferred the two mites of the widow to all the gifts of the rich, for she gave all that she had, but they only gave a small part out of all their abundance. Luke 21:3-4 It is the intention, therefore, that makes the gift valuable or poor, and gives to things their value. The Lord does not want us to give away all our goods at once, but to impart them little by little; unless, indeed, our case is like that of Elisha, who killed his oxen, and fed the people on what he had, so that no household cares might hold him back, and that he might give up all things, and devote himself to the prophetic teaching.

150. True liberality also must be tested in this way: that we despise not our nearest relatives, if we know they are in want. For it is better for you to help your kindred who feel the shame of asking help from others, or of going to another to beg assistance in their need. Not, however, that they

should become rich on what you could otherwise give to the poor. It is the facts of the case we must consider, and not personal feeling. You did not dedicate yourself to the Lord on purpose to make your family rich, but that you might win eternal life by the fruit of good works, and atone for your sins by showing mercy. They think perhaps that they are asking but little, but they demand the price you should pay for your sins. They attempt to take away the fruits of your life, and think they are acting rightly. And one accuses you because you have not made him rich, when all the time he wished to cheat you of the reward of eternal life.

151. So far we have given our advice, now let us look for our authority. First, then, no one ought to be ashamed of becoming poor after being rich, if this happens because he gives freely to the poor; for Christ became poor when He was rich, that through His poverty He might enrich all. 2 Corinthians 8:9 He has given us a rule to follow, so that we may give a good account of our reduced inheritance; whoever has stayed the hunger of the poor has lightened his distress. Herein I give my advice, says the Apostle, for this is expedient for you, that you should be followers of Christ. 2 Corinthians 8:10 Advice is given to the good, but warnings restrain the wrong-doers. Again he says, as though to the good: For you have begun not only to do, but also to be willing, a year ago. 2 Corinthians 8:10 Both of these, and not only one, is the mark of perfection. Thus he teaches that liberality without good-will, and good-will without liberality, are neither of them perfect. Wherefore he also urges us on to perfection, saying: 2 Corinthians 8:11-15 Now, therefore, perform the doing of it; that as the will to do it was ready enough in you, so also there may be the will to accomplish it out of that which you have. For if the will be ready, it is accepted according to that a man has, and not according to that he has not. But not so that others should have plenty, and you should be in want: but let there be equality — your abundance must now serve for their want, that

their abundance may serve for your want; that there may be equality, as it is written: He that gathered much had nothing over, and he that gathered little had no lack. Exodus 16:18

152. We notice how the Apostle includes both good-will and liberality, as well as the manner, the fruits of right giving, and the persons concerned. The manner certainly, for he gave advice to those not perfect: For only the imperfect suffer anxiety. But if any priest or other cleric, being unwilling to burden the Church, does not give away all that he has, but does honourably what his office demands, he does not seem to me to be imperfect. I think also that the Apostle here spoke not of anxiety of mind, but rather of domestic troubles.

153. And I think it was with reference to the persons concerned that he said: that your abundance might serve for their want, and their abundance for your want. This means, that the abundance of the people might arouse them to good works, so as to supply the want of food of others; while the spiritual abundance of these latter might assist the want of spiritual merits among the people themselves, and so win them a blessing.

154. Wherefore he gave them an excellent example: He that gathered much had nothing over, and he that gathered little had no lack. That example is a great encouragement to all men to show mercy. For he that possesses much gold has nothing over, for all in this world is as nothing; and he that has little has no lack, for what he loses is nothing already. The whole matter is without loss, for the whole of it is lost already.

155. We can also rightly understand it thus. He that has much, although he does not give away, has nothing over. For however much he gets, he always is in want, because he longs for more. And he who has little has no lack, for it does not cost much to feed the poor. In like manner, too, the poor person that gives spiritual blessings in return for money, although he has

much grace, has nothing over. For grace does not burden the mind, but lightens it.

156. It can further be taken in this way: You, O man, have nothing over! For how much have you really received, though it may seem much to you? John, than whom none was greater among those born of woman, yet was less than he who is least in the kingdom of heaven. Matthew 11:11

157. Or once more. The grace of God is never superabundant, humanly speaking, for it is spiritual. Who can measure its greatness or its breadth, which one cannot see? Faith, if it were as a grain of mustard seed, can transplant mountains — and more than a grain is not granted you. If grace dwelt fully in you, would you not have to fear lest your mind should begin to be elated at so great a gift? For there are many who have fallen more terribly, from spiritual heights, than if they had never received grace at all from the Lord. And he who has little has no lack, for it is not tangible so as to be divided; and what seems little to him that has is much to him that lacks.

158. In giving we must also take into consideration age and weakness; sometimes, also, that natural feeling of shame, which indicates good birth. One ought to give more to the old who can no longer supply themselves with food by labour. So, too, weakness of body must be assisted, and that readily. Again, if any one after being rich has fallen into want, we must assist, especially if he has lost what he had from no sin of his own, but owing to robbery or banishment or false accusation.

159. Perchance some one may say: A blind man sits here in one place, and people pass him by, while a strong young man often has something given him. That is true; for he comes over people by his importunity. That is not because in their judgment he deserves it, but because they are wearied by his begging. For the Lord speaks in the Gospel of him who had already

closed his door; how that when one knocks at his door very violently, he rises and gives what is wanted, because of his importunity. Luke 11:8

CHAPTER 31.

A kindness received should be returned with a freer hand. This is shown by the example of the earth. A passage from Solomon about feasting is adduced to prove the same, and is expounded later in a spiritual sense.

160. It is also right that more regard should be paid to him who has conferred some benefit or gift upon you, if he ever is reduced to want. For what is so contrary to one's duty as not to return what one has received? Nor do I think that a return of equal value should be made, but a greater. One ought to make up for the enjoyment of a kindness one has received from another, to such an extent as to help that person, even to putting an end to his needs. For not to be the better in returning than in conferring a kindness, is to be the inferior; for he who was the first to give was the first in point of time, and also first in showing a kind disposition.

161. Wherefore we must imitate the nature of the earth in this respect, which is wont to return the seed she has received, multiplied a thousand-fold. And so it is written: As a field is the foolish man, and as a vineyard is the man without sense. If you leave him, he will be made desolate. As a field also is the wise man, so as to return the seed given him in fuller measure, as though it had been lent to him on interest. The earth either produces fruits of its own accord, or pays back and restores, what it was entrusted with, in fruitful abundance. In both these ways a return is due from you, when you enter upon the use of your father's possession, that you may not be left to lie as an unfruitful field. It may be that a man can make an excuse for not giving anything, but how can he excuse himself for not

returning what was given? It is hardly right not to give anything; it is certainly not right to make no return for kindness done to oneself.

162. Therefore Solomon says well: When you sit to eat at the table of a ruler consider diligently what is before you, and put forth your hand, knowing that it behooves you to make such preparations. But if you are insatiable, be not desirous of his dainties, for they have but a deceptive life. I have written these words as I wish that we all should follow them. It is a good thing to do a service, but he who knows not how to return one is very hard. The earth herself supplies an example of kindliness. She provides fruits of her own accord, which thou did not sow; she also returns many-fold what she has received. It is not right for you to deny knowledge of money paid in to you, and how can it be right to let a service done go without notice? In the book of Proverbs also it is said: that the repayment of kindness has such great power with God, that through it, even in the day of destruction, a man may find grace, though his sins outweigh all else. And why need I bring forward other examples when the Lord Himself promises in the Gospel a fuller reward to the merits of the saints, and exhorts us to do good works, saying: Forgive, and you shall be forgiven; give, and it shall be given unto you; good measure, shaken together and running over, shall men give into your bosom. Luke 6:37-38

163. But the feasting that Solomon speaks of has not to do with common food only, but it is to be understood as having to do with good works. For how can the soul be feasted in better wise than on good works; or what can so easily fill the mind of the just as the knowledge of a good work done? What pleasanter food is there than to do the will of God? The Lord has told us that He had this food alone in abundance, as it is written in the Gospel, saying: My food is to do the will of My Father which is in heaven. John 4:34

164. In this food let us delight of which the prophet says: Delight in the Lord. Psalm 37:4 In this food they delight, who have with wonderful knowledge learned to take in the higher delights; who can know what that delight is which is pure and which can be understood by the mind. Let us therefore eat the bread of wisdom, and let us be filled with the word of God. For the life of man made in the image of God consists not in bread alone, but in every word that comes from God. Matthew 4:4 About the cup, too, holy Job says, plainly enough: As the earth waits for the rain, so did they for my words. Job 29:23

CHAPTER 32.

After saying what return must be made for the service of the above-mentioned feast, various reasons for repaying kindness are enumerated. Then he speaks in praise of good-will, on its results and its order.

165. IT IS therefore a good thing for us to be bedewed with the exhortations of the divine Scriptures, and that the word of God should come down upon us like the dew. When, therefore, you sit at the table of that great man, understand who that great man is. Set in the paradise of delight and placed at the feast of wisdom, think of what is put before you! The divine Scriptures are the feast of wisdom, and the single books the various dishes. Know, first, what dishes the banquet offers, then stretch forth your hand, that those things which you read, or which you receive from the Lord your God, you may carry out in action, and so by your duties may show forth the grace that was granted you. Such was the case with Peter and Paul, who in preaching the Gospel made some return to Him Who freely gave them all things. So that each of them might say: By the grace of God I am what I am, and His grace in me was not in vain, but I laboured more abundantly than they all. 1 Corinthians 15:10

166. One repays the fruit of a service done him, and repays it, gold with gold, silver with silver. Another gives his labour. Another — and I do not know whether he does not do it in fuller measure — gives but the best wishes of his heart. But what if there is no opportunity to make a return at hand? If we wish to return a kindness, more depends on the spirit in which we do it than on the amount of our property, while people will think more of our good-will, than of our power to make a full return. For a kindness done

is regarded in the light of what one has. A great thing, therefore, is good-will. For even if it has nothing to give, yet it offers the more, and though there is nothing in its own possession, yet it gives largely to many, and does that, too, without loss to itself, and to the gain of the many. Thus good-will is better than liberality itself. It is richer in character than the other is in gifts; for there are more that need a kindness than there are that have abundance.

167. But good-will also goes in conjunction with liberality, for liberality really starts from it, seeing that the habit of giving comes after the desire to give. It exists, however, also separate and distinct. For where liberality is wanting, there good-will abides — the parent as it were of all in common, uniting and binding friendships together. It is faithful in counsel, joyful in times of prosperity, and in times of sorrow sad. So it happens that any one trusts himself to the counsels of a man of good-will rather than to those of a wise one, as David did. For he, though he was the more farseeing, agreed to the counsels of Jonathan, who was the younger. Remove good-will out of the reach of men, and it is as though one had withdrawn the sun from the world. For without it men would no longer care to show the way to the stranger, to recall the wanderer, to show hospitality (this latter is no small virtue, for on this point Job praised himself, when he said: At my doors the stranger dwelt not, my gate was open to every one who came), Job 31:32 nor even to give water from the water that flows at their door, or to light another's candle at their own. Thus good-will exists in all these, like a fount of waters refreshing the thirsty, and like a light, which, shining forth to others, fails not them who have given a light to others from their own light.

168. There is also liberality springing from good-will, that makes one tear up the bond of a debtor which one holds, without demanding any of the debt back from him. Holy Job bids us act thus by his own example. For he that has does not borrow, but he that has not does not put an end to the

agreement. Why, then, if you have no need, do you save up for greedy heirs what you can give back immediately, and so get praise for good-will, and that without loss of money?

169. To go to the root of the matter — good-will starts first with those at home, that is with children, parents, brothers, and goes on from one step to another throughout the world. Having started from Paradise, it has filled the world. For God set the feeling of good-will in the man and woman, saying: They shall be one flesh, Genesis 2:24 and (one may add) one spirit. Wherefore Eve also believed the serpent; for she who had received the gift of good-will did not think there was ill-will.

CHAPTER 33.

Good-will exists especially in the Church, and nourishes kindred virtues.

170. GOOD-WILL EXPANDS in the body of the Church, by fellowship in faith, by the bond of baptism, by kinship through grace received, by communion in the mysteries. For all these bonds claim for themselves the name of intimacy, the reverence of children, the authority and religious care of parents, the relationship of brothers. Therefore the bonds of grace clearly point to an increase of good-will.

171. The desire to attain to like virtues also stands one in good stead; just as again good-will brings about a likeness in character. For Jonathan the king's son imitated the gentleness of holy David, because he loved him. Wherefore those words: With the holy you shall be holy, seem not only to be concerned with our ordinary intercourse, but also to have some connection with good-will. The sons of Noah indeed dwelt together, and yet their characters were not at all alike. Esau and Jacob also dwelt together in their father's house, but were very unlike. There was, however, no good-will between them to make the one prefer the other to himself, but rather a rivalry as to which should first get the blessing. Since one was so hard, and the other gentle, good-will could not exist as between such different characters and conflicting desires. Add to this the fact that holy Jacob could not prefer the unworthy in son of his father's house to virtue.

172. But nothing is so harmonious as justice and impartiality. For this, as the comrade and ally of good-will, makes us love those whom we think to be like ourselves. Again, good-will contains also in itself fortitude. For when friendship springs from the fount of good-will it does not hesitate to

endure the great dangers of life for a friend. If evils come to me through him, it says, I will bear them. Sirach 23:31

CHAPTER 34.

Some other advantages of goodwill are here enumerated.

173. GOOD-WILL ALSO is wont to remove the sword of anger. It is also good-will that makes the wounds of a friend to be better than the willing kisses of an enemy. Proverbs 27:6 Goodwill again makes many to become one. For if many are friends, they become one; in whom there is but one spirit and one opinion. We note, too, that in friendship corrections are pleasing. They have their sting, but they cause no pain. We are pierced by the words of blame, but are delighted with the anxiety that good-will shows.

174. To conclude, the same duties are not owed to all. Nor is regard ever paid to persons, though the occasion and the circumstances of the case are generally taken into consideration, so that one may at times have to help a neighbour rather than one's brother. For Solomon also says: Better is a neighbour that is near than a brother far off. Proverbs 27:10 For this reason a man generally trusts himself to the good-will of a friend rather than to the ties of relationship with his brother. So far does good-will prevail that it often goes beyond the pledges given by nature.

CHAPTER 35.

On fortitude. This is divided into two parts: as it concerns matters of war and matters at home. The first cannot be a virtue unless combined with justice and prudence. The other depends to a large extent upon endurance.

175. WE HAVE discussed fully enough the nature and force of what is virtuous from the standpoint of justice. Now let us discuss fortitude, which (being a loftier virtue than the rest) is divided into two parts, as it concerns matters of war and matters at home. But the thought of warlike matters seems to be foreign to the duty of our office, for we have our thoughts fixed more on the duty of the soul than on that of the body; nor is it our business to look to arms, but rather to the affairs of peace. Our fathers, however, as Joshua, the son of Nun, Jerubbaal, Samson, and David, gained great glory also in war.

176. Fortitude, therefore, is a loftier virtue than the rest, but it is also one that never stands alone. For it never depends on itself alone. Moreover, fortitude without justice is the source of wickedness. For the stronger it is, the more ready is it to crush the weaker, while in matters of war one ought to see whether the war is just or unjust.

177. David never waged war unless he was driven to it. Thus prudence was combined in him with fortitude in the battle. For even when about to fight single-handed against Goliath, the enormous giant, he rejected the armour with which he was laden. His strength depended more on his own arm than on the weapons of others. Then, at a distance, to get a stronger throw, with one cast of a stone, he slew his enemy. After that he never entered on a war without seeking counsel of the Lord. Thus he was

victorious in all wars, and even to his last years was ready to fight. And when war arose with the Philistines, he joined battle with their fierce troops, being desirous of winning renown, while careless of his own safety.

178. But this is not the only kind of fortitude which is worthy of note. We consider their fortitude glorious, who, with greatness of mind, through faith stopped the mouth of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong. Hebrews 11:33-34 They did not gain a victory in common with many, surrounded with comrades, and aided by the legions, but won their triumph alone over their treacherous foes by the mere courage of their own souls. How unconquerable was Daniel, who feared not the lions raging round about him. The beasts roared, while he was eating.

CHAPTER 36.

One of the duties of fortitude is to keep the weak from receiving injury; another, to check the wrong motions of our own souls; a third, both to disregard humiliations, and to do what is right with an even mind. All these clearly ought to be fulfilled by all Christians, and especially by the clergy.

179. THE GLORY of fortitude, therefore, does not rest only on the strength of one's body or of one's arms, but rather on the courage of the mind. Nor is the law of courage exercised in causing, but in driving away all harm. He who does not keep harm off a friend, if he can, is as much in fault as he who causes it. Wherefore holy Moses gave this as a first proof of his fortitude in war. For when he saw an Hebrew receiving hard treatment at the hands of an Egyptian, he defended him, and laid low the Egyptian and hid him in the sand. Exodus 2:11 Solomon also says: Deliver him that is led to death. Proverbs 24:11

180. From whence, then, Cicero and Panætius, or even Aristotle, got these ideas is perfectly clear. For though living before these two, Job had said: I delivered the poor out of the hand of the strong, and I aided the fatherless for whom there was no helper. Let the blessing of him that was ready to perish come upon me. Job 29:12-13 Was not he most brave in that he bore so nobly the attacks of the devil, and overcame him with the powers of his mind? Nor have we cause to doubt the fortitude of him to whom the Lord said: Gird up your loins like a man. Put on loftiness and power. Humble every one that does wrong. The Apostle also says: You have a strong consolation. Hebrews 6:18 He, then, is brave who finds consolation in any grief.

181. And in very truth, rightly is that called fortitude, when a man conquers himself, restrains his anger, yields and gives way to no allurements, is not put out by misfortunes, nor gets elated by good success, and does not get carried away by every varying change as by some chance wind. But what is more noble and splendid than to train the mind, keep down the flesh, and reduce it to subjection, so that it may obey commands, listen to reason, and in undergoing labours readily carry out the intention and wish of the mind?

182. This, then, is the first notion of fortitude. For fortitude of the mind can be regarded in two ways. First, as it counts all externals as very unimportant, and looks on them as rather superfluous and to be despised than to be sought after. Secondly, as it strives after those things which are the highest, and all things in which one can see anything moral (or as the Greeks call it, πρέπον,) with all the powers of the mind. For what can be more noble than to train your mind so as not to place a high value on riches and pleasures and honours, nor to waste all your care on these? When your mind is thus disposed, you must consider how all that is virtuous and seemly must be placed before everything else; and you must so fix your mind upon that, that if anything happens which may break your spirit, whether loss of property, or the reception of fewer honours, or the disparagement of unbelievers, you may not feel it, as though thou were above such things; nay, so that even dangers which menace your safety, if undertaken at the call of justice, may not trouble you.

183. This is the true fortitude which Christ's warrior has, who receives not the crown unless he strives lawfully. 2 Timothy 2:5 Or does that call to fortitude seem to you but a poor one: Tribulation works patience, and patience, experience, and experience, hope? Romans 5:3-4 See how many a contest there is, yet but one crown! That call none gives, but he who was strengthened in Christ Jesus, and whose flesh had no rest. Affliction on all

sides, fighting without and fears within. 2 Corinthians 7:5 And though in dangers, in countless labours, in prisons, in deaths — he was not broken in spirit, but fought so as to become more powerful through his infirmities.

184. Think, then, how he teaches those who enter upon their duties in the Church, that they ought to have contempt for all earthly things: If, then, you be dead with Christ from the elements of this world, why do ye act as though living in the world? Touch not, taste not, handle not, which all are to perish with the using. And further: If you then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, not those things which are on the earth. Colossians 3:1-2 And again: Mortify, therefore, your members which are on the earth. Colossians 3:5 This, indeed, is meant for all the faithful. But you, especially, my son, he urges to despise riches and to avoid profane and old wives fables — allowing nothing but this: Exercise yourself unto godliness, for bodily exercise profits a little, but godliness is profitable unto all things. 1 Timothy 4:8

185. Let, then, godliness exercise you unto justice, continence, gentleness, that you may avoid childish acts, and that rooted and grounded in grace you may fight the good fight of faith. 1 Timothy 6:12 Entangle not yourself in the affairs of this life, for you are fighting for God. 2 Timothy 2:4 For if he who fights for the emperor is forbidden by human laws to enter upon lawsuits, to do any legal business, or to sell merchandise; how much more ought he who enters upon the warfare of faith to keep from every kind of business, being satisfied with the produce of his own little bit of land, if he has it? If he has not that, let him be content with the pay he will get for his service. Here is a good witness to this fact, who says: I have been young and now am old, yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread. That is the true rest and temperance of the mind which is not excited by the desire of gain, nor tormented by the fear of want.

CHAPTER 37.

An even mind should be preserved in adversity as well as in prosperity. However, evil things must be avoided.

186. THERE IS also that true freedom of the mind from vexation which makes us neither give way too much in our griefs, nor be too elated in prosperity. And if they who urge men to undertake the affairs of the state give such rules, how much more ought we who are called to do duty in the Church, to act thus and do those things which are pleasing to God, so that Christ's power may show itself forth in us. We too must prove ourselves to our Captain, so that our members may be the weapons of justice; not carnal weapons in which sin may reign, but weapons strong for God, whereby sin may be destroyed. Let our flesh die, that in it every sin may die. And as though living again after death, may we rise to new works and a new life.

187. These, then, are the services of fortitude; and full they are of virtuous and seemly duties. But in all that we do we must look to see, not only if it is virtuous, but whether it is possible, so that we may not enter upon anything that we cannot carry out. Wherefore the Lord, to use His own word, wills us to flee in the time of persecution from one city to another; Matthew 10:23 so that no one, while longing for the crown of martyrdom, may put himself in the way of dangers which possibly the weak flesh or a mind indulged could not bear and endure.

CHAPTER 38.

We must strengthen the mind against troubles to come, and build it up by looking out for them beforehand. What difficulties there are in doing this.

188. BUT AGAIN, no one must retire through cowardice, or give up his faith from fear of danger. With what grace must the soul be equipped, and the mind trained and taught to stand firm, so as never to be disturbed by any fears, to be broken by any troubles, or to yield to any torments! With what difficulty indeed are they borne! But as all pains seem less in the fear of greater pains, so also, if you build up your soul by quiet counsel, and determine not to go from your course, and lay before you the fear of divine judgment and the torment of eternal punishment, can you gain endurance of mind.

189. If a man thus prepares himself, he gives signs of great diligence. On the other hand it is a sign of natural ability, if a man by the power of his mind can foresee the future, and put as it were before his eyes what may happen, and decide what he ought to do if it should take place. It may happen, too, that he will think over two or three things at once, which he supposes may come either singly or together, and that he settles what he will do with them as he thinks will be to the most advantage, in the event of their coming either singly or together.

200. Therefore it is the duty of a brave man not to shut his eyes when anything threatens, but to put it before him and to search it out as it were in the mirror of his mind, and to meet the future with foreseeing thought, for fear he might afterwards have to say: This has come to me because I thought it could not come about. If misfortunes are not looked for

beforehand, they quickly get a hold over us. In war an unexpected enemy is with difficulty resisted, and if he finds the others unprepared, he easily overcomes them; so evils unthought of readily break down the soul.

200. In these two points, then, consists the excellency of the soul: so that your soul, trained in good thoughts, and with a pure heart, first, may see what is true and virtuous (for blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God), Matthew 5:8 and may decide that only to be good which is virtuous; and, next, may never be disturbed by business of any kind, nor get tossed about by any desires.

201. Not that this is an easy thing for any one. For what is so difficult as to discern, as though from some watchtower, the resources of wisdom and all those other things, which to most seem so great and noble? Again, what so difficult as to place one's decision on fixed grounds, and to despise what one has decided to be worthless, as of no good? Or, once more, what so difficult, when some misfortune has happened, and it is looked on as something serious and grieving, as to bear it in such a way that one considers it nothing beyond what is natural, when one reads: Naked was I born, naked shall I go forth. What the Lord gave, the Lord has taken away Job 1:21 (he who said this had lost children and possessions), and to preserve in all things the character of a wise and upright man, as he did who says: As the Lord pleased, so did He. Blessed be the name of the Lord. Job 1:21 And again: You speak as one of the foolish women speaks. Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil? Job 2:10

CHAPTER 39.

One must show fortitude in fighting against all vices, especially against avarice. Holy Job teaches this lesson.

202. FORTITUDE OF soul, then, is not an unimportant thing, nor is it cut off from the other virtues, for it wages war in conjunction with the virtues, and alone defends the beauty of all the virtues, and guards their powers of discernment, and fights against all vices with implacable hate. It is unconquerable as regards labours, brave to endure dangers, stern as against pleasures, hardened against allurements, to which it knows not how to lend an ear, nor, so to speak, to give a greeting. It cares not for money, and flies from avarice as from a plague that destroys all virtue. For nothing is so much opposed to fortitude as when one allows oneself to be overcome by gain. Often when the enemy is repulsed and the hosts of the foe are turned to flight, has the warrior died miserably among those whom he has laid low, while he is busy with the spoils of the fallen; and the legions, while busy with their booty, have called back upon them the enemy that had fled, and so have been robbed of their triumph.

203. Fortitude, then, must repulse so foul a plague and crush it down. It must not let itself be tempted by desires, nor shaken by fear. Virtue stands true to itself and bravely pursues all vices as though they were the poison of virtue. It must repel anger as it were with arms, for it removes counsel far off. It must avoid it as though it were some severe sickness. It must further be on its guard against a desire for glory, which often has done harm when sought for too anxiously, and always when it has been once attained.

204. What of all this was wanting in holy Job, or in his virtue, or what came upon him in the way of vice? How did he bear the distress of sickness or cold or hunger? How did he look upon the dangers which menaced his safety? Were the riches from which so much went to the poor gathered together by plunder? Did he ever allow greed for wealth, or the desire for pleasures, or lusts to rise in his heart? Did ever the unkind disputes of the three princes, or the insults of the slaves, rouse him to anger? Did glory carry him away like some fickle person when he called down vengeance on himself if ever he had hidden even an involuntary fault, or had feared the multitude of the people so as not to confess it in the sight of all? His virtues had no point of contact with any vices, but stood firm on their own ground. Who, then, was so brave as holy Job? How can he be put second to any, on whose level hardly one like himself can be placed?

CHAPTER 40.

Courage in war was not wanting in our forefathers, as is shown by the example of the men of old, especially by the glorious deed of Eleazar.

205. BUT PERHAPS renown in war keeps some so bound to itself as to make them think that fortitude is to be found in battle alone, and that therefore I had gone aside to speak of these things, because that was wanting in us. But how brave was Joshua the Son of Nun, who in one battle laid low five kings together with their people! Joshua x Again, when he fought against the Gibeonites and feared that night might stop him from gaining the victory, he called out with deep faith and high spirit: Joshua 10:12 Let the sun stand still; and it stood still until the victory was complete. Gideon with three hundred men gained a triumph over a great nation and a cruel foe. Judges vii Jonathan when a young man showed great courage in battle, and what shall I say about the Maccabees?

206. First, I will speak of the people of our fathers. They were ready to fight for the temple of God and for their rights, and when attacked on the Sabbath day by the craft of the enemy, willingly allowed wounds to be inflicted on their unprotected bodies, rather than to join in the fight, so that they might not defile the Sabbath. They all gladly gave themselves up to death. But the Maccabees thinking that then all the nation would perish, on the Sabbath also, when they were challenged to fight, took vengeance for the death of their innocent brethren. And afterwards when he had been roused by this to fresh exertions, King Antiochus, having begun the war afresh under the leadership of his generals Lysias, Nicanor, and Georgias,

was so utterly crushed, together with his Eastern and Assyrian forces, that he left 48,000 lying on the battlefield, slain by an army of but 3,000 men.

207. Mark the courage of the leader, Judas Maccabæus, as exemplified in the character of one of his soldiers. Eleazar, 1 Maccabbees 6:43 meeting with an elephant higher than all the rest, and with all the royal trappings upon it, and thinking that the king was on it, ran hastily and threw himself into the midst of the legion; and, casting away his shield, with both hands he slew those opposed to him until he reached the beast. Then he got beneath it, thrust in his sword and slew it. But the beast in falling crushed Eleazar and so killed him. What courage of mind was his then, first, in that he feared not death, next because, when surrounded by enemies, he was carried by it into the thickest of his foes and penetrated the very centre! Then, despising death, and casting away his shield, he ran beneath the huge beast, wounded it with both his hands, and let it fall upon him. He ran beneath it so as to give a more deadly blow. Enclosed by its fall, rather than crushed, he was buried in his own triumph.

208. Nor was he deceived in his intention though he was deceived by the royal ornaments. For the enemy, startled at such an exhibition of valour, dared not rush upon this single unarmed man, held fast though he was. They were so terrified after the mischance of the slaughter of the beast, that they considered themselves altogether unequal to the valour of one. Nay, King Antiochus, son of Lysias, terrified at the fortitude of one, asked for peace. He had come to the war with 120,000 armed men and with 32 elephants, which glittered and gleamed with the sheen of arms like a line of burning lamps, as the sun rose upon them, marching along one by one, like very mountains for size. Thus Eleazar left peace as the heir of his courage. These are the signs of triumphs.

CHAPTER 41.

After praising Judas' and Jonathan's loftiness of mind, the constancy of the martyrs in their endurance of tortures, which is no small part of fortitude, is next brought before us.

209. BUT AS fortitude is proved not only by prosperity but also in adversity, let us now consider the death of Judas Maccabæus. For he, after Nicanor, the general of King Demetrius, was defeated, boldly engaged 20,000 of the king's army with 900 men who were anxious to retire for fear of being overcome by so great a multitude, but whom he persuaded to endure a glorious death rather than to retire in disgraceful flight. Let us not leave, he says, any stain upon our glory. Thus, then, engaging in battle after having fought from sunrise till evening, he attacks and quickly drives back the right wing, where he sees the strongest troop of the enemy to be. But while pursuing the fugitives from the rear he gave a chance for a wound to be inflicted. 1 Maccabbees 9:8 Thus he found the spot of death more full of glory for himself than any triumph.

210. Why need I further mention his brother Jonathan, who fought against the king's force, with but a small troo Maccabbees 11:68 Though forsaken by his men, and left with only two, he retrieved the battle, drove back the enemy, and recalled his own men, who were flying in every direction, to share in his triumph.

211. Here, then, is fortitude in war, which bears no light impress of what is virtuous and seemly upon it, for it prefers death to slavery and disgrace. But what am I to say of the sufferings of the martyrs? Not to go too far abroad, did not the children of Maccabæus gain triumphs over the proud

King Antiochus, as great as those of their fathers? The latter in truth were armed, but they conquered without arms. The company of the seven brothers stood unconquered, though surrounded by the legions of the king — tortures failed, tormentors ceased; but the martyrs failed not. One, having had the skin of his head pulled off, though changed in appearance, grew in courage. Another, bidden to put forth his tongue, so that it might be cut off, answered: The Lord hears not only those who speak, for He heard Moses when silent. He hears better the silent thoughts of His own than the voice of all others. Do you fear the scourge of my tongue — and do you not fear the scourge of blood spilled upon the ground? Blood, too, has a voice whereby it cries aloud to God — as it did in the case of Abel.

212. What shall I say of the mother 2 Maccabbees 7:20 who with joy looked on the corpses of her children as so many trophies, and found delight in the voices of her dying sons, as though in the songs of singers, noting in her children the tones of the glorious harp of her own heart, and a sweeter harmony of love than any strain of the lute could give?

213. What shall I say of those two-year-old children of Bethlehem, Matthew 2:16 who received the palm of victory before they felt their natural life within them? What of St. Agnes, who when in danger as regards two great matters, that is, chastity and life, protected her chastity and exchanged life for immortality?

214. And let us not pass by St. Lawrence, who, seeing Xystus his bishop led to martyrdom, began to weep, not at his sufferings but at the fact that he himself was to remain behind. With these words he began to address him: Where, father, are you going without your son? Where, holy priest, are you hastening without your deacon? Never were you wont to offer sacrifice without an attendant. What are you displeased at in me, my father? Have you found me unworthy? Prove, then, whether you have chosen a fitting servant. To him to whom you have entrusted the consecration of the

Saviour's blood, to whom you have granted fellowship in partaking of the Sacraments, to him do you refuse a part in your death? Beware lest your good judgment be endangered, while your fortitude receives its praise. The rejection of a pupil is the loss of the teacher; or how is it that noble and illustrious men gain the victory in the contests of their scholars rather than in their own? Abraham offered his son, Peter sent Stephen on before him! Father, show forth your courage in your son. Offer me whom you have trained, that you, confident in your choice of me, may reach the crown in worthy company.

215. Then Xystus said: I leave you not nor forsake you. Greater struggles yet await you. We as old men have to undergo an easier fight; a more glorious triumph over the tyrant awaits you, a young man. Soon shall you come. Cease weeping; after three days you shall follow me. This interval must come between the priest and his levite. It was not for you to conquer under the eye of your master, as though you needed a helper. Why do you seek to share in my death? I leave to you its full inheritance. Why do you need my presence? Let the weak disciples go before their master, let the brave follow him, that they may conquer without him. For they no longer need his guidance. So Elijah left Elisha. To you I entrust the full succession to my own courage.

216. Such was their contention, and surely a worthy one, wherein priest and attendant strove as to who should be the first to suffer for the name of Christ. When that tragic piece is played, it is said there is great applause in the theatre as Pylades says he is Orestes, while Orestes declares that he is really himself. The former acted as he did, that he might die for Orestes, and Orestes, that he might not allow Pylades to be slain instead of himself. But it was not right that they should live, for each of them was guilty of parricide, the one because he had committed the crime, the other because he had helped in its commission. But here there was nothing to call holy

Lawrence to act thus but his love and devotion. However, after three days he was placed upon the gridiron by the tyrant whom he mocked, and was burnt. He said: The flesh is roasted, turn it and eat. So by the courage of his mind he overcame the power of fire.

CHAPTER 42.

The powers that be are not needlessly to be irritated. One must not lend one's ears to flattery.

217. I THINK we must take care, lest in being led on by too great a desire for glory, we should abuse the powers that be, and arouse the minds of the heathen, who are opposed to us, to desire persecution, and excite them to anger. How many do some cause to perish, that they themselves may continue to the end, and overcome their tortures!

218. We must also look to it that we do not open our ears to flatterers. To allow oneself to be smoothed down by flattery seems to be a sign not only of want of fortitude, but a sign of actual cowardice.

CHAPTER 43.

On temperance and its chief parts, especially tranquillity of mind and moderation, care for what is virtuous, and reflection on what is seemly.

219. AS WE have spoken of three of the virtues, there remains but the fourth for us to speak of. This is called temperance and moderation; wherein, before all else, tranquillity of mind, the attainment of gentleness, the grace of moderation, regard for what is virtuous, and reflection on what is seemly are sought and looked for.

220. We must keep to a certain order in life, so that a foundation may be laid with our first feelings of modesty, for that is the friend and ally of calmness of mind. Avoiding over-confidence, averse to all excess, it loves sobriety, guards what is honourable, and seeks only what is seemly.

221. Let choice of intercourse come next. Let us link ourselves with older men of approved goodness. For as the companionship of people of our own age is the pleasanter, so that of our elders is the safer. By their guidance and the conduct of their lives they give color to the character of younger men, and tinge them as it were with the deep purple of probity. For if they who are ignorant of a locality are very glad to take a journey in the company of skilled guides, how much more ought young men to enter on the path of life, which is new to them, in the company of old men; so that they may not go wrong, and turn aside from the true path of virtue. For nothing is better than to have the same men both to direct us in life, and also to be witnesses of how we live.

222. One must also in every action consider what is suitable for different persons, times, and ages, and what will also be in accordance with the

abilities of individuals. For often what befits one does not befit another; one thing suits a youth, another an old man; one thing does in danger, another in good fortune.

223. David danced before the ark of the Lord. Samuel did not dance; yet David was not blamed, while the other was praised. David changed his countenance before the king, whose name was Achish. 1 Samuel 21:13 If he had done this without any fear of being recognized, he would certainly not have escaped the charge of levity. Saul also, surrounded by the company of prophets, himself prophesied. Yet of him alone, as though he were unworthy, was it said: Is Saul also among the prophets? 1 Samuel 19:24

CHAPTER 44.

Every one ought to apply himself to the duties suited to his character. Many, however, are hindered by following their fathers' pursuits. Clerics act in a different way.

224. EACH ONE knows his own powers. Therefore let each one apply himself to that which he has chosen as suitable to himself. But he must first consider what will be the consequences. He may know his good points, but he must know his faults also. He must also be a fair judge of himself, so as to aim at what is good and avoid what is bad.

225. One is more fitted for the post of reader, another does better for the singing, a third is more solicitous for exorcising those possessed with an evil spirit, another, again, is held to be more suited to have the charge of the sacred things. All these things a priest should look at. He should give each one that particular duty for which he is best fitted. For whither each one's bent of mind leads him, or whatever duty befits him, that position or duty is filled with greater grace.

226. But as this is a difficult matter in every state of life, so in our case it is most difficult. For each one is wont to follow his parent's choice in life. Thus those whose fathers were in the army generally enter the army too. And others do the same with regard to the different professions.

227. In the clerical office, however, nothing is more rare than to find a man to follow his father's footsteps, either because the difficulties of the work hold him back, or continence in the uncertain days of youth is too difficult to hold to, or the life seems to be too quiet for the activity of youth. So they turn to those pursuits which are thought to be more showy. Most,

indeed, prefer the present to the future. They are fighting for the present, we for the future. Wherefore it follows that the greater the cause in which we are engaged, the more must our attention be devoted to it.

CHAPTER 45.

On what is noble and virtuous, and what the difference between them is, as stated both in the profane and sacred writers.

228. LET US then hold fast modesty, and that moderation which adds to the beauty of the whole of life. For it is no light thing in every matter to preserve due measure and to bring about order, wherein that is plainly conspicuous which we call decorum, or what is seemly. This is so closely connected with what is virtuous, that one cannot separate the two. For what is seemly is also virtuous — and what is virtuous is seemly. So that the distinction lies rather in the words than in the things themselves. That there is a difference between them we can understand, but we cannot explain it.

229. To make an attempt to get some sort of a distinction between them, we may say that what is virtuous may be compared to the good health and soundness of the body, while what is seemly is, as it were, its comeliness and beauty. And as beauty seems to stand above soundness and health, and yet cannot exist without them, nor be separated from them in any way — for unless one has good health, one cannot have beauty and comeliness — so what is virtuous contains in itself also what is seemly, so as to seem to start with it, and to be unable to exist without it. What is virtuous, then, is like soundness in all our work and undertaking; what is seemly is, as it were, the outward appearance, which, when joined with what is virtuous, can only be known apart in our thoughts. For though in some cases it seems to stand out conspicuous, yet it has its root in what is virtuous, though the flower is its own. Rooted in this, it flourishes; otherwise it fails and droops. For what is virtue, but to avoid anything shameful as though it were death?

And what is the opposite of virtue, except that which brings barrenness and death? If, then, the essence of virtue is strong and vigorous, seemliness will also quickly spring forth like a flower, for its root is sound. But if the root of its purpose is corrupt, nothing will grow out of it.

230. In our writings this is put somewhat more plainly. For David says: The Lord reigns, He is clothed with splendour. And the Apostle says: Walk honestly as in the day. Romans 13:13 The Greek text has ευσχημόνως — and this really means: with good clothing, with a good appearance. When God made the first man, He created him with a good figure, with limbs well set, and gave him a very noble appearance. He had not given him remission of sins. But afterwards He, Who came in the form of a servant, and in the likeness of man, renewed him with His Spirit, and poured His grace into his heart, and put on Himself the splendour of the redemption of the human race. Therefore the Prophet said: The Lord reigns, He is clothed with splendour. And again he says: A hymn beseems You, O God, in Sion. That is: It is right and good to fear You, to love You, to pray to You, to honour You, for it is written: Let all things be done decently and in order. 1 Corinthians 14:40 But we can also fear, love, ask, honour men; yet the hymn especially is addressed to God. This seemliness which we offer to God we may believe to be far better than other things. It befits also a woman to pray in an orderly dress, 1 Timothy 2:9-10 but it especially beseems her to pray covered, and to pray giving promise of purity together with a good conversation.

CHAPTER 46.

A twofold division of what is seemly is given. Next it is shown that what is according to nature is virtuous, and what is otherwise must be looked on as shameful. This division is explained by examples.

231. SEEMLINESS, THEREFORE, which stands conspicuous has a twofold division. For there is what we may call a general seemliness, which is diffused through all that is virtuous, and is seen, as one may say, in the whole body. It is also individual, and shows itself clearly in some particular part. The first has a consistent form and the perfection of what is virtuous harmonizing in every action. For all its life is consistent with itself, and there is no discrepancy in anything. The other is concerned when there is any special action done in a virtuous course of life.

232. At the same time let us note that it is seemly to live in accordance with nature, and to pass our time in accordance with it, and that whatever is contrary to nature is shameful. For the Apostle asks: Is it comely that a woman pray unto God uncovered; does not nature itself teach you that if a man have long hair, it is a shame unto him? For it is contrary to nature. And again he says: If a woman have long hair, it is a glory unto her. 1 Corinthians 11:13-14 It is according to nature, since her hair is given her for a veil, for it is a natural veil. Thus nature arranges for us both character and appearance, and we ought to observe her directions. Would that we could guard her innocence, and not change what we have received by our wickedness!

233. We have that general seemliness; for God made the beauty of this world. We have it also in its parts; for when God made the light, and

marked off the day from the night, when He made heaven, and separated land and seas, when He set the sun and moon and stars to shine on the earth, He approved of them all one by one. Therefore this comeliness, which shone forth in each single part of the world, was resplendent in the whole, as the Book of Wisdom shows, saying: I existed, in whom He rejoiced when He was glad at the completion of the world. Likewise also in the building up of the human body each single member is pleasing, but the right adjustment of the members all together delights us far more. For thus they seem to be united and fitted in one harmonious whole.

CHAPTER 47.

What is seemly should always shine forth in our life. What passions, then, ought we to allow to come to a head, and which should we restrain?

234. IF ANY one preserves an even tenor in the whole of life, and method in all that he does, and sees there is order and consistency in his words and moderation in his deeds, then what is seemly stands forth conspicuous in his life and shines forth as in some mirror.

235. There should be besides a pleasant way of speaking, so that we may win the good-will of those who hear us, and make ourselves agreeable to all our friends and fellow citizens, if possible. Let none show himself to be given to flattery, nor to be desirous of flattery from any one. The one is a mark of artfulness, the other of vanity.

236. Let no one ever look down on what another, least of all a good man, thinks of him, for thus he learns to give regard to the good. For to disregard the judgment of good men is a sign of conceitedness or of weakness. One of these arises from pride, the other from carelessness.

237. We must also guard against the motions of our soul. The soul must always watch and look after itself, so as to guard itself against itself. For there are motions in which there is a kind of passion that breaks forth as it were in a sort of rush. Wherefore in Greek it is called ὁρμή, because it comes out suddenly with some force. In these there lies no slight force of soul or of nature. Its force, however, is twofold: on the one side it rests on passion, on the other on reason, which checks passion, and makes it obedient to itself, and leads it whither it will; and trains it by careful

teaching to know what ought to be done, and what ought to be avoided, so as to make it submit to its kind tamer.

238. For we ought to be careful never to do anything rashly or carelessly, or anything at all for which we cannot give a reasonable ground. For though a reason for our action is not given to every one, yet everybody looks into it. Nor, indeed, have we anything whereby we can excuse ourselves. For though there is a sort of natural force in every passion of ours, yet that same passion is subject to reason by the law of nature itself, and is obedient to it. Wherefore it is the duty of a careful watchman so to keep a lookout, that passion may not outrun reason nor utterly forsake it, lest by outstripping it confusion be caused, and reason be shut out, and come to nothing by such desertion. Disquiet destroys consistency. Withdrawal shows cowardice and implies indolence. For when the mind is disquieted passion spreads wide and far, and in a fierce outburst endures not the reins of reason and feels not the management of its driver so as to be turned back. Wherefore as a rule not only is the soul perturbed and reason lost, but one's countenance gets inflamed by anger or by lust. it grows pale with fear, it contains not itself in pleasure, and cannot bear joy.

239. When this happens, then that natural judgment and weight of character is cast aside, and that consistency which alone in deed and thought can keep up its own authority and what is seemly, can no longer be retained.

240. But fiercer passion springs from excessive anger, which the pain of some wrong received kindles within us. The monitions of the psalm which forms the opening of our subject instruct us on this point. Beautifully, then, has it come about that, in writing on duties, we used that declaration of our opening passage which also itself has to do with the direction of duty.

241. But since (as was but right) we there only touched upon the matter, as to how each one ought to take care not to be disturbed when wrong is

done him, for fear that our preliminary remarks should run to too great length, I think that I will now discuss it a little more fully. For the occasion is opportune, as we are speaking on the different parts of temperance, to see how anger may be checked.

CHAPTER 48.

The argument for restraining anger is given again. Then the three classes of those who receive wrongs are set forth; to the most perfect of which the Apostle and David are said to have attained. He takes the opportunity to state the difference between this and the future life.

242. WE WISH if we can to point out three classes of men who receive wrongs in holy Scripture. One of these forms the class of those whom the sinner reviles, abuses, rides over rough-shod. And just because justice fails them, shame grows, pain increases. Very many of my own order, of my own number, are like these. For if any one does me, who am weak, an injury, perhaps, though I am weak, I may forgive the wrong done me. If he charges me with an offense I am not such an one as to be content with the witness of my own conscience, although I know I am clear of what he brings against me; but I desire, just because I am weak, to wash out the mark of my inborn shame. Therefore I demand eye for eye, and tooth for tooth, and repay abuse with abuse.

243. If, however, I am one who is advancing, although not yet perfect, I do not return the reproaches; and if he breaks out into abuse, and fills my ears with reproaches, I am silent and do not answer.

244. But if I am perfect (I say this only by way of example, for in truth I am weak), if, then, I am perfect, I bless him that curses me, as Paul also blessed, for he says: Being reviled we bless. 1 Corinthians 4:12 He had heard Him Who says: Love your enemies, pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you. Matthew 5:44 And so Paul suffered persecution and endured it, for he conquered and calmed his human feelings for the sake

of the reward set before him, namely, that he should become a son of God if he loved his enemies.

245. We call show, too, that holy David was like to Paul in this same class of virtue. When the son of Shimei cursed him, and charged him with heavy offenses, at the first he was silent and humbled himself, and was silent even about his good deeds, that is, his knowledge of good works. Then he even asked to be cursed; for when he was cursed he hoped to gain divine pity.

246. But see how he stored up humility and justice and prudence so as to merit grace from the Lord! At first he said: Therefore he cursed me, because the Lord has said to him that he should curse. Here we have humility; for he thought that those things which are divinely ordered were to be endured with an even mind, as though he were but some servant lad. Then he said: Behold my son, which came forth of my bowels, seeks my life. Here we have justice. For if we suffer hard things at the hand of our own family, why are we angry at what is done to us by strangers? Lastly he says: Let him alone that he may curse, for the Lord has bidden him. It may be that the Lord will look on my humiliation and requite me good for this cursing. So he bore not only the abuse, but left the man unpunished when throwing stones and following him. Nay, more, after his victory he freely granted him pardon when he asked for it.

247. I have written this to show that holy David, in true evangelical spirit, was not only not offended, but was even thankful to his abuser, and was delighted rather than angered by his wrongs, for which he thought some return would be granted to him. But, though perfect, he sought something still more perfect. As a man he grew hot at the pain of his wrongs, but like a good soldier he conquered, he endured like a brave wrestler. The end and aim of his patience was the expectation of the fulfilment of the promises, and therefore he said: Lord, make me to know

mine end and the measure of my days, what it is: that I may know what is wanting to me. He seeks, then, that end of the heavenly promises, when each one shall arise in his own order: Christ the firstfruits, then they that are Christ's who have believed in His coming. Then comes the end. 1 Corinthians 15:23 For when the kingdom is delivered up to God, even the Father, and all the powers are put down, as the Apostle says, then perfection begins. Here, then, is the hindrance, here the weakness of the perfect; there full perfection. Thus it is he asks for those days of eternal life which are, and not for those which pass away, so that he may know what is wanting to him, what is the land of promise that bears everlasting fruits, which is the first mansion in his Father's house, which the second, which the third, wherein each one will rest according to his merits.

248. We then must strive for that wherein is perfection and wherein is truth. Here is the shadow, here the image; Hebrews 10:1 there the truth. The shadow is in the law, the image in the Gospel, the truth in heaven. In old times a lamb, a Calf was offered; now Christ is offered. But He is offered as man and as enduring suffering. And He offers Himself as a priest to take away our sins, here in an image, there in truth, where with the Father He intercedes for us as our Advocate. Here, then, we walk in an image, we see in an image; there face to face where is full perfection. For all perfection rests in the truth.

CHAPTER 49.

We must reserve the likeness of the virtues in ourselves. The likeness of the devil and of vice must be got rid of, and especially that of avarice; for this deprives us of liberty, and despoils those who are in the midst of vanities of the image of God.

249. WHILST, THEN, we are here let us preserve the likeness, that there we may attain to the truth. Let the likeness of justice exist in us, likewise that of wisdom, for we shall come to that day and shall be rewarded according to our likeness.

250. Let not the adversary find his image in you, let him not find fury nor rage; for in these exists the likeness of wickedness. Our adversary the devil as a roaring lion seeks whom he may kill, whom he may devour. 1 Peter 5:8 Let him not find desire for gold, nor heaps of money, nor the appearance of vices, lest he take from you the voice of liberty. For the voice of true liberty is heard, when you can say: The prince of this world shall come, and shall find no part in me. John 14:30 Therefore, if you are sure that he will find nothing in you, when he comes to search through you, you will say, as the patriarch Jacob did to Laban: Know now if there is anything of yours with me. Genesis 31:32 Rightly do we account Jacob blessed with whom Laban could find naught of his. For Rachel had hidden the gold and silver images of his gods.

251. If, then, wisdom, and faith, and contempt of the world, and spiritual grace, exclude all faithlessness, you will be blessed; for you regard not vanity and folly and lying. Is it a light thing to take away from your adversary the opportunity to speak, so that he can have no ground to make

his complaint against you? Thus he who looks not on vanity is not perturbed; but he who looks upon it is perturbed, and that, too, all to no purpose. Is it not a vain thing to heap up riches? For surely to seek for fleeting things is vain enough. And when you have gathered them, how do you know that you shall have them in possession?

252. Is it not vain for a merchant to journey by night and by day, that he may be able to heap up treasures? Is it not vain for him to gather merchandise, and to be much perturbed about its price, for fear he might sell it for less than he gave? That he should strive everywhere for high prices, and thus unexpectedly call up robbers against himself through their envy at his much-vaunted business; or that, without waiting for calmer winds, impatient of delays, he should meet with shipwreck while seeking for gain?

253. And is not he, too, perturbed in vain who with great toil amasses wealth, though he knows not what heir to leave it to? Often and often all that an avaricious man has got together with the greatest care, his spendthrift heir scatters abroad with headlong prodigality. The shameless prodigal, blind to the present, heedless of the future, swallows up as in an abyss what took so long to gather. Often, too, the desired successor gains but envy for his share of the inheritance, and by his sudden death hands over the whole amount of the succession, which he has hardly entered upon, to strangers.

254. Why, then, do you idly spin a web which is worthless and fruitless? And why do you build up useless heaps of treasures like spiders' webs? For though they overflow, they are no good; nay, they denude you of the likeness of God, and put on you the likeness of the earthy. If any one has the likeness of the tyrant, is he not liable to condemnation? You lay aside the likeness of the Eternal King, and raise in yourself the image of death. Rather cast out of the kingdom of your soul the likeness of the devil, and

raise up the likeness of Christ. Let this shine forth in you; let this glow brightly in your kingdom, that is, your soul, for it destroys the likeness of all vices. David says of this: O Lord, in Your kingdom you bring their images to nothing. For when the Lord has adorned Jerusalem according to His own likeness, then every likeness of the adversary is destroyed.

CHAPTER 50.

The Levites ought to be utterly free from all earthly desires. What their virtues should be on the Apostle's own showing, and how great their purity must be. Also what their dignity and duty is, for the carrying out of which the chief virtues are necessary. He states that these were not unknown to the philosophers, but that they erred in their order. Some are by their nature in accordance with duty, which yet on account of what accompanies them become contrary to duty. From whence he gathers what gifts the office of the Levites demands. To conclude, he adds an exposition of Moses' words when blessing the tribe of Levi.

255. IF, THEN, in the Gospel of the Lord the people themselves were taught and led to despise riches, Mark 10:23 how much more ought ye Levites no longer to be bound down by earthly desires. For your portion is God. For when their earthly possessions were portioned out by Moses to the people of our fathers, the Lord suffered not the Levites to have a share in that earthly possession, Numbers 18:23 for He Himself would be the strength of their inheritance. Wherefore David says: The Lord is the portion of mine inheritance and of my cup. Whence we get the name Levite, which means: Himself is mine, or Himself for me. Great, then, is his honour, that God should say of him: Himself is Mine. Or, as was said to Peter about the piece of money found in the fish's mouth: Give to them for Me and for you. Matthew 17:27 Wherefore the Apostle, when he said: A bishop should be sober, modest, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach, not covetous, nor a brawler, one that rules well his own house, also added: Likewise must the deacons be grave, not double-tongued, not given to much

wine, not greedy of filthy lucre, holding the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience. And let them also first be proved, and so let them serve, being found blameless. 1 Timothy 3:2-10

256. We note how much is required of us. The minister of the Lord should abstain from wine, so that he may be upheld by the good witness not only of the faithful but also by those who are without. For it is right that the witness to our acts and works should be the opinion of the public at large, that the office be not disgraced. Thus he who sees the minister of the altar adorned with suitable virtues may praise their Author, and reverence the Lord Who has such servants. The praise of the Lord sounds forth where there is a pure possession and an innocent rule at home.

257. But what shall I say about chastity, when only one and no second union is allowed? As regards marriage, the law is, not to marry again, nor to seek union with another wife. It seems strange to many why impediment should be caused by a second marriage entered on before baptism, so as to prevent election to the clerical office, and to the reception of the gift of ordination; seeing that even crimes are not wont to stand in the way, if they have been put away in the sacrament of baptism. But we must learn, that in baptism sin can be forgiven, but law cannot be abolished. In the case of marriage there is no sin, but there is a law. Whatever sin there is can be put away, whatever law there is cannot be laid aside in marriage. How could he exhort to widowhood who himself had married more than once?

258. But ye know that the ministerial office must be kept pure and unspotted, and must not be defiled by conjugal intercourse; ye know this, I say, who have received the gifts of the sacred ministry, with pure bodies, and unspoiled modesty, and without ever having enjoyed conjugal intercourse. I am mentioning this, because in some out-of-the-way places, when they enter on the ministry, or even when they become priests, they have begotten children. They defend this on the ground of old custom,

when, as it happened, the sacrifice was offered up at long intervals. However, even the people had to be purified two or three days beforehand, so as to come clean to the sacrifice, as we read in the Old Testament. Exodus 19:10 They even used to wash their clothes. If such regard was paid in what was only the figure, how much ought it to be shown in the reality! Learn then, Priest and Levite, what it means to wash your clothes. You must have a pure body wherewith to offer up the sacraments. If the people were forbidden to approach their victim unless they washed their clothes, do you, while foul in heart and body, dare to make supplication for others? Do you dare to make an offering for them?

259. The duty of the Levites is no light one, for the Lord says of them: Behold I have taken the Levites from among the children of Israel, instead of every first-born that opens the matrix among the children of Israel. These shall be their redemption, and the Levites shall be Mine. For I hallowed unto Me all the first-born in the land of Egypt. Numbers 3:12-13 We know that the Levites are not reckoned among the rest, but are preferred before all, for they are chosen out of all, and are sanctified like the firstfruits and the firstlings which belong to the Lord, since the payment of vows and redemption for sin are offered by them. You shall not receive them, He says, among the children of Israel, but you shall appoint the Levites over the tabernacle of testimony, and over all the vessels thereof, and over all things that belong to it. They shall bear the tabernacle and all the vessels thereof, and they shall minister in it, and shall encamp round about the tabernacle. And when the tabernacle sets forward the Levites shall take it down, and when the camp is pitched they shall set up the tabernacle again. And the stranger that comes near shall surely be put to death. Numbers 1:49-51

260. You, then, art chosen out of the whole number of the children of Israel, regarded as the firstfruits of the sacred offerings, set over the tabernacle so as to keep guard in the camp of holiness and faith, to which if

a stranger approach, he shall surely die. You are placed there to watch over the Ark of the Covenant. All do not see the depths of the mysteries, for they are hid from the Levites, lest they should see who ought not to see, and they who cannot serve should take it up. Moses, indeed, saw the circumcision of the Spirit, but veiled it, so as to give circumcision only in an outward sign. He saw the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth; he saw the sufferings of the Lord, but he veiled the unleavened bread of truth in the material unleavened bread, he veiled the sufferings of the Lord in the sacrifice of a lamb or a calf. Good Levites have ever preserved the mystery entrusted to them under the protection of their own faith, and yet do you think little of what is entrusted to you? First, you shall see the deep things of God, which needs wisdom. Next, you must keep watch for the people; this requires justice. You must defend the camp and guard the tabernacle, which needs fortitude. You must show yourself continent and sober, and this needs temperance.

261. These chief virtues, they who are without have recognized, but they considered that the order resting on society was higher than that resting on wisdom; though wisdom is the foundation, and justice the building which cannot stand unless it have a foundation. The foundation is Christ. 1 Corinthians 3:11

262. First stands faith, which is a sign of wisdom, as Solomon says, in following his father: The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. And the law says: You shall love the Lord your God, you shall love your neighbour. Deuteronomy 6:5 It is a noble thing to do one’s kindnesses and duties towards the whole of the human race. But it is ever most seemly that you should give to God the most precious thing you have, that is, your mind, for you have nothing better than that. When you have paid your debt to your Creator, then you may labour for men, to show them kindness, and to give help; then you may assist the needy with money, or by some duty, or

some service that lies in the way of your ministry; by money to support him; by paying a debt, so as to free him that is bound; by undertaking a duty, so as to take charge of a trust, which he fears to lose, who has put it by in trust.

263. It is a duty, then, to take care of and to restore what has been entrusted to us. But meanwhile a change comes, either in time or circumstances, so that it is no longer a duty to restore what one has received. As, for instance, when a man demands back his money as an open enemy, to use it against his country, and to offer his wealth to barbarians. Or, if you should have to restore it, while another stood by to extort it from him by force. If you restore money to a raving lunatic when he cannot keep it; if you give up to a madman a sword once put by with you, whereby he may kill himself, is it not an act contrary to duty to pay the debt? Is it not contrary to duty to take knowingly what has been got by a thief, so that he who has lost it is cheated out of it?

264. It is also sometimes contrary to duty to fulfil a promise, or to keep an oath. As was the case with Herod, who swore that whatever was asked he would give to the daughter of Herodias, and so allowed the death of John, that he might not break his word. And what shall I say of Jephthah, who offered up his daughter in sacrifice, she having been the first to meet him as he returned home victorious; whereby he fulfilled the vow which he had made that he would offer to God whatever should meet him first. It would have been better to make no promise at all, than to fulfil it in the death of his daughter.

265. You are not ignorant how important it is to look to this. And so a Levite is chosen to guard the sanctuary, one who shall never fail in counsel, nor forsake the faith, nor fear death, nor do anything extravagant, so that in his whole appearance he may give proof of his earnestness. For he ought to have not only his soul but even his eyes in restraint, so that no chance

mishap may bring a blush to his forehead. For whosoever looks on a woman to desire her has already committed adultery with her in his heart. Matthew 5:28 Thus adultery is committed not only by actual committal of the foul deed, but even by the desire of the ardent gaze.

266. This seems high and somewhat severe, but in a high office it is not out of place. For the grace of the Levites is such that Moses spoke of them as follows in his blessing: Give to Levi his men, give Levi his trusted ones, give Levi the lot of his inheritance, and his truth to the holy men whom they tempted in temptation, and reviled at the waters of contradiction. Who said to his father and mother, I know you not, and knew not his brethren, and renounced his children. He guarded Your word and kept Your testimony. Deuteronomy 33:8-9

267. They, then, are His men, His trusty ones, who have no deceit in their hearts, hide no treachery within them, but guard His words and ponder them in their heart, as Mary pondered them; Luke 2:19 who know not their parents so as to put them before their duty; who hate the violators of chastity, and avenge the injury done to purity; and know the times for the fulfilling of their duty, as also which duty is the greater, which the lesser, and to what occasion each is suited. In all this they follow that alone which is virtuous. And who, where there are two virtuous duties, think that which is the more virtuous must come first. These are in truth rightly blessed.

268. If any one makes known the just works of the Lord, and offers Him incense, then: Bless, O Lord, his strength; accept the work of his hands, Deuteronomy 33:11 that he may find the grace of the prophetic blessing with Him Who lives and reigns for ever and ever. Amen.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER 1.

Happiness in life is to be gained by living virtuously, inasmuch as thus a Christian, while despising glory and the favour of men, desires to please God alone in what he does.

1. IN THE first book we spoke of the duties which we thought befitted a virtuous life, whereon no one has ever doubted but that a blessed life, which the Scripture calls eternal life, depends. So great is the splendour of a virtuous life that a peaceful conscience and a calm innocence work out a happy life. And as the risen sun hides the globe of the moon and the light of the stars, so the brightness of a virtuous life, where it glitters in true pure glory, casts into the shade all other things, which, according to the desires of the body, are considered to be good, or are reckoned in the eyes of the world to be great and noble.

2. Blessed, plainly, is that life which is not valued at the estimation of outsiders, but is known, as judge of itself, by its own inner feelings. It needs no popular opinion as its reward in any way; nor has it any fear of punishments. Thus the less it strives for glory, the more it rises above it. For to those who seek for glory, that reward in the shape of present things is but a shadow of future ones, and is a hindrance to eternal life, as it is written in the Scriptures: Verily, I say unto you, they have received their reward. Matthew 6:2 This is said of those who, as it were, with the sound of a trumpet desire to make known to all the world the liberality they exercise towards the poor. It is the same, too, in the case of fasting, which is done but for outward show. They have, he says, their reward.

3. It therefore belongs to a virtuous life to show mercy and to fast in secret; that you may seem to be seeking a reward from your God alone, and not from men. For he who seeks it from man has his reward, but he who seeks it from God has eternal life, which none can give but the Lord of Eternity, as it is said: Verily, I say unto you, today shall you be with Me in Paradise. Luke 23:43 Wherefore the Scripture plainly has called that life which is blessed, eternal life. It has not been left to be appraised according to man’s ideas on the subject, but has been entrusted to the divine judgment.

CHAPTER 2.

The different ideas of philosophers on the subject of happiness. He proves, first, from the Gospel that it rests on the knowledge of God and the pursuit of good works; next, that it may not be thought that this idea was adopted from the philosophers, he adds proofs from the witness of the prophets.

4. THE PHILOSOPHERS have made a happy life to depend, either (as Hieronymus) on freedom from pain, or (as Herillus) on knowledge. For Herillus, hearing knowledge very highly praised by Aristotle and Theophrastus, made it alone to be the chief good, when they really praised it as a good thing, not as the only good; others, as Epicurus, have called pleasure such; others, as Callipho, and after him Diodorus, understood it in such a way as to make a virtuous life go in union, the one with pleasure, the other with freedom from pain, since a happy life could not exist without it. Zeno, the Stoic, thought the highest and only good existed in a virtuous life. But Aristotle and Theophrastus and the other Peripatetics maintained that a happy life consisted in virtue, that is, in a virtuous life, but that its happiness was made complete by the advantages of the body and other external good things.

5. But the sacred Scriptures say that eternal life rests on a knowledge of divine things and on the fruit of good works. The Gospel bears witness to both these statements. For the Lord Jesus spoke thus of knowledge: This is eternal life, to know You, the only true God, and Jesus Christ Whom You have sent. John 17:3 About works He gives this answer: Every one that has forsaken house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or

children, or lands, for My Name's sake, shall receive an hundred-fold, and shall inherit everlasting life. Matthew 19:29

6. Let no one think that this was but lately said, and that it was spoken of by the philosophers before it was mentioned in the Gospel. For the philosophers, that is to say, Aristotle and Theophrastus, as also Zeno and Hieronymus, certainly lived before the time of the Gospel; but they came after the prophets. Let them rather think how long before even the names of the philosophers were heard of, both of these seem to have found open expression through the mouth of the holy David; for it is written: Blessed is the man whom You instruct, O Lord, and teach him out of Your law. We find elsewhere also: Blessed is the man that fears the Lord, he will rejoice greatly in His commandments. We have proved our point as regards knowledge, the reward for which the prophet states to be the fruit of eternity, adding that in the house of the man that fears the Lord, or is instructed in His law and rejoices greatly in the divine commandments, is glory and riches; and his justice abides for ever and ever. He has further also in the same psalm stated of good works, that they gain for an upright man the gift of eternal life. He speaks thus: Blessed is the man that shows pity and lends, he will guide his affairs with discretion, surely he shall not be moved for ever, the righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance. And further: He has dispersed, he has given to the poor, his justice endures forever.

7. Faith, then, has [the promise of] eternal life, for it is a good foundation. Good works, too, have the same, for an upright man is tested by his words and acts. For if a man is always busy talking and yet is slow to act, he shows by his acts how worthless his knowledge is: besides it is much worse to know what one ought to do, and yet not to do what one has learned should be done. On the other hand, to be active in good works and unfaithful at heart is as idle as though one wanted to raise a beautiful and

lofty dome upon a bad foundation. The higher one builds, the greater is the fall; for without the protection of faith good works cannot stand. A treacherous anchorage in a harbour perforates a ship, and a sandy bottom quickly gives way and cannot bear the weight of the building placed upon it. There then will be found the fullness of reward, where the virtues are perfect, and where there is a reasonable agreement between words and acts.

CHAPTER 3.

The definition of blessedness as drawn from the Scriptures is considered and proved. It cannot be enhanced by external good fortune, nor can it be weakened by misfortune.

8. AS, THEN, knowledge, so far as it stands alone, is put aside either as worthless, according to the superfluous discussions of the philosophers, or as but an imperfect idea, let us now note how clearly the divine Scriptures explain a thing about which we see the philosophers held so many involved and perplexing ideas. For the Scriptures state that nothing is good but what is virtuous, and declare that virtue is blessed in every circumstance, and that it is never enhanced by either corporal or other external good fortune, nor is it weakened by adversity. No state is so blessed as that wherein one is free from sin, is filled with innocence, and is fully supplied with the grace of God. For it is written: Blessed is the man that has not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, and has not stood in the way of sinners, and has not sat in the seat of pestilence, but in the law of the Lord was his delight. And again: Blessed are the undefiled in the way, who walk in the law of the Lord.

9. Innocence, then, and knowledge make a man blessed. We have also noted already that the blessedness of eternal life is the reward for good works. It remains, then, to show that when the patronage of pleasure or the fear of pain is despised (and the first of these one abhors as poor and effeminate, and the other as unmanly and weak), that then a blessed life can rise up in the midst of pain. This can easily be shown when we read: Blessed are you when men shall revile you and persecute you and shall say all manner of evil against you for righteousness' sake. Rejoice and be

exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven; for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you. Matthew 5:11-12 And again: He that will come after Me, let him take up his cross and follow Me. Matthew 16:24

CHAPTER 4.

The same argument, namely, that blessedness is not lessened or added to by external matters, is illustrated by the example of men of old.

10. THERE IS, then, a blessedness even in pains and griefs. All which virtue with its sweetness checks and restrains, abounding as it does in natural resources for either soothing conscience or increasing grace. For Moses was blessed in no small degree when, surrounded by the Egyptians and shut in by the sea, he found by his merits a way for himself and the people to go through the waters. Exodus xiv When was he ever braver than at the moment when, surrounded by the greatest dangers, he gave not up the hope of safety, but besought a triumph?

11. What of Aaron? When did he ever think himself more blessed than when he stood between the living and the dead, and by his presence stayed death from passing from the bodies of the dead to the lines of the living? Numbers 16:48 What shall I say of the youth Daniel, who was so wise that, when in the midst of the lions enraged with hunger, he was by no means overcome with terror at the fierceness of the beasts. So free from fear was he, that he could eat, and was not afraid he might by his example excite the animals to feed on him.

12. There is, then, in pain a virtue that can display the sweetness of a good conscience, and therefore it serves as a proof that pain does not lessen the pleasure of virtue. As, then, there is no loss of blessedness to virtue through pain, so also the pleasures of the body and the enjoyment that benefits give add nothing to it. On this the Apostle says well: What things to me were gain, those I counted loss for Christ, and he added: Wherefore I

count all things but loss, and do count them but dung, that I may win Christ. Philippians 3:7-8

13. Moses, too, thought the treasures of Egypt to be his loss, and thus showed forth in his life the reproach of the Cross of the Lord. He was not rich when he had abundance of money, nor was he afterwards poor when he was in want of food, unless, perchance, there is any one who thinks he was less happy when daily food was wanting to him and his people in the wilderness. But yet manna, that is, angels' food, which surely none will dare deny to be a mark of the greatest good and of blessedness, was given him from heaven; also the daily shower of meat was sufficient to feed the whole multitude. Exodus 16:13

14. Bread for food also failed Elijah, that holy man, had he sought for it; but it seemed not to fail him because he sought it not. Thus by the daily service of the ravens bread was brought to him in the morning, meat in the evening. Was he any the less blessed because he was poor to himself? Certainly not. Nay, he was the more blessed, for he was rich toward God. It is better to be rich for others than for oneself. He was so, for in the time of famine he asked a widow for food, intending to repay it, so that the barrel of meal failed not for three years and six months, and the oil jar sufficed and served the needy widow for her daily use all that time also. Rightly did Peter wish to be there where he saw them. Rightly did they appear in the mount with Christ in glory, Matthew 17:3 for He Himself became poor when He was rich.

15. Riches, then, give no assistance to living a blessed life, a fact that the Lord clearly shows in the Gospel, saying: Blessed are you poor, for yours is the kingdom of God. Blessed are they that hunger and thirst now, for they shall be filled. Blessed are you that weep now, for you shall laugh. Luke 6:20-21 Thus it is stated as plainly as possible that poverty, hunger, and

pain, which are considered to be evils, not only are not hindrances to a blessed life, but are actually so many helps toward it.

CHAPTER 5.

Those things which are generally looked on as good are mostly hindrances to a blessed life, and those which are looked on as evil are the materials out of which virtues grow. What belongs to blessedness is shown by other examples.

16. BUT THOSE things which seem to be good, as riches, abundance, joy without pain, are a hindrance to the fruits of blessedness, as is clearly stated in the Lord's own words, when He said: Woe to you rich, for you have received your consolation! Woe unto you that are full, for you shall hunger, and to those who laugh, for they shall mourn! Luke 6:24-25 So, then, corporal or external good things are not only no assistance to attaining a blessed life, but are even a hindrance to it.

17. Wherefore Naboth was blessed, even though he was stoned by the rich; weak and poor, as opposed to the royal resources, he was rich in his aim and his religion; so rich, indeed, that he would not exchange the inheritance of the vineyard received from his father for the king's money; and on this account was he perfect, for he defended the rights of his forefathers with his own blood. Thus, also, Ahab was wretched on his own showing, for he caused the poor man to be put to death, so as to take possession of his vineyard himself.

18. It is quite certain that virtue is the only and the highest good; that it alone richly abounds in the fruit of a blessed life; that a blessed life, by means of which eternal life is won, does not depend on external or corporal benefits, but on virtue only. A blessed life is the fruit of the present, and eternal life is the hope of the future.

19. Some, however, there are who think a blessed life is impossible in this body, weak and fragile as it is. For in it one must suffer pain and grief, one must weep, one must be ill. So I could also say that a blessed life rests on bodily rejoicing, but not on the heights of wisdom, on the sweetness of conscience, or on the loftiness of virtue. It is not a blessed thing to be in the midst of suffering; but it is blessed to be victorious over it, and not to be cowed by the power of temporal pain.

20. Suppose that things come which are accounted terrible as regards the grief they cause, such as blindness, exile, hunger, violation of a daughter, loss of children. Who will deny that Isaac was blessed, who did not see in his old age, and yet gave blessings with his benediction? Genesis 27:28 Was not Jacob blessed who, leaving his father's house, endured exile as a shepherd for pay, Genesis 31:41 and mourned for the violated chastity of his daughter, Genesis 34:5 and suffered hunger? Genesis 42:2 Were they not blessed on whose good faith God received witness, as it is written: The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? Exodus 3:6 A wretched thing is slavery, but Joseph was not wretched; nay, clearly he was blessed, when he while in slavery checked the lusts of his mistress. Genesis 39:7 What shall I say of holy David who bewailed the death of three sons, and, what was even worse than this, his daughter's incestuous connection? How could he be unblessed from whom the Author of blessedness Himself sprung, Who has made many blessed? For: Blessed are they who have not seen yet have believed. John 20:29 All these felt their own weakness, but they bravely prevailed over it. What can we think of as more wretched than holy Job, either in the burning of his house, or the instantaneous death of his ten sons, or his bodily pains? Was he less blessed than if he had not endured those things whereby he really showed himself approved?

21. True it is that in these sufferings there is something bitter, and that strength of mind cannot hide this pain. I should not deny that the sea is deep

because inshore it is shallow, nor that the sky is clear because sometimes it is covered with clouds, nor that the earth is fruitful because in some places there is but barren ground, nor that the crops are rich and full because they sometimes have wild oats mingled with them. So, too, count it as true that the harvest of a happy conscience may be mingled with some bitter feelings of grief. In the sheaves of the whole of a blessed life, if by chance any misfortune or bitterness has crept in, is it not as though the wild oats were hidden, or as though the bitterness of the tares was concealed by the sweet scent of the grain? But let us now proceed again with our subject.

CHAPTER 6.

On what is useful: not that which is advantageous, but that which is just and virtuous. It is to be found in losses, and is divided into what is useful for the body, and what is useful unto godliness.

22. IN THE first book we made our division in such a way as to set in the first place what is virtuous and what is seemly; for all duties are derived from these. In the second place we set what is useful. But as at the start we said that there was a difference between what is virtuous and what is seemly — which one can comprehend more easily than one can explain — so also when we are thinking of what is useful, we have to give considerable thought to what is the more useful.

23. But we do not reckon usefulness by the value of any gain in money, but in acquiring godliness, as the Apostle says: But godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come. 1 Timothy 4:8 Thus in the holy Scriptures, if we look carefully we shall often find that what is virtuous is called useful: All things are lawful unto me, but all things are not profitable [useful]. 1 Corinthians 6:12 Before that he was speaking of vices, and so means: It is lawful to sin, but it is not seemly. Sins rest in one's own power, but they are not virtuous. To live wantonly is easy, but it is not right. For food serves not God but the belly.

24. Therefore, because what is useful is also just, it is just to serve Christ, Who redeemed us. They too are just who for His Name's sake have given themselves up to death, they are unjust who have avoided it. Of them it says: What profit is there in my blood? that is: what advance has my justice made? Wherefore they also say: Let us bind the just, for he is useless

to us, that is: he is unjust, for he complains of us, condemns and rebukes us. This could also be referred to the greed of impious men, which closely resembles treachery; as we read in the case of the traitor Judas, who in his longing for gain and his desire for money put his head into the noose of treachery and fell.

25. We have then to speak of that usefulness which is full of what is virtuous, as the Apostle himself has laid it down in so many words, saying: And this I speak for your own profit, not that I may cast a snare upon you, but for that which is comely. 1 Corinthians 7:35 It is plain, then, that what is virtuous is useful, and what is useful is virtuous; also that what is useful is just, and what is just is useful. I can say this, for I am speaking, not to merchants who are covetous from a desire to make gain, but to my children. And I am speaking of the duties which I wish to impress upon and impart to you, whom I have chosen for the service of the Lord; so that those things which have been already implanted and fixed in your minds and characters by habit and training may now be further unfolded to you by explanation and instruction.

26. Therefore as I am about to speak of what is useful, I will take up those words of the Prophet: Incline my heart unto Your testimonies and not to covetousness, that the sound of the word useful may not rouse in us the desire for money. Some indeed put it thus: Incline my heart unto Your testimonies and not to what is useful, that is, that kind of usefulness which is always on the watch for making gains in business, and has been bent and diverted by the habits of men to the pursuit of money. For as a rule most people call that only useful which is profitable, but we are speaking of that kind of usefulness which is sought in earthly loss that we may gain Christ, Philippians 3:8 whose gain is godliness with contentment. 1 Timothy 6:6 Great, too, is the gain whereby we attain to godliness, which is rich with

God, not indeed in fleeting wealth, but in eternal gifts, and in which rests no uncertain trial but grace constant and unending.

27. There is therefore a usefulness connected with the body, and also one that has to do with godliness, according to the Apostle's division: Bodily exercise profits a little, but godliness is profitable unto all things. 1 Timothy 4:8 And what is so virtuous as integrity? What so seemly as to preserve the body unspotted and undefiled, and its purity unsullied? What, again, is so seemly as that a widow should keep her plighted troth to her dead husband? What more useful than this whereby the heavenly kingdom is attained? For there are some who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. Matthew 19:12

CHAPTER 7.

What is useful is the same as what is virtuous; nothing is more useful than love, which is gained by gentleness, courtesy, kindness, justice, and the other virtues, as we are given to understand from the histories of Moses and David. Lastly, confidence springs from love, and again love from confidence.

28. THERE IS therefore not only a close intercourse between what is virtuous and what is useful, but the same thing is both useful and virtuous. Therefore He Who willed to open the kingdom of heaven to all sought not what was useful to Himself, but what was useful for all. Thus we must have a certain order and proceed step by step from habitual or common acts to those which are more excellent, so as to show by many examples the advancement of what is useful.

29. And first we may know there is nothing so useful as to be loved, nothing so useless as not to be loved; for to be hated in my opinion is simply fatal and altogether deadly. We speak of this, then, in order that we may take care to give cause for a good estimate and opinion to be formed of us, and may try to get a place in others' affections through our calmness of mind and kindness of soul. For goodness is agreeable and pleasing to all, and there is nothing that so easily reaches human feelings. And if that is assisted by gentleness of character and willingness, as well as by moderation in giving orders and courtesy of speech, by honour in word, by a ready interchange of conversation and by the grace of modesty, it is incredible how much all this tends to an increase of love.

30. We read, not only in the case of private individuals but even of kings, what is the effect of ready and willing courtesy, and what harm pride and great swelling words have done, so far as to make even kingdoms to totter and powers to be destroyed. If any one gains the people's favour by advice or service, by fulfilling the duties of his ministry or office, or if he encounters danger for the sake of the whole nation, there is no doubt but that such love will be shown him by the people that they all will put his safety and welfare before their own.

31. What reproaches Moses had to bear from his people! But when the Lord would have avenged him on those who reviled him, he often used to offer himself for the people that he might save them from the divine anger. Exodus 32:32 With what gentle words used he to address the people, even after he was wronged! He comforted them in their labours, consoled them by his prophetic declarations of the future, and encouraged them by his works. And though he often spoke with God, yet he was wont to address men gently and pleasantly. Worthily was he considered to stand above all men. For they could not even look on his face, Exodus 34:30 and refused to believe that his sepulchre was found. Deuteronomy 34:6 He had captivated the minds of all the people to such an extent; that they loved him even more for his gentleness than they admired him for his deeds.

32. There is David too who followed his steps, who was chosen from among all to rule the people. How gentle and kindly he was, humble in spirit too, how diligent and ready to show affection. Before he came to the throne he offered himself in the stead of all. As king he showed himself an equal to all in warfare, and shared in their labours. He was brave in battle, gentle in ruling, patient under abuse, and more ready to bear than to return wrongs. So dear was he to all, that though a youth, he was chosen even against his will to rule over them, and was made to undertake the duty though he withstood it. When old he was asked by his people not to engage

in battle, because they all preferred to incur danger for his sake rather than that he should undergo it for theirs.

33. He had bound the people to himself freely in doing his duty; first, when he during the division among the people preferred to live like an exile at Hebron rather than to reign at Jerusalem; next, when he showed that he loved valour even in an enemy. He had also thought that justice should be shown to those who had borne arms against himself the same as to his own men. Again, he admired Abner, the bravest champion of the opposing side, while he was their leader and was yet waging war. Nor did he despise him when suing for peace, but honoured him by a banquet. When killed by treachery, he mourned and wept for him. He followed him and honoured his obsequies, and evinced his good faith in desiring vengeance for the murder; for he handed on that duty to his son in the charge that he gave him, being anxious rather that the death of an innocent man should not be left unavenged, than that any one should mourn for his own.

34. It is no small thing, especially in the case of a king, so to perform humble duties as to make oneself like the very lowest. It is noble not to seek for food at another's risk and to refuse a drink of water, to confess a sin, and to offer oneself to death for one's people. This latter David did, so that the divine anger might be turned against himself, when he offered himself to the destroying angel and said: Lo I have sinned: I the shepherd have done wickedly, but this flock, what has it done? Let Your hand be against me.

35. What further should I say? He opened not his mouth to those planning deceit, and, as though hearing not, he thought no word should be returned, nor did be answer their reproaches. When he was evil spoken of, he prayed, when he was cursed, he blessed. He walked in simplicity of heart, and fled from the proud. He was a follower of those unspotted from the world, one who mixed ashes with his food when bewailing his sins, and mingled his drink with weeping. Worthily, then, was he called for by all the

people. All the tribes of Israel came to him saying: Behold, we are your bone and your flesh. Also yesterday and the day before when Saul lived, and reigned, you were he that led out and brought in Israel. And the Lord said to you, You shall feed My people! And why should I say more about him of whom the word of the Lord has gone forth to say: I have found David according to My heart? Who ever walked in holiness of heart and in justice as he did, so as to fulfil the will of God; for whose sake pardon was granted to his children when they sinned, and their rights were preserved to his heirs?

36. Who would not have loved him, when they saw how dear he was to his friends? For as he truly loved his friends, so he thought that he was loved as much in return by his own friends. Nay, parents put him even before their own children, and children loved him more than their parents. Wherefore Saul was very angry and strove to strike Jonathan his son with a spear because he thought that David's friendship held a higher place in his esteem than either filial piety or a father's authority.

37. It gives a very great impetus to mutual love if one shows love in return to those who love us and proves that one does not love them less than oneself is loved, especially if one shows it by the proofs that a faithful friendship gives. What is so likely to win favour as gratitude? What more natural than to love one who loves us? What so implanted and so impressed on men's feelings as the wish to let another, by whom we want to be loved, know that we love him? Well does the wise man say: Lose your money for your brother and your friend. Sirach 29:10 And again: I will not be ashamed to defend a friend, neither will I hide myself from him. Sirach 22:31 If, indeed, the words in Ecclesiasticus testify that the medicine of life and immortality is in a friend; Sirach 6:16 yet none has ever doubted that it is in love that our best defense lies. As the Apostle says: It bears all things,

believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things; love never fails. 1 Corinthians 13:7-8

38. Thus David failed not, for he was dear to all, and wished to be loved rather than feared by his subjects. Fear keeps the watch of temporal protection, but knows not how to keep guard permanently. And so where fear has departed, boldness often creeps in; for fear does not force confidence but affection calls it forth.

39. Love, then, is the first thing to give us a recommendation. It is a good thing therefore to have our witness in the love of many. Then arises confidence, so that even strangers are not afraid to trust themselves to your kindness, when they see you so dear to many. So likewise one goes through confidence to love, so that he who has shown good faith to one or two has an influence as it were on the minds of all, and wins the good-will of all.

CHAPTER 8.

Nothing has greater effect in gaining good-will than giving advice; but none can trust it unless it rests on justice and prudence. How conspicuous these two virtues were in Solomon is shown by his well-known judgment.

40. TWO THINGS, therefore, love and confidence, are the most efficacious in commending us to others; also this third quality if you have it, namely, what many consider to be worthy of admiration in you, and think to be rightly worthy of honour [the power, in fact, of giving good advice].

41. Since the giving of good advice is a great means of gaining men's affections, prudence and justice are much needed in every case. These are looked for by most, so that confidence at once is placed in him in whom they exist, because he can give useful and trustworthy advice to whoever wants it. Who will put himself into the hands of a man whom he does not think to be more wise than himself who asks for advice? It is necessary therefore that he of whom advice is asked should be superior to him who asks it. For why should we consult a man when we do not think that he can make anything more plain than we ourselves see it?

42. But if we have found a man that by the vigour of his character, by his strength of mind and influence, stands forth above all others, and further, is better fitted by example and experience than others; that can put an end to immediate dangers, foresee future ones, point out those close at hand, can explain a subject, bring relief in time, is ready not only to give advice but also to give help — in such a man confidence is placed, so that he who seeks advice can say: Though evil should happen to me through him, I will bear it. Sirach 22:31

43. To a man of this sort then we entrust our safety and our reputation, for he is, as we said before, just and prudent. Justice causes us to have no fear of deceit, and prudence frees us from having any suspicions of error. However, we trust ourselves more readily to a just than to a prudent man, to put it in the way people generally do. But, according to the definition of the philosophers, where there is one virtue, others exist too, while prudence cannot exist without justice. We find this stated also in our writers, for David says: The just shows mercy and lends. What the just lends, he says elsewhere: A good man is he that shows mercy and lends, he will guide his words with discretion.

44. Is not that noble judgment of Solomon full of wisdom and justice? Let us see whether it is so. Two women, it says, stood before King Solomon, and the one said to him, Hear me, my lord, I and this woman dwell in one house, and before the third day we gave birth and bore a son apiece, and were together, there was no witness in the house, nor any other woman with us, only we two alone. And her son died this night, because she overlaid it, and she arose at midnight, and took my son from my breast, and laid it in her bosom, and her dead child she laid at my breast. And I arose in the morning to give my child suck, and found him dead. And I considered it at dawn, and behold it was not my son. And the other woman said, Nay, but the living is my son, and the dead is your son.

45. This was their dispute, in which either tried to claim the living child for herself, and denied that the dead one was hers. Then the king commanded a sword to be brought and the infant to be cut in half, and either piece to be given to one, one half to the one, and one half to the other. Then the woman whose the child really was, moved by her feelings, cried out: Divide not the child, my lord; let it rather be given to her and live, and do not kill it. But the other answered: Let it be neither mine nor hers, divide it. Then the king ordered that the infant should be given to the woman who

had said: Do not kill it, but give it to that woman; For, as it says, her bowels yearned upon her son.

46. It is not wrong to suppose that the mind of God was in him; for what is hidden from God? What can be more hidden than the witness that lies deep within; into which the mind of the wise king entered as though to judge a mother's feelings, and elicited as it were the voice of a mother's heart. For a mother's feelings were laid bare, when she chose that her son should live with another, rather than that he should be killed in his mother's sight.

47. It was therefore a sign of wisdom to distinguish between secret heart-thoughts, to draw the truth from hidden springs, and to pierce as it were with the sword of the Spirit not only the inward parts of the body, but even of the mind and soul. It was the part of justice also that she who had killed her own child should not take away another's, but that the real mother should have her own back again. Indeed the Scriptures have declared this. All Israel, it says, heard of the judgment which the king had judged, and they feared the king, for they saw that the wisdom of God was in him to do judgment. Solomon also himself had asked for wisdom, so that a prudent heart might be given him to hear and to judge with justice.

CHAPTER 9.

Though justice and prudence are inseparable, we must have respect to the ideas of people in general, for they make a distinction between the different cardinal virtues.

48. IT IS clear also, according to the sacred Scriptures, which are the older, that wisdom cannot exist without justice, for where one of these two is, there the other must be also. With what wisdom did Daniel expose the lie in the false accusation brought against him by his thorough examination, so that those false informers had no answer ready to hand! It was a mark of prudence to convict the criminals by the witness of their own words, and a sign of justice to give over the guilty to punishment, and to save the innocent from it.

49. There is therefore an inseparable union between wisdom and justice; but, generally speaking, the one special form of virtue is divided up. Thus temperance lies in despising pleasures, fortitude may be seen in undergoing labours and dangers, prudence in the choice of what is good, by knowing how to distinguish between things useful and the reverse; justice, in being a good guardian of another's rights and protector of its own, thus maintaining for each his own. We can make this fourfold division in deference to commonly received ideas; and so, while deviating from those subtle discussions of philosophic learning which are brought forth as though from some inner recess for the sake of investigating the truth, can follow the commonly received use and their ordinary meaning. Keeping, then, to this division, let us return to our subject.

CHAPTER 10.

Men entrust their safety rather to a just than to a prudent man. But every one is wont to seek out the man who combines in himself the qualities of justice and prudence. Solomon gives us an example of this. (The words which the queen of Sheba spoke of him are explained.) Also Daniel and Joseph.

50. WE ENTRUST our case to the most prudent man we can find, and ask advice from him more readily than we do from others. However, the faithful counsel of a just man stands first and often has more weight than the great abilities of the wisest of men: For better are the wounds of a friend than the kisses of others. Proverbs 27:6 And just because it is the judgment of a just man, it is also the conclusion of a wise one: in the one lies the result of the matter in dispute, in the other readiness of invention.

51. And if one connects the two, there will be great soundness in the advice given, which is regarded by all with admiration for the wisdom shown, and with love for its justice. And so all will desire to hear the wisdom of that man in whom those two virtues are found together, as all the kings of the earth desired to see the face of Solomon and to hear his wisdom. Nay, even the queen of Sheba came to him and tried him with questions. She came and spoke of all the things that were in her heart, and heard all the wisdom of Solomon, nor did any word escape her.

52. Who she was whom nothing escaped, and that there was nothing which the truth-loving Solomon did not tell her, learn, O man, from this which you hear her saying: It was a true report that I heard in my own land of your words and of your prudence, yet I did not believe those that told it

me until I came, and my eyes had seen it; and behold the half was not told me. You have added good things over and above all that I heard in my own land. Blessed are your women and blessed your servants, which stand before you, and that hear all your prudence. 1 Kings 10:6-8 Recognize the feast of the true Solomon, and who are set down at that feast; recognize it wisely and think in what land all the nations shall hear the fame of true wisdom and justice, and with what eyes they shall see Him, beholding those things which are not seen. For the things that are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal. 2 Corinthians 4:18

53. What women are blessed but those of whom it is said that many hear the word of God and bring forth fruit? Luke 11:28 And again: Whosoever does the word of God is My father and sister and mother. Matthew 12:50 And who are those blessed servants, who stand before Him, but Paul, who said: Even to this day I stand witnessing both to great and small; Acts 26:22 or Simeon, who was waiting in the temple to see the consolation of Israel? Luke 2:25 How could he have asked to be let depart, except that in standing before the Lord he had not the power of departing, but only according to the will of God? Solomon is put before us simply for the sake of example, of whom it was eagerly expected that his wisdom should be heard.

54. Joseph also when in prison was not free from being consulted about matters of uncertainty. His counsel was of advantage to the whole of Egypt, so that it felt not the seven years' famine, and he was able even to relieve other peoples from their dreadful hunger.

55. Daniel, though one of the captives, was made the head of the royal counsellors. By his counsels he improved the present and foretold the future. Daniel ii Confidence was put in him in all things, because he had frequently interpreted things, and had shown that he had declared the truth.

CHAPTER 11.

A third element which tends to gain any one's confidence is shown to have been conspicuous in Moses, Daniel, and Joseph.

56. BUT A third point seems also to have been noted in the case of those who were thought worthy of admiration after the example of Joseph, Solomon, and Daniel. For what shall I say of Moses whose advice all Israel always waited for, Exodus 18:13 whose life caused them to trust in his prudence and increased their esteem for him? Who would not trust to the counsel of Moses, to whom the elders reserved for decision whatever they thought beyond their understanding and powers?

57. Who would refuse the counsel of Daniel, of whom God Himself said: Who is wiser than Daniel? Ezekiel 28:3 How can men doubt about the minds of those to whom God has given such grace? By the counsel of Moses wars were brought to an end, and for his merit's sake food came from heaven and drink from the rock.

58. How pure must have been the soul of Daniel to soften the character of barbarians and to tame the lions! What temperance was his, what self-restraint in soul and body! Not unworthily did he become an object of admiration to all, when — and all men do admire this — though enjoying royal friendships, he sought not for gold, nor counted the honour given him as more precious than his faith. For he was willing to endure danger for the law of God rather than to be turned from his purpose in order to gain the favour of men.

59. And what, again, shall I say of the chastity and justice of Joseph, whom I had almost passed by, whereby on the one hand he rejected the

allurements of his mistress and refused rewards, on the other he mocked at death, repressed his fear, and chose a prison? Who would not consider him a fit person to give advice in a private case, whose fruitful spirit and fertile mind enriched the barrenness of the time with the wealth of his counsels and heart?

CHAPTER 12.

No one asks counsel from a man tainted with vice, or from one who is morose or impracticable, but rather from one of whom we have a pattern in the Scriptures.

60. WE NOTE therefore that in seeking for counsel, uprightness of life, excellence in virtues, habits of benevolence, and the charm of good-nature have very great weight. Who seeks for a spring in the mud? Who wants to drink from muddy water? So where there is luxurious living, excess, and a union of vices, who will think that he ought to draw from that source? Who does not despise a foul life? Who will think a man to be useful to another's cause whom he sees to be useless in his own life? Who, again, does not avoid a wicked, ill-disposed, abusive person, who is always ready to do harm? Who would not be only too eager to avoid him?

61. And who will come to a man however well fitted to give the best of advice who is nevertheless hard to approach? It goes with him as with a fountain whose waters are shut off. What is the advantage of having wisdom, if one refuses to give advice? If one cuts off the opportunities of giving advice, the source is closed, so as no longer to flow for others or to be of any good to oneself.

62. Well can we refer this to him who, possessing prudence, has defiled it with the foulness of a vicious life and so pollutes the water at the source. His life is a proof of a degenerate spirit. How can one judge him to be good in counsel whom one sees to be evil in character? He ought to be superior to me, if I am ready to trust myself to him. Am I to suppose that he is fit to give me advice who never takes it for himself, or am I to believe that he has

time to give to me when he has none for himself, when his mind is filled with pleasures, and he is overcome by lust, is the slave of avarice, is excited by greed, and is terrified with fright? How is there room for counsel here where there is none for quiet?

63. That man of counsel whom I must admire and look up to, whom the gracious Lord gave to our fathers, put aside all that was offensive. His follower he ought to be, who can give counsel and protect another's prudence from vice; for nothing foul can mingle with that.

CHAPTER 13.

The beauty of wisdom is made plain by the divine testimony. From this he goes on to prove its connection with the other virtues.

64. IS THERE any one who would like to be beautiful in face and at the same time to have its charm spoilt by a beast-like body and fearful talons? Now the form of virtues is so wonderful and glorious, and especially the beauty of wisdom, as the whole of the Scriptures tell us. For it is more brilliant than the sun, and when compared with the stars far outshines any constellation. Night takes their light away in its train, but wickedness cannot overcome wisdom. Wisdom 7:29-30

65. We have spoken of its beauty, and proved it by the witness of Scripture. It remains to show on the authority of Scripture Wisdom 7:22-23 that there can be no fellowship between it and vice, but that it has an inseparable union with the rest of the virtues. It has a spirit sagacious, undefiled, sure, holy, loving what is good, quick, that never forbids a kindness, kind, steadfast, free from care, having all power, overseeing all things. And again: Wisdom 8:7 She teaches temperance and justice and virtue.

CHAPTER 14.

Prudence is combined with all the virtues, especially with contempt of riches.

66. PRUDENCE, THEREFORE, works through all things, she has fellowship with all that is good. For how can she give good advice unless she have justice too, so that she may clothe herself in consistency, not fear death, be held back by no alarm, no fear, nor think it right to be turned aside from the truth by any flattery, nor shun exile, knowing that the world is the fatherland of the wise man. She fears not want, for she knows that nothing is wanting to the wise man, since the whole world of riches is his. What is greater than the man that knows not how to be excited at the thought of money, and has a contempt for riches, and looks down as from some lofty vantage-ground on the desires of men? Men think that one who acts thus is more than man: Who is this, it says, and we will praise him. For wonderful things has he done in his life. Sirach 31:9 Surely he ought to be admired who despises riches, seeing that most place them even before their own safety.

67. The rule of economy and the authority of self-restraint befits all, and most of all him who stands highest in honour; so that no love for his treasures may seize upon such a man, and that he who rules over free men may never become a slave to money. It is more seemly that in soul he should be superior to treasures, and in willing service be subject to his friends. For humility increases the regard in which one is held. It is praiseworthy and right for the chief of men to have no desire for filthy lucre in common with Syrian traders and Gilead merchants, nor to place all their

hope of good in money, or to count up their daily gains and to calculate their savings like a hireling.

CHAPTER 15.

Of liberality. To whom it must chiefly be shown, and how men of slender means may show it by giving their service and counsel.

68. BUT IF it is praiseworthy to have one's soul free from this failing, how much more glorious is it to gain the love of the people by liberality which is neither too freely shown to those who are unsuitable, nor too sparingly bestowed upon the needy.

69. There are many kinds of liberality. Not only can we distribute and give away food to those who need it from our own daily supply, so that they may sustain life; but we can also give advice and help to those who are ashamed to show their want openly, so long as the common supplies of the needy are not exhausted. I am now speaking of one set over some office. If he is a priest or almoner, let him inform the bishop of them, and not withhold the name of any he knows to be in any need, or to have lost their wealth and to be now reduced to want; especially if they have not fallen into this trouble owing to wastefulness in youth, but because of another's theft, or through loss of their inheritance from no fault of their own, so that they cannot now earn their daily bread.

70. The highest kind of liberality is, to redeem captives, to save them from the hands of their enemies, to snatch men from death, and, most of all, women from shame, to restore children to their parents, parents to their children, and, to give back a citizen to his country. This was recognized when Thrace and Illyria were so terribly devastated. How many captives were then for sale all over the world! Could one but call them together, their number would have surpassed that of a whole province. Yet there were

some who would have sent back into slavery those whom the Church had redeemed. They themselves were harder than slavery itself to look askance at another's mercy. If they themselves (they said) had come to slavery, they would be slaves freely. If they had been sold, they would not refuse the service of slavery. They wished to undo the freedom of others, though they could not undo their own slavery, unless perchance it should please the buyer to receive his price again, whereby, however, slavery would not be simply undone but redeemed.

71. It is then a special quality of liberality to redeem captives, especially from barbarian enemies who are moved by no spark of human feeling to show mercy, except so far as avarice has preserved it with a view to redemption. It is also a great thing to take upon oneself another's debt, if the debtor cannot pay and is hard pressed to do so, and where the money is due by right and is only left unpaid through want. So, too, it is a sign of great liberality to bring up children, and to take care of orphans.

72. There are others who place in marriage maidens that have lost their parents, so as to preserve their chastity, and who help them not only with good wishes but also by a sum of money. There is also another kind of liberality which the Apostle teaches: If any that believes has widows let him relieve them, that the Church be not burdened by supplying them, that it may have enough for those that are widows indeed. 1 Timothy 5:16

73. Useful, then, is liberality of this sort; but it is not common to all. For there are many good men who have but slender means, and are content with little for their own use, and are not able to give help to lighten the poverty of others. However, another sort of kindness is ready to their hand, whereby they can help those poorer still. For there is a twofold liberality: one that gives actual assistance, that is, in money; the other, which is busy in offering active help, is often much grander and nobler.

74. How much grander it was for Abraham to have recovered his captured son-in-law by his victorious arms, Genesis 14:16 than if he had ransomed him! How much more usefully did holy Joseph help King Pharaoh by his counsel to provide for the future, than if he had offered him money! For money would not have bought back the fruitfulness of any one state; while he by his foresight kept the famine for five years Genesis 41:53-57 from the whole of Egypt.

75. Money is easily spent; counsels can never be exhausted. They only grow the stronger by constant use. Money grows less and quickly comes to an end, and has failed even kindness itself; so that the more there are to whom one wants to give, the fewer one can help; and often one has not got what one thinks ought to be given to others. But as regards the offer of advice and active help, the more there are to spend it on, the more there seems to be, and the more it returns to its own source. The rich stream of prudence ever flows back upon itself, and the more it has reached out to, so much the more active becomes all that remains.

CHAPTER 16.

Due measure must be observed in liberality, that it may not be expended on worthless persons, when it is needed by worthier ones. However, alms are not to be given in too sparing and hesitating a way. One ought rather to follow the example of the blessed Joseph, whose prudence is commended at great length.

76. IT IS clear, then, that there ought to be due measure in our liberality, that our gifts may not become useless. Moderation must be observed, especially by priests, for fear that they should give away for the sake of ostentation, and not for justice' sake. Never was the greed of beggars greater than it is now. They come in full vigour, they come with no reason but that they are on the tramp. They want to empty the purses of the poor — to deprive them of their means of support. Not content with a little, they ask for more. In the clothes that cover them they seek a ground to urge their demands, and with lies about their lives they ask for further sums of money. If any one were to trust their tale too readily, he would quickly drain the fund which is meant to serve for the sustenance of the poor. Let there be method in our giving, so that the poor may not go away empty nor the subsistence of the needy be done away and become the spoil of the dishonest. Let there be then such due measure that kindness may never be put aside, and true need never be left neglected.

77. Many pretend they have debts. Let the truth be looked into. They bemoan the fact that they have been stripped of everything by robbers. In such a case give credit only if the misfortune is apparent, or the person is well known; and then readily give help. To those rejected by the Church

supplies must be granted if they are in want of food. He, then, that observes method in his giving is hard towards none, but is free towards all. We ought not only to lend our ears to hear the voices of those who plead, but also our eyes to look into their needs. Weakness calls more loudly to the good dispenser than the voice of the poor. It cannot always be that the cries of an importunate beggar will never extort more, but let us not always give way to impudence. He must be seen who does not see you. He must be sought for who is ashamed to be seen. He also that is in prison must come to your thoughts; another seized with sickness must present himself to your mind, as he cannot reach your ears.

78. The more people see your zeal in showing mercy, the more will they love you. I know many priests who had the more, the more they gave. For they who see a good dispenser give him something to distribute in his round of duty, sure that the act of mercy will reach the poor. If they see him giving away either in excess or too sparingly, they contemn either of these; in the one case because he wastes the fruits of another's labours by unnecessary payments, on the other hand because he hoards them in his money bags. As, then, method must be observed in liberality, so also at times it seems as though the spur must be applied. Method, then, so that the kindness one shows may be able to be shown day by day, and that we may not have to withdraw from a needful case what we have freely spent on waste. A spur, because money is better laid out in food for the poor than on a purse for the rich. We must take care lest in our money chests we shut up the welfare of the needy, and bury the life of the poor as it were in a sepulchre.

79. Joseph could have given away all the wealth of Egypt, and have spent the royal treasures; but he would not even seem to be wasteful of what was another's. He preferred to sell the grain rather than to give it to the hungry. For if he had given it to a few there would have been none for most. He gave good proof of that liberality whereby there was enough for all. He

opened the storehouses that all might buy their grain supply, lest if they received it for nothing, they should give up cultivating the ground. For he who has the use of what is another's often neglects his own.

80. First of all, then, he gathered up their money, then their implements, last of all he acquired for the king all their rights to the ground. Genesis 47:14-20 He did not wish to deprive all of them of their property, but to support them in it. He also imposed a general tax, that they might hold their own in safety. So pleasing was this to all from whom he had taken the land, that they looked on it, not as the selling of their rights, but as the recovery of their welfare. Thus they spoke: You have saved our lives, let us find grace in the sight of our Lord. Genesis 47:25 For they had lost nothing of their own, but had received a new right. Nothing of what was useful to them had failed, for they had now gained it in perpetuity.

81. O noble man! who sought not for the fleeting glory of a needless bounty, but set up as his memorial the lasting benefits of his foresight. He acted so that the people should help themselves by their payments, and should not in their time of need seek help from others. For it was surely better to give up part of their crops than to lose the whole of their rights. He fixed the impost at a fifth of their whole produce, and thus showed himself clear-sighted in making provision for the future, and liberal in the tax he laid upon them. Never after did Egypt suffer from such a famine.

82. How splendidly he inferred the future. First, how acutely, when interpreting the royal dream, he stated the truth. This was the king's first dream. Seven heifers came up out of the river well-favoured and fat-fleshed, and they fed at the banks of the river. And other bullocks ill-favoured and lean-fleshed came up out of the river after the heifers, and fed near them on the very edge of the river. And these thin and wretched bullocks seemed to devour those others which were so fat and well-favoured. And this was the second dream. Seven fat ears full and good

came up from the ground. And after them seven wretched ears, blasted with the wind and withered, endeavoured to take their place. And it seemed that the barren and thin ears devoured the rich and fruitful ears.

83. This dream Joseph unfolded as follows: that the seven heifers were seven years, and the seven ears likewise were seven years — interpreting the times by the produce of cattle and crops. For both the calving of a heifer takes a year, and the produce of a crop fills out a whole year. And they came up out of the river just as days, years, and times pass by and flow along swiftly like the rivers. He therefore states that the seven earlier years of a rich land will be fertile and fruitful but the latter seven years will be barren and unfruitful, whose barrenness will eat up the richness of the former time. Wherefore he warns them to see that supplies of grain are got together in the fruitful years that they may help out the needs of the coming scarcity.

84. What shall we admire first? His powers of mind, with which he descended to the very resting-place of truth? Or his counsel, whereby he foresaw so great and lasting a need? Or his watchfulness or justice? By his watchfulness, when so high an office was given him, he gathered together such vast supplies; and through his justice he treated all alike. And what am I to say of his greatness of mind? For though sold by his brothers into slavery, Genesis 37:28 he took no revenge for this wrong, but put an end to their want. What of his gentleness, whereby by a pious fraud he sought to gain the presence of his beloved brother whom, under pretence of a well-planned theft, he declared to have stolen his property, that he might hold him as a hostage of his love?

85. Whence it was deservedly said to him by his father: My son Joseph is enlarged, my son is enlarged, my younger son, my beloved. My God has helped you and blessed you with the blessing of heaven above and the blessing of the earth, the earth that has all things, on account of the blessings of your father and your mother. It has prevailed over the blessings

of the everlasting hills and the desires of the eternal hills. And in Deuteronomy: You Who wast seen in the bush, that You may come upon the head of Joseph, upon his pate. Honoured among his brethren, his glory is as the firstling of his bullocks; his horns are like the horns of unicorns. With his horn he shall push the nations even to the ends of the earth. They are the ten thousands of Ephraim and the thousands of Manasseh. Deuteronomy 33:16-17

CHAPTER 17.

What virtues ought to exist in him whom we consult. How Joseph and Paul were equipped with them.

86. SUCH, THEN, ought he to be who gives counsel to another, in order that he may offer himself as a pattern in all good works, in teaching, in trueness of character, in seriousness. Thus his words will be wholesome and irreproachable, his counsel useful, his life virtuous, and his opinions seemly.

87. Such was Paul, who gave counsel to virgins, 1 Corinthians 7:25 guidance to priests, so as to offer himself as a pattern for us to copy. Thus he knew how to be humble, as also Joseph did, who, though sprung from the noble family of the patriarchs, was not ashamed of his base slavery; rather he adorned it with his ready service, and made it glorious by his virtues. He knew how to be humble who had to go through the hands of both buyer and seller, and called them, Lord. Hear him as he humbles himself: My lord on my account knows not what is in his house, and he has committed all that he has to my hand, neither has he kept back anything from me but you, because you are his wife; how, then, can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God? Genesis 39:8-9 Full of humility are his words, full, too, of chastity. Of humility, for he was obedient to his Lord; of an honourable spirit, for he was grateful; full, also, of chastity, for he thought it a terrible sin to be defiled by so great a crime.

88. Such, then, ought the man of counsel to be. He must have nothing dark, or deceptive, or false about him, to cast a shadow on his life and character, nothing wicked or evil to keep back those who want advice. For there are some things which one flies from, others which one despises. We

fly from those things which can do harm, or can perfidiously and quietly grow to do us hurt, as when he whose advice we ask is of doubtful honour, or is desirous of money, so that a certain sum can make him change his mind. If a man acts unjustly, we fly from him and avoid him. A man that is a pleasure seeker and extravagant, although he does not act falsely, yet is avaricious and too fond of filthy lucre; such an one is despised. What proof of hard work, what fruits of labour, can he give who gives himself up to a sluggish and idle life, or what cares and anxieties ever enter his mind?

89. Therefore the man of good counsel says: I have learned in whatsoever state I am therewith to be content. Philippians 4:11 For he knew that the root of all evils is the love of money, 1 Timothy 6:10 and therefore he was content with what he had, without seeking for what was another's. Sufficient for me, he says, is what I have; whether I have little or much, to me it is much. It seems as though he wanted to state it as clearly as possible. He makes use of these words: I am content, he says, with what I have. That means: I neither have want, nor have I too much. I have no want, for I seek nothing more. I have not too much, for I have it not for myself, but for the many. This is said with reference to money.

90. But he could have said these words about everything, for all that he had at the moment contented him; that is, he wanted no greater honour, he sought for no further services, he was not desirous of vainglory, nor did he look for gratitude where it was not due; but patient in labours, sure in his merits, he waited for the end of the struggle that he must needs endure. I know, he says, how to be abased. Philippians 4:12 An untaught humility has no claim to praise, but only that which possesses modesty and a knowledge of self. For there is a humility that rests on fear, one, too, that rests on want of skill and ignorance. Therefore the Scripture says: He will save the humble in spirit. Gloriously, therefore, does he say: I know how to be abased; that is to say, where, in what moderation, to what end, in what duty,

in which office. The Pharisee knew not how to be abased, therefore he was cast down. The publican knew, and therefore he was justified. Luke 18:11

91. Paul knew, too, how to abound, for he had a rich soul, though he possessed not the treasure of a rich man. He knew how to abound, for he sought no gift in money, but looked for fruit in grace. We can understand his words that he knew how to abound also in another way. For he could say again: O you Corinthians, our mouth is open unto you, our heart is enlarged. 2 Corinthians 6:14

92. In all things he was accustomed both to be full and to be hungry. Blessed is he that knows how to be full in Christ. Not corporal, but spiritual, is that satiety which knowledge brings about. And rightly is there need of knowledge: For man lives not by bread alone, but by every word of God. Deuteronomy 8:3 For he who knew how to be full also knew how to be hungry, so as to be always seeking something new, hungering after God, thirsting for the Lord. He knew how to hunger, for he knew that the hungry shall eat. Matthew 5:6 He knew, also, how to abound, and was able to abound, for he had nothing and yet possessed all things. 2 Corinthians 6:10

CHAPTER 18.

We learn from the fact of the separation of the ten tribes from King Rehoboam what harm bad counsellors can do.

93. JUSTICE, THEN, especially graces men that are set over any office; on the other hand, injustice fails them and fights against them. Scripture itself gives us an example, where it says, that when the people of Israel, after the death of Solomon, had asked his son Rehoboam to free their neck from their cruel yoke, and to lighten the harshness of his father's rule, he, despising the counsel of the old men, gave the following answer at the suggestion of the young men: He would add a burden to the yoke of his father, and change their lighter toils for harder.

94. Angered by this answer, the people said: We have no portion in David, nor inheritance in the son of Jesse. Return to your tents, O Israel. For we will not have this man for a prince or a leader over us. So, forsaken and deserted by the people, he could keep with him scarce two of the ten tribes for David's sake.

CHAPTER 19.

Many are won by justice and benevolence and courtesy, but all this must be sincere.

95. IT IS plain, then, that equity strengthens empires, and injustice destroys them. How could wickedness hold fast a kingdom when it cannot even rule over a single family? There is need, therefore, of the greatest kindness, so that we may preserve not only the government of affairs in general, but also the rights of individuals. Benevolence is of the greatest value; for it seeks to embrace all in its favours, to bind them to itself by fulfilling duties, and to pledge them to itself by its charm.

96. We have also said that courtesy of speech has great effect in winning favour. But we want it to be sincere and sensible, without flattery, lest flattery should disgrace the simplicity and purity of our address. We ought to be a pattern to others not only in act but also in word, in purity, and in faith. What we wish to be thought, such let us be; and let us show openly such feelings as we have within us. Let us not say an unjust word in our heart that we think can be hid in silence, for He hears things said in secret Who made things secret, and knows the secrets of the heart, and has implanted feelings within. Therefore as though under the eyes of the Judge let us consider all we do as set forth in the light, that it may be manifest to all.

CHAPTER 20.

Familiarity with good men is very advantageous to all, especially to the young, as is shown by the example of Joshua and Moses and others. Further, those who are unlike in age are often alike in virtues, as Peter and John prove.

97. IT IS a very good thing to unite oneself to a good man. It is also very useful for the young to follow the guidance of great and wise men. For he who lives in company with wise men is wise himself; but he who clings to the foolish is looked on as a fool too. This friendship with the wise is a great help in teaching us, and also as giving a sure proof of our uprightness. Young men show very soon that they imitate those to whom they attach themselves. And this idea gains ground from the fact that in all their daily life they grow to be like those with whom they have enjoyed intercourse to the full.

98. Joshua the Son of Nun became so great, because his union with Moses was the means not only of instructing him in a knowledge of the law, but also of sanctifying him to receive grace. When in His tabernacle the majesty of the Lord was seen to shine forth in its divine Presence, Joshua alone was in the tabernacle. When Moses spoke with God, Joshua too was covered by the sacred cloud. The priests and people stood below, and Joshua and Moses went up the mount to receive the law. All the people were within the camp; Joshua was without the camp in the tabernacle of witness. When the pillar of a cloud came down, and God spoke with Moses, he stood as a trusty servant beside him; and he, a young man, did not go out

of the tabernacle, though the old men who stood afar off trembled at these divine wonders.

99. Everywhere, therefore, he alone kept close to holy Moses amid all these wondrous works and dread secrets. Wherefore it happens that he who had been his companion in this intercourse with God succeeded to his power. Deuteronomy 34:9 Worthy surely was he to stand forth as a man who might stay the course of the river, and who might say: Sun, stand still, and delay the night and lengthen the day, as though to witness his victory. Joshua 10:12-13 Why? — a blessing denied to Moses — he alone was chosen to lead the people into the promised land. A man he was, great in the wonders he wrought by faith, great in his triumphs. The works of Moses were of a higher type, his brought greater success. Either of these then aided by divine grace rose above all human standing. The one ruled the sea, the other heaven.

100. Beautiful, therefore, is the union between old and young. The one to give witness, the other to give comfort; the one to give guidance, the other to give pleasure. I pass by Lot, who when young clung to Abraham, as he was setting out. Genesis 12:5 For some perhaps might say this arose rather owing to their relationship than from any voluntary action on his part. And what are we to say of Elijah and Elisha? Though Scripture has not in so many words stated that Elisha was a young man, yet we gather from it that he was the younger. In the Acts of the Apostles, Barnabas took Mark with him, and Paul took Silas Acts 15:39-40 and Timothy Acts 16:3 and Titus. Titus 1:5

101. We see also that duties were divided among them according to their superiority in anything. The elders took the lead in giving counsel, the younger in showing activity. Often, too, those who were alike in virtue but unlike in years were greatly rejoiced at their union, as Peter and John were. We read in the Gospel that John was a young man, even in his own words,

though he was behind none of the elders in merits and wisdom. For in him there was a venerable ripeness of character and the prudence of the hoarhead. An unspotted life is the due of a good old age.

CHAPTER 21.

To defend the weak, or to help strangers, or to perform similar duties, greatly adds to one's worth, especially in the case of tried men. Whilst one gets great blame for love of money; wastefulness, also, in the case of priests is very much condemned.

102. THE REGARD in which one is held is also very much enhanced when one rescues a poor man out of the hands of a powerful one, or saves a condemned criminal from death; so long as it can be done without disturbance, for fear that we might seem to be doing it rather for the sake of showing off than for pity's sake, and so might inflict severer wounds while desiring to heal slighter ones. But if one has freed a man who is crushed down by the resources and faction of a powerful person, rather than overwhelmed by the deserts of his own wickedness, then the witness of a great and high opinion grows strong.

103. Hospitality also serves to recommend many. For it is a kind of open display of kindly feelings: so that the stranger may not want hospitality, but be courteously received, and that the door may be open to him when he comes. It is most seemly in the eyes of the whole world that the stranger should be received with honour; that the charm of hospitality should not fail at our table; that we should meet a with ready and free service, and look out for his arrival.

104. This especially was Abraham's praise, for he watched at the door of his tent, that no stranger by any chance might pass by. He carefully kept a lookout, so as to meet the stranger, and anticipate him, and ask him not to pass by, saying: My lord, if I have found favour in your sight, pass not by

your servant. Genesis 18:3 Therefore as a reward for his hospitality, he received the gift of posterity.

105. Lot also, his nephew, Genesis 19:20 who was near to him not only in relationship but also in virtue, on account of his readiness to show hospitality, turned aside the punishment of Sodom from himself and his family.

106. A man ought therefore to be hospitable, kind, upright, not desirous of what belongs to another, willing to give up some of his own rights if assailed, rather than to take away another's. He ought to avoid disputes, to hate quarrels. He ought to restore unity and the grace of quietness. When a good man gives up any of his own rights, it is not only a sign of liberality, but is also accompanied by great advantages. To start with, it is no small gain to be free from the cost of a lawsuit. Then it also brings in good results, by an increase of friendship, from which many advantages rise. These become afterwards most useful to the man that can despise a little something at the time.

107. In all the duties of hospitality kindly feeling must be shown to all, but greater respect must be given to the upright. For Whosoever receives a righteous man, in the name of a righteous man, shall receive a righteous man's reward, Matthew 10:41 as the Lord has said. Such is the favour in which hospitality stands with God, that not even the draught of cold water shall fail of getting a reward. Matthew 10:42 You see that Abraham, in looking for guests, received God Himself to entertain. You see that Lot received the angels. Genesis 19:3 And how do you know that when you receive men, thou dost not receive Christ? Christ may be in the stranger that comes, for Christ is there in the person of the poor, as He Himself says: I was in prison and you came to Me, I was naked and you clothed Me. Matthew 25:36 .

108. It is sweet, then, to seek not for money but for grace. It is true that this evil has long ago entered into human hearts, so that money stands in the place of honour, and the minds of men are filled with admiration for wealth. Thus love of money sinks in and as it were dries up every kindly duty; so that men consider everything a loss which is spent beyond the usual amount. But even here the holy Scriptures have been on the watch against love of money, that it might prove no cause of hindrance, saying: Better is hospitality, even though it consists only of herbs. Proverbs 15:17 And again: Better is bread in pleasantness with peace. Proverbs 17:1 For the Scriptures teach us not to be wasteful, but liberal.

109. There are two kinds of free-giving, one arising from liberality, the other from wasteful extravagance. It is a mark of liberality to receive the stranger, to clothe the naked, to redeem the captives, to help the needy. It is wasteful to spend money on expensive banquets and much wine. Wherefore one reads: Wine is wasteful, drunkenness is abusive. Proverbs 20:1 It is wasteful to spend one's own wealth merely for the sake of gaining the favour of the people. This they do who spend their inheritance on the games of the circus, or on theatrical pieces and gladiatorial shows, or even a combat of wild beasts, just to surpass the fame of their forefathers for these things. All this that they do is but foolish, for it is not right to be extravagant in spending money even on good works.

110. It is a right kind of liberality to keep due measure towards the poor themselves, that one may have enough for more; and not to go beyond the right limit for the sake of winning favour. Whatever comes forth out of a pure sincere disposition, that is seemly. It is also seemly not to enter on unnecessary undertakings, nor to omit those that are needed.

111. But it befits the priest especially to adorn the temple of God with fitting splendour, so that the court of the Lord may be made glorious by his endeavours. He ought always to spend money as mercy demands. It

behooves him to give to strangers what is right. This must not be too much, but enough; not more than, but as much as, kindly feeling demands, so that he may never seek another's favour at the expense of the poor, nor show himself as either too stingy or too free to the clergy. The one act is unkind, the other wasteful. It is unkind if money should be wanting for the necessities of those whom one ought to win back from their wretched employments. It is wasteful if there should be too much over for pleasure.

CHAPTER 22.

We must observe a right standard between too great mildness and excessive harshness. They who endeavour to creep into the hearts of others by a false show of mildness gain nothing substantial or lasting. This the example of Absalom plainly enough shows.

112. MOREOVER, DUE measure befits even our words and instructions, that it may not seem as though there was either too great mildness or too much harshness. Many prefer to be too mild, so as to appear to be good. But it is certain that nothing feigned or false can bear the form of true virtue; nay, it cannot even last. At first it flourishes, then, as time goes on, like a floweret it fades and passes away, but what is true and sincere has a deep root.

113. To prove by examples our assertion that what is feigned cannot last, but flourishing just for a time quickly fails, we will take one example of pretence and falsehood from that family, from which we have already drawn so many examples to show their growth in virtue.

114. Absalom was King David's son, known for his beauty, of splendid appearance and in the heyday of youth; so that no other such man as he was found in Israel. He was without a blemish from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head. He had for himself a chariot and horses and fifty men to run before him. He rose at early dawn and stood before the gate in the way, and whoever he knew to be seeking the judgment of the king, he called to himself, saying: From what city are you? And he answered: I your servant am of one of the tribes of Israel. And Absalom answered: Your words are good and right. Is there none given you by the king to hear you? Who will

make me a judge? And whosoever will come unto me, that has need of judgment, I will give him justice. With such words he cajoled them. And when they came to make obeisance to him, stretching forth his hand he took hold of them and kissed them. So he turned the hearts of all to himself. For flattery of this sort quickly finds its way to touch the very depths of the heart.

115. Those spoilt and ambitious men chose what for a time seemed an honour to them, and was pleasing and enjoyable. But while that delay took place, which the prophet, being prudent above all, thought ought to intervene, they could no longer hold out or bear it. Then David having no doubt about the victory commended his son to those who went out to fight, so that they should spare him. He would not engage in the battle himself lest he should seem to be taking up arms against one who was still his son, though attempting to destroy his father.

116. It is clear, then, that those things are lasting and sound, which are true and grow out of a sincere and not a false heart. Those, however, which are brought about by pretence and adulation can never last for long.

CHAPTER 23.

The good faith of those who are easily bought over with money or flattery is a frail thing to trust to.

117. WHO WOULD suppose that those who are bought over to obedience by money, or those who are allured by adulation, would ever be faithful to them? For the former are ever ready to sell themselves, while the latter cannot put up with a hard rule. They are easily won with a little adulation, but if one reproves them by a word, they murmur against it, they give one up, they go away with hostile feelings, they forsake one in anger. They prefer to rule rather than to obey. They think that those whom they ought to have placed over them ought to be subject to themselves, as though indebted to them by their kindness.

118. What man is there that thinks those will be faithful to himself, whom he believes he will have to bind to himself by money or flattery? For he who takes your money supposes that he is cheaply held, and looked down upon, unless the money is paid again and again. So he frequently expects his price; while the other, who is met with prayer and flattery, is always wanting to be asked.

CHAPTER 24.

We must strive for preferment only by right means. An office undertaken must be carried out wisely and with moderation. The inferior clergy should not detract from the bishop's reputation by feigned virtues; nor again, should the bishop be jealous of a cleric, but he should be just in all things and especially in giving judgment.

119. I THINK, then, that one should strive to win preferment, especially in the Church, only by good actions and with a right aim; so that there may be no proud conceit, no idle carelessness, no shameful disposition of mind, no unseemly ambition. A plain simplicity of mind is enough for everything, and commends itself quite sufficiently.

120. When in office, again, it is not right to be harsh and severe, nor may one be too easy; lest on the one hand we should seem to be exercising a despotic power, and on the other to be by no means filling the office we had taken up.

121. We must strive also to win many by kindnesses and duties that we can do, and to preserve the favour already shown us. For they will with good reason forget the benefits of former times if they are now vexed at some great wrong. For it often enough happens that those one has shown favour to and allowed to rise step by step, are driven away, if one decides in some unworthy way to put another before them. But it is seemly for a priest to show such favour in his kindnesses and his decisions as to guard equity, and to show regard to the other clergy as to parents.

122. Those who once stood approved should not now become overbearing, but rather, as mindful of the grace they have received, stand

firm in their humility. A priest ought not to be offended if either cleric or attendant or any ecclesiastic should win regard for himself, by showing mercy, or by fasting, or by uprightness of life, or by teaching and reading. For the grace of the Church is the praise of the teacher. It is a good thing that the work of another should be praised, if only it be done without any desire to boast. For each one should receive praise from the lips of his neighbour, and not from his own mouth, and each one should be commended by the work he has done, not merely by the wishes he had.

123. But if any one is disobedient to his bishop and wishes to exalt and upraise himself, and to overshadow his bishop's merits by a feigned appearance of learning or humility or mercy, he is wandering from the truth in his pride; for the rule of truth is, to do nothing to advance one's own cause whereby another loses ground, nor to use whatever good one has to the disgrace or blame of another.

124. Never protect a wicked man, nor allow the sacred things to be given over to an unworthy one; on the other hand, do not harass and press hard on a man whose fault is not clearly proved. Injustice quickly gives offense in every case, but especially in the Church, where equity ought to exist, where like treatment should be given to all, so that a powerful person may not claim the more, nor a rich man appropriate the more. For whether we be poor or rich, we are one in Christ. Let him that lives a holier life claim nothing more thereby for himself; for he ought rather to be the more humble for it.

125. In giving judgment let us have no respect of persons. Favour must be put out of sight, and the case be decided on its merits. Nothing is so great a strain on another's good opinion or confidence, as the fact of our giving away the cause of the weaker to the more powerful in any case that comes before us. The same happens if we are hard on the poor, while we make excuses for the rich man when guilty. Men are ready enough to flatter those

in high positions, so as not to let them think themselves injured, or to feel vexed as though overthrown. But if you fear to give offense then do not undertake to give judgment. If you are a priest or some cleric do not urge it. It is allowable for you to be silent in the matter, if it be a money affair, though it is always due to consistency to be on the side of equity. But in the cause of God, where there is danger to the whole Church, it is no small sin to act as though one saw nothing.

CHAPTER 25.

Benefits should be conferred on the poor rather than on the rich, for these latter either think a return is expected from them, or else they are angry at seeming to be indebted for such an action. But the poor man makes God the debtor in his place, and freely owns to the benefits he has received. To these remarks is added a warning to despise riches.

126. BUT WHAT advantage is it to you to show favour to a rich man? Is it that he is more ready to repay one who loves him? For we generally show favour to those from whom we expect to receive a return of favour. But we ought to think far more of the weak and helpless, because we hope to receive, on behalf of him who has it not, a recompense from the Lord Jesus, Who in the likeness of a marriage feast Luke 14:12-13 has given us a general representation of virtue. By this He bids us confer benefits rather on those who cannot give them to us in return, teaching us to bid to our feasts and meals, not those who are rich, but those that are poor. For the rich seem to be asked that they may prepare a banquet for us in return; the poor, as they have nothing wherewith to make return, when they receive anything, make the Lord to be our recompense Who has offered Himself as surety for the poor.

127. In the ordinary course of things, too, the conferring of a benefit on the poor is of more use than when it is conferred on the rich. The rich man scorns the benefit and is ashamed to feel indebted for a favour. Nay, moreover, whatever is offered to him he takes as due to his merits, as though only a just debt were paid him; or else he thinks it was but given because the giver expected a still greater return to be made him by the rich

man. So, in accepting a kindness, the rich man, on that very ground, thinks that he has given more than he ever received. The poor man, however, though he has no money wherewith he can repay, at least shows his gratitude. And herein it is certain that he returns more than he received. For money is paid in coins, but gratitude never fails; money grows less by payment, but gratitude fails when held back, and is preserved when given to others. Next — a thing the rich man avoids — the poor man owns that he feels bound by the debt. He really thinks help has been given him, not that it has been offered in return for his honour. He considers that his children have been again given him, that his life is restored and his family preserved. How much better, then, is it to confer benefits upon the good than on the ungrateful.

128. Wherefore the Lord said to His disciples: Take neither gold nor silver nor money. Matthew 10:9 Whereby as with a sickle He cuts off the love of money that is ever growing up in human hearts. Peter also said to the lame man, who was always carried even from his mother’s womb: Silver and gold have I none, but what I have give I you. In the Name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, arise and walk. Acts 3:6 So he gave not money, but he gave health. How much better it is to have health without money, than money without health! The lame man rose; he had not hoped for that: he received no money; though he had hoped for that. But riches are hardly to be found among the saints of the Lord, so as to become objects of contempt to them.

CHAPTER 26.

How long standing an evil love of money is, is plain from many examples in the Old Testament. And yet it is plain, too, how idle a thing the possession of money is.

129. BUT MAN'S habits have so long applied themselves to this admiration of money, that no one is thought worthy of honour unless he is rich. This is no new habit. Nay, this vice (and that makes the matter worse) grew long years ago in the hearts of men. When the city of Jericho fell at the sound of the priests' trumpets, and Joshua the Son of Nun gained the victory, he knew that the valour of the people was weakened through love of money and desire for gold. For when Achan had taken a garment of gold and two hundred shekels of silver and a golden ingot from the spoils of the ruined city, he was brought before the Lord, and could not deny the theft, but owned it. Joshua 7:21

130. Love of money, then, is an old, an ancient vice, which showed itself even at the declaration of the divine law; for a law was given to check it. Exodus 20:17 On account of love of money Balak thought Balaam could be tempted by rewards to curse the people of our fathers. Numbers 22:17 Love of money would have won the day too, had not God bidden him hold back from cursing. Overcome by love of money Achan led to destruction all the people of the fathers. So Joshua the Son of Nun, who could stay the sun from setting, could not stay the love of money in man from creeping on. At the sound of his voice the sun stood still, but love of money stayed not. When the sun stood still Joshua completed his triumph, but when love of money went on, he almost lost the victory.

131. Why? Did not the woman Delilah's love of money deceive Samson, the bravest man of all? Judges 16:6 So he who had torn asunder the roaring lion with his hands; Judges 14:6 who, when bound and handed over to his enemies, alone, without help, burst his bonds and slew a thousand of them; Judges 15:14-15 who broke the cords interwoven with sinews as though they were but the slight threads of a net; he, I say, having laid his head on the woman's knee, was robbed of the decoration of his victory-bringing hair, that which gave him his might. Money flowed into the lap of the woman, and the favour of God forsook the man. Judges 16:20

132. Love of money, then, is deadly. Seductive is money, while it also defiles those who have it, and helps not those who have it not. Supposing that money sometimes is a help, yet it is only a help to a poor man who makes his want known. What good is it to him who does not long for it, nor seek it; who does not need its help and is not turned aside by pursuit of it? What good is it to others, if he who has it is alone the richer for it? Is he therefore more honourable because he has that whereby honour is often lost, because he has what he must guard rather than possess? We possess what we use, but what is beyond our use brings us no fruit of possession, but only the danger of watching.

CHAPTER 27.

In contempt of money there is the pattern of justice, which virtue bishops and clerics ought to aim at together with some others. A few words are added on the duty of not bringing an excommunication too quickly into force.

133. TO COME to an end; we know that contempt of riches is a form of justice, therefore we ought to avoid love of money, and strive with all our powers never to do anything against justice, but to guard it in all our deeds and actions.

134. If we would please God, we must have love, we must be of one mind, we must follow humility, each one thinking the other higher than himself. This is true humility, when one never claims anything proudly for oneself, but thinks oneself to be the inferior. The bishop should treat the clerics and attendants, who are indeed his sons, as members of himself, and give to each one that duty for which he sees him to be fit.

135. Not without pain is a limb of the body cut off which has become corrupt. It is treated for a long time, to see if it can be cured with various remedies. If it cannot be cured, then it is cut off by a good physician. Thus it is a good bishop's desire to wish to heal the weak, to remove the spreading ulcers, to burn some parts and not to cut them off; and lastly, when they cannot be healed, to cut them off with pain to himself. Wherefore that beautiful rule of the Apostle stands forth brightly, that we should look each one, not on his own things, but on the things of others. Philippians 2:4 In this way it will never come about that we shall in anger give way to our own feelings, or concede more than is right in favour to our own wishes.

CHAPTER 28.

Mercy must be freely shown even though it brings an odium of its own. With regard to this, reference is made to the well-known story about the sacred vessels which were broken up by Ambrose to pay for the redemption of captives; and very beautiful advice is given about the right use of the gold and silver which the Church possesses. Next, after showing from the action of holy Lawrence what are the true treasures of the Church, certain rules are laid down which ought to be observed in melting down and employing for such uses the consecrated vessels of the Church.

136. IT IS a very great incentive to mercy to share in others' misfortunes, to help the needs of others as far as our means allow, and sometimes even beyond them. For it is better for mercy's sake to take up a case, or to suffer odium rather than to show hard feeling. So I once brought odium on myself because I broke up the sacred vessels to redeem captives — a fact that could displease the Arians. Not that it displeased them as an act, but as being a thing in which they could take hold of something for which to blame me. Who can be so hard, cruel, iron-hearted, as to be displeased because a man is redeemed from death, or a woman from barbarian impurities, things that are worse than death, or boys and girls and infants from the pollution of idols, whereby through fear of death they were defiled?

137. Although we did not act thus without good reason, yet we have followed it up among the people so as to confess and to add again and again that it was far better to preserve souls than gold for the Lord. For He Who sent the apostles without gold Matthew 10:9 also brought together the churches without gold. The Church has gold, not to store up, but to lay out,

and to spend on those who need. What necessity is there to guard what is of no good? Do we not know how much gold and silver the Assyrians took out of the temple of the Lord? Is it not much better that the priests should melt it down for the sustenance of the poor, if other supplies fail, than that a sacrilegious enemy should carry it off and defile it? Would not the Lord Himself say: Why did you suffer so many needy to die of hunger? Surely you had gold? Thou should have given them sustenance. Why are so many captives brought on the slave market, and why are so many unredeemed left to be slain by the enemy? It had been better to preserve living vessels than gold ones.

138. To this no answer could be given. For what would you say: I feared that the temple of God would need its ornaments? He would answer: The sacraments need not gold, nor are they proper to gold only — for they are not bought with gold. The glory of the sacraments is the redemption of captives. Truly they are precious vessels, for they redeem men from death. That, indeed, is the true treasure of the Lord which effects what His blood effected. Then, indeed, is the vessel of the Lord's blood recognized, when one sees in either redemption, so that the chalice redeems from the enemy those whom His blood redeemed from sin. How beautifully it is said, when long lines of captives are redeemed by the Church: These Christ has redeemed. Behold the gold that can be tried, behold the useful gold, behold the gold of Christ which frees from death, behold the gold whereby modesty is redeemed and chastity is preserved.

139. These, then, I preferred to hand over to you as free men, rather than to store up the gold. This crowd of captives, this company surely is more glorious than the sight of cups. The gold of the Redeemer ought to contribute to this work so as to redeem those in danger. I recognize the fact that the blood of Christ not only glows in cups of gold, but also by the

office of redemption has impressed upon them the power of the divine operation.

140. Such gold the holy martyr Lawrence preserved for the Lord. For when the treasures of the Church were demanded from him, he promised that he would show them. On the following day he brought the poor together. When asked where the treasures were which he had promised, he pointed to the poor, saying: These are the treasures of the Church. And truly they were treasures, in whom Christ lives, in whom there is faith in Him. So, too, the Apostle says: We have this treasure in earthen vessels. 2 Corinthians 4:7 What greater treasures has Christ than those in whom He says He Himself lives? For thus it is written: I was hungry and you gave Me to eat, I was thirsty and you gave Me to drink, I was a stranger and you took Me in. Matthew 25:35 And again: What you did to one of these, you did it unto Me. Matthew 25:40 What better treasures has Jesus than those in which He loves to be seen?

141. These treasures Lawrence pointed out, and prevailed, for the persecutors could not take them away. Jehoiachim, who preserved his gold during the siege and spent it not in providing food, saw his gold carried off, and himself led into captivity. Lawrence, who preferred to spend the gold of the Church on the poor, rather than to keep it in hand for the persecutor, received the sacred crown of martyrdom for the unique and deep-sighted vigour of his meaning. Or was it perhaps said to holy Lawrence: Thou should not spend the treasures of the Church, or sell the sacred vessels?

142. It is necessary that every one should fill this office, with genuine good faith and clear-sighted forethought. If any one derives profit from it for himself it is a crime, but if he spends the treasures on the poor, or redeems captives, he shows mercy. For no one can say: Why does the poor man live? None can complain that captives are redeemed, none can find fault because a temple of the Lord is built, none can be angry because a plot

of ground has been enlarged for the burial of the bodies of the faithful, none can be vexed because in the tombs of the Christians there is rest for the dead. In these three ways it is allowable to break up, melt down, or sell even the sacred vessels of the Church.

143. It is necessary to see that the mystic cup does not go out of the Church, lest the service of the sacred chalice should be turned over to base uses. Therefore vessels were first sought for in the Church which had not been consecrated to such holy uses. Then broken up and afterwards melted down, they were given to the poor in small payments, and were also used for the ransom of captives. But if new vessels fail, or those which never seem to have been used for such a holy purpose, then, as I have already said, I think that all might be put to this use without irreverence.

CHAPTER 29.

The property of widows or of all the faithful, that has been entrusted to the Church, ought to be defended though it brings danger to oneself. This is illustrated by the example of Onias the priest, and of Ambrose, bishop of Ticinum.

144. GREAT CARE must be taken that the property entrusted by widows remains inviolate. It should be guarded without causing complaint, not only if it belongs to widows, but to any one at all. For good faith must be shown to all, though the cause of the widow and orphans comes first.

145. So everything entrusted to the temple was preserved in the name of the widows alone, as we read in the book of the Maccabees. 2 Maccabbees iii For when information was given of the money, which Simon treacherously had told King Antiochus could be found in large quantities in the temple at Jerusalem, Heliodorus was sent to look into the matter. He came to the temple, and made known to the high priest his hateful information and the reason of his coming.

146. Then the priest said that only means for the maintenance of the widows and orphans was laid up there. And when Heliodorus would have gone to seize it, and to claim it on the king's behalf, the, priests cast themselves before the altar, after putting on their priestly robes, and with tears called on the living God Who had given them the law concerning trust-money to show Himself as guardian of His own commands. The changed look and color of the high priest showed what grief of soul and anxiety and tension of mind were his. All wept, for the spot would fall into contempt, if not even in the temple of God safe and faithful guardianship

could be preserved. Women with breasts girded, and virgins who usually were shut in, knocked at the doors. Some ran to the walls, others looked out of the windows, all raised their hands to heaven in prayer that God would stand by His laws.

147. But Heliodorus, undeterred by this, was eager to carry out his intention, and had already surrounded the treasury with his followers, when suddenly there appeared to him a dreadful horseman all glorious in golden armour, his horse also being adorned with costly ornaments. Two other youths also appeared in glorious might and wondrous beauty, in splendour and glory and beauteous array. They stood round him, and on either side beat the sacrilegious wretch, and gave him stroke after stroke without intermission. What more need I say? Shut in by darkness he fell to the ground, and lay there nearly dead with fear at this plain proof of divine power, nor had he any hope of safety left within him. Joy returned to those who were in fear, fear fell on those who were so proud before. And some of the friends of Heliodorus in their trouble besought Onias, asking life for him, since he was almost at his last breath.

148. When, therefore, the high priest asked for this, the same youths again appeared to Heliodorus, clad in the same garments, and said to him: Give thanks to Onias the high priest, for whose sake your life is granted you. But do thou, having experienced the scourge of God, go and tell your friends how much you have learned of the sanctity of the temple and the power of God. With these words they passed out of sight. Heliodorus then, his life having come back to him, offered a sacrifice to the Lord, gave thanks to the priest Onias, and returned with his army to the king, saying: If you have an enemy or one who is plotting against your power, send him there and you will receive him back well scourged.

149. Therefore, my sons, good faith must be preserved in the case of trust-money, and care, too, must be shown. Your service will glow the

brighter if the oppression of a powerful man, which some widow or orphan cannot withstand, is checked by the assistance of the Church, and if you show that the command of the Lord has more weight with you than the favour of the rich.

150. You also remember how often we entered on a contest against the royal attacks, on behalf of the trust-money belonging to widows, yea, and to others as well. You and I shared this in common. I will also mention the late case of the Church at Ticinum, which was in danger of losing the widow's trust-money that it had received. For when he who wanted to claim it on some imperial rescript demanded it, the clergy did not maintain their rights. For they themselves, having once been called to office and sent to intervene, now supposed that they could not oppose the emperor's orders. The plain words of the rescript were read, the orders of the chief officer of the court were there, he who was to act in the matter was at hand. What more was to be said? It was handed over.

151. However, after taking counsel with me, the holy bishop took possession of the rooms to which he knew that the widow's property had been carried. As it could not be carried away, it was all set down in writing. Later on it was again demanded on proof of the document. The emperor repeated the order, and would meet us himself in his own person. We refused. And when the force of the divine law, and a long list of passages and the danger of Heliodorus was explained, at length the emperor became reasonable. Afterwards, again, an attempt was made to seize it, but the good bishop anticipated the attempt and restored to the widow all he had received. So faith was preserved, but the oppression was no longer a cause for fear; for now it is the matter itself, not good faith, that is in danger.

CHAPTER 30.

The ending of the book brings an exhortation to avoid ill-will, and to seek prudence, faith, and the other virtues.

152. MY SONS, avoid wicked men, guard against the envious. There is this difference between a wicked and an envious man: the wicked man is delighted at his own good fortune, but the envious is tortured at the thought of another's. The former loves evil, the latter hates good. So he is almost more bearable who desires good for himself alone, than he who desires evil for all.

153. My sons, think before you act, and when you have thought long then do what you consider right. When the opportunity of a praiseworthy death is given let it be seized at once. Glory that is put off flies away and is not easily laid hold of again.

154. Love faith. For by his devotion and faith Josiah won great love for himself from his enemies. For he celebrated the Lord's passover when he was eighteen years old, as no one had done it before him. As then in zeal he was superior to those who went before him, so do ye, my sons, show zeal for God. Let zeal for God search you through, and devour you, so that each one of you may say: The zeal of your house has eaten me up. An apostle of Christ was called the zealot. Luke 6:15 But why do I speak of an apostle? The Lord Himself said: The zeal of your house has eaten Me up. Let it then be real zeal for God, not mean earthy zeal, for that causes jealousy.

155. Let there be peace among you, which passes all understanding. Love one another. Nothing is sweeter than charity, nothing more blessed than peace. You yourselves know that I have ever loved you and do now

love you above all others. As the children of one father you have become united under the bond of brotherly affection.

156. Whatsoever is good, that hold fast; and the God of peace and love be with you in the Lord Jesus, to Whom be honour and glory, dominion and might, together with the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER 1.

We are taught by David and Solomon how to take counsel with our own heart. Scipio is not to be accounted prime author of the saying which is ascribed to him. The writer proves what glorious things the holy prophets accomplished in their time of quiet, and shows, by examples of their and others' leisure moments, that a just man is never alone in trouble.

1. THE PROPHET David taught us that we should go about in our heart as though in a large house; that we should hold converse with it as with some trusty companion. He spoke to himself, and conversed with himself, as these words show: I said, I will take heed to my ways. Solomon his son also said: Drink water out of your own vessels, and out of the springs of your wells; Proverbs 5:15 that is: use your own counsel. For: Counsel in the heart of a man is as deep waters. Proverbs 20:5 Let no stranger, it says, share it with you. Let the fountain of your water be your own, and rejoice with your wife who is yours from your youth. Let the loving hind and pleasant doe converse with you. Proverbs 5:17-19

2. Scipio, therefore, was not the first to know that he was not alone when he was alone, or that he was least at leisure when he was at leisure. For Moses knew it before him, who, when silent, was crying out; Exodus 14:16 who, when he stood at ease, was fighting, nay, not merely fighting but triumphing over enemies whom he had not come near. So much was he at ease, that others held up his hands; yet he was no less active than others, for he with his hands at ease was overcoming the enemy, whom they that were in the battle could not conquer. Exodus 17:11 Thus Moses in his silence spoke, and in his ease laboured hard. And were his labours greater than his

times of quiet, who, being in the mount for forty days, received the whole law? Exodus 24:17 And in that solitude there was One not far away to speak with him. Whence also David says: I will hear what the Lord God will say within me. How much greater a thing is it for God to speak with any one, than for a man to speak with himself!

3. The apostles passed by and their shadows cured the sick. Acts 5:15-16 Their garments were touched and health was granted.

4. Elijah spoke the word, and the rain ceased and fell not on the earth for three years and six months. Again he spoke, and the barrel of meal failed not, and the cruse of oil wasted not the whole time of that long famine.

5. But — as many delight in warfare — which is the most glorious, to bring a battle to an end by the strength of a great army, or, by merits before God alone? Elisha rested in one place while the king of Syria waged a great war against the people of our fathers, and was adding to its terrors by various treacherous plans, and was endeavouring to catch them in an ambush. But the prophet found out all their preparations, and being by the grace of God present everywhere in mental vigour, he told the thoughts of their enemies to his countrymen, and warned them of what places to beware. And when this was known to the king of Syria, he sent an army and shut in the prophet. Elisha prayed and caused all of them to be struck with blindness, and made those who had come to besiege him enter Samaria as captives.

6. Let us compare this leisure of his with that of others. Other men for the sake of rest are wont to withdraw their minds from business, and to retire from the company and companionship of men; to seek the retirement of the country or the solitude of the fields, or in the city to give their minds a rest and to enjoy peace and quietness. But Elisha was ever active. In solitude he divided Jordan on passing over it, so that the lower part flowed down, while the upper returned to its source. On Carmel he promises the

woman, who so far had had no child, that a son now unhoped for should be born to her. He raises the dead to life, he corrects the bitterness of the food, and makes it to be sweet by mixing meal with it. Having distributed ten loaves to the people for food, he gathered up the fragments that were left after they had been filled. He makes the iron head of the axe, which had fallen off and was sunk deep in the river Jordan, to swim by putting the wooden handle in the water. He changes leprosy for cleanness, drought for rain, famine for plenty.

7. When can the upright man be alone, since he is always with God? When is he left forsaken who is never separated from Christ? Who, it says, shall separate us from the love of Christ? I am confident that neither death nor life nor angel shall do so. Romans 8:35, 38 And when can he be deprived of his labour who never can be deprived of his merits, wherein his labour receives its crown? By what places is he limited to whom the whole world of riches is a possession? By what judgment is he confined who is never blamed by any one? For he is as unknown yet well known, as dying and behold he lives, as sorrowful yet always rejoicing, as poor yet making many rich, as having nothing and yet possessing all things. For the upright man regards nothing but what is consistent and virtuous. And so although he seems poor to another, he is rich to himself, for his worth is taken not at the value of the things which are temporal, but of the things which are eternal.

CHAPTER 2.

The discussions among philosophers about the comparison between what is virtuous and what is useful have nothing to do with Christians. For with them nothing is useful which is not just. What are the duties of perfection, and what are ordinary duties? The same words often suit different things in different ways. Lastly, a just man never seeks his own advantage at the cost of another's disadvantage, but rather is always on the lookout for what is useful to others.

8. AS WE have already spoken about the two former subjects, wherein we discussed what is virtuous and what is useful, there follows now the question whether we ought to compare what is virtuous and useful together, and to ask which we must follow. For, as we have already discussed the matter as to whether a thing is virtuous or wicked, and in another place whether it is useful or useless, so here some think we ought to find out whether a thing is virtuous or useful.

9. I am induced to do this, lest I should seem to be allowing that these two are mutually opposed to one another, when I have already shown them to be one. For I said that nothing can be virtuous but what is useful, and nothing can be useful but what is virtuous. For we do not follow the wisdom of the flesh, whereby the usefulness that consists in an abundance of money is held to be of most value, but we follow that wisdom which is of God, whereby those things which are greatly valued in this world are counted but as loss.

10. For this χατόρθωμα, which is duty carried out entirely and in perfection, starts from the true source of virtue. On this follows another, or

ordinary duty. This shows by its name that no hard or extraordinary practice of virtue is involved, for it can be common to very many. The desire to save money is the usual practice with many. To enjoy a well-prepared banquet and a pleasant meal is a general habit; but to fast or to use self-restraint is the practice of but few, and not to be desirous of another's goods is a virtue rarely found. On the other hand, to wish to deprive another of his property — and not to be content with one's due — here one will find many to keep company with one. Those (the philosopher would say) are primary duties — these ordinary. The primary are found but with few, the ordinary with the many.

11. Again, the same words often have a different meaning. For instance, we call God good and a man good; but it bears in each case quite a different meaning. We call God just in one sense, man in another. So, too, there is a difference in meaning when we call God wise and a man wise. This we are taught in the Gospel: Be perfect even as your Father Who is in heaven is perfect. Matthew 5:48 I read again that Paul was perfect and yet not perfect. For when he said: Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect; but I follow after, if that I may apprehend it. Philippians 3:12 Immediately he added: We, then, that are perfect. Philippians 3:15 There is a twofold form of perfection, the one having but ordinary, the other the highest worth. The one availing here, the other hereafter. The one in accordance with human powers, the other with the perfection of the world to come. But God is just through all, wise above all, perfect in all.

12. There is also diversity even among men themselves. Daniel, of whom it was said: Who is wiser than Daniel? Ezekiel 28:3 was wise in a different sense to what others are. The same may be said of Solomon, who was filled with wisdom, above all the wisdom of the ancients, and more than all the wise men of Egypt. To be wise as men are in general is quite a different thing to being really wise. He who is ordinarily wise is wise for

temporal matters, is wise for himself, so as to deprive another of something and get it for himself. He who is really wise does not know how to regard his own advantage, but looks with all his desire to that which is eternal, and to that which is seemly and virtuous, seeking not what is useful for himself, but for all.

13. Let this, then, be our rule, so that we may never go wrong between two things, one virtuous, the other useful. The upright man must never think of depriving another of anything, nor must he ever wish to increase his own advantage to the disadvantage of another. This rule the Apostle gives you, saying: All things are lawful, but all things are not expedient; all things are lawful, but all things edify not. Let no man seek his own, but each one another's. 1 Corinthians 10:23-24 That is: Let no man seek his own advantage, but another's; let no man seek his own honour, but another's. Wherefore he says in another place: Let each esteem other better than themselves, looking not each one to his own things, but to the things of others. Philippians 2:3-4

14. And let no one seek his own favour or his own praise, but another's. This we can plainly see declared in the book of Proverbs, where the Holy Spirit says through Solomon: My son, if you be wise, be wise for yourself and your neighbours; but if you turn out evil, thou alone shall bear it. Proverbs 9:12 The wise man gives counsel to others, as the upright man does, and shares with him in wearing the form of either virtue.

CHAPTER 3.

The rule given about not seeking one's own gain is established, first by the examples of Christ, next by the meaning of the word, and lastly by the very form and uses of our limbs. Wherefore the writer shows what a crime it is to deprive another of what is useful, since the law of nature as well as the divine law is broken by such wickedness. Further, by its means we also lose that gift which makes us superior to other living creatures; and lastly, through it civil laws are abused and treated with the greatest contempt.

15. IF, THEN, any one wishes to please all, he must strive in everything to do, not what is useful for himself, but what is useful for many, as also Paul strove to do. For this is to be conformed to the image of Christ, Romans 8:29 namely, when one does not strive for what is another's, and does not deprive another of something so as to gain it for oneself. For Christ our Lord, Philippians 2:6-7 though He was in the form of God, emptied Himself so as to take on Himself the form of man, which He wished to enrich with the virtue of His works. Will you, then, spoil him whom Christ has put on? Will you strip him whom Christ has clothed? For this is what you are doing when thou dost attempt to increase your own advantage at another's loss.

16. Think, O man, from whence you have received your name — even from the earth, which takes nothing from any one, but gives freely to all, and supplies varied produce for the use of all living things. Hence humanity is called a particular and innate virtue in man, for it assists its partner.

17. The very form of your body and the uses of your limbs teach you this. Can one limb claim the duties of another? Can the eye claim for itself the duties of the ear; or the mouth the duties of the eye; or the hand the

service of the feet; or the feet that of the hands? Nay, the hands themselves, both left and right, have different duties to do, so that if one were to change the use of either, one would act contrary to nature. We should have to lay aside the whole man before we could change the service of the various members: as if, for instance, we were to try to take food with the left hand, or to perform the duties of the left hand with the right, so as to remove the remains of food — unless, of course, need demanded it.

18. Imagine for a moment, and give to the eye the power to withdraw the understanding from the head, the sense of hearing from the ears, the power of thought from the mind, the sense of smell from the nose, the sense of taste from the mouth, and then to assume them itself, would it not at once destroy the whole order of nature? Wherefore the Apostle says well: If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing, where were the smelling? 1 Corinthians 12:17 So, then, we are all one body, though with many members, all necessary to the body. For no one member can say of another: I have no need of you. For those members which seem to be more feeble are much more necessary and require greater care and attention. And if one member suffers, all the members suffer with it. 1 Corinthians 12:26

19. So we see how grave a matter it is to deprive another, with whom we ought rather to suffer, of anything, or to act unfairly or injuriously towards one to whom we ought to give a share in our services. This is a true law of nature, which binds us to show all kindly feeling, so that we should all of us in turn help one another, as parts of one body, and should never think of depriving another of anything, seeing it is against the law of nature even to abstain from giving help. We are born in such a way that limb combines with limb, and one works with another, and all assist each other in mutual service. But if one fails in its duty, the rest are hindered. If, for instance, the hand tears out the eye, has it not hindered the use of its work? If it were to

wound the foot, how many actions would it not prevent? But how much worse is it for the whole man to be drawn aside from his duty than for one of the members only! If the whole body is injured in one member, so also is the whole community of the human race disturbed in one man. The nature of mankind is injured, as also is the society of the holy Church, which rises into one united body, bound together in oneness of faith and love. Christ the Lord, also, Who died for all, will grieve that the price of His blood was paid in vain.

20. Why, the very law of the Lord teaches us that this rule must be observed, so that we may never deprive another of anything for the sake of our own advantage. For it says: Remove not the bounds which your fathers have set. Proverbs 22:28 It bids a neighbour's ox to be brought back if found wandering. Exodus 23:4 It orders a thief to be put to death. Exodus 22:2 It forbids the labourer to be deprived of his hire, Leviticus 19:13 and orders money to be returned without usury. Deuteronomy 23:19 It is a mark of kindly feeling to help him who has nothing, but it is a sign of a hard nature to extort more than one has given. If a man has need of your assistance because he has not enough of his own wherewith to repay a debt, is it not a wicked thing to demand under the guise of kindly feeling a larger sum from him who has not the means to pay off a less amount? Thou dost but free him from debt to another, to bring him under your own hand; and you call that human kindliness which is but a further wickedness.

21. It is in this very matter that we stand before all other living creatures, for they do not understand how to do good. Wild beasts snatch away, men share with others. Wherefore the Psalmist says: The righteous shows mercy and gives. There are some, however, to whom the wild beasts do good. They feed their young with what they get, and the birds satisfy their brood with food; but to men alone has it been given to feed all as though they were their own. That is so in accordance with the claims of nature. And if it

is not lawful to refuse to give, how is it lawful to deprive another? And do not our very laws teach us the same? They order those things which have been taken from others with injury to their persons or property to be restored with additional recompense; so as to check the thief from stealing by the penalty, and by the fine to recall him from his ways.

22. Suppose, however, that some one did not fear the penalty, or laughed at the fine, would that make it a worthy thing to deprive another of his own? That would be a mean vice and suited only to the lowest of the low. So contrary to nature is it, that while want might seem to drive one to it, yet nature could never urge it. And yet we find secret theft among slaves, open robbery among the rich.

23. But what so contrary to nature as to injure another for our own benefit? The natural feelings of our own hearts urge us to keep on the watch for all, to undergo trouble, to do work for all. It is considered also a glorious thing for each one at risk to himself to seek the quiet of all, and to think it far more thankworthy to have saved his country from destruction than to have kept danger from himself. We must think it a far more noble thing to labour for our country than to pass a quiet life at ease in the full enjoyment of leisure.

CHAPTER 4.

As it has been shown that he who injures another for the sake of his own advantage will undergo terrible punishment at the hand of his own conscience, it is referred that nothing is useful to one which is not in the same way useful to all. Thus there is no place among Christians for the question propounded by the philosophers about two shipwrecked persons, for they must show love and humility to all.

24. HENCE WE infer that a man who guides himself according to the ruling of nature, so as to be obedient to her, can never injure another. If he injures another, he violates nature, nor will he think that what he has gained is so much an advantage as a disadvantage. And what punishment is worse than the wounds of the conscience within? What judgment harder than that of our hearts, whereby each one stands convicted and accuses himself of the injury that he has wrongfully done against his brother? This the Scriptures speak of very plainly, saying: Out of the mouth of fools there is a rod for wrong-doing. Proverbs 14:3 Folly, then, is condemned because it causes wrong-doing. Ought we not rather to avoid this, than death, or loss, or want, or exile, or sickness? Who would not think some blemish of body or loss of inheritance far less than some blemish of soul or loss of reputation?

25. It is clear, then, that all must consider and hold that the advantage of the individual is the same as that of all, and that nothing must be considered advantageous except what is for the general good. For how can one be benefited alone? That which is useless to all is harmful. I certainly cannot think that he who is useless to all can be of use to himself. For if there is one law of nature for all, there is also one state of usefulness for all. And we

are bound by the law of nature to act for the good of all. It is not, therefore, right for him who wishes the interests of another to be considered according to nature, to injure him against the law of nature.

26. For if those who run in a race are, as one hears, instructed and warned each one to win the race by swiftness of foot and not by any foul play, and to hasten on to victory by running as hard as they can, but not to dare to trip up another or push him aside with their hand, how much more in the course of this life ought the victory to be won by us, without falseness to another and cheating?

27. Some ask whether a wise man ought in case of a shipwreck to take away a plank from an ignorant sailor? Although it seems better for the common good that a wise man rather than a fool should escape from shipwreck, yet I do not think that a Christian, a just and a wise man, ought to save his own life by the death of another; just as when he meets with an armed robber he cannot return his blows, lest in defending his life he should stain his love toward his neighbour. The verdict on this is plain and clear in the books of the Gospel. Put up your sword, for every one that takes the sword shall perish with the sword. Matthew 26:52 What robber is more hateful than the persecutor who came to kill Christ? But Christ would not be defended from the wounds of the persecutor, for He willed to heal all by His wounds.

28. Why do you consider yourself greater than another, when a Christian man ought to put others before himself, to claim nothing for himself, usurp no honours, claim no reward for his merits? Why, next, are you not wont to bear your own troubles rather than to destroy another's advantage? For what is so contrary to nature as not to be content with what one has or to seek what is another's, and to try to get it in shameful ways. For if a virtuous life is in accordance with nature — for God made all things very good — then

shameful living must be opposed to it. A virtuous and a shameful life cannot go together, since they are absolutely severed by the law of nature.

CHAPTER 5.

The upright does nothing that is contrary to duty, even though there is a hope of keeping it secret. To point this out the tale about the ring of Gyges was invented by the philosophers. Exposing this, he brings forward known and true examples from the life of David and John the Baptist.

29. TO LAY down here already the result of our discussion, as though we had already ended it, we declare it a fixed rule, that we must never aim at anything but what is virtuous. The wise man does nothing but what can be done openly and without falseness, nor does he do anything whereby he may involve himself in any wrong-doing, even where he may escape notice. For he is guilty in his own eyes, before being so in the eyes of others; and the publicity of his crime does not bring him more shame than his own consciousness of it. This we can show, not by the made-up stories which philosophers use, but from the true examples of good men.

30. I need not, therefore, imagine a great chasm in the earth, which had been loosened by heavy rains, and had afterwards burst asunder, as Plato does. For he makes Gyges descend into that chasm, and to meet there that iron horse of the fable that had doors in its sides. When these doors were opened, he found a gold ring on the finger of a dead man, whose corpse lay there lifeless. He desiring the gold took away the ring. But when he returned to the king's shepherds, to whose number he belonged, by chance having turned the stone inwards towards the palms of his hands, he saw all, yet was seen by none. Then when he turned the ring to its proper position, he was again seen by all. On becoming conscious of this strange power, by the use of the ring he committed adultery with the queen, killed the king,

and took possession of the kingdom after slaying all the rest, who he thought should be put to death, so that they might be no hindrance to him.

31. Give, says Plato, this ring to a wise man, that when he commits a fault he may by its help remain unnoticed; yet he will be none the more free from the stain of sin than if he could not be hid. The hiding-place of the wise lies not in the hope of impunity but in his own innocency. Lastly, the law is not laid down for the just but for the unjust. 1 Timothy 1:9 For the just has within himself the law of his mind, and a rule of equity and justice. Thus he is not recalled from sin by fear of punishment, but by the rule of a virtuous life.

32. Therefore, to return to our subject, I will now bring forward, not false examples for true, but true examples in place of false. For why need I imagine a chasm in the earth, and an iron horse and a gold ring found on the fingers of a dead man; and say that such was the power of this ring, that he who wore it could appear at his own will, but if he did not wish to be seen, he could remove himself out of the sight of those who stood by, so as to seem to be away. This story, of course, is meant to answer the question whether a wise man, on getting the opportunity of using that ring so as to be able to hide his crimes, and to obtain a kingdom, — whether, I say, a wise man would be unwilling to sin and would consider the stain of sin far worse than the pains of punishment, or whether he would use it for doing wickedness in the hope of not being found out? Why, I say, should I need the pretence of a ring, when I can show from what has been done that a wise man, on seeing he would not only be undetected in his sin, but would also gain a kingdom if he gave way to it, and who, on the other hand, noted danger to his own safety if he did not commit the crime, yet chose to risk his own safety so as to be free from crime, rather than to commit the crime and so gain the kingdom.

33. When David fled from the face of King Saul, because the king was seeking him in the desert with three thousand chosen men to put him to death, he entered the king's camp and found him sleeping. There he not only did him no injury, but actually guarded him from being slain by any who had entered with him. For when Abishai said to him: The Lord has delivered your enemy into your hand this day, now therefore I will slay him, he answered: Destroy him not, for who can stretch forth his hand against the Lord's anointed, and be guiltless? And he added: As the Lord lives, unless the Lord shall smite him, or his day shall come to die, or he shall die in battle, and it be laid to me, the Lord forbid that I should stretch out my hand against the Lord's anointed.

34. Therefore he did not allow him to be slain, but removed only his spear, which stood by his head, and his cruse of water. Then, while all were sleeping, he left the camp and went across to the top of the hill, and began to reproach the royal attendants, and especially their general Abner, for not keeping faithful watch over their lord and king. Next, he showed them where the king's spear and cruse were which had stood at his head. And when the king called to him, he restored the spear, and said: The Lord render to every man his righteousness and faithfulness, for the Lord delivered you into my hand, but I would not avenge myself on the Lord's anointed. Even while he said this, he feared his plots and fled, changing his place in exile. However, he never put safety before innocency, seeing that when a second opportunity was given him of killing the king, he would not use the chance that came to him, and which put in his reach certain safety instead of fear, and a kingdom instead of exile.

35. Where was the use of the ring in John's case, Matthew 14:3 who would not have been put to death by Herod if he had kept silence? He could have kept silence before him so as to be both seen and yet not killed. But because he not only could not endure to sin himself to protect his own

safety, but could not bear and endure even another's sin, he brought about the cause of his own death. Certainly none can deny that he might have kept silence, who in the case of Gyges deny that he could have remained invisible by the help of the ring.

36. But although that fable has not the force of truth, yet it has this much to go upon, that if an upright man could hide himself, yet he would avoid sin just as though he could not conceal himself; and that he would not hide his person by putting on a ring, but his life by putting on Christ. As the Apostle says: Our life is hid with Christ in God. Colossians 3:3 Let, then, no one here strive to shine, let none show pride, let none boast. Christ willed not to be known here, He would not that His Name should be preached in the Gospel while He lived on earth. He came to lie hidden from this world. Let us therefore likewise hide our life after the example of Christ, let us shun boastfulness, let us not desire to be made known. It is better to live here in humility, and there in glory. When Christ, it says, shall appear, then shall we also appear with Him in glory. Colossians 3:4

CHAPTER 6.

We ought not to allow the idea of profit to get hold of us. What excuses they make who get their gains by selling grain, and what answer ought to be made to them. In connection with this certain parables from the Gospels and some of the sayings of Solomon are set before our eyes.

37. LET NOT, therefore, expediency get the better of virtue, but virtue of expediency. By expediency here I mean what is accounted so by people generally. Let love of money be destroyed, let lust die. The holy man says that he has never been engaged in business. For to get an increase in price is a sign not of simplicity but of cunning. Elsewhere it says: He that seeks a high price for his grain is cursed among the people. Proverbs 11:26

38. Plain and definite is the statement, leaving no room for debate, such as a disputatious kind of speaking is wont to give, when one maintains that agriculture is considered praiseworthy by all; that the fruits of the earth are easily grown; that the more a man has sown, the greater will be his meed of praise; further, that the richer returns of his active labours are not gained by fraud, and that carelessness and disregard for an uncultivated soil are wont to be blamed.

39. I have ploughed, he says, carefully. I have sown freely. I have tilled actively. I have gathered good increase. I have stored it anxiously, saved it faithfully, and guarded it with care. Now in a time of famine I sell it, and come to the help of the hungry. I sell my own grain, not another's. And for no more than others, nay, even at a less price. What fraud is there here, when many would come to great danger if they had nothing to buy? Is industry to be made a crime? Or diligence to be blamed? Or foresight to be

abused? Perhaps he may even say: Joseph collected grain in a time of abundance, and sold it when it was dear. Is any one forced to buy it at too dear a price? Is force employed against the buyer? The opportunity to buy is afforded to all, injury is inflicted on none.

40. When this has been said, and one man's ideas have carried him so far, another rises and says: Agriculture is good indeed, for it supplies fruits for all, and by simple industry adds to the richness of the earth without any cheating or fraud. If there is any error, the loss is the greater, for the better a man sows, the better he will reap. If he has sown the pure grain of wheat, he gathers a purer and cleaner harvest. The fruitful earth returns what she has received in manifold measure. A good field returns its produce with interest.

41. You must expect payment for your labour from the crops of the fruitful land, and must hope for a just return from the fruitfulness of the rich earth. Why do you use the industry of nature and make a cheat of it? Why do you grudge for the use of men what is grown for all? Why lessen the abundance for the people? Why make want your aim? Why make the poor long for a barren season? For when they do not feel the benefits of a fruitful season, because you are putting up the price, and art storing up the grain, they would far rather that nothing should be produced, than that you should do business at the expense of other people's hunger. You make much of the lack of grain, the small supply of food. You groan over the rich crops of the soil; you mourn the general plenty, and bewail the granaries full of grain; you are on the lookout to see when the crop is poor and the harvest fails. You rejoice that a curse has smiled upon your wishes, so that none should have their produce. Then you rejoice that your harvest has come. Then you collect wealth from the misery of all, and call this industry and diligence, when it is but cunning shrewdness and an adroit trick of the trade. You call it a remedy, when it is but a wicked contrivance. Shall I call this robbery or

only gain? These opportunities are seized as though seasons for plunder, wherein, like some cruel waylayer, you may fall upon the stomachs of men. The price rises higher as though by the mere addition of interest, but the danger to life is increased too. For then the interest of the stored-up crops grows higher. As a usurer you hide up your grain, as a seller you put it up for auction. Why do you wish evil to all, because the famine will grow worse, as though no grain should be left, as though a more unfruitful year should follow? Your gain is the public loss.

42. Holy Joseph opened the granaries to all; he did not shut them up. He did not try to get the full price of the year's produce, but assigned it for a yearly payment. He took nothing for himself, but, so far as famine could be checked for the future, he made his arrangements with careful foresight.

43. You have read how the Lord Jesus in the Gospel speaks of that grain-dealer who was looking out for a high price, whose possessions brought him in rich fruits, but who, as though still in need, said: What shall I do? I have no room where to bestow my goods. I will pull down my barns and build greater, Luke 12:17 though he could not know whether in the following night his soul would not be demanded of him. He knew not what to do, he seemed to be in doubt, just as though he were in want of food. His barns could not take in the year's supply, and yet he thought he was in need.

44. Rightly, therefore, Solomon says: He that withholds grain shall leave it for the nations, not for his heirs, for the gains of avarice have nothing to do with the rights of succession. That which is not rightfully got together is scattered as though by a wind by outsiders that seize it. And he added: He who grasps at the year's produce is cursed among the people, but blessing shall be his that imparts it. You see, then, what is said of him who distributes the grain, but not of him that seeks for a high price. True expediency does not therefore exist where virtue loses more than expediency gains.

CHAPTER 7.

Strangers must never be expelled the city in a time of famine. In this matter the noble advice of a Christian sage is adduced, in contrast to which the shameful deed committed at Rome is given. By comparing the two it is shown that the former is combined with what is virtuous and useful, but the latter with neither.

45. BUT THEY, too, who would forbid the city to strangers cannot have our approval. They would expel them at the very time when they ought to help, and separate them from the trade of their common parent. They would refuse them a share in the produce meant for all, and avert the intercourse that has already begun; and they are unwilling, in a time of necessity, to give those with whom they have enjoyed their rights in common, a share in what they themselves have. Beasts do not drive out beasts, yet man shuts out man. Wild beasts and animals consider food which the earth supplies to be common to all. They all give assistance to those like themselves; and man, who ought to think nothing human foreign to himself, fights against his own.

46. How much better did he act who, having already reached an advanced age, when the city was suffering from famine, and, as is common in such cases, the people demanded that strangers should be forbidden the city, having the office of the prefectship of the city, which is higher than the rest, called together the officials and richer men, and demanded that they should take counsel for the public welfare. He said that it was as cruel a thing for the strangers to be expelled as for one man to be cast off by another, and to be refused food when dying. We do not allow our dogs to

come to our table and leave them unfed, yet we shut out a man. How unprofitable, again, it is for the world that so many people perish, whom some deadly plague carries off. How unprofitable for their city that so large a number should perish, who were wont to be helpful either in paying contributions or in carrying on business. Another's hunger is profitable to no man, nor to put off the day of help as long as possible and to do nothing to check the want. Nay more, when so many of the cultivators of the soil are gone, when so many labourers are dying, the grain supplies will fail for the future. Shall we then expel those who are wont to supply us with food, are we unwilling to feed in a time of need those who have fed us all along? How great is the assistance which they supply even at this time. Not by bread alone does man live. Deuteronomy 8:3 They are even our own family; many of them even are our own kindred. Let us make some return for what we have received.

47. But perhaps we fear that want may increase. First of all, I answer, mercy never fails, but always finds means of help. Next, let us make up for the grain supplies which are to be granted to them, by a subscription. Let us put that right with our gold. And, again, must we not buy other cultivators of the soil if we lose these? How much cheaper is it to feed than to buy a working-man. Where, too, can one obtain, where find a man to take the place of the former? And suppose one finds him, do not forget that, with an ignorant man used to different ways, one may fill up the place in point of numbers, but not as regards the work to be done.

48. Why need I say more? When the money was supplied grain was brought in. So the city's abundance was not diminished, and yet assistance was given to the strangers. What praise this act won that holy man from God! What glory among men! He, indeed, had won an honoured name, who, pointing to the people of a whole province, could truly say to the

emperor: All these I have preserved for you; these live owing to the kindness of the senate; these your council has snatched from death!

49. How much more expedient was this than that which was done lately at Rome. There from that widely extended city were those expelled who had already passed most of their life in it. In tears they went forth with their children, for whom as being citizens they bewailed the exile, which, as they said, ought to be averted; no less did they grieve over the broken bonds of union, the severed ties of relationship. And yet a fruitful year had smiled upon us. The city alone needed grain to be brought into it. It could have got help, if it had sought grain from the Italians whose children they were driving out. Nothing is more shameful than to expel a man as a foreigner, and yet to claim his services as though he belonged to us. How can you expel a man who lives on his own produce? How can you expel him who supplies you with food? You retain your servant, and thrust out your kindred! You take the grain, but show no good feeling! You take food by force, but do not show gratitude!

50. How wretched this is, how useless! For how can that be expedient which is not seemly. Of what great supplies from her corporations has Rome at times been deprived, yet she could not dismiss them and yet escape a famine, while waiting for a favourable breeze, and the provisions in the hoped-for ships.

51. How far more virtuous and expedient was that first-mentioned management! For what is so seemly or virtuous as when the needy are assisted by the gifts of the rich, when food is supplied to the hungry, when daily bread fails none? What so advantageous as when the cultivators are kept for the land, and the country people do not perish?

52. What is virtuous, then, is also expedient, and what is expedient is virtuous. On the other hand, what is not expedient is unseemly, and what is unseemly is also not expedient.

CHAPTER 8.

That those who put what is virtuous before what is useful are acceptable to God is shown by the example of Joshua, Caleb, and the other spies.

53. WHEN COULD our fathers ever have thrown off their servitude, unless they had believed that it was not only shameful but even useless to serve the king of Egypt?

54. Joshua, also, and Caleb, when sent to spy out the land, brought back the news that the land was indeed rich, but that it was inhabited by very fierce nations. Numbers 13:27-28 The people, terrified at the thought of war, refused to take possession of their land. Joshua and Caleb, who had been sent as spies, tried to persuade them that the land was fruitful. They thought it unseemly to give way before the heathen; they chose rather to be stoned, which is what the people threatened, than to recede from their virtuous standpoint. The others kept dissuading, the people exclaimed against it, saying they would have to fight against cruel and terrible nations; that they would fall in battle, and their wives and children would be left for a prey. Numbers 14:3

55. The anger of the Lord burst forth, so that He would kill all, but at the prayer of Moses He softened His judgment and put off His vengeance, knowing that He had already sufficiently punished those who were faithless, even if He spared them meanwhile and did not slay the unbelievers. However, He said Numbers 14:29 they should not come to that land which they had refused, as a penalty for their unbelief; but their children and wives, who had not murmured, and who, owing to their sex and age, were guiltless, should receive the promised inheritance of that land. So the bodies

of those of twenty years old and upwards fell in the desert. The punishment of the rest was put aside. But they who had gone up with Joshua, and had thought fit to dissuade the people, died immediately of a great plague. Numbers 14:37 Joshua and Caleb Joshua 14:6 entered the land of promise together with those who were innocent by reason of age or sex.

56. The better part, therefore, preferred glory to safety; the worse part safety to virtue. But the divine judgment approved those who thought virtue was above what is useful, while it condemned those who preferred what seemed more in accordance with safety than with what is virtuous.

CHAPTER 9.

Cheating and dishonest ways of making money are utterly unfit for clerics whose duty is to serve all. They ought never to be involved in a money affair, unless it is one affecting a man's life. For them the example of David is given, that they should injure none, even when provoked; also the death of Naboth, to keep them from preferring life to virtue.

57. NOTHING IS more odious than for a man to have no love for a virtuous life, but instead to be kept excited by an unworthy business in following out a low line of trade, or to be inflamed by an avaricious heart, and by day and by night to be eager to damage another's property, not to raise the soul to the splendour of a virtuous life, and not to regard the beauty of true praise.

58. Hence rise inheritances sought by cunning words and gained under pretence of being self-restrained and serious. But this is absolutely abhorrent to the idea of a Christian man. For everything gained by craft and got together by cheating loses the merit of openness. Even among those who have undertaken no duty in the ranks of the clergy it is considered unfitting to seek for the inheritance of another. Let those who are reaching the end of their life use their own judgment, so that they may freely make their wills as they think best, since they will not be able to amend them later. For it is not honourable to divert the savings that belong to others or have been got together for them. It is further the duty of the priest or the cleric to be of use if possible to all and to be harmful to none.

59. If it is not possible to help one without injuring another, it is better to help neither than to press hard upon one. Therefore it is not a priest's duty to interfere in money affairs. For here it must often happen that he who

loses his case receives harm; and then he considers that he has been worsted through the action of the intervener. It is a priest's duty to hurt no one, to be ready to help all. To be able to do this is in God's power alone. In a case of life and death, without doubt it is a grave sin to injure him whom one ought to help when in danger. But it is foolish to gain others' hate in taking up money matters, though for the sake of a man's safety great trouble and toil may often be undertaken. It is glorious in such a case to run risks. Let, then, this be firmly held to in the priestly duties, namely, to injure none, not even when provoked and embittered by some injury. Good was the man who said: If I have rewarded evil to those who did me good. For what glory is it if we do not injure him who has not injured us? But it is true virtue to forgive when injured.

60. What a virtuous action was that, when David wished rather to spare the king his enemy, though he could have injured him! How useful, too, it was, for it helped him when he succeeded to the throne. For all learned to observe faith to their king and not to seize the kingdom, but to fear and reverence him. Thus what is virtuous was preferred to what was useful, and then usefulness followed on what was virtuous.

61. But that he spared him was a small matter; he also grieved for him when slain in war, and mourned for him with tears, saying: You mountains of Gilboa, let neither dew nor rain fall upon you; ye mountains of death, for there the shield of the mighty is cast away, the shield of Saul. It is not anointed with oil, but with the blood of the wounded and the fat of the warriors. The bow of Jonathan turned not back and the sword of Saul returned not empty. Saul and Jonathan were lovely and very dear, inseparable in life, and in death they were not divided. They were swifter than eagles, they were stronger than lions. You daughters of Israel, weep over Saul, who clothed you in scarlet with your ornaments, who put on gold upon your apparel. How are the mighty fallen in the midst of the battle!

Jonathan was wounded even to death. I am distressed for you, my brother Jonathan; very pleasant have you been unto me. Your love came to me like the love of women. How have the mighty fallen and the longed-for weapons perished!

62. What mother could weep thus for her only son as he wept here for his enemy? Who could follow his benefactor with such praise as that with which he followed the man who plotted against his life? How affectionately he grieved, with what deep feeling he bewailed him! The mountains dried up at the prophet's curse, and a divine power filled the judgment of him who spoke it. Therefore the elements themselves paid the penalty for witnessing the king's death.

63. And what, in the case of holy Naboth, was the cause of his death, except his regard for a virtuous life? For when the king demanded the vineyard from him, promising to give him money, he refused the price for his father's heritage as unseemly, and preferred to shun such shame by dying. The Lord forbid it me, that I should give the inheritance of my fathers unto you; that is, that such reproach may not fall on me, that God may not allow such wickedness to be attained by force. He is not speaking about the vines — nor has God care for vines or plots of ground — but he says it of his fathers' rights. He could have received another or the king's vineyards and been his friend, wherein men think there is no small usefulness so far as this world is concerned. But because it was base he thought it could not be useful, and so he preferred to endure danger with honour intact, rather than gain what was useful to his own disgrace. I am here again speaking of what is commonly understood as useful, not that in which there is the grace of virtuous life.

64. The king could himself have taken it by force, but that he thought too shameless; then when Naboth was dead he grieved. The Lord also declared

that the woman's cruelty should be punished by a fitting penalty, because she was unmindful of virtue and preferred a shameful gain.

65. Every kind of unfair action is shameful. Even in common things, false weights and unjust measures are accursed. And if fraud in the market or in business is punished, can it seem free from reproach if found in the midst of the performance of the duties of virtue? Solomon says: A great and a little weight and various measures are an abomination before the Lord. Proverbs 20:10 Before that it also says: A false balance is abomination to the Lord, but a just weight is acceptable to Him. Proverbs 11:1

CHAPTER 10.

We are warned not only in civil law, but also in the holy Scriptures, to avoid fraud in every agreement, as is clear from the example of Joshua and the Gibeonites.

66. IN EVERYTHING, therefore, good faith is seemly, justice is pleasing, due measure in equity is delightful. But what shall I say about contracts, and especially about the sale of land, or agreements, or covenants? Are there not rules just for the purpose of shutting out all false deceit, and to make him whose deceit is found out liable to double punishment? Everywhere, then, does regard for what is virtuous take the lead; it shuts out deceit, it expels fraud. Wherefore the prophet David has rightly stated his judgment in general, saying: He has done no evil to his neighbour. Fraud, then, ought to be wanting not only in contracts, in which the defects of those things which are for sale are ordered to be recorded (which contracts, unless the vendor has mentioned the defects, are rendered void by an action for fraud, although he has conveyed them fully to the purchaser), but it ought also to be absent in all else. Candour must be shown, the truth must be made known.

67. The divine Scriptures have plainly stated (not indeed a legal rule of the lawyers but) the ancient judgment of the patriarchs on deceit, in that book of the Old Testament which is ascribed to Joshua the Son of Nun. When the report had gone forth among the various peoples that the sea was dried up at the crossing of the Hebrews; that water had flowed from the rock; that food was supplied daily from heaven in quantities large enough for so many thousands of the people; that the walls of Jericho had fallen at

the sound of the holy trumpets, being overthrown by the noise of the shouts of the people; also, that the king of Ai was conquered and had been hung on a tree until the evening; then the Gibeonites, fearing his strong hand, came with guile, pretending that they were from a land very far away, and by travelling so long had rent their shoes and worn out their clothing, of which they showed proofs that it was growing old. They said, too, that their reason for undergoing so much labour was their desire to obtain peace and to form friendship with the Hebrews, and began to ask Joshua to form an alliance with them. And he, being as yet ignorant of localities, and not knowing anything of the inhabitants, did not see through their deceit, nor did he enquire of God, but readily believed them.

68. So sacred was one's plighted word held in those days that no one would believe that others could try to deceive. Who could find fault with the saints in this, namely, that they should consider others to have the same feelings as themselves, and suppose no one would lie because truth was their own companion? They know not what deceit is, they gladly believe of others what they themselves are, while they cannot suspect others to be what they themselves are not. Hence Solomon says: An innocent man believes every word. Proverbs 14:15 We must not blame his readiness to believe, but should rather praise his goodness. To know nothing of anything that may injure another, this is to be innocent. And although he is cheated by another, still he thinks well of all, for he thinks there is good faith in all.

69. Induced, therefore, by such considerations to believe them, he made an agreement, he gave them peace, and formed a union with them. But when he came to their country and the deceit was found out — for though they lived quite close they pretended to be strangers — the people of our fathers began to be angry at having been deceived. Joshua, however, thought the peace they had made could not be broken (for it had been confirmed by an oath), for fear that, in punishing the treachery of others, he

should be breaking his own pledge. He made them pay the penalty, however, by forcing them to undertake the lowest kind of work. The judgment was mild indeed, but it was a lasting one, for in their duties there abides the punishment of their ancient cunning, handed down to this day Joshua 9:27 in their hereditary service.

CHAPTER 11.

Having adduced examples of certain frauds found in a few passages of the rhetoricians, he shows that these and all others are more fully and plainly condemned in Scripture.

70. I SHALL say nothing of the snapping of fingers, or the naked dancing of the heir, at entering on an inheritance. These are well-known things. Nor will I speak of the mass of fishes gathered up at a pretended fishing expedition to excite the buyer's desires. For why did he show himself so eager for luxuries and delicacies as to allow a fraud of this character?

71. What need is there for me to speak of that well-known story of the pleasant and quiet retreat at Syracuse and of the cunning of a Sicilian? For he having found a stranger, and knowing that he was anxious to buy an estate, asked him to his grounds for a meal. He accepted, and on the following day he came. There the sight of a great number of fishermen met his eyes, and a banquet laid out in the most splendid profusion. In the sight of the guests, fishers were placed in the garden-grounds, where no net had ever been laid before. Each one in turn presented to the guests what he had taken, the fish were placed upon the table, and caught the glance of those who sat there. The stranger wondered at the large quantity of fish and the number of boats there were. The answer given was, that this was the great water supply, and that great numbers of fish came there because of the sweetness of the water. To be brief, he drew on the stranger to be urgent in getting the grounds, he willingly allows himself to be induced to sell them, and seemingly with a heavy heart he receives the money.

72. On the next day the purchaser comes to the grounds with his friends, but finds no boat there. On asking whether perhaps the fishermen were observing a festival on that day, he is told that, with the exception of yesterday, they were never wont to fish there; but what power had he to proceed against such a fraud, who had so shamefully grasped at such luxuries? For he who convicts another of a fault ought himself to be free from it. I will not therefore include such trifles as these under the power of ecclesiastical censure, for that altogether condemns every desire for dishonourable gain, and briefly, with few words, forbids every sharp and cunning action.

73. And what shall I say of him who claims to be the heir or legatee, on the proof of a will which, though falsified by others, yet was known to be so by him, and who tries to make a gain through another's crime, though even the laws of the state convict him who knowingly makes use of a false will, as guilty of a wrong action. But the law of justice is plain, namely, that a good man ought not to go aside from the truth, nor to inflict an unjust loss on any one, nor to act at all deceitfully or to take part in any fraud.

74. What is clearer, however, on this point than the case of Ananias? He acted falsely as regards the price he got for his land, for he sold it and laid at the apostles' feet part of the price, pretending it was the whole amount. Acts 5:2 For this he perished as guilty of fraud. He might have offered nothing and have acted so without committing a fraud. But as deceit entered into his action, he gained no favour for his liberality, but paid the penalty for his artifice.

75. The Lord also in the Gospel rejected those coming to Him with guile, saying: The foxes have holes, Matthew 8:20 for He bids us live in simplicity and innocency of heart. David also says: You have used deceit as a sharp razor, pointing out by this the treacherous man, just as an implement of this kind is used to help adorn a man, yet often wounds him. If any one

makes a show of favour and yet plans deceit after the example of the traitor, so as to give up to death him whom he ought to guard, let him be looked on in the light of that instrument which is wont to wound owing to the vice of a drunken mind and a trembling hand. Thus that man drunk with the wine of wickedness brought death on the high priest Ahimelech, through a terrible act of treachery, because he had received the prophet with hospitality when the king, roused by the stings of envy, was following him.

CHAPTER 12.

We may make no promise that is wrong, and if we have made an unjust oath, we may not keep it. It is shown that Herod sinned in this respect. The vow taken by Jephtha is condemned, and so are all others which God does not desire to have paid to Him. Lastly, the daughter of Jephtha is compared with the two Pythagoreans and is placed before them.

76. A MAN'S disposition ought to be undefiled and sound, so that he may utter words without dissimulation and possess his vessel in sanctification; 1 Thessalonians 4:6 that he may not delude his brother with false words nor promise anything dishonourable. If he has made such a promise it is far better for him not to fulfil it, rather than to fulfil what is shameful.

77. Often people bind themselves by a solemn oath, and, though they come to know that they ought not to have made the promise, fulfil it in consideration of their oath. This is what Herod did, as we mentioned before. For he made a shameful promise of reward to a dancer — and cruelly performed it. It was shameful, for a kingdom was promised for a dance; and it was cruel, for the death of a prophet is sacrificed for the sake of an oath. How much better perjury would have been than the keeping of such an oath, if indeed that could be called perjury which a drunkard had sworn to in his wine-cups, or an effeminate profligate had promised while the dance was going on. The prophet's head was brought in on a dish, Mark 6:28 and this was considered an act of good faith when it really was an act of madness!

78. Never shall I be led to believe that the leader Jephtha made his vow otherwise than without thought, when he promised to offer to God whatever should meet him at the threshold of his house on his return. For he repented

of his vow, as afterwards his daughter came to meet him. He rent his clothes and said: Alas, my daughter, you have entangled me, you have become a source of trouble unto me. Judges 11:35 And though with pious fear and reverence he took upon himself the bitter fulfilment of his cruel task, yet he ordered and left to be observed an annual period of grief and mourning for future times. It was a hard vow, but far more bitter was its fulfilment, while he who carried it out had the greatest cause to mourn. Thus it became a rule and a law in Israel from year to year, as it says: that the daughters of Israel went to lament the daughter of Jephtha the Gileadite four days in a year. Judges 11:40 I cannot blame the man for holding it necessary to fulfil his vow, but yet it was a wretched necessity which could only be solved by the death of his child.

79. It is better to make no vow than to vow what God does not wish to be paid to Him to Whom the promise was made. In the case of Isaac we have an example, for the Lord appointed a ram to be offered up instead of him. Genesis 22:13 Therefore it is not always every promise that is to be fulfilled. Nay, the Lord Himself often alters His determination, as the Scriptures point out. For in the book called Numbers He had declared that He would punish the people with death and destroy them, Numbers 14:12 but afterwards, when besought by Moses, He was reconciled again to them. And again, He said to Moses and Aaron: Separate yourselves from among this congregation that I may consume them in a moment. Numbers 16:21 And when they separated from the assembly the earth suddenly clave asunder and opened her mouth and swallowed up Dathan and Abiram.

80. That example of Jephtha’s daughter is far more glorious and ancient than that of the two Pythagoreans, which is accounted so notable among the philosophers. One of these, when condemned to death by the tyrant Dionysius, and when the day of his death was fixed, asked for leave to be granted him to go home, so as to provide for his family. But for fear that he

might break his faith and not return, he offered a surety for his own death, on condition that if he himself were absent on the appointed day, his surety would be ready to die in his stead. The other did not refuse the conditions of suretyship which were proposed and awaited the day of death with a calm mind. So the one did not withdraw himself and the other returned on the day appointed. This all seemed so wonderful that the tyrant sought their friendship whose destruction he had been anxious for.

81. What, then, in the case of esteemed and learned men is full of marvel, that in the case of a virgin is found to be far more splendid, far more glorious, as she says to her sorrowing father: Do to me according to that which has proceeded out of your mouth. Judges 11:36 But she asked for a delay of two months in order that she might go about with her companions upon the mountains to bewail fitly and dutifully her virginity now given up to death. The weeping of her companions did not move her, their grief prevailed not upon her, nor did their lamentations hold her back. She allowed not the day to pass, nor did the hour escape her notice. She returned to her father as though returning according to her own desire, and of her own will urged him on when he was hesitating, and acted thus of her own free choice, so that what was at first an awful chance became a pious sacrifice.

CHAPTER 13.

Judith, after enduring many dangers for virtue's sake, gained very many and great benefits.

82. SEE! JUDITH presents herself to you as worthy of admiration. She approaches Holophernes, a man feared by the people, and surrounded by the victorious troops of the Assyrians. At first she makes an impression on him by the grace of her form and the beauty of her countenance. Then she entraps him by the refinement of her speech. Her first triumph was that she returned from the tent of the enemy with her purity unspotted. Judith 12:20 Her second, that she gained a victory over a man, and put to flight the people by her counsel.

83. The Persians were terrified at her daring. And so what is admired in the case of those two Pythagoreans deserves also in her case our admiration, for she trembled not at the danger of death, nor even at the danger her modesty was in, which is a matter of greater concern to good women. She feared not the blow of one scoundrel, nor even the weapons of a whole army. She, a woman, stood between the lines of the combatants — right amidst victorious arms — heedless of death. As one looks at her overwhelming danger, one would say she went out to die; as one looks at her faith, one says she went but out to fight.

84. Judith then followed the call of virtue, and as she follows that, she wins great benefits. It was virtuous to prevent the people of the Lord from giving themselves up to the heathen; to prevent them from betraying their native rites and mysteries, or from yielding up their consecrated virgins, their venerable widows, and modest matrons to barbarian impurity, or from

ending the siege by a surrender. It was virtuous for her to be willing to encounter danger on behalf of all, so as to deliver all from danger.

85. How great must have been the power of her virtue, that she, a woman, should claim to give counsel on the chiefest matters and not leave it in the hands of the leaders of the people! How great, again, the power of her virtue to reckon for certain upon God to help her! How great her grace to find His help!

CHAPTER 14.

How virtuous and useful was that which Elisha did. This is compared with that oft-recounted act of the Greeks. John gave up his life for virtue's sake, and Susanna for the same reason exposed herself to the danger of death.

86. WHAT DID Elisha follow but virtue, when he brought the army of Syria who had come to take him as captive into Samaria, after having covered their eyes with blindness? Then he said: O Lord, open their eyes that they may see. And they saw. But when the king of Israel wished to slay those that had entered and asked the prophet to give him leave to do so, he answered that they whose captivity was not brought about by strength of hand or weapons of war must not be slain, but that rather he should help them by supplying food. Then they were refreshed with plenty of food. And after that those Syrian robbers thought they must never again return to the land of Israel.

87. How much nobler was this than that which the Greeks once did! For when two nations strove one with the other to gain glory and supreme power, and one of them had the opportunity to burn the ships of the other secretly, they thought it a shameful thing to do so, and preferred to gain a less advantage honourably than a greater one in shameful wise. They, indeed, could not act thus without disgrace to themselves, and entrap by this plot those who had banded together for the sake of ending the Persian war. Though they could deny it in word, yet they could never but blush at the thought of it. Elisha, however, wished to save, not destroy, those who were deceived indeed, though not by some foul act, and had been struck blind by the power of the Lord. For it was seemly to spare an enemy, and to grant his

life to an adversary when indeed he could have taken it, had he not spared it.

88. It is plain, then, that whatever is seemly is always useful. For holy Judith by seemly disregard for her own safety put an end to the dangers of the siege, and by her own virtue won what was useful to all in common. And Elisha gained more renown by pardoning than he would have done by slaying, and preserved those enemies whom he had taken for greater usefulness.

89. And what else did John have in mind but what is virtuous, so that he could not endure a wicked union even in the king's case, saying: It is not lawful for you to have her to wife. Matthew 14:4 He could have been silent, had he not thought it unseemly for himself not to speak the truth for fear of death, or to make the prophetic office yield to the king, or to indulge in flattery. He knew well that he would die as he was against the king, but he preferred virtue to safety. Yet what is more expedient than the suffering which brought glory to the saint.

90. Holy Susanna, too, when threatened with the fear of false witness, seeing herself hard pressed on one side by danger, on the other by disgrace, preferred to avoid disgrace by a virtuous death rather than to endure and live a shameful life in the desire to save herself. So while she fixed her mind on virtue, she also preserved her life. But if she had preferred what seemed to her to be useful to preserve life, she would never have gained such great renown, nay, perhaps — and that would have been not only useless but even dangerous — she might even not have escaped the penalty for her crime. We note, therefore, that whatsoever is shameful cannot be useful, nor, again, can that which is virtuous be useless. For usefulness is ever the double of virtue, and virtue of usefulness.

CHAPTER 15.

After mentioning a noble action of the Romans, the writer shows from the deeds of Moses that he had the greatest regard for what is virtuous.

91. IT IS related as a memorable deed of a Roman general, that when the physician of a hostile king came to him and promised to give him poison, he sent him back bound to the enemy. In truth, it is a noble thing for a man to refuse to gain the victory by foul acts, after he has entered on the struggle for power. He did not consider virtue to lie in victory, but declared that to be a shameful victory unless it was gained with honour.

92. Let us return to our hero Moses, and to loftier deeds, to show they were both superior as well as earlier. The king of Egypt would not let the people of our fathers go. Then Moses bade the priest Aaron to stretch his rod over all the waters of Egypt. Aaron stretched it out, and the water of the river was turned into blood. Exodus 7:19 None could drink the water, and all the Egyptians were perishing with thirst; but there was pure water flowing in abundance for the fathers. They sprinkled ashes toward heaven, and sores and burning boils came upon man and beast. Exodus 9:10 They brought down hail mingled with flaming fire, and all things were destroyed upon the land. Exodus 9:23 Moses prayed, and all things were restored to their former beauty. The hail ceased, the sores were healed, the rivers gave their wonted draught. Exodus 9:29

93. Then, again, the land was covered with thick darkness for the space of three days, because Moses had raised his hand and spread out the darkness. Exodus 10:22 All the first-born of Egypt died, while all the offspring of the Hebrews was left unharmed. Exodus 12:29 Moses was

asked to put an end to these horrors, and he prayed and obtained his request. In the one case it was a fact worthy of praise that he checked himself from joining in deceit; in the other it was noteworthy how, by his innate goodness, he turned aside from the foe those divinely ordered punishments. He was indeed, as it is written, gentle and meek. Numbers 12:3 He knew that the king would not keep true to his promises, yet he thought it right and good to pray when asked to do so, to bless when wronged, to forgive when besought.

94. He cast down his rod and it became a serpent which devoured the serpents of Egypt; Exodus 7:12 this signifying that the Word should become Flesh to destroy the poison of the dread serpent by the forgiveness and pardon of sins. For the rod stands for the Word that is true — royal — filled with power — and glorious in ruling. The rod became a serpent; so He Who was the Son of God begotten of the Father became the Son of man born of a woman, and lifted, like the serpent, on the cross, poured His healing medicine on the wounds of man. Wherefore the Lord Himself says: As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of Man be lifted up. John 3:14

95. Again, another sign which Moses gave points to our Lord Jesus Christ. He put his hand into his bosom, and drew it out again, and his hand was become as snow. A second time he put it in and drew it out, and it was again like the appearance of human flesh. Exodus 4:6-7 This signified first the original glory of the Godhead of the Lord Jesus, and then the assumption of our flesh, in which truth all nations and peoples must believe. So he put in his hand, for Christ is the right hand of God; and whosoever does not believe in His Godhead and Incarnation is punished as a sinner; like that king who, while not believing open and plain signs, yet afterwards, when punished, prayed that he might find mercy. How great, then, Moses' regard for virtue must have been is shown by these proofs, and especially

by the fact that he offered himself on behalf of the people, praying that God would either forgive the people or blot him out of the book of the living. Exodus 32:32

CHAPTER 16.

After saying a few words about Tobit he demonstrates that Raguel surpassed the philosophers in virtue.

96. TOBIT ALSO clearly portrayed in his life true virtue, when he left the feast and buried the dead, Tobit 2:4 and invited the needy to the meals at his own poor table. And Raguel is a still brighter example. For he, in his regard for virtue, when asked to give his daughter in marriage, was not silent regarding his daughter's faults, for fear of seeming to get the better of the suitor by silence. So when Tobit the son of Tobias asked that his daughter might be given him, he answered that, according to the law, she ought to be given him as near of kin, but that he had already given her to six men, and all of them were dead. Tobit 7:11 This just man, then, feared more for others than for himself, and wished rather that his daughter should remain unmarried than that others should run risks in consequence of their union with her.

97. How simply he settled all the questions of the philosophers! They talk about the defects of a house, whether they ought to be concealed or made known by the vendor. Raguel was quite certain that his daughter's faults ought not to be kept secret. And, indeed, he had not been eager to give her up — he was asked for her. We can have no doubt how much more nobly he acted than those philosophers, when we consider how much more important a daughter's future is than some mere money affair.

CHAPTER 17.

With what virtuous feelings the fathers of old hid the sacred fires when on the point of going into captivity.

98. LET US consider, again, that deed done at the time of the captivity, which has attained the highest degree of virtue and glory. Virtue is checked by no adversities, for it rises up among them, and prevails here rather than in prosperity. ‘Mid chains or arms, ‘mid flames or slavery (which is harder for freemen to bear than any punishment), ‘midst the pains of the dying, the destruction of their country, the fears of the living, or the blood of the slain, — amidst all this our forefathers failed not in their care and thought for what is virtuous. Amidst the ashes and dust of their fallen country it glowed and shone forth brightly in pious efforts.

99. For when our fathers were carried away into Persia, 2 Maccabbees 1:19 certain priests, who then were in the service of Almighty God, secretly buried in the valley the fire taken from the altar of the Lord. There was there an open pit, with no water in it, and not accessible for the wants of the people, in a spot unknown and free from intruders. There they sealed the hidden fire with the sacred mark and in secret. They were not anxious to bury gold or to hide up silver to preserve it for their children, but in their own great peril, thinking of all that was virtuous, they thought the sacred fire ought to be preserved so that impure men might not defile it, nor the blood of the slain extinguish it, nor the heaps of miserable ruins cover it.

100. So they went to Persia, free only in their religion; for that alone could not be torn from them by their captivity. After a length of time, indeed, according to God’s good pleasure, He put it into the Persian king’s

heart to order the temple in Judea to be restored, and the regular customs to be again rebuilt at Jerusalem. To carry out this work of his the Persian king appointed the priest Nehemiah. He took with him the grandchildren of those priests who on leaving their native soil had hidden the sacred fire to save it from perishing. But on arriving, as we are told in the history of the fathers, they found not fire but water. And when fire was wanting to burn upon the altars, the priest Nehemiah bade them draw the water, to bring it to him, and to sprinkle it upon the wood. Then, O wondrous sight! Though the sky had been overcast with clouds, suddenly the sun shone forth, a great fire flamed forth, so that all, wonder-stricken at such a clear sign of the favour of the Lord, were filled with joy. Nehemiah prayed; the priests sang a hymn of praise to God, when the sacrifice was completed. Nehemiah again bade the remainder of the water to be poured upon the larger stones. And when this was done a flame burst forth while the light shining from off the altar shone more brightly yet.

101. When this sign became known, the king of Persia ordered a temple to be built on that spot where the fire had been hidden and the water afterwards found, to which many gifts were made. They who were with holy Nehemiah called it Naphthar, 2 Maccabbees 1:36 — which means cleansing — by many it is called Nephi. It is to be found also in the history of the prophet Jeremiah, that he bade those who should come after him to take of the fire. That is the fire which fell on Moses' sacrifice and consumed it, as it is written: There came a fire out from the Lord and consumed upon the altar all the whole burnt-offering. Leviticus 9:24 The sacrifice must be hallowed with this fire only. Therefore, also, fire went out from the Lord upon the sons of Aaron who wished to offer strange fire, and consumed them, so that their dead bodies were cast forth without the camp. Leviticus 10:2

101. Jeremiah coming to a spot found there a house like a cave, and brought into it the tabernacle, the ark, and the altar of incense, and closed up the entrance. And when those who had come with him examined it rather closely to mark the spot, they could not discover nor find it. When Jeremiah understood what they wanted he said: The spot will remain unknown until God shall gather His people together and be gracious to them. Then God shall reveal these things and the majesty of the Lord shall appear. 2 Maccabbees 2:5

CHAPTER 18.

In the narration of that event already mentioned, and especially of the sacrifice offered by Nehemiah, is typified the Holy Spirit and Christian baptism. The sacrifice of Moses and Elijah and the history of Noah are also referred to the same.

102. WE FORM the congregation of the Lord. We recognize the propitiation of our Lord God, which our Propitiator wrought in His passion. I think, too, we cannot leave out of sight that fire when we read that the Lord Jesus baptizes with the Holy Spirit and with fire, John 1:33 as John said in his Gospel. Rightly was the sacrifice consumed, for it was for sin. But that fire was a type of the Holy Spirit Who was to come down after the Lord's ascension, and forgive the sins of all, and Who like fire inflames the mind and faithful heart. Wherefore Jeremiah, after receiving the Spirit, says: It became in my heart as a burning fire flaming in my bones, and I am vile and cannot bear it. Jeremiah 20:9 In the Acts of the Apostles, also, when the Holy Spirit descended upon the apostles and those others who were waiting for the Promise of the Father, we read that tongues as of fire were distributed among them. Acts 2:3 The soul of each one was so uplifted by His influence that they were supposed to be full of new wine, Acts 2:13 who instead had received the gift of a diversity of tongues.

103. What else can this mean — namely, that fire became water and water called forth fire — but that spiritual grace burns out our sins through fire, and through water cleanses them? For sin is washed away and it is burnt away. Wherefore the Apostle says: The fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is. 1 Corinthians 3:13 And further on: If any man's

work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire. 1 Corinthians 3:15

104. This, then, we have stated, so as to prove that sins are burnt out by means of fire. We know now that this is in truth the sacred fire which then, as a type of the future remission of sins, came down upon the sacrifice.

105. This fire is hidden in the time of captivity, during which sin reigns, but in the time of liberty it is brought forth. And though it is changed into the appearance of water, yet it preserves its nature as fire so as to consume the sacrifice. Do not wonder when you read that God the Father said: I am a consuming fire. Deuteronomy 4:24 And again: They have forsaken Me, the fountain of living water. Jeremiah 2:13 The Lord Jesus, too, like a fire inflamed the hearts of those who heard Him, and like a fount of waters cooled them. For He Himself said in His Gospel that He came to send fire on the earth Luke 12:49 and to supply a draught of living waters to those who thirst. John 7:37-38

106. In the time of Elijah, also, fire came down when he challenged the prophets of the heathen to light up the altar without fire. When they could not do so, he poured water thrice over his victim, so that the water ran round about the altar; then he cried out and the fire fell from the Lord from heaven and consumed the burnt-offering.

107. You are that victim. Contemplate in silence each single point. The breath of the Holy Spirit descends on you, He seems to burn you when He consumes your sins. The sacrifice which was consumed in the time of Moses was a sacrifice for sin, wherefore Moses said, as is written in the book of the Maccabees: Because the sacrifice for sin was not to be eaten, it was consumed. 2 Maccabbees 2:11 Does it not seem to be consumed for you when in the sacrament of baptism the whole outer man perishes? Our old man is crucified, Romans 6:6 the Apostle exclaims. Herein, as the example of the fathers teaches us, the Egyptian is swallowed up — the

Hebrew arises renewed by the Holy Spirit, as he also crossed the Red Sea dryshod — where our fathers were baptized in the cloud and in the sea. 1 Corinthians 10:1-2

108. In the flood, too, in Noah's time all flesh died, though just Noah was preserved together with his family. Genesis 7:23 Is not a man consumed when all that is mortal is cut off from life? The outer man is destroyed, but the inner is renewed. Not in baptism alone but also in repentance does this destruction of the flesh tend to the growth of the spirit, as we are taught on the Apostle's authority, when holy Paul says: I have judged as though I were present him that has so done this deed, to deliver him unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ.

109. We seem to have made a somewhat lengthy digression for the sake of regarding this wonderful mystery, in desiring to unfold more fully this sacrament which has been revealed to us, and which, indeed, is as full of virtue as it is full of religious awe.

CHAPTER 19.

The crime committed by the inhabitants of Gibeah against the wife of a certain Levite is related, and from the vengeance taken it is inferred how the idea of virtue must have filled the heart of those people of old.

110. WHAT REGARD for virtue our forefathers had to avenge by a war the wrongs of one woman which had been brought on her by her violation at the hands of profligate men! Nay, when the people were conquered, they vowed that they would not give their daughters in marriage to the tribe of Benjamin! That tribe had remained without hope of posterity, had they not received leave of necessity to use deceit. And this permission does not seem to fail in giving fitting punishment for violation, since they were only allowed to enter on a union by a rape, and not through the sacrament of marriage. And indeed it was right that they who had broken another's intercourse should themselves lose their marriage rites.

111. How full of pitiful traits is this story! A man, it says, Judges 19:1-3 a Levite, had taken to himself a wife, who I suppose was called a concubine from the word concubitus. She some time afterwards, as is wont to happen, offended at certain things, betook herself to her father, and was with him four months. Then her husband arose and went to the house of his father-in-law, to reconcile himself with his wife, to win her back and take her home again. The woman ran to meet him and brought her husband into her father's house.

112. The maiden's Judges 4-9 father rejoiced and went to meet him, and the man stayed with him three days, and they ate and rested. On the next day the Levite arose at daybreak, but was detained by his father-in-law, that

he might not so quickly lose the pleasure of his company. Again on the next and the third day the maiden's father did not suffer his son-in-law to start, until their joy and mutual regard was complete. But on the seventh day, when it was already drawing to a close, after a pleasant meal, having urged the approach of the coming night, so as to make him think he ought to sleep among friends rather than strangers, he was unable to keep him, and so let him go together with his daughter.

113. When some little progress Judges 19:10-21 was made, though night was threatening to come on, and they were close by the town of the Jebusites, on the slave's request that his lord should turn aside there, he refused, because it was not a city of the children of Israel. He meant to get as far as Gibeah, which was inhabited by the people of the tribe of Benjamin. But when they arrived there was no one to receive them with hospitality, except a stranger of advanced age — When he had looked upon them he asked the Levite: Where are you going, and where are you coming from? On his answering that he was travelling and was making for Mount Ephraim and that there was no one to take him in, the old man offered him hospitality and prepared a meal.

114. And when they were satisfied Judges 19:22-26 and the tables were removed, vile men rushed up and surrounded the house. Then the old man offered these wicked men his daughter, a virgin, and the concubine with whom she shared her bed, only that violence might not be inflicted on his . But when reason did no good and violence prevailed, the Levite parted from his wife, and they knew her and abused her all that night. Overcome by this cruelty or by grief at her wrong, she fell at the door of their host where her husband had entered, and gave up the ghost, with the last effort of her life guarding the feelings of a good wife so as to preserve for her husband at least her mortal remains.

115. When this became known (to be brief) almost all the people of Israel broke out into war. The war remained doubtful with an uncertain issue, but in the third engagement the people of Benjamin were delivered to the people of Israel, Judges 20:48 and being condemned by the divine judgment paid the penalty for their profligacy. The sentence, further, was that none of the people of the fathers should give his daughter in marriage to them. This was confirmed by a solemn oath. But relenting at having laid so hard a sentence on their brethren, they moderated their severity so as to give them in marriage those maidens that had lost their parents, whose fathers had been slain for their sins, or to give them the means of finding a wife by a raid. Because of the villainy of so foul a deed, they who have violated another's marriage rights were shown to be unworthy to ask for marriage. But for fear that one tribe might perish from the people, they connived at the deceit.

116. What great regard our forefathers had for virtue is shown by the fact that forty thousand men drew the sword against their brethren of the tribe of Benjamin in their desire to avenge the wrong done to modesty, for they would not endure the violation of chastity. And so in that war on both sides there fell sixty-five thousand warriors, while their cities were burnt. And when at first the people of Israel were defeated, yet unmoved by fear at the reverses of the war, they disregarded the sorrow the avenging of chastity cost them. They rushed into the battle ready to wash out with their own blood the stains of the crime that had been committed.

CHAPTER 20.

After the terrible siege of Samaria was ended in accordance with Elisha's prophecy, he relates what regard the four lepers showed for what was virtuous.

117. WHY NEED we wonder that the people of the Lord had regard for what was seemly and virtuous when even the lepers — as we read in the books of the Kings — showed concern for what is virtuous?

118. There was a great famine in Samaria, for the army of the Syrians was besieging it. The king in his anxiety was making the round of the guards on the walls when a woman addressed him, saying: This woman persuaded me to give up my son — and I gave him up, and we boiled him and ate him. And she promised that she would afterwards bring her son and that we should eat his flesh together, but now she has hidden her son and will not bring him. The king was troubled because these women seemed to have fed not merely on human bodies, but on the bodies of their own children; and being moved by an example of such awful misery, threatened the prophet Elisha with death. For he believed it was in his power to break up the siege and to avert the famine; or else he was angry because the prophet had not allowed the king to smite the Syrians whom he had struck with blindness.

119. Elisha sat with the elders at Bethel, and before the king's messenger came to him he said to the elders: See ye how the son of that murderess has sent to take away mine head? Then the messenger entered and brought the king's command threatening instant danger to his life. Him the prophet answered: Tomorrow about this time shall a measure of fine flour be sold

for a shekel, and two measures of barley for a shekel in the gate of Samaria. Then when the messenger sent by the king would not believe it, saying: If the Lord would rain abundance of grain from heaven, not even so would that come about, Elisha said to him: Because you have not believed, you shall see it with your eyes, but shall not eat of it.

120. And suddenly in the camp of Syria was there heard, as it were, a sound of chariots and a loud noise of horses and the noise of a great host, and the tumult of some vast battle. And the Syrians thought that the king of Israel had called to his help in the battle the king of Egypt and the king of the Amorites, and they fled at dawn leaving their tents, for they feared that they might be crushed by the sudden arrival of fresh foes, and would not be able to withstand the united forces of the kings. This was unknown in Samaria, for they dared not go out of the town, being overcome with fear and also being weak through hunger.

121. But there were four lepers at the gate of the city to whom life was a misery, and to die would be gain. And they said one to another: Behold we sit here and die. If we enter into the city, we shall die with hunger; if we remain here, there are no means of living at hand for us. Let us go to the Syrian camp, either they will quickly kill us or grant us the means of safety. So they went and entered into the camp, and behold, all was forsaken by the enemy. Entering the tents, first of all on finding food they satisfied their hunger, then they laid hold of as much gold and silver as they could. But while they were intent on the booty alone, they arranged to announce to the king that the Syrians had fled, for they thought this more virtuous than to withhold the information and keep for themselves the plunder gained by deceit.

122. At this information the people went forth and plundered the Syrian camp. The supplies of the enemy produced an abundance, and brought about cheapness of grain according to the prophet’s word: A measure of

fine flour for a shekel, and two measures of barley for a shekel. In this rejoicing of the people, that officer on whose hand the king leaned died, being crushed and trodden under foot by the people as the crowds kept hurrying to go out or returned with great rejoicing.

CHAPTER 21.

Esther in danger of her life followed the grace of virtue; nay, even a heathen king did so, when death was threatened to a man most friendly to him. For friendship must ever be combined with virtue, as the examples of Jonathan and Ahimelech show.

123. WHY DID Queen Esther Esther 4:16 expose herself to death and not fear the wrath of a fierce king? Was it not to save her people from death, an act both seemly and virtuous? The king of Persia himself also, though fierce and proud, yet thought it seemly to show honour to the man who had given information about a plot which had been laid against himself, Esther 6:10 to save a free people from slavery, to snatch them from death, and not to spare him who had pressed on such unseemly plans. So finally he handed over to the gallows Esther 7:9-10 the man that stood second to himself, and whom he counted chief among all his friends, because he considered that he had dishonoured him by his false counsels.

124. For that commendable friendship which maintains virtue is to be preferred most certainly to wealth, or honours, or power. It is not wont to be preferred to virtue indeed, but to follow after it. So it was with Jonathan, who for his affection's sake avoided not his father's displeasure nor the danger to his own safety. So, too, it was with Ahimelech, who, to preserve the duties of hospitality, thought he must endure death rather than betray his friend when fleeing.

CHAPTER 22.

Virtue must never be given up for the sake of a friend. If, however, one has to bear witness against a friend, it must be done with caution. Between friends what candour is needed in opening the heart, what magnanimity in suffering, what freedom in finding fault! Friendship is the guardian of virtues, which are not to be found but in men of like character. It must be mild in rebuking and averse to seeking its own advantage; whence it happens that true friends are scarce among the rich. What is the dignity of friendship? The treachery of a friend, as it is worse, so it is also more hateful than another's, as is recognized from the example of Judas and of Job's friends.

125. NOTHING, THEN, must be set before virtue; and that it may never be set aside by the desire for friendship, Scripture also gives us a warning on the subject of friendship. There are, indeed various questions raised among philosophers; for instance whether a man ought for the sake of a friend to plot against his country or not, so as to serve his friend? Whether it is right to break one's faith, and so aid and maintain a friend's advantage?

126. And Scripture also says: A maul, and a sword, and a sharp arrow, so is a man that bears false witness against his friend. Proverbs 25:18 But note what it adds. It blames not witness given against a friend, but false witness. For what if the cause of God or of one's country compels one to give witness? Ought friendship to take a higher place than our religion, or our love for our fellow citizens? In these matters, however, true witness is required so that a friend may not be assailed by the treachery of a friend, by

whose good faith he ought to be acquitted. A man, then, ought never to please a friend who desires evil, or to plot against one who is innocent.

127. Certainly, if it is necessary to give witness, then, when one knows of any fault in a friend, one ought to rebuke him secretly — if he does not listen, one must do it openly. For rebukes are good, and often better than a silent friendship. Even if a friend thinks himself hurt, still rebuke him; and if the bitterness of the correction wounds his mind, still rebuke him and fear not. The wounds of a friend are better than the kisses of flatterers. Proverbs 27:6 Rebuke, then, your erring friend; forsake not an innocent one. For friendship ought to be steadfast and to rest firm in true affection. We ought not to change our friends in childish fashion at some idle fancy.

128. Open your breast to a friend that he may be faithful to you, and that you may receive from him the delight of your life. For a faithful friend is the medicine of life and the grace of immortality. Sirach 6:16 Give way to a friend as to an equal, and be not ashamed to be beforehand with your friend in doing kindly duties. For friendship knows nothing of pride. So the wise man says: Do not blush to greet a friend. Sirach 22:25 Do not desert a friend in time of need, nor forsake him nor fail him, for friendship is the support of life. Let us then bear our burdens as the Apostle has taught: Galatians 6:2 for he spoke to those whom the charity of the same one body had embraced together. If friends in prosperity help friends, why do they not also in times of adversity offer their support? Let us aid by giving counsel, let us offer our best endeavours, let us sympathize with them with all our heart.

129. If necessary, let us endure for a friend even hardship. Often enmity has to be borne for the sake of a friend’s innocence; oftentimes revilings, if one defends and answers for a friend who is found fault with and accused. Do not be afraid of such displeasure, for the voice of the just says: Though evil come upon me, I will endure it for a friend’s sake. Sirach 22:26 In adversity, too, a friend is proved, for in prosperity all seem to be friends.

But as in adversity patience and endurance are needed, so in prosperity strong influence is wanted to check and confute the arrogance of a friend who becomes overbearing.

130. How nobly Job when he was in adversity said: Pity me, my friends, pity me. Job 19:21 That is not a cry as it were of misery, but rather one of blame. For when he was unjustly reproached by his friends, he answered: Pity me, my friends, that is, you ought to show pity, but instead ye assail and overwhelm a man with whose sufferings ye ought to show sympathy for friendship's sake.

131. Preserve, then, my sons, that friendship you have begun with your brethren, for nothing in the world is more beautiful than that. It is indeed a comfort in this life to have one to whom you can open your heart, with whom you can share confidences, and to whom you can entrust the secrets of your heart. It is a comfort to have a trusty man by your side, who will rejoice with you in prosperity, sympathize in troubles, encourage in persecution. What good friends those Hebrew children were whom the flames of the fiery furnace did not separate from their love of each other! Of them we have already spoken. Holy David says well: Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant, inseparable in their life, in death they were not divided.

132. This is the fruit of friendship; and so faith may not be put aside for the sake of friendship. He cannot be a friend to a man who has been unfaithful to God. Friendship is the guardian of pity and the teacher of equality, so as to make the superior equal to the inferior, and the inferior to the superior. For there can be no friendship between diverse characters, and so the good-will of either ought to be mutually suited to the other. Let not authority be wanting to the inferior if the matter demands it, nor humility to the superior. Let him listen to the other as though he were of like position

— an equal, and let the other warn and reprove like a friend, not from a desire to show off, but with a deep feeling of love.

134. Let not your warning be harsh, nor your rebuke bitter, for as friendship ought to avoid flattery, so, too, ought it to be free from arrogance. For what is a friend but a partner in love, to whom you unite and attach your soul, and with whom you blend so as to desire from being two to become one; to whom you entrust yourself as to a second self, from whom you fear nothing, and from whom you demand nothing dishonourable for the sake of your own advantage. Friendship is not meant as a source of revenue, but is full of seemliness, full of grace. Friendship is a virtue, not a way of making money. It is produced, not by money, but by esteem; not by the offer of rewards, but by a mutual rivalry in doing kindnesses.

134. Lastly, the friendships of the poor are generally better than those of the rich, and often the rich are without friends, while the poor have many. For true friendship cannot exist where there is lying flattery. Many try fawningly to please the rich, but no one cares to make pretence to a poor man. Whatsoever is stated to a poor man is true, his friendship is free from envy.

135. What is more precious than friendship which is shared alike by angels and by men? Wherefore the Lord Jesus says: Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, that they may receive you into eternal habitations. Luke 16:9 God Himself makes us friends instead of servants, as He Himself says: You are My friends if you do whatsoever I command you. John 15:14 He gave us a pattern of friendship to follow. We are to fulfil the wish of a friend, to unfold to him our secrets which we hold in our own hearts, and are not to disregard his confidences. Let us show him our heart and he will open his to us. Therefore He says: I have called you friends, for I have made known unto you all things whatsoever I have heard

of My Father. John 15:15 A friend, then, if he is a true one, hides nothing; he pours forth his soul as the Lord Jesus poured forth the mysteries of His Father.

136. So he who does the will of God is His friend and is honoured with this name. He who is of one mind with Him, he too is His friend. For there is unity of mind in friends, and no one is more hateful than the man that injures friendship. Hence in the traitor the Lord found this the worst point on which to condemn his treachery, namely, that he gave no sign of gratitude and had mingled the poison of malice at the table of friendship. So He says: It was thou, a man of like mind, My guide and Mine acquaintance, who ever took pleasant meals with Me. That is: it could not be endured, for you fell upon Him Who granted grace to you. For if My enemy had reproached Me I could have borne it, and I would have hid Myself from him who hated Me. An enemy can be avoided; a friend cannot, if he desires to lay a plot. Let us guard against him to whom we do not entrust our plans; we cannot guard against him to whom we have already entrusted them. And so to show up all the hatefulness of the sin He did not say: Thou, My servant, My apostle; but thou, a man of like mind with Me; that is: you are not My but your own betrayer, for you betrayed a man of like mind with yourself.

137. The Lord Himself, when He was displeased with the three princes who had not deferred to holy Job, wished to pardon them through their friend, so that the prayer of friendship might win remission of sins. Therefore Job asked and God pardoned. Friendship helped them whom arrogance had harmed. Job 42:7-8

138. These things I have left with you, my children, that you may guard them in your minds — you yourselves will prove whether they will be of any advantage. Meanwhile they offer you a large number of examples, for almost all the examples drawn from our forefathers, and also many a word

of theirs, are included within these three books; so that, although the language may not be graceful, yet a succession of old-time examples set down in such small compass may offer much instruction.

On the Holy Spirit

Translated by H. de Romestin, E. de Romestin and H. T. F. Duckworth

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

BOOK I.

CHAPTER 1.
CHAPTER 2.
CHAPTER 3.
CHAPTER 4.
CHAPTER 5.
CHAPTER 6.
CHAPTER 7.
CHAPTER 8.
CHAPTER 9.
CHAPTER 10.
CHAPTER 11.
CHAPTER 12.
CHAPTER 13.
CHAPTER 14.
CHAPTER 15.
CHAPTER 16.

BOOK II.

Introduction.

CHAPTER 1.
CHAPTER 2.
CHAPTER 3.
CHAPTER 4.
CHAPTER 5.
CHAPTER 6.
CHAPTER 7.
CHAPTER 8.
CHAPTER 9.
CHAPTER 10.
CHAPTER 11.
CHAPTER 12.
CHAPTER 13.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER 1.
CHAPTER 2.
CHAPTER 3.
CHAPTER 4.
CHAPTER 5.
CHAPTER 6.
CHAPTER 7.
CHAPTER 8.
CHAPTER 9.
CHAPTER 10.
CHAPTER 11.
CHAPTER 12.
CHAPTER 13.
CHAPTER 14.

CHAPTER 15.
CHAPTER 16.
CHAPTER 17.
CHAPTER 18.
CHAPTER 19.
CHAPTER 20.
CHAPTER 21.
CHAPTER 22.

Saint Ambrose of Milan in his study, anonymous woodcut from a 1492 edition of his collected works, published by Johannes Amerbach, Basel

INTRODUCTION

THE THREE BOOKS on the Holy Spirit are, as St. Ambrose says himself, a sequel to those on the Faith, and the two treatises together have been sometimes quoted as if one, with the title, *De Trinitate*. But we see from Gratian's letter to St. Ambrose, and from the reply, that each treatise is separate, and the *De Spiritu Sancto* was written some years later, a.d. 381.

In the first book St. Ambrose commences by allegorizing the history of Gideon and the fleece, seeing in the drying of the fleece and the moistening of the threshing-floor a type of the Holy Spirit leaving the Jews and being poured out on the Gentiles. Passing to his more immediate subject, he proves that the Holy Spirit is above the whole Creation and is truly God, alleging as a special argument that the sin against the Holy Spirit can never be forgiven, here or hereafter. He shows how the Holy Spirit is in Scripture called the Spirit of God; that He spoke by the prophets and apostles; that He sanctifies men, and is typified by the mystical ointment spoken of in Scripture. Next, St. Ambrose treats of His oneness with the other two Persons of the Holy Trinity, and shows that His mission in no way detracts from this oneness, but that there is in all the Divine Persons a perfect unity of peace, love, and other virtues.

The second book commences with a treatment of the history of Samson in the same way as that of Gideon in Book I. Samson always succeeded so long as the Holy Spirit was with him, but fell into misfortune so soon as he was forsaken. It is shown that the power of the Holy Spirit is the same as that of the Father and the Son, and that there is an agreement in design and working, and in vivifying man. He is Creator and therefore to be

worshipped, and He worked with the Father and the Son in founding the Church, and in conclusion is proved the unity of operation in the Three Persons.

The third book continues the same argument, showing that the mission of prophets and apostles, and even of the Son Himself, is to be referred to the Spirit, yet without any subjection on the part of the Son, seeing that the Spirit also receives His mission from the Father and the Son. The Godhead of the Holy Spirit is next taken up and proved, when occasion is taken also to show that there are not three Gods or three Lords, for the Three Divine Persons are one in holiness and nature; and the work is concluded with a summary of some of the principal arguments.

There can be but little doubt that this is the work, and St. Ambrose the author, bitterly attacked by St. Jerome; the whole passage may be read in the *Apology* of Rufinus, , in vol. iii. of this series. St. Ambrose is compared to a daw decked in another bird's plumage, and charged with writing bad things in Latin taken from good things in Greek, and St. Jerome even took the trouble to translate a work of St. Didymus on the Holy Spirit (from the preface to which the above extracts are taken), in order that those who did not know Greek might, St. Jerome hoped, recognize the plagiarisms.

Rufinus vigorously defends St. Ambrose, and, pointing out many inconsistencies in his opponent, says: The saintly Ambrose wrote his book on the Holy Spirit not in words only but with his own blood, for he offered his life-blood to his persecutors, and shed it within himself, though God preserved his life for future labours.

The truth is that St. Ambrose being a good Greek scholar, and having undertaken to write on the Holy Spirit, studied what others had written before him, and made use of what had been urged by SS. Basil, Didymus, and others. The opinion of the great St. Augustine concerning this treatise may be set against that of St. Jerome. St. Ambrose when treating of the

deep subject of the Holy Spirit, and showing that He is equal with the Father and the Son, yet makes use of a simple style of discourse; inasmuch as his subject required no the embellishments of language, but proofs to move the minds of his readers.

BOOK I.

To the Emperor Gratian.

THE CHOICE OF Gideon was a figure of our Lord's Incarnation, the sacrifice of a kid, of the satisfaction for sins in the body of Christ; that of the bullock, of the abolition of profane rites; and in the three hundred soldiers was a type of the future redemption through the cross. The seeking of various signs by Gideon was also a mystery, for by the dryness and moistening of the fleece was signified the falling away of the Jews and the calling of the Gentiles, by the water received in a basin the washing of the apostles' feet. St. Ambrose prays that his own pollution may be washed away, and praises the loving-kindness of Christ. The same water sent forth by the Son of God effects marvellous conversions; it cannot, however, be sent by any other, since it is the pouring forth of the Holy Spirit, Who is subject to no external power.

1. When Jerubbaal, as we read, was beating out wheat Judges 6:11 under an oak, he received a message from God in order that he might bring the people of God from the power of strangers into liberty. Nor is it a matter of wonder if he was chosen for grace, seeing that even then, being appointed under the shadow of the holy cross and of the adorable Wisdom in the predestined mystery of the future Incarnation, he was bringing forth the visible grains of the fruitful grain from their hiding places, and was [mystically] separating the elect of the saints from the refuse of the empty chaff. For these elect, as though trained with the rod of truth, laying aside the superfluities of the old man together with his deeds, are gathered in the

Church as in a winepress. For the Church is the winepress of the eternal fountain, since from her wells forth the juice of the heavenly Vine.

2. And Gideon, moved by that message, when he heard that, though thousands of the people failed, God would deliver His own from their enemies by means of one man, Judges 6:14 offered a kid, and according to the word of the Angel, laid its flesh and the unleavened cakes upon the rock, and poured the broth upon them. And as soon as the Angel touched them with the end of the staff which he bore, fire burst forth out of the rock, and so the sacrifice which he was offering was consumed. Judges 6:19-21 By which it seems clear that that rock was a figure of the Body of Christ, for it is written: They drank of that rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ. 1 Corinthians 10:4 Which certainly refers not to His Godhead, but to His Flesh, which watered the hearts of the thirsting people with the perpetual stream of His Blood.

3. Even at that time was it declared in a mystery that the Lord Jesus in His Flesh would, when crucified, do away the sins of the whole world, and not only the deeds of the body, but the desires of the soul. For the flesh of the kid refers to sins of deed, the broth to the enticements of desire as it is written: For the people lusted an evil lust, and said, Who shall give us flesh to eat? Numbers 11:4 That the Angel then stretched forth his staff, and touched the rock, from which fire went out, Judges 6:21 shows that the Flesh of the Lord, being filled with the Divine Spirit, would burn away all the sins of human frailty. Wherefore, also, the Lord says: I have come to send fire upon the earth. Luke 12:49

4. Then the man, instructed and foreknowing what was to be, observes the heavenly mysteries, and therefore, according to the warning, slew the bullock destined by his father to idols, and himself offered to God another bullock seven years old. Judges 6:26 By doing which he most plainly showed that after the coming of the Lord all Gentile sacrifices should be

done away, and that only the sacrifice of the Lord's passion should be offered for the redemption of the people. For that bullock was, in a type, Christ, in Whom, as Esaias said, dwelt the fullness of the seven gifts of the Spirit. Isaiah 11:2 This bullock Abraham also offered when he saw the day of the Lord and was glad. John 8:56 He it is Who was offered at one time in the type of a kid, at another in that of a sheep, at another in that of a bullock. Of a kid, because He is a sacrifice for sin; of a sheep, because He is an unresisting victim; of a bullock, because He is a victim without blemish.

5. Holy Gideon then saw the mystery beforehand. Next he chose out three hundred for the battle, so as to show that the world should be freed from the incursion of worse enemies, not by the multitude of their number, but by the mystery of the cross. And yet, though he was brave and faithful, he asked of the Lord yet fuller proofs of future victory, saying: If You will save Israel by mine hand, O Lord, as You have said, behold I will put a fleece of wool on the threshing-floor, and if there shall be dew on the fleece and dryness on all the ground, I shall know that You will deliver the people by my hand according to Your promise. And it was so. Judges 6:36 Afterwards he asked in addition that dew should descend on all the earth and dryness be on the fleece.

6. Some one perhaps will enquire whether he does not seem to have been wanting in faith, seeing that after being instructed by many signs he asked still more. But how can he seem to have asked as if doubting or wanting in faith, who was speaking in mysteries? He was not then doubtful, but careful that we should not doubt. For how could he be doubtful whose prayer was effectual? And how could he have begun the battle without fear, unless he had understood the message of God? For the dew on the fleece signified the faith among the Jews, because the words of God come down like the dew.

7. So when the whole world was parched with the drought of Gentile superstition, then came that dew of the heavenly visits on the fleece. But

after that the lost sheep of the house of Israel Matthew 15:24 (whom I think that the figure of the Jewish fleece shadowed forth), after that those sheep, I say, Jeremiah 2:13 had refused the fountain of living water, the dew of moistening faith dried up in the breasts of the Jews, and that divine Fountain turned away its course to the hearts of the Gentiles. Whence it has come to pass that now the whole world is moistened with the dew of faith, but the Jews have lost their prophets and counsellors.

8. Nor is it strange that they should suffer the drought of unbelief, whom the Lord deprived of the fertilising of the shower of prophecy, saying: I will command My clouds that they rain not upon that vineyard. Isaiah 5:6 For there is a health-giving shower of salutary grace, as David also said: He came down like rain upon a fleece, and like drops that drop upon the earth. The divine Scriptures promised us this rain upon the whole earth, to water the world with the dew of the Divine Spirit at the coming of the Saviour. The Lord, then, has now come, and the rain has come; the Lord has come bringing the heavenly drops with Him, and so now we drink, who before were thirsty, and with an interior draught drink in that Divine Spirit.

9. Holy Gideon, then, foresaw this, that the nations of the Gentiles also would drink by the reception of faith, and therefore he enquired more diligently, for the caution of the saints is necessary. Insomuch that also Joshua the Son of Nun, when he saw the captain of the heavenly host, enquired: Are you for us, or for our adversaries? Joshua 5:13 lest, perchance, he might be deceived by some stratagem of the adversary.

10. Nor was it without a reason that he put the fleece neither in a field nor in a meadow, but in a threshing-floor, where is the harvest of the wheat: For the harvest is plenteous, but the labourers are few; Luke 10:2 because that, through faith in the Lord, there was about to be a harvest fruitful in virtues.

11. Nor, again, was it without a reason that he dried the fleece of the Jews, and put the dew from it into a basin, so that it was filled with water, yet he did not himself wash his feet in that dew. The prerogative of so great a mystery was to be given to another. He was being waited for Who alone could wash away the filth of all. Gideon was not great enough to claim this mystery for himself, but the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister. Matthew 20:28 Let us, then, recognize in Whom these mysteries are seen to be accomplished. Not in holy Gideon, for they were still at their commencement. Therefore the Gentiles were surpassed, for dryness was still upon the Gentiles, and therefore did Israel surpass them, for then did the dew remain on the fleece.

12. Let us come now to the Gospel of God. I find the Lord stripping Himself of His garments, and girding Himself with a towel, pouring water into a basin, and washing the disciples' feet. John 13:4 That heavenly dew was this water, this was foretold, namely, that the Lord Jesus Christ would wash the feet of His disciples in that heavenly dew. And now let the feet of our minds be stretched out. The Lord Jesus wills also to wash our feet, for He says, not to Peter alone, but to each of the faithful: If I wash not your feet you will have no part with Me. John 13:8

13. Come, then, Lord Jesus, put off Your garments, which You put on for my sake; be stripped that You may clothe us with Your mercy. Gird Yourself for our sakes with a towel, that You may gird us with Your gift of immortality. Pour water into the basin, wash not only our feet but also the head, and not only of the body, but also the footsteps of the soul. I wish to put off all the filth of our frailty, so that I also may say: By night I have put off my coat, how shall I put it on? I have washed my feet, how shall I defile them? Song of Songs 5:3

14. How great is that excellence! As a servant, You wash the feet of Your disciples; as God, You send dew from heaven. Nor do You wash the feet

only, but also invite us to sit down with You, and by the example of Your dignity exhort us, saying: You call Me Master and Lord, and you do well, for so I am. If, then, I the Lord and Master have washed your feet, you ought also to wash one another's feet. John 13:13-14

15. I, then, wish also myself to wash the feet of my brethren, I wish to fulfil the commandment of my Lord, I will not be ashamed in myself, nor disdain what He Himself did first. Good is the mystery of humility, because while washing the pollutions of others I wash away my own. But all were not able to exhaust this mystery. Abraham was, indeed, willing to wash feet, Genesis 18:4 but because of a feeling of hospitality. Gideon, too, was willing to wash the feet of the Angel of the Lord who appeared to him, but his willingness was confined to one; he was willing as one who would do a service, not as one who would confer fellowship with himself. This is a great mystery which no one knew. Lastly, the Lord said to Peter: What I do you know not now, but shall know hereafter. John 13:7 This, I say, is a divine mystery which even they who wash will enquire into. It is not, then, the simple water of the heavenly mystery whereby we attain to be found worthy of having part with Christ.

16. There is also a certain water which we put into the basin of our soul, water from the fleece and from the Book of Judges; water, too, from the Book of Psalms. It is the water of the message from heaven. Let, then, this water, O Lord Jesus, come into my soul, into my flesh, that through the moisture of this rain the valleys of our minds and the fields of our hearts may grow green. May the drops from You come upon me, shedding forth grace and immortality. Wash the steps of my mind that I may not sin again. Wash the heel of my soul, that I may be able to efface the curse, that I feel not the serpent's bite Genesis 3:15 on the foot of my soul, but, as You Yourself hast bidden those who follow You, may tread on serpents and

scorpions Luke 10:19 with uninjured foot. You have redeemed the world, redeem the soul of a single sinner.

17. This is the special excellence of Your loving-kindness, wherewith You have redeemed the whole world one by one. Elijah was sent to one widow; Elisha cleansed one; You, O Lord Jesus, have at this day cleansed a thousand. How many in the city of Rome, how many at Alexandria, how many at Antioch, how many also at Constantinople! For even Constantinople has received the word of God, and has received evident proofs of Your judgment. For so long as she cherished the Arians' poison in her bosom, disquieted by neighbouring wars, she echoed with hostile arms around. But so soon as she rejected those who were alien from the faith she received as a suppliant the enemy himself, the judge of kings, whom she had always been wont to fear, she buried him when dead, and retains him entombed. How many, then, have You cleansed at Constantinople, how many, lastly, at this day in the whole world!

18. Damasus cleansed not, Peter cleansed not, Ambrose cleansed not, Gregory cleansed not; for ours is the ministry, but the sacraments are Yours. For it is not in man's power to confer what is divine, but it is, O Lord, Your gift and that of the Father, as You have spoken by the prophets, saying: I will pour out of My Spirit upon all flesh, and their sons and their daughters shall prophesy. Joel 2:28 This is that typical dew from heaven, this is that gracious rain, as we read: A gracious rain, dividing for His inheritance. For the Holy Spirit is not subject to any foreign power or law, but is the Arbiter of His own freedom, dividing all things according to the decision of His own will, to each, as we read, severally as He wills. 1 Corinthians 12:11

CHAPTER 1.

ST. AMBROSE COMMENCES his argument by complimenting the Emperor, both for his faith and for the restitution of the Basilica to the Church; then having urged that his opponents, if they affirm that the Holy Spirit is not a servant, cannot deny Him to be above all, adds that the same Spirit, when He said, All things serve You, showed plainly that He was distinct from creatures; which point he also establishes by other evidence.

19. The Holy Spirit, then, is not among but above all things. For (since you, most merciful Emperor, are so fully instructed concerning the Son of God as to be able yourself to teach others) I will not detain you longer, as you desire and claim to be told something more exactly [concerning Him], especially since you lately showed yourself to be so pleased by an argument of this nature, as to command the Basilica to be restored to the Church without any one urging you.

20. So, then, we have received the grace of your faith and the reward of our own; for we cannot say otherwise than that it was of the grace of the Holy Spirit, that when all were unconscious of it, you suddenly restored the Basilica. This is the gift, I say, this the work of the Holy Spirit, Who indeed was at that time preached by us, but was working in you.

21. And I do not regret the losses of the previous time, since the sequestration of that Basilica resulted in the gain of a sort of usury. For you sequestrated the Basilica, that you might give proof of your faith. And so your piety fulfilled its intention, which had sequestered that it might give proof, and so gave proof as to restore. I did not lose the fruit, and I have your judgment, and it has been made clear to all that, with a certain

diversity of action, there was in you no diversity of opinion. It was made clear, I say, to all, that it was not of yourself that you sequestrated, that it was of yourself when you restored it.

22. Now let us establish by evidence what we have said. The first point in the discussion is that all things serve. Now it is clear that all things serve, since it is written: All things serve You. This the Spirit said through the prophet. He did not say, We serve, but, serve You, that you might believe that He Himself is excepted from serving. So, then, since all things serve, and the Spirit does not serve, the Holy Spirit is certainly not included among all things.

23. For if we say that the Holy Spirit is included among all things, certainly when we read that the Spirit searches the deep things of God, 1 Corinthians 2:10 we deny that God the Father is over all. For since the Spirit is of God, and is the Spirit of His mouth, how can we say that the Holy Spirit is included among all things, seeing that God, Whose is the Spirit, is over all, possessing certainly fullness of perfection and perfect power.

25. But lest the objectors should think that the Apostle was in error, let them learn whom he followed as his authority for his belief. The Lord said in the Gospel: When the Paraclete has come, Whom I will send to you from My Father, even the Spirit of Truth which proceeds from the Father, He shall bear witness of Me. John 15:26 So the Holy Spirit both proceeds from the Father, and bears witness of the Son. For the witness Who is both faithful and true bears witness of the Father, than which witness nothing is more full for the expression of the Divine Majesty, nothing more clear as to the Unity of the Divine Power, since the Spirit has the same knowledge as the Son, Who is the witness and inseparable sharer of the Father’s secrets.

26. He excludes, then, the fellowship and number of creatures from the knowledge of God, but by not excluding the Holy Spirit, He shows that He

is not of the fellowship of creatures. So that the passage which is read in the Gospel: For no man has seen God at any time, save the Only-begotten Son Who is in the bosom of the Father He has declared Him, also pertains to the exclusion of the Holy Spirit. For how has He not seen God Who searches even the deep things of God? How has He not seen God Who knows the things which are of God? How has He not seen God Who is of God? So, since it is laid down that no one has seen God at any time, whereas the Holy Spirit has seen Him, clearly the Holy Spirit is excepted. He, then, is above all Who is excluded from all.

CHAPTER 2.

THE WORDS, ALL things were made by Him, are not a proof that the Holy Spirit is included among all things, since He was not made. For otherwise it could be proved by other passages that the Son, and even the Father Himself, must be numbered among all things, which would be similar irreverence.

27. This seems, gracious Emperor, to be a full account of our right feeling, but to the impious it does not seem so. Observe what they are striving after. For the heretics are wont to say that the Holy Spirit is to be reckoned among all things, because it is written of God the Son: All things were made by Him. John 1:3

28. How utterly confused is a course of argument which does not hold to the truth, and is involved in an inverted order of statements. For this argument would be of value for the statement that the Holy Spirit is among all things, if they proved that He was made. For Scripture says that all things which were made were made by the Son; but since we are not taught that the Holy Spirit was made, He certainly cannot be proved to be among all things Who was neither made as all things are, nor created. To me this testimony is of use for establishing each point; firstly, that He is proved to be above all things, because He was not made; and secondly, that because He is above all things, He is seen not to have been made, and is not to be numbered among those things which were made.

29. But if any one, because the Evangelist stated that all things were made by the Word, making no exception of the Holy Spirit (although the Spirit of God speaking in John said: All things were made by Him, and said

not we were all things which were made; while the Lord Himself distinctly showed that the Spirit of God spoke in the Evangelists, saying, For it will not be you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaks in you), Matthew 10:20 yet if any one, as I said, does not except the Holy Spirit in this place, but numbers Him among all, he consequently does not except the Son of God in that passage where the Apostle says: Yet to us there is one God the Father, of Whom are all things, and we by Him. 1 Corinthians 8:6 But that he may know that the Son is not among all things, let him read what follows, for when he says: And one Lord Jesus Christ, by Whom are all things, 1 Corinthians 8:6 he certainly excepts the Son of God from all, who also excepted the Father.

30. But it is equal irreverence to detract from the dignity of the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Spirit. For he believes not in the Father who does not believe in the Son, nor does he believe in the Son of God who does not believe in the Spirit, nor can faith stand without the rule of truth. For he who has begun to deny the oneness of power in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit certainly cannot prove his divided faith in points where there is no division. So, then, since complete piety is to believe rightly, so complete impiety is to believe wrongly.

31. Therefore they who think that the Holy Spirit ought to be numbered among all things, because they read that all things were made by the Son, must needs also think that the Son is to be numbered among all things, because they read: All things are of God. 2 Corinthians 5:18 But, consequently, they also do not separate the Father from all things, who do not separate the Son from all creatures, since, as all things are of the Father, so, too, all things are by the Son. And the Apostle, because of his foresight in the Spirit, used this very expression, lest he should seem to the impious who had heard that the Son had said, That which My Father has given Me is greater than all, John 10:29 to have included the Son among all.

CHAPTER 3.

THE STATEMENT OF the Apostle, that all things are of the Father by the Son, does not separate the Spirit from Their company, since what is referred to one Person is also attributed to each. So those baptized in the Name of Christ are held to be baptized in the Name of the Father and of the Holy Spirit, if, that is, there is belief in the Three Persons, otherwise the baptism will be null. This also applies to baptism in the Name of the Holy Spirit. If because of one passage the Holy Spirit is separated from the Father and the Son, it will necessarily follow from other passages that the Father will be subordinated to the Son. The Son is worshipped by angels, not by the Spirit, for the latter is His witness, not His servant. Where the Son is spoken of as being before all, it is to be understood of creatures. The great dignity of the Holy Spirit is proved by the absence of forgiveness for the sin against Him. How it is that such sin cannot be forgiven, and how the Spirit is one.

32. But perhaps some one may say that there was a reason why the writer said that all things were of the Father, and all things through the Son, 1 Corinthians 8:6 but made no mention of the Holy Spirit, and would obtain the foundation of an argument from this. But if he persists in his perverse interpretation, in how many passages will he find the power of the Holy Spirit asserted, in which Scripture has stated nothing concerning either the Father or the Son, but has left it to be understood?

40. Where, then, the grace of the Spirit is asserted, is that of God the Father or of the Only-begotten Son denied? By no means; for as the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father, so, too, the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, Who has been given us. Romans 5:5

And as he who is blessed in Christ is blessed in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, because the Name is one and the Power one; so, too, when any divine operation, whether of the Father, or of the Son, or of the Holy Spirit, is treated of, it is not referred only to the Holy Spirit, but also to the Father and the Son, and not only to the Father, but also to the Son and the Spirit.

41. Then, too, the Ethiopian eunuch of Queen Candace, when baptized in Christ, obtained the fullness of the sacrament. And they who said that they knew not of any Holy Spirit, although they said that they had been baptized with John's baptism, were baptized afterwards, because John baptized for the remission of sins in the Name of the coming Jesus, not in his own. And so they knew not the Spirit, because in the form in which John baptized they had not received baptism in the Name of Christ. For John, though he did not baptize in the Spirit, nevertheless preached Christ and the Spirit. And then, when he was questioned whether he were perchance himself the Christ, he answered: I baptize you with water, but a stronger than I shall come, Whose shoes I am not worthy to bear, He shall baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire. They therefore, because they had been baptized neither in the Name of Christ nor with faith in the Holy Spirit, could not receive the sacrament of baptism.

42. So they were baptized in the Name of Jesus Christ, and baptism was not repeated in their case, but administered differently, for there is but one baptism. But where there is not the complete sacrament of baptism, there is not considered to be a commencement nor any kind of baptism. But baptism is complete if one confess the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. If you deny One you overthrow the whole. And just as if you mention in words One only, either the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Spirit, and in your belief do not deny either the Father, the Son, or the Holy Spirit, the mystery of the faith is complete, so, too, although you name the Father, Son, and Holy

Spirit, and lessen the power of either the Father, the Son, or the Holy Spirit, the whole mystery is made empty. And, lastly, they who had said: We have not heard if there be any Holy Spirit, were baptized afterwards in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ. And this was an additional abundance of grace, for now through Paul's preaching they knew the Holy Spirit.

43. Nor ought it to seem opposed to this, that although subsequently mention is not made of the Spirit, He is yet believed in, and what had not been mentioned in words is expressed in belief. For when it is said, In the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the mystery is complete through the oneness of the Name, and the Spirit is not separated from the baptism of Christ, since John baptized unto repentance, Christ in the Spirit.

44. Let us now consider whether as we read that the sacrament of baptism in the Name of Christ was complete, so, too, when the Holy Spirit alone is named, anything is wanting to the completeness of the mystery. Let us follow out the argument that he who has named One has signified the Trinity. If you name Christ, you imply both God the Father by Whom the Son was anointed, and the Son Himself Who was anointed, and the Holy Spirit with Whom He was anointed. For it is written: This Jesus of Nazareth, Whom God anointed with the Holy Spirit. Acts 10:38 And if you name the Father, you denote equally His Son and the Spirit of His mouth, if, that is, you apprehend it in your heart. And if you speak of the Spirit, you name also God the Father, from Whom the Spirit proceeds, and the Son, inasmuch as He is also the Spirit of the Son.

45. Wherefore that authority may also be joined to reason Scripture indicates that we can also be rightly baptized in the Spirit, when the Lord says: But you shall be baptized in the Holy Spirit. Acts 1:5 And in another place the Apostle says: For we were all baptized in the body itself into one Spirit. 1 Corinthians 12:13 The work is one, for the mystery is one; the

baptism one, for there was one death on behalf of the world; there is, then, a oneness of working, a oneness of setting forth, which cannot be separated.

46. But if in this place the Spirit be separated from the operation of the Father and the Son, because it is said, All things are of God, and all things are through the Son, 1 Corinthians 8:6 then, too, when the Apostle says of Christ, Who is over all, God blessed for ever, Romans 9:5 He set Christ not only above all creatures, but (which it is impious to say) above the Father also. But God forbid, for the Father is not among all things, is not among a kind of crowd of His own creatures. The whole creation is below, over all is the Godhead of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. The former serves, the latter rules; the former is subject, the latter reigns; the former is the work, the latter the author of the work; the former, without exception, worships, the latter is worshipped by all without exception.

47. Lastly, of the Son it is written: And let all the angels of God worship Him. Hebrews 1:6 You do not find, Let the Holy Spirit worship. And farther on: To which of the angels said He at any time, Sit on My right hand till I make your enemies the footstool of your feet? Are they not all, says he, ministering spirits who are sent to minister? Hebrews 1:14 When he says *All*, does he include the Holy Spirit? Certainly not, because Angels and the other Powers are destined to serve in ministering and obedience to the Son of God.

48. But in truth the Holy Spirit is not a minister but a witness of the Son, as the Son Himself said of Him: He shall bear witness of Me. John 15:26 The Spirit, then, is a witness of the Son. He who is a witness knows all things, as God the Father is a witness. For so you read in later passages, for our salvation was confirmed to us by God bearing witness by signs and wonders and by manifold powers and by distributions of the Holy Spirit. Hebrews 2:3-4 He who divides as he will is certainly above all, not among

all, for to divide is the gift of the worker, not an innate part of the work itself.

49. If the Son is above all, through Whom our salvation received its commencement, so that it might be preached, certainly God the Father also, Who testifies and gives confirmation concerning our salvation by signs and wonders, is excepted from all. In like manner the Spirit, Who bears witness to our salvation by His diversities of gifts, is not to be numbered with the crowd of creatures, but to be reckoned with the Father and the Son; Who, when He divides, is not Himself divided by cutting off Himself, for being indivisible He loses nothing when He gives to all, as also the Son, when the Father receives the kingdom, 1 Corinthians 15:24 loses nothing, nor does the Father, when He gives that which is His to the Son, suffer loss. We know, then, by the testimony of the Son that there is no loss in the division of spiritual grace; for He Who breathes where He wills John 3:8 is everywhere free from loss. Concerning which power we shall speak more fully farther on.

50. In the meanwhile, since our intention is to prove in due order that the Spirit is not to be reckoned among all things, let us take the Apostle, whose words they call in question, as an authority for this position. For what all things would be, whether visible or invisible, he himself declared when he said: For in Him were all things created in the heavens and in earth. Colossians 1:16 You see that all things is spoken of things in the heavens, and of things in earth, for in the heavens are also invisible things which were made.

51. But that no one should be ignorant of this he added those of whom he was speaking: Whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers, all things were created by Him and in Him, and He is before all, and in Him all things consist. Colossians 1:16-17 Does he, then, include the Holy Spirit here among creatures? Or when he says that the Son of God is before all

things, is he to be supposed to have said that He is before the Father? Certainly not; for as here he says that all things were created by the Son, and that all things in the heavens consist in Him, so, too, it cannot be doubted that all things in the heavens have their strength in the Holy Spirit, since we read: By the word of the Lord were the heavens established and all the strength of them by the Spirit of His mouth. He, then, is above all, from Whom is all the strength of things in heaven and things on earth. He, then, Who is above all things certainly does not serve; He Who serves not is free; He Who is free has the prerogative of lordship.

52. If I were to say this at first it would be denied. But in the same manner as they deny the less that the greater may not be believed, so let us set forth lesser matters first that either they may show their perfidy in lesser matters, or, if they grant the lesser matters, we may infer greater from the lesser.

53. I think, most merciful Emperor, that they are most fully confuted who dare to reckon the Holy Spirit among all things. But that they may know that they are pressed not only by the testimony of the apostles, but also by that of our Lord; how can they dare to reckon the Holy Spirit among all things, since the Lord Himself said: He who shall blaspheme against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him; but he who shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost shall never be forgiven, either here or hereafter. Matthew 12:32 How, then, can any one dare to reckon the Holy Spirit among creatures? Or who will so blind himself as to think that if he have injured any creature he cannot be forgiven in any wise? For if the Jews because they worshipped the host of heaven were deprived of divine protection, while he who worships and confesses the Holy Spirit is accepted of God, but he who confesses Him not is convicted of sacrilege without forgiveness: certainly it follows from this that the Holy Spirit cannot be reckoned among

all things, but that He is above all things, an offense against Whom is avenged by eternal punishment.

54. But observe carefully why the Lord said: He who shall blaspheme against the Son of Man it shall be forgiven him, but he who shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost shall never be forgiven, either here or hereafter. Matthew 12:32 Is an offense against the Son different from one against the Holy Spirit? For as their dignity is one, and common to both, so too is the offense. But if any one, led astray by the visible human body, should think somewhat more remissly than is fitting concerning the Body of Christ (for it ought not to appear of little worth to us, seeing it is the palace of chastity, and the fruit of the Virgin), he incurs guilt, but he is not shut out from pardon, which he may attain to by faith. But if any one should deny the dignity, majesty, and eternal power of the Holy Spirit, and should think that devils are cast out not in the Spirit of God, but in Beelzebub, there can be no attaining of pardon there where is the fullness of sacrilege; for he who has denied the Spirit has denied also the Father and the Son, since the same is the Spirit of God Who is the Spirit of Christ.

CHAPTER 4.

THE HOLY SPIRIT is one and the same Who spoke in the prophets and apostles, Who is the Spirit of God and of Christ; Whom, further, Scripture designates the Paraclete, and the Spirit of life and truth.

55. But no one will doubt that the Spirit is one, although very many have doubted whether God be one. For many heretics have said that the God of the Old Testament is one, and the God of the New Testament is another. But as the Father is one Who both spoke of old, as we read, to the fathers by the prophets, and to us in the last days by His Son; Hebrews 1:1-2 and as the Son is one, Who according to the tenour of the Old Testament was offended by Adam, Genesis 3:17 seen by Abraham, Genesis 18:22-23 worshipped by Jacob; Genesis 28:17 so, too, the Holy Spirit is one, who energized in the prophets, 2 Peter 1:21 was breathed upon the apostles, John 20:22 and was joined to the Father and the Son in the sacrament of baptism. Matthew 28:19 For David says of Him: And take not Your Holy Spirit from me. And in another place he said of Him: Whither shall I go from Your Spirit?

56. That you may know that the Spirit of God is the same as the Holy Spirit, as we read also in the Apostle: No one speaking in the Spirit of God says Anathema to Jesus and no one can say, Lord Jesus, but in the Holy Spirit, 1 Corinthians 12:3 the Apostle calls Him the Spirit of God. He called Him also the Spirit of Christ, as you read: But you are not in the flesh but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwells in you. Romans 8:9 And farther on: But if the Spirit of Him Who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you. Romans 8:11 The same is, then, the Spirit of God, Who is the Spirit of Christ.

57. The same is also the Spirit of Life, as the Apostle says: For the law of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus has delivered me from the law of sin and death. Romans 8:2

58. Him, then, Whom the Apostle called the Spirit of Life, the Lord in the Gospel named the Paraclete, and the Spirit of Truth, as you find: And I will ask the Father, and He will give you another Comforter [Paraclete], that He may be with you for ever, even the Spirit of Truth, Whom this world cannot receive; because it sees Him not, neither knows Him. John 14:16-17 You have, then, the Paraclete Spirit, called also the Spirit of Truth, and the invisible Spirit. How, then, do some think that the Son is visible in His Divine Nature, when the world cannot see even the Spirit?

59. Receive now the saying of the Lord, that the same is the Holy Spirit Who is the Spirit of Truth, for you read in the end of this book: Receive the Holy Spirit. John 20:22 And Peter teaches that the same is the Holy Spirit Who is the Spirit of the Lord, when he says: Ananias, why has it seemed good to you to tempt and to lie to the Holy Spirit? Acts 5:3 And immediately after he says again to the wife of Ananias: Why has it seemed good to you to tempt the Spirit of the Lord? Acts 5:9 When he says to you, he shows that he is speaking of the same Spirit of Whom he had spoken to Ananias. He Himself is, then, the Spirit of the Lord Who is the Holy Spirit.

60. And the Lord Himself made clear that the same Who is the Spirit of the Father is the Holy Spirit, when according to Matthew He said that we ought not to take thought in persecution what we should say: For it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaks in you. Matthew 10:20 Again He says according to St. Luke: Be not anxious how you shall answer or speak, for the Holy Spirit of God shall teach you in that hour what you ought to say. Luke 12:11-12 So, although many are called spirits, as it is said: Who makes His Angels spirits, yet the Spirit of God is but one.

61. Both apostles and prophets received that one Spirit, as the vessel of election, the Doctor of the Gentiles, says: For we have all drunk of one Spirit; 1 Corinthians 12:13 Him, as it were, Who cannot be divided, but is poured into souls, and flows into the senses, that He may quench the burning of this world’s thirst.

CHAPTER 5.

THE HOLY SPIRIT, since He sanctifies creatures, is neither a creature nor subject to change. He is always good, since He is given by the Father and the Son; neither is He to be numbered among such things as are said to fail. He must be acknowledged as the source of goodness. The Spirit of God's mouth, the amender of evils, and Himself good. Lastly, as He is said in Scripture to be good, and is joined to the Father and the Son in baptism, He cannot possibly be denied to be good. He is not, however, said to progress, but to be made perfect in goodness, which distinguishes Him from all creatures.

62. The Holy Spirit is not, then, of the substance of things corporeal, for He sheds incorporeal grace on corporeal things; nor, again, is He of the substance of invisible creatures, for they receive His sanctification, and through Him are superior to the other works of the universe. Whether you speak of Angels, or Dominions, or Powers, every creature waits for the grace of the Holy Spirit. For as we are children through the Spirit, because God sent the Spirit of His Son into our hearts crying, Abba, Father; so that you are now not a servant but a son; Galatians 4:6-7 in like manner, also, every creature is waiting for the revelation of the sons of God, whom in truth the grace of the Holy Spirit made sons of God. Therefore, also, every creature itself shall be changed by the revelation of the grace of the Spirit, and shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God.

63. Every creature, then, is subject to change, not only such as has been changed by some sin or condition of the outward elements, but also such as

can be liable to corruption by a fault of nature, though by careful discipline it be not yet so; for, as we have shown in a former treatise, the nature of Angels evidently can be changed. It is certainly fitting to judge that such as is the nature of one, such also is that of others. The nature of the rest, then, is capable of change, but the discipline is better.

64. Every creature, therefore, is capable of change, but the Holy Spirit is good and not capable of change, nor can He be changed by any fault, Who does away the faults of all and pardons their sins. How, then, is He capable of change, Who by sanctifying works in others a change to grace, but is not changed Himself.

65. How is He capable of change Who is always good? For the Holy Spirit, through Whom the things that are good are ministered to us, is never evil. Whence two evangelists in one and the same place, in words in differing from each other, have made the same statement, for you read in Matthew: If you, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children; how much more shall your Father, Who is in heaven, give good things to them that ask Him. Matthew 7:11 But according to Luke you will find it thus written: How much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask Him? Luke 11:13 We observe, then, that the Holy Spirit is good in the Lord's judgment by the testimony of the evangelists, since the one has put good things in the place of the Holy Spirit, the other has named the Holy Spirit in the place of good things. If, then, the Holy Spirit is that which is good, how is He not good?

66. Nor does it escape our notice that some copies have likewise, according to St. Luke: How much more shall your heavenly Father give a good gift to them that ask Him. This good gift is the grace of the Spirit, which the Lord Jesus shed forth from heaven, after having been fixed to the gibbet of the cross, returning with the triumphal spoils of death deprived of its power, as you find it written: Ascending up on high He led captivity

captive, and gave good gifts to men. And well does he say gifts, for as the Son was given, of Whom it is written: Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given; Isaiah 9:6 so, too, is the grace of the Spirit given. But why should I hesitate to say that the Holy Spirit also is given to us, since it is written: The love of God is shed forth in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, Who is given to us. Romans 5:5 And since captive breasts certainly could not receive Him, the Lord Jesus first led captivity captive, that our affections being set free, He might pour forth the gift of divine grace.

67. And He said well led captivity captive. For the victory of Christ is the victory of liberty, which won grace for all, and inflicted wrong on none. So in the setting free of all no one is captive. And because in the time of the Lord's passion wrong alone had no part, which had made captive all of whom it had gained possession, captivity itself turning back upon itself was made captive, not now attached to Belial but to Christ, to serve Whom is liberty. For he who is called in the Lord as a servant is the Lord's freedman. 1 Corinthians 7:22

68. But to return to the point. All, says He, have gone aside, all together have become unprofitable. There is none that does good, not even one. If they except the Holy Spirit, even they themselves confess that He is not among all; if they do not except Him, then they, too, acknowledge that He has gone aside among all.

69. But let us consider whether He has goodness in Himself, since He is the Source and Principle of goodness. For as the Father and the Son have, so too the Holy Spirit also has goodness. And the Apostle also taught this when he said: Now the fruit of the Spirit is peace, love, joy, patience, goodness. Galatians 5:22 For who doubts that He is good Whose fruit is goodness. For a good tree brings forth good fruit. Matthew 7:17

70. And so if God be good, how shall He Who is the Spirit of His mouth not be good, Who searches even the deep things of God? Can the infection

of evil enter into the deep things of God? And from this it is seen how foolish they are who deny that the Son of God is good, when they cannot deny that the Spirit of Christ is good, of Whom the Son of God says: Therefore said I that He shall receive of Mine. John 16:15

71. Or is the Spirit not good, Who of the worst makes good men, does away sin, destroys evil, shuts out crime, pours in good gifts, makes apostles of persecutors, and priests of sinners? You were, it is said, sometime darkness, but now are you light in the Lord. Ephesians 5:8

72. But why do we put them off? And if they ask for statements since they do not deny facts, let them hear that the Holy Spirit is good, for David said: Let Your good Spirit lead me forth in the right way. For what is the Spirit but full of goodness? Who though because of His nature He cannot be attained to, yet because of His goodness can be received by us, filling all things His power, but only partaken of by the just, simple in substance, rich in virtues, present to each, dividing of His own to every one, and Himself whole everywhere.

73. And with good cause did the Son of God say: Go and baptize all nations in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, Matthew 28:19 not disdaining association with the Holy Spirit. Why, then, do some take it ill that He Whom the Lord disdained not in the sacrament of baptism, should be joined in our devotion with the Father and the Son?

74. Good, then, is the Spirit, but good, not as though acquiring but as imparting goodness. For the Holy Spirit does not receive from creatures but is received; as also He is not sanctified but sanctifies; for the creature is sanctified, but the Holy Spirit sanctifies. In which matter, though the word is used in common, there is a difference in the nature. For both the man who receives and God Who gives sanctity are called holy, as we read: Be holy, for I am holy. Leviticus 19:2 Now sanctification and corruption cannot

share the same nature, and therefore the grace of the Holy Spirit and the creature cannot be of one substance.

75. Since, then, the whole invisible creation (whose substance some rightly believe to be reasonable and incorporeal), with the exception of the Trinity, does not impart but acquires the grace of the Spirit, and does not share in it but receives it, the whole commonalty of creation is to be separated from association with the Holy Spirit. Let them then believe that the Holy Spirit is not a creature; or, if they think Him a creature, why do they associate Him with the Father? If they think Him a creature, why do they join Him with the Son of God? But if they do not think that He should be separated from the Father and the Son, they do not consider Him to be a creature, for where the sanctification is one the nature is one.

CHAPTER 6.

ALTHOUGH WE ARE baptized with water and the Spirit, the latter is much superior to the former, and is not therefore to be separated from the Father and the Son.

76. There are, however, many who, because we are baptized with water and the Spirit, think that there is no difference in the offices of water and the Spirit, and therefore think that they do not differ in nature. Nor do they observe that we are buried in the element of water that we may rise again renewed by the Spirit. For in the water is the representation of death, in the Spirit is the pledge of life, that the body of sin may die through the water, which encloses the body as it were in a kind of tomb, that we, by the power of the Spirit, may be renewed from the death of sin, being born again in God.

77. And so these three witnesses are one, as John said: The water, the blood, and the Spirit. 1 John 5:8 One in the mystery, not in nature. The water, then, is a witness of burial, the blood is a witness of death, the Spirit is a witness of life. If, then, there be any grace in the water, it is not from the nature of water, but from the presence of the Holy Spirit.

78. Do we live in the water or in the Spirit? Are we sealed in the water or in the Spirit. For in Him we live and He Himself is the earnest of our inheritance, as the Apostle says, writing to the Ephesians: In Whom believing you were sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise, Who is an earnest of our inheritance. Ephesians 1:13-14 So we were sealed by the Holy Spirit, not by nature, but by God, for it is written: He Who anointed us is God, Who also sealed us, and gave the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts.

79. We were then sealed with the Spirit by God. For as we die in Christ, in order to be born again, so, too, we are sealed with the Spirit, that we may possess His brightness and image and grace, which is undoubtedly our spiritual seal. For although we were visibly sealed in our bodies, we are in truth sealed in our hearts, that the Holy Spirit may portray in us the likeness of the heavenly image.

80. Who, then, can dare to say that the Holy Spirit is separated from the Father and the Son, since through Him we attain to the image and likeness of God, and through Him, as the Apostle Peter says, are partakers of the divine nature? In which there is certainly not the inheritance of carnal succession, but the spiritual connection of the grace of adoption. And in order that we may know that this seal is rather on our hearts than on our bodies, the prophet says: The light of Your countenance has been impressed upon us, O Lord, You have put gladness in my heart.

CHAPTER 7.

THE HOLY SPIRIT is not a creature, seeing that He is infinite, and was shed upon the apostles dispersed through all countries, and moreover sanctifies the Angels also, to whom He makes us equal. Mary was full of the same likewise, so too, Christ the Lord, and so far all things high and low. And all benediction has its origin from His operation, as was signified in the moving of the water at Bethesda.

81. Since then, every creature is confined within certain limits of its own nature, and inasmuch as those invisible operations, which cannot be circumscribed by place and bounds, yet are closed in by the property of their own substance; how can any one dare to call the Holy Spirit a creature, Who has not a limited and circumscribed power? Because He is always in all things and everywhere, which assuredly is the property of Divinity and Lordship, for: The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof.

81. And so, when the Lord appointed His servants the apostles, that we might recognize that the creature was one thing and the grace of the Spirit another, He appointed them to different places, because all could not be everywhere at once. But He gave the Holy Spirit to all, to shed upon the apostles though separated the gift of indivisible grace. The persons, then, were different, but the accomplishment of the working was in all one, because the Holy Spirit is one of Whom it is said: You shall receive power, even the Holy Spirit coming upon you, and you shall be witnesses to Me in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria, and unto the ends of the earth. Acts 1:8

82. The Holy Spirit, then, is uncircumscribed and infinite, Who infused Himself into the minds of the disciples throughout the separate divisions of distant regions, and the remote bounds of the whole world, Whom nothing is able to escape or to deceive. And therefore holy David says: Whither shall I go from Your Spirit, or whither shall I flee from Your face. Of what Angel does the Scripture say this? Of what Dominion? Of what Power? Of what Angel do we find the power diffused over many? For Angels were sent to few, but the Holy Spirit was poured upon whole peoples. Who, then, can doubt that that is divine which is shed upon many at once and is not seen; but that that is corporeal which is seen and held by individuals?

83. But in like manner as the Spirit sanctifying the apostles is not a partaker of human nature; so, too, He sanctifying Angels, Dominions, and Powers, has no partnership with creatures. But if any think that the holiness of the Angels is not spiritual, but some other kind of grace belonging to the property of their nature, they will forsooth judge Angels to be inferior to men. For since themselves also confess that they would not dare to compare Angels to the Holy Spirit, and they cannot deny that the Holy Spirit is shed upon men; but the sanctification of the Spirit is a divine gift and favour, men who possess a better kind of sanctification will certainly be found to be preferred to the Angels. But since Angels come down to men to assist them, it must be understood that the nature of Angels is higher as it receives more of the grace of the Spirit, and that the favour awarded to us and to them comes from the same author.

84. But how great is that grace which makes even the lower nature of the lot of men equal to the gifts received by Angels, as the Lord Himself promised, saying: You shall be as the Angels in heaven. Nor is it difficult, for He Who made those Angels in the Spirit will by the same grace make men also equal to the Angels.

85. But of what creature can it be said that it fills all things, as is written of the Holy Spirit: I will pour My Spirit upon all flesh. Joel 2:28 This cannot be said of an Angel. Lastly, Gabriel himself, when sent to Mary, said: Hail, full of grace, Luke 1:28 plainly declaring the grace of the Spirit which was in her, because the Holy Spirit had come upon her, and she was about to have her womb full of grace with the heavenly Word.

86. For it is of the Lord to fill all things, Who says: I fill heaven and earth. Jeremiah 23:24 If, then, it is the Lord Who fills heaven and earth, Who can judge the Holy Spirit to be without a share in the dominion and divine power, seeing that He has filled the world, and what is beyond the whole world, filled Jesus the Redeemer of the whole world? For it is written: But Jesus, full of the Holy Spirit, departed from Jordan. Luke 4:1 Who, then, except one who possessed the same fullness could fill Him Who fills all things?

87. But lest they should object that this was said according to the flesh, though He alone from Whose flesh went forth virtue to heal all, was more than all; yet, as the Lord fills all things, so, too, we read of the Spirit: For the Spirit of the Lord filled the whole world. Wisdom 1:7 And you find it said of all who had consorted with the Apostles that, filled with the Holy Spirit they spoke the word of God with boldness. Acts 4:31 You see that the Spirit gives both fullness and boldness, Whose operation the archangel announces to Mary, saying: The Holy Spirit shall come on you. Luke 1:35

88. You read, too, in the Gospel that the Angel descended at the appointed time into the pool and troubled the water, and he who first went down into the pool was made whole. John 5:4 What did the Angel declare in this type but the descent of the Holy Spirit, which was to come to pass in our day, and should consecrate the waters when invoked by the prayers of the priest? That Angel, then, was a herald of the Holy Spirit, inasmuch as by means of the grace of the Spirit medicine was to be applied to our

infirmities of soul and mind. The Spirit, then, has the same ministers as God the Father and Christ. He fills all things, possesses all things, works all and in all in the same manner as God the Father and the Son work.

89. What, then, is more divine than the working of the Holy Spirit, since God Himself testifies that the Holy Spirit presides over His blessings, saying: I will put My Spirit upon your seed and My blessings upon your children. Isaiah 44:3 For no blessing can be full except through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Wherefore, too, the Apostle found nothing better to wish us than this, as He himself said: We cease not to pray and make request for you that you may be filled with the knowledge of His will, in all wisdom and spiritual understanding walking worthily of God. Colossians 1:9 He taught, then, that this was the will of God, that rather by walking in good works and words and affections, we should be filled with the will of God, Who puts His Holy Spirit in our hearts. Therefore if he who has the Holy Spirit is filled with the will of God, there is certainly no difference of will between the Father and the Son.

CHAPTER 8.

THE HOLY SPIRIT is given by God alone, yet not wholly to each person, since there is no one besides Christ capable of receiving Him wholly. Charity is shed abroad by the Holy Spirit, Who, prefigured by the mystical ointment, is shown to have nothing common with creatures; and He, inasmuch as He is said to proceed from the mouth of God, must not be classed with creatures, nor with things divisible, seeing He is eternal.

90. Observe at the same time that God gives the Holy Spirit. For this is no work of man, nor gift of man; but He Who is invoked by the priest is given by God, wherein is the gift of God and the ministry of the priest. For if the Apostle Paul judged that he was not able to give the Holy Spirit himself by his own authority, and considered himself so far unequal to this office that he wished us to be filled by God with the Spirit, Ephesians 5:18 who is sufficient to dare to arrogate to himself the conferring of this gift? So the Apostle uttered this wish in prayer, and did not claim a right by any authority of his own; he desired to obtain, he did not presume to command. Peter, too, says that he is not capable of compelling or restraining the Holy Spirit. For he spoke thus: Wherefore if God has granted them the same grace as to us, who was I that I could resist God? Acts 11:17

91. But perchance they would not be moved by the example of apostles, and so let us use divine utterances; for it is written: Jacob is My servant, I will uphold him; Israel is My elect, My soul has upheld him, I put My Spirit upon him. Isaiah 42:1 The Lord also said by Isaiah: The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He has anointed Me. Isaiah 61:1

92. Who, then, can dare to say that the substance of the Holy Spirit is created, at Whose shining in our hearts we behold the beauty of divine truth, and the distance between the creature and the Godhead, that the work may be distinguished from its Author? Or of what creature has God so spoken as to say: I will pour out of My Spirit? Joel 2:28 He said not Spirit, but of My Spirit, for we are not able to receive the fullness of the Holy Spirit, but we receive as much as our Master divides to us of His own according to His will. Philippians 2:6 For as the Son of God thought it not robbery that He should be equal to God, but emptied Himself, that we might be able to receive Him in our minds; but He emptied Himself not that He was void of His own fullness, but in order that He, Whose fullness I could not endure, might infuse Himself into me according to the measure of my capacity, in like manner also the Father says that He pours out of the Spirit upon all flesh; for He did not pour Him forth wholly, but that which He poured forth abounded for all.

93. There was therefore a pouring out upon us of the Spirit, but upon the Lord Jesus, when He was in the form of man, the Spirit abode, as it is written: Upon Whom you shall see the Spirit descending from heaven, and abiding upon Him, He it is Who baptizes in the Holy Spirit. John 1:33 Around us is the liberality of the Giver in abundant provision, in Him abides for ever the fullness of the Spirit. He shed forth then what He deemed to be sufficient for us, and what was shed forth is not separated nor divided; but He has a unity of fullness wherewith He may enlighten the sight of our hearts according to what our strength is capable of. Lastly, we receive so much as the advancing of our mind acquires, for the fullness of the grace of the Spirit is indivisible, but is shared in by us according to the capacity of our own nature.

94. God, then, sheds forth of the Spirit, and the love of God is also shed abroad through the Spirit; in which point we ought to recognize the unity of

the operation and of the grace. For as God shed forth of the Holy Spirit, so also the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts through the Holy Spirit; Romans 5:5 in order that we may understand that the Holy Spirit is not a work, Who is the dispenser and plenteous Fount of the divine love.

95. In like manner that you may believe that that which is shed abroad cannot be common to the creatures but peculiar to the Godhead, the name of the Son is also poured forth, as you read: Your Name is as ointment poured forth. Song of Songs 1:3 Of which saying nothing can surpass the force. For as ointment closed up in a vase keeps in its perfume, so long as it is confined in the narrow space of that vase, though it cannot reach many, it yet preserves its strength. But when the ointment has been poured out of that vase wherein it was enclosed, it spreads far and wide; so, too, the Name of Christ before His coming among the people of Israel was enclosed in the minds of the Jews as in some vase. For God is known in Judah, His Name is great in Israel; that is, the Name which the vases of the Jews held confined in their narrow limits.

96. Even then that Name was indeed great, when it remained in the narrow limits of the weak and few, but it had not yet poured forth its greatness throughout the hearts of the Gentiles, and to the ends of the whole world. But after that He by His coming had shone throughout the whole world, He spread abroad that divine Name of His throughout all creatures, not filled up by any addition (for fullness admits not of increase), but filling up the empty spaces, that His Name might be wonderful in all the world. The pouring forth, then, of His Name signifies a kind of abundant exuberance of graces and copiousness of heavenly goods, for whatever is poured forth flows over from abundance.

97. So as wisdom which proceeds from the mouth of God cannot be said to be created, nor the Word Which is uttered from His heart, nor the power in which is the fullness of the eternal Majesty; so, too, the Spirit which is

poured forth from the mouth of God cannot be considered to be created, since God Himself has shown their unity to be such that He speaks of His pouring forth of His Spirit. By which we understand that the grace of God the Father is the same as that of the Holy Spirit, and that without any division or loss it is divided to the hearts of each. That, then, which is shed abroad of the Holy Spirit is neither severed, nor comprehended in any corporeal parts, nor divided.

98. For how can it be credible that the Spirit should be divided by any parcelling out? John says of God: Hereby know we that He abides in us by the Spirit which He has given us. 1 John 3:24 But that which abides always is certainly not changed, therefore if it suffers no change it is eternal. And so the Holy Spirit is eternal, but the creature is liable to fault, and therefore subject to change. But that which is subject to change cannot be eternal, and there cannot therefore be anything in common between the Spirit and the creature, because the Spirit is eternal, but every creature is temporal.

99. But the Apostle also shows that the Holy Spirit is eternal, for: If the blood of bulls and of goats, and the sprinkling the ashes of an heifer sanctifies to the purifying of the flesh, how much more the blood of Christ, Who through the eternal Spirit offered Himself without spot to God? Hebrews 9:13-14 Therefore the Spirit is eternal.

CHAPTER 9.

THE HOLY SPIRIT is rightly called the ointment of Christ, and the oil of gladness; and why Christ Himself is not the ointment, since He was anointed with the Holy Spirit. It is not strange that the Spirit should be called Ointment, since the Father and the Son are also called Spirit. And there is no confusion between them, since Christ alone suffered death, Whose saving cross is then spoken of.

100. Now many have thought that the Holy Spirit is the ointment of Christ. And well it is said ointment, because He is called the oil of gladness, the joining together of many graces giving a sweet fragrance. But God the Almighty Father anointed Him the Prince of priests, Who was, not like others anointed in a type under the Law, but was both according to the Law anointed in the body, and in truth was full with the virtue of the Holy Spirit from the Father above the Law.

101. This is the oil of gladness, of which the prophet says: God, even Your God, has anointed You with the oil of gladness above Your fellows. Lastly, Peter says that Jesus was anointed with the Spirit, as you read: You know that word which went through all Judea beginning from Galilee after the baptism which John preached, even Jesus of Nazareth, how God anointed Him with the Holy Spirit. Acts 10:37-38 The Holy Spirit is, then, the oil of gladness.

102. And well did he say oil of gladness, lest you should think Him a creature; for it is the nature of this sort of oil that it will by no means mingle with moisture of another kind. Gladness, too, does not anoint the body, but brightens the inmost heart, as the prophet said: You have put gladness in my

heart. So as he loses his pains who wishes to mix oil with moister matter, because since the nature of oil is lighter than others, when the others settle, it rises and is separated. How do those wretched pedlars think that the oil of gladness can by their tricks be mingled with other creatures, since of a truth corporeal things cannot be mingled with in corporeal, nor things created with uncreated?

102. And well is that called oil of gladness wherewith Christ was anointed; for neither was usual nor common oil to be sought for Him, wherewith either wounds are dressed or heat assuaged; since the salvation of the world did not seek alleviation for His wounds, nor the eternal might of His wearied Body demand refreshment.

103. Nor is it wonderful if He have the oil of gladness, Who made those about to die rejoice, put off sadness from the world, destroyed the odour of sorrowful death. And so the Apostle says: For we are the good odour of Christ to God; 2 Corinthians 2:15 certainly showing that he is speaking of spiritual things. But when the Son of God Himself says: The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He has anointed Me, Luke 4:18 He points out the ointment of the Spirit. Therefore the Spirit is the ointment of Christ.

104. Or since the Name of Jesus is as ointment poured out, if they wish to understand Christ Himself, and not the Spirit of Christ to be expressed under the name of ointment, certainly when the Apostle Peter says that the Lord Jesus was anointed with the Holy Spirit, it is without doubt plain that the Spirit also is called ointment.

105. But what wonder, since both the Father and the Son are said to be Spirit. Of which we shall speak more fully when we begin to speak of the Unity of the Name. Yet since most suitable place occurs here, that we may not seem to have passed on without a conclusion, let them read that both the Father is called Spirit, as the Lord said in the Gospel, for God is Spirit; John

4:24 and Christ is called Spirit, for Jeremiah said: The Spirit before our face, Christ the Lord. Lamentations 4:20

106. So, then, both the Father is Spirit and Christ is Spirit, for that which is not a created body is spirit, but the Holy Spirit is not commingled with the Father and the Son, but is distinct from the Father and from the Son. For the Holy Spirit did not die, Who could not die because He had not taken flesh upon Him, and the eternal Godhead was incapable of dying, but Christ died according to the flesh.

107. For of a truth He died in that which He took of the Virgin, not in that which He had of the Father, for Christ died in that nature in which He was crucified. But the Holy Spirit could not be crucified, Who had not flesh and bones, but the Son of God was crucified, Who took flesh and bones, that on that cross the temptations of our flesh might die. For He took on Him that which He was not that He might hide that which He was; He hid that which He was that He might be tempted in it, and that which He was not might be redeemed, in order that He might call us by means of that which He was not to that which He was.

108. O the divine mystery of that cross, on which weakness hangs, might is free, vices are nailed, and triumphal trophies raised. So that a certain saint said: Pierce my flesh with nails for fear of You; he says not with nails of iron, but of fear and faith. For the bonds of virtue are stronger than those of punishment. Lastly, his faith bound Peter, when he had followed the Lord as far as the hall of the high priest, whom no one had bound, and punishment loosened not him, whom faith bound. Again, when he was bound by the Jews, prayer loosed him, punishment did not hold him, because he had not gone back from Christ.

109. Therefore do you also crucify sin, that you may die to sin; he who dies to sin lives to God; do you live to Him Who spared not His own Son, that in His body He might crucify our passions. For Christ died for us, that

we might live in His revived Body. Therefore not our life but our guilt died in Him, Who, it is said, bare our sins in His own Body on the tree; that being set free from our sins we might live in righteousness, by the wound of Whose stripes we are healed. 1 Peter 2:24

110. That wood of the cross is, then, as it were a kind of ship of our salvation, our passage, not a punishment, for there is no other salvation but the passage of eternal salvation. Whilst expecting death I do not feel it; while thinking little of punishment I do not suffer; while careless of fear I know it not.

111. Who, then, is He by the wound of Whose stripes we are healed but Christ the Lord? Of Whom the same Isaiah prophesied His stripes were our healing, Isaiah 53:5 of Whom Paul the Apostle wrote in his epistle: Who knew no sin, but was made sin for us. 2 Corinthians 5:21 This, indeed, was divine in Him, that His Flesh did no sin, nor did the creature of the body take in Him sin. For what wonder would it be if the Godhead alone sinned not, seeing It had no incentives to sin? But if God alone is free from sin, certainly every creature by its own nature can be, as we have said, liable to sin.

CHAPTER 10.

THAT THE SPIRIT forgives sin is common to Him with the Father and the Son, but not with the Angels.

112. Tell me, then, whoever you are who deny the Godhead of the Holy Spirit. The Spirit could not be liable to sin, Who rather forgives sin. Does an Angel forgive? Does an Archangel? Certainly not, but the Father alone, the Son alone, and the Holy Spirit alone. Now no one is unable to avoid that which he has power to forgive.

113. But perhaps some one will say that the Seraph said to Isaiah: Behold, this has touched your lips, and shall take away your iniquities, and purge away your sins. Isaiah 6:7 Shall take away, he says, and shall purge, not I will take away, but that fire from the altar of God, that is, the grace of the Spirit. For what else can we piously understand to be on the altar of God but the grace of the Spirit? Certainly not the wood of the forests, nor the soot and coals. Or what is so in accordance with piety as to understand according to the mystery that it was revealed by the mouth of Isaiah that all men should be cleansed by the passion of Christ, Who as a coal according to the flesh burnt up our sins, as you read in Zechariah: Is not this a brand cast forth from the fire? And that was Joshua clothed in filthy garments. Zechariah 3:2-3

114. Lastly, that we may know that this mystery of the common redemption was most clearly revealed by the prophets, you have also in this place: Lo, it has taken away your sins; not that Christ put aside His sins Who did no sin, but that in the flesh of Christ the whole human race should be loosed from their sins.

115. But even if the Seraph had taken away sin, it would have been as one of the ministers of God appointed to this mystery. For thus said Isaiah: For one of the Seraphim was sent to me. Isaiah 6:6

CHAPTER 11.

THE SPIRIT IS sent to all, and passes not from place to place, for He is not limited either by time or space. He goes forth from the Son, as the Son from the Father, in Whom He ever abides: and also comes to us when we receive. He comes also after the same manner as the Father Himself, from Whom He can by no means be separated.

116. The Spirit, also, is indeed said to be sent, but the Seraph to one, the Spirit to all. The Seraph is sent to minister, the Spirit works a mystery. The Seraph performs what is commanded, the Spirit divides as He wills. The Seraph passes from place to place, for he does not fill all things, but is himself filled by the Spirit. The Seraph comes down with a certain mode of passage according to his nature, but we cannot think this of the Spirit, of Whom the Son of God says: When the Paraclete shall come, even the Spirit of Truth, Whom I send unto you, Who proceeds from the Father. John 15:26

117. For if the Spirit proceeds from a place and passes to a place, both the Father Himself will be found in a place, and the Son likewise. If He goes forth from a place, Whom the Father or the Son sends, certainly the Spirit passing from a place, and making progress, seems to leave, according to those impious interpretations, both the Father and the Son like some material body.

118. I am saying this with reference to those who say that the Spirit comes down by movement. But neither the Father, Who is above all not only of corporeal nature, but also of the invisible creation, is circumscribed in any place; nor is the Son, Who, as the Worker of all creation, is above every creature, enclosed by the places or times of His own works; nor is the

Spirit of Truth as being the Spirit of God, circumscribed by any corporeal limits, Who since He is incorporeal is far above the whole rational creation through the ineffable fullness of His Godhead, having over all things the power of breathing where He wills, and of inspiring as He wills. John 3:8

119. The Spirit is not, then, sent as it were from a place, nor does He proceed as from a place, when He proceeds from the Son, as the Son Himself, when He says, I came forth from the Father, and have come into the world, destroys all fancies, which can be reckoned as from place to place. In like manner, also, when we read that God is within or without, we certainly do not either enclose God within anybody or separate Him from anybody, but weighing these things in a deep and ineffable estimation, we comprehend the hiddenness of the divine nature.

120. Lastly, Wisdom so says that she came forth from the mouth of the Most High, Ecclesiastes 24:5 as not to be external to the Father, but with the Father; for the Word was with God; John 1:1 and not only with God but also in God; for He says: I am in the Father and the Father is in Me. But neither when He goes forth from the Father does He retire from a place, nor is He separated as a body from a body; nor when He is in the Father is He as if a body enclosed as it were in a body. The Holy Spirit also, when He proceeds from the Father and the Son, is not separated from the Father nor separated from the Son. For how could He be separated from the Father Who is the Spirit of His mouth? Which is certainly both a proof of His eternity, and expresses the Unity of this Godhead.

121. He exists then, and abides always, Who is the Spirit of His mouth, but He seems to come down when we receive Him, that He may dwell in us, that we may not be alien from His grace. To us He seems to come down, not that He does come down, but that our mind ascends to Him. Of which we would speak more fully did we not remember that in the former treatise there was set forth that the Father said: Let us go down and confound their

language, Genesis 11:7 and that the Son said: He that loves Me will keep My saying, and My Father will love him, and We will come to Him and make Our abode with Him. John 14:23

122. The Spirit, then, so comes as does the Father, for where the Father is there is also the Son, and where the Son is there is the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit, therefore, is not to be supposed to come separately. But He comes not from place to place, but from the disposition of the order to the safety of redemption, from the grace of giving life to that of sanctification, to translate us from earth to heaven, from wretchedness to glory, from slavery to a kingdom.

123. The Spirit comes, then, as the Father comes. For the Son said, I and the Father will come, and will make Our abode with Him. John 14:23 Does the Father come in a bodily fashion? Thus, then, comes the Spirit in Whom, when He comes, is the full presence of the Father and the Son.

124. But who can separate the Spirit from the Father and the Son, since we cannot even name the Father and the Son without the Spirit? For no one says Lord Jesus, except in the Holy Spirit? 1 Corinthians 12:3 If, then, we cannot call Jesus Lord except in the Holy Spirit, we certainly cannot proclaim Him without the Spirit. But if the Angels also proclaim Jesus to be Lord, Whom no one can proclaim except in the Spirit, then in them also the office of the Holy Spirit operates.

125. We have proved, then, that the presence and the grace of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are one, which is so heavenly and divine that the Son gives thanks therefore to the Father, saying, I give thanks to You, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because You have hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Matthew 11:25

CHAPTER 12.

THE PEACE AND grace of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are one, so also is Their charity one, which showed itself chiefly in the redemption of man. Their communion with man is also one.

126. Therefore since the calling is one, the grace is also one. Lastly, it is written: Grace unto you and peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ. Romans 1:7 You see, then, that we are told that the grace of the Father and the Son is one, and the peace of the Father and the Son is one, but this grace and peace is the fruit of the Spirit, as the Apostle taught us himself, saying: But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, patience. Galatians 5:22 And peace is good and necessary that no one be troubled with doubtful disputations, nor be shaken by the storm of bodily passions, but that his affections may remain quietly disposed as to the worship of God, with simplicity of faith and tranquillity of mind.

127. As to peace we have proved the point; but as to grace the prophet Zechariah says, that God promised to pour upon Jerusalem the spirit of grace and mercy, Zechariah 12:10 and the Apostle Peter says: Repent and be baptized every one of you in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and you shall receive the grace of the Holy Spirit. Acts 2:38 So grace comes also of the Holy Spirit as of the Father and the Son. For how can there be grace without the Spirit, since all divine grace is in the Spirit?

128. Nor do we read only of the peace and grace of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, but also, faithful Emperor, of the love and communion. For of love it has been said: The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the

love of God. 2 Corinthians 13:14 We have heard of the love of the Father. The same love which is the Father's is also the Son's. For He Himself said: He that loves Me shall be loved of My Father, and I will love him. John 14:21 And what is the love of the Son, but that He offered Himself for us, and redeemed us with His own blood. Ephesians 5:2 But the same love is in the Father, for it is written: God so loved the world, that He gave His Only-begotten Son. John 3:16

129. So, then, the Father gave the Son, and the Son gave Himself. Love is preserved and due affection is not wronged, for affection is not wronged where there is no distress in the giving up. He gave one Who was willing, He gave One Who offered Himself, the Father did not give the Son to punishment but to grace. If you enquire into the merit of the deed, enquire into the description of the affection. The vessel of election shows plainly the unity of this divine love, because both the Father gave the Son and the Son gave Himself. The Father gave, Who spared not His own Son, but gave Him up for us all. Romans 8:32 And of the Son he also says: Who gave Himself for me. Galatians 2:20 Gave Himself, he says. If it be of grace, what do I find fault with. If it be that He suffered wrong, I owe the more.

130. But learn that in like manner as the Father gave the Son, and the Son gave Himself, so, too, the Holy Spirit gave Him. For it is written: Then was Jesus led by the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted by the devil. So, too, the loving Spirit gave the Son of God. For as the love of the Father and the Son is one, so, too, we have shown that this love of God is shed abroad by the Holy Spirit, and is the fruit of the Holy Spirit, because the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, patience. Galatians 5:22

131. And that there is communion between the Father and the Son is plain, for it is written: And our communion is with the Father and with His Son Jesus Christ. 1 John 1:3 And in another place: The communion of the Holy Spirit be with you all. 2 Corinthians 13:14 If, then, the peace of the

Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is one, the grace one, the love one, and the communion one, the working is certainly one, and where the working is one, certainly the power cannot be divided nor the substance separated. For, if so, how could the grace of the same working agree?

CHAPTER 13.

ST. AMBROSE SHOWS from the Scriptures that the Name of the Three Divine Persons is one, and first the unity of the Name of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, inasmuch as each is called Paraclete and Truth.

132. Who, then, would dare to deny the oneness of Name, when he sees the oneness of the working. But why should I maintain the unity of the Name by arguments, when there is the plain testimony of the Divine Voice that the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is one? For it is written: Go, baptize all nations in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Matthew 28:19 He said, in the Name, not in the Names. So, then, the Name of the Father is not one, that of the Son another, and that of the Holy Spirit another, for God is one; the Names are not more than one, for there are not two Gods, or three Gods.

132. And that He might reveal that the Godhead is one and the Majesty one, because the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is one, and the Son did not come in one Name and the Holy Spirit in another, the Lord Himself said: I have come in My Father's Name, and you did not receive Me, if another shall come in his own name you will receive him. John 5:43

133. And Scripture makes clear that that which is the Father's Name, the same is also that of the Son, for the Lord said in Exodus: I will go before you in My Name, and will call by My Name the Lord before you. Exodus 33:19 So, then, the Lord said that He would call the Lord by His Name. The Lord, then, is the Name of the Father and of the Son.

134. But since the Name of the Father and of the Son is one, learn that the same is the Name of the Holy Spirit also, since the Holy Spirit came in the Name of the Son, as it is written: But the Paraclete, even the Holy Spirit, Whom the Father will send in My Name, He shall teach you all things. John 14:26 But He Who came in the Name of the Son came also certainly in the Name of the Father, for the Name of the Father and of the Son is one. Thus it comes to pass that the Name of the Father and of the Son is also that of the Holy Spirit. For there is no other Name given under heaven wherein we must be saved. Acts 4:12

155. At the same time He showed that the oneness of the Divine Name must be taught, not the difference, since Christ came in the oneness of the Name, but Antichrist will come in his own name, as it is written: I have come in My Father's Name, and you did not receive Me, if another shall come in his own name, you will receive him. John 5:43

156. We are, then, clearly taught by these passages that there is no difference of Name in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; and that that which is the Name of the Father is also the Name of the Son, and likewise that which is the Name of the Son is also that of the Holy Spirit, when the Son also is called Paraclete, as is the Holy Spirit. And therefore does the Lord Jesus say in the Gospel: I will ask My Father, and He shall give you another Paraclete, to be with you for ever, even the Spirit of Truth. John 14:16 And He said well another, that you might not suppose that the Son is also the Spirit, for oneness is of the Name, not a Sabellian confusion of the Son and of the Spirit.

157. So, then, the Son is one Paraclete, the Holy Spirit another Paraclete; for John called the Son a Paraclete, as you find: If any man sin, we have a Paraclete [Advocate] with the Father, Jesus Christ. 1 John 2:1 So in like manner as there is a oneness of name, so, too, is there a oneness of power, for where the Paraclete Spirit is, there is also the Son.

158. For as the Lord says in this place that the Spirit will be forever with the faithful, so, too, does He elsewhere show that He will Himself be forever with the apostles, saying: Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world. Matthew 28:20 Therefore the Son and the Spirit are one, the Name of the Trinity is one, and the Presence one and indivisible.

159. But as we show that the Son is called the Paraclete, so, too, do we show that the Spirit is called the Truth. Christ is the Truth, the Spirit is the Truth, for you find in John's epistle: For the Spirit is Truth. 1 John 5:7 Not only, then, is the Spirit called the Spirit of Truth, but also the Truth, as the Son is also declared to be the Truth, Who says: I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life. John 14:6

CHAPTER 14.

EACH PERSON OF the Trinity is said in the sacred writings to be Light. The Spirit is designated Fire by Isaiah, a figure of which Fire was seen in the bush by Moses, in the tongues of fire, and in Gideon's pitchers. And the Godhead of the same Spirit cannot be denied, since His operation is the same as that of the Father and of the Son, and He is also called the light and fire of the Lord's countenance.

160. But why should I argue that as the Father is light, so, too, the Son is light, and the Holy Spirit is light? Which certainly pertains to the power of God. For God is Light, as John said: For God is Light, and in Him is no darkness. 1 John 1:5

161. But the Son, too, is Light, because the Life was the Light of men. John 1:8 And the Evangelist, that he might show that he was speaking of the Son of God, says of John the Baptist: He was not light, but [was sent] to be a witness of the Light. That was the true Light, which lights every man that comes into this world. John 1:9 So, then, since God is Light, and the Son of God the true Light, without doubt the Son of God is true God.

162. And you find elsewhere that the Son of God is Light: The people that sat in darkness and in the shadow of death have seen a great light. Isaiah 9:2 But, which is still more clear, it is said: For with You is the fount of Life, and in Your light we shall see light, which means that with You, O God the Father Almighty, Who art the Fount of Life, in Your Son Who is the Light, we shall see the light of the Holy Spirit. As the Lord Himself shows, saying: Receive the Holy Spirit, John 20:22 and elsewhere: Virtue went out from Him. Luke 6:19

163. But who can doubt that the Father is Light, when we read of His Son that He is the Brightness of eternal Light? For of Whom but of the Father is the Son the Brightness, Who both is always with the Father, and always shines, not with unlike but with the same radiance.

164. And Isaiah shows that the Holy Spirit is not only Light but also Fire, saying: And the light of Israel shall be for a fire. Isaiah 10:17 So the prophets called Him a burning Fire, because in those three points we see more intensely the majesty of the Godhead; since to sanctify is of the Godhead, to illuminate is the property of fire and light, and the Godhead is wont to be pointed out or seen in the appearance of fire: For our God is a consuming Fire, as Moses said. Deuteronomy 4:24

165. For he himself saw the fire in the bush, and had heard God when the voice from the flame of fire came to him saying: I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. Exodus 3:6 The voice came from the fire, and the voice was in the bush, and the fire did no harm. For the bush was burning but was not consumed, because in that mystery the Lord was showing that He would come to illuminate the thorns of our body, and not to consume those who were in misery, but to alleviate their misery; Who would baptize with the Holy Spirit and with fire, that He might give grace and destroy sin. Matthew 3:11 So in the symbol of fire God keeps His intention.

166. In the Acts of the Apostles, also, when the Holy Spirit had descended upon the faithful, the appearance of fire was seen, for you read thus: And suddenly there was a sound from heaven, as though the Spirit were borne with great vehemence, and it filled all the house where they were sitting, and there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire. Acts 2:2-3

167. For the same reason was it that when Gideon was about to overcome the Midianites, he commanded three hundred men to take

pitchers, and to hold lighted torches inside the pitchers, and trumpets in their right hands. Our predecessors have preserved the explanation received from the apostles, that the pitchers are our bodies, fashioned of clay, which know not fear if they burn with the fervour of the grace of the Spirit, and bear witness to the passion of the Lord Jesus with a loud confession of the Voice.

168. Who, then, can doubt of the Godhead of the Holy Spirit, since where the grace of the Spirit is, there the manifestation of the Godhead appears. By which evidence we infer not a diversity but the unity of the divine power. For how can there be a severance of power, where the effect of the working in all is one?

169. What, then, is that fire? Not certainly one made up of common twigs, or roaring with the burning of the reeds of the woods, but that fire which improves good deeds like gold, and consumes sins like stubble. This is undoubtedly the Holy Spirit, Who is called both the fire and light of the countenance of God; light as we said above: The light of Your countenance has been sealed upon us, O Lord. What is, then, the light that is sealed, but that of the seal of the Spirit, believing in Whom, you were sealed, he says, with the Holy Spirit of promise. Ephesians 1:13

170. And as there is a light of the divine countenance, so, too, does fire shine forth from the countenance of God, for it is written: A fire shall burn in His sight. For the grace of the day of judgment shines beforehand, that forgiveness may follow to reward the service of the saints. O the great fullness of the Scriptures, which no one can comprehend with human genius! O greatest proof of the Divine Unity! For how many things are pointed out in these two verses!

CHAPTER 15.

THE HOLY SPIRIT is Life equally with the Father and the Son, in truth whether the Father be mentioned, with Whom is the Fount of Life, or the Son, that Fount can be none other than the Holy Spirit.

171. We have said that the Father is Light, the Son is Light, and the Holy Spirit is Light; let us also learn that the Father is Life, the Son Life, and the Holy Spirit Life. For John said: That which was from the beginning, that which we have heard, and which we have seen, and have beheld with our eyes, and our hands have handled concerning the Word of Life; and the Life appeared, and we saw and testify, and declare to you of that Life which was with the Father. 1 John 1:1-2 He said both Word of Life and Life that he might signify both the Father and the Son to be Life. For what is the Word of Life but the Word of God? And by this phrase both God and the Word of God are shown to be Life. And as it is said the Word of Life, so, too, the Spirit of Life. Therefore, as the Word of Life is Life, so, too, the Spirit of Life is Life.

172. Learn now that as the Father is the Fount of Life, so, too, many have stated that the Son is signified as the Fount of Life; so that, he says, with You, Almighty God, Your Son is the Fount of Life. That is the Fount of the Holy Spirit, for the Spirit is Life, as the Lord says: The words which I speak unto you are Spirit and Life, John 6:64 for where the Spirit is, there also is Life; and where Life is, is also the Holy Spirit.

173. Many, however, consider that in this passage the Father only is signified by the Fount. Let them, however, notice what the Scripture relates:

With You is the Well of Life. That is, the Son is with the Father; since the Word was with God, Who was in the beginning, and was with God.

174. But whether in this place one understands the Fount to be the Father or the Son, we certainly do not understand a fount of that water which is created, but the Fount of that divine grace, that is, of the Holy Spirit, for He is the living water. Wherefore the Lord said: If you know the gift of God, and Who He is that says to you, Give me to drink, you would have asked Him, and He would have given you living water. John 4:10

175. This was the water for which the soul of David thirsted. The hart desires the fountain of these waters, not thirsting for the poison of serpents. For the water of the grace of the Spirit is living, that it may purify the inner parts of the mind, and wash away every sin of the soul, and purify the transgression of hidden faults.

CHAPTER 16.

THE HOLY SPIRIT is that large river by which the mystical Jerusalem is watered. It is equal to its Fount, that is, the Father and the Son, as is signified in holy Scripture. St. Ambrose himself thirsts for that water, and warns us that in order to preserve it within us, we must avoid the devil, lust, and heresy, since our vessels are frail, and that broken cisterns must be forsaken, that after the example of the Samaritan woman and of the patriarchs we may find the water of the Lord.

176. But lest perchance any one should speak against as it were the littleness of the Spirit, and from this should endeavour to establish a difference in greatness, arguing that water seems to be but a small part of a Fount, although examples taken from creatures seem by no means suitable for application to the Godhead; yet lest they should judge anything injuriously from this comparison taken from creatures, let them learn that not only is the Holy Spirit called Water, but also a River, as we read: From his belly shall flow rivers of living water. But this He said of the Spirit, Whom they were beginning to receive, who were about to believe in Him. John 7:38-39

177. So, then, the Holy Spirit is the River, and the abundant River, which according to the Hebrews flowed from Jesus in the lands, as we have received it prophesied by the mouth of Isaiah. Isaiah 66:12 This is the great River which flows always and never fails. And not only a river, but also one of copious stream and overflowing greatness, as also David said: The stream of the river makes glad the city of God.

178. For neither is that city, the heavenly Jerusalem, watered by the channel of any earthly river, but that Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Fount of Life, by a short draught of Whom we are satiated, seems to flow more abundantly among those celestial Thrones, Dominions and Powers, Angels and Archangels, rushing in the full course of the seven virtues of the Spirit. For if a river rising above its banks overflows, how much more does the Spirit, rising above every creature, when He touches the as it were low-lying fields of our minds, make glad that heavenly nature of the creatures with the larger fertility of His sanctification.

179. And let it not trouble you that either here it is said rivers, John 7:38 or elsewhere seven Spirits, Revelation 5:6 for by the sanctification of these seven gifts of the Spirit, as Isaiah said, Isaiah 11:2 is signified the fullness of all virtue; the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, the Spirit of counsel and strength, the Spirit of knowledge and godliness, and the Spirit of the fear of God. One, then, is the River, but many the channels of the gifts of the Spirit. This River, then, goes forth from the Fount of Life.

180. And here, again, you must not turn aside your thoughts to lower things, because there seems to be some difference between a Fount and a River, and yet the divine Scripture has provided that the weakness of human understanding should not be injured by the lowliness of the language. Set before yourself any river, it springs from its fount, but is of one nature, of one brightness and beauty. And do you assert rightly that the Holy Spirit is of one substance, brightness, and glory with the Son of God and with God the Father. I will sum up all in the oneness of the qualities, and shall not be afraid of any question as to difference of greatness. For in this point also Scripture has provided for us; for the Son of God says: He that shall drink of the water which I will give him, it shall become in him a well of water springing up unto everlasting life. John 4:14 This well is clearly the grace of

the Spirit, a stream proceeding from the living Fount. The Holy Spirit, then, is also the Fount of eternal life.

181. You observe, then, from His words that the unity of the divine greatness is pointed out, and that Christ cannot be denied to be a Fount even by heretics, since the Spirit, too, is called a Fount. And as the Spirit is called a river, so, too, the Father said: Behold, I come down upon you like a river of peace, and like a stream overflowing the glory of the Gentiles. Isaiah 66:12 And who can doubt that the Son of God is the River of life, from Whom the streams of eternal life flowed forth?

182. Good, then, is this water, even the grace of the Spirit. Who will give this Fount to my breast? Let it spring up in me, let that which gives eternal life flow upon me. Let that Fount overflow upon us, and not flow away. For Wisdom says: Drink water out of your own vessels, and from the founts of your own wells, and let your waters flow abroad in your streets. Proverbs 5:15-16 How shall I keep this water that it flow not forth, that it glide not away? How shall I preserve my vessel, lest any crack of sin penetrating it, should let the water of eternal life exude? Teach us, Lord Jesus, teach us as You taught Your apostles, saying: Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon the earth, where rust and moth destroy, and where thieves break through and steal. Matthew 6:19

182. For He intimates that the thief is the unclean spirit, who cannot find entrance into those who walk in the light of good works, but if he has caught any one in the darkness of earthly desires, and in the midst of the enjoyment of earthly pleasures, he spoils them of all the flower of eternal virtue. And therefore the Lord says: Lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither rust nor moth destroy, and where thieves do not break through and steal. For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.

183. Our rust is wantonness, our rust is lust, our rust is luxury, which dim the keen vision of the mind with the filth of vices. Again, our moth is Arius,

our moth is Photinus, who rend the holy vesture of the Church with their impiety, and desiring to separate the indivisible unity of the divine power, gnaw the precious veil of faith with sacrilegious tooth. The water is spilled if Arius has imprinted his tooth, it flows away if Photinus has planted his sting in any one's vessel. We are but of common clay, we quickly feel vices. But no one says to the potter, Why have You made me thus? Romans 9:20 For though our vessel be but common, yet one is in honour, another in dishonour. Romans 9:21 Do not then lay open your pool, dig not with vices and crimes, lest any one say: He has opened a pool and dug it, and is fallen into the pit which he made.

184. If you seek Jesus, forsake the broken cisterns, for Christ was wont to sit not by a pool but by a well. There that Samaritan woman John 4:6 found Him, she who believed, she who wished to draw water. Although you ought to have come in early morning, nevertheless if you come later, even at the sixth hour, you will find Jesus wearied with His journey. He is weary, but it is through you, because He has long sought you, your unbelief has long wearied Him. Yet He is not offended if you only come, He asks to drink Who is about to give. But He drinks not the water of a stream flowing by, but your salvation; He drinks your good dispositions, He drinks the cup, that is, the Passion which atoned for your sins, that you drinking of His sacred blood might quench the thirst of this world.

185. So Abraham gained God after he had dug the well. Genesis 21:30 So Isaac, while walking by the well, received that wife Genesis 24:62 who was coming to him as a type of the Church. Faithful he was at the well, unfaithful at the pool. Lastly, too, Rebecca, as we read, found him who sought her at the well, and the harlots washed themselves in the blood in the pool of Jezebel.

BOOK II.

Introduction.

THE THREE PERSONS of the Godhead were not unknown to the judges of old nor to Moses, for the equality of the Son with the Father, as well as of the Three Persons among Themselves, is laid down both elsewhere and by him. Samson also enjoyed the assistance of the Holy Spirit, his history is touched upon and shown to be in some points typical of the Church and her mysteries. When the Holy Spirit left Samson he fell into various calamities, and St. Ambrose explains the spiritual significance of his shorn locks.

1. Even in reading the first book of the ancient history it is made clear both that the sevenfold grace of the Spirit shone forth in the judges themselves of the Jews, and that the mysteries of the heavenly sacraments were made known by the Spirit, of Whose eternity Moses was not ignorant. Then, too, at the very beginning of the world, and indeed before its beginning, he conjoined Him with God, Whom he knew to be eternal before the beginning of the world. For if any one takes good heed he will recognize in the beginning both the Father, the Son, and the Spirit. For of the Father it is written: In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. Genesis 1:1 Of the Spirit it is said: The Spirit was borne upon the waters. Genesis 1:4 And well in the beginning of creation is there set forth the figure of baptism whereby the creature had to be purified. And of the Son we read that He it is Who divided light from darkness, for there is one God the Father Who speaks, and one God the Son Who acts.

2. But, again, that you may not think that there was assumption in the bidding of Him Who spoke, or inferiority on the part of Him Who carried out the bidding, the Father acknowledges the Son as equal to Himself in the

execution of the work, saying: Let Us make man after Our image and likeness. Genesis 1:26 For the common image and the working and the likeness can signify nothing but the oneness of the same Majesty.

3. But that we may more fully recognize the equality of the Father and the Son, as the Father spoke, the Son made, so, too, the Father works and the Son speaks. The Father works, as it is written: My Father works hitherto. John 5:17 You find it said to the Son: Say the word and he shall be healed. Matthew 8:8 And the Son says to the Father: I will that where I am, they too shall be with Me. John 17:24 The Father did what the Son said.

4. But neither was Abraham ignorant of the Holy Spirit; he saw Three and worshipped One, for there is one God, one Lord, and one Spirit. And so there is a oneness of honour, because there is a oneness of power.

5. And why should I speak of all one by one? Samson, born by the divine promise, had the Spirit accompanying him, for we read: The Lord blessed him, and the Spirit of the Lord began to be with him in the camp. Judges 13:25 And so foreshadowing the future mystery, he demanded a wife of the aliens, which, as it is written, his father and mother knew not of, because it was from the Lord. And rightly was he esteemed stronger than others, because the Spirit of the Lord guided him, under Whose guidance he alone put to flight the people of the aliens, and at another time inaccessible to the bite of the lion, he, unconquerable in his strength, tore him asunder with his hands. Would that he had been as careful to preserve grace, as strong to overcome the beast!

6. And perhaps this was not only a prodigy of valour, but also a mystery of wisdom, an utterance of prophecy. For it does not seem to have been without a purpose that, as he was going to his marriage, a roaring lion met him, which he tore asunder with his hands, in whose body, when about to enjoy the wished-for wedlock, he found a swarm of bees, and took honey from its mouth, which he gave to his father and mother to eat. The people of

the Gentiles which believed had honey, the people which was before savage is now the people of Christ.

7. Nor is the riddle without mystery, which he set forth to his companions: Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness. Judges 14:14 And there was a mystery up to the point of the three days in which its answer was sought in vain, which could not be made known except by the faith of the Church, on the seventh day, the time of the Law being completed, after the Passion of the Lord. For thus you find that the apostles did not understand, because Jesus was not yet glorified. John 7:39

8. What, answer they, is sweeter than honey, and what is stronger than a lion? To which he replied: If you had not farmed with my heifer, you would not have found out my riddle. Judges 14:18 O divine mystery! O manifest sacrament! We have escaped from the slayer, we have overcome the strong one. The food of life is now there, where before was the hunger of a miserable death. Dangers are changed into safety, bitterness into sweetness. Grace came forth from the offense, power from weakness, and life from death.

9. There are, however, who think on the other hand that the wedlock could not have been established unless the lion of the tribe of Judah had been slain; and so in His body, that is, the Church, bees were found who store up the honey of wisdom, because after the Passion of the Lord the apostles believed more fully. This lion, then, Samson as a Jew slew, but in it he found honey, as in the figure of the heritage which was to be redeemed, that the remnant might be saved according to the election of grace. Romans 11:5

10. And the Spirit of the Lord, it is said, came upon him, and he went down to Ascalon, and smote thirty men of them. Judges 14:19 For he could not fail to carry off the victory who saw the mysteries. And so in the

garments they receive the reward of wisdom, the badge of intercourse, who resolve and answer the riddle.

11. Here, again, other mysteries come up, in that his wife is taken away, and for this foxes set fire to the sheaves of the aliens. For their own cunning often deceives those who contend against divine mysteries. Wherefore it is said again in the Song of Songs: Take us the little foxes which destroy the vineyards, that our vineyards may flourish. Song of Songs 2:15 He said well little, because the larger could not destroy the vineyards, though to the strong even the devil is weak.

12. So, then, he (to sum up the story briefly, for the consideration of the whole passage is reserved for its own season) was unconquered so long as he kept the grace of the Spirit, as was the people of God chosen by the Lord, that Nazarite under the Law. Samson, then, was unconquered, and so invincible as to be able to smite a thousand men with the jawbone of an ass; Judges 15:15 so full of heavenly grace that when thirsty he found even water in the jawbone of an ass, whether you consider this as a miracle, or turn it to a mystery, because in the humility of the people of the Gentiles there would be both rest and triumph according to that which is written: He that smites you on the cheek, turn to him also the other. Matthew 5:39 For by this endurance of injuries, which the sacrament of baptism teaches, we triumph over the stings of anger, that having passed through death we may attain to the rest of the resurrection.

13. Is that, then, Samson who broke ropes twisted with thongs, and new cords like weak threads? Is that Samson who did not feel the bonds of his hair fastened to the beam, so long as he had the grace of the Spirit? He, I say, after the Spirit of God departed from him, was greatly changed from that Samson who returned clothed in the spoils of the aliens, but fallen from his greatness on the knees of a woman, caressed and deceived, is shorn of his hair.

14. Was, then, the hair of his head of such importance that, so long as it remained, his strength should endure unconquered, but when his head was shorn the man should suddenly lose all his strength? It is not so, nor may we think that the hair of his head has such power. There is the hair of religion and faith; the hair of the Nazarite perfect in the Law, consecrated in sparingness and abstinence, with which she (a type of the Church), who poured ointment on the feet of the Lord, wiped the feet of the heavenly Word, for then she knew Christ also after the flesh. That hair it is of which it is said: Your hair is as flocks of goats, Song of Songs 4:1 growing on that head of which it is said: The head of the man is Christ, 1 Corinthians 11:3 and in another place: His head is as fine gold, and his locks like black pine-trees. Song of Songs 5:11

15. And so, also, in the Gospel our Lord, pointing out that some hairs are seen and known, says: But even the hairs of your head are all numbered, Matthew 10:30 implying, indeed, acts of spiritual virtues, for God does not take care for our hair. Though, indeed, it is not absurd to believe that literally, seeing that according to His divine Majesty nothing can be hidden from Him.

16. But what does it profit me, if God Himself knows all my hairs? That rather abounds and profits me, if the watchful witness of good works reward me with the gift of eternal life. And, in fine, Samson himself, declaring that these hairs are not mystical, says: If I be shorn my strength will depart from me. Judges 16:17 So much concerning the mystery, let us now consider the order of the passage.

CHAPTER 1.

THE SPIRIT IS the Lord and Power; and in this is not inferior to the Father and the Son.

17. Above, you read that the Lord blessed him, and the Spirit of the Lord began to go with him. Farther on it is said: And the Spirit of the Lord came upon him. Judges 14:6 Again he says: If I be shaven, my strength will depart from me. Judges 16:17 After he was shaven, see what the Scripture says: The Lord, he says, departed from him. Judges 16:20

18. You see, then, that He Who went with him, Himself departed from him. The Same is, then, the Lord, Who is the Spirit of the Lord, that is, he called the Spirit of God, Lord, as also the Apostle says: The Lord is the Spirit, now where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. You find, then, the Holy Spirit called the Lord; for the Holy Spirit and the Son are not one Person [*unus*] but one Substance [*unum*].

19. In this place he used the word Power, and implied the Spirit. For as the Father is Power, so, too, the Son is Power, and the Holy Spirit is Power. Of the Son you have read that Christ is the Power of God and the Wisdom of God. 1 Corinthians 1:24 We read, too, that the Father is Power, as it is written: You shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of the Power of God. Matthew 26:64 He certainly named the Father Power, at Whose right hand the Son sits, as you read: The Lord said to My Lord, Sit on My right hand. And the Lord Himself named the Holy Spirit Power, when He said: You shall receive Power when the Holy Spirit comes upon you. Acts 1:8

CHAPTER 2.

THE FATHER, THE Son, and the Holy Spirit are One in counsel.

20. For the Spirit Himself is Power, as you read: The Spirit of Counsel and of Power (or might). Isaiah 11:2 And as the Son is the Angel of great counsel, so, too, is the Holy Spirit the Spirit of Counsel, that you may know that the Counsel of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is One. Counsel, not concerning any doubtful matters, but concerning those foreknown and determined.

21. But that the Spirit is the Arbiter of the Divine Counsel, you may know even from this. For when above we showed that the Holy Spirit was the Lord of baptism, and read that baptism is the counsel of God, as you read, But the Pharisees despised the counsel of God, not being baptized of Him, Luke 7:30 it is quite clear that as there can be no baptism without the Spirit, so, too, the counsel of God is not without the Spirit.

22. And that we may know more completely that the Spirit is Power, we ought to know that He was promised when the Lord said: I will pour out of My Spirit upon all flesh. Joel 2:28 He, then, Who was promised to us is Himself Power, as in the Gospel the same Son of God declared when He said: And I will send the promise of the Father upon you, but do you remain in the city until ye be endued with power from on high. Luke 24:49

23. And the Evangelist so far shows that the Spirit is Power, that St. Luke relates that He came down with great power, when he says: And suddenly there was a sound from heaven, as though the Spirit were borne with great power. Acts 2:2

24. But, again, that you may not suppose that this is to be referred to bodily things and perceptible to the senses, learn that the Spirit so descended as Christ is to descend, as you find: They shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds with great power and majesty. Matthew 24:30

25. For how should not the power and might be one, when the work is one, the judgment one, the temple one, the life-giving one, the sanctification one, and the kingdom also of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit one?

CHAPTER 3.

AS TO KNOW the Father and the Son is life, so is it life to know the Holy Spirit; and therefore in the Godhead He is not to be separated from the Father.

26. Let them say, then, wherein they think that there is an unlikeness in the divine operation. Since as to know the Father and the Son is life, as the Lord Himself declared, saying: This is life eternal to know You the only true God, and Jesus Christ, Whom You have sent, John 17:3 so, too, to know the Holy Spirit is life. For the Lord said: If you love Me, keep My commandments, and I will ask the Father and He shall give you another Paraclete, that He may abide with you for ever, even the Spirit of Truth, Whom the world cannot receive, because it sees Him not, neither knows Him, but you know Him, for He is with you, and in you. John 17:14-15

27. So, then, the world had not eternal life, because it had not received the Spirit; for where the Spirit is, there is eternal life; for the Spirit Himself it is Who effects eternal life. Wherefore I wonder why the Arians stir the question as to the only true God. For as it is eternal life to know the only true God, so, too, is it eternal life to know Jesus Christ; so, again, it is eternal life to know the Holy Spirit, Whom, as also the Father, the world does not see, and, as also the Son, does not know. But he who is not of this world has eternal life, and the Spirit, Who is the Light of eternal life, remains with him forever.

28. If the knowledge of the only true God confers the same benefit as the knowledge of the Son and of the Spirit, why do you sever the Son and the Spirit from the honour of the true God, when you do not sever Him from

conferring the benefit? For of necessity you must either believe that this is the greatest gift of the only true Godhead, and will confess the only true Godhead as of the Father, so also of the Son and of the Holy Spirit; or if you say that he, too, can give life eternal who is not true God, it will happen that you derogate rather from the Father, Whose work you do not consider to be the chief work of the only true Godhead, but one to be compared to the work of a creature.

CHAPTER 4.

THE HOLY SPIRIT gives life, not in a different way from the Father and the Son, nor by a different working.

29. And what wonder is it the Spirit works Life, Who quickens as does the Father and as does the Son? And who can deny that quickening is the work of the Eternal Majesty? For it is written: Quicken Your servant. He, then, is quickened who is a servant, that is, man, who before had not life, but received the privilege of having it.

30. Let us then see whether the Spirit is quickened, or Himself quickens. Now it is written: The letter kills, but the Spirit gives life. Romans 8:11 So, then, the Spirit quickens.

31. But that you may understand that the quickening of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit is no separate work, read how there is a oneness of quickening also, since God Himself quickens through the Spirit, for Paul said: He Who raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies because of His Spirit Who dwells in you.

CHAPTER 5.

THE HOLY SPIRIT, as well as the Father and the Son, is pointed out in holy Scripture as Creator, and the same truth was shadowed forth even by heathen writers, but it was shown most plainly in the Mystery of the Incarnation, after touching upon which, the writer maintains his argument from the fact that worship which is due to the Creator alone is paid to the Holy Spirit.

32. But who can doubt that the Holy Spirit gives life to all things; since both He, as the Father and the Son, is the Creator of all things; and the Almighty Father is understood to have done nothing without the Holy Spirit; and since also in the beginning of the creation the Spirit moved upon the water.

33. So when the Spirit was moving upon the water, the creation was without grace; but after this world being created underwent the operation of the Spirit, it gained all the beauty of that grace, wherewith the world is illuminated. And that the grace of the universe cannot abide without the Holy Spirit the prophet declared when he said: You will take away Your Spirit, and they will fail and be turned again into their dust. Send forth Your Spirit, and they shall be made, and You will renew all the face of the earth. Not only, then, did he teach that no creature can stand without the Holy Spirit, but also that the Spirit is the Creator of the whole creation.

34. And who can deny that the creation of the earth is the work of the Holy Spirit, Whose work it is that it is renewed? For if they desire to deny that it was created by the Spirit, since they cannot deny that it must be renewed by the Spirit, they who desire to sever the Persons must maintain

that the operation of the Holy Spirit is superior to that of the Father and the Son, which is far from the truth; for there is no doubt that the restored earth is better than it was created. Or if at first, without the operation of the Holy Spirit, the Father and the Son made the earth, but the operation of the Holy Spirit was joined on afterwards, it will seem that that which was made required His aid, which was then added. But far be it from any one to think this, namely, that the divine work should be believed to have a change in the Creator, an error brought in by Manicheus.

35. But do we suppose that the substance of the earth exists without the operation of the Holy Spirit, without Whose work not even the expanse of the sky endures? For it is written: By the Word of the Lord were the heavens established, and all the strength of them by the Spirit of His Mouth. Observe what he says, that all the strength of the heavens is to be referred to the Spirit. For how should He Who was moving Genesis 1:1 before the earth was made, be resting when it was being made?

36. Gentile writers, following ours as it were through shadows, because they could not imbibe the truth of the Spirit, have pointed out in their verses that the Spirit within nourishes heaven and earth, and the glittering orbs of moon and stars. So they deny not that the strength of creatures exists through the Spirit, are we who read this to deny it? But you think that they refer to a Spirit produced of the air. If they declared a Spirit of the air to be the Author of all things, do we doubt that the Spirit of God is the Creator of all things?

37. But why do I delay with matters not to the purpose? Let them accept a plain proof that there can be nothing which the Holy Spirit can be said not to have made; and that it cannot be doubted that all subsists through His operation, whether Angels, Archangels, Thrones, or Dominions; since the Lord Himself, Whom the Angels serve, was begotten by the Holy Spirit coming upon the Virgin, as, according to Matthew, the Angel said to

Joseph: Joseph, you son of David, fear not to take Mary your wife, for that which shall be born of her is of the Holy Spirit. Matthew 1:20 And according to Luke, he said to Mary: The Holy Spirit shall come upon you. Luke 1:35

38. The birth from the Virgin was, then, the work of the Spirit. The fruit of the womb is the work of the Spirit, according to that which is written: Blessed are you among women, and blessed is the Fruit of your womb. Luke 1:42 The flower from the root is the work of the Spirit, that flower, I say, of which it was well prophesied: A rod shall go forth from the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise from his root. Isaiah 11:1 The root of Jesse the patriarch is the family of the Jews, Mary is the rod, Christ the flower of Mary, Who, about to spread the good odour of faith throughout the whole world, budded forth from a virgin womb, as He Himself said: I am the flower of the plain, a lily of the valley. Song of Songs 2:1

39. The flower, when cut, keeps its odour, and when bruised increases it, nor if torn off does it lose it; so, too, the Lord Jesus, on the gibbet of the cross, neither failed when bruised, nor fainted when torn; and when He was cut by that piercing of the spear, being made more beautiful by the color of the outpoured Blood, He, as it were, grew comely again, not able in Himself to die, and breathing forth upon the dead the gift of eternal life. On this flower, then, of the royal rod the Holy Spirit rested.

40. A good rod, as some think, is the Flesh of the Lord, which, raising itself from its earthly root to heaven, bore around the whole world the sweet-smelling fruits of religion, the mysteries of the divine generation, pouring grace on the altars of heaven.

41. So, then, we cannot doubt that the Spirit is Creator, Whom we know as the Author of the Lord’s Incarnation. For who can doubt when you find in the commencement of the Gospel that the generation of Jesus Christ was

on this wise: When Mary was espoused to Joseph, before they came together she was found with child of [*ex*] the Holy Spirit. Matthew 1:18

42. For although most authorities read de Spiritu, yet the Greek from which the Latins translated have ἐ χ πνεύματος ἁγίου, that is, *ex Spiritu Sancto*. For that which is of [*ex*] any one is either of his substance or of his power. Of his substance, as the Son, Who says: I came forth of the Mouth of the Most High; Sirach 24:3 as the Spirit, Who proceeds from the Father; John 15:20 of Whom the Son says: He shall glorify Me, for He shall receive of Mine. John 16:14 But of the power, as in the passage: One God the Father, of Whom are all things.

43. How, then, was Mary with child of the Holy Spirit? If as of her substance, was the Spirit, then, changed into flesh and bones? Certainly not. But if the Virgin conceived as of His operation and power, who can deny that the Holy Spirit is Creator?

44. How is it, too, that Job plainly set forth the Spirit as his Creator, saying: The Spirit of God has made me? Job 33:4 In one short verse he showed Him to be both Divine and Creator. If, then, the Spirit is Creator, He is certainly not a creature, for the Apostle has separated the Creator and the creature, saying: They served the creature rather than the Creator. Romans 1:25

45. He teaches that the Creator is to be served by condemning those who serve the creature, whereas we owe our service to the Creator. And since he knew the Spirit to be the Creator, he teaches that we ought to serve Him, saying: Beware of the dogs, beware of the evil workers, beware of the concision, for we are the circumcision who serve the Spirit of God. Philippians 3:2-3

46. But if any one disputes because of the variations of the Latin codices, some of which heretics have falsified, let him look at the Greek codices,

and observe that it is there written: οἱ πνεύματι Θεοῦ λατρεύοντες, which is, being translated, who serve the Spirit of God.

47. So, then, when the same Apostle says that we ought to serve the Spirit, who asserts that we must not serve the creature, but the Creator; without doubt he plainly shows that the Holy Spirit is Creator, and is to be venerated with the honour due to the eternal Godhead; for it is written: You shall worship the Lord your God, and Him only shall you serve. Matthew 4:10

CHAPTER 6.

TO THOSE WHO object that according to the words of Amos the Spirit is created, the answer is made that the word is there understood of the wind, which is often created, which cannot be said of the Holy Spirit, since He is eternal, and cannot be dissolved in death, or by an heretical absorption into the Father. But if they pertinaciously contend that this passage was written of the Holy Spirit, St. Ambrose points out that recourse must be had to a spiritual Interpretation, for Christ by His coming established the thunder, that is, the force of the divine utterances, and by Spirit is signified the human soul as also the flesh assumed by Christ. And since this was created by each Person of the Trinity, it is thence argued that the Spirit, Who has before been affirmed to be the Creator of all things, was the Author of the Incarnation of the Lord.

48. Nor does it escape my notice that heretics have been wont to object that the Holy Spirit appears to be a creature, because many of them use as an argument for establishing their impiety that passage of Amos, where he spoke of the blowing of the wind, as the words of the prophet made clear. For you read thus: Behold, I am He that establish the thunders, and create the wind [spirit], and declare unto man his Christ, that make light and mist, and ascend upon high places, the Lord God Almighty is His Name. Amos 4:13

49. If they make an argument of this, that he said spirit was created, Esdras taught us that spirit is created, saying in the fourth book: And upon the second day You made the spirit of the firmament, yet, that we may keep

to our point, is it not evident that in what Amos said the order of the passage shows that the prophet was speaking of the creation of this world?

50. He begins as follows: I am the Lord that establish the thunders and create the wind [spirit]. The order of the words itself teaches us; for if he had wished to speak of the Holy Spirit, he would certainly not have put the thunders in the first place. For thunder is not more ancient than the Holy Spirit; though they be ungodly, they still dare not say that. And then when we see what follows concerning light and mist, is it not plain that what is said is to be understood of the creation of this world? For we know by every-day experience, that when we have storms on this earth, thunders come first, blasts of wind follow on, the sky grows black with mists, and light shines again out of the darkness. For the blasts of wind are also called spirits, as it is written: Fire and brimstone and the spirit of storm.

51. And that you might know that he called this spirit, he says: establishing thunders and creating the wind [spirit]. For these are often created, when they take place. But the Holy Spirit is eternal, and if any one dares to call Him a creature, still he cannot say that He is daily created like the blast of the wind. Then, again, Wisdom herself, speaking after the mystery of the assumed Body, says: The Lord created Me. Proverbs 8:22 Although prophesying of things to come, yet, because the coming of the Lord was predestined, it is not said creates but created Me; that men might believe that the Body of Jesus was begotten of the Virgin Mary, not often, but once only.

52. And so, as to that which the prophet declared as it were of the daily working of God in the thunder and the creation of the wind, it would be impious to understand any such thing of the Holy Spirit, Whom the ungodly themselves cannot deny to exist from before the world. Whence with pious asseveration we testify that He always exists, and abides ever. For neither can He Who before the world was moving upon the waters begin to be

visible after the world's creation; or else it would be allowable to suppose that there are many Holy Spirits, Who come into being by as it were a daily production. Far be it from any one to pollute himself with such impiety as to say that the Holy Spirit is frequently or ever created. For I do not understand why He should be frequently created; unless perchance they believe that He dies frequently and so is frequently created. But how can the Spirit of life die? If, then, He cannot die, there is no reason why He should be often created.

53. But they who think otherwise fall into this sacrilege, that they do not distinguish the Holy Spirit; who think that the Word Which was sent forth returns to the Father, and the Spirit Which was sent forth is reabsorbed into God, so that there should be a reabsorption and a kind of alternation of one changing himself into various forms; whereas the distinction between the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit always abiding and unchangeable, preserves the Unity of its power.

54. But if any one thinks that the word of the prophet is to be explained with reference to the Holy Spirit, because it is said, declaring unto men His Christ, Amos 4:13 he will explain it more easily of the Lord's Incarnation. For if it troubles you that he said Spirit, and therefore you think that this cannot well be explained of the mystery of the taking of human nature, read on in the Scriptures and you will find that all agrees most excellently with Christ, of Whom it is thoroughly fitting to think that He established the thunders by His coming, that is, the force and sound of the heavenly Scriptures, by the thunder, as it were, of which our minds are struck with astonishment, so that we learn to be afraid, and pay respect to the heavenly oracles.

55. Lastly, in the Gospel the brothers of the Lord were called Sons of Thunder; and when the voice was uttered of the Father, saying, I have both glorified it and will glorify it again, John 12:28 the Jews said that it

thundered on Him. For although they could not receive the grace of the truth, yet they confessed unwillingly, and in their ignorance were speaking mysteries, so that there resulted a great testimony of the Father to the Son. And in the Book of Job, too, the Scripture says: And who knows when He will make the power of His thunder? Certainly if these words pertained to the thunders of the heavens, he would have said that their force was already made, not about to be made.

56. Therefore he referred the thunders to the words of the Lord, the sound of which went out into all the earth, and we understand the word spirit in this place of the soul, which He took endowed with reason and perfect; for Scripture often designates the soul of man by the word spirit, as you read: Who creates the spirit of man within him. Zechariah 12:1 So, too, the Lord signified His Soul by the word Spirit, when He said: Into Your hands I commend My Spirit. Luke 23:46

57. And that you might know that he spoke of the coming down of Jesus, he added that He declared His Christ to men, for in His baptism He declared Him, saying: You are My beloved Son, in Whom I am well pleased. Matthew 3:17 He declared Him on the mount, saying: This is My beloved Son, hear ye Him. Mark 9:7 He declared Him in His Passion, when the sun hid itself, and sea and earth trembled. He declared Him in the Centurion, who said: Truly this was the Son of God. Mark 15:39

58. We ought, then, to take this whole passage either to be simply to be understood of that state in which we here live and breathe, or of the mystery of the Lord's Body; for if here it had been stated that the Holy Spirit was created, undoubtedly Scripture would elsewhere have declared the same, as we often read of the Son of God, Who according to the flesh was both made and created.

59. But it is fitting that we should consider His Majesty in the very fact of His taking flesh for us, that we may see His divine power in the very

taking of the Body. For as we read that the Father created the mystery of the Lord's Incarnation, the Spirit too created it; and so too we read that Christ Himself created His own Body. For the Father created it, as it is written: The Lord created Me, Proverbs 8:12 and in another place, God sent His Son, made of a woman, made under the law. Galatians 4:4 And the Spirit created the whole mystery, according to that which we read, for Mary was found with child of the Holy Spirit. Matthew 1:18

60. You find, then, that the Father created and the Spirit created; learn, too, that the Son of God also created, when Solomon says: Wisdom has made herself a house. Proverbs 9:1 How, then, can the Holy Spirit Who created the mystery of the Lord's Incarnation, which is above all created things, be Himself a creature?

61. As we have shown above generally that the Holy Spirit is our Creator according to the flesh in the outer man, let us now show that He is our Creator also according to the mystery of grace. And as the Father creates, so too does the Son create, and so too the Holy Spirit creates, as we read in the words of Paul: For it is the gift of God, not of works, lest any one should boast. For we are His workmanship created in Christ Jesus in good works.

CHAPTER 7.

THE HOLY SPIRIT is no less the author of spiritual creation or regeneration than the Father and the Son. The excellence of that creation, and wherein it consists. How we are to understand holy Scripture, when it attributes a body or members to God.

62. So, then, the Father creates in good works, and the Son also, for it is written: But as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God, even to them who believe in His Name; who were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. John 1:12-13

63. In like manner the Lord Himself also testifies that we are born again of the Spirit according to grace, saying: That which is born of the flesh is flesh, because it is born of flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit, because God is Spirit. Marvel not that I said to you, You must be born again. The Spirit breathes where He wills, and you hear His voice, but know not whence He comes or whither He goes, so is every one who is born of the Spirit.

64. It is then clear that the Holy Spirit is also the Author of the grace of the Spirit, since we are created according to God, that we may be made the sons of God. So when He has taken us into His kingdom by the adoption of holy regeneration, do we deny Him that which is His? He has made us heirs of the new birth from above, do we claim the heritage and reject its Author? But the benefit cannot remain when its Author is shut out; the Author is not without the gift, nor the gift without the Author. If you claim the grace, believe the power; if you reject the power, do not ask for the grace. He who

has denied the Spirit has at the same time denied the gift. For if the Author be of no account how can His gifts be precious? Why do we grudge the gifts we ourselves receive, diminish our hopes, repudiate our dignity, and deny our Comforter?

65. But we cannot deny Him. Far be it from us to deny that which is so great, since the Apostle says: But you brethren, like Isaac, are the children of promise, but as then, he that is born after the flesh persecutes him that is after the Spirit. Galatians 4:28-29 Again certainly is understood from what has gone before, is born after the Spirit. He then who is born after the Spirit is born after God. Now we are born again when we are renewed in our inward affections and lay aside the oldness of the outer man. And so the Apostle says again: But be ye renewed in the spirit of your mind, and put on the new man which is created according to God in truth and righteousness and holiness. Ephesians 4:23-24 Let them hear how the Scripture has signified the unity of the divine operation. He who is renewed in the spirit of his mind has put on the new man, which is created according to God.

66. That more excellent regeneration is then the work of the Holy Spirit; and the Spirit is the Author of that new man which is created after the image of God, which no one will doubt to be better than this outer man of ours. Since the Apostle has pointed out that the one is heavenly, the other earthly, when he says: As is the heavenly, such also are the heavenly. 1 Corinthians 15:48

67. Since, then, the grace of the Spirit makes that to be heavenly which it can create earthy, we ought to observe by reason though we be without instances. For in a certain place holy Job says: As the Lord lives, Who thus judges me, and the Almighty, Who has brought my soul to bitterness (for the Spirit of God which is in my nostrils). Job 27:2-3 He certainly did not here signify by His Spirit the vital breath and bodily breathing passages, but signifies the nostrils of the inner man within him, wherewith he gathered in

the fragrance of eternal life, and drew in the grace of the heavenly ointment as with a kind of twofold sense.

68. For there are spiritual nostrils, as we read, which the spouse of the Word has, to whom it is said: And the smell of your nostrils; Song of Songs 7:8 and in another place: The Lord smelled a smell of sweetness. Genesis 8:21 There are, then, as it were, inward members of a man, whose hands are considered to be in action, his ears in hearing, his feet in a kind of progress in a good work. And so from what is done we gather as it were figures of the members, for it is not suitable for us to imagine anything in the inner man after a fleshly manner.

69. And there are some who suppose that God is fashioned after a bodily manner, when they read of His hand or finger, and they do not observe that these things are written not because of any fashion of a body, since in the Godhead are neither members nor parts, but are expressions of the oneness of the Godhead, that we may believe that it is impossible for either the Son or the Holy Spirit to be separated from God the Father; since the fullness of the Godhead dwells as it were bodily in the substance of the Trinity. For this reason, then, is the Son also called the Right Hand of the Father, as we read: The Right Hand of the Lord has done mighty things, the Right Hand of the Lord has exalted me.

CHAPTER 8.

ST. AMBROSE EXAMINES and refutes the heretical argument that because God is said to be glorified in the Spirit, and not with the Spirit, the Holy Spirit is therefore inferior to the Father. He shows that the particle in *can be also used of the Son and even of the Father, and that on the other hand* with *may be said of creatures without any infringement on the prerogatives of the Godhead; and that in reality these prepositions simply imply the connection of the Three Divine Persons.*

70. But what wonder is it if foolish men question about words, when they do so even about syllables? For some think that a distinction should be made and that God should be praised *in* the Spirit, but not *with* the Spirit, and consider that the greatness of the Godhead is to be estimated from one syllable or some custom, arguing that if they consider that God should be glorified *in* the Spirit, they point to some office of the Holy Spirit, but that if they say that God receives glory or power *with* the Spirit, they seem to imply some association and communion of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

71. But who can separate what is incapable of separation? Who can divide that association which Christ shows to be inseparable? Go, says He, baptize all nations in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Matthew 28:19 Has He changed either a word or a syllable here concerning the Father or the Son or the Holy Spirit? Certainly not. But He says, in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. The expression is the same for the Spirit as for the Father and for Himself. From

which is inferred not any office of the Holy Spirit, but rather a sharing of honour or of working when we say in the Spirit.

72. Consider, too, that this opinion of yours tends to the injury of the Father and the Son, for the latter did not say, with the Name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, but in the Name, and yet not any office but the power of the Trinity is expressed in this syllable,

73. Lastly, that you may know that it is not a syllable which prejudices faith, but faith which commends a syllable, Paul also speaks in Christ. Christ is not less, because Paul spoke in Christ, as you find: We speak before God in Christ. 2 Corinthians 2:17 As, then, the Apostle says that we speak in Christ, so, too, is that which we speak in the Spirit; as the Apostle himself said: No man says Lord Jesus, except in the Holy Spirit. 1 Corinthians 12:3 So, then, in this place not any subjection of the Holy Spirit, but a connection of grace is signified.

74. And that you may know that distinction does not depend upon a syllable, he says also in another place: And these indeed were you, but you are washed, but you are sanctified, but you are justified in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Spirit of our God. 1 Corinthians 6:11 How many instances of this I can bring forward. For it is written: You are all one in Christ Jesus, Galatians 3:28 and elsewhere: To those sanctified in Christ Jesus, 1 Corinthians 1:2 and again: That we might be the righteousness of God in Him, 2 Corinthians 5:21 and in another place: Should fall from the chastity which is in Christ Jesus. 2 Corinthians 11:3

75. But what am I doing? For while I say that like things are written of the Son as of the Spirit, I am rather leading on to this, not that because it is written of the Son, therefore it would appear to be reverently written of the Holy Spirit, but that because the same is written of the Spirit, therefore men allege that the Son’s honour is lessened because of the Spirit. For say they, Is it written of God the Father?

76. But let them learn that it is also said of God the Father: In the Lord I will praise the word; and elsewhere: In God we will do mighty deeds; and My remembrance shall be ever in You; and In Your Name will we rejoice; and again in another place: That his deeds may be manifested, that they are wrought in God; John 3:21 and Paul: In God Who created all things; Ephesians 3:9 and again: Paul and Silvanus and Timotheus to the Church of the Thessalonians in God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ; 2 Thessalonians 1:2 and in the Gospel: I in the Father and the Father in Me, and the Father that dwells in Me. John 14:10 It is also written: He that glories let him glory in the Lord; 2 Corinthians 10:17 and in another place: Our life is hid with Christ in God. Colossians 3:3 Did he here ascribe more to the Son than to the Father in saying that we are with Christ in God? Or does our state avail more than the grace of the Spirit, so that we can be with Christ and the Holy Spirit cannot? And when Christ wills to be with us, as He Himself said: Father, I will that they whom You have given Me be with Me where I am, John 17:24 would He disdain to be with the Spirit? For it is written: You coming together and my spirit with the power of the Lord Jesus. 1 Corinthians 5:4 Do we then come together in the power of the Lord, and dare to say that the Lord Jesus would not be willing to come together with the Spirit Who does not disdain to come together with us?

77. So the Apostle thinks that it makes no difference which particle you use. For each is a conjunctive particle, and conjunction does not cause separation, for if it divided it would not be called a conjunction.

78. What, then, moves you to say that to God the Father or to His Christ there is glory, life, greatness, or power, *in* the Holy Spirit, and to refuse to say *with* the Holy Spirit? Is it that you are afraid of seeming to join the Spirit with the Father and the Son? But hear what is written of the Spirit: For the law of the Spirit is life in Christ Jesus. Romans 8:2 And in another place God the Father says: They shall worship You, and in You they shall

make supplication. God the Father says that we ought to pray in Christ; and do you think that it is any derogation to the Spirit if the glory of Christ is said to be in Him?

79. Hear that what you are afraid to acknowledge of the Spirit, the Apostle did not fear to claim for himself; for he says: To be dissolved and to be with Christ is much better. Philippians 1:23 Do you deny that the Spirit, through Whom the Apostle was made worthy of being with Christ, is with Christ?

80. What, then, is the reason that you prefer saying that God or Christ is glorified in the Spirit rather than with the Spirit? Is it because if you say in the Spirit, the Spirit is declared to be less than Christ? Although your making the Lord greater or less is a matter which can be refuted, yet since we read, For Christ was made sin for us, that we might be the righteousness of God in Him, 2 Corinthians 5:21 He is found chiefest in Whom we are found most low. So, too, elsewhere you read, For in Him all things consist, Colossians 1:17 that is, in His power. And the things which consist in Him cannot be compared to Him, because they receive from His power the substance whereby they consist.

81. Do you then understand that God so reigns in the Spirit that the power of the Spirit, as a kind of source of substance, imparts to God the origin of His rule? But this is impious. And so our predecessors spoke of the unity of power of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, when they said that the glory of Christ was with the Spirit, that they might declare their inseparable connection.

82. For how is the Holy Spirit separated from the Son, since the Spirit Himself bears witness with our spirit that we are sons of God, and if sons, also heirs, heirs, indeed, of God and joint-heirs with Christ. Romans 8:16-17 Who, then, is so foolish as to wish to dissever the eternal conjunction of

the Spirit and Christ, when the Spirit by Whom we are made joint-heirs with Christ conjoins even what is severed.

83. If so be, he says, we suffer with Him, that we may be also glorified together. Romans 8:16-17 If we then shall be glorified together with Christ through the Spirit, how do we refuse to admit that the Spirit Himself is glorified together with Christ? Do we dissociate the life of Christ and of the Holy Spirit when the Spirit says that we shall live together with the Son of God? For the Apostle says: If we be dead with Christ we believe that we shall also live with Him; and then again: For if we suffer with Him we shall also live with Him, and not only shall we live with Him, but shall be also glorified with Him, and not only be glorified but shall also reign with Him. 2 Timothy 2:11-12

84. No division, then, is implied in those particles, for each is a particle of conjunction. And lastly, we often find in holy Scripture the one inserted and the other understood, as it is written: I will enter into Your house in whole burnt-offerings, that is, with whole burnt-offerings; and in another place: He brought them forth in silver and gold, that is, with silver and gold. And elsewhere the Psalmist says: Will You not go forth with us in our hosts? for that which is really meant, with our hosts. So, then, in the use of the expression no lessening of honour can be implied, and nothing ought to be deduced derogatory to the honour of the Godhead, it is necessary that with the heart man should believe unto righteousness, and that out of the faith of the heart confession should be made in the mouth unto salvation. But they who believe not with the heart spread what is derogatory with their mouth.

CHAPTER 9.

A PASSAGE OF *St. Paul abused by heretics, to prove a distinction between the Divine Persons, is explained, and it is proved that the whole passage can be rightly said of each Person, though it refers specially to the Son. It is then proved that each member of the passage is applicable to each Person, and as to say*, of Him are all things *is applicable to the Father, so may* all things are through Him and in Him *also be said of Him.*

85. Another similar passage is that which they say implies difference, where it is written: But to us there is one Father, of Whom are all things and we unto Him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, through Whom are all things, and we through Him. 1 Corinthians 8:6 For they pretend that when it is said of Him, the matter is signified, when through Him, either the instrument of the work or some office, but when it is said in Him, either the place or the time in which all things that are made are seen.

86. So, then, their desire is to prove that there is some difference of substance, being anxious to make a distinction between as it were the instrument, and the proper worker or author, and also between time or place and the instrument. But is the Son, then, alien as regards His Nature from the Father, because an instrument is alien from the worker or author? Or is the Son alien from the Spirit, because either time or place is not of the same class as an instrument?

87. Compare now our assertions. They will have it that matter is of God as though of the nature of God, as when you say that a chest is made of wood or a statue of stone; that after this fashion matter has come forth from God, and that the same matter has been made by the Son as if by some sort

of instrument; so that they declare that the Son is not so much the Artificer as the instrument of the work; and that all things have been made in the Spirit, as if in some place or time; they attribute each part severally to each Person severally and deny that all are in common.

88. But we show that all things are so of God the Father, that God the Father has suffered no loss because all things are either through Him or in Him, and yet all things are not of Him as if of matter; then, too, that all things are through the Lord the Son, so that He is not deprived of the attribute that all things are of the Son and in Him; and that all things are in the Spirit, so that we may teach that all things are through the Spirit, and all things from the Spirit.

89. For these particles, like those of which we have spoken before, imply each other. For the Apostle did not so say, All things are of God, and all things are through the Son, as to signify that the substance of the Father and the Son could be severed, but that he might teach that by a distinction without confusion the Father is one, the Son another. Those particles, then, are not as it were in opposition to each other, but are as it were allied and agreed, so as often to suit even one Person, as it is written: For of Him, and through Him, and in Him are all things. Romans 11:36

90. But if you really consider whence the passage is taken you will have no doubt that it is said of the Son. For the Apostle says, according to the prophecy of Isaiah, Who has known the mind of the Lord, or who has been His counsellor? Isaiah 40:13 And he adds: For of Him and in Him are all things. Which Isaiah had said of the Artificer of all, as you read: Who has measured out the water with his hand, and the heaven with a span, and all the earth with his closed hand? Who has placed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance? Who has known the mind of the Lord, or who has been His counsellor? Isaiah 40:12

91. And the Apostle added: For of Him, and through Him, and in Him are all things. What is of Him? That the nature of everything is of His will, and He is the Author of all things which have come into being. Through Him means what? That the establishment and continuance of all things is His gift. What is in Him? That all things by a wonderful kind of longing and unspeakable love look upon the Author of their life, and the Giver of their graces and functions, according to that which is written: The eyes of all look unto You, and You open Your hand and fill every living creature with Your good pleasure.

92. And of the Father, too, you may rightly say of Him, for of Him was the operative Wisdom, Which of His own and the Father's will gave being to all things which were not. Through Him, because all things were made through His Wisdom. In Him, because He is the Fount of substantial Life, in Whom we live and move and have our being.

93. Of the Spirit also, as being formed by Him, strengthened by Him, established in Him, we receive the gift of eternal life.

94. Since, then, these expressions seem suitable either to the Father or the Son or the Holy Spirit, it is certain that nothing derogatory is spoken of in them, since we both say that many things are of the Son, and many through the Father, as you find it said of the Son: That we may be increased through all things in Him, Who is Christ the Head, from Whom, says he, the whole body, framed and knit together through every joint of the supply for the measure of every part, makes increase of the body unto the building up of itself in love. Ephesians 4:15-16 And again, writing to the Colossians of those who have not the knowledge of the Son of God, he says: Because they hold not the Head, from Whom all the body being supplied and joined together through joints and bands, increases to the increase of God. Colossians 2:19 For we said above that Christ is the Head of the Church. And in another place you read: Of His fullness have all we received. And

the Lord Himself said: He shall take of Mine and show it unto you. John 16:14 And before, He said: I perceive that virtue is gone out of Me. Luke 8:46

95. In like manner that you may recognize the Unity, it is also said of the Spirit: For he that sows in the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap eternal life. Galatians 6:8 And John says: Hereby we know that He is in us because He has given us of His Spirit. 1 John 4:13 And the Angel says: That Which shall be born of her is of the Holy Spirit. Matthew 1:20 And the Lord says: That which is born of the Spirit is Spirit. John 3:6

96. So, then, as we read that all things are of the Father, so, too, that all things can be said to be of the Son, through Whom are all things; and we are taught by proof that all things are of the Spirit in Whom are all things.

97. Now let us consider whether we can teach that anything is through the Father. But it is written: Paul the servant of Christ through the will of God; 1 Corinthians 1:1 and elsewhere: Wherefore you are now not a servant but a son, and if a son an heir also through God; Galatians 4:7 and again: As Christ rose from the dead by the glory of God. Romans 6:4 And elsewhere God the Father says to the Son: Behold proselytes shall come to You through Me.

98. You will find many other passages, if you look for things done through the Father. Is, then, the Father less because we read that many things are in the Son and of the Son, and find in the heavenly Scriptures very many things done or given through the Father?

99. But in like manner we also read of many things done through the Spirit, as you find: But God has revealed them to us through His Spirit; 1 Corinthians 2:10 and in another place: Keep the good deposit through the Holy Spirit; 1 Timothy 6:20 and to the Ephesians: to be strengthened through His Spirit; Ephesians 3:16 and to the Corinthians: To another is given through the Spirit the word of wisdom; 1 Corinthians 12:8 and in

another place: But if through the Spirit ye mortify the deeds of the flesh, you shall live; Romans 8:13 and above: He Who raised Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies through the indwelling of His Spirit in you. Romans 8:11

100. But perhaps some one may say, Show me that we can read expressly that all things are of the Son, or that all things are of the Spirit. But I reply, Let them also show that it is written that all things are through the Father. But since we have proved that these expressions suit either the Father or the Son or the Holy Spirit, and that no distinction of the divine power can arise from particles of this kind, there is no doubt but that all things are of Him through Whom all things are; and that all things are through Him through Whom all are; and that we must understand that all things are through Him or of Him in Whom all are. For every creature exists both of the will, and through the operation and in the power of the Trinity, as it is written: Let Us make man after Our image and likeness; Genesis 1:26 and elsewhere: By the word of the Lord were the heavens established, and all their power by the Spirit of His mouth.

CHAPTER 10.

BEING ABOUT TO prove that the will, the calling, and the commandment of the Trinity is one, St. Ambrose shows that the Spirit called the Church exactly as the Father and the Son did, and proves this by the selection of SS. Paul and Barnabas, and especially by the mission of St. Peter to Cornelius. And by the way he points out how in the Apostle's vision the calling of the Gentiles was shadowed forth, who having been before like wild beasts, now by the operation of the Spirit lay aside that wildness. Then having quoted other passages in support of this view, he shows that in the case of Jeremiah cast into a pit by Jews, and rescued by Abdemelech, is a type of the slighting of the Holy Spirit by the Jews, and of His being honoured by the Gentiles.

101. And not only is the operation of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit everywhere one but also there is one and the same will, calling, and giving of commands, which one may see in the great and saving mystery of the Church. For as the Father called the Gentiles to the Church, saying: I will call her My people which was not My people, and her beloved who was not beloved; Hosea 2:23 and elsewhere: My house shall be called a house of prayer for all nations, Isaiah 56:7 so, too, the Lord Jesus said that Paul was chosen by Him to call forth and gather together the Church, as you find it said by the Lord Jesus to Ananias: Go, for he is a chosen vessel unto Me to bear My name before all nations. Acts 9:15

102. As, then, God the Father called the Church, so, too, Christ called it, and so, too, the Spirit called it, saying: Separate Me Paul and Barnabas for the work to which I have called them. So, it is added, having fasted and

prayed, they laid hands on them and sent them forth. And they, being sent forth by the Holy Spirit, went down to Seleucia. So Paul received the apostleship by the will not only of Christ, but also of the Holy Spirit, and hastened to gather together the Gentiles.

103. And not only Paul, but also, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, Peter. For when he had seen in his prayer heaven opened and a certain vessel tied at the four corners, as it were a sheet in which were all kinds of four-footed beasts and wild beasts and fowls of the air, a voice came to him saying, Arise, Peter, kill and eat. And Peter said, Be it far from me, Lord, I have never eaten anything common or unclean. And again a voice came to him, saying, What God has cleansed, call not common. And this was done three times, and the vessel was received back into heaven. And so when Peter was silently thinking over this with himself, and the servants of Cornelius appointed by the Angel had come to him, the Spirit said to him, Lo, men are seeking you, rise therefore, and go down and go with them; doubt not, for I have sent you. Acts 10:19-20

104. How clearly did the Holy Spirit express His own power! First of all in that He inspired him who was praying, and was present to him who was entreating; then when Peter, being called, answered, Lord, and so was found worthy of a second message, because he acknowledged the Lord. But the Scripture declares Who that Lord was, for He Whom he had answered spoke to him when he answered. And the following words show the Spirit clearly revealed, for He Who formed the mystery made known the mystery.

105. Notice, also, that the appearance of the mystery three times repeated expressed the operation of the Trinity. And so in the mysteries the threefold question is put, and the threefold answer made, and no one can be cleansed but by a threefold confession. For which reason, also, Peter in the Gospel is asked three times whether he loves the Lord, that by the threefold answer

the bonds of the guilt he had contracted by denying the Lord might be loosed.

106. Then, again, because the Angel is sent to Cornelius, the Holy Spirit speaks to Peter: For the eyes of the Lord are over the faithful of the earth. Nor is it without a purpose that when He had said before, What God has cleansed call not thou common, Acts 10:15 the Holy Spirit came upon the Gentiles to purify them, when it is manifest that the operation of the Spirit is a divine operation. But Peter, when sent by the Spirit, did not wait for the command of God the Father, but acknowledged that that message was from the Spirit Himself, and the grace that of the Spirit Himself, when he said: If, then, God has granted them the same grace as to us, who was I that I should resist God?

107. It is, then, the Holy Spirit Who has delivered us from that Gentile impurity. For in those kinds of four-footed creatures and wild beasts and birds there was a figure of the condition of man, which appears clothed with the bestial ferocity of wild beasts unless it grows gentle by the sanctification of the Spirit. Excellent, then, is that grace which changes the rage of beasts into the simplicity of the Spirit: For we also were aforetime foolish, unbelieving, erring, serving various lusts and pleasures. But now by the renewing of the Spirit we begin to be heirs of Christ, and joint-heirs with the Angels. Titus 3:3-7

108. Therefore the holy prophet David, seeing in the Spirit that we should from wild beasts become like the dwellers in heaven, says, Rebuke the wild beasts of the wood, evidently signifying, not the wood disturbed by the running of wild beasts, and shaken with the roaring of animals, but that wood of which it is written: We found it in the fields of the wood. In which, as the prophet said: The righteous shall flourish as the palm-tree, and shall be multiplied as the cedar which is in Libanus. That wood which, shaken in the tops of the trees spoken of in prophecy, shed forth the nourishment of

the heavenly Word. That wood into which Paul entered indeed as a ravening wolf, but went forth as a shepherd, for their sound is gone out into all the earth.

109. We then were wild beasts, and therefore the Lord said: Beware of false prophets, which come in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves. Matthew 7:15 But now, through the Holy Spirit, the rage of lions, the spots of leopards, the craft of foxes, the rapacity of wolves, have passed away from our feelings; great, then, is the grace which has changed earth to heaven, that the conversation of us, who once were wandering as wild beasts in the woods, might be in heaven. Philippians 3:20

110. And not only in this place, but also elsewhere in the same book, the Apostle Peter declared that the Church was built by the Holy Spirit. For you read that he said: God, Which knows the hearts of men, bore witness, giving them the Holy Spirit, even as also to us; and He made no distinction between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith. Acts 15:8-9 In which is to be considered, that as Christ is the Cornerstone, Who joined together both peoples into one, so, too, the Holy Spirit made no distinction between the hearts of each people, but united them.

111. Do not, then, like a Jew, despise the Son, Whom the prophets foretold; for you would despise also the Holy Spirit, you would despise Isaiah, you would despise Jeremiah, whom he who was chosen of the Lord raised with rags and cords from the pit of that Jewish abode. Jeremiah 38:11 For the people of the Jews, despising the word of prophecy, had cast him into the pit. Nor was there found any one of the Jews to draw the prophet out, but one Ethiopian Abdemelech, as the Scripture testifies.

112. In which account is a very beautiful figure, that is to say, that we, sinners of the Gentiles, black beforehand through our transgressions, and aforetime fruitless, raised from the depth the word of prophecy which the Jews had thrust down, as it were, into the mire of their mind and carnality.

And therefore it is written: Ethiopia shall stretch out her hand unto God. In which is signified the appearance of holy Church, who says in the Song of Songs: I am black and comely, O daughters of Jerusalem; Song of Songs 1:5 black through sin, comely through grace; black by natural condition, comely through redemption, or certainly, black with the dust of her labours. So she is black while fighting, is comely when she is crowned with the ornaments of victory.

113. And fittingly is the prophet raised by cords, for the faithful writer said: The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places. And fittingly with rags; for the Lord Himself, when those who had been first invited to the marriage made excuse, sent to the partings of the highways, that as many as were found, both bad and good, should be invited to the marriage. With these rags, then, He lifted the word of prophecy from the mire.

CHAPTER 11.

WE SHALL FOLLOW the example of Abdemelech, if we believe that the Son and Holy Spirit know all things. This knowledge is attributed in Scripture to the Spirit, and also to the Son. The Son is glorified by the Spirit, as also the Spirit by the Son. Also, inasmuch as we read that the Father, the Son, and the Spirit say and reveal the same things, we must acknowledge in Them a oneness of nature and knowledge. Lastly, that the Spirit searches the deep things of God is not a mark of ignorance, since the Father and the Son are likewise said to search, and Paul, although chosen by Christ, yet was taught by the Spirit.

114. And you, too, shall be Abdemelech, that is, chosen by the Lord, if you raise the Word of God from the depth of Gentile ignorance; if you believe that the Son of God is not deceived, that nothing escapes His knowledge, that He is not ignorant of what is going to be. And the Holy Spirit also is not deceived, of Whom the Lord says: But when He, the Spirit of Truth, shall come, He shall lead you into all truth. John 16:13 He Who says *all* passes by nothing, neither the day nor the hour, neither things past nor things to come.

115. And that you may know that He both knows all things, and foretells things to come, and that His knowledge is one with that of the Father and the Son, hear what the Truth of God says concerning Him: For He shall not speak from Himself, but what things He shall hear shall He speak, and He shall declare unto you the things that are to come. John 16:13

116. Therefore, that you may observe that He knows all things, when the Son said: But of that day and hour knows no one, not even the Angels of

heaven, Mark 13:32 He excepted the Holy Spirit. But if the Holy Spirit is excepted from ignorance, how is the Son of God not excepted?

117. But you say that He numbered the Son of God also with the Angels. He numbered the Son indeed, but He did not number the Spirit also. Confess, then, either that the Holy Spirit is greater than the Son of God, so as to speak now not only as an Arian, but even as a Photinian, or acknowledge to what you ought to refer it that He said that the Son knew not. For as man He could [in His human nature] be numbered with creatures Who were created.

118. But if you are willing to learn that the Son of God knows all things, and has foreknowledge of all, see that those very things which you think to be unknown to the Son, the Holy Spirit received from the Son. He received them, however, through Unity of Substance, as the Son received from the Father. He, says He, shall glorify Me, for He shall receive of Mine and shall declare it unto you. All things whatsoever the Father has are Mine, therefore said I, He shall receive of Mine, and shall declare it unto you. John 16:14-15 What, then, is more clear than this Unity? What things the Father has pertain to the Son; what things the Son has the Holy Spirit also has received.

119. Yet learn that the Son knows the day of judgment. We read in Zechariah: And the Lord my God shall come, and all the saints with Him. In that day there shall not be light, but cold and frost, and it shall be one day, and that day is known unto the Lord. This day, then, was known unto the Lord, Who shall come with His saints, to enlighten us by His second Advent.

120. But let us continue the point which we have commenced concerning the Spirit. For in the passage we have brought forward you find that the Son says of the Spirit: He shall glorify Me. So, then, the Spirit glorifies the Son, as the Father also glorifies Him, but the Son of God also glorifies the Spirit,

as we said above. He, then, is not weak who is the cause of the mutual glory through the Unity of the Eternal Light, nor is He inferior to the Spirit, of Whom this is true that He is glorified by the Spirit.

122. And you too shall be chosen, if you believe that the Spirit spoke that which the Father spoke, and which the Son spoke. Paul, in fine, was therefore chosen because he so believed and so taught, since, as it is written, God has revealed to us by His Spirit that which eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has entered into the heart of man, the things which God has prepared for them that love Him. 1 Corinthians 2:9-10 And therefore is He called the Spirit of revelation, as you read: For God gives to those who thus prepare themselves the Spirit of wisdom and revelation, that He may be known. Isaiah 64:4

123. There is, then, a Unity of knowledge, since, as the Father, Who gives the Spirit of revelation, reveals, so also the Son reveals, for it is written: No one knows the Son save the Father, neither does any one know the Father save the Son, and he to whom the Son shall will to reveal Him. Matthew 11:27 He said more concerning the Son, not because He has more than the Father, but lest He should be supposed to have less. And not unfittingly is the Father thus revealed by the Son, for the Son knows the Father even as the Father knows the Son.

124. Learn now that the Spirit too knows God the Father, for it is written that, As no one knows the things of a man, save the spirit which is in him, so too the things of God no one knows save the Spirit of God. No one, he says, knows save the Spirit of God. 1 Corinthians 2:11 Is, then, the Son of God excluded? Certainly not, since neither is the Spirit excluded, when it is said: And none knows the Father, save the Son.

125. Therefore the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are of one nature and of one knowledge. And the Spirit is not to be numbered with all things which were made by the Son, since He knew the Father, Whom (as it is written)

who can know save the Son? But the Holy Spirit knows also. What then? When the totality of created things is spoken of, it follows that the Holy Spirit is not included.

126. Now I should like them to answer what it is in man which knows the things of a man. Certainly that must be reasonable which surpasses the other powers of the soul, and by which the highest nature of man is estimated. What, then, is the Spirit, Who knows the deep things of God, and through Whom Almighty God is revealed? Is He inferior in the fullness of the Godhead Who is proved even by this instance to be of one substance with the Father? Or is He ignorant of anything Who knows the counsels of God, and His mysteries which have been hidden from the beginning? What is there that He knows not Who knows all things that are of God? For the Spirit searches even the deep things of God. 1 Corinthians 2:10

127. But lest you should think that He searches things unknown, and so searches that He may learn that which He knows not, it is stated first that God revealed them to us through His Spirit, and at the same time in order that you may learn that the Spirit knows the things which are revealed to us through the Spirit Himself, it is said subsequently: For who among men knows the things of a man, save the spirit of the man which is in him? So, too, the things of God knows no one save the Spirit of God. 1 Corinthians 2:11 If, then, the spirit of a man knows the things of a man, and knows them before it searches, can there be anything of God which the Spirit of God knows not? Of Whom the Apostle said not without a purpose, The things of God knows no one, save the Spirit of God; not that He knows by searching, but knows by nature; not that the knowledge of divine things is an accident in Him, but is His natural knowledge.

128. But if this moves you that He said searches, learn that this is also said of God, inasmuch as He is the searcher of hearts and reins. For Himself said: I am He that searches the heart and reins. Jeremiah 17:10 And of the

Son of God you have also in the Epistle to the Hebrews: Who is the Searcher of the mind and thoughts. Hebrews 4:12 Whence it is clear that no inferior searches the inward things of his superior, for to know hidden things is of the divine power alone. The Holy Spirit, then, is a searcher in like manner as the Father, and the Son is a searcher in like manner, by the proper signification of which expression this is implied, that evidently there is nothing which He knows not, Whom nothing escapes.

129. Lastly, he was chosen by Christ, and taught by the Spirit. For as he himself witnesses, having obtained through the Spirit knowledge of the divine secrets, he shows both that the Holy Spirit knows God, and has revealed to us the things which are of God, as the Son also has revealed them. And he adds: But we received, not the spirit of this world, but the Spirit which is of God, that we might know the things that are given to us by God, which we also speak, not in persuasive words of man’s wisdom, but in manifestation of the Spirit and in the power of God. 1 Corinthians 2:12-13

CHAPTER 12.

AFTER PROOF THAT the Spirit is the Giver of revelation equally with the Father and the Son, it is explained how the same Spirit does not speak of Himself; and it is shown that no bodily organs are to be thought of in Him, and that no inferiority is to be supposed from the fact of our reading that He hears, since the same would have to be attributed to the Son, and indeed even to the Father, since He hears the Son. The Spirit then hears and glorifies the Son in the sense that He revealed Him to the prophets and apostles, by which the Unity of operation of the Three Persons is inferred; and, since the Spirit does the same works as the Father, the substance of each is also declared to be the same.

130. It has then been proved that like as God has revealed to us the things which are His, so too the Son, and so too the Spirit, has revealed the things of God. For our knowledge proceeds from one Spirit, through one Son to one Father; and from one Father through one Son to one Holy Spirit is delivered goodness and sanctification and the sovereign right of eternal power. Where, then, there is a manifestation of the Spirit, there is the power of God, nor can there be any distinction where the work is one. And therefore that which the Son says the Father also says, and that which the Father says the Son also says, and that which the Father and the Son say the Holy Spirit also says.

131. Whence also the Son of God said concerning the Holy Spirit: He shall not speak from Himself, John 16:13 that is, not without the participation of the Father and Myself. For the Spirit is not divided and separated, but speaks what He hears. He hears, that is to say, by unity of

substance and by the property of knowledge. For He receives not hearing by any orifices of the body, nor does the divine voice resound with any carnal measures, nor does He hear what He knows not; since commonly in human matters hearing produces knowledge, and yet not even in men themselves is there always bodily speech or fleshly hearing. For he that speaks in tongues, it is said, speaks not to men but to God, for no one hears, but in the Spirit he speaks mysteries. 1 Corinthians 14:2

132. Therefore if in men hearing is not always of the body, do you require in God the voices of man's weakness, and certain organs of fleshly hearing, when He is said to hear in order that we may believe that He knows? For we know that which we have heard, and we hear beforehand that we may be able to know; but in God Who knows all things knowledge goes before hearing. So in order to state that the Son is not ignorant of what the Father wills, we say that He has heard; but in God there is no sound nor syllable, such as usually signify the indication of the will; but oneness of will is comprehended in hidden ways in God, but in us is shown by signs.

133. What means, then, He shall not speak from Himself? This is, He shall not speak without Me; for He speaks the truth, He breathes wisdom. He speaks not without the Father, for He is the Spirit of God; He hears not from Himself, for all things are of God.

134. The Son received all things from the Father, for He Himself said: All things have been delivered unto Me from My Father. Matthew 11:27 All that is the Father's the Son also has, for He says again: All things which the Father has are Mine. John 15:15 And those things which He Himself received by Unity of nature, the Spirit by the same Unity of nature received also from Him, as the Lord Jesus Himself declares, when speaking of His Spirit: Therefore said I, He shall receive of Mine and shall declare it unto you. John 15:15 Therefore what the Spirit says is the Son's, what the Son

has given is the Father's. So neither the Son nor the Spirit speaks anything of Himself. For the Trinity speaks nothing external to Itself.

135. But if you contend that this is an argument for the weakness of the Holy Spirit, and for a kind of likeness to the lowliness of the body, you will also make it an argument to the injury of the Son, because the Son said of Himself: As I hear I judge, John 5:30 and The Son can do nothing else than what He sees the Father doing. John 5:19 For if that be true, as it is, which the Son said: All things which the Father has are Mine, John 16:15 and the Son according to the Godhead is One with the Father, One by natural substance, not according to the Sabellian falsehood; that which is one by the property of substance certainly cannot be separated, and so the Son cannot do anything except what He has heard of the Father, for the Word of God endures forever, nor is the Father ever separated from the operation of the Son; and that which the Son works He knows that the Father wills, and what the Father wills the Son knows how to work.

136. Lastly, that one may not think that there is any difference of work either in time or in order between the Father and the Son, but may believe the oneness of the same operation, He says: The works which I do He does. And again, that one may not think that there is any difference in the distinction of the works, but may judge that the will, the working, and the power of the Father and the Son are the same, Wisdom says concerning the Father: For whatsoever things He does, the Son likewise does the same. John 5:19 So that the action of neither Person is before or after that of the Other, but the same result of one operation. And for this reason the Son says that He can do nothing of Himself, because His operation cannot be separated from that of the Father. In like manner the operation of the Holy Spirit is not separated. Whence also the things which He speaks, He is said to hear from the Father.

137. What if I demonstrate that the Father also hears the Son, as the Son too hears the Father? For you have it written in the Gospel that the Son says: Father, I thank You that You heard Me. John 11:41 How did the Father hear the Son, since in the previous passage concerning Lazarus the Son spoke nothing to the Father? And that we might not think that the Son was heard once by the Father, He added: And I knew that You hear Me always. John 11:42 Therefore the hearing is not that of subject obedience, but of eternal Unity.

138. In like manner, then, the Spirit is said to hear from the Father, and to glorify the Son. To glorify, because the Holy Spirit taught us that the Son is the Image of the invisible God, Colossians 1:15 and the brightness of His glory, and the impress of His substance. Hebrews 1:3 The Spirit also spoke in the patriarchs and the prophets, and, lastly, the apostles began then to be more perfect after that they had received the Holy Spirit. There is therefore no separation of the divine power and grace, for although there are diversities of gifts, yet it is the same Spirit; and diversities of ministrations, yet the same Lord; and diversities of operations, yet the same God Who works all in all. There are diversities of offices, not severances of the Trinity.

139. Lastly, it is the same God Who works all in all, that you may know that there is no diversity of operation between God the Father and the Holy Spirit; since those things which the Spirit works, God the Father also works, Who works all in all. For while God the Father works all in all, yet to one is given through the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit; to another faith, in the same Spirit; to another the gift of healings, in the one Spirit; to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits; to another various kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of sayings; but all these works one and the same Spirit, dividing to each one as He will.

140. There is then no doubt but that those things which the Father works, the Spirit works also. Nor does He work in accordance with a command, as he who hears in bodily fashion, but voluntarily, as being free in His own will, not the servant of the power of another. For He does not obey as being bidden, but as the giver He is the controller of His own gifts.

141. Consider meanwhile whether you can say that the Spirit effects all things which the Father effects; for you cannot deny that the Father effects those things which the Holy Spirit effects; otherwise the Father does not effect all things, if He effects not those things which the Spirit also effects. But if the Father also effects those things which the Spirit effects, since the Spirit divides His operations, according to His own will, you must of necessity say, either that what the Spirit divides He divides according to His own will, against the will of God the Father; or if you say that the Father wills the same that the Holy Spirit wills, you must of necessity confess the oneness of the divine will and operation, even if you do it unwillingly, and, if not with the heart, at least with the mouth.

142. But if the Holy Spirit is of one will and operation with God the Father, He is also of one substance, since the Creator is known by His works. So, then, it is the same Spirit, he says, the same Lord, the same God. 1 Corinthians 12:5 And if you say Spirit, He is the same; and if you say Lord, He is the same; and if you say God, He is the same. Not the same, so that Himself is Father, Himself Son, Himself Spirit [one and the selfsame Person]; but because both the Father and the Son are the same Power. He is, then, the same in substance and in power, for there is not in the Godhead either the confusion of Sabellius nor the division of Arius, nor any earthly and bodily change.

CHAPTER 13.

PROPHECY WAS NOT only from the Father and the Son but also from the Spirit; the authority and operation of the latter on the apostles is signified to be the same as Theirs; and so we are to understand that there is unity in the three points of authority, rule, and bounty; yet need no disadvantage be feared from that participation, since such does not arise in human friendship. Lastly, it is established that this is the inheritance of the apostolic faith from the fact that the apostles are described as having obeyed the Holy Spirit.

143. Take, O sacred Emperor, another strong instance in this question, and one known to you: In many ways and in various manners, God spoke to the fathers in the prophets. Hebrews 1:1 And the Wisdom of God said: I will send prophets and apostles. Luke 11:49 And To one is given, as it is written, through the Spirit, the word of wisdom; to another, the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit; to another faith, in the same Spirit; to another, the gift of healings, in the one Spirit; to another, the working of miracles; to another, prophecy. Therefore, according to the Apostle, prophecy is not only through the Father and the Son, but also through the Holy Spirit, and therefore the office is one, and the grace one. So you find that the Spirit also is the author of prophecies.

144. The apostles also said: It seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us. Acts 15:28 And when they say, It seemed good, they point out not only the Worker of the grace, but also the Author of the carrying out of that which was commanded. For as we read of God: It pleased God; so, too, when it is

said that, It seemed good to the Holy Spirit, one who is master of his own power is portrayed.

145. And how should He not be a master Who speaks what He wills, and commands what He wills, as the Father commands and the Son commands? For as Paul heard the voice saying to him, I am Jesus, Whom you persecute, Acts 9:5 so, too, the Spirit forbade Paul and Silas to go into Bithynia. And as the Father spoke through the prophets, so, too, Agabus says concerning the Spirit: Thus says the Holy Spirit, Thus shall the Jews in Jerusalem bind the man, whose is this girdle. Acts 21:11 And as Wisdom sent the apostles, saying, Go into all the world and preach the Gospel, Mark 16:15 so, too, the Holy Spirit says: Separate Me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them. Acts 13:2 And so being sent forth by the Holy Spirit, as the Scripture points out farther on, they were distinguished in nothing from the other apostles, as though they were sent in one way by God the Father, in another way by Spirit.

146. Lastly, Paul having been sent by the Spirit, was both a vessel of election on Christ's part, and himself relates that God wrought in him, saying: For He that wrought for Peter unto the apostleship of the circumcision, wrought for me also unto the Gentiles. Galatians 2:8 Since, then, the Same wrought in Paul Who wrought in Peter, it is certainly evident that, since the Spirit wrought in Paul, the Holy Spirit wrought also in Peter. But Peter himself testifies that God the Father wrought in him, as it is stated in the Acts of the Apostles that Peter rose up and said to them: Men and brethren, you know that a good while ago God made choice among us that the Gentiles should hear the word of the Gospel from my mouth. See, then, in Peter God wrought the grace of preaching. And who would dare to deny the operation of Christ in him, since he was certainly elected and chosen by Christ, when the Lord said: Feed My lambs. John 21:15

147. The operation, then, of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is one, unless perchance you, who deny the oneness of the same operation upon the Apostle, think this; that the Father and the Spirit wrought in Peter, in whom the Son had wrought, as if the operation of the Son by no means sufficed for him to the attainment of the grace. And so the strength of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit being as it were joined and brought together, the work was manifold, lest the operation of Christ alone should be too weak to establish Peter.

148. And not only in Peter is there found to be one operation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, but also in all the apostles the unity of the divine operation, and a certain authority over the dispensations of heaven. For the divine operation works by the power of a command, not in the execution of a ministry; for God, when He works, does not fashion anything by toil or art, but He spoke and they were made. He said, Let there be light, and there was light, Genesis 1:3 for the effecting of the work is comprised in the commandment of God.

149. We can, then, easily find, if we will consider, that this royal power is by the witness of the Scriptures attributed to the Holy Spirit; and it will be made clear that all the apostles were not only disciples of Christ, but also ministers of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. As also the teacher of the Gentiles tells us, when he says: God has set some in the Church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers; then miracles, the gift of healings, helps, governments, various kinds of tongues. 1 Corinthians 12:28

150. See, God set apostles, and set prophets and teachers, gave the gift of healings, which you find above to be given by the Holy Spirit; gave various kinds of tongues. But yet all are not apostles, all are not prophets, all are not teachers. Not all, says he, have the gift of healings, nor do all, says he, speak with tongues. 1 Corinthians 12:30 For the whole of the divine gifts cannot exist in each several man; each, according to his capacity, receives

that which he either desires or deserves. But the power of the Trinity, which is lavish of all graces, is not like this weakness.

151. Lastly, God set apostles. Those whom God set in the Church, Christ chose and ordained to be apostles, and sent them into the world, saying: Go into all the world, and preach the Gospel to the whole creation. He that shall believe and be baptized shall be saved, but he that believes not shall be damned. And these signs shall follow them that believe. In My Name shall they cast out devils, they shall speak with new tongues, they shall take up serpents, and if they shall drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them, they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover. You see the Father and Christ also set teachers in the Churches; and as the Father gives the gift of healings, so, too, does the Son give; as the Father gives the gift of tongues, so, too, has the Son also granted it.

152. In like manner we have heard also above concerning the Holy Spirit, that He too grants the same kinds of graces. For it is said: To one is given through the Spirit the gift of healings, to another various kinds of tongues, to another prophecy. 1 Corinthians 12:8-9 So, then, the Spirit gives the same gifts as the Father, and the Son also gives them. Let us now learn more expressly what we have touched upon above, that the Holy Spirit entrusts the same office as the Father and the Son, and appoints the same persons; since Paul said: Take heed to yourselves, and to all the flock in the which the Holy Spirit has made you overseers to rule the Church of God. Acts 20:28

153. There is, then, unity of authority, unity of appointment, unity of giving. For if you separate appointment and power, what cause was there [for maintaining] that those whom Christ appointed as apostles, God the Father appointed, and the Holy Spirit appointed? Unless, perhaps, as if sharing a possession or a right, They, like men, were afraid of legal

prejudice, and therefore the operation was divided, and the authority distributed.

154. These things are narrow and paltry, even between men, who for the most part, although they do not agree in action, yet agree in will. So that a certain person being asked what a friend is, answered, A second self. If, then, a man so defined a friend as to say, he was a second self, that is to say, through a oneness of love and good-will, how much more ought we to esteem the oneness of Majesty, in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, when by the same operation and divine power, either the unity, or certainly that which is more, the ταυτότης, as it is called in Greek, is expressed, for ταύτο signifies the same, so that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit have the same; so that to have the same will and the same power does not arise from the affection of the will, but inheres in the substance of the Trinity.

155. This is the inheritance of apostolic faith and devotion, which one may observe also in the Acts of the Apostles. Therefore Paul and Barnabas obeyed the commands of the Holy Spirit. And all the apostles obeyed, and immediately ordained those whom the Spirit had ordered to be separated: Separate Me, said He, Barnabas and Saul. Acts 13:2 Do you see the authority of Him Who commands? Consider the merit of those who obey.

156. Paul believed, and because he believed he cast off the zeal of a persecutor, and gained a crown of righteousness. He believed who used to make havoc of the Churches; but being converted to the faith, he preached in the Spirit that which the Spirit commanded. Acts 9:20 The Spirit anointed His champion, and having shaken off the dust of unbelief, presented him as an insuperable conqueror of the unbelievers to various assemblies of the ungodly, and trained him by many sufferings for the prize of his high calling in Christ Jesus.

157. Barnabas also believed, and obeyed because he believed. Therefore, being chosen by the authority of the Holy Spirit, Which came on him abundantly, as a special sign of his merits, he was not unworthy of so great a fellowship. For one grace shone in these whom one Spirit had chosen.

158. Nor was Paul inferior to Peter, though the latter was the foundation of the Church, and the former a wise builder knowing how to make firm the footsteps of the nations who believed; Paul was not, I say, unworthy of the fellowship of the apostles, but is easily comparable with the first, and second to none. For he who knows not that he is inferior makes himself equal.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER 1.

NOT ONLY WERE the prophets and apostles sent by the Spirit, but also the Son of God. This is proved from Isaiah and the evangelists, and it is explained why St. Luke wrote that the same Spirit descended like a dove upon Christ and abode upon Him. Next, after establishing this mission of Christ, the writer infers that the Son is sent by the Father and the Spirit, as the Spirit is by the Father and the Son.

1. In the former book we have shown by the clear evidence of the Scriptures that the apostles and prophets were appointed, the latter to prophesy, the former to preach the Gospel, by the Holy Spirit in the same way as by the Father and the Son; now we add what all will rightly wonder at, and not be able to doubt, that the Spirit was upon Christ; and that as He sent the Spirit, so the Spirit sent the Son of God. For the Son of God says: The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He has anointed Me, He has sent Me to preach the Gospel to the poor, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and sight to the blind. And having read this from the Book of Isaiah, He says in the Gospel: Today has this Scripture been fulfilled in your ears; Luke 4:21 that He might point out that it was said of Himself.

2. Can we, then, wonder if the Spirit sent both the prophets and the apostles, since Christ said: The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me? And rightly did He say upon Me, because He was speaking as the Son of Man. For as the Son of Man He was anointed and sent to preach the Gospel.

3. But if they believe not the Son, let them hear the Father also saying that the Spirit of the Lord is upon Christ. For He says to John: Upon whomsoever you shall see the Spirit descending from heaven and abiding

upon Him, He it is Who baptizes with the Holy Spirit. John 1:33 God the Father said this to John, and John heard and saw and believed. He heard from God, he saw in the Lord, he believed that it was the Spirit Who was coming down from heaven. For it was not a dove that descended, but the Holy Spirit as a dove; for thus it is written: I saw the Spirit descending from heaven as a dove. John 1:32

4. As John says that he saw, so, too, wrote Mark; Luke, however, added that the Holy Spirit descended in a bodily form as a dove; you must not think that this was an incarnation, but an appearance. He, then, brought the appearance before him, that by means of the appearance he might believe who did not see the Spirit, and that by the appearance He might manifest that He had a share of the one honour in authority, the one operation in the mystery, the one gift in the bath, together with the Father and the Son; unless perchance we consider Him in Whom the Lord was baptized too weak for the servant to be baptized in Him.

5. And he said fittingly, abiding upon Him, John 1:33 because the Spirit inspired a saying or acted upon the prophets as often as He would, but abode always in Christ.

6. Nor, again, let it move you that he said upon Him, for he was speaking of the Son of Man, because he was baptized as the Son of Man. For the Spirit is not upon Christ, according to the Godhead, but in Christ; for, as the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father, so the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ is both in the Father and in the Son, for He is the Spirit of His mouth. For He Who is of God abides in God, as it is written: But we received not the spirit of this world, but the Spirit which is of God. 1 Corinthians 2:12 And He abides in Christ, Who has received from Christ; for it is written again: He shall take of Mine: John 16:14 and elsewhere: The law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus made me free from the law of sin and death. Romans 8:2 He is, then, not over Christ according to the Godhead of

Christ, for the Trinity is not over Itself, but over all things: It is not over Itself but in Itself.

7. Who, then, can doubt that the Spirit sent the prophets and apostles, since the Son of God says: The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me. Luke 4:18 And elsewhere: I am the First, and I am also for ever, and Mine hand has founded the earth, and My right hand has established the heaven; I will call them and they shall stand up together, and shall all be gathered together and shall hear. Who has declared these things to them? Because I loved you I performed your pleasure against Babylon, that the seed of the Chaldæans might be taken away. I have spoken, and I have called, I have brought him and have made his way prosperous. Come unto Me and hear this. From the beginning I have not spoken in secret, I was there when those things were done; and now the Lord God has sent Me and His Spirit. Who is it Who says: The Lord God has sent Me and His Spirit, except He Who came from the Father that He might save sinners? And, as you hear, the Spirit sent Him, lest when you hear that the Son sends the Spirit, you should believe the Spirit to be of inferior power.

8. So both the Father and the Spirit sent the Son; the Father sent Him, for it is written: But the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, Whom the Father will send in My Name. John 14:26 The Son sent Him, for He said: But when the Paraclete has come, Whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of Truth. John 15:26 If, then, the Son and the Spirit send each other, as the Father sends, there is no inferiority of subjection, but a community of power.

CHAPTER 2.

THE SON AND the Spirit are alike given; whence not subjection but one Godhead is shown by Its working.

9. And not only did the Father send the Son, but also gave Him, as the Son Himself gave Himself. For we read: Grace to you from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, Who gave Himself for our sins. Galatians 1:3-4 If they think that He was subject in that He was sent, they cannot deny that it was of grace that He was given. But He was given by the Father, as Isaiah said: Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given; Isaiah 9:6 but He was given, I dare to say it, by the Spirit also, Who was sent by the Spirit. For since the prophet has not defined by whom He was given, he shows that He was given by the grace of the Trinity; and inasmuch as the Son Himself gave Himself, He could not be subject to Himself according to His Godhead. Therefore that He was given could not be a sign of subjection in the God-head.

10. But the Holy Spirit also was given, for it is written: I will ask the Father, and He shall give you another Paraclete. John 14:16 And the Apostle says: Wherefore he that despises these things despises not man but God, Who has given us His Holy Spirit. 1 Thessalonians 4:8 Isaiah, too, shows that both the Spirit and the Son are given: Thus, says he, says the Lord God, Who made the heaven and fashioned it, Who established the earth, and the things which are in it, and gives breath to the people upon it, and the Spirit to them that walk upon it. Isaiah 42:5 And to the Son: I am the Lord God, Who have called You in righteousness, and will hold Your hand, and will strengthen You; and I have given You for a covenant of My

people, for a light of the Gentiles, to open the eyes of the blind, to bring out of their fetters those that are bound. Isaiah 42:6-7 Since, then, the Son is both sent and given, and the Spirit also is both sent and given, They have assuredly a oneness of Godhead Who have a oneness of action.

CHAPTER 3.

THE SAME UNITY may also be recognized from the fact that the Spirit is called Finger, and the Son Right Hand; for the understanding of divine things is assisted by the usage of human language. The tables of the law were written by this Finger, and they were afterwards broken, and the reason. Lastly, Christ wrote with the same Finger; yet we must not admit any inferiority in the Spirit from this bodily comparison.

11. So, too, the Spirit is also called the Finger of God, because there is an indivisible and inseparable communion between the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. For as the Scripture called the Son of God the Right Hand of God, as it is said: Your Right Hand, O Lord, is made glorious in power. Your Right Hand, O Lord, has dashed in pieces the enemy; Exodus 15:6 so the Holy Spirit is called the Finger of God, as the Lord Himself says: But if I by the Finger of God cast out devils. Luke 11:20 For in the same place in another book of the Gospel He named the Spirit of God, as you find: But if I by the Spirit of God cast out devils. Matthew 12:28

12. What, then, could have been said to signify more expressly the unity of the Godhead, or of Its working, which Unity is according to the Godhead of the Father, or of the Son, or of the Holy Spirit, than that we should understand that the fullness of the eternal Godhead would seem to be divided far more than this body of ours, if any one were to sever the unity of Substance, and multiply Its powers, whereas the eternity of the same Godhead is one?

13. For oftentimes it is convenient to estimate from our own words those things which are above us, and because we cannot see those things we draw

inferences from those which we can see. For the invisible things of Him, says the Apostle, from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by those things which are made. Romans 1:20 And he adds: His eternal power also and Godhead. Romans 1:20 Of which one thing seems to be said of the Son, and another of the Holy Spirit; that in the same manner as the Son is called the eternal Power of the Father, so, also, the Spirit, because He is divine, should be believed to be His eternal Godhead. For the Son, too, because He ever lives, is eternal life. This Finger, then, of God is both eternal and divine. For what is there belonging to God which is not eternal and divine?

14. With this Finger, as we read, God wrote on those tables of stone which Moses received. For God did not with a finger of flesh write the forms and portions of those letters which we read, but gave the law by His Spirit. And so the Apostle says: For the Law is spiritual, which, indeed, is written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but on fleshy tables of the heart. 2 Corinthians 3:3 For if the letter of the Apostle is written in the Spirit, what hinders us from believing that the Law of God was written not with ink, but with the Spirit of God, which certainly does not stain but enlightens the secret places of our heart and mind?

14. Now it was written on tables of stone, because it was written in a type, but the tables were first broken and cast out of the hands of Moses, because the Jews fell away from the works of the prophet. And fitly were the tables broken, not the writing erased. And do you see that your table be not broken, that your mind and soul be not divided. Is Christ divided? He is not divided, but is one with the Father; and let no one separate you from Him. If your faith fails, the table of your heart is broken. The coherence of your soul is lessened if you do not believe the unity of Godhead in the Trinity. Your faith is written, and your sin is written, as Jeremiah said: Your

sin, O Judah, is written with a pen of iron and the point of a diamond. And it is written, he says, on your breast and on your heart. Jeremiah 17:1 The sin, therefore, is there where grace is, but the sin is written with a pen, grace is denoted by the Spirit.

15. With this Finger, also, the Lord Jesus, with bowed head, mystically wrote on the ground, when the adulteress was brought before Him by the Jews, signifying in a figure that, when we judge of the sins of another, we ought to remember our own.

16. And lest, again, because God wrote the Law by His Spirit, we should believe any inferiority, as it were, concerning the ministry of the Spirit, or from the consideration of our own body should think the Spirit to be a small part of God, the Apostle says, elsewhere, that he does not speak with words of human wisdom, but in words taught by the Spirit, and that he compares spiritual things with spiritual; but that the natural man receives not the things which pertain to the Spirit of God. 1 Corinthians 2:13-14 For he knew that he who compared divine with carnal things was among natural things, and not to be reckoned among spiritual men; for they are foolishness, he says, unto him. 1 Corinthians 2:13-14 And so, because he knew that these questions would arise among natural men, foreseeing the future he says: For who has known the mind of the Lord, that he may instruct Him? But we have the mind of Christ. 1 Corinthians 2:16

CHAPTER 4.

TO THOSE WHO contend that the Spirit because He is called the Finger is less than the Father, St. Ambrose replies that this would also tend to the lessening of the Son, Who is called the Right Hand. That these names are to be referred only to the Unity, for which reason Moses proclaimed that the whole Trinity worked in the passage of the Red Sea. And, indeed, it is no wonder that the operation of the Spirit found place there, where there was a figure of baptism, since the Scripture teaches that the Three Persons equally sanctify and are operative in that sacrament.

17. But if any one is still entangled in carnal doubts, and hesitates because of bodily figures, let him consider that he cannot think rightly of the Son who can think wrongly of the Spirit. For if some think that the Spirit is a certain small portion of God, because He is called the Finger of God, the same persons must certainly maintain that a small portion only is in the Son of God, because He is called the Right Hand of God.

18. But the Son is called both the Right Hand and the Power of God; if, then, we consider our words, there can be no perfection without power; let them therefore take care lest they think that which it is impious to say, namely, that the Father being but half perfect in His own Substance received perfection through the Son, and let them cease to deny that the Son is co-eternal with the Father. For when did the Power of God not exist? But if they think that at any time the Power of God existed not, they will say that at some time Perfection existed not in God the Father, to Whom they think that Power was at some time wanting.

19. But, as I said, these things are written that we may refer them to the Unity of the Godhead, and believe that which the Apostle said, that the fullness of the Godhead dwells bodily in Christ, Colossians 2:9 which dwells also in the Father, and dwells in the Holy Spirit; and that, as there is a unity of the Godhead, so also is there a unity of operation.

20. And this may also be gathered from the Song of Moses, for he, after leading the people of the Jews through the sea, acknowledged the operation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, saying: Your Right Hand, O Lord, is glorious in power, Your Right Hand, O Lord, has dashed in pieces the enemy. Exodus 15:6 Here you have his confession of the Son and of the Father, Whose Right Hand He is. And farther on, not to pass by the Holy Spirit, He added: You sent Your Spirit and the sea covered them, and the water was divided by the Spirit of Your anger. Exodus 15:10 By which is signified the unity of the Godhead, not an inequality of the Trinity.

21. You see, then, that the Holy Spirit also co-operated with the Father and the Son, so that just as if the waves were congealed in the midst of the sea, a wall as it were of water rose up for the passage of the Jews, and then, poured back again by the Spirit, overwhelmed the people of the Egyptians. And many think that from the same origin the pillar of cloud went before the people of the Jews by day, and the pillar of fire by night, that the grace of the Spirit might protect His people.

22. Now that this operation of God, which the whole world rightly wonders at, did not take place without the work of the Holy Spirit, the Apostle also declared when he said that the truth of a spiritual mystery was prefigured in it, for we read as follows: For our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were all baptized in Moses in the cloud and in the sea, and did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink.

23. For how without the operation of the Holy Spirit could there be the type of a sacrament, the whole truth of which is in the Spirit? As the Apostle also set forth, saying: But you were washed, but you were sanctified, but you were justified in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Spirit of our God. 1 Corinthians 6:11

24. You see, then, that the Father works in the Son, and that the Son works in the Spirit. And therefore do not doubt that, according to the order of Scripture, there was in the figure that which the Truth Himself declared to be in the truth. For who can deny His operation in the Font, in which we feel His operation and grace?

25. For as the Father sanctifies, so, too, the Son sanctifies, and the Holy Spirit sanctifies. The Father sanctifies according to that which is written: The God of peace sanctify you, and may your spirit, soul, and body be preserved entire without blame in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ. 1 Thessalonians 5:23 And elsewhere the Son says: Father, sanctify them in the truth. John 17:17

26. But of the Son the same Apostle said: Who was made unto us wisdom from God, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption. 1 Corinthians 1:30 Do you see that He was made sanctification? But He was made so unto us, not that He should change that which He was, but that He might sanctify us in the flesh.

27. And the Apostle also teaches that the Holy Spirit sanctifies. For he speaks thus: We are bound to give thanks to God always for you, brethren dearly beloved of the Lord; because God chose you as first-fruits unto salvation, in sanctification of the Spirit, and belief of the truth. 2 Thessalonians 2:13

28. So, then, the Father sanctifies, the Son also sanctifies, and the Holy Spirit sanctifies; but the sanctification is one, for baptism is one, and the grace of the sacrament is one.

CHAPTER 5.

THE WRITER SUMS up the argument he had commenced, and confirms the statement that unity is signified by the terms finger and right hand, from the fact that the works of God are the same as are the works of hands; and that those of hands are the same as those of fingers; and lastly, that the term hand applies equally to the Son and the Spirit, and that of finger applies to the Spirit and the Son.

29. But what wonder is it if He Who Himself needs no sanctification, but abounds therewith, sanctifies each man; since, as I said, we have been taught that His Majesty is so great, that the Holy Spirit seems to be as inseparable from God the Father as the finger is from the body?

30. But if any one thinks that this should be referred not to the oneness of power, but to its lessening, he indeed will fall into such madness as to appear to fashion the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as it were into one bodily form, and to picture to himself certain distinctions of its members.

31. But let them learn, as I have often said, that not inequality but unity of power is signified by this testimony; inasmuch as things which are the works of God are also the works of hands, and we read that the same are the works of fingers. For it is written: The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament shows the work of His hands; and elsewhere: In the beginning You founded the earth, O Lord; and the heavens are the works of Your hands. So, then, the works of the hands are the same as the works of God. There is not therefore any distinction of the work according to the kind of bodily members, but a oneness of power.

32. But those which are the works of the hands are also the works of the fingers, for it is equally written: For I will behold Your heavens, the works of Your fingers, the moon, and the stars, which You have established. What less are the fingers here said to have made than the hands, since they made the same as the hands, as it is written: For You, Lord, have made me glad through Your work, and in the works of Your hands will I rejoice.

33. And yet since we read that the Son is the hand (for it is written: Hath not My Hand made all these things? Isaiah 66:2 and elsewhere: I will place you in the cleft of the rock, and I will cover you with Mine hand, I have placed My hand under the covering of the rock, Exodus 33:22 which refers to the mystery of the Incarnation, because the eternal Power of God took on Itself the covering of a body), it is certainly clear that Scripture used the term hand both of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

34. And again, since we read that the Spirit is the finger of God, we think that fingers [in the plural] are spoken of to signify the Son and Spirit. Lastly, that he may state that he received the sanctification both of the Son and of the Spirit, a certain saint says: Your hands have made me and fashioned me.

CHAPTER 6.

THE SPIRIT REBUKES just as do the Father and the Son; and indeed judges could not judge without Him, as is shown by the judgments of Solomon and Daniel, which are explained in a few words, by the way; and no other than the Holy Spirit inspired Daniel.

35. Why do we reject like words when we assert the oneness of power, since the oneness of power extends so far that the Spirit rebukes, as the Father rebukes, and as the Son rebukes. For so it is written: O Lord, rebuke me not in Your anger, neither chasten me in Your displeasure. Then in the forty-ninth [fiftieth] Psalm, the Lord speaks thus: I will rebuke you, and will set your sins before your face. And in like manner the Son said of the Holy Spirit: When I go away, I will send the Paraclete to you. And He, when He has come, will rebuke the world, concerning sin, and concerning righteousness, and concerning judgment. John 16:7-8

36. But whither is the madness of faithless men leading us, so that we appear to be proving, as if it were a matter of doubt, that the Holy Spirit rebukes, whereas judges themselves are unable to judge, except through the Spirit. Lastly, that famous judgment of Solomon, when, among the difficulties arising from those who were contending, as one, having overlain the child which she had borne, wished to claim the child of another, and the other was protecting her own son, he both discovered deceit in the very hidden thoughts, and affection in the mother's heart, was certainly so admirable only by the gift of the Holy Spirit. For no other sword would have penetrated the hidden feeling of those women, except the sword of the Spirit, of which the Lord says: I am not come to send peace but a sword.

Matthew 10:34 For the inmost mind cannot be penetrated by steel, but by the Spirit: For the Spirit of understanding is holy, one only, manifold, subtle, lively, and, farther on, overseeing all things. Wisdom 7:22-23

37. Consider what the prophet says, that He oversees all things. And so Solomon also oversaw, so that he ordered that sword to be brought, because while pretending that he intended to divide the infant, he reflected that the true mother would have more regard for her son than for her comfort, and would set kindness before right, not right before kindness. But that she who feigned the feelings of a mother, blinded by the desire of gaining her end, would think little of the destruction of him in regard to whom she felt no outgoing of tenderness. And so that spiritual man, that he might judge all things (for he that is spiritual judges all things), 1 Corinthians 2:15 sought in the feelings the natural disposition which was concealed in the language, and questioned tenderness that he might set forth the truth. So the mother overcame by the affection of love, which is a fruit of the Spirit.

38. He judges in a prophet, for the word of wisdom is given by the Spirit; 1 Corinthians 12:8 how, then, do men deny that the Spirit can rebuke the world concerning judgment, Who removes doubt from judgment, and grants the successful issue?

39. Daniel also, unless he had received the Spirit of God, would never have been able to discover that lustful adultery, that fraudulent lie. For when Susanna, assailed by the conspiracy of the elders, saw that the mind of the people was moved by consideration for the old men, and destitute of all help, alone among men, conscious of her chastity she prayed God to judge; it is written: The Lord heard her voice, when she was being led to be put to death, and the Lord raised up the Holy Spirit of a young youth, whose name was Daniel. And so according to the grace of the Holy Spirit received by him, he discovered the varying evidence of the treacherous, for it was none

other than the operation of divine power, that his voice should make them whose inward feelings were concealed to be known.

41. Understand, then, the sacred and heavenly miracle of the Holy Spirit. She who preferred to be chaste in herself, rather than in the opinion of the people, she who preferred to hazard [the reputation of] her innocence, rather than her modesty, who when she was accused was silent, when she was condemned held her peace, content with the judgment of her own conscience, who preserved regard for her modesty even in peril, that they who were not able to force her chastity might not seem to have forced her to petulance; when she called upon the Lord, she obtained the Spirit, Who made known the hidden consciousness of the elders.

42. Let the chaste learn not to dread calumny. For she who preferred chastity to life did not suffer the loss of life, and retained the glory of chastity. So, too, Abraham, once bidden to go to foreign lands, and not being held back either by the danger to his wife's modesty, nor by the fear of death before him, preserved both his own life and his wife's chastity. So no one has ever repented of trusting God, and chastity increased devotion in Sarah, and devotion chastity.

43. And lest any one should perhaps think that, as the Scripture says, God raised up the Holy Spirit of a young youth, the Spirit in him was that of a man, not the Holy Spirit, let him read farther on, and he will find that Daniel received the Holy Spirit, and therefore prophesied. Lastly, too, the king advanced him because he had the grace of the Spirit. For he speaks thus: You, O Daniel, art able, forasmuch as the Holy Spirit of God is in you. Daniel 5:14 And farther on it is written: And Daniel was set over them, because an excellent Spirit was in him. Daniel 6:3 And the Spirit of Moses also was distributed to those who were to be judges. Numbers 11:25

CHAPTER 7.

THE SON HIMSELF does not judge or punish without the Spirit, so that the same Spirit is called the Sword of the Word. But inasmuch as the Word is in turn called the Sword of the Spirit, the highest unity of power is thereby recognized in each.

44. But what should we say of the other points? We have heard that the Lord Jesus not only judges in the Spirit but punishes also. For neither would He punish Antichrist, whom, as we read, the Lord Jesus shall slay with the Spirit of His mouth, 2 Thessalonians 2:8 unless He had before judged of his deserts. Yet here is not a grace received, but the unity remains undivided, since neither can Christ be without the Spirit, nor the Spirit without Christ. For the unity of the divine nature cannot be divided.

45. And since that instance comes before us, that the Lord Jesus shall slay with the Spirit of His mouth, the Spirit is understood to be as it were the Sword of the Word. Lastly, in the Gospel also the Lord Jesus Himself says: I came not to send peace but a sword. Matthew 10:34 For He came that He might give the Spirit; and so there is in His mouth a two-edged sword, Revelation 19:15 which is in truth the grace of the Spirit. So the Spirit is the Sword of the Word.

46. And that you may know that there is no inequality but unity of nature, the Word also is the Sword of the Holy Spirit, for it is written: Taking the shield of faith, wherewith you may be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked one. And take the helmet of Salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God. Ephesians 6:16-17

47. Since, then, the Sword of the Word is the Holy Spirit, and the Sword of the Holy Spirit is the Word of God, there is certainly in Them oneness of power.

CHAPTER 8.

THE AFORESAID UNITY is proved hereby, that as the Father is said to be grieved and tempted, so too the Son. The Son was also tempted in the wilderness, where a figure of the cross was set up in the brazen serpent: but the Apostle says that the Spirit also was there tempted. St. Ambrose infers from this that the Israelites were guided into the promised land by the same Spirit, and that His will and power are one with those of the Father and the Son.

48. And we may behold this unity also in other passages of the Scriptures. For whereas Ezekiel says to the people of the Jews: And you have grieved Me in all these things, says the Lord; Ezekiel 16:43 Paul says to the new people in his Epistle: Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, in Whom you were sealed. Ephesians 4:30 Again, whereas Isaiah says of the Jews themselves: But they believed not, but grieved the Holy Spirit; Isaiah 63:10 David says of God: They grieved the Most High in the desert, and tempted God in their hearts.

49. Understand also that whereas Scripture in other places says that the Spirit was tempted, and that God was tempted, it says also that Christ was tempted; for you have the Apostle saying to the Corinthians: Neither let us tempt Christ, as some of them tempted, and perished by serpents. 1 Corinthians 10:9 Just was the punishment that the adversaries should feel the venom, who had not venerated the Maker.

50. And well did the Lord ordain that by the lifting up of the brazen serpent the wounds of those who were bitten should be healed; for the brazen serpent is a type of the Cross; for although in His flesh Christ was

lifted up, yet in Him was the Apostle crucified to the world and the world to him; for he says: The world has been crucified unto me, and I unto the world. Galatians 6:14 So the world was crucified in its allurements, and therefore not a real but a brazen serpent was hanged; because the Lord took on Him the likeness of a sinner, in the truth, indeed, of His Body, but without the truth of sin, that imitating a serpent through the deceitful appearance of human weakness, having laid aside the slough of the flesh, He might destroy the cunning of the true serpent. And therefore in the Cross of the Lord, which came to man's help in avenging temptation, I, who accept the medicine of the Trinity, recognize in the wicked the offense against the Trinity.

51. Therefore when you find in the book of Moses, that the Lord being tempted sent serpents on the people of the Jews, it is necessary that you either confess the Unity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit in the Divine Majesty, or certainly when the writing of the Apostle says that the Spirit was tempted, it undoubtedly pointed out the Spirit by the name of Lord. But the Apostle writing to the Hebrews says that the Spirit was tempted, for you find this: Wherefore the Holy Ghost says this: Today if you shall hear His voice, harden not your hearts, like as in the provocation in the day of temptation in the wilderness, where your fathers tempted Me, proved Me, and saw My works. Forty years was I near to this generation and said: They always err in their heart; but they did not know My ways, as I swore in My wrath, If they shall enter into My rest. Hebrews 3:7-11

52. Therefore, according to the Apostle, the Spirit was tempted. If He was tempted, He also certainly was guiding the people of the Jews into the land of promise, as it is written: For He led them through the deep, as a horse through the wilderness, and they laboured not, and like the cattle through the plain. The Spirit came down from the Lord and guided them. Isaiah 63:13-14 And He certainly ministered to them the calm rain of

heavenly food, He with fertile shower made fruitful that daily harvest which earth had not brought forth, and husbandman had not sown.

53. Now let us look at these points one by one. God had promised rest to the Jews; the Spirit calls that rest His. God the Father relates that He was tempted by the unbelieving, and the Spirit says that He was tempted by the same, for the temptation is one wherewith the one Godhead of the Trinity was tempted by the unbelieving. God condemns the people of the Jews, so that they cannot attain to the land flowing with milk and honey, that is, to the rest of the resurrection; and the Spirit condemns them by the same decree: If they shall enter into My rest. It is, then, the decree of one Will, the excellency of one Power.

CHAPTER 9.

THAT THE HOLY Spirit is provoked is proved by the words of St. Peter, in which it is shown that the Spirit of God is one and the same as the Spirit of the Lord, both by other passages and by reference to the sentence of the same Apostle on Ananias and Sapphira, whence it is argued that the union of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son, as well as His own Godhead, is proved.

54. Perhaps, however, some one might say that this passage cannot be specially applied to the Holy Spirit, had not the same Apostle Peter taught us in another place that the Holy Ghost can be tempted by our sins, for you find that the wife of Ananias is thus addressed: Why have you agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord? Acts 5:9 For the Spirit of the Lord is the very Spirit of God; for there is one Holy Spirit, as also the Apostle Paul taught, saying: But you are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwells in you. But if any man has not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His. Romans 8:9 He first mentioned the Spirit of God and immediately adds that the Same is the Spirit of Christ. And having spoken of the Spirit, that we might understand that where the Holy Spirit is there is Christ, he added: But if Christ be in you. Romans 8:10

55. Then, in the same way as we here understand that where the Spirit is there also is Christ; so also, elsewhere, he shows that where Christ is, there also is the Holy Spirit. For having said: Do you seek a proof of Christ Who speaks in me? 2 Corinthians 13:3 he says elsewhere: For I think that I also have the Spirit of God. 1 Corinthians 7:40 The Unity, then, is inseparable,

for by the testimony of Scripture where either the Father or the Son or the Holy Spirit is designated, there is all the fullness of the Trinity.

56. But Peter himself in the instance we have brought forward spoke first of the Holy Spirit, and then called Him the Spirit of the Lord, for you read as follows: Ananias, why has Satan filled your heart to lie to the Holy Spirit, and to deal fraudulently concerning the price of the field? While it remained did it not continue your own, and when sold was it not in your power? Why have you conceived this wickedness in your heart? You have not lied unto men but unto God. Acts 5:3-4 And below he says to the wife: Why have you agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord? Acts 5:5

57. First, we understand that he called the Holy Spirit the Spirit of the Lord. Then, since he mentioned first the Holy Spirit and added: You have not lied unto men but unto God, you must necessarily either understand the oneness of the Godhead in the Holy Spirit, since when the Holy Spirit is tempted a lie is told to God; or, if you endeavour to exclude the oneness of the Godhead, you yourself according to the words of Scripture certainly believe Him to be God.

58. For if we understand that these expressions are used both of the Spirit and of the Father, we certainly observe the unity of truth and knowledge in God the Father and the Holy Spirit, for falsehood is discovered alike by the Holy Spirit and by God the Father. But if we have received each truth concerning the Spirit, why do you, faithless man, attempt to deny what you read? Confess, then, either the oneness of the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, or the Godhead of the Holy Spirit. Whichever you say, you will have said each in God, for both the Unity upholds the Godhead and the Godhead the Unity

CHAPTER 10.

THE DIVINITY OF the Holy Spirit is supported by a passage of St. John. This passage was, indeed, erased by heretics, but it is a vain attempt, since their faithlessness could thereby more easily be convicted. The order of the context is considered in order that this passage may be shown to refer to the Spirit. He is born of the Spirit who is born again of the same Spirit, of Whom Christ Himself is believed to have been born and born again. Again, the Godhead of the Spirit is inferred from two testimonies of St. John; and lastly, it is explained how the Spirit, the water, and the blood are called witnesses.

59. Nor does the Scripture in this place alone bear witness to the θεότης, that is, the Godhead of the Holy Spirit; but also the Lord Himself said in the Gospel: The Spirit is God. Which passage you, Arians, so expressly testify to be said concerning the Spirit, that you remove it from your copies, and would that it were from yours and not also from those of the Church! For at the time when Auxentius had seized the Church of Milan with the arms and forces of impious unbelief, the Church of Sirmium was attacked by Valens and Ursatius, when their priests [i.e. bishops] failed in faith; this falsehood and sacrilege of yours was found in the ecclesiastical books. And it may chance that you did the same in the past.

60. And you have indeed been able to blot out the letters, but could not remove the faith. That erasure betrayed you more, that erasure condemned you more; and you were not able to obliterate the truth, but that erasure blotted out your names from the book of life. Why was the passage removed, For God is a Spirit, if it did not pertain to the Spirit? For if you

will have it that the expression is used of God the Father, you, who think it should be erased, deny, in consequence, God the Father. Choose which you will, in each the snare of your own impiety will bind you if you confess yourselves to be heathen by denying either the Father or the Spirit to be God. Therefore your confession wherein you have blotted out the Word of God remains, while you fear the original.

61. You have blotted it out, indeed, in your breasts and minds, but the Word of God is not blotted out, the Holy Spirit is not blotted out, but turns away from impious minds; not grace but iniquity is blotted out; for it is written: I am He, I am He that blot out your iniquities. Isaiah 43:25 Lastly, Moses, making request for the people, says: Blot me out of Your book, if You spare not this people. Exodus 32:32 And yet he was not blotted out, because he had no iniquity, but grace flowed forth.

62. You are, then, convicted by your own confession that you cannot say it was done with wisdom but with cunning. For by cunning you know that you are convicted by the evidence of that passage, and that your arguments cannot apply against that testimony. For whence else could the meaning of that place be derived, since the whole tenour of the passage is concerning the Spirit?

63. Nicodemus enquires about regeneration, and the Lord replies: Verily, verily, I say unto you, except a man be born again by water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. John 3:5 And that He might show that there is one birth according to the flesh, and another according to the Spirit, He added: That which is born of the flesh is flesh, because it is born of the flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit, because the Spirit is God. Follow out the whole course of the passage, and you will find that God has shut out your impiety by the fullness of His statement: Marvel not, says He, that I said, You must be born again. The Spirit breathes where He

lists, and you hear His voice, but know not whence He comes or whither He goes, so is every one who is born of the Spirit. John 3:7-8

64. Who is he who is born of the Spirit, and is made Spirit, but he who is renewed in the Spirit of his mind? Ephesians 4:23 This certainly is he who is regenerated by water and the Holy Spirit, since we receive the hope of eternal life through the laver of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Spirit. Titus 3:5 And elsewhere the Apostle Peter says: You shall be baptized with the Holy Spirit. Acts 11:16 For who is he that is baptized with the Holy Spirit but he who is born again through water and the Holy Spirit? Therefore the Lord said of the Holy Spirit, Verily, verily, I say unto you, except a man be born again by water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. And therefore He declared that we are born of Him in the latter case, through Whom He said that we were born in the former. This is the sentence of the Lord; I rest on what is written, not on argument.

65. I ask, however, why, if there be no doubt that we are born again by the Holy Spirit, there should be any doubt that we are born of the Holy Spirit, since the Lord Jesus Himself was both born and born again of the Holy Spirit. And if you confess that He was born of the Holy Spirit, because you are not able to deny it, but deny that He was born again, it is great folly to confess what is peculiar to God, and deny what is common to men. And therefore that is well said to you which was said to the Jews: If I told you earthly things and you believe not, how shall you believe if I tell you heavenly things? John 3:12

66. And yet we find each passage so written in Greek, that He said not, *through* the Spirit, but *of* the Spirit. For it stands thus: ἀ μήν, ἀμήν, λέγω σοι, ἐὰν μή τις γεννηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος και Πνεύματος, that is, *of water and the Spirit.* Therefore, since one ought not to doubt that that which is born of the Spirit is written of the Holy Spirit; there is no doubt but that the Holy Spirit also is God, according to that which is written, the Spirit is God.

67. But the same Evangelist, that he might make it plain that he wrote this concerning the Holy Spirit, says elsewhere: Jesus Christ came by water and blood, not in the water only, but by water and blood. And the Spirit bears witness, because the Spirit is truth; for there are three witnesses, the Spirit, the water, and the blood; and these three are one.

68. Hear how they are witnesses: The Spirit renews the mind, the water is serviceable for the laver, and the blood refers to the price. For the Spirit made us children by adoption, the water of the sacred Font washed us, the blood of the Lord redeemed us. So we obtain one invisible and one visible testimony in a spiritual sacrament, for the Spirit Himself bears witness to our spirit. Romans 8:16 Though the fullness of the sacrament be in each, yet there is a distinction of office; so where there is distinction of office, there certainly is not equality of witness.

CHAPTER 11.

THE OBJECTION HAS been made, that the words of St. John, The Spirit is God, are to be referred to God the Father; since Christ afterwards declares that God is to be worshipped in Spirit and in truth. The answer is, first, that by the word Spirit is sometimes meant spiritual grace; next, it is shown that, if they insist that the Person of the Holy Spirit is signified by the words in Spirit, and therefore deny that adoration is due to Him, the argument tells equally against the Son; and since numberless passages prove that He is to be worshipped, we understand from this that the same rule is to be laid down as regards the Spirit. Why are we commanded to fall down before His footstool? Because by this is signified the Lord's Body, and as the Spirit was the Maker of this, it follows that He is to be worshipped, and yet it does not accordingly follow that Mary is to be worshipped. Therefore the worship of the Spirit is not done away with, but His union with the Father is expressed, when it is said that the Father is to be worshipped in Spirit, and this point is supported by similar expressions.

69. But perhaps reference may be made to the fact that in a later passage of the same book, the Lord again said that God is Spirit, but spoke of God the Father. For you have this passage in the Gospel: The hour now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in Spirit and truth, for such also does the Father seek. God is Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship in Spirit and truth. John 4:23-24 By this passage you wish not only to deny the divinity of the Holy Spirit, but also, from God being worshipped in Spirit, deduce a subjection of the Spirit.

70. To which point I will briefly answer that Spirit is often put for the grace of the Spirit, as the Apostle also said: For the Spirit Himself intercedes for us with groanings which cannot be uttered; Romans 8:26 that is, the grace of the Spirit, unless perchance you have been able to hear the groanings of the Holy Spirit. Therefore here too God is worshipped, not in the wickedness of the heart, but in the grace of the Spirit. For into a malicious soul wisdom does not enter, Wisdom 1:4 because no one can call Jesus Lord but in the Holy Spirit. 1 Corinthians 12:3 And immediately he adds: Now there are diversities of gifts. 1 Corinthians 12:4

71. Now this cannot pertain to the fullness, nor to the dividing of the Spirit; for neither does the mind of man grasp His fullness, nor is He divided into any portions of Himself; but He pours into [the soul] the gift of spiritual grace, in which God is worshipped as He is also worshipped in truth, for no one worships Him except he who drinks in the truth of His Godhead with pious affection. And he certainly does not apprehend Christ as it were personally, nor the Holy Spirit personally.

72. Or if you think that this is said as it were personally of Christ and of the Spirit, then God is worshipped in truth in like manner as He is worshipped in Spirit. There is therefore either a like subjection, which God forbid that you should believe, and the Son is not worshipped; or, which is true, there is a like grace of Unity, and the Spirit is worshipped.

73. Let us then here draw our inferences and put an end to the impious questionings of the Arians. For if they say that the Spirit is therefore not to be worshipped because God is worshipped in Spirit, let them then say that the Truth is not to be worshipped, because God is worshipped in truth. For although there be many truths, since it is written: Truths are minished from the sons of men; yet they are given by the Divine Truth, which is Christ, Who says: I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life. John 14:6 If therefore they understand the truth in this passage from custom, let them also understand

the grace of the Spirit, and there is no stumbling; or if they receive Christ as the Truth, let them deny that He is to be worshipped.

74. But they are refuted by the acts of the pious, and by the course of the Scriptures. For Mary worshipped Christ, and therefore is appointed to be the messenger of the Resurrection to the apostles, John 20:17-18 loosening the hereditary bond, and the huge offense of womankind. For this the Lord wrought mystically, that where sin had exceedingly abounded, grace might more exceedingly abound. Romans 5:20 And rightly is a woman appointed [as messenger] to men; that she who first had brought the message of sin to man should first bring the message of the grace of the Lord.

75. And the apostles worshipped; and therefore they who bore the testimony of the faith received authority as to the faith. And the angels worshipped, of whom it is written: And let all His angels worship Him. Hebrews 1:6

76. But they worship not only His Godhead but also His Footstool, as it is written: And worship His footstool, for it is holy. Or if they deny that in Christ the mysteries also of His Incarnation are to be worshipped, in which we observe as it were certain express traces of His Godhead, and certain ways of the Heavenly Word; let them read that even the apostles worshipped Him when He rose again in the glory of His Flesh. Matthew 28:17

77. Therefore if it do not at all detract from Christ, that God is worshipped in Christ, for Christ too is worshipped; it certainly also detracts nothing from the Spirit that God is worshipped in the Spirit, for the Spirit also is worshipped, as the Apostle has said: We serve the Spirit of God, Philippians 3:3 for he who serves worships also, as it is said in an earlier passage: You shall worship the Lord your God, and Him only shall you serve. Deuteronomy 6:13

78. But lest any one should perchance seem to elude the instance we have adduced, let us consider in what manner that which the prophet says, Worship His Footstool, appears to refer to the mystery of the divine Incarnation, for we must not estimate the footstool from the custom of men. For neither has God a body, neither is He other than beyond measure, that we should think a footstool was laid down as a support for His feet. And we read that nothing besides God is to be worshipped, for it is written: You shall worship the Lord your God, and Him only shall you serve. How, then, should the prophet, brought up under the Law, and instructed in the Law, give a precept against the Law? The question, then, is not unimportant, and so let us more diligently consider what the footstool is. For we read elsewhere: The heaven is My throne, and the earth the footstool of My feet. Isaiah 66:1 But the earth is not to be worshipped by us, for it is a creature of God.

79. Let us, however, see whether the prophet does not say that that earth is to be worshipped which the Lord Jesus took upon Him in assuming flesh. And so, by footstool is understood earth, but by the earth the Flesh of Christ, which we this day also adore in the mysteries, and which the apostles, as we said above, adored in the Lord Jesus; for Christ is not divided but is one; nor, when He is adored as the Son of God, is He denied to have been born of the Virgin. Since, then, the mystery of the Incarnation is to be adored, and the Incarnation is the work of the Spirit, as it is written, The Holy Spirit shall come upon you, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow you, and that Holy Thing Which shall be born of you shall be called the Son of God, Luke 1:35 without doubt the Holy Spirit also is to be adored, since He Who according to the flesh was born of the Holy Spirit is adored.

80. And let no one divert this to the Virgin Mary; Mary was the temple of God, not the God of the temple. And therefore He alone is to be

worshipped Who was working in His temple.

81. It makes, then, nothing against our argument that God is worshipped in Spirit, for the Spirit also is worshipped. Although if we consider the words themselves, what else ought we to understand in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, but the unity of the same power. For what is must worship in Spirit and in truth? If, however, you do not refer this to the grace of the Spirit, nor the true faith of conscience; but, as we said, personally (if indeed this word person is fit to express the Divine Majesty), you must take it of Christ and of the Spirit.

82. What means, then, the Father is worshipped in Christ, except that the Father is in Christ, and the Father speaks in Christ, and the Father abides in Christ. Not, indeed, as a body in a body, for God is not a body; nor as a confused mixture [*confusus in confuso*], but as the true in the true, God in God, Light in Light; as the eternal Father in the co-eternal Son. So not an ingrafting of a body is meant, but unity of power. Therefore, by unity of power, Christ is jointly worshipped in the Father when God the Father is worshipped in Christ. In like manner, then, by unity of the same power the Spirit is jointly worshipped in God, when God is worshipped in the Spirit.

83. Let us investigate the force of that word and expression more diligently, and deduce its proper meaning from other passages. You have, it is said, made them all in wisdom. Do we here understand that Wisdom was without a share in the things that were made? But all things were made by Him. John 1:3 And David says: By the Word of the Lord were the heavens established. So, then, he himself who calls the Son of God the maker even of heavenly things, has also plainly said that all things were made in the Son, that in the renewal of His works He might by no means separate the Son from the Father, but unite Him to the Father.

84. Paul, too, says: For in Him were all things created in the heavens and in the earth, visible and invisible. Colossians 1:16 Does he, then, when he

says, in Him, deny that they were made through Him? Certainly he did not deny but affirmed it. And further he says in another place: One Lord Jesus, through Whom are all things. 1 Corinthians 8:6 In saying, then, through Him, has he denied that all things were made in Him, through Whom he says that all things exist? These words, in Him and with Him, have this force, that by them is understood one and like in all respects, not contrary. Which he also made clear farther on, saying: All things have been created through Him and in Him; Colossians 1:16 for, as we said above, Scripture witnesses that these three expressions, with Him, and through Him, and in Him, are equivalent in Christ. For you read that all things were made through Him and in Him.

85. Learn also that the Father was with Him, and He with the Father, when all things were being made. Wisdom says: When He was preparing the heavens I was with Him, when He was making the fountains of waters. Proverbs 8:27 And in the Old Testament the Father, by saying, Let Us make, Genesis 1:26 showed that the Son was to be worshipped with Himself as the Maker of all things. As, then, those things are said to have been created in the Son, of which the Son is received as the Creator; so, too, when God is said to be worshipped in truth by the proper meaning of the word itself often expressed after the same manner it ought to be understood, that the Son too is worshipped. So in like manner is the Spirit also worshipped because God is worshipped in Spirit. Therefore the Father is worshipped both with the Son and with the Spirit, because the Trinity is worshipped.

CHAPTER 12.

FROM THE FACT that St. Paul has shown that the light of the Godhead which the three apostles worshipped in Christ is in the Trinity, it is made clear that the Spirit also is to be worshipped. It is shown from the words themselves that the Spirit is intended by the apostles. The Godhead of the same Spirit is proved from the fact that He has a temple wherein He dwells not as a priest, but as God: and is worshipped with the Father and the Son; whence is understood the oneness of nature in Them.

86. But does any one deny that the Godhead of the eternal Trinity is to be worshipped? Whereas the Scriptures also express the inexplicable Majesty of the Divine Trinity, as the Apostle says elsewhere: Since God, Who said that light should shine out of darkness, shined in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. 2 Corinthians 4:6

87. The apostles truly saw this glory, when the Lord Jesus on the mount shone with the light of His Godhead: The apostles, it says, saw it and fell on their face. Matthew 17:6 Do not you think that they even, as they fell, worshipped, when they could not with their bodily eyes endure the brightness of the divine splendour, and the glory of eternal light dulled the keenness of mortal sight? Or what else did they who saw His glory say at that time, except, O come let us worship and fall down before Him? For God shined in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. 2 Corinthians 4:6

88. Who is He, then, Who shined that we might know God in the face of Jesus Christ? For he said, God shined, that the glory of God might be

known in the face of Jesus Christ. Whom else do we think but the manifested Spirit? Or who else is there besides the Holy Spirit to Whom the power of the Godhead may be referred? For they who exclude the Spirit must necessarily bring in another, who may with the Father and the Son receive the glory of the Godhead.

89. Let us then go back to the same words: It is God Who shined in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. You have Christ plainly set forth. For Whose glory is said to give light but that of the Spirit? So, then, he set forth God Himself, since he spoke of the glory of God; if of the Father, it remains that He who said that light should shine out of darkness, and shine in our hearts, be understood to be the Holy Spirit, for we cannot venerate any other with the Father and the Son. If, then, you understand the Spirit, Him also has the Apostle called God; it is necessary, then, that you also confess the Godhead of the Spirit, who now deny it.

90. But how shamelessly do you deny this, since you have read that the Holy Spirit has a temple. For it is written: You are the temple of God, and the Holy Spirit dwells in you. 1 Corinthians 3:16 Now God has a temple, a creature has no true temple. But the Spirit, Who dwells in us, has a temple. For it is written: Your members are temples of the Holy Spirit. 1 Corinthians 6:19

91. But He does not dwell in the temple as a priest, nor as a minister, but as God, since the Lord Jesus Himself said: I will dwell in them, and will walk among them, and will be their God, and they shall be My people. Leviticus 26:12 And David says: The Lord is in His holy temple. Therefore the Spirit dwells in His holy temple, as the Father dwells and as the Son dwells, Who says: I and the Father will come, and will make Our abode with him. John 14:23

92. But the Father abides in us through the Spirit, Whom He has given us. How, then, can different natures abide together? Certainly it is impossible. But the Spirit abides with the Father and the Son. Whence, too, the Apostle joined the Communion of the Holy Spirit with the grace of Jesus Christ and the love of God, saying: The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the Communion of the Holy Spirit be with you all. 2 Corinthians 13:14

91. We observe, then, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit abide in one and the same [subject] through the oneness of the same nature. Therefore, He Who dwells in the temple has divine power, for as of the Father and of the Son, so are we also the temple of the Holy Spirit; not many temples, but one temple, for it is the temple of one Power.

CHAPTER 13.

TO THOSE WHO object that Catholics, when they ascribe Godhead to the Holy Spirit, introduce three Gods, it is answered, that by the same argument they themselves bring in two Gods, unless they deny Godhead to the Son; after which the orthodox doctrine is set forth.

92. But what do you fear? Is it that which you have been accustomed to carp at? Lest you should make three Gods. God forbid; for where the Godhead is understood as one, one God is spoken of. For neither when we call the Son God do we say there are two Gods. For if, when you confess the Godhead of the Spirit, you think that three Gods are spoken of, then, too, when you speak of the Godhead of the Son because you are not able to deny it, you bring in two Gods. For it is necessary according to your opinion, if you think that God is the name of one person, not of one nature, that you either say that there are two Gods, or deny that the Son is God.

93. But let us free you from the charge of ignorance, though we do not excuse you from fault. For according to our opinion, because there is one God, one Godhead and oneness of power is understood. For as we say that there is one God, confessing the Father, and not denying the Son under the true Name of the Godhead; so, too, we exclude not the Holy Spirit from the Unity of the Godhead, and do not assert but deny that there are three Gods, because it is not unity but a division of power which makes plurality. For how can the Unity of the Godhead admit of plurality, seeing that plurality is of numbers, but the Divine Nature does not admit numbers?

CHAPTER 14.

BESIDES THE EVIDENCE adduced above, other passages can be brought to prove the sovereignty of the Three Persons. Two are quoted from the Epistles to the Thessalonians, and by collating other testimonies of the Scriptures it is shown that in them dominion is claimed for the Spirit as for the other Persons. Then, by quotation of another still more express passage in the second Epistle to the Corinthians, it is inferred both that the Spirit is Lord, and that where the Lord is, there is the Spirit.

94. God, then, is One, without violation of the majesty of the eternal Trinity, as is declared in the instance set before us. And not in that place alone do we see the Trinity expressed in the Name of the Godhead; but both in many places, as we have said also above, and especially in the epistles which the Apostle wrote to the Thessalonians, he most clearly set forth the Godhead and sovereignty of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. For you read as follows: The Lord make you to increase and abound in love one toward another, and toward all men, as we also do toward you, to the establishing of your hearts without blame in holiness before God and our Father at the coming of the Lord Jesus. 1 Thessalonians 3:12-13

95. Who, then, is the Lord Who makes us to increase and abound before God and our Father at the coming of the Lord Jesus? He has named the Father and has named the Son; Whom, then, has he joined with the Father and the Son except the Spirit? Who is the Lord Who establishes our hearts in holiness. For holiness is a grace of the Spirit, as, too, is said farther on: In holiness of the Spirit and belief of the truth. 2 Thessalonians 2:13

96. Who, then, do you think is here named Lord, except the Spirit? And has not God the Father been able to teach you, Who says: Upon Whomsoever you shall see the Spirit descending and abiding upon Him, this is He Who baptizes in the Holy Spirit? John 1:33 For the Spirit descended in the likeness of a dove, Luke 3:22 that He might both bear witness to His wisdom, and perfect the sacrament of the spiritual laver, and show that His working is one with that of the Father and the Son.

97. And that you should not suppose that anything had fallen from the Apostle by oversight, but that he knowingly and designedly and inspired by the Spirit designated Him Lord, Whom he felt to be God, he repeated the same in the second Epistle to the Thessalonians, saying: But the Lord direct your hearts in the love of God and in the patience of Christ. 2 Thessalonians 3:5 If love be of God and patience of Christ, it ought to be shown Who is the Lord Who directs, if we deny that the direction is of the Holy Spirit.

98. But we cannot deny it, since the Lord said of Him: I have yet many things to say unto you, but you cannot bear them now. But when He, the Spirit of Truth, shall come, He will lead you into all truth. John 16:12-13 And David says of Him: Your good Spirit shall lead me into the right way.

99. See what the voice of the Lord uttered concerning the Holy Spirit. The Son of God came, and because He had not yet shed forth the Spirit, He declared that we were living like little children without the Spirit. He said that the Spirit was to come Who should make of these little children stronger men, by an increase, namely, of spiritual age. And this He laid down not that He might set the power of the Spirit in the first place, but that He might show that the fullness of strength consists in the knowledge of the Trinity.

100. It is therefore necessary either that you mention some fourth person besides the Spirit of whom you ought to be conscious, or assuredly that you

do not consider another to be Lord, except the Spirit Who has been pointed out.

101. But if you require the plain statement of the words in which Scripture has spoken of the Spirit as Lord, it cannot have escaped you that it is written: Now the Lord is the Spirit. 2 Corinthians 3:17 Which the course of the whole passage shows to have been certainly said of the Holy Spirit. And so let us consider the apostolic statement: As often as Moses is read, says he, a veil is laid over their heart; but when they shall be turned to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away. Now the Lord is the Spirit; but where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. 2 Corinthians 3:15-17

102. So he not only called the Spirit Lord, but also added: But where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. So we all with unveiled face, reflecting the glory of the Lord, are formed anew into the same image from glory to glory, as from the Lord the Spirit; 2 Corinthians 3:17-18 that is, we who have been before converted to the Lord, so as by spiritual understanding to see the glory of the Lord, as it were, in the mirror of the Scriptures, are now being transformed from that glory which converted us to the Lord, to the heavenly glory. Therefore since it is the Lord to Whom we are converted, but the Lord is that Spirit by Whom we are formed anew, who are converted to the Lord, assuredly the Holy Ghost is pointed out, for He Who forms anew receives those who are converted. For how should He form again those whom He had not received.

103. Though why should we seek for the expression of words, where we see the expression of unity? For although you may distinguish between Lord and Spirit, you cannot deny that where the Lord is, there too is the Spirit, and he who has been converted to the Lord will have been converted to the Spirit. If you cavil at the letter, you cannot injure the Unity; if you wish to separate the Unity, you confess the Spirit Himself as the Lord of power.

CHAPTER 15.

THOUGH THE SPIRIT be called Lord, three Lords are not thereby implied; inasmuch as two Lords are not implied by the fact that the Son in the same manner as the Father is called Lord in many passages of Scripture; for Lordship exists in the Godhead, and the Godhead in Lordship, and these coincide without division in the Three Persons.

104. But perhaps, again, you may say: If I call the Spirit Lord, I shall set forth three Lords. Do you then when you call the Son Lord either deny the Son or confess two Lords? God forbid, for the Son Himself said: Do not serve two lords. Matthew 6:24 But certainly He denied not either Himself or the Father to be Lord; for He called the Father Lord, as you read: I thank You, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth. Matthew 11:25 And the Lord spoke of Himself, as we read in the Gospel: You call Me Master and Lord, and you do well, for so I am. John 13:13 But He spoke not of two Lords; indeed He shows that He did not speak of two Lords, when He warns them: Do not serve two lords. For there are not two Lords where the Lordship is but one, for the Father is in the Son and the Son in the Father, and so there is one Lord.

105. Such, too, was the teaching of the Law: Hear, O Israel, the Lord your God is one Lord, Deuteronomy 6:4 that is, unchangeable, always abiding in unity of power, always the same, and not altered by any accession or diminution. Therefore Moses called Him One, and yet also relates that the Lord rained down fire from the Lord. Genesis 19:24 The Apostle, too, says: The Lord grant unto him to find mercy of the Lord. 2 Timothy 1:18 The Lord rains down from the Lord; the Lord grants mercy

from the Lord. The Lord is neither divided when He rains from the Lord, nor is there a separation when He grants mercy from the Lord, but in each case the oneness of the Lordship is expressed.

106. In the Psalms, too, you find: The Lord said to my Lord. And he did not therefore deny that the Father was his Lord, because he spoke of the Son as his Lord; but therefore called the Son his Lord, that you might not think Him to be the Son, but the Lord of the prophet, as the Lord Himself showed in the Gospel, when He said: If David in the Spirit called Him Lord, how is he his Son? Matthew 22:43, 45 David, not the Spirit, calls Him Lord in the Spirit. Or if they falsely infer from this that the Spirit called Him Lord, they must necessarily by a like sacrilege seem to assert that the Son of God is also the Son of the Spirit.

107. So, as we do not say that there are two Lords, when we so style both the Father and the Son, so, too, we do not say that there are three Lords, when we confess the Spirit to be Lord. For as it is profane to say that there are three Lords or three Gods, so, too, is it utter profanity to speak of two Lords or two Gods; for there is one God, one Lord, one Holy Spirit; and He Who is God is Lord, and He Who is Lord is God, for the Godhead is in the Lordship, and the Lordship is in the Godhead.

108. Lastly, you have read that the Father is both Lord and God: O Lord my God, I will call upon You, hear me. You find the Son to be both Lord and God, as you have read in the Gospel, that, when Thomas had touched the side of Christ, he said, My Lord and my God. John 20:28 So in like manner as the Father is God and the Son Lord, so too the Son is God and the Father Lord. The holy designation changes from one to the other, the divine nature changes not, but the dignity remains unchangeable. For they are not [as it were] contributions gathered from bounty, but free-will gifts of natural love; for both Unity has its special property, and the special properties are bound together in unity.

CHAPTER 16.

THE FATHER IS holy, and likewise the Son and the Spirit, and so They are honoured in the same Trisagion: nor can we speak more worthily of God than by calling Him Holy; whence it is clear that we must not derogate from the dignity of the Holy Spirit. In Him is all which pertains to God, since in baptism He is named with the Father and the Son, and the Father has given to Him to be greater than all, nor can any one deprive Him of this. And so from the very passage of St. John which heretics used against His dignity, the equality of the Trinity and the Unity of the Godhead is established. Lastly, after explaining how the Son receives from the Father, St. Ambrose shows how various heresies are refuted by the passage cited.

109. So, then, the Father is holy, the Son is holy, and the Spirit is holy, but they are not three Holies; for there is one Holy God, one Lord. For the true holiness is one, as the true Godhead is one, as that true holiness belonging to the Divine Nature is one.

110. So everything which we esteem holy proclaims that Sole Holiness. Cherubim and Seraphim with unwearied voices praise Him and say: Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord God of Sabaoth. Isaiah 6:3 They say it, not once, lest you should believe that there is but one; not twice, lest you should exclude the Spirit; they say not holies [in the plural], lest you should imagine that there is plurality, but they repeat thrice and say the same word, that even in a hymn you may understand the distinction of Persons in the Trinity, and the oneness of the Godhead and while they say this they proclaim God.

111. We too find nothing of more worth, whereby we are able to proclaim God, than the calling Him holy. Everything is too low for God, too low for the Lord. And therefore consider from this fact also whether one ought at all to derogate from the Holy Spirit, whose Name is the praise of God. For thus is the Father praised, thus is the Son also praised, in the same manner as the Spirit also is named and praised. The Seraphim utter praise, the whole company of the blessed utter praise, inasmuch as they call God holy, the Son holy, the Spirit holy.

112. How, then, does He not possess all that pertains to God, Who is named by priests in baptism with the Father and the Son, and is invoked in the oblations, is proclaimed by the Seraphim in heaven with the Father and the Son, dwells in the Saints with the Father and the Son, is poured upon the just, is given as the source of inspiration to the prophets? And for this reason in the divine Scripture all is called θεόπνευστος, because God inspires what the Spirit has spoken.

113. Or if they are unwilling to allow that the Holy Spirit has all things which pertain to God, and can do all things, let them say what He has not, and what He cannot do. For like as the Son has all things, and the Father grudges not to give all things to the Son according to His nature, having given to Him that which is greater than all, as the Scripture bears witness, saying: That which My Father has given unto Me is greater than all. John 10:29 So too the Spirit has of Christ that which is greater than all, because righteousness knows not grudging.

114. So, then, if we attend diligently, we comprehend here also the oneness of the Divine Power. He says: That which My Father has given unto Me is greater than all, and no one is able to snatch them out of My Father’s hand. I and the Father are One. John 10:29-30 For if we rightly showed above that the Holy Spirit is the Hand of the Father, the same is certainly the Hand of the Father which is the Hand of the Son, since the

Same is the Spirit of the Father Who is the Spirit of the Son. Therefore whosoever of us receives eternal life in this Name of the Trinity, as he is not torn from the Father; so he is not torn from the Son, so too he is not torn from the Spirit.

115. Again, from the very fact that the Father is said to have given to the Son, and the Spirit to have received from the Son, as it is written: He shall glorify Me, for He shall take of Mine, and shall declare it unto you John 16:14 (which He seems to have said rather of the office of distributing, than of the prerogative of Divine Power, for those whom the Son redeemed the Spirit also, Who was to sanctify them, received), from those very words, I say, from which they construct their sophistry, the Unity of the Godhead is perceived, not the need of a gift.

116. The Father gave by begetting, not by adoption; He gave as it were that which was contained in the very prerogative of the Divine Nature, not what was lacking as it were by favour of His bounty. And so because the Son acquires persons to Himself as the Father does; so gives life as does the Father, He expressed His equality with the Father in the Unity of Power, saying: I and the Father are One. For when He says, I and the Father, equality is revealed; when He says, are One, Unity is asserted. Equality excludes confusion; Unity excludes separation. Equality distinguishes between the Father and the Son; Unity does not separate the Father and the Son.

117. Therefore, when He says, I and the Father, He rejects the Sabellian, for He says that He is one, the Father another; He rejects the Photinian, for He joins Himself with God the Father. With the former words He rejects those, for He said: I and the Father; with the latter words He rejects the Arians, for He says: are One. Yet in both the former and the latter words He refutes the heretical violence (1) of the Sabellians, for He said: We are One [Substance], not We are One [Person]. And (2) of the Arians, for He said: I

and the Father, not the Father and I. Which was certainly not a sign of rudeness, but of dutifulness and foreknowledge, that we might not think wrongly from the order of the words. For unity knows no order, equality knows no gradation; nor can it be laid to the Son of God that the Teacher Himself of dutifulness should offend against dutifulness by rudeness.

CHAPTER 17.

ST. AMBROSE SHOWS by instances that the places in which those words were spoken help to the understanding of the words of the Lord; he shows that Christ uttered the passage quoted from St. John in Solomon's porch, by which is signified the mind of a wise man, for he says that Christ would not have uttered this saying in the heart of a foolish or contentious man. He goes on to say that Christ is stoned by those who believe not these words, and as the keys of heaven were given to Peter for his confession of them, so Iscariot, because he believed not the same, perished evilly. He takes this opportunity to inveigh against the Jews who bought the Son of God and sold Joseph. He explains the price paid for each mystically; and having in the same manner expounded the murmuring of the traitor concerning Magdalene's ointment, he adds that Christ is bought in one way by heretics in another way by Catholics, and that those in vain take to themselves the name of Christians who sever the Spirit from the Father.

118. It is worth while to notice in what place the Lord held this discussion, for His utterances are often [better] estimated by the kind of places in which He conversed. When about to fast, He is led (as we read) into the wilderness to render vain the devil's temptations. For although it deserves praise to have lived temperately in the midst of abundance, yet the enticements of temptation are more frequent among riches and pleasures. Then the tempter, in order to try Him, promises Him abundance, and the Lord in order to overcome cherishes hunger. Now I do not deny that temperance can exist in the midst of riches; but although he who navigates

the sea often escapes, yet he is more exposed to peril than he who will not go to sea.

119. Let us consider some other points. When about to promise the kingdom of heaven, Jesus went up into a mountain. At another time He leads His disciples through the grain-fields, when about to sow in their minds the crop of heavenly precepts, so that a plentiful harvest of souls should ripen. When about to consummate the work of the flesh which He had taken, having now seen perfection in His disciples, whom He had established upon the root of His words, He enters a garden, that He might plant the young olive-trees in the house of the Lord, and that He might water the just flourishing like a palm-tree, and the fruitful vine with the stream of His Blood.

120. In this passage too He was walking, as we read, in Solomon's porch on the day of the dedication, that is, Christ was walking in the breast of the wise and prudent, to dedicate his good affection to Himself. What that porch was the prophet teaches, saying: I will walk in the midst of Your house in the innocency of my heart. So, then, we have in our own selves the house of God, we have the halls, we have also the porches, and we have the courts, for it is written: Let your waters flow abroad in your courts. Proverbs 5:16 Open, then, this porch of your heart to the Word of God, Who says to you: Open your mouth wide and I will fill it.

121. Let us, therefore, hear what the Word of God, walking in the heart of the wise and peaceful, says: I and My Father are One. John 10:30 He will not say this in the breast of the unquiet and foolish, for the natural man receives not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him. 2 Corinthians 2:14 The narrow breasts of sinners do not take in the greatness of the faith. Lastly, the Jews hearing, I and the Father are One, took up stones to stone Him. John 10:31

122. He who cannot listen to this is a Jew; he who cannot listen to this stones Christ with the stones of his treachery, rougher than any rock, and if you believe me, he wounds Christ. For although He cannot now feel a wound: For now henceforth we know not Christ after the flesh, 2 Corinthians 5:16 yet He Who rejoices in the love of the Church is stoned by the impiety of the Arians.

123. The law of Your mouth, O Lord, is good unto me, I keep Your commandments. You have Yourself said that You are one with the Father. Because Peter believed this, he received the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and without anxiety for himself forgave sins. Judas, because he believed not this, strangled himself with the cord of his own wickedness. O the hard stones of unbelieving words! O the unseemly cord of the betrayer, and the still more hideous purchase-money of the Jews! O hateful money wherewith either the just is bought for death, or sold! Joseph was sold, Jesus Christ was bought, the one to slavery, the Other to death. O detestable inheritance, O deadly sale, which either sells a brother to suffering or sets a price on the Lord to destroy Him, the Purchaser of the salvation of all.

124. The Jews did violence to two things which are chief of all, faith and duty, and in each to Christ the Author of faith and duty. For both in the patriarch Joseph was there a type of Christ, and Christ Himself came in the truth of His Body, Who counted it not robbery that He should be equal with God, but took on Him the form of a servant, Philippians 2:6-7 because of our fall, that is to say, taking slavery upon Himself and not shrinking from suffering.

125. In one place the sale is for twenty pieces, in the other for thirty. For how could His true price be apprehended, Whose value cannot be limited? There is error in the price because there is error in the inquiry. The sale is for twenty pieces in the Old Testament, for thirty in the New; for the Truth is of more value than the type, Grace is more generous than training, the

Presence is better than the Law, for the Law promised the Coming, the Coming fulfilled the Law.

126. The Ishmaelites made their purchase for twenty pieces, the Jews for thirty. And this is no trivial figure. The faithless are more lavish for iniquity than the faithful for salvation. It is, however, fitting to consider the quality of each agreement. Twenty pieces are the price of him sold to slavery, thirty pieces of Him delivered to the Cross. For although the Mysteries of the Incarnation and of the Passion must be in like manner matters of amazement, yet the fulfilment of faith is in the Mystery of the Passion. I do not indeed value less the birth from the Holy Virgin, but I receive even more gratefully the Mystery of the sacred Body. What is more full of mercy than that He should forgive me the wrongs done to Himself? But it is even fuller measure that He gave us so great a gift, that He Who was not to die because He was God, should die by our death, that we might live by His Spirit.

127. Lastly, it was not without meaning that Judas Iscariot valued that ointment at three hundred pence, which seems certainly by the statement of the price itself to set forth the Lord's cross. Whence, too, the Lord says: For she, pouring this ointment on My body, did it for My burial. Matthew 26:12 Why, then, did Judas value this at so high a rate? Because remission of sins is of more value to sinners, and forgiveness seems to be more precious. Lastly, you find it written: To whom much is forgiven the same loves more. Luke 7:47 Therefore sinners themselves also confess the grace of the Lord's Passion which they have lost, and they bear witness to Christ who persecuted Him.

128. Or because, into a malicious soul wisdom does not enter, Wisdom 1:4 the evil disposition of the traitor uttered this, and he valued the suffering of the Lord's body at a dearer rate, that by the immensity of the price he might draw all away from the faith. And therefore the Lord offered Himself

without price, that the necessity of poverty might hold no one back from Christ. The patriarchs sold Him for a small price that all might buy. Isaiah said: You that have no money go buy and drink; eat ye without money, Isaiah 55:1 that he might gain him who had no money. O traitor Judas, you value the ointment of His Passion at three hundred pence, and sell His Passion for thirty pence. Profuse in valuing, mean in selling.

129. So, then, all do not buy Christ at the same price; Photinus, who buys Him for death, buys Him at one price; the Arian, who buys Him to wrong Him, at another price; the Catholic, who buys Him to glorify Him, at another. But he buys Him without money according to that which is written: He that has no money let him buy without price. Isaiah 55:1-2

130. Not all, says Christ, that say unto Me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven! Matthew 7:21 Although many call themselves Christians, and make use of the name, yet not all shall receive the reward. Both Cain offered sacrifice, and Judas received the kiss, but it was said to him, Judas, do you betray the Son of Man with a kiss? Luke 22:48 that is, you fill up your wickedness with the pledge of affection, and sow hatred with the implement of peace, and inflict death with the outward token of love.

131. Let not, then, the Arians flatter themselves with the employment of the name, because they call themselves Christians. The Lord will answer them: You set forward My Name, and deny My Substance, but I do not recognize My Name where My eternal Godhead is not. That is not My Name which is divided from the Father, and separated from the Spirit; I do not recognize My Name where I do not recognize My doctrine; I do not recognize My Name where I do not recognize My Spirit. For he knows not that he is comparing the Spirit of the Father to those servants whom He created. Concerning which point we have already spoken at length.

CHAPTER 18.

AS HE PURPOSES to establish the Godhead of the Holy Spirit by the points already discussed, St. Ambrose touches again on some of them; for instance, that He does not commit but forgives sin; that He is not a creature but the Creator; and lastly, that He does not offer but receives worship.

132. But to sum up, in order at the end more distinctly to gather up the arguments which have been used here and there, the evident glory of the Godhead is proved both by other arguments, and most especially by these four. God is known by these marks: either that He is without sin; or that He forgives sin; or that He is not a creature but the Creator; or that He does not give but receives worship.

133. So, then, no one is without sin except God alone, for no one is without sin except God. Matthew 19:17 Also, no one forgives sins except God alone, for it is also written: Who can forgive sins but God alone? Luke 5:21 And one cannot be the Creator of all except he be not a creature, and he who is not a creature is without doubt God; for it is written: They worshipped the creature rather than the Creator, Who is God blessed forever. Romans 1:25 God also does not worship, but is worshipped, for it is written: You shall worship the Lord your God, and Him only shall you serve. Deuteronomy 6:13

134. Let us therefore consider whether the Holy Spirit have any of these marks which may bear witness to His Godhead. And first let us treat of the point that none is without sin except God alone, and demand that they prove that the Holy Spirit has sin.

135. But they are unable to show us this, and demand our authority from us, namely, that we should show by texts that the Holy Spirit has not sinned, as it is said of the Son that He did no sin. 1 Peter 2:22 Let them learn that we teach by authority of the Scriptures; for it is written: For in Wisdom is a Spirit of understanding, holy, one only, manifold, subtle, easy to move, eloquent, undefiled. Wisdom 7:22 The Scripture says He is undefiled, has it lied concerning the Son, that you should believe it to have lied concerning the Spirit? For the prophet said in the same place concerning Wisdom, that nothing that defiles enters into her. She herself is undefiled, and her Spirit is undefiled. Therefore if the Spirit have not sin, He is God.

136. But how can He be guilty of sin Who Himself forgives sins? Therefore He has not committed sin, and if He be without sin He is not a creature. For every creature is exposed to the capability of sin, and the eternal Godhead alone is free from sin and undefiled.

137. Let us now see whether the Spirit forgives sins. But on this point there can be no doubt, since the Lord Himself said: Receive the Holy Spirit. Whosesoever sins you forgive they shall be forgiven. John 20:22 See that sins are forgiven through the Holy Spirit. But men make use of their ministry for the forgiveness of sins, they do not exercise the right of any power of their own. For they forgive sins not in their own name but in that of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. They ask, the Godhead gives, the service is of man, the gift is of the Power on high.

138. And it is not doubtful that sin is forgiven by means of baptism, but in baptism the operation is that of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. If, therefore, the Spirit forgives sin, since it is written, Who can forgive sins except God alone? Mark 2:7 certainly He Who cannot be separated from the oneness of the name of the Nature is also incapable of being severed from the power of God. Now if He is not severed from the power of God, how is He severed from the name of God.

139. Let us now see whether He be a creature or the Creator. But since we have above most clearly proved Him to be the Creator, as it is written: The Spirit of God Who has made me; Job 33:4 and it has been declared that the face of the earth is renewed by the Spirit, and that all things languish without the Spirit, it is clear that the Spirit is the Creator. But who can doubt this, since, as we have shown above, not even the generation of the Lord from the Virgin, which is more excellent than all creatures, is without the operation of the Spirit?

140. Therefore the Spirit is not a creature, but the Creator, and He Who is Creator is certainly not a creature. And because He is not a creature, without doubt He is the Creator Who produces all things together with the Father and the Son. But if He be the Creator, certainly the Apostle, by saying in condemnation of the Gentiles, Who served the creature rather than the Creator, Who is God blessed for ever, Romans 1:25 and by warning men, as I said above, that the Holy Spirit is to be served, both showed Him to be the Creator, and because He is the Creator demonstrated that He ought to be called God. Which he also sums up in the Epistle written to the Hebrews, saying: For He that created all things is God. Hebrews 3:4 Let them, therefore, either say what it is which has been created without the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, or let them confess that the Spirit also is of one Godhead with the Father and the Son.

141. The writer taught also that He was to be worshipped, Whom he called Lord and God. For He Who is the God and Lord of the Universe is certainly to be worshipped by all, for it is thus written: You shall worship the Lord your God, and Him only shall you serve. Deuteronomy 6:13

142. Or let them say where they have read that the Spirit worships. For it is said of the Son of God: Let all the Angels of God worship Him; Hebrews 1:6 we do not read, Let the Spirit worship Him. For how can He worship Who is not among servants and ministers, but, together with the Father and

the Son, has the service of the just under Him, for it is written: We serve the Spirit of God. Philippians 3:3 He is, therefore, to be worshipped by us, Whom the Apostle taught that we must serve, and Whom we serve we also adore, according to that which is written, to repeat the same words again: You shall worship the Lord your God, and Him only shall you serve.

143. Although the Apostle has not omitted even this point, so as to omit to teach us that the Spirit is to be worshipped. For since we have demonstrated that the Spirit is in the prophets, no one can doubt that prophecy is given by the Spirit, and plainly when He Who is in the prophets is worshipped, the same Spirit is worshipped. And so you find: If the whole Church be assembled together, and all speak with tongues, and there come in one unlearned or unbelieving, will he not say that you are mad? But if all prophesy, and there come in one unlearned and unbelieving, he is convicted by all, he is judged by all. For the secrets of his heart are made manifest, and so falling down on his face he will worship God, declaring that God is in truth among you. 1 Corinthians 14:23-25 It is, therefore, God Who is worshipped, God Who abides and Who speaks in the prophets; but the Spirit thus abides and speaks, therefore, also, the Spirit is worshipped.

CHAPTER 19.

HAVING PROVED ABOVE that the Spirit abides and speaks in the prophets, St. Ambrose infers that He knows all things which are of God, and therefore is One with the Father and the Son. This same point he establishes again from the fact that He possesses all that God possesses, namely, Godhead, knowledge of the heart, truth, a Name above every name, and power to raise the dead, as is proved from Ezekiel, and in this He is equal to the Son.

144. And so as the Father and the Son are One, because the Son has all things which the Father has, so too the Spirit is one with the Father and the Son, because He too knows all the things of God. For He did not obtain it by force, so that there should be any injury as of one who had suffered loss; He did not seize it, lest the loss should be his from whom it might seem to have been plundered. For neither did He seize it through need, nor through superiority of greater power did He take it by force, but He possesses it by unity of power. Therefore, if He works all these things, for one and the same Spirit works all, 1 Corinthians 12:11 how is He not God Who has all things which God has?

145. Or let us consider what God may have which the Holy Spirit has not. God the Father has Godhead, and the Son, too, in Whom dwells the fullness of the Godhead, has it, and the Spirit has it, for it is written: The Spirit of God is in my nostrils. Job 27:3

146. God, again, searches the hearts and reins, for it is written: God searches the hearts and reins. The Son also has this power, Who said, Why do you think evil in your hearts? Matthew 9:4 For Jesus knew their thoughts. And the Spirit has the same power, Who manifests to the prophets

also the secrets of the hearts of others, as we said above: for the secrets of his heart are made manifest. And why do we wonder if He searches the hidden things of man Who searches even the deep things of God?

147. God has as an attribute that He is true for it is written: Let God be true and every man a liar. Romans 3:4 Does the Spirit lie Who is the Spirit of Truth? John 16:13 and Whom we have shown to be called the Truth, since John called Him too the Truth, as also the Son? And David says in the psalm: Send out Your light and Your truth, they have led me and brought me to Your holy hill and to Your tabernacles. If you consider that in this passage the Son is the light, then the Spirit is the Truth, or if you consider the Son to be the Truth, then the Spirit is the light.

148. God has a Name which is above every name, and has given a name to the Son, as we read that in the Name of Jesus knees should bow. Let us consider whether the Spirit has this Name. But it is written Go, baptize the nations in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Matthew 28:19 He has, then, a Name above every name. What, therefore, the Father and the Son have, the Holy Spirit also has through the oneness of the Name of His nature.

149. It is a prerogative of God to raise the dead. For as the Father raises the dead and quickens them, so the Son also quickens whom He will. John 5:21 But the Spirit also (by Whom God raises) raises them, for it is written: He shall quicken also your mortal bodies through His Spirit that dwells in you. Romans 8:11 But that you may not think this a trivial grace, learn that the Spirit also raises, for the prophet Ezekiel says: Come, O Spirit, and breathe upon these dead, and they shall live. And I prophesied as He commanded me, and the Spirit of life entered into them, and they lived, and stood up on their feet an exceeding great company. Ezekiel 37:9-10 And farther on God says: You shall know that I am the Lord, when I shall open

your graves, that I may bring My people out of their graves, and I will give you My Spirit, and you shall live. Ezekiel 37:13-14

150. When He spoke of His Spirit, did He mention any other besides the Holy Spirit? For He would neither have spoken of His Spirit as produced by blowing, nor could this Spirit come from the four quarters of the world, for the blowing of these winds, which we experience, is partial, not universal; and this spirit by which we live is also individual, not universal. But it is the nature of the Holy Spirit to be both over all and in all. Therefore from the words of the prophet we may see how (the frame-work of the members long since fallen asunder being scattered) the bones may come together again to the form of a revived body, when the Spirit quickens them; and the ashes may come together on the limbs belonging to them, animated by a disposition to come together before being formed anew in the appearance of living.

151. Do we not in the likeness of what is done recognize the oneness of the divine power? The Spirit raises after the same manner as the Lord raised at the time of His own Passion, when suddenly in the twinkling of an eye the graves of the dead were opened, and the bodies living again arose from the tombs, and the smell of death being removed, and the scent of life restored, the ashes of those who were dead took again the likeness of the living.

152. So, then, the Spirit has that which Christ has, and therefore what God has, for all things which the Father has the Son also has, and therefore He said: All things which the Father has are Mine. John 16:15

CHAPTER 20.

THE RIVER FLOWING from the Throne of God is a figure of the Holy Spirit, but by the waters spoken of by David the powers of heaven are intended. The kingdom of God is the work of the Spirit; and it is no matter for wonder if He reigns in this together with the Son, since St. Paul promises that we too shall reign with the Son.

153. And this, again, is not a trivial matter that we read that a river goes forth from the throne of God. For you read the words of the Evangelist John to this purport: And He showed me a river of living water, bright as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb. In the midst of the street thereof, and on either side, was the tree of life, bearing twelve kinds of fruits, yielding its fruit every month, and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of all nations. Revelation 22:1-2

154. This is certainly the River proceeding from the throne of God, that is, the Holy Spirit, Whom he drinks who believes in Christ, as He Himself says: If any man thirst, let him come to Me and drink. He that believes in Me, as says the Scripture, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water. But this spoke He of the Spirit. John 7:37-38 Therefore the river is the Spirit.

155. This, then, is in the throne of God, for the water washes not the throne of God. Then, whatever you may understand by that water, David said not that it was above the throne of God, but above the heavens, for it is written: Let the waters which are above the heavens praise the Name of the Lord. Let *them* praise, he says, not let *it* praise. For if he had intended us to

understand the element of water, he would certainly have said, Let it praise, but by using the plural he intended the Powers to be understood.

156. And what wonder is it if the Holy Spirit is in the throne of God, since the kingdom of God itself is the work of the Holy Spirit, as it is written: For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit. Romans 14:17 And when the Saviour Himself says, Every kingdom divided against itself shall be destroyed, Matthew 12:25 by adding afterwards, But if I, by the Spirit of God, cast out devils, without doubt the kingdom of God has come upon you, Matthew 12:27 He shows that the kingdom of God is held undivided by Himself and by the Spirit.

157. But what is more foolish than for any one to deny that the Holy Spirit reigns together with Christ when the Apostle says that even we shall reign together with Christ in the kingdom of Christ: If we are dead with Him, we shall also live with Him; if we endure, we shall also reign with Him. 2 Timothy 2:11-12 But we by adoption, He by power; we by grace, He by nature.

158. The Holy Spirit, therefore, shares in the kingdom with the Father and the Son, and He is of one nature with Them, of one Lordship, and also of one power.

CHAPTER 21.

ISAIAH WAS SENT by the Spirit, and accordingly the same Spirit was seen by him. What is meant by the revolving wheels, and the various wings, and how since the Spirit is proclaimed Lord of Sabaoth by the Seraphim, certainly none but impious men can deny Him this title.

159. Since, then, He has a share in the kingdom, what hinders us from understanding that it was the Holy Spirit by Whom Isaiah was sent? For on the authority of Paul we cannot doubt, whose judgment the Evangelist Luke so much approved in the Acts of the Apostles as to write as follows in Paul's words: Well spoke the Holy Spirit through Isaiah the prophet to our fathers, saying: Go to this people and say, You shall hear with the ear and shall not understand, and seeing you shall see and shall not perceive. Acts 28:25-26

160. It is, then, the Spirit Who sent Isaiah. If the Spirit sent him, it is certainly the Spirit Whom, after Uzziah's death, Isaiah saw, when he said: I saw the Lord of Sabaoth sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and the house was full of His majesty. And the Seraphim stood round about Him, each one had six wings, and with two they were covering His face, and with two they were covering His feet, and with two they were flying; and they cried out one to the other, and said, Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Sabaoth, the whole earth is full of His majesty. Isaiah 6:1-3

161. If the Seraphim were standing, how were they flying? If they were flying, how were they standing? If we cannot understand this, how is it that we want to understand God, Whom we have not seen?

162. But as the prophet saw a wheel running within a wheel Ezekiel 1:16 (which certainly does not refer to any appearance to the bodily sight, but to the grace of each Testament; for the life of the saints is polished, and so consistent with itself that later portions agree with the former). The wheel, then, within a wheel is life under the Law, life under grace; inasmuch as Jews are within the Church, the Law is included in grace. For he is within the Church who is a Jew secretly; and circumcision of the heart is a sacrament within the Church. But that Jewry is within the Church of which it is written: In Jewry is God known; therefore as wheel runs within wheel, so in like manner the wings were still, and the wings were flying.

163. In like manner, too, the Seraphim were veiling His face with two wings, and with two were veiling His feet, and with two were flying. For here also is a mystery of spiritual wisdom. Seasons stand, seasons fly; the past stand, the future are flying, and like the wings of the Seraphim, so they veil the face or the feet of God; inasmuch as in God, Who has neither beginning nor end, the whole course of times and seasons, from this knowledge of its beginning and its end, is at rest. So, then, times past and future stand, the present fly. Ask not after the secrets of His beginning or His end, for there is neither. You have the present, but you must praise Him, not question.

164. The Seraphim with unwearied voices praise, and do you question? And certainly when they do this they show us that we must not sometimes question about God, but always praise Him. Therefore the Holy Spirit is also the Lord of Sabaoth. Unless perchance the Teacher Whom Christ chose pleases not the impious, or they can deny that the Holy Spirit is the Lord of powers, Who gives whatever powers He Himself wills.

CHAPTER 22.

IN PROOF OF the Unity in Trinity the passage of Isaiah which has been cited is considered, and it is shown that there is no difference as to its sense among those who expound it of the Father, or of the Son, or of the Spirit. If He Who was crucified was Lord of glory, so, too, is the Holy Spirit equal in all things to the Father and the Son, and the Arians will never be able to diminish His glory.

165. It is now possible to recognize the oneness of the majesty and rule in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. For many say that it was God the Father Who was seen at that time by Isaiah. Paul says it was the Spirit, and Luke supports him. John the Evangelist refers it to the Son. For thus has he written of the Son: These things spoke Jesus, and departed and hid Himself from them. But though He had done so great signs before them, they did not believe in Him, that the word of Isaiah might be fulfilled which he spoke, Lord, who has believed our report, and to whom has the Arm of the Lord been revealed? Isaiah 53:1 Therefore, they could not believe, because Isaiah said again, He has blinded their eyes and hardened their heart, that they might not see with their eyes and understand with their heart and be converted, and I should heal them. Isaiah 6:10 These things said Isaiah when he saw His glory, and spoke of Him. John 12:36-41

166. John says that Isaiah spoke these words, and revealed most clearly that the glory of the Son appeared to him. Paul, however, relates that the Spirit said these things. Whence, then, is this difference?

167. There is, indeed, a difference of words, not of meaning. For though they said different things, neither was in error, for both the Father is seen in

the Son, Who said, He that sees Me sees the Father also, John 14:9 and the Son is seen in the Spirit; for as no man says Lord Jesus, except in the Holy Spirit, 1 Corinthians 12:3 so Christ is seen not by the eye of flesh, but by the grace of the Spirit. Whence, too, the Scripture says: Rise, you that sleep, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall shine upon you. Ephesians 5:14 And Paul, when he had lost his eyesight, how did he see Christ except in the Spirit? Acts 9:8 Wherefore the Lord says: For to this end I have appeared unto you, to appoint you a minister and a witness of the things wherein you have seen Me, and of the things wherein you shall see Me. Acts 26:16 For the prophets also received the Spirit and saw Christ.

168. One, then, is the vision, one the right to command, one the glory. Do we deny that the Holy Spirit is also the Lord of glory when the Lord of glory was crucified who was born from the Holy Spirit of the Virgin Mary? For Christ is not one of two, but is one, and was born as Son of God of the Father before the world; and in the world born as man by taking flesh.

169. And why should I say that, as the Father and the Son, so, too, the Spirit is free from stain and Almighty, for Solomon called Him in Greek παντοδύναμον, πᾶνέπίσχοπον, because He is Almighty and beholds all things, Wisdom 7:22 as we showed above to be, is read in the Book of Wisdom. Therefore the Spirit enjoys honour and glory.

170. Consider now lest perchance something may not beseem Him, or if this displease you, O Arian, drag Him down from His fellowship with the Father and the Son. But if you choose to drag Him down you will see the heavens reversed above you, for all their strength is from the Spirit. If you choose to drag Him down, you must first lay hands on God, for the Spirit is God. But how will you drag Him down, Who searches the deep things of God?

On the Decease of His Brother Satyrus

Translated by H. de Romestin, E. de Romestin and H. T. F. Duckworth

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.
BOOK I.
BOOK II.

INTRODUCTION.

BESIDES HIS ELDER sister Marcellina, who received the veil at the hands of Pope Liberius, at Christmas [perh. 353 a.d.], St. Ambrose had also a brother named Satyrus, to which name, in the epitaph on him ascribed to the bishop, is added Uranius. This is probably, however, merely in reference to his translation from earth to heaven.

Satyrus had in his earlier years, as well as St. Ambrose, practised as an advocate, and held office. But when his brother was appointed Bishop of Milan, Satyrus at once gave up his appointment, and devoted his life to managing St. Ambrose's secular affairs, that nothing might distract him from his episcopal duties. After however, a few short years of devotion to this task, he succumbed to a severe illness October 17, a.d. 379.

The grief of St. Ambrose at the loss of his absolutely like-minded brother was intense, and to it we owe the exquisite discourse delivered at the funeral of Satyrus, and the second, on the resurrection, delivered a week later.

St. Ambrose subsequently revised these two addresses, and they have come down to us as the two books of St. Ambrose on the decease of Satyrus, some mss. adding, and the resurrection of the dead.

The epitaph on Satyrus, said to be by St. Ambrose, is as follows:

Uranio Satyro supremum frater honorem
Martyris ad lævam detulit Ambrosius.
Hæc meriti merces, ut sacri sanguinis humor
Finitimas penetrans adluat exuvias.

BOOK I.

1. WE HAVE brought hither, dearest brethren, my sacrifice, a sacrifice undefiled, a sacrifice well pleasing to God, my lord and brother Satyrus. I did not forget that he was mortal, nor did my feelings deceive me, but grace abounded more exceedingly. And so I have nothing to complain of, but have cause for thankfulness to God, for I always desired that if any troubles should await either the Church or myself, they should rather fall on me and on my house. Thanks, therefore, be to God, that in this time of common fear, when everything is dreaded from the barbarian movements, I ended the trouble of all by my personal grief, and that I dreaded for all which was turned upon me. And may this be fully accomplished, so that my grief may be a ransom for the grief of all.

2. Nothing among things of earth, dearest brethren, was more precious to me, nothing more worthy of love, nothing more dear than such a brother, but public matters come before private. And should any one enquire what was his feeling; he would rather be slain for others than live for himself, because Christ died according to the flesh for all, that we might learn not to live for ourselves alone.

3. To this must be added that I cannot be ungrateful to God; for I must rather rejoice that I had such a brother than grieve that I had lost a brother, for the former is a gift, the latter a debt to be paid. And so, as long as I might, I enjoyed the loan entrusted to me, now He Who deposited the pledge has taken it back. There is no difference between denying that a pledge has been deposited and grieving at its being returned. In each there is untrustworthiness, and in each [eternal] life is risked. It is a fault if you refuse repayment, and piety if you refuse a sacrifice. Since, too, the lender

of money can be made a fool of, but the Author of nature, the Lender of all that we need, cannot be cheated. And so the larger the amount of the loan, so much the more gratitude is due for the use of the capital.

4. Wherefore, I cannot be ungrateful concerning my brother, for he has given back that which was common to nature, and has gained what is peculiar to grace alone. For who would refuse the common lot? Who would grieve that a pledge specially entrusted to him is taken away, since the Father gave up His only Son to death for us? Who would think that he ought to be excepted from the lot of dying, who has not been excepted from the lot of being born? It is a great mystery of divine love, that not even in Christ was exception made of the death of the body; and although He was the Lord of nature, He refused not the law of the flesh which He had taken upon Him. It is necessary for me to die, for Him it was not necessary. Could not He Who said of His servant, If I will that he tarry thus until I come, what is that to you? John 21:22 not have remained as He was, if so He willed? But by continuance of my brother's life here, he would have destroyed his reward and my sacrifice. What is a greater consolation to us than that according to the flesh Christ also died? Or why should I weep too violently for my brother, knowing as I do that that divine love could not die.

5. Why should I alone weep more than others for him for whom you all weep? I have merged my personal grief in the grief of all, especially because my tears are of no use, whereas yours strengthen faith and bring consolation. You who are rich weep, and by weeping prove that riches gathered together are of no avail for safety, since death cannot be put off by a money payment, and the last day carries off alike the rich and the poor. You that are old weep, because in him you fear that you see the lot of your own children; and for this reason, since you cannot prolong the life of the body, train your children not to bodily enjoyment but to virtuous duties. And you that are young weep too, because the end of life is not the ripeness

of old age. The poor too wept, and, which is of much more worth, and much more fruitful, washed away his transgressions with their tears. Those are redeeming tears, those are groanings which hide the grief of death, that grief which through the plenteousness of eternal joy covers over the feeling of former grief. And so, though the funeral be that of a private person, yet is the mourning public; and therefore cannot the weeping last long which is hallowed by the affection of all.

6. For why should I weep for you, my most loving brother, who wast thus torn from me that you might be the brother of all? For I have not lost but changed my intercourse with you; before we were inseparable in the body, now we are undivided in affection; for you remain with me, and ever will remain. And, indeed, while you were living with me, our country never tore you from me, nor did you yourself ever prefer our country to me; and now you have become surety for that other country, for I begin to be no stranger there where the better portion of myself already is. I was never wholly engrossed in myself, but the greater part of each of us was in the other, yet we were each of us in Christ, in Whom is the whole sum of all, and the portion of each severally. This grave is more pleasing to me than your natal soil, in which is the fruit not of nature but of grace, for in that body which now lies lifeless lies the better work of my life, since in this body, too, which I bear is the richer portion of yourself.

7. And would that, as memory and gratitude are devoted to you, so, too, whatever time I have still to breathe this air, I could breathe it into your life, and that half of my time might be struck off from me and be added to yours! For it had been just that for those, whose use of hereditary property was always undivided, the period of life should not have been divided, or at least that we, who always without difference shared everything in common during life, should not have a difference in our deaths.

8. But now, brother, whither shall I advance, or whither shall I turn? The ox seeks his fellow, and conceives itself incomplete, and by frequent lowing shows its tender longing, if perchance that one is wanting with whom it has been wont to draw the plough. And shall I, my brother, not long after you? Or can I ever forget you, with whom I always drew the plough of this life? In work I was inferior, but in love more closely bound; not so much fit through my strength, as endurable through your patience, who with the care of anxious affection ever protected my side with yours, as a brother in your love, as a father in your care, as older in watchfulness, as younger in respect. So in the one degree of relationship you expended on me the duties of many, so that I long after not one only but many lost in you, in whom alone flattery was unknown, dutifulness was portrayed. For you had nothing to which to add by pretence, inasmuch as all was comprised in your dutifulness, so as neither to receive addition nor await a change.

9. But whither am I going, in my immoderate grief, forgetful of my duty, mindful of kindness received? The Apostle calls me back, and as it were puts a bit upon my sorrow, saying, as you heard just now: We would not that you should be ignorant, brethren, concerning them that sleep, that you be not sorrowful, as the rest which have no hope. 1 Thessalonians 4:14 Pardon me, dearest brethren. For we are not all able to say: Be imitators of me, as I also am of Christ. 1 Corinthians 4:16 But if you seek one to imitate, you have One Whom you may imitate. All are not fitted to teach, would that all were apt to learn.

10. But we have not incurred any grievous sin by our tears. Not all weeping proceeds from unbelief or weakness. Natural grief is one thing, distrustful sadness is another, and there is a very great difference between longing for what you have lost and lamenting that you have lost it. Not only grief has tears, joy also has tears of its own. Both piety excites weeping, and prayer waters the couch, and supplication, according to the prophet’s

saying, washes the bed. Their friends made a great mourning when the patriarchs were buried. Tears, then, are marks of devotion, not producers of grief. I confess, then, that I too wept, but the Lord also wept. He wept for one not related to Him, I for my brother. He wept for all in weeping for one, I will weep for you in all, my brother.

11. He wept for what affected us, not Himself; for the Godhead sheds no tears; but He wept in that nature in which He was sad; He wept in that in which He was crucified, in that in which He died, in that in which He was buried. He wept in that which the prophet this day brought to our minds: Mother Sion shall say, A man, yea, a man was made in her, and the Most High Himself established her. He wept in that nature in which He called Sion Mother, born in Judæa, conceived by the Virgin. But according to His Divine Nature He could not have a mother, for He is the Creator of His mother. So far as He was made, it was not by divine but by human generation, because He was made man, God was born.

12. But you read in another place: Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given. Isaiah 9:6 In the word Child is an indication of age, in that of Son the fullness of the Godhead. Made of His mother, born of the Father yet the Same Person was both born and given, you must not think of two but of one. For one is the Son of God, both born of the Father and sprung from the Virgin, differing in order, but in name agreeing in one, as, too, the lesson just heard teaches for a man was made in her and the Most High Himself established her; man indeed in the body, the Most High in power. And though He be God and man in diversity of nature, yet is He at the same time one in each nature. One property, then, is peculiar to His own nature, another He has in common with us, but in both is He one, and in both is He perfect.

13. Therefore it is no subject of wonder that God made Him to be both Lord and Christ. He made Him Jesus, Him, that is, Who received the name

in His bodily nature; He made Him of Whom also the patriarch David writes: Mother Sion shall say, A man, yea, a man is made in her. But being made man He is unlike the Father, not in Godhead but in His body; not separated from the Father, but differing in office, abiding united in power, but separated in the mystery of the Passion.

14. The treatment of this topic demands more arguments, by which to demonstrate the authority of the Father, the special property of the Son, and the Unity of the whole Trinity; but today I have undertaken the office of consolation, not of discussion, although it is customary in consoling to draw away the mind from its grief by application to discussion. But I would rather moderate the grief than alter the affection, that the longing may rather be assuaged than lulled to sleep. For I have no wish to turn away too far from my brother, and to be led off by other thoughts, seeing that this discourse has been undertaken, as it were, for the sake of accompanying him, that I might follow in affection him departing, and embrace in mind him whom I see with my eyes. For it gives me pleasure to fix the whole gaze of my eyes on him, to encompass him with kindly endearments; while my mind is stupefied, and I feel as though he were not lost whom I am able still to see present; and I think him not dead, my services to whom I do not as yet perceive to be wanting, services to which I had devoted the whole of my life and the drawing of every breath.

15. What, then, can I pay back in return for such kindness and such pains? I had made you, my brother, my heir; you have left me as the heir; I hoped to leave you as survivor, and you have left me. I, in return for your kindnesses, that I might repay your benefits, gave wishes; now I have lost my wishes yet not your benefits. What shall I, succeeding to my own heir, do? What shall I do who outlive my own life? What shall I do, no longer sharing this light which yet shines on me? What thanks, what good offices, can I repay to you? You have nothing from me but tears. And perchance,

secure of your reward, you desire not those tears which are all that I have left. For even when you were yet alive, you forbade me to weep, and showed that our grief was more pain to you than your own death. Tears are bidden to flow no longer, and weeping is repressed. And gratitude to you forbids them too, lest while we weep for our loss we seem to despair concerning your merits.

16. But for myself at least you lessen the bitterness of that grief; I have nothing to fear who used to fear for you. I have nothing which the world can now snatch from me. Although our holy sister still survives, venerable for her blameless life, your equal in character, and not falling short in kindly offices; yet we both used to fear more for you, we felt that all the sweetness of this life was stored up in you. To live for your sake was a delight, to die for you were no cause of sorrow, for we both used to pray that you might survive, it was no pleasure that we should survive you. When did not our very soul shudder when a dread of this kind touched us? How were our minds dismayed by the tidings of your sickness!

17. Alas for our wretched hopes! We thought that he was restored to us whom we see carried off, and we now recognize that your departure hence was obtained by your vows to the holy martyr Lawrence! And indeed I would that you had obtained not only a safe passage hence, but also a longer time of life! You could have obtained many years of life, since you were able to obtain your departure hence. And I indeed thank You, Almighty Everlasting God, that You have not denied us at least this last comfort, that You have granted us the longed-for return of our much loved brother from the regions of Sicily and Africa; for he was snatched away so soon after his return as though his death were delayed for this alone, that he might return to his brethren.

18. Now, I clearly have my pledge which no change can any more tear from me; I have the relics which I may embrace, I have the tomb which I

may cover with my body, I have the grave on which I may lie, and I shall believe that I am more acceptable to God, because I shall rest upon the bones of that holy body. Would that I had been able in like manner to place my body in the way of your death! Had you been attacked with the sword, I would have rather offered myself to be pierced for you; had I been able to recall your life as it was passing away, I would have rather offered my own.

19. It profited me nothing to receive your last breath, nor to have breathed into the mouth of you dying, for I thought that either I myself should receive your death, or should transfer my life to you. O that sad, yet sweet pledge of the last kiss! O the misery of that embrace, in which the lifeless body began to stiffen, the last breath vanished! I tightened my arms indeed, but had already lost him whom I was holding; I drew in your last breath with my mouth, that I might share your death. But in some way that breath became lifegiving to me, and even in death diffused an odour of greater love. And if I was unable to lengthen your life by my breath, would that at least the strength of your last breath might have been transfused into my mind, and that our affection might have inspired me with that purity and innocence of yours. You would have left me, dearest brother, this inheritance, which would not smite the affections with tears of grief, but commend your heir by notable grace.

20. What, then, shall I now do, since all the sweetness, all the solace, in fine, all the charms of that life are lost to me? For you were alone my solace at home, my charm abroad; you, I say, my adviser in counsel, the sharer in my cares, the averter of anxiety, the driver away of sorrow; you were the protector of my acts and the defender of my thoughts; you, lastly, the only one on whom rested care of home and of public matters. I call your holy soul to witness that, in the building of the church, I often feared lest I might displease you. Lastly, when you came back you chided your delay. So were you, at home and abroad, the instructor and teacher of the priest, that you

did not allow him to think of domestic matters, and took thought to care for public matters. But I may not fear to seem to speak boastingly, for this is your meed of praise, that you, without displeasing any, both managed your brother's house and recommend his priesthood.

21. I feel, indeed, that my mind is touched by the repetition of your services and the enumeration of your virtues, and yet in being thus affected I find my rest, and although these memories renew my grief, they nevertheless bring pleasure. Am I able either not to think of you, or ever to think of you without tears? And shall I ever be able either not to remember such a brother, or to remember him without tearful gratitude? For what has ever been pleasant to me that has not had its source in you? What, I say, has ever been a pleasure to me without you, or to you without me? Had we not every practice in common, almost to our very eyesight and our sleep? Were our wills ever at variance? And what step did we not take in common? So that we almost seemed in raising our feet to move each other's body.

22. But if ever either had to go forth without the other, one would think that his side was unprotected, one could see his countenance troubled, one would suppose that his soul was sad, the accustomed grace, the usual vigour did not shine forth, the loneliness was a subject of dread to all, and made them fearful of some sickness. Such a strange thing it seemed to all that we were separated. I certainly, impatient at my brother's absence, and having it constantly in mind, kept on turning my head seeking him, as it were, present, and seemed to myself then to see him and speak to him. But if I was disappointed in my hope, I seemed to myself, as it were, to be dragging a yoke on my bowed down neck, to advance with difficulty, to meet others with diffidence, and to return home hurriedly, since it gave me no pleasure to go farther without you.

23. But when we both had to go forth, there were not more steps on the way than words, nor was our pace quicker than our talk, and it was less for

the sake of walking than for the pleasure of conversing, for each of us hung on the lips of the other. We thought not of gazing intently on the view as we passed along, but listened to each other's anxious talk, drank in the kindly expression of the eyes, and inhaled the delight of the brother's appearance. How I used silently to admire within myself your virtues, how I congratulated myself that God had given me such a brother, so modest, so capable, so innocent, so simple, so that when I thought of your innocence I began to doubt your capability, when I saw your capability I could hardly imagine your innocence! But you combined both with wonderful perfection.

24. Lastly, what we both had been unable to effect, you accomplished alone. Prosper, as I hear, congratulated himself because he thought that on account of my priesthood he need not restore what he had purloined, but he found your power alone to be greater than that of us both together. And so he paid all, and was not ungrateful for your moderation, and did not scoff at your modesty. But for whom, brother, did you seek to gain that? We wished that should be the reward of your labours which was the proof of them. You accomplished everything, and when having done all you returned, you alone, who art to be preferred to all, art torn from us; as if you had put off death for this end, that you might fulfil the office of affection, and then carry off the palm for capability.

25. How little, dearest brother, did the honours of this world delight us, because they separated us from one another! And we accepted them, not because the acquisition of them was to be desired, but that there might be no appearance of paltry dissimulation. Or perhaps they were therefore granted to us, that, inasmuch as by your early death you were about to shatter our pleasure, we might learn to live without each other.

26. And indeed I recognize the foreboding dread of my mind, when I often go again through what I have written. I endeavoured to restrain you, brother, from visiting Africa yourself, and wished you rather to send some

one. I was afraid to let you go that journey, to trust you to the waves, and a greater fear than usual came over my mind; but you arranged the journey, and order the business, and, as I hear, entrusted yourself again to the waves in an old and leaky vessel. For since you were aiming at speed, you set caution aside; eager to do me a kindness, you made nothing of your danger.

27. O deceitful joy! O the uncertain course of earthly affairs! We thought that he who was returned from Africa, restored from the sea, preserved after shipwreck, could not now be snatched from us; but, though on land, we suffered a more grievous shipwreck, for the death of him whom shipwreck at sea owing to strong swimming could not kill is shipwreck to us. For what enjoyment remains to us, from whom so sweet an ornament has been taken, so bright a light in this world's darkness has been extinguished? For in him an ornament not only of our family but of the whole fatherland has perished.

28. I feel, indeed, the deepest gratitude to you, dearest brethren, holy people, that you esteem my grief as no other than your own, that you feel this bereavement as having happened to yourselves, that you offer me the tears of the whole city, of every age, and the good wishes of every rank, with unusual affection. For this is not the grief of private sympathy, but as it were a service and offering of public good-will. And should any sympathy with me because of the loss of such a brother touch you, I have abundant fruit from it, I have the pledge of your affection. I might prefer that my brother were living, but yet public kindness is in prosperity very pleasant, and in adversity very grateful.

29. And, indeed, so great kindness seems to me to merit no ordinary gratitude. For not without a purpose are the widows in the Acts of the Apostles described as weeping when Tabitha was dead, Acts 9:39 or the crowd in the Gospel, moved by the widow's tears and accompanying the funeral of the young man who was to be raised again. Luke 7:12 There is,

then, no doubt that by your tears the protection of the apostles is obtained; no doubt, I say, that Christ is moved to mercy, seeing you weeping. Though He has not now touched the bier, yet He has received the spirit commended to Him, and if He have not called the dead by the bodily voice, yet He has by the authority of His divine power delivered my brother's soul from the pains of death and from the attacks of wicked spirits. And though he that was dead has not sat up on the bier, yet he has found rest in Christ; and if he have not spoken to us, yet he sees those things which are above us, and rejoices in that he now sees higher things than we. For by the things which we read in the Gospels we understand what shall be, and what we see at present is a sign of what is to be.

30. He had no need of being raised again for time, for whom the raising again for eternity is waiting. For why should he fall back into this wretched and miserable state of corruption, and return to this mournful life, for whose rescue from such imminent evils and threatening dangers we ought rather to rejoice? For if no one mourns for Enoch, who was translated Genesis 5:24 when the world was at peace and wars were not raging, but the people rather congratulated him, as Scripture says concerning him: He was taken away, lest that wickedness should alter his understanding, Wisdom 4:11 with how much greater justice must this now be said, when to the dangers of the world is added the uncertainty of life. He was taken away that he might not fall into the hands of the barbarians; he was taken away that he might not see the ruin of the whole earth, the end of the world, the burial of his relatives, the death of fellow citizens; lest, lastly, which is more bitter than any death, he should see the pollution of the holy virgins and widows.

31. So then, brother, I esteem you happy both in the beauty of your life and in the opportuneness of your death. For you were snatched away not from us but from dangers; thou did not lose life but escaped the fear of threatening troubles. For with the pity of your holy mind for those near to

you, if you knew that Italy was now oppressed by the nearness of the enemy, how would you groan, how would you grieve that our safety wholly depended on the barrier of the Alps, and that the protection of purity consisted in barricades of trees! With what sorrow would you mourn that your friends were separated from the enemy by so slight a division, from an enemy, too, both impure and cruel, who spares neither chastity nor life.

32. How, I say, could thou bear these things which we are compelled to endure, and perchance (which is more grievous) to behold virgins ravished, little children torn from the embrace of their parents and tossed on javelins, the bodies consecrated to God defiled, and even aged widows polluted? How, I say, could thou endure these things, who even with your last breath, forgetful of yourself, yet not without thought for us, warned us concerning the invasion of the barbarians, saying that not in vain had you said that we ought to flee. Perchance was it because you saw that we were left destitute by your death, and you did it, not out of weakness of spirit, but from affection, and wast weak with respect to us, but strong with respect to yourself. For when you were summoned home by the noble man Symmachus your parent, because Italy was said to be blazing with war, because you were going into danger, because you were likely to fall among enemies, you answered that this was the cause of your coming, that you might not fail us in danger, that you might show yourself a sharer in your brother’s peril.

33. Happy, then, was he in so opportune a death, because he has not been preserved for this sorrow. Certainly you are happier than your holy sister, deprived of your comfort, anxious for her own modesty, lately blessed with two brothers, now wretched because of both, being able neither to follow the one nor to leave the other; for whom your tomb is a lodging, and the burying-place of your body a home. And would that even this resting-place were safe! Our food is mingled with weeping and our drink with tears, for

you have given us the bread of tears as food, and tears to drink in large measure, nay, even beyond measure.

34. What now shall I say of myself, who may not die lest I leave my sister, and desire not to live lest I be separated from you? For what can ever be pleasant to me without you, in whom was always my whole pleasure? Or what satisfaction is it to remain longer in this life, and to linger on the earth where we lived with pleasure so long as we lived together? If there were anything which could delight us here, it could not delight without you; and if ever we had earnestly desired to prolong our life, now at any rate we would not exist without you.

35. This is indeed unendurable. For what can be endured without you, such a companion of my life, such a sharer of my toil and partaker of my duties? And I could not even make his loss more endurable by dwelling on it beforehand, so much did my mind fear to think of any such thing concerning him! Not that I was ignorant of his condition, but a certain kind of prayers and vows had so clouded the sense of common frailty, that I knew not how to think anything concerning him except entire prosperity.

36. And then lately, when I was oppressed by a severe attack (would that it had been fatal), I grieved only that you were not sitting by my couch, and sharing the kindly duty with my holy sister might with your fingers close my eyes when dead. What had I wished? What am I now pondering? What vows are wanting? What services are to succeed? I was preparing one thing, I am compelled to set forth another; not being the subject of the funeral rites but the minister. O hard eyes, which could behold my brother dying! O cruel and unkind hands, which closed those eyes in which I used to see so much! O still harder neck, which could bear so sad a burden, though it were in a service full of consolation.

37. You, my brother, had more justly done these things for me. I used to expect these services at your hands, I used to long for them. But now,

having survived my own life, what comfort can I find without you, who alone used to comfort me when mourning, to excite my happiness and drive away my sorrow? How do I now behold you, my brother, who now addresses no words to me and offers me no kiss? Though, indeed, our mutual love was so deeply seated in each of us, that it was cherished rather by inward affection than made public by open caresses, for we who professed such mutual trust and love did not seek the testimony of others. The strong spirit of our brotherhood had so infused itself into each of us, that there was no need to prove our love by caresses; but our minds being conscious of our affection, we, satisfied with our inward love, did not seem to require the show of caresses, whom the very appearance of each other fashioned for mutual love; for we seemed, I know not by what spiritual stamp or bodily likeness, to be the one in the other.

38. Who saw you, and did not think that he had seen me? How often have I saluted those who, because they had previously saluted you, said that they had been already saluted by me? How many said something to you, and related that they had said it to me? What pleasure, what amusement often was given me by this, because I saw that they were mistaken in us? What an agreeable mistake, what a pleasant slip, how innocent a deceit, how sweet a trick! For there was nothing for me to fear in your words or acts, and I rejoiced when they were ascribed to me.

39. But if they insisted all too vehemently that they had given me some information, I used to smile and answer with delight: Take care that it was not my brother whom you told. For since we had everything in common, one spirit and one disposition, yet the secrets of friends alone were not common property, not that we were afraid of danger in the communication, but that we might keep faith by withholding it. Yet if we had a matter to be consulted about, our counsel was always in common, though the secret was not always made common. For although our friends spoke to either of us, so

that what they said might reach the other; yet I know that secrets were for the most part kept with such good faith that they were not imparted even to the other brother. For this is a convincing proof that was not betrayed without which had not been imparted to the brother.

40. I confess, then, that being raised by these so great and excellent benefits to a kind of mental ecstasy, I had ceased to fear that I might be the survivor, because I thought him more worthy to live, and therefore received the blow which I am unable to endure, for the wounds of such pain are more easily borne when dwelt upon beforehand than when unexpected. Who will now console me full of sorrows? Who will raise up him that is smitten down? With whom shall I share my cares? Who will set me free from the business of this world? For you were the manager of our affairs, the censor of the servants, the decider between brother and sister, the decider not in matters of strife but of affection.

41. For if at any time there was a discussion between me and my holy sister on any matter, as to which was the preferable opinion, we used to take you as judge, who would hurt no one, and anxious to satisfy each, kept to your loving affection and the right measure in deciding, so as to let each depart satisfied, and gain for yourself the thanks of each. Or if you yourself brought anything for discussion, how pleasantly did you argue! And your very indignation, how free from bitterness it was! How was your discipline not unpleasant to the servants themselves! since you strove rather to blame yourself before your brethren than to punish through excitement! For our profession restrained in us the zeal for correction, and, indeed, you, my brother, removed from us every inclination to correct, when you promised to punish and desire to alleviate.

42. That is, then, evidence of no ordinary prudence, which virtue is thus defined by the wise. The first of good things is to know God, and with a pious mind to reverence Him as true and divine, and to delight in that

loveable and desirable beauty of the eternal Truth with the whole affection of the mind. And the second consists in deriving from that divine and heavenly source of nature, love towards our neighbours, since even the wise of this world have borrowed from our laws. For they never could have obtained those points for the discipline of men, except from that heavenly fount of the divine law.

43. What, then, shall I say of his reverence in regard to the worship of God? He, before being initiated in the more perfect mysteries, being in danger of shipwreck when the ship that bore him, dashed upon rocky shallows, was being broken up by the waves tossing it hither and there, fearing not death but lest he should depart this life without the Mystery, asked of those whom he knew to be initiated the divine Sacrament of the faithful; not that he might gaze on secret things with curious eyes, but to obtain aid for his faith. For he caused it to be bound in a napkin, and the napkin round his neck, and so cast himself into the sea, not seeking a plank loosened from the framework of the ship, by floating on which he might be rescued, for he sought the means of faith alone. And so believing that he was sufficiently protected and defended by this, he sought no other aid.

44. One may consider his courage at the same time, for he, when the vessel was breaking up, did not as a shipwrecked man seize a plank, but as a brave man found in himself the support of his courage, nor did his hope fail nor his expectation deceive him. And then, when preserved from the waves and brought safe to land in the port, he first recognized his Leader, to Whom he had committed himself, and at once after either himself rescuing the servants, or seeing that they were rescued, disregarding his goods, and not longing for what was lost, he sought the Church of God, that he might return thanks for his deliverance, and acknowledge the eternal mysteries, declaring that there was no greater duty than thanksgiving. But if not to be

grateful to man has been judged like to murder, how enormous a crime is it not to be grateful to God!

45. Now it is the mark of a prudent man to know himself, and, as it has been defined by the wise, to live in accordance with nature. What, then, is so much in accordance with nature as to be grateful to the Creator? Behold this heaven, does it not render thanks to its Creator when He is seen? For the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament proclaims His handywork. The sea itself when it is quiet and at rest sets forth a representation of the Divine Quiet; when it is stirred up, it shows that the wrath on high is terrible. Do we not all rightly admire the grace of God, when we observe that senseless nature restrains its waves as it were with sense and reason, and that the waves know their own limit? And what shall I say of the earth, which in obedience to the divine command freely supplies food to all living things; and the fields restore what they have received multiplied as it were by accumulating interest, and heaped up.

46. So he who by the guidance of nature had grasped the methods of the divine work in the ardent vigour of his mind, knew that thanks should be paid first of all to the Preserver of all; but inasmuch as he could not repay, he could at least feel grateful. For the essence of this thankfulness is that when it is offered it is felt, and by being felt is offered. So he offered thanks and brought away faith. For he who had felt such protection on the part of the heavenly Mystery wrapped in a napkin, how much did he expect if he received it with his mouth and drew it to the very depth of his bosom? How much more must he have been expecting of that, when received into his breast, which had so benefited him when covered with a napkin?

47. But he was not so eager as to lay aside caution. He called the bishop to him, and esteeming that there can be no true thankfulness except it spring from true faith, he enquired whether he agreed with the Catholic bishops, that is, with the Roman Church? And possibly at that place the Church of

the district was in schism. For at that time Lucifer had withdrawn from our communion, and although he had been an exile for the faith, and had left inheritors of his own faith, yet my brother did not think that there could be true faith in schism. For though schismatics kept the faith towards God, yet they kept it not towards the Church of God, certain of whose limbs they suffered as it were to be divided, and her members to be torn. For since Christ suffered for the Church, and the Church is the body of Christ, it does not seem that faith in Christ is shown by those by whom His Passion is made of none effect, and His body divided.

48. And so though he retained the deposit of faith, and feared to voyage as debtor of so vast an amount, yet he preferred to cross over to a place where he could make his payment in safety, for he was convinced that the payment of thankfulness to God consists in dispositions and faith, which payment, so soon as he had free access to the Church, he delayed not to make. And he both received the grace of God which he longed for, and preserved it when received. Nothing, then, can be wiser than that prudence which distinguishes between divine and human matters.

49. Why should I speak of his well-known eloquence in his forensic duties? What incredible admiration did he excite in the hall of justice of the high prefecture! But I prefer to speak of those things which he esteemed, through consideration of the mysteries of God, to be preferable to human matters.

50. And should any one wish more fully to regard his fortitude, let him consider how often after his shipwreck with invincible disregard of this life he crossed the sea and travelled through widespread regions in his journeys, and at last that at this very time he did not shrink from danger, but met it. Patient under injustice, regardless of cold, would that he had been equally thoughtful in taking precautions. But exactly herein was he blessed, that he, so long as his bodily strength allowed, spent his life fulfilling the work of

youth, uninterruptedly carrying out what he wished to do, and paid no attention to his weakness.

51. But in what words can I set forth his simplicity? By this I mean a certain moderation of character and soberness of mind. Pardon me, I beseech you, and attribute it to my grief, if I allow myself to speak somewhat fully about him with whom I am no longer permitted to converse. And certainly it is an advantage for you to see that you have performed this kindly office not led by weak feelings, but by sound judgment; not as impelled by pity for his death, but moved by desire to do honour to his virtues; for every simple soul is blessed. And so great was his simplicity, that, converted as it were into a child, he was conspicuous for the simplicity belonging to that guileless age, for the likeness of perfect virtue, and for reflecting as in a mirror innocence of character. Therefore he entered into the kingdom of heaven, because he believed the word of God, because he, like a child, rejected the artifices of flattery, and chose rather to accept with gentleness the pain of injustice than to avenge himself sharply; he was more ready to listen to complaints than to guile, ready for conciliation, inaccessible to ambition, holy in modesty, so that in him one would rather speak of excess of bashfulness than have to seek for such as is needful.

52. But the foundations of virtue are never in excess, for modesty does not hinder but rather commends the discharge of duty. And so was his face suffused with a certain virginal modesty, showing forth his inward feeling in his countenance, if perchance he had, coming on a sudden, met some female relative, he was as it were bowed down and sunk to the earth, though he was not different in company with men, he seldom lifted up his face, raised his eyes, or spoke; when he did one of these things, it was with a kind of bashful modesty of heart, with which, too, the chastity of his body agreed. For he preserved the gifts of holy baptism inviolate, being pure in body and still more pure in heart; fearing not less the shame of impurity in

conversation than in his body; and thinking that no less regard was to be paid to modesty in purity of words than in chastity of body.

53. In fine, he so loved chastity as never to seek a wife, although in him it was not merely the desire of chastity, but also the grace of his love for us. But in a wonderful manner he concealed his feeling as to marriage, and avoided all boastfulness; and so carefully did he conceal his feeling, that even when we pressed it on him, he appeared rather to postpone wedlock than to avoid it. So this was the one point with which he did not trust his brother and sister, not through any doubtful hesitation, but simply through virtuous modesty.

54. Who, then, could refrain from wondering that a man in age between a brother and a sister, the one a virgin, the other a priest, yet in greatness of soul not below either, should so excel in two great gifts, as to reflect the chastity of one vocation and the sanctity of the other, being bound not by profession but by the exercise of virtue. If, then, lust and anger bring forth other vices, I may rightly call chastity and gentleness as it were the parents of virtues; although, as it is the origin of all good things, so too is piety the seed-plot of other virtues.

55. What, then, shall I say of his economy, a kind of continence regarding possessions? For he who takes care of his own does not seek other men's goods, nor is he puffed up by abundance who is contented with his own. For he did not wish to recover anything except his own, and that rather that he might not be cheated than that he might be richer. For he rightly called those who seek other men's goods hawks of money. But if avarice be the root of all evils, 1 Timothy 6:10 he who does not seek for money has certainly stripped himself of vices.

56. Nor did he ever delight in more carefully prepared feasts or many dishes, except when he invited friends, wishing for what was sufficient for nature, not for superabundance for pleasure's sake. And, indeed, he was not

poor in means, but was so in spirit. Matthew 5:3 Certainly we ought by no means to doubt of his happiness, who neither as a wealthy man delighted in riches, nor as a poor man thought that what he had was scanty.

57. It remains that, to come to the end of the cardinal virtues, we should notice in him the constituents of justice. For although virtues are related to each other and connected, still as it were a more distinct sketch of each is wanted, and especially of justice. For it being somewhat niggardly towards itself is wholly devoted to what is without, and whatever it has through a certain rigour towards self, being carried away by love for all, it pours forth on its neighbours.

58. But there are many kinds of this virtue. One towards friends, another towards all men, another with respect to the worship of God or the relief of the poor. So what he was towards all, the affection of the people of the province over which he was set shows; who used to say that he was rather their parent than a judge, a kind umpire for loving clients, a steadfast awarder of just law.

59. But what he was with his brother and sister, though all men were embraced in his good-will, our undivided patrimony testifies, and the inheritance neither distributed nor diminished, but preserved. For he said that love was no reason for making a will. This, too, he signified with his last words, when commending those whom he had loved, saying that it was his choice never to marry a wife, that he might not be separated from his brother and sister, and that he would not make a will, lest our feelings should in any point be hurt. Lastly, though begged and entreated by us, he thought that nothing ought to be determined by himself, not, however, forgetting the poor, but only asking that so much should be given to them as should seem just to us.

60. By this alone he gave a sufficient proof of his fear of God, and set an example of religious feeling as regards men. For what he gave to the poor

he offered to God, since he that distributes to the poor lends unto God; Proverbs 19:17 and by requiring what was just, he left them not a little, but the whole. For this is the total sum of justice, to sell what one has and give to the poor. For he who has dispersed, and has given to the poor, his righteousness endures forever. So he left us as stewards, not heirs; for the inheritance is to the heirs a matter of question, the stewardship is a duty to the poor.

61. So that one may rightly say that the Holy Spirit has this day told us by the voice of the boy reader: He that is innocent in his hands and of a clean heart, who has not lifted up his soul to vanity, nor used deceit unto his neighbour, this is the generation of them that seek the Lord. He, then, shall both ascend into the hill of the Lord and dwell in the tabernacle of God; because he has walked without spot, he has worked righteousness, he has spoken truth, he has not deceived his neighbour; nor did he lend his money for usury, who always wished [no more than] to retain that which was inherited.

62. Why should I relate that in his piety he went beyond mere justice, when he, having thought that in consideration of my office something ought to be given to the unlawful possessor of our property, declared that I was the author of the bounty, but made over the receipts of his own share to the common fund.

63. These and other matters, which were then a pleasure to me, now sharpen the remembrance of my grief. They abide, however, and always will do so, nor do they ever pass away like a shadow; for the grace of virtue dies not with the body, nor do natural life and merits come to an end at the same time, although the use of natural life does not perish for ever, but rests in a kind of exemption for a time.

64. For one, then, who has performed such good deeds, and is rescued from perils, I shall weep rather from longing for him than for the loss. For

the very opportuneness of his death bids us bear in mind that we must follow him rather with grateful veneration than grieve for him, for it is written that private grief should cease in public sorrow. This is said in the prophetical language, not only to that one woman, who is figured there, but to each, since it seems to be said to the Church.

65. To me, then, does this message come, and Holy Scripture says: Do you teach this, is it thus that you instruct the people of God? Do you not know that your example is a danger to others? save that perchance you complain that your prayer is not heard. First of all this is shameless arrogance, to desire to obtain for yourself what you know to have been denied to many, even saints, when you are aware that God is no respecter of persons? Acts 10:34 For although God is merciful, yet if He always heard all, He would appear to act no longer of His own free will, but by a kind of necessity. Then, since all ask, if He were to hear all, no one would die. For how much do you daily pray? Is, then, God's appointment to be made void in consideration of you? Why, then, do you lament that is sometimes not obtained, which you know cannot always be obtained?

66. You fool, it says, above all women, do you not see our mourning, and what has happened to us, how that Sion our mother is saddened with all sadness, and humbled with humbling. Mourn now also very sore, since we all mourn, and be sad since we all are sad, and you are grieved for a brother. Ask the earth and she shall tell you that it is she which ought to mourn, outliving so many that grow upon her. And out of her, it says, were all born in the beginning, and out of her shall others come, and, behold, they walk almost all into destruction, and a multitude of them is utterly rooted out. Who, then, ought to make more mourning than she that has lost so great a multitude, and not thou, which art sorry but for one?

67. Let, then, the common mourning swallow up ours and cut off the bitterness of our private sorrow. For we ought not to grieve for those whom

we see to be set free, and we bear in mind that so many holy souls are not without a purpose at this time loosed from the chains of the body. For we see, as if by God's decree, such reverend widows dying so closely at one time, that it seems to be a sort of setting out on a journey, not a sinking in death, lest their chastity in which they have served God their full time should be exposed to peril. What groans, what mourning, does so bitter a recollection stir up in me! And if I had no leisure for mourning, yet in my own personal grief, in the loss of the very flower of so much merit, the common lot of nature consoled me; and my grief in consideration of one alone veiled the bitterness of the public funeral by the show of piety at home.

68. I seek again, then, O sacred Scripture, your consolations, for it delights me to dwell on your precepts and on your sentences. How far more easy is it for heaven and earth to pass away, than for one tittle of the law to fail! But let us now listen to what is written: Now, it says, keep your sorrow to yourself, and bear with a good courage the things which have befallen you. For if you shall acknowledge the determination of God to be just, you shall both receive your son in time, and shall be praised among women. If this is said to a woman, how much more to a priest! If such words are said of a son it is certainly not unfitting that they should be uttered also concerning the loss of a brother; though if he had been my son I could never have loved him more. For as in the death of children, the lost labour and the pain borne to no purpose seem to increase the sorrow; so, too, in the case of brothers the habits of intercourse and joint occupations inflame the bitterness of grief.

69. But, lo! I hear the Scripture saying: Do not continue this discourse, but allow yourself to be persuaded. For how great are the misfortunes of Sion! Be comforted in regard of the sorrow of Jerusalem. For you see that our holy places are polluted and the name that was called upon us is almost

profaned, they that are ours have suffered shame, our priests are burnt, our Levites gone into captivity, our wives are polluted, our virgins suffer violence, our righteous men are carried away, our little ones given up, our young men brought in bondage, and our strong men become weak. And, which is the greatest of all, the seal of Sion hast lost her glory, since now she is delivered into the hands of them that hate us. Do thou, then, shake off your great heaviness, and put from you the multitude of sorrows, that the Mighty may be merciful to you again, and the Highest shall give you rest by easing your labours.

70. So, then, my tears shall cease, for one must yield to healthful remedies, since there ought to be some difference between believers and unbelievers. Let them, therefore, weep who cannot have the hope of the resurrection, of which not the sentence of God but the strictness of the faith deprives them. Let there be this difference between the servants of Christ and the worshippers of idols, that the latter weep for their friends, whom they suppose to have perished for ever; that they should never cease from tears, and gain no rest from sorrow, who think that the dead have no rest. But from us, for whom death is the end not of our nature but of this life only, since our nature itself is restored to a better state, let the advent of death wipe away all tears.

71. And certainly if they have ever found any consolation who have thought that death is the end of sensation and the failing of our nature, how much more must we find it so to whom the consciousness of good done brings the promise of better rewards! The heathen have their consolation, because they think that death is a cessation of all evils, and as they are without the fruit of life, so, too, they think that they have escaped all the feeling and pain of those severe and constant sufferings which we have to endure in this life. We, however, as we are better supported by our rewards, so, too, ought we to be more patient through our consolation, for they seem

to be not lost but sent before, whom death is not going to swallow up, but eternity to receive.

72. My tears shall therefore cease, or if they cannot cease, I will weep for you, my brother, in the common sorrow, and will hide my private groaning in the public grief. For how can my tears wholly cease, since they break forth at every utterance of your name, or when my very habitual actions arouse your memory, or when my affection pictures your likeness, or when recollection renews my grief. For how can you be absent who art again made present in so many occupations? You are present, I say, and art always brought before me, and with my whole mind and soul do I embrace you, gaze upon you, address you, kiss you; I grasp you whether in the gloomy night or in the clear light, when you vouch-safe to revisit and console me sorrowing. And now the very nights which used to seem irksome in your lifetime, because they denied us the power of looking on each other; and sleep itself, lately, the odious interrupter of our converse, have commenced to be sweet, because they restore you to me. They, then, are not wretched but blessed whose mutual presence fails not, whose care for each other is not lessened, whose mutual esteem is increased. For sleep is a likeness and image of death.

73. But if, in the quiet of night, our souls still cleaving to the chains of the body, and as it were bound within the prison bars of the limbs, yet are able to see higher and separate things, how much more do they see these, when in their pure and heavenly senses they suffer from no hindrances of bodily weakness. And so when, as a certain evening was drawing on, I was complaining that thou did not revisit me when at rest, you were wholly present always. So that, as I lay with my limbs bathed in sleep, while I was [in mind] awake for you, you were alive to me, I could say, What is death, my brother? For certainly you were not separated from me for a single moment, for you were so present with me everywhere, that enjoyment of

each other, which we were unable to have in the intercourse of this life, is now always and everywhere with us. For at that time certainly all things could not be present, for neither did our physical constitution allow it, nor could the sight of each other, nor the sweetness of our bodily embraces at all times and in all places be enjoyed. But the pictures in our souls were always present with us, even when we were not together, and these have not come to an end, but constantly come back to us, and the greater the longing the greater abundance have we of them.

74. So, then, I hold you, my brother, and neither death nor time shall tear you from me. Tears themselves are sweet, and weeping itself a pleasure, for by these the eagerness of the soul is assuaged, and affection being eased is quieted. For neither can I be without you, nor ever forget you, or think of you without tears. O bitter days, which show that our union is broken! O nights worthy of tears, which have lost for me so good a sharer of my rest, so inseparable a companion! What sufferings would you cause me, unless the likeness of him present offered itself to me, unless the visions of my soul represented him whom my bodily sight shows me no more!

75. Now, now, O brother, dearest to my soul, although you are gone by too early a death, happy at least are you, who dost not endure these sorrows, and art not compelled to mourn the loss of a brother, separation from whom you could not long endure, but quickly returned and visit him again. But if then you hastened to banish the weariness of my loneliness, to lighten the sadness of your brother’s mind, how much more often ought thou now to revisit my afflicted soul, and yourself lighten the sorrow which has its origin from you!

76. But the exercise of my office now bids me rest awhile, and attention to my priestly duties draws my mind away; but what will happen to my holy sister, who though she moderates her affection by the fear of God, yet again kindles the grief itself of the affection by the zeal of her devotion? Prostrate

on the ground, embracing her brother's tomb, wearied with toilsome walking, sad in spirit, day and night she renews her grief. For though she often breaks off her weeping by speech, she renews it in prayer; and although in her knowledge of her Scriptures she excels those who bring consolation, she makes up for her desire of weeping by the constancy of her prayers, renewing the abundance of her tears then chiefly, when no one can interrupt her. So you have that which you may pity, not what you may blame, for to weep in prayer is a sign of virtue. And although that be a common thing with virgins, whose softer sex and more tender affection abound in tears at the sight of the common weakness, even without the feeling of family grief, yet when there is a greater cause for sorrowing, no limit is set to that sorrow.

77. The means of consolation, then, are wanting since excuses abound. For you can not forbid that which you teach, especially when she attributes her tears to devotion, not to sorrow, and conceals the course of the common grief for fear of shame. Console her, therefore, you who can approach her soul, and penetrate her mind. Let her perceive that you are present, feel that you are not departed, that having enjoyed his consolation of whose merit she is assured, she may learn not to grieve heavily for him, who warned her that he was not to be mourned for.

78. But why should I delay you, brother, why should I wait that my address should die and as it were be buried with you? Although the sight and form of your lifeless body, and its remaining comeliness and figure abiding here, comfort the eyes, I delay no longer, let us go on to the tomb. But first, before the people I utter the last farewell, declare peace to you, and pay the last kiss. Go before us to that home, common and waiting for all, and certainly now longed for by me beyond others. Prepare a common dwelling for him with whom you have dwelt, and as here we have had all things in common, so there, too, let us know no divided rights.

79. Do not, I pray you, long put off him who is desirous of you, expect him who is hastening after you, help him who is hurrying, and if I seem to you to delay too long, summon me. For we have not ever been long separated from each other, but you were always wont to return. Nor since you can not return again, I will go to you; it is just that I should repay the kindness and take my turn. Never was there much difference in the condition of our life; whether health or sickness, it was common to both, so that if one sickened the other fell ill, and when one began to recover, the other, too, was convalescent. How have we lost our rights? This time, too, we had our sickness in common, how is it that death was not ours in common?

80. And now to You, Almighty God, I commend this guileless soul, to You I offer my sacrifice; accept favourably and mercifully the gift of a brother, the offering of a priest. I offer beforehand these first libations of myself. I come to You with this pledge, a pledge not of money but of life, cause me not to remain too long a debtor of such an amount. It is not the ordinary interest of a brother’s love, nor the common course of nature, which is increased by such an amount of virtue. I can bear it, if I shall be soon compelled to pay it.

BOOK II.

On the Belief in the Resurrection.

1. IN THE former book I indulged my longing to some extent, lest too sharp remedies applied to a burning wound might rather increase than assuage the pain. And as at the same time I often addressed my brother, and had him before my eyes, it was not out of place to let natural feelings have a little play, since they are somewhat satisfied by tears, soothed by weeping, and numbed by a shock. For the outward expression of affection is of a soft and tender nature, it loves nothing extravagant, nothing stern, nothing hard; and patience is proved by enduring rather than by resisting.

2. So, since the death-day might well, lately, by the sad spectacle draw aside the mind of a brother, because it occupied him wholly, now, inasmuch as on the seventh day, the symbol of the future rest, we return to the grave, it is profitable to turn our thoughts somewhat from my brother to a general exhortation addressed to all, and to give our attention to this; so as neither to cling to my brother with all our minds, lest our feelings overcome us, nor forgetting such devotion and desert, to turn wholly away from him; and in truth we should but increase the suffering of our intense grief, if his death were again the subject of today's address.

3. Wherefore we propose, dearest brethren, to console ourselves with the common course of nature, and not to think anything hard which awaits all. And therefore we deem that death is not to be mourned over; firstly, because it is common and due to all; next, because it frees us from the miseries of this life and, lastly, because when in the likeness of sleep we are at rest from the toils of this world, a more lively vigour is shed upon us.

What grief is there which the grace of the Resurrection does not console? What sorrow is not excluded by the belief that nothing perishes in death? Nay, indeed, that by the hastening of death it comes to pass that much is preserved from perishing. So it will happen, dearest brethren, that in our general exhortation we shall turn our affections to my brother, and shall not seem to have wandered too far from him, if through hope of the Resurrection and the sweetness of future glory even in our discourse he should live again for us.

4. Let us then begin at this point, that we show that the departure of our loved ones should not be mourned by us. For what is more absurd than to deplore as though it were a special misfortune, what one knows is appointed unto all? This were to lift up the mind above the condition of men, not to accept the common law, to reject the fellowship of nature, to be puffed up in a fleshly mind, and not to recognize the measure of the flesh itself. What is more absurd than not to recognize what one is, to pretend to be what one is not? Or what can be a sign of less forethought than to be unable to bear, when it has happened, what one knew was going to happen? Nature herself calls us back, and draws us aside from sorrow of this sort by a kind of consolation of her own. For what so deep mourning is there, or so bitter grief, in which the mind is not at times relieved? For human nature has this peculiarity, that although men may be in sad circumstances, yet if only they be men, they sometimes turn their thoughts a little away from sadness.

5. It is said, indeed, that there have been certain tribes who mourned at the birth of human beings, and kept festival at their deaths, and this not without reason, for they thought that those who had entered upon this ocean of life should be mourned over, but that they who had escaped from the waves and storms of this world should be accompanied by rejoicing not without good reason. And we too forget the birthdays of the departed, and commemorate with festal solemnity the day on which they died.

6. Therefore, in accordance with nature, excessive grief must not be yielded to, lest we should seem either to claim for ourselves either an exceptional superiority of nature, or to reject the common lot. For death is alike to all, without difference for the poor, without exception for the rich. And so although through the sin of one alone, yet it passed upon all; Romans 5:12 that we may not refuse to acknowledge Him to be also the Author of death, Whom we do not refuse to acknowledge as the Author of our race; and that, as through one death is ours, so should be also the resurrection; and that we should not refuse the misery, that we may attain to the gift. For, as we read, Christ has come to save that which was lost, Luke 19:10 and to be Lord both of the dead and living. Romans 14:9 In Adam I fell, in Adam I was cast out of Paradise, in Adam I died; how shall the Lord call me back, except He find me in Adam; guilty as I was in him, so now justified in Christ. If, then, death be the debt of all, we must be able to endure the payment. But this topic must be reserved for later treatment.

7. It is now our purpose to demonstrate that death ought not to cause too heavy grief, because nature itself rejects this. And so they say that there was a law among the Lycians, commanding that men who gave way to grief should be clothed in female apparel, inasmuch as they judged mourning to be soft and effeminate in a man. And it is inconsistent that those who ought to offer their breast to death for the faith, for religion, for their country, for righteous judgment, and the endeavour after virtue, should grieve too bitterly for that in the case of others which, if a fitting cause required, they would seek for themselves. For how can one help shrinking from that in ourselves which one mourns with too little patience when it has happened to others? Put aside your grief, if you can; if you cannot, keep it to yourself.

8. Is, then, all sorrow to be kept within or repressed? Why should not reason rather than time lighten one’s sadness? Shall not wisdom better assuage that which the passage of time will obliterate? Further, it seems to

me that it is a want of due feeling with regard to the memory of those whose loss we mourn, when we prefer to forget them rather than that our sorrow should be lessened by consolation; and to shrink from the recollection of them, rather than remember them with thankfulness; that we fear the calling to mind of those whose image in our hearts ought to be a delight; that we are rather distrustful than hopeful regarding the acceptance of the departed, and think of those we loved rather as liable to punishment than as heirs of immortality.

9. But you may say: We have lost those whom we used to love. Is not this the common lot of ourselves and the earth and elements, that we cannot keep for ever what has been entrusted to us for a time? The earth groans under the plough, is lashed by rains, struck by tempests, bound by cold, burnt by the sun, that it may bring forth its yearly fruits; and when it has clothed itself with a variety of flowers, it is stripped and spoiled of its own adornment. How many plunderers it has! And it does not complain of the loss of its fruits, to which it gave birth that it might lose them, nor thereafter does it refuse to produce what it remembers will be taken from it.

10. The heavens themselves do not always shine with the globes of twinkling stars, wherewith as with coronets they are adorned. They are not always growing bright with the dawn of light, or ruddy with the rays of the sun; but in constant succession that most pleasing appearance of the world grows dark with the damp chill of night. What is more grateful than the light? What more pleasant than the sun? Each of which daily comes to an end; yet we do not take it ill that these have passed away from us, because we expect them to return. You are taught in these things what patience you ought to manifest with regard to those who belong to you. If things above pass away from you, and cause no grief, why should the passing away of man be mourned?

11. Let, then, grief be patient, let there be that moderation in adversity which is required in prosperity. If it be not seemly to rejoice immoderately, is it seemly so to mourn? For want of moderation in grief or fear of death is no small evil. How many has it driven to the halter, in how many hands has it placed the sword, that they might by that very means demonstrate their madness in not enduring death, and yet seeking it; in adopting that as a remedy which they flee from as an evil. And because they were unable to endure and to suffer what is in agreement with their nature, they fall into that which is contrary to their desire, being separated for ever from those whom they desired to follow. But this is not common, since nature herself restrains although madness drives men on.

12. But it is common with women to make public wailing, as though they feared that their misery might not be known. They affect soiled clothing, as though the feeling of sorrow consisted therein; they moisten their unkempt hair with filth; and lastly, which is done habitually in many places, with their clothing torn and their dress rent in two, they prostitute their modesty in nakedness, as if they were ready to sacrifice that modesty because they have lost that which was its reward. And so wanton eyes are excited, and lust after those naked limbs, which were they not made bare they would not desire. Would that those filthy garments covered the mind rather than the bodily form. Lasciviousness of mind is often hidden under sad clothing, and the unseemly rudeness of dress is used as a covering to hide the secrets of wanton spirits.

13. She mourns for her husband with sufficient devotion who preserves her modesty and does not give up her constancy. The best duties to discharge to the departed are that they live in our memories and continue in our affection. She has not lost her husband who manifests her chastity, nor is she widowed as regards her union who has not changed her husband’s name. Nor have you lost the heir when you assist the joint-heir, but in

exchange for a successor in perishable things you have a sharer in things eternal. You have one to represent your heir, pay to the poor what was due to the heir, that there may remain one to survive, not only the old age of father or mother, but your own life. You leave your successor all the more, if his share conduce not to luxury in things present, but to the purchasing of things to come.

14. But we long for those whom we have lost. For two things specially pain us: either the longing for those we have lost, which I experience in my own case; or that we think them deprived of the sweetness of life, and snatched away from the fruits of their toil. For there is a tender movement of love, which suddenly kindles the affection, so as to have the effect rather of soothing than of hindering the pain; inasmuch as it seems a dutiful thing to long for what one has lost, and so under an appearance of virtue weakness increases.

15. But why do you think that she who has sent her beloved to foreign parts, and because of military service, or of undertaking some office, or has discovered that for the purpose of commerce he has crossed the sea, ought to be more patient than thou who art left, not because of some chance decision or desire of money, but by the law of nature? But, you say, the hope of regaining him is shut out. As though the return of any one were certain! And oftentimes doubt wearies the mind more where the fear of danger is strong; and it is more burdensome to fear lest something should happen than to bear what one already knows has happened. For the one increases the amount of fear, the other looks forward to the end of its grief.

16. But masters have the right to transfer their slaves wherever they determine. Has not God this right? It is not granted to us to look for their return, but it is granted us to follow those gone before. And certainly the usual shortness of life seems neither to have deprived them of much who have gone before, nor to delay very long him who remains.

17. But if one cannot mitigate one's grief, does it not seem unbecoming to wish that because of our longing the whole course of things should be upset? The longings of lovers are certainly more intense, and yet they are tempered by regard to what is necessary; and though they grieve at being forsaken they are not wont to mourn, rather being deserted they blush at loving too hastily. And so patience in regret is all the more manifested.

18. But what shall I say of those who think that the departed are deprived of the sweetness of life? There can be no real sweetness in the midst of the bitternesses and pains of this life, which are caused either by the infirmity of the body itself, or by the discomfort of things happening from without. For we are always anxious and in suspense as to our wishes for happier circumstances; we waver in uncertainty, our hope setting before us doubtful things for certain, inconvenient for satisfactory, things that will fail for what is firm, and we have neither any strength in our will nor certainty in our wishes. But if anything happens against our wish, we think we are lost, and are rather broken down by pain at adversity than cheered by the enjoyment of prosperity. What good, then, are they deprived of who are rather freed from troubles?

19. Good health, I doubt not, is more beneficial to us than bad health is hurtful. Riches bring more delights than poverty annoyance, the satisfaction in children's love is greater than the sorrow at their loss, and youth is more pleasant than old age is sad. How often is the attainment of one's wishes a weariness, and what one has longed for a regret; so that one grieves at having obtained what one was not afraid of obtaining. But what fatherland, what pleasures, can compensate for exile and the bitterness of other penalties? For even when we have these, the pleasure is weakened either by the disinclination to use or by the fear of losing them.

20. But suppose that some one remains unharmed, free from grief, in uninterrupted enjoyment of the pleasures of the whole course of man's life,

what comfort can the soul attain to, enclosed in the bonds of a body of such a kind, and restrained by the narrow limits of the limbs? If our flesh shrinks from prison, if it abhors everything which denies it the power of roaming about; when it seems, indeed, to be always going forth, with its little powers of hearing or seeing what is beyond itself, how much more does our soul desire to escape from that prison-house of the body, which, being free with movement like the air, goes whither we know not, and comes whence we know not.

21. We know, however, that it survives the body, and that being set free from the bars of the body, it sees with clear gaze those things which before, dwelling in the body, it could not see. And we are able to judge of this by the instance of those who have visions of things absent and even heavenly in sleep (whose minds, when the body is as it were buried in sleep, rise to higher things and relate them to the body). So, then, if death frees us from the miseries of this world, it is certainly no evil, inasmuch as it restores liberty and excludes suffering.

22. At this point the right place occurs for arguing that death is not an evil, because it is the refuge from all miseries and all evils, a safe harbour of security, and a haven of rest. For what adversity is there which we do not experience in this life? What storms and tempests do we not suffer? By what discomforts are we not harassed? Whose merits are spared?

23. The holy patriarch Israel fled from his country, was exiled from his father, relatives, and home, Genesis 28:5 he mourned over the shame of his daughter Genesis 34:2 and the death of his son, he endured famine, when dead he lost his own grave, for he entreated that his bones should be translated, Genesis 49:29 lest even in death he should find rest.

24. Holy Joseph experienced the hatred of his brethren, the guile of those who envied him, the service of slavery, the mastership of merchantmen, the

wantonness of his mistress, the ignorance of her husband, and the misery of prison.

25. Holy David lost two sons; the one incestuous, 2 Samuel 13:29 the other a parricide. 2 Samuel 18:14 To have had them was a disgrace, to have lost them a grief. And he lost a third, the infant whom he loved. Him he wept for while still alive, but did not long for when dead. For so we read, that, while the child was sick, David entreated the Lord for him, and fasted and lay in sackcloth, and when the elders came near to raise him from the earth, he would neither rise nor eat. But when he heard that the child was dead, he changed his clothes, worshipped God, and took food. When this seemed strange to his servants, he answered that he had rightly fasted and wept while the child was alive, because he justly thought that God might have mercy, and it could not be doubted that He could preserve the life of one alive Who could give life to the departed, but now, when death had taken place, why should he fast, for he could not now bring back him that was dead, and recall him who was lifeless. I, said he, shall go to him, but he shall not return to me.

26. O greatest consolation for him who mourns! O true judgment of a wise man! O wonderful wisdom of one who is a bond-man! That none should take it ill that anything adverse has happened to him, or complain that he is afflicted contrary to his deserts. For who are you who beforehand proclaims your deserts? Why do you desire to anticipate Him Who takes cognizance of all? Why do you snatch away the verdict from Him Who is going to judge? This is permitted not even to the saints, nor has it ever been done by the saints with impunity. David confesses that he was scourged for this in his psalm: Behold, these are the ungodly, who prosper in the world, they have obtained riches. Therefore I have cleansed my heart in vain, and washed my hands among the innocent; and I was scourged all the day long, and my accusation came every morning.

27. Peter also, though full of faith and devotion, yet because, not yet conscious of our common weakness, he had presumptuously said to the Lord, I will lay down my life for Your sake, John 13:37 fell into the trial of his presumption before the cock crowed thrice. Luke 22:60-61 Although, indeed, that trial was a lesson for our salvation, that we might learn not to think little of the weakness of the flesh, lest through thus thinking little of it we should be tempted. If Peter was tempted, who can presume? Who can maintain that he cannot be tempted? And without doubt for our sakes was Peter tempted, so that, the proving of the temptation did not take place in a stronger than he, but that in him we should learn how, resisting in temptations, although tried even by care for our lives, we might yet overcome the sting of the temptation with tears of patience.

28. But that same David, that the difference of his actions may not perhaps disturb those who cling to the words of Scripture; that same David, I say, who had not wept for the innocent infant, wept for the parricide when dead. For at the last, when he was wailing and mourning, he said, O my son Absalom, my son Absalom! Who will grant me to die for you! But not only is Absalom the parricide wept over, Amnon is wept over; not only is the incestuous wept over, but is even avenged; the one by the scorn of the kingdom, the other by the exile of his brothers. The wicked is wept over, not the innocent. What is the cause? What is the reason? There is no little deliberation with the prudent and confirmation of results with the wise; for there is great consistency of prudence in so great a difference of actions, but the belief is one. He wept for those who were dead, but did not think that he ought to weep for the dead infant, for he thought that they were lost to him, but hoped that the latter would rise again.

29. But concerning the Resurrection more will be said later on; let us now return to our immediate subject. We have set forth that even holy men have without any consideration for their merits, suffered many and heavy

things in this world, together with toil and misery. So David, entering into himself, says: Remember; Lord, that we are dust; as for man, his days are but as grass; and in another place: Man is like to vanity, his days pass away as a shadow. For what is more wretched than we, who are sent into this life as it were plundered and naked, with frail bodies, deceitful hearts, weak minds, anxious in respect of cares, slothful as to labour, prone to pleasures.

30. Not to be born is then by far the best, according to Solomon's sentence. For they also who have seemed to themselves to excel most in philosophy have followed him. For he, before these philosophers in time, but later than many of our writers, spoke thus in Ecclesiastes: And I praised all the departed, which are already dead, more than the living, who are yet alive. And better than both they is he who has not yet been born, and who has not seen this evil work which has been done under the sun. And I saw all travail, and all the good of this labour, that for this a man is envied of his neighbour. And, indeed, this is vanity and vexation of spirit.

31. And who said this but he who asked for and obtained wisdom, to know how the world was made, and the power of the elements, the course of the year, and the dispositions of stars, to be acquainted with the natures of living creatures, the furies of wild beasts, and the violence of winds, and to understand the thoughts of man! How, then, should mortal matters be hidden from him, from whom heavenly things were not hidden? He who penetrated the thoughts of the woman who was claiming the child of another, who by the inspiration of divine grace knew the natures of living creatures which he did not share; could he err or say what was untrue with regard to the circumstances of that nature, which he found in his own personal experience?

32. But Solomon was not the only person who felt this, though he alone gave expression to it. He had read the words of holy Job: Let the day perish wherein I was born. Job 3:3 Job had recognized that to be born is the

beginning of all woes, and therefore wished that the day on which he was born might perish, so that the origin of all troubles might be removed, and wished that the day of his birth might perish that he might receive the day of resurrection. For Solomon had heard his father's saying: Lord, make me to know mine end, and the number of my days, that I may know what is lacking unto me. For David knew that what is perfect cannot be grasped here, and therefore hastened on to those things which are to come. For now we know in part, and understand in part, but then it will be possible for that which is perfect to be grasped, when not the shadow but the reality of the Divine Majesty and eternity shall begin to shine so as to be gazed upon by us with unveiled face. 1 Corinthians 13:12

33. But no one would hasten to the end, except he were fleeing from the discomfort of this life. And so David also explained why he hastened to the end, when he said: Behold You have made my days old, and my being is as nothing before You, surely all things are vanity, even every man that lives. Why, then, do we hesitate to flee from vanity? Or why does it please us to be troubled to no purpose in this world, to lay up treasures, and not know for what heir we are gathering them? Let us pray that troubles be removed from us, that we be taken out of this foolish world, that we may be free from our daily pilgrimage, and return to that country and our natural home. For on this earth we are strangers and foreigners; we have to return there whence we have come down, we must strive and pray not perfunctorily but earnestly to be delivered from the guile and wickedness of men full of words. And he who knew the remedy groaned that his sojourn was prolonged, and that he must dwell with the unjust and sinners. What shall I do, who both am sinful and know not the remedy?

34. Jeremiah also bewails his birth in these words: Woe is me, my mother! Why have you borne me a man of contention in all the earth? I have not benefited others, nor has any one benefited me, my strength has

failed. If, then, holy men shrink from life whose life, though profitable to us, is esteemed unprofitable to themselves; what ought we to do who am not able to profit others, and who feel that it, like money borrowed at interest, grows more heavily weighted every day with an increasing mass of sins?

35. I die daily, 1 Corinthians 15:31 says the Apostle. Better certainly is this saying than theirs who said that meditation on death was true philosophy, for they praised the study, he exercised the practice of death. And they acted for themselves only, but Paul, himself perfect, died not for his own weakness but for ours. But what is meditation on death but a kind of separation of body and soul, for death itself is defined as nothing else than the separation of body and soul? But this is in accordance with common opinion.

36. But according to the Scriptures we have been taught that death is threefold. One death is when we die to sin, but live to God. Blessed, then, is that death which, escaping from sin, and devoted to God, separates us from what is mortal and consecrates us to Him Who is immortal. Another death is the departure from this life, as the patriarch Abraham died, and the patriarch David, and were buried with their fathers; when the soul is set free from the bonds of the body. The third death is that of which it is said: Leave the dead to bury their own dead. Matthew 8:22 In that death not only the flesh but also the soul dies, for the soul that sins, it shall die. Ezekiel 18:4 For it dies to the Lord, through the weakness not of nature but of guilt. But this death is not the discharge from this life, but a fall through error.

37. Spiritual death, then, is one thing, natural death another, a third the death of punishment. But that which is natural is not also penal, for the Lord did not inflict death as a penalty, but as a remedy. And to Adam when he sinned, one thing was appointed as a penalty, another for a remedy, when it was said: Because you have hearkened unto the voice of your wife, and hast eaten of the tree of which I had commanded you that of it alone you should

not eat, cursed is the ground in your labor; in sorrow shall you eat its fruit all the days of your life. Thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to you, and you shall eat the herb of the field. In the sweat of your face shall you eat your bread, till thou return to the earth from which you were taken.

38. Here you have the days of rest from penalties, for they contain the punishment decreed against the thorns of this life, the cares of the world, and the pleasures of riches which shut out the Word. Death is given for a remedy, because it is the end of evils. For God said not, Because you have hearkened to the voice of the woman you shall return to the earth, for this would have been a penal sentence, as this one is, The earth under curse shall bring forth thorns and thistles to you; but He said: In sweat shall you eat your bread until thou return to the earth. You see that death is rather the goal of our penalties, by which an end is put to the course of this life.

39. So, then, death is not only not an evil, but is even a good thing. So that it is sought as a good, as it is written: Men shall seek death and shall not find it. Revelation 9:6 They will seek it who shall say to the mountains: Fall on us, and to the hills, Cover us. Luke 23:30 That soul, too, shall seek it which has sinned. That rich man lying in hell shall seek it, who wishes that his tongue should be cooled with the finger of Lazarus. Luke 16:24

40. We see, then, that this death is a gain and life a penalty, so that Paul says: To me to live is Christ and to die is gain. Philippians 1:21 What is Christ but the death of the body, the breath of life? And so let us die with Him, that we may live with Him. Let there then be in us as it were a daily practice and inclination to dying, that by this separation from bodily desires, of which we have spoken, our soul may learn to withdraw itself, and, as it were placed on high, when earthly lusts cannot approach and attach it to themselves, may take upon herself the likeness of death, that she incur not the penalty of death. For the law of the flesh wars against the law of the mind, and makes it over to the law of error, as the Apostle has made known

to us, saying: For I see a law of the flesh in my members warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity in the law of sin. Romans 7:23 We are all attached, we all feel this; but we are not all delivered. And so a miserable man am I, unless I seek the remedy.

41. But what remedy? Who shall deliver me out of the body of this death? Thanks be to God through Jesus Christ our Lord. Romans 7:24-25 We have a physician, let us use the remedy. Our remedy is the grace of Christ, and the body of death is our body. Let us therefore be as strangers to our body, lest we be strangers to Christ. Though we are in the body, let us not follow the things which are of the body, let us not reject the rightful claims of nature, but desire before all the gifts of grace: For to be dissolved and to be with Christ is far better; yet to abide in the flesh is more needful for your sakes. Philippians 1:23-24

42. But this need is not the case of all, Lord Jesus; it is not so with me, who am profitable to none; for to me death is a gain, that I may sin no more. To die is gain to me, who, in the very treatise in which I comfort others, am incited as it were by an intense impulse to the longing for my lost brother, since it suffers me not to forget him. Now I love him more, and long for him more intensely. I long for him when I speak, I long for him when I read again what I have written, and I think that I am more impelled to write this, that I may not ever be without the recollection of him. And in this I am not acting contrary to Scripture, but I am of the same mind with Scripture, that I may grieve with more patience, and long with greater intensity.

43. You have caused me, my brother, not to fear death, and I only would that my life might die with yours! This Balaam wished for as the greatest good for himself, when, inspired by the spirit of prophecy, he said: Let my soul die in the souls of the righteous, and let my seed be like the seed of them. And in truth he wished this according to the spirit of prophecy, for as he saw the rising of Christ, so also he saw His triumph, he saw His death,

but saw also in Him the everlasting resurrection of men, and therefore feared not to die as he was to rise again. Let not then my soul die in sin, nor admit sin into itself, but let it die in the soul of the righteous, that it may receive his righteousness. Then, too, he who dies in Christ is made a partaker of His grace in the Font.

44. Death is not, then, an object of dread, nor bitter to those in need, nor too bitter to the rich, nor unkind to the old, nor a mark of cowardice to the brave, nor everlasting to the faithful nor unexpected to the wise. For how many have consecrated their life by the renown of their death alone, how many have been ashamed to live, and have found death a gain! We have read how often by the death of one great nations have been delivered; the armies of the enemy have been put to flight by the death of the general, who had been unable to conquer them when alive.

45. By the death of martyrs religion has been defended, faith increased, the Church strengthened; the dead have conquered, the persecutors have been overcome. And so we celebrate the death of those of whose lives we are ignorant. So, too, David rejoiced in prophecy at the departure of his own soul, saying: Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints. He esteemed death better than life. The death itself of the martyrs is the prize of their life. And again, by the death of those at variance hatred is put an end to.

46. Why should more be said? By the death of One the world was redeemed. For Christ, had He willed, need not have died, but He neither thought that death should be shunned as though there were any cowardice in it, nor could He have saved us better than by dying. And so His death is the life of all. We are signed with the sign of His death, we show forth His death when we pray; when we offer the Sacrifice we declare His death, for His death is victory, His death is our mystery, His death is the yearly recurring solemnity of the world. What now should we say concerning His

death, since we prove by this Divine Example that death alone found immortality, and that death itself redeemed itself. Death, then, is not to be mourned over, for it is the cause of salvation for all; death is not to be shunned, for the Son of God did not think it unworthy of Him, and did not shun it. The order of nature is not to be loosed, for what is common to all cannot admit of exception in individuals.

47. And, indeed, death was no part of man's nature, but became natural; for God did not institute death at first, but gave it as a remedy. Let us then take heed that it do not seem to be the opposite. For if death is a good, why is it written that God made not death, but by the malice of men death entered into the world? For of a truth death was no necessary part of the divine operation, since for those who were placed in paradise a continual succession of all good things streamed forth; but because of transgression the life of man, condemned to lengthened labour, began to be wretched with intolerable groaning; so that it was fitting that an end should be set to the evils, and that death should restore what life had lost. For immortality, unless grace breathed upon it, would be rather a burden than an advantage.

48. And if one consider accurately, it is not the death of our being, but of evil, for being continues, it is evil that perishes. That which has been rises again; would that as it is now free from sinning, so it were without former guilt! But this very thing is a proof that it is not the death of being, that we shall be the same persons as we were. And so we shall either pay the penalty of our sins, or attain to the reward of our good deeds. For the same being will rise again, now more honourable for having paid the tax of death. And then the dead who are in Christ shall rise first; then, too, we who are alive, it is said, shall together with them be caught up in the clouds into the air to meet the Lord, and so we shall always be with the Lord. 1 Thessalonians 4:16-17 They first, but those that are alive second. They with Jesus, those that are alive through Jesus. To them life will be sweeter after

rest, and though the living will have a delightful gain, yet they will be without experience of the remedy.

49. There is, then, nothing for us to fear in death, nothing for us to mourn, whether life which was received from nature be rendered up to her again, or whether it be sacrificed to some duty which claims it, and this will be either an act of religion or the exercise of some virtue. And no one ever wished to remain as at present. This has been supposed to have been promised to John, but it is not the truth. We hold fast to the words, and deduce the meaning from them. He himself in his own writing John 21:23 denies that there was a promise that he should not die, that no one from that instance might yield to an empty hope. But if to wish for this would be an extravagant hope, how much more extravagant were it to grieve without rule for what has happened according to rule!

50. The heathen mostly console themselves with the thought, either of the common misery, or of the law of nature, or of the immortality of the soul. And would that their utterances were consistent, and that they did not transmit the wretched soul into a number of ludicrous monstrosities and figures! But what ought we to do, whose reward is the resurrection, though many, not being able to deny the greatness of this gift, refuse to believe in it? And for this reason will we maintain it, not by one casual argument only, but by as many as we are able.

51. All things, indeed, are believed to be, either because of experience, or on grounds of reason, or from similar instances, or because it is fitting that they be, and each of these supports our belief. Experience teaches us that we are moved; reason, that which moves us must be considered the property of another power; similar instances show that the field has borne crops, and therefore we expect that it will continue to bear them. Fitness, because even where we do not think that there will be results, yet we believe that it is by no means fitting to give up the works of virtue.

52. Each, then, is supported by each. But belief in the resurrection is inferred most clearly on three grounds, in which all are included. These are reason, analogy from universal example, and the evidence of what has happened, since many have risen. Reason is clear. For since the whole course of our life consists in the union of body and soul, and the resurrection brings with it either the reward of good works, or the punishment of wicked ones, it is necessary that the body, whose actions are weighed, rise again. For how shall the soul be summoned to judgment without the body, when account has to be rendered of the companionship of itself and the body?

53. Rising again is the lot of all, but there is a difficulty in believing this, because it is not due to our deserts, but is the gift of God. The first argument for the resurrection is the course of the world, and the condition of all things, the series of generations, the changes in the way of succession, the setting and rising of constellations, the ending of day and night, and their daily succession coming as it were again to life. And no other reason can exist for the fertile temperament of this earth, but that the divine order restores by the dews of night as much of that moisture from which all earthly things are produced, as the heat of the sun dries up by day. Why should I speak of the fruits of the earth? Do they not seem to die when they fall, to rise again when they grow green once more? That which is sown rises again, that which is dead rises again, and they are formed once more into the same classes and kinds as before. The earth first gave back these fruits, in these first our nature found the pattern of the resurrection.

54. Why doubt that body shall rise again from body? Grain is sown, grain comes up again: fruit is sown, fruit comes up again; but the grain is clothed with blossom and husk. And this mortal must put on immortality, and this corruptible must put on incorruption. 1 Corinthians 15:53 The blossom of the resurrection is immortality, the blossom of the resurrection is

incorruption. For what is more fruitful than perpetual rest? What supplied with richer store than everlasting security? Here is that abundant fruit, by whose increase man's nature shoots forth more abundantly after death.

55. But you wonder how what has yielded to putrefaction can again become solid, how scattered particles can come together, those that are consumed be made good: you do not wonder how seeds broken up under the moist pressure of the earth grow green. For certainly they too, rotting under contact with the earth, are broken up, and when the fertilising moisture of the soil gives life to the dead and hidden seeds, and, by the vital warmth, as it were breathes out a kind of soul of the green herb. Then little by little nature raises from the ground the tender stalk of the growing ear, and as a careful mother folds it in certain sheaths, lest the sharp ice should hurt it as it grows, and to protect it from too great heat of the sun; and lest after this the rain should break down the fruit itself escaping as it were from its first cradle and just grown up, or lest the wind should scatter it, or small birds destroy it, she usually hedges it around with a fence of bristling awn.

56. Why should one, then, be surprised if the earth give back those bodies of men which it has received, seeing that it gives life to, raises, clothes, protects, and defends whatsoever bodies of seeds it has received? Cease then to doubt that the trustworthy earth, which restores multiplied as it were by usury the seeds committed to it, will also restore the entrusted deposit of the race of man. And why should I speak of the kinds of trees, which spring up from seed sown, and with revivified fruitfulness bear again their opening fruits, and repeat the old shape and likeness, and certain trees being renewed continue through many generations, and in their endurance overpass the very centuries? We see the grape rot, and the vine come up again: a graft is inserted and the tree is born again. Is there this divine foresight for restoring trees, and no care for men? And He Who has not

suffered to perish that which He gave for man's use, shall He suffer man to perish, whom he made after His own image?

57. But it appears incredible to you that the dead rise again? You foolish one, that which you yourself sow, does it not first die that it may be quickened? 1 Corinthians 15:36 Sow any dry seed you please, it is raised up. But, you answer, it has the life-juice in itself. And our body has its blood, has its own moisture. This is the life-juice of our body. So that I think that the objection is exploded which some allege that a dry twig does not revive, and then endeavour to argue from this to the prejudice of the flesh. For the flesh is not dry, since all flesh is of clay, clay comes from moisture — moisture from the earth. Then, again, many growing plants, though always fresh, spring from dry and sandy soil, since the earth itself supplies sufficient moisture for itself. Does the earth then, which continually restores all things, fail with regard to man? From what has been said it is clear that we must not doubt that it is rather in accordance with than contrary to nature; for it is natural that all things living should rise again, but contrary to nature that they should perish.

58. We come now to a point which much troubles the heathen, how it can be that the earth should restore those whom the sea has swallowed up, wild beasts have torn to pieces or have devoured. So, then, at last we necessarily come to the conclusion that the doubt is not as to belief in resurrection in general, but as to a part. For, granted that the bodies of those torn in pieces do not rise again, the others do so, and the resurrection is not disproved, but a certain class is an exception. Yet I wonder why they think there is any doubt even concerning these, as though not all things which are of the earth return to the earth, and crumble again into earth. And the sea itself for the most part casts up on neighbouring shores whatever human bodies it has swallowed. And if this were not so, I suppose we are to believe that it would not be difficult for God to join together what was dispersed, to unite

what was scattered; God, Whom the universe obeys, to Whom the dumb elements submit and nature serves; as though it were not a greater wonder to give life to clay than to join it together.

59. That bird in the country of Arabia, which is called the Phoenix, restored by the renovating juices of its flesh, after being dead comes to life again: shall we believe that men alone are not raised up again? Yet we know this by common report and the authority of writings, namely, that the bird referred to has a fixed period of life of five hundred years, and when by some warning of nature it knows that the end of its life is at hand, it furnishes for itself a casket of frankincense and myrrh and other perfumes, and its work and the time being together ended, it enters the casket and dies. Then from its juices a worm comes forth, and grows by degrees into the fashion of the same bird, and its former habits are restored, and borne up by the oarage of its wings it commences once more the course of its renewed life, and discharges a debt of gratitude. For it conveys that casket, whether the tomb of its body or the cradle of its resurrection, in which quitting life it died, and dying it rose again, from Ethiopia to Lycaonia; and so by the resurrection of this bird the people of those regions understand that a period of five hundred years is accomplished. So to that bird the five hundredth is the year of resurrection, but to us the thousandth: it has its resurrection in this world, we have ours at the end of the world. Many think also that this bird kindles its own funeral pile, and comes to life again from its own ashes.

60. But perhaps nature if more deeply investigated will seem to give a deeper reason for our belief: let our thoughts turn back to the origin and commencement of the creation of man. You are men and women, you are not ignorant of the things which have to do with human nature, and if any of you have not this knowledge, you know that we are born of nothing. But how small an origin for being so great as we are! And if I do not speak more plainly, yet you understand what I mean, or rather what I will not say.

Whence, then, is this head, and that wonderful countenance, whose maker we see not? We see the work, it is fashioned for various purposes and uses. Whence is this upright figure, this lofty stature, this power of action, this quickness of perception, this capacity for walking upright? Doubtless the organs of nature are not known to us, but that which they effect is known. Thou too wast once seed, and your body is the seed of that which shall rise again. Listen to Paul and learn that you are this seed: It is sown in corruption, it shall rise in incorruption; it is sown in dishonour, it shall rise in glory; it is sown in weakness, it shall rise in power; it is sown a natural body, it shall rise a spiritual body. Thou also, then, art sown as are other things, why do you wonder if you shall rise again as shall others? But you believe as to them, because you see, you believe not this, because you see it not: Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed. John 20:29

61. However, before the season comes, those things also are not believed, for every season is not suited for the raising of seeds. Wheat is sown at one time, and comes up at another; at one time the vine is planted, at another the budding twigs begin to shoot, the foliage grows luxuriant, and the grape is formed; at one time the olive is planted, at another time, as though pregnant and loaded with its offspring of berries, it is bent down by the abundance of its fruit. But before its own period arrives for each, the produce is restricted, and that which bears has not the age of bearing in its own power. One may see the mother of all at one time disfigured with mould, at another bare of produce, at another green and full of flowers, at another dried up. Any spot which might wish to be always clothed and never to lay aside the golden dress of its seeds, or the green dress of the meadows, would be barren in itself and unendowed with the gain of its own produce which it would have transferred to others.

62. So, then, even if you will not believe in our resurrection by faith nor by example, you will believe by experience. For many products, as the vine,

the olive, and different fruits, the end of the year is the fit time for ripening; and for us also the consummation of the world, as though the end of the year has set the fitting time for rising again. And fitly is the resurrection of the dead at the consummation of the world, lest after the resurrection we should have to fall back into this evil age. For this cause Christ suffered that He might deliver us from this evil world; lest the temptations of this world should overthrow us again, and it should be an injury to us to come again to life, if we came to life again for sin.

63. So then we have both a reason and a time for the resurrection: a reason because nature in all its produce remains consistent with itself, and does not fail in the generation of men alone; a time because all things are produced at the end of the year. For the seasons of the world consist of one year. What wonder if the year be one since the day is one. For on one day the Lord hired the labourers to work in the vineyard, when He said, Why stand ye here all the day idle? Matthew 20:6

64. The causes of the beginnings of all things are seeds. And the Apostle of the Gentiles has said that the human body is a seed. 1 Corinthians 15:43 And so in succession after sowing there is the substance needful for the resurrection. But even if there were no substance and no cause, who could think it difficult for God to create man anew whence He will and as He wills. Who commanded the world to come into being out of no matter and no substance? Look at the heaven, behold the earth. Whence are the fires of the stars? Whence the orb and rays of the sun? Whence the globe of the moon? Whence the mountain heights, the hard rocks, the woody groves? Whence are the air diffused around, and the waters, whether enclosed or poured abroad? But if God made all these things out of nothing (for He spoke and they were made, He commanded and they were created), why should we wonder that which has been should be brought to life again, since we see produced that which had not been?

65. It is a cause for wonder that though they do not believe in the resurrection, yet in their kindly care they make provision that the human race should not perish, and so say that souls pass and migrate into other bodies that the world may not pass away. But let them say which is the most difficult, for souls to migrate, or to return; come back to that which is their own, or seek for fresh dwelling places.

66. But let those who have not been taught doubt. For us who have read the Law, the Prophets, the Apostles, and the Gospel it is not lawful to doubt. For who can doubt when he reads: And in that time shall all your people be saved which is written in the book; and many of them that sleep in the graves of the earth shall arise with one opening, these to everlasting life, and those to shame and everlasting confusion. And they that have understanding shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and of the just many shall be as the stars forever. Well, then, did he speak of the rest of those that sleep, that one may understand that death lasts not for ever, which like sleep is undergone for a time, and is put off at its time; and he shows that the progress of that life which shall be after death is better than that which is passed in sorrow and pain before death, inasmuch as the former is compared to the stars, the latter is assigned to trouble.

67. And why should I bring together what is written elsewhere: You shall raise me up and I will praise You. Or that other passage in which holy Job, after experiencing the miseries of this life, and overcoming all adversity by his virtuous patience, promised himself a recompense for present evils in the resurrection, saying: You shall raise up this body of mine which has suffered many evils. Isaiah also, proclaiming the resurrection to the people, says that he is the announcer of the Lord’s message, for we read thus: For the mouth of the Lord has spoken, and they shall say in that day. Isaiah 25:8-9 And what the mouth of the Lord declared that the people should say is set forth later on, where it is written: Because of Your fear, O Lord, we

have been with child and have brought forth the Spirit of Your Salvation, which You have poured forth upon the earth. They that inhabit the earth shall fall, they shall rise that are in the graves. For the dew which is from You is health for them but the land of the wicked shall perish. Go, O my people, and enter into your chambers; hide yourself for a little until the Lord's wrath pass by.

68. How well did he by the chambers point out the tombs of the dead, in which for a brief space we are hidden, that we may be better able to pass to the judgment of God, which shall try us with the indignation due for our wickednesses. He, then, is alive who is hidden and at rest, as though withdrawing himself from our midst and retiring, lest the misery of this world should entangle him with closer snares, for whom the heavenly oracles affirm by the voices of the prophets that the joy of the resurrection is reserved, and the soundness of their freed bodies procured by the divine deed. And dew is well used as a sign, since by it all vital seeds of the earth are raised to growth. What wonder is it, then, if the dust and ashes also of our failing body grow vigorous by the richness of the heavenly dew, and by the reception of this vital moistening the shapes of our limbs are refashioned and connected again with each other?

69. And the holy prophet Ezekiel teaches and describes with a full exposition how vigour is restored to the dry bones, the senses return, motion is added, and the sinews coming back, the joints of the human body grow strong; how the bones which were very dry are clothed with restored flesh, and the course of the veins and the flow of the blood is covered by the veil of the skin drawn over them. As we read, the reviving multitude of human bodies seems to spring up under the very words of the prophet, and one can see on the widespread plain the new seed shoot forth.

70. But if the wise men of old believed that a crop of armed men sprang up in the district of Thebes from the sowing of the hydra's teeth, whereas it

is certainly established that seeds of one kind cannot be changed into another kind of plant, nor bring forth produce differing from its own seeds, so that men should spring from serpents and flesh from teeth; how much more, indeed, is it to be believed that whatever has been sown rises again in its own nature, and that crops do not differ from their seed, that soft things do not spring from hard, nor hard from soft, nor is poison changed into blood; but that flesh is restored from flesh, bone from bone, blood from blood, the humours of the body from humours. Can you then, you heathen, who are able to assert a change, deny a restoration of the nature? Can you refuse to believe the oracles of God, the Gospel, and the prophets, who believe empty fables?

71. But let us now hear the prophet himself, who speaks thus: The hand of the Lord was upon me, and the Lord led me forth in the Spirit, and placed me in the midst of the plain, and it was full of men's bones; and He led me through them round about, and, lo, there were very many bones on the face of the plain, and they were very dry. And He said to me: Son of man, can these bones live? And I said: Lord, You know; and He said to me: Prophesy over these bones, and you shall say unto them: O you dry bones, hear the word of the Lord. Thus says the Lord to these bones: Behold I bring upon you the Spirit of life, and I will lay sinews upon you, and will bring up flesh upon you, and will stretch skin over you, and will put My Spirit into you, and you shall live, and know that I am the Lord. And I prophesied as He commanded me. And it came to pass when I was prophesying all these things, lo, there was a great earthquake. Ezekiel 37:1-7

72. Note how the prophet shows that there was hearing and movement in the bones before the Spirit of life was poured upon them. For, above, both the dry bones are bidden to hear, as if they had the sense of hearing, and that upon this each of them came to its own joint is pointed out by the words of the prophet, for we read as follows: And the bones came together,

each one to its joint. And I beheld, and, lo, sinews and flesh were forming upon them, and skin came upon them from above, and there was no Spirit in them. Ezekiel 5:7

73. Great is the lovingkindness of the Lord, that the prophet is taken as a witness of the future resurrection, that we, too might see it with his eyes. For all could not be taken as witnesses, but in that one all we are witnesses, for neither does lying come upon a holy man, nor error upon so great a prophet.

74. Nor ought it to appear at all improbable, that at the command of God the bones were fitted again to their joints, since we have numberless instances in which nature has obeyed the commands of heaven; as the earth was bidden to bring forth the green herb, Genesis 1:11 and did bring it forth; as the rock at the touch of the rod gave forth water for the thirsting people; and the hard stone poured forth streams by the mercy of God for those parched with heat. What else did the rod changed into a serpent Exodus 4:3 signify, than that at the will of God living things can be produced from those that are without life? Do you think it more incredible that bones should come together when bidden, than that streams should be turned back or the sea flee? For thus does the prophet testify: The sea saw it and fled, Jordan was driven back. Nor can there be any doubt about this fact, which was proved by the rescue of one and the destruction of the other of two peoples, that the waves of the sea stood restrained, and at the same time surrounded one people, and poured back upon the other for their death, that they might overwhelm the one, but preserve the other. And what do we find in the Gospel itself? Did not the Lord Himself prove there that the sea grew calm at a word, the clouds were driven away, the blasts of the winds yielded, and that on the quieted shores the dumb elements obeyed God?

75. But let us go on with the other points, that we may observe how by the Spirit of life the dead are quickened, they that lie in the graves arise, and

the tombs are opened: And He said to me: Prophesy, son of man, and say to the Spirit, Come from the four winds of heaven, O Spirit, and breathe upon these dead, that they may live. And I prophesied as He commanded me, and the Spirit of life entered into them, and they lived, and stood up on their feet, an exceeding great company. And the Lord spoke unto me, saying: Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel. For they say, Our bones have become dry, our hope is lost, we shall perish. Therefore, prophesy and say: Thus says the Lord: Behold I will open your graves, and will bring you up out of your graves into the land of Israel, and you shall know that I am the Lord, when I shall open your graves, and bring forth My people out of the graves, and shall put My Spirit in you, and place you in your own land, and you shall know that I am the Lord; I have spoken, and I will perform it, says the Lord. Ezekiel 37:9-14

76. We notice here how the operations of the Spirit of life are again resumed; we know after what manner the dead are raised from the opening tombs. And is it in truth a matter of wonder that the sepulchres of the dead are unclosed at the bidding of the Lord, when the whole earth from its utmost limits is shaken by one thunderclap, the sea overflows its bounds, and again checks the course of its waves? And finally, he who has believed that the dead shall rise again in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump (for the trumpet shall sound), 1 Corinthians 15:52 shall be caught up among the first in the clouds to meet Christ in the air; 1 Thessalonians 4:17 he who has not believed shall be left, and subject himself to the sentence by his own unbelief.

77. The Lord also shows us in the Gospel, to come now to instances, after what manner we shall rise again. For He raised not Lazarus alone, but the faith of all; and if you believe, as you read, your spirit also, which was dead, revives with Lazarus. For what does it mean, that the Lord went to the sepulchre and cried with a loud voice, Lazarus, come forth, John 11:43

except that He would give us a visible proof, would set forth an example of the future resurrection? Why did He cry with a loud voice, as though He were not wont to work in the Spirit, to command in silence, but only that He might show that which is written: In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump the dead shall rise again incorruptible? 1 Corinthians 15:52 For the raising of the voice answers to the peal of trumpets. And He cried, Lazarus, come forth. Why is the name added, except perchance lest one might seem to be raised instead of another, or that the resurrection were rather accidental than commanded.

78. So, then, the dead man heard, and came forth from the tomb, bound hand and foot with grave cloths, and his face was bound with a napkin. Conceive, if you can, how he makes his way with closed eyes, directs his steps with bound feet, and moves as though free with fastened limbs. The bands remained on him but did not restrain him, his eyes were covered yet they saw. So, then, he saw who was rising again, who was walking, who was leaving the sepulchre. For when the power of the divine command was working, nature did not require its own functions, and brought, as it were, into extremity, obeyed no longer its own course, but the divine will. The bands of death were burst before those of the grave. The power of moving was exercised before the means of moving were supplied.

79. If you marvel at this, consider Who gave the command, that you may cease to wonder; Jesus Christ. the Power of God, the Life, the Light, the Resurrection of the dead. The Power raised up him that was lying prostrate, the Life produced his steps, the Light drove away the darkness and restored his sight, the Resurrection renewed the gift of life.

80. Perchance it may trouble you that the Jews took away the stone and loosened the grave cloths, and you may haply be anxious as to who shall move the stone from your tomb. As though He Who could restore the Spirit could not remove the stone; or He Who made the bound to walk could not

burst the bonds; or He Who had shed light upon the covered eyes could not uncover the face; or He Who could renew the course of nature could not cleave the stone! But, in order that they may believe their eyes who will not believe with their heart, they remove the stone, they see the corpse, they smell the stench, they loose the grave cloths. They cannot deny that he is dead whom they behold rising again; they see the signs of death and the proofs of life. What if, while they are busied, they are converted by the very toil itself? What if, while they hear, they believe their own ears? What if, while they behold, they are instructed by their own eyes? What if, while they loose the bonds, they free their own minds? What if, while Lazarus is being unbound, the people is set free, while they let Lazarus go, themselves return to the Lord? For, lastly, many who had come to Mary, seeing what had taken place, believed.

81. And this was not the only instance which our Lord Jesus Christ set forth, but He raised others also, that we might at any rate believe more numerous instances. He raised the young man again, moved by the tears of his widowed mother, when He came and touched the bier, and said: Young man, I say unto you, arise, and he that was dead sat up and began to speak. Luke 14:7-8 As soon as he heard he immediately sat up, he immediately spoke. The working of power, then, is one thing, the order of nature is another.

82. And what shall I say of the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue, at whose death multitudes were weeping and the flute-players piping? For the funeral solemnities were being performed because of the conviction of death. How quickly at the word of the Lord does the spirit return, the reviving body rise up, and food is taken, that the evidence of life may be believed! Mark 5:38-43

83. And why should we wonder that the soul is restored at the word of God, that flesh returns to the bones, when we remember the dead raised by

the touch of the prophet's body? Elijah prayed, and raised the dead child. Peter in the name of Christ bade Tabitha rise and walk, Acts 9:40 and the poor rejoicing believed for the food's sake which she ministered to them, and shall we not believe for our salvation's sake? They purchased the resurrection of another by their tears, shall we not believe in the purchase of ours by the Passion of Christ? Who when He gave up the ghost, in order to show that He died for our resurrection, worked out the course of the resurrection; for so soon as He cried again with a loud voice and gave up the ghost, the earth did quake, and the rocks were rent, and the tombs were opened, and many bodies of the saints which slept arose, and, going forth out of the tombs after His resurrection, came into the holy city and appeared unto many. Matthew 27:50-53

84. If these things happened when He gave up the ghost, why should we think them incredible when He shall return to judgment? Especially since this earlier resurrection is a pledge of that future resurrection, and a pattern of that reality Which is to come; indeed, it is rather itself truth than a pattern. Who, then, at the Lord's resurrection opened the graves, gave a hand to those who were rising, showed them the road to find the holy city? If there was no one, it was certainly the Divine Power which was working in the bodies of the dead. Shall one seek for the aid of man where one sees the work of God?

85. Divine action has no need of human assistance. God commanded that the heavens should come into existence, and it was done; He determined that the earth should be created, and it was created. Who carried together the stones on his shoulders? Who supplied the expenses? Who furnished assistance to God as He toiled? These things were made in a moment. Would you know how quickly? He spoke and they were made. If the elements spring up at a word, why should the dead not rise at a word? For though they be dead, yet they once lived, once had the breath of life for

feeling, and strength for acting; and there is a very great difference between not having been capable of life, and having remained lifeless. The devil said: Command this stone that it become bread. Luke 4:3 He confesses that at the command of God nature can be transformed, do you not believe that at the command of God nature can be remade?

86. Philosophers dispute about the course of the sun and the system of the heavens, and there are those who think that these should be believed when they are ignorant of what they are talking about. For neither have they climbed up into the heavens, nor measured the sky, nor examined the universe with their eyes; for none of them was with God in the beginning, none of them has said of God: When He was preparing the heavens I was with Him, I was with Him as a master workman, I was he in whom He delighted. If, then, they are believed, is God not believed, Who says: As the new heavens and the new earth, which I make to remain before Me, says the Lord; so shall your name and your seed abide; and month shall be after month, and sabbath after sabbath, and all flesh shall come in My sight to worship in Jerusalem, says the Lord God; and they shall go forth, and shall see the limbs of men who have transgressed against Me. For their worm shall not die and their fire shall not be quenched and they shall be a sight to all flesh. Isaiah 66:22-24

87. If the earth and heaven are renewed, why should we doubt that man, on account of whom heaven and earth were made, can be renewed? If the transgressor be reserved for punishment, why should not the just be kept for glory? If the worm of sins does not die, how shall the flesh of the just perish? For the resurrection, as the very form of the word shows, is this, that what has fallen should rise again, that which has died should come to life again.

88. And this is the course and ground of justice, that since the action of body and soul is common to both (for what the soul has conceived the body

has carried out), each should come into judgment, and each should be either given over to punishment or reserved for glory. For it would seem almost inconsistent that, since the law of the mind fights against the law of the flesh, and the mind often, when sin dwelling in man acts, does that which it hates; the mind guilty of a fault shared by another should be subjected to penalty, and the flesh, the author of the evil, should enjoy rest: and that should alone suffer which had not sinned alone, or should alone attain to glory, not having fought alone with the help of grace.

89. The reason, unless I am mistaken, is complete and just, but I do not require a reason from Christ. If I am convinced by reason I reject faith. Abraham believed God, Genesis 15:6 let us also believe Him, that we who are heirs of his race may also be heirs of his faith. David likewise believed, and therefore did he speak; let us also believe that we may be able to speak, knowing that He Who raised up the Lord Jesus shall raise up us also with Jesus. 2 Corinthians 4:14 For God, Who never lies, promised this; the Truth promised this in His Gospel, when He said: This is the will of Him that sent Me, that of all that which He has given Me I should lose nothing, but should raise it up at the last day. John 6:39 And He thought it not sufficient to have said this once, but marked it by express repetition, for this follows: For this is the will of My Father, Who sent Me, that every one that sees the Son and believes in Him should have eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day.

90. Who was He that said this? He in truth Who when dead raised up many bodies of the departed. If we believe not God, shall we not believe evidence? Do we not believe what He promised, since He did even that which He did not promise? And what reason would He have had for dying, had He not also had a reason for rising again? For, seeing that God could not die, Wisdom could not die; and inasmuch as that could not rise again which had not died, flesh is assumed, which can die, that while that, whose

nature it is, dies, that which had died should rise again. For the resurrection could not be effected except by man; since, as by man came death, so too by man came the resurrection of the dead. 1 Corinthians 15:21

91. So, then, man rose because man died; man was raised again, but God raised him. Then it was man according to the Flesh, now God is all in all. 1 Corinthians 15:28 For now we know not Christ according to the flesh, 2 Corinthians 5:16 but we possess the grace of that Flesh, so that we know Him the firstfruits of them that rest, 1 Corinthians 15:23 the firstborn of the dead. Colossians 1:18 Now the first-fruits are undoubtedly of the same nature and kind as the remaining fruits, the first of which are offered to God as a petition for a richer increase, as a holy thank-offering for all gifts, and as a kind of libation of that nature which has been restored. Christ, then, is the firstfruits of them that rest. But is this of His own who are at rest, who, as it were, freed from death, are holden by a kind of sweet slumber, or of all those who are dead? As in Christ all die, so too in Christ shall all be made alive. 1 Corinthians 15:22 So, then, as the firstfruits of death were in Adam, so also the firstfruits of the resurrection are in Christ.

92. All men rise again, but let no one lose heart, and let not the just grieve at the common lot of rising again, since he awaits the chief fruit of his virtue. All indeed shall rise again, 1 Corinthians 15:23 but, as says the Apostle, each in his own order. The fruit of the Divine Mercy is common to all, but the order of merit differs. The day gives light to all, the sun warms all, the rain fertilises the possessions of all with genial showers.

93. We are all born, and we shall all rise again, but in each state, whether of living or of living again, grace differs and the condition differs. For, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump, the dead shall rise incorruptible and we shall be changed. 1 Corinthians 15:52 Moreover, in death itself some rest, and some live. Rest is good, but life is better. And so the Apostle rouses him that is resting to life, saying: Rise, you that sleep,

and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give you light. Ephesians 5:14 Therefore he is aroused that he may live, that he may be like to Paul, that he may be able to say: For we that are alive shall not prevent those that are aslee Thessalonians 4:14 He speaks not here of the common manner of life, and the breath which we all alike enjoy, but of the merit of the resurrection. For, having said, And the dead which are in Christ shall rise first, he adds further; And we that are alive shall together with them be caught up in the clouds, to meet Christ in the air. 1 Thessalonians 4:17

94. Paul certainly is dead, and by his honourable passion exchanged the life of the body for everlasting glory; did he then deceive himself when he wrote that he should be caught up alive in the clouds to meet Christ? We read the same too of Enoch Genesis 5:24 and of Elijah, and thou too shall be caught up in the Spirit. Lo the chariot of Elijah, lo the fire, though not seen are prepared, that the just may ascend, the innocent be borne forth, and your life may not know death. For indeed the apostles knew not death, according to that which was said: Verily, verily, I say unto you, many of those standing here shall not taste death until they see the Son of man coming in His kingdom. Matthew 16:28 For he lives, who has nothing in him which can die, who has not from Egypt any shoe or bond, but has put it off before laying aside the service of this body. And so not Enoch alone is alive, for not he alone was caught up; Paul also was caught up to meet Christ.

95. The patriarchs also live, for God could not be called the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, except the dead were living; for He is not the God of the dead but of the living. Luke 20:38 And we, too, shall live if we be willing to copy the deeds and habits of our predecessors. We are astonished at the rewards of the patriarchs, let us copy their faithfulness; we tell of their grace, let us follow their obedience; let us not, enticed by appetite, fall into the snares of the world. Let us lay hold of the opportunity,

of the commandment of the Law, the mercy of our vocation, the desire of suffering. The patriarchs went forth from their own land, let us go forth in purpose from the power of the body; let us go forth in purpose as they in exile; but they esteemed that not to be exile which the fear of God caused, necessity did not enforce. They changed their land for another soil, let us change earth for heaven; they changed in earthly habitation, let us change in spirit. To them Wisdom showed the heaven illuminated with stars, Genesis 15:5 let it enlighten the eyes of our heart. Thus does the type agree with the truth, and the truth with the type.

96. Abraham, ready to receive strangers, faithful towards God, devoted in ministering, quick in his service, saw the Trinity in a type; Genesis 18:2 he added religious duty to hospitality, when beholding Three he worshipped One, and preserving the distinction of the Persons, yet addressed one Lord, he offered to Three the honour of his gift, while acknowledging one Power. It was not learning but grace which spoke in him, and he believed better what he had not learned than we who have learned. No one had falsified the representation of the truth, and so he sees Three, but worships the Unity. He brings forth three measures of fine meal, and slays one victim, considering that one sacrifice is sufficient, but a triple gift; one victim, an offering of three. And in the four kings, Genesis xiv who does not understand that he subjected to himself the elements of the material creation, and all earthly things in a sign whereby the Lord's Passion was prefigured? Faithful in war, moderate in his triumph, in that he preferred not to become richer by the gifts of men, but by those of God.

97. He believed that he when old could beget a son, Genesis 15:6 and judged himself when a father able to sacrifice his son; nor did his fatherly affection tremble when duty aided the right hand of the old man, Genesis 22:11 for he knew that his son would be more acceptable to God when sacrificed than when whole. Therefore he brings his well-beloved son to be

sacrificed, and offered promptly him whom he had received late; nor is he restrained by being called by the name of father, when his son called him Father, and he replied, My son. Dear pledges of love are these names, but the commands of God are loved still more. And so although their hearts felt for each other, their purpose remained firm. The father's hand stretched out the knife over his son, and the father's heart struck the blow that the sentence might not fail of being carried out; he feared lest the stroke should miss, lest his right hand should fail. He felt the movings of fatherly affection, but did not shrink from the work of submission, and hastened his obedience, even when he heard the voice from heaven. Let us then set God before all those whom we love, father, brother, mother, that He may preserve for us those whom we love, as in the case of Abraham we behold rather the liberal Rewarder than the servant.

98. The father offered indeed his son, but God is appeased not by blood but by dutiful obedience. He showed the ram in the thicket Genesis 22:13 in the stead of the lad, that He might restore the son to his father, and yet the victim not fail the priest. And so Abraham was not stained with his son's blood, nor was God deprived of the sacrifice. The prophet spoke, and neither yielded to boastfulness nor continued obstinate, but took the ram in exchange for the lad. And by this is shown the more how piously he offered him whom he now so gladly received back. And thou, if you offer your gift to God, dost not lose it. But we are tenacious of our own; God gave His only Son for us, Romans 8:32 we refuse ours. Abraham saw this and recognized the mystery, that salvation should be to us from the Tree, nor did it escape his notice that in one and the same sacrifice it was One that seemed to be offered, Another which could be slain.

99. Let us, then, imitate the devotion of Abraham, let us imitate the goodness of Isaac, let us imitate his purity. The man was plainly good and chaste, full of devotion towards God, chaste towards his wife. He returned

not evil for evil, yielded to those who would thrust him out, received them again on their repentance, neither violent towards insolence, nor stubborn towards kindness. Fleeing from strife when he went away from others, ready to forgive when he received them again, and still more lavish of goodness when he forgave them. The fellowship of his company was sought, he gave in addition a feast of pleasure.

100. In Jacob, too, let us imitate the type of Christ, let there be some likeness of his actions in ourselves. We shall have our share with him, if we imitate him. He was obedient to his mother, he yielded to his brother, he served his father-in-law, he sought his wages from the increase, not from a division of the flocks. There was no covetous division, where his portion brought such gain. Nor was that sign without a purpose, the ladder from earth to heaven, Genesis 28:12 wherein was seen the future fellowship between men and angels through the cross of Christ, whose thigh was paralyzed, Genesis 32:25 that in his thigh he might recognize the Heir of his body, and foretell by the paralyzing of his thigh the Passion of his Heir.

101. We see, then, that heaven is open to virtue, and that this is the privilege not only of a few: For many shall come from the east and from the west, and the north and the south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God, Matthew 8:11 giving expression to the enjoyment of perpetual rest since the motions of their souls are stilled. Let us follow Abraham in our habits, that he may receive us into his bosom, and cherish us with loving embrace, like Lazarus the inheritor of his humility surrounded by his own special virtues. The followers of the holy patriarch, approved of God, cherish us not in a bodily bosom, but in a clothing as it were of good works. Be not deceived, says the Apostle, God is not mocked. Galatians 6:7

102. We have seen, then, how grave an offense it is not to believe the resurrection; for if we rise not again, then Christ died in vain, then Christ rose not again. 1 Corinthians 15:13 For if He rose not for us, He certainly

rose not at all, for He had no need to rise for Himself. The universe rose again in Him, the heaven rose again in Him, the earth rose again in Him, for there shall be a new heaven and a new earth. Revelation 21:1 But where was the necessity of a resurrection for Him Whom the claims of death held not? For though He died as man, yet was He free in hell itself.

103. Will you know how free? I have become as a man that has no help, free among the dead. And well is He called free, Who had power to raise Himself, according to that which is written: Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up. John 2:19 And well is He called free, Who had descended to rescue others. For He was made as a man, not, indeed, in appearance only, but so fashioned in truth, for He is man, and who shall know Him? For, being made in the likeness of men, and being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself, becoming obedient even unto death, Philippians 2:7-8 in order that through that obedience we might see His glory, the glory as of the Only-begotten of the Father, John 1:14 according to Saint John. For thus is the statement of Scripture preserved, if both the glory of the Only-begotten and the nature of perfect man are preserved in Christ.

104. And so He needed no helper. For He needed none when He made the world, so as to need none when He would redeem it. No legate, no messenger, but the Lord Himself made it whole. He spoke and it was done. The Lord Himself made it whole, Himself in every part, because all things were by Him. For who should help Him in Whom all things were created and by Whom all things consist? Colossians 1:17 Who should help Him Who makes all things in a moment, and raises the dead at the last trump? 1 Corinthians 15:52 The last, not as though He could not raise them at the first, or the second, or the third, but an order is observed, not that a difficulty may be at last overcome, but that the prescribed number be accomplished.

105. But it is now time, I think, to speak of the trumpets since my discourse is nearing its end, that the trumpet may also be the sign of the finishing of my address. We read of seven trumpets in the Revelation of John, which seven angels received. Revelation 8:2 And there you read that when the seventh angel sounded his trumpet, there was a great voice from heaven, saying: The kingdom of this world has become the kingdom of our God and of His Christ, and He shall reign for ever and ever. Revelation 11:15 The word trumpet is also used for a voice, as you read: Behold a door opened in heaven, and the first voice which I heard, as of a trumpet speaking with me and saying, Come up hither, and I will show you the things which must come to pass. Revelation 4:1 We read also: Blow up the trumpet at the beginning of the month [the new moon]; and again elsewhere: Praise Him with the sound of the trumpet.

106. Therefore we ought with all our power to observe what is the signification of the trumpets, lest, accepting them, like old women, as part of the story, we should be in danger if we were to think things unworthy of spiritual teaching, or not befitting the dignity of the Scriptures. For when we read that our warfare is not against flesh and blood, but against spiritual hosts of wickedness, which are in high places, Ephesians 6:12 we ought not to think of weapons of the flesh, but of such as are mighty before God. 2 Corinthians 10:4 It is not enough that one see the trumpet or hear its sound, unless one understands the signification of the sound. For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, how shall one prepare himself for war? 1 Corinthians 14:8 Wherefore it is important that we understand the meaning of the voice of the trumpet, lest we seem barbarians, when we either hear or utter trumpet-sounds of this sort. And therefore when we speak, let us pray that the Holy Spirit would interpret them to us.

107. Let us, then, investigate what we read in the Old Testament concerning the kinds of trumpets, considering that those festivals which

were enjoined on the Jews by the Law are the shadow of joys above and of heavenly festivals. For here is the shadow, there the truth. Let us endeavour to attain to the truth by means of the shadow. Of which truth the figure is expressed in this manner, where we read that the Lord said to Moses: Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, In the seventh month, on the first day of the month, shall be a rest unto you, a memorial of blowing of trumpets, it shall be called holy unto you. You shall not do any servile work, and you shall kindle a whole burnt-offering unto the Lord. Leviticus 23:24-25 And in the Book of Numbers: The Lord spoke unto Moses, saying: Make you two trumpets of beaten work, of silver shall you make them, and they shall be to you for calling the assembly and for the journeying of the camp. And you shall blow with them, and all the congregation shall be gathered together at the door of the tabernacle of witness. But if you blow with one trumpet, all the princes and leaders of Israel shall come to you; and you shall blow a signal with the trumpet the first time, and they shall move the camp forward, and place it on the east. And you shall blow a signal with the trumpet the second time, and they shall move the camp forward, and place it towards Libanus. And you shall blow a signal with the trumpet the third time, and they shall move the camp forward, which shall be placed towards the north [Boream]. And you shall blow a signal with the trumpet the fourth time, and they shall move the camp forward, which shall be placed towards the north [Aquilonem]. They shall blow a signal with the trumpet when they move forward. And when you shall gather together the assembly, blow with the trumpet, but not the signal. And the sons of Aaron, the priests, shall blow with the trumpets, and it shall be for you a statute for ever throughout your generations. But if you shall go out to war into your own land, against the adversaries who resist you, you shall sound a signal with the trumpets and you shall be remembered before the Lord, and have deliverance from your dead. Also in the days of your gladness, and on your feast days, and on

your new moons, you shall blow with the trumpets, and at your whole burnt sacrifices and at your peace-offerings, and it shall be for you for your memorial before the Lord, says the Lord. Numbers 10:1-10

108. What then? Shall we esteem festival days by eating and drinking? But let no man judge us in respect of eating; for we know that the Law is spiritual. Romans 7:14 Let no man therefore judge us in any meats or in drink, or in respect of a feast day or new moons, or a sabbath day, which are a shadow of the things to come, but the body is of Christ. Colossians 2:16 Let us, then, seek the body of Christ which the voice of the Father, from heaven, as it were the last trumpet, has shown to you at the time when the Jews said that it thundered; John 12:29 the body of Christ, which again the last trump shall reveal; for the Lord Himself shall descend from heaven at the voice of the Archangel, and at the trump of God, and they that are dead in Christ shall rise again; 1 Thessalonians 4:16 for where the body is, there too are the eagles, Luke 17:37 where the body of Christ is, there is the truth.

108. The seventh trumpet, then, seems to signify the sabbath of the week, which is reckoned not only in days and years and periods (for which reason the number of the jubilee is sacred), but includes also the seventieth year, when the people returned to Jerusalem, who had remained seventy years in captivity. In hundreds also and in thousands the observation of the sacred number is by no means passed over, for not without a meaning did the Lord say: I have left the seven thousand men, who have not bent their knees before Baal. Therefore the shadow of the future rest is figured in time in the days, months, and years of this world, and therefore the children of Israel are commanded by Moses, that in the seventh month, on the first day of the month, a rest should be established for all at the memorial of the trumpets; and that no servile work should be done, but a sacrifice be offered to God, because that at the end of the week, as it were the sabbath of the world, spiritual and not bodily work is required of us. For that which is

bodily is servile, for the body serves the soul, but innocence makes free, guilt reduces to slavery.

109. It was necessary, then, that spiritual things should be made known as in a mirror and in a riddle; For now we see by means of a mirror, but then face to face. 1 Corinthians 13:12 Now we war after the flesh, then in the Spirit we shall see the divine mysteries. Let, then, the character of the true law be expressed in our manner of life, who walk in the image of God, for the shadow of the Law has now passed away. The carnal Jews had the shadow, the likeness is ours, the reality theirs who shall rise again. For we know that according to the Law there are these three, the shadow, the image or likeness, and the reality; the shadow in the Law, the image in the Gospel, the truth in the judgment. But all is Christ's, and all is in Christ, Whom now we cannot see according to the reality, but we see Him, as it were, in a kind of likeness of future things, of which we have seen the shadow in the Law. So, then, Christ is not the shadow but the likeness of God, not an empty likeness but the reality. And so the Law was by Moses, for the shadow was through man, the likeness was through the Law, the reality through Jesus. For reality cannot proceed from any other source than from reality.

110. If, then, any one desires to see this Image of God, he must love God, that he may be loved by God; and be no longer a servant but a friend, because he has kept the commandments of God, that he may enter into the cloud where God is. Exodus 24:15 Let him make to himself two reasonable trumpets of beaten work of proved silver, that is, composed of precious words and adorned, from which not a harsh shrill sound with dread-inspiring voice may be uttered, but high thanks to God may be poured forth with continuous exultation. For by the voice of such trumpets the dead are raised, not indeed by the sound of the metal, but aroused by the word of truth. And perchance it is those two trumpets by which Paul, through the Divine Spirit, spoke when he said: I will pray with the Spirit, and I will pray

with the understanding, I will sing with the Spirit, and I will sing with the understanding; 1 Corinthians 14:15 for the one without the other seems by no means to have perfect utterance.

111. Yet it is not every one's business to sound each trumpet, nor every one's business to call together the whole assembly, but that prerogative is granted to the priests alone, Numbers 10:8 and the ministers of God who sound the trumpets, so that whosoever shall hear and follow there where the glory of the Lord is, and shall with early determination come to the tabernacle of witness, may be able also to see the divine works, and merit that appointed and eternal home for the entire succession of his posterity. For then is the war finished and the enemy put to flight, when the grace of the Spirit and the energy of the soul act together.

112. And these are salutary trumpets also, if one believe with the heart, and confess with the mouth; For with the heart man believes unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation. For with this twofold trumpet man arrives at that holy land, namely, the grace of the resurrection. Let them, then, ever sound to you, that you may ever hear the voice of God; may the utterances of the Angels and Prophets ever incite and move you, that you may hasten to things above.

113. David was thinking of this purpose in his breast when he said: For I will pass into the place of the marvellous tabernacle, even to the house of God, with the voice of exultation and thanksgiving, the sound of one that feasts. For not only are enemies overcome by the sound of these trumpets; but without them there could not be rejoicings, and festivals or new moons. For no one, unless he have received the promises of the Divine Word, and believes the message derived therefrom, can keep festivals or new moons, in which he desires to fill himself, freed from bodily pleasure and secular occupation, with the light of Christ. And sacrifices themselves cannot be pleasing to Christ unless confession of the mouth accompanies them, which

according to custom stirs up the people to implore the grace of God at the priestly oblation.

114. Let us therefore be preachers of the Lord, and praise Him in the sound of the trumpet, not thinking little or lightly of its power, but such things as can fill the ear of the mind, and enter into the depths of our inmost consciousness, so that we think not that what suits to the body is to be applied to the Godhead, nor measure the greatness of Divine Power by human might, so as to enquire how any one can rise again, or with what kind of body he will come, or how that which has been dissolved can again coalesce, and what is lost be restored, for all these things are accomplished as soon as they are determined by the Divine Will. And it is not a sound of a trumpet distinguishable by the bodily senses which is expected, but the invisible power of the Majesty of heaven operates; for with God to will is to do; nor need we enquire into the force required for the resurrection, but seek its fruit for ourselves. Which will be accomplished all the more easily, if freed from faults we attain to the fullness of the spiritual mystery, and the renewed flesh receives grace from the Spirit, and the soul obtains from Christ the brightness of eternal light.

115. But those mysteries pertain not to individuals only, but to the whole human race. For observe the order of grace according to the type of the Law. When the first trumpet sounds, it collects those towards the east, as the chief and elect; when the second sounds, those nearly equal in merit, who, being placed towards Libanus, have abandoned the follies of the nations; when the third, those who as it were, tossed on the sea of this world, have been driven here and there by the waves of this life; when the fourth, those who have by no means been able sufficiently to soften the hardness of their hearts by the commandments of spiritual utterance, and therefore are said to be towards the north — for, according to Solomon, the north is a hard wind.

116. And so although all are raised again in a moment, yet all are raised in the order of their merits. And therefore they rise first, who yielding early to the impulses of devotion, and as it were going forth before the rising dawn of faith, received the rays of the eternal Sun. This one may rightly say either of the patriarchs in the course of the Old Testament, or of the apostles under the Gospel. And the second are they who, forsaking the rites of the Gentiles, passed from unholy error under the training of the Church. So, then, those first were of the fathers, those second of the Gentiles, for the light of faith took its beginning from those, among these it will remain to the end of the world. In the third place and in the fourth, those are raised who are in the south and in the north. The earth is divided into these four, of these four is the year made up, in these four is the earth completed, and from these four is the Church collected. For all who are considered to be joined to holy Church, by being called by the Divine Name, shall obtain the privilege of the resurrection and the grace of eternal bliss, for they shall come from the east and west, and from the north and south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God. Luke 13:26

117. For it is no small light wherewith Christ encompasses His world: since His going forth is from the height of heaven, and His progress to the height thereof, nor is there any who can hide himself from His heat. For with His Goodness He enlightens all, and wills not to reject but to amend the foolish, and desires not to exclude the hard-hearted from the Church, but to soften them. And so the Church in the Song of Songs and Christ in the Gospel invites them, saying: Come unto Me, all you who labour and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you; take My yoke upon you and learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly in heart. Matthew 12:28-29

118. And you may recognize also the voice of the invitation of the Church, for she says: Awake, O north wind, and come, thou south, blow upon my garden, and let my ointment flow forth. Let my brother come

down into his garden and eat the fruit of his precious trees. Song of Songs 4:16 For knowing even then, O holy Church, that from those also there would be fruitful works for you, you promised to your Christ fruit from such as they, thou who first said that you were brought into the King's chamber, loving His breast above wine, since you loved Him Who loved you, sought Him Who fed you, and despised dangers for religion's sake.

119. And then, O Bride, you are called to come from Libanus, being in the Lord's judgment all fair and without fault. For thus it is written: You are all fair, my love, and there is no fault in you. Come hither from Libanus, my bride, come hither from Libanus. Song of Songs 4:7-8

120. Afterwards, you, fearing no rushing waters, no torrents coming down from Libanus, callest the north and south winds, wishing them to blow upon your garden, that your ointment may flow forth upon others, and that you may offer to Christ in others the manifold fruits of your productiveness.

121. And therefore blessed is he who keeps the words of this prophecy, Revelation 21:7 which has revealed the resurrection to us by clearer testimony, saying: And I saw the dead, great and small, standing before the throne, and they opened the books; and another book was opened, which is the book of life; and the dead were judged out of the things which were written in the books, according to their works. And the sea gave up the dead which were in it, and hell gave up the dead which were in it. Revelation 20:12-13 We must, then, not question how they shall rise again, whom hell gives up and the sea restores.

122. Hear also when the future grace of the just is promised: And I heard, he says, a great voice from the throne saying: Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and He shall dwell with them, and they shall be His people, and God Himself shall be their God with them: and He shall wipe

away every tear from their eyes; and death shall be no more, nor mourning, nor crying, nor pain, any more. Revelation 21:3

123. Compare now, if you will, and contrast this life with that; and choose, if you then can, unending bodily existence in toil, and in the wretched misery of such changes as we endure, in satiety when we have our wishes, in that disgust which attends our pleasures. If God were willing to let these last for ever, would you choose them? For if on its own account life is to be escaped from, that there may be an avoidance of troubles and rest from miseries, how much more is that rest to be sought for, which shall be followed by the eternal pleasure of the resurrection to come, where there is no succession of faults, no enticement to sin?

124. Who is so patient in suffering as not to pray for death? Who has such endurance in weakness as not to wish rather to die than to live in debility? Who is so brave in sorrow as not to desire to escape from it even by death? But if we ourselves are dissatisfied while life lasts, although we know that a limit is fixed for it, how much more weary should we become of this life if we saw that the troubles of the body would be with us without end! For who is there who would wish to be excepted from death? Or what would be more unendurable than a miserable immortality? If in this life only, he says, we hope in Christ, we are more miserable than all men; 1 Corinthians 15:19 not because to hope in Christ is miserable, but because Christ has prepared another life for those who hope in Him. For this life is liable to sin, that life is reserved for the reward.

124. And how much weariness do we find that the short stages of our lives bring us! The boy longs to be a young man; the youth counts the years leading to riper age; the young man, unthankful for the advantage of his vigorous time of life, desires the honour of old age. And so to all there comes naturally the desire of change, because we are dissatisfied with that which we now are. And lastly, even the things we have desired are

wearisome to us; and what we have wished to obtain, when we have obtained it, we dislike.

125. Wherefore holy men have not without reason often lamented their lengthy dwelling here: David lamented it, Jeremiah Jeremiah 20:18 lamented it, and Elijah 1 Kings 19:4 lamented it. If we believe wise men, and those in whom the Divine Spirit dwelt, they were hastening to better things; and if we enquire as to the judgment of others, that we may ascertain that all agree in one opinion, what great men have preferred death to sorrow, what great men have preferred it to fear! esteeming forsooth the fear of death to be worse than death itself. So death is not feared on account of evils which belong to it, but is preferred to the miseries of life, since the departure of the dying is desired and the dread of the living is avoided.

126. So be it, then. Granted that the Resurrection is preferable to this life. What! Have philosophers themselves found anything with which we should have a greater delight to continue than to rise again? Even those indeed who say that souls are immortal do not satisfy me, seeing they only allow me a partial redemption. What grace can that be by which I am not wholly benefited? What life is that if the operation of God dies out in me? What righteousness is that which, if death is the end of natural existence, is common to the sinner and the just? What is that truth, that the soul should be considered immortal, because it moves itself and is always in motion? As regards that which in the body is common to us with beasts, it is perhaps uncertain what happens before the body exists, and the truth is not to be gathered from these differences but destroyed.

127. But is their opinion preferable, who say that our souls, when they have passed out of these bodies, migrate into the bodies of beasts, or of various other living creatures? Philosophers, indeed, themselves are wont to argue that these are ridiculous fancies of poets, such as might be produced by draughts of the drugs of Circe; and they say that not so much they who

are represented to have undergone such things, as the senses of those who have invented such tales are changed into the forms of various beasts as it were by Circe's cup. For what is so like a marvel as to believe that men could have been changed into the forms of beasts? How much greater a marvel, however, would it be that the soul which rules man should take on itself the nature of a beast so opposed to that of man, and being capable of reason should be able to pass over to an irrational animal, than that the form of the body should have been changed? You yourselves, who teach these things, destroy what you teach. For you have given up the production of these portentous conversions by means of magic incantations.

128. Poets say these things in sport, and philosophers blame them and at the same time they imagine that those very things are true of the dead which they consider fictitious as regards the living. For they who invented such tales did not intend to assert the truth of their own fable, but to deride the errors of philosophers, who think that that same soul which was accustomed to overcome anger by gentle and lowly purpose, can now, inflamed by the raging impulses of a lion, impatient with anger and with unbridled rage, thirst for blood and seek for slaughter. Or again, that that soul, which as it were by royal counsel used to moderate the various storms of the people, and to calm them with the voice of reason, can now endure to howl in pathless and desert places after the fashion of a wolf; or that that soul which, groaning under a heavy burden, used to low in sad complaint over the labours of the plough, now changed into the fashion of a man, seeks for horns on his smooth brow; or that another, which used of old to be borne aloft on rapid wing to the heights of heaven, now thinks of flight no longer in its power, and mourns that it grows sluggish in the weight of a human body.

129. Perchance you destroyed Icarus through some such teaching, because the youth, led on by your persuasion, imagined, it may be, that he

had been a bird. By such means too have many old men been deceived so as to submit to grievous pain, having unhappily believed the fables about swans, and thought that they, while soothing their pain with mournful strains, would be able to transmute their gray hair into downy feathers.

130. How incredible are these things! How odious! How much more fitting is it to believe in accordance with nature, in accordance with what takes place in every kind of fruit; to believe in accordance with the pattern of what has happened, in accordance with the utterances of prophets, and the heavenly promise of Christ! For what is better than to be sure that the work of God does not perish, and that those who are made in the image and likeness of God cannot be transformed into the shapes of beasts; since in truth it is not the form of the body but of the spirit which is made after the likeness of God. For in what manner could man, to whom are subjected the other kinds of living creatures, migrate with the better part of himself into an animal subjected to himself? Nature does not suffer this, and if nature did grace would not.

131. But I have seen what you, Gentiles, think of each other, and indeed it ought not to seem strange that you who worship beasts should believe that you can be changed into beasts. But I had rather that you judged better concerning what is due to you, that you may believe that you will be not in the company of wild beasts, but in the companionship of angels.

132. The soul has to depart from the surroundings of this life, and the pollutions of the earthly body, and to press on to those heavenly companies, though it is for the saints alone, to attain to them, and to sing praise to God (as in the prophet's words we hear of those who are harping Revelation 14:2 and saying: For great are Your marvellous works, O Lord God Almighty, just and true are Your ways, Thou King of the nations; who shall not fear and magnify Your Name, for Thou only art holy, for all nations shall come and worship before You), Revelation 15:3-4 and to see Your marriage feast,

O Lord Jesus, in which the Bride is led from earthly to heavenly things, while all rejoice in harmony, for to You shall all flesh come, now no longer subject to transitory things, but joined to the Spirit, to see the chambers adorned with linen, roses, lilies, and garlands. Of whom else is the marriage so adorned? For it is adorned with the purple stripes of confessors, the blood of martyrs, the lilies of virgins, and the crowns of priests.

133. Holy David desired beyond all else for himself that he might behold and gaze upon this, for he says: One thing have I asked of the Lord, that will I seek after; that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, and see the pleasure of the Lord.

134. It is a pleasure to believe this, a joy to hope for it; and certainly, not to have believed it is a pain, to have lived in this hope a grace. But if I am mistaken in this, that I prefer to be associated after death with angels rather than with beasts, I am gladly mistaken, and so long as I live will never suffer myself to be cheated of this hope.

135. For what comfort have I left but that I hope to come quickly to you, my brother, and that your departure will not cause a long severance between us, and that it may be granted me, through your intercessions, that you may quickly call me who long for you. For who is there who ought not to wish for himself beyond all else that this corruptible should put on incorruption, and this mortal put on immortality? 1 Corinthians 15:53 that we who succumb to death through the frailty of the body, being raised above nature, may no longer have to fear death.

Exposition of the Christian Faith

Translated by H. de Romestin, E. de Romestin and H. T. F. Duckworth

CONTENTS

Preface.
Prefatory Note.

BOOK I.

Prologue.
CHAPTER 1.
CHAPTER 2.
CHAPTER 3.
CHAPTER 4.
CHAPTER 5.
CHAPTER 6.
CHAPTER 7.
CHAPTER 8.
CHAPTER 9.
CHAPTER 10.
CHAPTER 11.
CHAPTER 12.
CHAPTER 13.
CHAPTER 14.
CHAPTER 15.
CHAPTER 16.
CHAPTER 17.

CHAPTER 18.
CHAPTER 19.
CHAPTER 20.

BOOK II.

Introduction.
CHAPTER 1.
CHAPTER 2.
CHAPTER 3.
CHAPTER 4.
CHAPTER 5.
CHAPTER 6.
CHAPTER 7.
CHAPTER 8.
CHAPTER 9.
CHAPTER 10.
CHAPTER 11.
CHAPTER 12.
CHAPTER 13.
CHAPTER 14.
CHAPTER 15.
CHAPTER 16.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER 1.
CHAPTER 2.
CHAPTER 3.
CHAPTER 4.
CHAPTER 5.
CHAPTER 6.

CHAPTER 7.
CHAPTER 8.
CHAPTER 9.
CHAPTER 10.
CHAPTER 11.
CHAPTER 12.
CHAPTER 13.
CHAPTER 14.
CHAPTER 15.
CHAPTER 16.
CHAPTER 17.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER 1.
CHAPTER 2.
CHAPTER 3.
CHAPTER 4.
CHAPTER 5.
CHAPTER 6.
CHAPTER 7.
CHAPTER 8.
CHAPTER 9.
CHAPTER 10.
CHAPTER 11.
CHAPTER 12.

BOOK V.

Prologue.
CHAPTER 1.
CHAPTER 2.

CHAPTER 3.
CHAPTER 4.
CHAPTER 5.
CHAPTER 6.
CHAPTER 7.
CHAPTER 8.
CHAPTER 9.
CHAPTER 10.
CHAPTER 11.
CHAPTER 12.
CHAPTER 13.
CHAPTER 14.
CHAPTER 15.
CHAPTER 16.
CHAPTER 17.
CHAPTER 18.
CHAPTER 19.

Preface.

ON THE EVE of setting out for the East, to aid his uncle Valens in repelling a Gothic invasion, Gratian, the Emperor of the West, requested St. Ambrose to write him a treatise in proof of the Divinity of Jesus Christ. Gratian's object in making this request was to secure some sort of preservative against the corrupting influence of Arianism, which at that time (a.d. 378) had gained the upper hand of Orthodoxy in the Eastern provinces of the Empire, owing to its establishment at the Imperial Court. In compliance with Gratian's wish, the Bishop of Milan composed a treatise, which now forms the first two Books of the *De Fide.* With this work the Emperor was so much pleased that on his return from the East, after the death of Valens at Hadrianople, he wrote to St. Ambrose, begging for a fresh copy of the treatise, and further, for its enlargement by the addition of a discourse on the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. The original treatise was, indeed, enlarged by St. Ambrose in 379, but the additional Books dealt, not with the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, but rather with new objections raised by the Arian teachers, and points which had either been passed over or not fully discussed already. In this way St. Ambrose's Exposition was brought into its present form.

The object of the Exposition is, as has already been indicated, to prove the Divinity of Jesus Christ, and His co-eternity, co-equality, and consubstantiality, as God the Son, with God the Father. This the author does by constant appeal to the Scriptures, both of the Old and of the New Testament, which the Arians had in many cases forced into the mould of false interpretation to make them fit their doctrine.

Besides the title of *De Fide*, that of *De Trinitate* was one by which this treatise was largely known in after ages; it is certain, though, that the former was that assigned by St. Ambrose himself.

Prefatory Note.

THE NOTES TO the first four books of the *De Fide* have in some instances been taken over from those in Father Hurter's Edition of the treatise (Innsbruck: Wagner), which has been used in preparing the translation of these books. These notes are distinguished by the letter "H." placed at the end.

The citations from Scripture embodied in the text have been translated as they stood in the original. This will account for any divergence from the renderings in the English Bible and Prayer-book, while any agreement may be set down to reminiscences of the more familiar versions. It was thought best to adopt this treatment of St. Ambrose's citations, inasmuch as the divergences are worth noticing, and indeed, in some cases, the argument rather turns upon them. The references are, throughout, made to chapters and verses in the English Bible, and not to the Vulgate, unless especially stated so to be.

The Prefaces and Summaries of Contents are based on those in Father Hurter's Edition.

BOOK I.

Prologue.

The author praises Gratian's zeal for instruction in the Faith, and speaks lowly of his own merits. Taught of God Himself, the Emperor stands in no need of human instruction; yet this his devoutness prepares the way to victory. The task appointed to the author is difficult: in the accomplishment whereof he will be guided not so much by reason and argument as by authority, especially that of the Nicene Council.

1. THE QUEEN of the South, as we read in the Book of the Kings, came to hear the wisdom of Solomon. 1 Kings 10:1 Likewise King Hiram sent to Solomon that he might prove him. 1 Kings 5:1 So also your sacred Majesty, following these examples of old time, has decreed to hear my confession of faith. But I am no Solomon, that you should wonder at my wisdom, and your Majesty is not the sovereign of a single people; it is the Augustus, ruler of the whole world, that has commanded the setting forth of the Faith in a book, not for your instruction, but for your approval.

2. For why, august Emperor, should your Majesty learn that Faith which, from your earliest childhood, you have ever devoutly and lovingly kept? Before I formed you in your mother's belly I knew you, says the Scripture, and before you came forth out of the womb I sanctified you. Sanctification, therefore, comes not of tradition, but of inspiration; therefore keep watch over the gifts of God. For that which no man has taught you, God has surely given and inspired.

3. Your sacred Majesty, being about to go forth to war, requires of me a book, expounding the Faith, since your Majesty knows that victories are gained more by faith in the commander, than by valour in the soldiers. For

Abraham led into battle three hundred and eighteen men, and brought home the spoils of countless foes; and having, by the power of that which was the sign of our Lord's Cross and Name, overcome the might of five kings and conquering hosts, he both avenged his neighbour and gained victory and the ransom of his brother's son. So also Joshua the Son of Nun, when he could not prevail against the enemy with the might of all his army, Joshua 6:6 overcame by sound of seven sacred trumpets, in the place where he saw and knew the Captain of the heavenly host. For victory, then, your Majesty makes ready, being Christ's loyal servant and defender of the Faith, which you would have me set forth in writing.

4. Truly, I would rather take upon me the duty of exhortation to keep the Faith, than that of disputing thereon; for the former means devout confession, whereas the latter is liable to rash presumption. Howbeit, forasmuch as your Majesty has no need of exhortation, while I may not pray to be excused from the duty of loyalty, I will take in hand a bold enterprise, yet modestly withal, not so much reasoning and disputing concerning the Faith as gathering together a multitude of witness.

5. Of the Acts of Councils, I shall let that one be my chief guide which three hundred and eighteen priests, appointed, as it were, after the judgment of Abraham, made (so to speak) a trophy raised to proclaim their victory over the infidel throughout the world, prevailing by that courage of the Faith, wherein all agreed. Verily, as it seems to me, one may herein see the hand of God, forasmuch as the same number is our authority in the Councils of the Faith, and an example of loyalty in the records of old.

CHAPTER 1.

The author distinguishes the faith from the errors of Pagans, Jews, and Heretics, and after explaining the significance of the names God and Lord, shows clearly the difference of Persons in Unity of Essence. In dividing the Essence, the Arians not only bring in the doctrine of three Gods, but even overthrow the dominion of the Trinity.

6. NOW THIS is the declaration of our Faith, that we say that God is One, neither dividing His Son from Him, as do the heathen, nor denying, with the Jews, that He was begotten of the Father before all worlds, and afterwards born of the Virgin; nor yet, like Sabellius, confounding the Father with the Word, and so maintaining that Father and Son are one and the same Person; nor again, as does Photinus, holding that the Son first came into existence in the Virgin's womb: nor believing, with Arius, in a number of diverse Powers, and so, like the benighted heathen, making out more than one God. For it is written: Hear, O Israel: the Lord your God is one God.

7. For God and Lord is a name of majesty, a name of power, even as God Himself says: The Lord is My name, Exodus 3:15 and as in another place the prophet declares: The Lord Almighty is His name. God is He, therefore, and Lord, either because His rule is over all, or because He beholds all things, and is feared by all, without difference.

8. If, then, God is One, one is the name, one is the power, of the Trinity. Christ Himself, indeed, says: Go, baptize the nations in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Matthew 28:19 In the *name*, mark you, not in the *names.*

9. Moreover, Christ Himself says: I and the Father are One. John 10:30 One, said He, that there be no separation of power and nature; but again, *We are*, that you may recognize Father and Son, forasmuch as the perfect Father is believed to have begotten the perfect Son, Matthew 5:48 and the Father and the Son are One, not by confusion of Person, but by unity of nature.

10. We say, then, that there is one God, not two or three Gods, this being the error into which the impious heresy of the Arians does run with its blasphemies. For it says that there are three Gods, in that it divides the Godhead of the Trinity; whereas the Lord, in saying, Go, baptize the nations in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, has shown that the Trinity is of one power. We confess Father, Son, and Spirit, understanding in a perfect Trinity both fullness of Divinity and unity of power.

11. Every kingdom divided against itself shall quickly be overthrown, says the Lord. Now the kingdom of the Trinity is not divided. If, therefore, it is not divided, it is one; for that which is not one is divided. The Arians, however, would have the kingdom of the Trinity to be such as may easily be overthrown, by division against itself. But truly, seeing that it cannot be overthrown, it is plainly undivided. For no unity is divided or rent asunder, and therefore neither age nor corruption has any power over it.

CHAPTER 2.

The Emperor is exhorted to display zeal in the Faith. Christ's perfect Godhead is shown from the unity of will and working which He has with the Father. The attributes of Divinity are shown to be proper to Christ, Whose various titles prove His essential unity, with distinction of Person. In no other way can the unity of God be maintained.

12. NOT EVERY one that says unto Me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, Matthew 7:21 says the Scripture. Faith, therefore, august Sovereign, must not be a mere matter of performance, for it is written, The zeal of your house has devoured me. Let us then with faithful spirit and devout mind call upon Jesus our Lord, let us believe that He is God, to the end that whatever we ask of the Father, we may obtain in His name. For the Father's will is, that He be entreated through the Son, the Son's that the Father be entreated.

13. The grace of His submission makes for agreement [with our teaching], and the acts of His power are not at variance therewith. For whatsoever things the Father does, the same also does the Son, in like manner. The Son both does the same things, and does them in like manner, but it is the Father's will that He be entreated in the matter of what He Himself proposes to do, that you may understand, not that He cannot do it otherwise, but that there is one power displayed. Truly, then, is the Son of God to be adored and worshipped, Who by the power of His Godhead has laid the foundations of the world, and by His submission informed our affections.

14. Therefore we ought to believe that God is good, eternal, perfect, almighty, and true, such as we find Him in the Law and the Prophets, and the rest of the holy Scriptures, for otherwise there is no God. For He Who is God cannot but be good, seeing that fullness of goodness is of the nature of God: nor can God, Who made time, be in time; nor, again, can God be imperfect, for a lesser being is plainly imperfect, seeing that it lacks somewhat whereby it could be made equal to a greater. This, then, is the teaching of our faith — that God is not evil, that with God nothing is impossible, that God exists not in time, that God is beneath no being. If I am in error, let my adversaries prove it.

15. Seeing, then, that Christ is God, He is, by consequence, good and almighty and eternal and perfect and true; for these attributes belong to the essential nature of the Godhead. Let our adversaries, therefore, deny the Divine Nature in Christ — otherwise they cannot refuse to God what is proper to the Divine Nature.

16. Further, that none may fall into error, let a man attend to those signs vouchsafed us by holy Scripture, whereby we may know the Son. He is called the Word, the Son, the Power of God, the Wisdom of God. The Word, because He is without blemish; the Power, because He is perfect; the Son, because He is begotten of the Father; the Wisdom, because He is one with the Father, one in eternity, one in Divinity. Not that the Father is one Person with the Son; between Father and Son is the plain distinction that comes of generation; so that Christ is God of God, Everlasting of Everlasting, Fulness of Fulness.

17. Now these are not mere names, but signs of power manifesting itself in works, for while there is fullness of Godhead in the Father, there is also fullness of Godhead in the Son, not diverse, but one. The Godhead is nothing confused, for it is an unity: nothing manifold, for in it there is no difference.

18. Moreover, if in all them that believed there was, as it is written, one soul and one heart: Acts 4:32 if every one that cleaves to the Lord is one spirit, 1 Corinthians 6:17 as the Apostle has said: if a man and his wife are one flesh: if all we mortal men are, so far as regards our general nature, of one substance: if this is what the Scripture says of created men, that, being many, they are one, who can in no way be compared to Divine Persons, how much more are the Father and the Son one in Divinity, with Whom there is no difference either of substance or of will!

19. For how else shall we say that God is One? Divinity makes plurality, but unity of power debars quantity of number, seeing that unity is not number, but itself is the principle of all numbers.

CHAPTER 3.

By evidence gathered from Scripture the unity of Father and Son is proved, and firstly, a passage, taken from the Book of Isaiah, is compared with others and expounded in such sort as to show that in the Son there is no diversity from the Father's nature, save only as regards the flesh; whence it follows that the Godhead of both Persons is One. This conclusion is confirmed by the authority of Baruch.

20. NOW THE oracles of the prophets bear witness what close unity holy Scripture declares to subsist between the Father and the Son as regards their Godhead. For thus says the Lord of Sabaoth: Egypt has laboured, and the commerce of the Ethiopians and Sabeans: mighty men shall come over to you, and shall be your servants, and in your train shall they follow, bound in fetters, and they shall fall down before you, and to you shall they make supplication: for God is in you, and there is no God beside you. For you are God, and we knew it not, O God of Israel.

21. Hear the voice of the prophet: In You, he says, is God, and there is no God beside You. How agrees this with the Arians' teaching? They must deny either the Father's or the Son's Divinity, unless they believe, once for all, unity of the same Divinity.

22. In You, says he, is God — forasmuch as the Father is in the Son. For it is written, The Father, Who abides in Me, Himself speaks, and The works that I do, He Himself also does. John 14:10 And yet again we read that the Son is in the Father, saying, I am in the Father, and the Father in Me. John 14:10 Let the Arians, if they can, make away with this kinship in nature and unity in work.

23. There is, therefore, God in God, but not two Gods; for it is written that there is one God, and there is Lord in Lord, but not two Lords, forasmuch as it is likewise written: Serve not two lords. Matthew 6:24 And the Law says: Hear, O Israel! The Lord your God is one God; Deuteronomy 6:4 moreover, in the same Testament it is written: The Lord rained from the Lord. Genesis 19:24 The Lord, it is said, sent rain from the Lord. So also you may read in Genesis: And God said — and God made, Genesis 1:6-7 and, lower down, And God made man in the image of God; Genesis 1:26-27 yet it was not two gods, but one God, that made [man]. In the one place, then, as in the other, the unity of operation and of name is maintained. For surely, when we read God of God, we do not speak of two Gods.

24. Again, you may read in the forty-fourth psalm how the prophet not only calls the Father God but also proclaims the Son as God, saying: Your throne, O God, is for ever and ever. And further on: God, even your God, has anointed you with the oil of gladness above your fellows. This God Who anoints, and God Who in the flesh is anointed, is the Son of God. For what fellows in His anointing has Christ, except such as are in the flesh? You see, then, that God is by God anointed, but being anointed in taking upon Him the nature of mankind, He is proclaimed the Son of God; yet is the principle of the Law not broken.

25. So again, when you read, The Lord rained from the Lord, acknowledge the unity of Godhead, for unity in operation does not allow of more than one individual God, even as the Lord Himself has shown, saying: Believe Me, that I am in the Father, and the Father in Me: or believe Me for the very works' sake. Here, too, we see that unity of Godhead is signified by unity in operation.

26. The Apostle, careful to prove that there is one Godhead of both Father and Son, and one Lordship, lest we should run into any error, whether of heathen or of Jewish ungodliness, showed us the rule we ought

to follow, saying: One God, the Father, from Whom are all things, and we in Him, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, by Whom are all things, and we by Him. For just as, in calling Jesus Christ Lord, he did not deny that the Father was Lord, even so, in saying, One God, the Father, he did not deny true Godhead to the Son, and thus he taught, not that there was more than one God, but that the source of power was one, forasmuch as Godhead consists in Lordship, and Lordship in Godhead, as it is written: Be sure that the Lord, He is God. It is He that has made us, and not we ourselves.

27. In you, therefore, is God, by unity of nature, and there is no God beside You, by reason of personal possession of the Substance, without any reserve or difference.

28. Again, Scripture speaks, in the Book of Jeremiah, of One God, and yet acknowledges both Father and Son. Thus we read: He is our God, and in comparison with Him none other shall be accounted of. He has discovered all the way of teaching, and given it to Jacob, His servant, and to Israel, His beloved. After these things He appeared upon earth, and conversed with men.

29. The prophet speaks of the Son, for it was the Son Himself Who conversed with men, and this is what he says: He is our God, and in comparison with Him none other shall be accounted of. Why do we call Him in question, of Whom so great a prophet says that no other can be compared with Him? What comparison of another *can* be made, when the Godhead is One? This was the confession of a people set in the midst of dangers; reverencing religion, and therefore unskilled in strife of argument.

30. Come, Holy Spirit, and help Your prophets, in whom You are wont to dwell, in whom we believe. Shall we believe the wise of this world, if we believe not the prophets? But where is the wise man, where is the scribe? When our peasant planted figs, he found that whereof the philosopher knew nothing, for God has chosen the foolish things of this world to confound the

strong. Are we to believe the Jews? For God was once known in Jewry. Nay, but they deny that very thing, which is the foundation of our belief, seeing that they know not the Father, who have denied the Son.

CHAPTER 4.

The Unity of God is necessarily implied in the order of Nature, in the Faith, and in Baptism. The gifts of the Magi declare (1) the Unity of the Godhead; (2) Christ's Godhead and Manhood. The truth of the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity is shown in the Angel walking in the midst of the furnace with Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego.

31. ALL NATURE testifies to the Unity of God, inasmuch as the universe is one. The Faith declares that there is one God, seeing that there is one belief in both the Old and the New Testament. That there is one Spirit, all holy, grace witnesses, because there is one Baptism, in the Name of the Trinity. The prophets proclaim, the apostles hear, the voice of one God. In one God did the Magi believe, and they brought, in adoration, gold, frankincense, and myrrh to Christ's cradle, confessing, by the gift of gold, His Royalty, and with the incense worshipping Him as God. For gold is the sign of kingdom, incense of God, myrrh of burial.

32. What, then, was the meaning of the mystic offerings in the lowly cattle-stalls, save that we should discern in Christ the difference between the Godhead and the flesh? He is seen as man, Philippians 2:7 He is adored as Lord. He lies in swaddling-clothes, but shines amid the stars; the cradle shows His birth, the stars His dominion; it is the flesh that is wrapped in clothes, the Godhead that receives the ministry of angels. Thus the dignity of His natural majesty is not lost, and His true assumption of the flesh is proved.

33. This is our Faith. Thus did God will that He should be known by all, thus believed the three children, Daniel 4:17 and felt not the fire into the

midst whereof they were cast, which destroyed and burnt up unbelievers, Daniel 4:22 while it fell harmless as dew upon the faithful, Hosea 14:5 for whom the flames kindled by others became cold, seeing that the torment had justly lost its power in conflict with faith. For with them there was One in the form of an angel, Daniel 4:28 comforting them, Luke 22:43 to the end that in the number of the Trinity one Supreme Power might be praised. God was praised, the Son of God was seen in God's angel, holy and spiritual grace spoke in the children.

CHAPTER 5.

The various blasphemies uttered by the Arians against Christ are cited. Before these are replied to, the orthodox are admonished to beware of the captious arguments of philosophers, forasmuch as in these especially did the heretics put their trust.

34. NOW LET us consider the disputings of the Arians concerning the Son of God.

35. They say that the Son of God is unlike His Father. To say this of a man would be an insult.

36. They say that the Son of God had a beginning in time, whereas He Himself is the source and ordainer of time and all that therein is. We are men, and we would not be limited to time. We began to exist once, and we believe that we shall have a timeless existence. We desire after immortality — how, then, can we deny the eternity of God's Son, Whom God declares to be eternal by nature, not by grace?

37. They say that He was created. But who would reckon an author with his works, and have him seem to be what he has himself made?

38. They deny His goodness. Their blaspheming is its own condemnation, and so cannot hope for pardon.

39. They deny that He is truly Son of God, they deny His omnipotence, in that while they admit that all things are made by the ministry of the Son, they attribute the original source of their being to the power of God. But what is power, save perfection of nature?

40. Furthermore, the Arians deny that in Godhead He is One with the Father. Let them annul the Gospel, then, and silence the voice of Christ. For

Christ Himself has said: I and the Father are one. John 10:30 It is not I who say this: Christ has said it. Is He a deceiver, that He should lie? Numbers 23:19 Is He unrighteous, that He should claim to be what He never was? But of these matters we will deal severally, at greater length, in their proper place.

41. Seeing, then, that the heretic says that Christ is unlike His Father, and seeks to maintain this by force of subtle disputation, we must cite the Scripture: Take heed that no man make spoil of you by philosophy and vain deceit, according to the tradition of men, and after the rudiments of this world, not according to Christ; for in Him dwells all the fullness of Godhead in bodily shape.

42. For they store up all the strength of their poisons in dialetical disputation, which by the judgment of philosophers is defined as having no power to establish anything, and aiming only at destruction. But it was not by dialectic that it pleased God to save His people; for the kingdom of God consists in simplicity of faith, not in wordy contention.

CHAPTER 6.

By way of leading up to his proof that Christ is not different from the Father, St. Ambrose cites the more famous leaders of the Arian party, and explains how little their witness agrees, and shows what defense the Scriptures provide against them.

43. THE ARIANS, then, say that Christ is unlike the Father; we deny it. Nay, indeed, we shrink in dread from the word. Nevertheless I would not that your sacred Majesty should trust to argument and our disputation. Let us enquire of the Scriptures, of apostles, of prophets, of Christ. In a word, let us enquire of the Father, Whose honour these men say they uphold, if the Son be judged inferior to Him. But insult to the Son brings no honour to the good Father. It cannot please the good Father, if the Son be judged inferior, rather than equal, to His Father.

44. I pray your sacred Majesty to suffer me, if for a little while I address myself particularly to these men. But whom shall I choose out to cite? Eunomius? or Arius and Aëtius, his instructors? For there are many names, but one unbelief, constant in wickedness, but in conversation divided against itself; without difference in respect of deceit, but in common enterprise breeding dissent. But wherefore they will not agree together I understand not.

45. The Arians reject the person of Eunomius, but they maintain his unbelief and walk in the ways of his iniquity. They say that he has too generously published the writings of Arius. Truly, a plentiful lavishing of error! They praise him who gave the command, and deny him who executed it! Wherefore they have now fallen apart into several sects. Some follow

after Eunomius or Aëtius, others after Palladius or Demophilus and Auxentius, or the inheritors of this form of unbelief. Others, again, follow different teachers. Is Christ, then, divided? 1 Corinthians 1:13 Nay; but those who divide Him from the Father do with their own hands cut themselves asunder.

46. Seeing, therefore, that men who agree not among themselves have all alike conspired against the Church of God, I shall call those whom I have to answer by the common name of heretics. For heresy, like some hydra of fable, has waxed great from its wounds, and, being ofttimes lopped short, has grown afresh, being appointed to find meet destruction in flames of fire. Or, like some dread and monstrous Scylla, divided into many shapes of unbelief, she displays, as a mask to her guile, the pretence of being a Christian sect, but those wretched men whom she finds tossed to and fro in the waves of her unhallowed strait, amid the wreckage of their faith, she, girt with beastly monsters, rends with the cruel fang of her blasphemous doctrine.

47. This monster's cavern, your sacred Majesty, thick laid, as seafaring men do say it is, with hidden lairs, and all the neighbourhood thereof, where the rocks of unbelief echo to the howling of her black dogs, we must pass by with ears in a manner stopped. For it is written: Hedge your ears about with thorns; Sirach 28:28 and again: Beware of dogs, beware of evil workers; Philippians 3:2 and yet again: A man that is an heretic, avoid after the first reproof, knowing that such an one is fallen, and is in sin, being condemned of his own judgment. Titus 3:10-11 So then, like prudent pilots, let us set the sails of our faith for the course wherein we may pass by most safely, and again follow the coasts of the Scriptures.

CHAPTER 7.

The likeness of Christ to the Father is asserted on the authority of St. Paul, the prophets, and the Gospel, and especially in reliance upon the creation of man in God's image.

48. THE APOSTLE says that Christ is the image of the Father — for he calls Him the image of the invisible God, the first-begotten of all creation. First-begotten, mark you, not first-created, in order that He may be believed to be both begotten, in virtue of His nature, and first in virtue of His eternity. In another place also the Apostle has declared that God made the Son heir of all things, by Whom also He made the worlds, Who is the brightness of His glory, and the express image of His substance. Hebrews 1:2 The Apostle calls Christ the image of the Father, and Arius says that He is unlike the Father. Why, then, is He called an image, if He has no likeness? Men will not have their portraits unlike them, and Arius contends that the Father is unlike the Son, and would have it that the Father has begotten one unlike Himself, as though unable to generate His like.

49. The prophets say: In Your light we shall see light; and again: Wisdom is the brightness of everlasting light, and the spotless mirror of God's majesty, the image of His goodness. Wisdom 7:26 See what great names are declared! Brightness, because in the Son the Father's glory shines clearly: spotless mirror, because the Father is seen in the Son: John 12:45 image of goodness, because it is not one body seen reflected in another, but the whole power [of the Godhead] in the Son. The word image teaches us that there is no difference; expression, that He is the counterpart of the Father's form; and brightness declares His eternity. The image in

truth is not that of a bodily countenance, not one made up of colors, nor modelled in wax, but simply derived from God, coming out from the Father, drawn from the fountainhead.

50. By means of this image the Lord showed Philip the Father, saying, Philip, he that sees Me, sees the Father also. How then do you say, Show us the Father? Do you not believe that I am in the Father, and the Father in Me? John 14:9-10 Yes, he who looks upon the Son sees, in portrait, the Father. Mark what manner of portrait is spoken of. It is Truth, Righteousness, the Power of God: not dumb, for it is the Word; not insensible, for it is Wisdom; not vain and foolish, for it is Power; not soulless, for it is the Life; not dead, for it is the Resurrection. You see, then, that while an image is spoken of, the meaning is that it is the Father, Whose image the Son is, seeing that no one can be his own image.

51. More might I set down from the Son's testimony; howbeit, lest He perchance appear to have asserted Himself overmuch, let us enquire of the Father. For the Father said, Let us make man in Our image and likeness. Genesis 1:26 The Father says to the Son in *Our* image and likeness, and you say that the Son of God is unlike the Father.

52. John says, Beloved, we are sons of God, and it does not yet appear what we shall be: we know that if He be revealed, we shall be like Him. 1 John 3:2 O blind madness! O shameless obstinacy! We are men, and, so far as we may, we shall be in the likeness of God: dare we deny that the Son is like God?

53. Therefore the Father has said: Let us make man in Our image and likeness. At the beginning of the universe itself, as I read, the Father and the Son existed, and I see one creation. I hear Him that speaks. I acknowledge Him that does: but it is of one image, one likeness, that I read. This likeness belongs not to diversity but to unity. What, therefore, you claim for

yourself, you take from the Son of God, seeing, indeed, that you can not be in the image of God, save by help of the image of God.

CHAPTER 8.

The likeness of the Son to the Father being proved, it is not hard to prove the Son's eternity, though, indeed, this may be established on the authority of the Prophet Isaiah and St. John the Evangelist, by which authority the heretical leaders are shown to be refuted.

54. It is plain, therefore, that the Son is not unlike the Father, and so we may confess the more readily that He is also eternal, seeing that He Who is like the Eternal must needs be eternal. But if we say that the Father is eternal, and yet deny this of the Son, we say that the Son is unlike the Father, for the temporal differs from the eternal. The Prophet proclaims Him eternal, and the Apostle proclaims Him eternal; the Testaments, Old and New alike, are full of witness to the Son's eternity.

55. Let us take them, then, in their order. In the Old Testament — to cite one out of a multitude of testimonies — it is written: Before Me has there been no other God, and after Me shall there be none. Isaiah 43:10 I will not comment on this place, but ask you straight: Who speaks these words — the Father or the Son? Whichever of the two you say, you will find yourself convinced, or, if a believer, instructed. Who, then, speaks these words, the Father or the Son? If it is the Son, He says, Before Me has there been no other God; if the Father, He says, After Me shall there be none. The One has none before Him, the Other none that comes after; as the Father is known in the Son, so also is the Son known in the Father, for whenever you speak of the Father, you speak also by implication of His Son, seeing that none is his own father; and when you name the Son, you do also acknowledge His Father, inasmuch as none can be his own son. And so

neither can the Son exist without the Father, nor the Father without the Son. The Father, therefore, is eternal, and the Son also eternal.

56. In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. Was, mark you, with God. Was — see, we have was four times over. Where did the blasphemer find it written that He was not. Again, John, in another passage — in his Epistle — speaks of That which was in the beginning. 1 John 1:1 The extension of the was is infinite. Conceive any length of time you will, yet still the Son was.

57. Now in this short passage our fisherman has barred the way of all heresy. For that which was in the beginning is not comprehended in time, is not preceded by any beginning. Let Arius, therefore, hold his peace. Moreover, that which was with God is not confounded and mingled with Him, but is distinguished by the perfection unblemished which it has as the Word abiding with God; and so let Sabellius keep silence. And the Word was God. This Word, therefore, consists not in uttered speech, but in the designation of celestial excellence, so that Photinus' teaching is refuted. Furthermore, by the fact that in the beginning He was with God is proven the indivisible unity of eternal Godhead in Father and Son, to the shame and confusion of Eunomius. Lastly, seeing that all things are said to have been made by Him, He is plainly shown to be author of the Old and of the New Testament alike; so that the Manichæan can find no ground for his assaults. Thus has the good fisherman caught them all in one net, to make them powerless to deceive, albeit unprofitable fish to take.

CHAPTER 9.

St. Ambrose questions the heretics and exhibits their answer, which is, that the Son existed, indeed, before all time, yet was not co-eternal with the Father, whereat the Saint shows that they represent the Godhead as changeable, and further, that each Person must be believed to be eternal.

58. TELL ME, thou heretic — for the surpassing clemency of the Emperor grants me this indulgence of addressing you for a short space, not that I desire to confer with you, or am greedy to hear your arguments, but because I am willing to exhibit them — tell me, I say, whether there was ever a time when God Almighty was not the Father, and yet was God. I say nothing about time, is your answer. Well and subtly objected! For if you bring time into the dispute, you will condemn yourself, seeing that you must acknowledge that there was a time when the Son was not, whereas the Son is the ruler and creator of time. He cannot have begun to exist after His own work. You, therefore, must needs allow Him to be the ruler and maker of His work.

59. I do not say, do you answer, that the Son existed not before time; but when I call Him Son, I declare that His Father existed before Him, for, as you say, father exists before son. But what means this? You deny that time was before the Son, and yet you will have it that something preceded the existence of the Son — some creature of time — and you show certain stages of generation intervening, whereby thou dost give us to understand that the generation from the Father was a process in time. For if He began to be a Father, then, in the first instance, He was God, and afterwards He became a Father. How, then, is God unchangeable? For if He was first God,

and then the Father, surely He has undergone change by reason of the added and later act of generation.

60. But may God preserve us from this madness; for it was but to confute the impiety of the heretics that we brought in this question. The devout spirit affirms a generation that is not in time, and so declares Father and Son to be co-eternal, and does not maintain that God has ever suffered change.

61. Let Father and Son, therefore, be associated in worship, even as They are associated in Godhead; let not blasphemy put asunder those whom the close bond of generation has joined together. Let us honour the Son, that we may honour the Father also, as it is written in the Gospel. John 5:23 The Son's eternity is the adornment of the Father's majesty. If the Son has not been from everlasting, then the Father has suffered change; but the Son is from all eternity, therefore has the Father never changed, for He is always unchangeable. And thus we see that they who would deny the Son's eternity would teach that the Father is mutable.

CHAPTER 10.

Christ's eternity being proved from the Apostle's teaching, St. Ambrose admonishes us that the Divine Generation is not to be thought of after the fashion of human procreation, nor to be too curiously pried into. With the difficulties thence arising he refuses to deal, saying that whatsoever terms, taken from our knowledge of body, are used in speaking of this Divine Generation, must be understood with a spiritual meaning.

62. HEAR NOW another argument, showing clearly the eternity of the Son. The Apostle says that God's Power and Godhead are eternal, and that Christ is the Power of God — for it is written that Christ is the Power of God and the Wisdom of God. If, then, Christ is the Power of God, it follows that, forasmuch as God's Power is eternal, Christ also is eternal.

63. You can not, then, heretic, build up a false doctrine from the custom of human procreation, nor yet gather the wherewithal for such work from our discourse, for we cannot compass the greatness of infinite Godhead, of Whose greatness there is no end, in our straitened speech. If you should seek to give an account of a man's birth, you must needs point to a time. But the Divine Generation is above all things; it reaches far and wide, it rises high above all thought and feeling. For it is written: No man comes to the Father, save by Me. John 14:6 Whatsoever, therefore, thou dost conceive concerning the Father — yea, be it even His eternity — you can not conceive anything concerning Him save by the Son's aid, nor can any understanding ascend to the Father save through the Son. This is My dearly-beloved Son, the Father says. Is mark you — He Who is, what He is,

forever. Hence also David is moved to say: O Lord, Your Word abides for ever in heaven, — for what abides fails neither in existence nor in eternity.

64. Do you ask me how He is a Son, if He have not a Father existing before Him? I ask of you, in turn, when, or how, do you think that the Son was begotten. For me the knowledge of the mystery of His generation is more than I can attain to, — the mind fails, the voice is dumb — ay, and not mine alone, but the angels' also. It is above Powers, above Angels, above Cherubim, Seraphim, and all that has feeling and thought, for it is written: The peace of Christ, which passes all understanding. If the peace of Christ passes all understanding, how can so wondrous a generation but be above all understanding?

65. Do thou, then (like the angels), cover your face with your hands, for it is not given you to look into surpassing mysteries! We are suffered to know that the Son is begotten, not to dispute upon the manner of His begetting. I cannot deny the one; the other I fear to search into, for if Paul says that the words which he heard when caught up into the third heaven might not be uttered, 2 Corinthians 12:2-5 how can we explain the secret of this generation from and of the Father, which we can neither hear nor attain to with our understanding?

66. But if you will constrain me to the rule of human generation, that you may be allowed to say that the Father existed before the Son, then consider whether instances, taken from the generation of earthly creatures, are suitable to show forth the Divine Generation. If we speak according to what is customary among men, you cannot deny that, in man, the changes in the father's existence happen before those in the son's. The father is the first to grow, to enter old age, to grieve, to weep. If, then, the son is after him in time, he is older in experience than the son. If the child comes to be born, the parent escapes not the shame of begetting.

67. Why take such delight in that rack of questioning? You hear the name of the Son of God; abolish it, then, or acknowledge His true nature. You hear speak of the womb — acknowledge the truth of undoubted begetting. Of His heart — know that here is God's word. Of His right hand — confess His power. Of His face — acknowledge His wisdom. These words are not to be understood, when we speak of God, as when we speak of bodies. The generation of the Son is incomprehensible, the Father begets impassibly, and yet of Himself and in ages inconceivably remote has very God begotten very God. The Father loves the Son, John 5:20 and you anxiously examine His Person; the Father is well pleased in Him, you, joining the Jews, look upon Him with an evil eye; the Father knows the Son, and you join the heathen in reviling Him. Luke 23:36-37

CHAPTER 11.

It cannot be proved from Scripture that the Father existed before the Son, nor yet can arguments taken from human reproduction avail to this end, since they bring in absurdities without end. To dare to affirm that Christ began to exist in the course of time is the height of blasphemy.

68. YOU ASK me whether it is possible that He Who is the Father should not be prior in existence. I ask you to tell me when the Father existed, the Son as yet being not; prove this, gather it from argument or evidence of Scripture. If you lean upon arguments, you have doubtless been taught that God's power is eternal. Again, you have read the Scripture that says: O Israel, if you will hearken unto Me, there shall be no new God in you, neither shall you worship a strange God. The first of these commands betokens [the Son's] eternity, the second His possession of an identical nature, so that we can neither believe Him to have come into existence after the Father, nor suppose Him the Son of another Divinity. For if He existed not always with the Father, He is a new [God]; if He is not of one Divinity with the Father, He is a strange [God]. But He is not after the Father, for He is not a new God; nor is He a strange God, for He is begotten of the Father, and because, as it is written, He is God above all, blessed forever. Romans 9:5

69. But if the Arians believe Him to be a strange God, why do they worship Him, when it is written: You shall worship no strange God? Else, if they do not worship the Son, let them confess thereto, and the case is at an end — that they deceive no one by their professions of religion. This, then,

we see, is the witness of the Scriptures. If you have any others to produce, it will be your business to do so.

70. Let us now go further, and gather the truth in conclusion from arguments. For although arguments usually give place, even to human evidence, still, heretic, argue as you will. Experience teaches us, you say, that the being which generates is prior to that which is generated. I answer: Follow our customary experience through all its departments, and if the rest agree herewith, I oppose not your claim that your point be granted; but if there be no such agreement, how can you claim assent on this one point, when in all the rest you lack support? Seeing, then, that you call for what is customary, it comes about that the Son, when He was begotten of the Father, was a little child. You have seen Him an infant, crying in the cradle. As the years passed, He has gone forward from strength to strength — for if He was weak with the weakness of things begotten, He must also have fallen under the weakness, not only of birth, but of life also.

71. But perchance you run to such a pitch of folly as not to flinch from asserting these things of the Son of God, measuring Him, as you do, by the rule of human infirmity. What, then, if, while you cannot refuse Him the name of God, you are bent to prove Him, by reason of weakness, to be a man? What if, while you examine the Person of the Son, you are calling the Father in question, and while you hastily pass sentence upon the Former, you include the Latter in the same condemnation!

72. If the Divine Generation has been subject to the limits of time — if we suppose this, borrowing from the custom of human generation, then it follows, further, that the Father bare the Son in a bodily womb, and laboured under the burden while ten months sped their courses. But how can generation, as it commonly takes place, be brought about without the help of the other sex? You see that the common order of generation was not the commencement, and you think that the courses of generation, which are

ruled by certain necessities whereunto bodies are subject, have always prevailed. You require the customary course, I ask for difference of sex: you demand the supposition of time, I that of order: you enquire into the end, I into the beginning. Now surely it is the end that depends on the beginning, not the beginning on the end.

73. Everything, say you, that is begotten has a beginning, and therefore because the Son is the Son, He has a beginning, and came first into existence within limits of time. Let this be taken as the word of their own mouth; as for myself, I confess that the Son is begotten, but the rest of their declaration makes me shudder. Man, do you confess God, and diminish His honour by such slander? From this madness may God deliver us.

CHAPTER 12.

Further objections to the Godhead of the Son are met by the same answer — to wit, that they may equally be urged against the Father also. The Father, then, being in no way confined by time, place, or anything else created, no such limitation is to be imposed upon the Son, Whose marvellous generation is not only of the Father, but of the Virgin also, and therefore, since in His generation of the Father no distinction of sex, or the like, was involved, neither was it in His generation of the Virgin.

74. THE NEXT objection is this: If the Son has not those properties which all sons have, He is no Son. May Father, Son, and Holy Spirit pardon me, for I would propound the question in all devoutness. Surely the Father is, and abides for ever: created things, too, are as God has ordained them. Is there any one, then, among these creatures which is not subject to the limitations of place, time, or the fact of having been created, or to some originating cause or creator. Surely, none. What, then? Is there any one of them whereof the Father stands in need? So to say were blasphemy. Cease, then, to apply to the Godhead what is proper only to created existences, or, if you insist upon forcing the comparison, bethink you whither your wickedness leads. God forbid that we should even behold the end thereof.

75. We maintain the answer given by piety. God is Almighty, and therefore God the Father needs none of those things, for in Him there is no changing, nor any place for such help as we need, we whose weakness is supported by means of things of this kind. But He Who is Almighty, plainly He is uncreate, and not confined to any place, and surpasses time. Before God was not anything — nay, even to speak about anything being before

God is a grave sin. If, then, you grant that in the nature of God the Father there is nought that implies a being sustained, because He is God, it follows that nothing of this sort can be supposed to exist in the Son of God, nothing that connotes a beginning, or growth, forasmuch as He is very God of very God.

76. Seeing, then, that we find not the customary order prevailing, be content, Arian, to believe in a miraculous generation of the Son. Be content, I say, and if you believe me not, at least have respect unto the voice of God saying, To whom have you esteemed Me to be like? Isaiah 46:5 and again: God is not like a man that He should repent. Numbers 23:19 If, indeed, God works mysteriously, seeing that He does not work any work, or fashion anything, or bring it to completion, by labor of hands, or in any course of days, for He spoke, and they were made; He gave the word and they were created, why should we not believe that He Whom we acknowledge as a Creator, mysteriously working, discerning it in His works, also begot His Son in a mysterious manner? Surely it is fitting that He should be regarded as having begotten the Son in a special and mysterious way. Let Him Who has the grace of majesty unrivalled likewise have the glory of mysterious generation.

77. Not only Christ's generation of the Father, but His birth also of the Virgin, demands our wonder. You say that the former is like the manner wherein we men are conceived. I will show — nay more, I will compel you yourself to confess, that the latter also has no likeness to the manner of our birth. Tell me how it was that He was born of Mary, with what law did His conception in a Virgin's womb agree, how there could be any birth without the seed of a man, how a maiden could become great with child, how she became a mother before experience of such intercourse as is between wives and husbands. There was no [visible] cause — and yet a son was begotten. How, then, came about this birth, under a new law?

78. If, then, the common order of human generation was not found in the case of the Virgin Mary, how can you demand that God the Father should beget in such wise as you were begotten in? Surely the common order is determined by difference of sex; for this is implanted in the nature of our flesh, but where flesh is not, how can you expect to find the infirmity of flesh? No man calls in question one who is better than he is: to believe is enjoined upon you, without permission to question. For it is written, Abraham believed God, and it was accounted to him for righteousness. Genesis 15:6 Language is vain to set forth, not only the generation of the Son, but even the works of God, for it is written: All His works are executed in faithfulness; His works, then, are done in faithfulness, but not His generation? Ay, we call in question that which we see not, we who are bidden to believe rather than enquire of that we see.

CHAPTER 13.

Discussion of the Divine Generation is continued. St. Ambrose illustrates its method by the same example as that employed by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The duty of believing what is revealed is shown by the example of Nebuchadnezzar and St. Peter. By the vision granted to St. Peter was shown the Son's Eternity and Godhead — the Apostle, then, must be believed in preference to the teachers of philosophy, whose authority was everywhere falling into discredit. The Arians, on the other hand, are shown to be like the heathen.

79. IT WILL be asked: In what sort was the Son begotten? As one who is for ever, as the Word, as the brightness of eternal light, Hebrews 1:3 for brightness takes effect in the instant of its coming into existence. Which example is the Apostle's, not mine. Think not, then, that there was ever a moment of time when God was without wisdom, any more than that there was ever a time when light was without radiance. Judge not, Arian, divine things by human, but believe the divine where you find not the human.

80. The heathen king saw in the fire, together with the three Hebrew children, the form of a fourth, like as of an angel, Daniel 3:25 and because he thought that this angel excelled all angels, he judged Him to be the Son of God, Whom he had not read of, but in Whom he believed. Abraham, also, saw Three, and adored One. Genesis 18:1-3

81. Peter, when he saw Moses and Elias on the mountain, with the Son of God, was not deceived as to their nature and glory. For he enquired, not of them, but of Christ, what he ought to do, inasmuch as though he prepared to do homage to all three, yet he waited for the command of one. But since he

ignorantly thought that for three persons three tabernacles should be set up, he was corrected by the sovereign voice of God the Father, saying, This is My dearly beloved Son: hear Him. Matthew 17:5 That is to say: Why do you join your fellow-servants in equality with your Lord? This is My Son. Not Moses is My Son, nor Elias is My Son, but This is My Son. The Apostle was not dull to understand the rebuke; he fell on his face, brought low by the Father's voice and the glorious beauty of the Son, but he was raised up by the Son, Whose wont it is to raise up them that are fallen. Matthew 17:6-8 Then he saw one only, Matthew 17:8 the Son of God alone, for the servants had withdrawn, that He might be seen to be Lord alone, Who alone was entitled Son.

82. What, then, was the purpose of that vision, which signified not that Christ and His servants were equal, but betokened a mystery, save that it should be made plain to us that the Law and the Prophets, in agreement with the Gospel, revealed as eternal the Son of God, Whom they had heralded. When we, therefore, hear of the Son coming forth of the womb, the Word from the heart, let us believe that the Son was not fashioned with hands but begotten of the Father, not the work of a craftsman but the offspring of a parent.

83. He, therefore, Who said, This is My Son, said not, This is a creature of time, nor This being is of My creation, My making, My servant, but This is My Son, Whom you see glorified. This is the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, Who appeared to Moses in the bush, Exodus 3:14 concerning Whom Moses says, He Who is has sent me. It was not the Father Who spoke to Moses in the bush or in the desert, but the Son. It was of this Moses that Stephen said, This is He Who was in the church, in the wilderness, with the Angel. Acts 7:38 This, then, is He Who gave the Law, Who spoke with Moses, saying, I am the God of Abraham, the God of

Isaac, the God of Jacob. This, then, is the God of the patriarchs, this is the God of the prophets.

84. It is of the Son, therefore, that we read, your mind understands the reading, let your tongue make confession. Away with arguments, where faith is required; now let dialectic hold her peace, even in the midst of her schools. I ask not what it is that philosophers say, but I would know what they do. They sit desolate in their schools. See the victory of faith over argument. They who dispute subtly are forsaken daily by their fellows; they who with simplicity believe are daily increased. Not philosophers but fishermen, not masters of dialectic but tax-gatherers, now find credence. The one sort, through pleasures and luxuries, have bound the world's burden upon themselves; the other, by fasting and mortification, have cast it off, and so does sorrow now begin to win over more followers than pleasure.

85. Let us now see how far Arians and pagans do differ. The latter call upon gods, who are different in sex and unequal in power; the former affirm a Trinity where there is likewise inequality of power and diversity of Godhead. The pagans assert that their Gods began to exist once upon a time; the Arians lyingly declare that Christ began to exist in the course of time. Have they not all dyed their impiety in the vats of philosophy? But indeed the pagans do extol that which they worship, the Arians maintain that the Son of God, Who is God, is a creature.

CHAPTER 14.

That the Son of God is not a created being is proved by the following arguments: (1) That He commanded not that the Gospel should be preached to Himself; (2) that a created being is given over unto vanity; (3) that the Son has created all things; (4) that we read of Him as begotten; and (5) that the difference of generation and adoption has always been understood in those places where both natures — the divine and the human — are declared to co-exist in Him. All of which testimony is confirmed by the Apostle's interpretation.

86. It is now made plain, as I believe, your sacred Majesty, that the Lord Jesus is neither unlike the Father, nor one that began to exist in course of time. We have yet to confute another blasphemy, and to show that the Son of God is not a created being. Herein is the quickening word that we read as our help, for we have heard the passage read where the Lord says: Go into all the world, and preach the Gospel to all creation. Mark 16:15 He Who says all creation excepts nothing. How, then, do they stand who call Christ a creature? If He were a creature, could He have commanded that the Gospel should be preached to Himself? It is not, therefore, a creature, but the Creator, Who commits to His disciples the work of teaching created beings.

87. Christ, then, is no created being; for created beings are, as the Apostle has said, given over to vanity. Romans 8:20 Is Christ given over unto vanity? Again, creation — according to the same Apostle — groans and travails together even until now. What, then? Does Christ take any part in this groaning and travailing — He Who has set us miserable mourners free from death? Creation, says the Apostle, shall be set free from the

slavery of corruption. Romans 8:21-22 We see, then, that between creation and its Lord there is a vast difference, for creation is enslaved, but the Lord is the Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom. 2 Corinthians 3:17

88. Who was it that led first into this error, of declaring Him Who created and made all things to be a creature? Did the Lord, I would ask, create Himself? We read that all things were made by Him, and without Him was nothing made. John 1:3 This being so, did He make Himself? We read — and who shall deny? — that in wisdom has God made all things. If so, how can we suppose that wisdom was made in itself?

89. We read that the Son is begotten, inasmuch as the Father says: I brought you forth from the womb before the morning star. We read of the first-born Son, Colossians 1:15 of the only-begotten John 1:14 — first-born, because there is none before Him; only-begotten, because there is none after Him. Again, we read: Who shall declare His generation? Isaiah 53:8 Generation, mark you, not creation. What argument can be brought to meet testimonies so great and mighty as these?

90. Moreover, God's Son discovers the difference between generation and grace when He says: I go up to My Father and your Father, to My God and your God. He did not say, I go up to our Father, but I go up to My Father and your Father. This distinction is the sign of a difference, inasmuch as He Who is Christ's Father is our Creator.

91. Furthermore He said, to My God and your God, because although He and the Father are One, and the Father is His Father by possession of the same nature, while God began to be our Father through the office of the Son, not by virtue of nature, but of grace — still He seems to point us here to the existence in Christ of both natures, Godhead and Manhood — Godhead of His Father, Manhood of His Mother, the former being before all things, the latter derived from the Virgin. For the first, speaking as the Son,

He called God His Father, and afterward, speaking as man, named Him as God.

92. Everywhere, indeed, we have witness in the Scriptures to show that Christ, in naming God as His God, does so as man. My God, My God, why have You forsaken Me? And again: From My mother's womb You are My God. In the former place He suffers as a man; in the latter it is a man who is brought forth from his mother's womb. And so when He says, From My mother's womb You are My God, He means that He Who was always His Father is His God from the moment when He was brought forth from His Mother's womb.

93. Seeing, then, that we read in the Gospel, in the Apostle, in the Prophets, of Christ as begotten, how dare the Arians to say that He was created or made? But, indeed, they ought to have bethought them, where they have read of Him as created, where as made. For it has been plainly shown that the Son of God is begotten of God, born of God — let them, then, consider with care where they have read that He was made, seeing that He was not made God, but born as God, the Son of God; afterward, however, He was, according to the flesh, made man of Mary.

94. But when the fullness of time had come, God sent His Son, *made* of a woman, made under the Law. *His* Son, observe, not as one of many, not as His in common with another, but His own, and in saying His Son, the Apostle showed that it is of the Son's nature that His generation is eternal. Him the Apostle has affirmed to have been afterwards made of a woman, in order that the making might be understood not of the Godhead, but of the putting on of a body — made of a woman, then, by taking on of flesh; made under the Law through observance of the Law. Howbeit, the former, the spiritual generation is before the Law was, the latter is after the Law.

CHAPTER 15.

An explanation of Acts 2:36 and Proverbs 8:22 , which are shown to refer properly to Christ's manhood alone.

95. TO NO purpose, then, is the heretics' customary citation of the Scripture, that God made Him both Lord and Christ. Let these ignorant persons read the whole passage, and understand it. For thus it is written. God made this Jesus, Whom you crucified, both Lord and Christ. It was not the Godhead, but the flesh, that was crucified. This, indeed, was possible, because the flesh allowed of being crucified. It follows not, then, that the Son of God is a created being.

96. Let us dispatch, then, that passage also, which they do use to misrepresent — let them learn what is the sense of the words, The Lord created Me. It is not the Father created, but the Lord created Me. The flesh acknowledges its Lord, praise declares the Father: our created nature confesses the first, loves, knows the latter. Who, then, cannot but perceive that these words announce the Incarnation? Thus the Son speaks of Himself as created in respect of that wherein he witnesses to Himself as being man, when He says, Why do you seek to kill Me, a *man*, Who have told you the truth? He speaks of His Manhood, wherein He was crucified, and died, and was buried.

97. Furthermore, there is no doubt but that the writer set down as past that which was to come; for this is the usage of prophecy, that things to come are spoken of as though they were already present or past. For example, in the twenty-first psalm you have read: Fat bulls (of Bashan) have beset me, and again: They parted My garments among them. This the

Evangelist shows to have been spoken prophetically of the time of the Passion, for to God the things that are to come are present, and for Him Who foreknows all things, they are as though they were past and over; as it is written, Who has made the things that are to be.

98. It is no wonder that He should declare His place to have been set fast before all worlds, seeing that the Scripture tells us that He was foreordained before the times and ages. The following passage discovers how the words in question present themselves as a true prophecy of the Incarnation: Wisdom has built her a house, and set up seven pillars to support it, and she has slain her victims. She has mingled her wine in the bowl, and made ready her table, and sent her servants, calling men together with a mighty voice of proclamation, saying: ‘He who is simple, let him turn in to me.’ Do we not see, in the Gospel, that all these things were fulfilled after the Incarnation, in that Christ disclosed the mysteries of the Holy Supper, sent forth His apostles, and cried with a loud voice, saying, If any man thirst, let him come to Me and drink. John 7:37 That which follows, then, answers to that which went before, and we behold the whole story of the Incarnation set forth in brief by prophecy.

99. Many other passages might readily be seen to be prophecies of this sort concerning the Incarnation, but I will not delay over books, lest the treatise appear too wordy

CHAPTER 16.

The Arians blaspheme Christ, if by the words created and begotten they mean and understand one and the same thing. If, however, they regard the words as distinct in meaning, they must not speak of Him, of Whom they have read that He was begotten, as if He were a created being. This rule is upheld by the witness of St. Paul, who, professing himself a servant of Christ, forbade worship of a created being. God being a substance pure and uncompounded, there is no created nature in Him; furthermore, the Son is not to be degraded to the level of things created, seeing that in Him the Father is well pleased.

100. NOW WILL I enquire particularly of the Arians, whether they think that begotten and created are one and the same. If they call them the same, then is there no difference between generation and creation. It follows, then, that forasmuch as we also are created, there is between us and Christ and the elements no difference. Thus much, however, great as their madness is, they will not venture to say.

101. Furthermore — to concede that which is no truth, to their folly — I ask them, if there is, as they think, no difference in the words, why do they not call upon Him Whom they worship by the better title? Why do they not avail themselves of the Father's word? Why do they reject the title of honour, and use a dishonouring name?

102. If, however, there is — as I think there is — a distinction between created and begotten, then, when we have read that He is begotten, we shall surely not understand the same by the terms begotten and created. Let them therefore confess Him to be begotten of the Father, born of the Virgin, or let

them say how the Son of God can be both begotten and created. A single nature, above all, the Divine Being, rejects strife (within itself).

103. But in any case let our private judgment pass: let us enquire of Paul, who, filled with the Spirit of God, and so foreseeing these questionings, has given sentence against pagans in general and Arians in particular, saying that they were by God's judgment condemned, who served the creature rather than the Creator. Thus, in fact, you may read: God gave them over to the lusts of their own heart, that they might one with another dishonour their bodies, they who changed God's truth into a lie, and worshipped and served the thing created rather than the Creator, Who is God, blessed forever. Romans 1:24-25

104. Thus Paul forbids me to worship a creature, and admonishes me of my duty to serve Christ. It follows, then, that Christ is not a created being. The Apostle calls himself Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, Romans 1:1 and this good servant, who acknowledges his Lord, will likewise have us not worship that which is created. How, then, could he have been himself a servant of Christ, if he thought that Christ was a created person? Let these heretics, then, cease either to worship Him Whom they call a created being, or to call Him a creature, Whom they feign to worship, lest under color of being worshippers they fall into worse impiety. For a domestic is worse than a foreign foe, and that these men should use the Name of Christ to Christ's dishonour increases their guilt.

105. What better expounder of the Scriptures do we indeed look for than that teacher of the Gentiles, that chosen vessel — chosen from the number of the persecutors? He who had been the persecutor of Christ confesses Him. He had read Solomon more, in any case, than Arius has, and he was well learned in the Law, and so, because he had read, he said not that Christ was created, but that He was begotten. For he had read, He spoke, and they

were made: He commanded, and they were created. Was Christ, I ask, made at a word? Was He created at a command?

106. Moreover, *how* can there be any created nature in God? In truth, God is of an uncompounded nature; nothing can be added to Him, and that alone which is Divine has He in His nature; filling all things, yet nowhere Himself confounded with anything; penetrating all things, yet Himself nowhere to be penetrated; present in all His fullness at one and the same moment, in heaven, in earth, in the deepest depth of the sea, to sight invisible, by speech not to be declared, by feeling not to be measured; to be followed by faith, to be adored with devotion; so that whatsoever title excels in depth of spiritual import, in setting forth glory and honour, in exalting power, this you may know to belong of right to God.

107. Since, then, the Father is well pleased in the Son; believe that the Son is worthy of the Father, that He came out from God, as He Himself bears witness, saying: I went out from God, and have come; John 8:42 and again: I went out from God. John 16:27 He Who proceeded and came forth from God can have no attributes but such as are proper to God.

CHAPTER 17.

That Christ is very God is proved from the fact that He is God's own Son, also from His having been begotten and having come forth from God, and further, from the unity of will and operation subsisting in Father and Son. The witness of the apostles and of the centurion — which St. Ambrose sets over against the Arian teaching — is adduced, together with that of Isaiah and St. John.

108. HENCE IT is that Christ is not only God, but very God indeed — very God of very God, insomuch that He Himself is the Truth. John 14:6 If, then, we enquire His Name, it is the Truth; if we seek to know His natural rank and dignity, He is so truly the very Son of God, that He is indeed God's *own* Son; as it is written, Who spared not His own Son, but gave Him up for our sakes, Romans 8:32 gave Him up, that is, so far as the flesh was concerned. That He is God's own Son declares His Godhead; that He is very God shows that He is God's own Son; His pitifulness is the earnest of His submission, His sacrifice, of our salvation.

109. Lest, however, men should wrest the Scripture, that God gave Him up, the Apostle himself has said in another place, Galatians 1:3-4 Peace from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, Who gave Himself for our sins; and again: Ephesians 5:2 Even as Christ has loved us, and given Himself for us. If, then, He both was given up by the Father, and gave Himself up of His own accord, it is plain that the working and the will of Father and Son is one.

110. If, then, we enquire into His natural pre-eminence, we find it to consist in being begotten. To deny that the Son of God is begotten [of God]

is to deny that He is God's *own* Son, and to deny Christ to be God's own Son is to class Him with the rest of mankind, as no more a Son than any of the rest. If, however, we enquire into the distinctive property of His generation, it is this, that He came forth from God. For while, in our experience, to come out implies something already existent, and that which is said to come out seems to proceed forth from hidden and inward places, we, though it be presented but in short passages, observe the peculiar attribute of the Divine Generation, that the Son does not seem to have come forth out of any place, but as God from God, a Son from a Father, nor to have had a beginning in the course of time, having come forth from the Father by being born, as He Himself Who was born said: I came forth from the mouth of the Most High. Sirach 24:3

111. But if the Arians acknowledge not the Son's nature, if they believe not the Scriptures, let them at least believe the mighty works. To whom does the Father say, Let *us* make man? Genesis 1:26 save to Him Whom He knew to be His true Son? In Whom, save in one who was true, could He recognize His Image? The son by adoption is not the same as the true Son; nor would the Son say, I and the Father are one, John 10:30 if He, being Himself not true, were measuring Himself with One Who is true. The Father, therefore, says, Let us make. He Who spoke is true; can He, then, Who made be not true? Shall the honour rendered to Him Who speaks be withheld from Him Who makes?

112. But how, unless the Father knew Him to be His true Son, should He commend to Him His will, for perfect co-operation, and His works, for perfect bringing in out in actuality? Seeing that the Son works the works which the Father does, and that the Son quickens whom He will, as it is written, He is then equal in power and free in respect of His will. And thus is the Unity maintained, forasmuch as God's power consists in that the

Godhead is proper to each Person, and freedom lies not in any difference, but in unity of will.

113. The apostles, being storm-tossed in the sea, as soon as they saw the waters leaping up round their Lord's feet, and beheld His fearless footsteps on the water, as He walked amid the raging waves of the sea, and the ship, which was beaten upon by the waves, had rest as soon as Christ entered it, and they saw the waves and the winds obeying Him — then, though as yet they did not believe in their hearts they believed Him to be God's true Son, saying, Truly You are the Son of God. Matthew 14:33

114. To the same effect the confession of the centurion, and others who were with him, when the foundations of the world were shaken at the Lord's Passion, — and this, heretic, you deny. The centurion said, Truly this was the Son of God. Matthew 27:54 Was said the centurion — Was *not* says the Arian. The centurion, then, with bloodstained hands, but devout mind, declares both the truth and the eternity of Christ's generation; and thou, O heretic, deniest its truth, and makest it matter of time! Would that you had imbued your hands rather than your soul! But you, unclean even of hand, and murderous of intent, seekest Christ's death, so far as in you lies, seeing that you think of Him as mean and weak; nay, and this is a worse sin, you, albeit the Godhead can feel no wound, still would do your diligence to slay in Christ, not His Body, but His Glory.

115. We cannot then doubt that He is very God, Whose true Godhead even executioners believed in and devils confessed. Their testimony we require not now, but it is withal greater than your blasphemies. We have called them in to witness, to put you to the blush, while we have also cited the oracles of God, to the end that you should believe.

116. The Lord proclaims by the mouth of Isaiah: In the mouth of them that serve Me shall a new name be called upon, which shall be blessed over all the earth, and they shall bless the true God, and they who swear upon

earth shall swear by the true God. Isaiah 65:16 These words, I say, Isaiah spoke when he saw God's Glory, and thus in the Gospel it is plainly said that he saw the Glory of Christ and spoke of Him. John 12:41

117. But hear again what John the Evangelist has written in his Epistle, saying: We know that the Son of God has appeared, and has given us discernment, to know the Father, and to be in His true Son Jesus Christ, our Lord. He is very God, and Life Eternal. 1 John 5:20 John calls Him true Son of God and very God. If, then, He be very God, He is surely uncreate, without spot of lying or deceit, having in Himself no confusion, nor unlikeness to His Father.

CHAPTER 18.

The errors of the Arians are mentioned in the Nicene Definition of the Faith, to prevent their deceiving anybody. These errors are recited, together with the anathema pronounced against them, which is said to have been not only pronounced at Nicæa, but also twice renewed at Ariminum.

118. CHRIST, THEREFORE, is God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God; begotten of the Father, not made; of one substance with the Father.

119. So, indeed, following the guidance of the Scriptures, our fathers declared, holding, moreover, that impious doctrines should be included in the record of their decrees, in order that the unbelief of Arius should discover itself, and not, as it were, mask itself with dye or face-paint. For they give a false color to their thoughts who dare not unfold them openly. After the manner of the censor's rolls, then, the Arian heresy is not discovered by name, but marked out by the condemnation pronounced, in order that he who is curious and eager to hear it should be preserved from falling by knowing that it is condemned already, before he hears, it set forth to the end that he should believe.

120. Those, runs the decree, who say that there was a time when the Son of God was not, and that before He was born He was not, and who say that he was made out of nothing, or is of another substance or οὐσια, or that He is capable of changing, or that with Him is any shadow of turning — them the Catholic and Apostolic Church declares accursed.

121. Your sacred Majesty has agreed that they who utter such doctrines are rightly condemned. It was of no determination by man, of no human

counsel, that three hundred and eighteen bishops met, as I showed above more at length, in Council, but that in their number the Lord Jesus might prove, by the sign of His Name and Passion, that He was in the midst, where His own were gathered together. Matthew 18:20 In the number of three hundred was the sign of His Cross, in that of eighteen was the sign of the Name Jesus.

122. This also was the teaching of the First Confession in the Council of Ariminum, and of the Second Correction, after that Council. Of the Confession, the letter sent to the Emperor Constantine bears witness, and the Council that followed declares the Correction.

CHAPTER 19.

Arius is charged with the first of the above-mentioned errors, and refuted by the testimony of St. John. The miserable death of the Heresiarch is described, and the rest of his blasphemous errors are one by one examined and disproved.

123. ARIUS, THEN, says: There was a time when the Son of God existed not, but Scripture says: He was, not that He was not. Furthermore, St. John has written: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. John 1:1-3 Observe how often the verb was appears, whereas was not is nowhere found. Whom, then, are we to believe? — St. John, who lay on Christ's bosom, or Arius, wallowing amid the outgush of his very bowels? — so wallowing that we might understand how Arius in his teaching showed himself like Judas, being visited with like punishment.

124. For Arius' bowels also gushed out — decency forbids to say where — and so he burst asunder in the midst, falling headlong, and besmirching those foul lips wherewith he had denied Christ. He was rent, even as the Apostle Peter said of Judas, because he bought a field with the price of evil-doing, and falling headlong he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out. It was no chance manner of death, seeing that like wickedness was visited with like punishment, to the end that those who denied and betrayed the same Lord might likewise undergo the same torment.

125. Let us pass on to further points. Arius says: Before He was born, the Son of God was not, but the Scripture says that all things are maintained in existence by the Son's office. How, then, could He, Who existed not,

bestow existence upon others? Again, when the blasphemer uses the words when and before, he certainly uses words which are marks of time. How, then, do the Arians deny that time was ere the Son was, and yet will have things created in time to exist before the Son, seeing that the very words, when, before, and did not exist once, announce the idea of time?

126. Arius says that the Son of God came into being out of nought. How, then, is He Son of God — how was He begotten from the womb of the Father — how do we read of Him as the Word spoken of the heart's abundance, save to the end that we should believe that He came forth, as it is written, from the Father's inmost, unapproachable sanctuary? Now a son is so called either by means of adoption or by nature, as we are called sons by means of adoption. Christ is the Son of God by virtue of His real and abiding nature. How, then, can He, Who out of nothing fashioned all things, be Himself created out of nothing?

127. He who knows not whence the Son is has not the Son. The Jews therefore had not the Son, for they knew not whence He was. Wherefore the Lord said to them: You know not whence I came; John 8:14 and again: You neither have found out Who I am, nor know My Father, for he who denies that the Son is of the Father knows not the Father, of Whom the Son is; and again, he knows not the Son, because he knows not the Father.

128. Arius says: [The Son is] of another Substance. But what other substance is exalted to equality with the Son of God, so that simply in virtue thereof He is Son of God? Or what right have the Arians for censuring us because we speak, in Greek, of the οὐσία, or in Latin, of the *Substantia* of God, when they themselves, in saying that the Son of God is of another Substance, assert a divine *Substantia*.

129. Howbeit, should they desire to dispute the use of the words divine Substance or divine Nature, they shall easily be refuted, for Holy Writ oft-times has spoken of οὐσία in Greek, or *Substantia* in Latin, and St. Peter, as

we read, would have us become partakers in the divine Nature. But if they will have it that the Son is of another Substance, they with their own lips confute themselves, in that they both acknowledge the term Substance, whereof they are so afraid, and rank the Son on a level with the creatures above which they feign to exalt Him.

130. Arius calls the Son of God a creature, but not as the rest of the creatures. Yet what created being is not different from another? Man is not as angel, earth is not as heaven, the sun is not as water, nor light as darkness. Arius' preference, therefore, is empty — he has but disguised with a sorry dye his deceitful blasphemies, in order to take the foolish.

131. Arius declares that the Son of God may change and swerve. How, then, is He God if He is changeable, seeing that He Himself has said: I am, I am, and I change not?

CHAPTER 20.

St. Ambrose declares his desire that some angel would fly to him to purify him, as once the Seraph did to Isaiah — nay more, that Christ Himself would come to him, to the Emperor, and to his readers, and finally prays that Gratian and the rest of the faithful may be exalted by the power and spell of the Lord's Cup, which he describes in mystic language.

132. HOWBEIT, NOW must I needs confess the Prophet Isaiah's confession, which he makes before declaring the word of the Lord: Woe is me, my heart is smitten, for I, a man of unclean lips, and living in the midst of a people of unclean lips, have seen the Lord of Sabaoth. Now if Isaiah said Woe is me, who looked upon the Lord of Sabaoth, what shall I say of myself, who, being a man of unclean lips, am constrained to treat of the divine generation? How shall I break forth into speech of things whereof I am afraid, when David prays that a watch may be set over his mouth in the matter of things whereof he has knowledge? O that to me also one of the Seraphim would bring the burning coal from the celestial altar, taking it in the tongs of the two testaments, and with the fire thereof purge my unclean lips!

133. But forasmuch as then the Seraph came down in a vision to the Prophet, while You, O Lord, in revelation of the mystery have come to us in the flesh, do Thou, not by any deputy, nor by any messenger, but You Yourself cleanse my conscience from my secret sins, that I too, erstwhile unclean, but now by Your mercy made clean through faith, may sing in the words of David: I will make music to You upon a harp, O God of Israel, my

lips shall rejoice, in all my song to You, and so, too, shall my soul, whom You have redeemed.

134. And so, O Lord, leaving them that slander and hate You, come unto us, sanctify the ears of our sovereign ruler, Gratian, and all besides into whose hands this little book shall come — and purge my ears, that no stains of the infidelity they have heard remain anywhere. Cleanse thoroughly, then, our ears, not with water of well, river, or rippling and purling brook, but with words cleansing like water, clearer than any water, and purer than any snow — even the words You have spoken — Though your sins be as scarlet, I will make them white as snow. Isaiah 1:18

135. Moreover, there is a Cup, which You use to purify the hidden chambers of the soul, a Cup not of the old order, nor filled from a common Vine — a new Cup, brought down from heaven to earth, filled with wine pressed from the wondrous cluster, which hung in fleshly form upon the tree of the Cross, even as the grape hangs upon the Vine. From this Cluster, then, is the Wine that makes glad the heart of man, Judges 9:13 uplifts the sorrowful, is fragrant with, pours into us, the ecstasy of faith, true devotion, and purity.

136. With this Wine, therefore, O Lord my God, cleanse the spiritual ears of our sovereign Emperor, to the end that, just as men, being uplifted with common wine, love rest and quietness, cast out the fear of death, have no feeling of injuries, seek not that which belongs to others, and forget their own; and so he, too, intoxicated with your wine, may love peace, and, confident in the exultation of faith, may never know the death of unbelief, and may display loving patience, have no part in other men's profanities, and hold the faith of more account even than kindred and children, as it is written: Leave all that you have, and come, follow Me. Matthew 19:21

137. With this Wine, also, Lord Jesus, purify our senses, that we may adore You, and worship You, the Creator of things visible and invisible.

Truly, You can not fail of being Yourself invisible and good, Who hast given invisibility and goodness to the works of Your Hands.

BOOK II.

Introduction.

Twelve names of the Son of God are recounted, being distributed into three classes. These names are so many proofs of the eternity not only of the Son, but of the Father also. Furthermore, they are compared with the twelve stones in the High Priest's breastplate, and their inseparability is shown by a new distribution of them. Returning to the comparison with the High Priest's breastplate, the writer sets forth the beauty of the woven-work and the precious stones of the mystic raiment, and the hidden meaning of that division into woven-work and precious stones, which being done, he expounds the comparison drawn by him, showing that faith must be woven in with works, and adds a short summary of the same faith, as concerning the Son.

1. ENOUGH HAS been said, as I think, your sacred Majesty, in the book preceding to show that the Son of God is an eternal being, not diverse from the Father, begotten, not created: we have also proved, from passages of the Scriptures, that God's true Son is God, and is declared so to be by the evident tokens of His Majesty.

2. Wherefore, albeit what has already been set forth is plentiful even to overflowing for maintaining the Faith — seeing that the greatness of a river is mostly judged of from the manner in which its springs rise and flow forth — still, to the end that our belief may be the plainer to sight, the waters of our spring ought, methinks, to be parted off into three channels. There are, then, firstly, plain tokens declaring essential inherence in the Godhead; secondly, the expressions of the likeness of the Father and the Son; and lastly, those of the undoubtable unity of the Divine Majesty. Now of the first

sort are the names begetting, God, Son, The Word; of the second, brightness, expression, mirror, image; and of the third, wisdom, power, truth, life.

3. These tokens so declare the nature of the Son, that by them you may know both that the Father is eternal, and that the Son is not diverse from Him; for the source of generation is He Who is, and as begotten of the Eternal, He is God; coming forth from the Father, He is the Son; from God, He is the Word; He is the radiance of the Father's glory, the expression of His substance, the counterpart of God, the image of His majesty; the Bounty of Him Who is bountiful, the Wisdom of Him Who is wise, the Power of the Mighty One, the Truth of Him Who is true, the Life of the Living One. In agreement, therefore, stand the attributes of Father and Son, that none may suppose any diversity, or doubt but that they are of one Majesty. For each and all of these names would we furnish examples of their use were we not constrained by a desire to maintain our discourse within bounds.

4. Of these twelve, as of twelve precious stones, is the pillar of our faith built up. For these are the precious stones — sardius, jasper, smaragd, chrysolite, and the rest — woven into the robe of holy Aaron, even of him who bears the likeness of Christ, that is, of the true Priest; stones set in gold, and inscribed with the names of the sons of Israel, twelve stones close joined and fitting one into another, for if any should sunder or separate them, the whole fabric of the faith falls in ruins.

5. This, then, is the foundation of our faith — to know that the Son of God is begotten; if He be not begotten, neither is He the Son. Nor yet is it sufficient to call Him Son, unless you shall also distinguish Him as the Only-begotten Son. If He is a creature, He is not God; if He is not God, He is not the Life; if He is not the Life, then is He not the Truth.

6. The first three tokens, therefore, that is to say, the names generation, Son, Only-begotten, do show that the Son is of God originally and by virtue

of His own nature.

7. The three that follow — to wit, the names God, Life, Truth, reveal His Power, whereby He has laid the foundations of, and upheld, the created world. For, as Paul said, in Him we live and move and have our being; Acts 17:28 and therefore, in the first three the Son's natural right, in the other three the unity of action subsisting between Father and Son is made manifest.

8. The Son of God is also called the image and effulgence and expression [of God], for these names have disclosed the Father's incomprehensible and unsearchable Majesty dwelling in the Son, and the expression of His likeness in Him. These three names, then, as we see, refer to [the Son's] likeness [to the Father].

9. We have yet the operations of Power, Wisdom, and Justice left, wherewith, severally, to prove [the Son's] eternity.

10. This, then, is that robe, adorned with precious stones; this is the amice of the true Priest; this the bridal garment; here is the inspired weaver, who well knew how to weave that work. No common woven work is it, whereof the Lord spoke by His Prophet: Who gave to women their skill in weaving? No common stones again, are they — stones, as we find them called, of filling; for all perfection depends on this condition, that there be nought lacking. They are stones joined together and set in gold — that is, of a spiritual kind; the joining of them by our minds and their setting in convincing argument. Finally Scripture teaches us how far from common are these stones, inasmuch as, while some brought one kind, and others another, of less precious offerings, these the devout princes brought, wearing them upon their shoulders, and made of them the breastplate of judgment, that is, a piece of woven work. Now we have a woven work, when faith and action go together.

11. Let none suppose me to be misguided, in that I made at first a threefold division, each part containing four, and afterwards a fourfold division, each part containing three terms. The beauty of a good thing pleases the more, if it be shown under various aspects. For those are good things, whereof the texture of the priestly robe was the token, that is to say, either the Law, or the Church, which latter has made two garments for her spouse, as it is written — the one of action, the other of spirit, weaving together the threads of faith and works. Thus, in one place, as we read, she makes a groundwork of gold, and afterwards weaves thereon blue, and purple, with scarlet, and white. Again, [as we read] elsewhere, she first makes little flowerets of blue and other colors, and attaches gold, and there is made a single priestly robe, to the end that adornments of diverse grace and beauty, made up of the same bright colors, may gain fresh glory by diversity of arrangement.

12. Moreover (to complete our interpretation of these types), it is certain that by refined gold and silver are designated the oracles of the Lord, whereby our faith stands firm. The oracles of the Lord are pure oracles, silver tried in the fire, refined of dross, purified seven times. Now blue is like the air we breathe and draw in; purple, again, represents the appearance of water; scarlet signifies fire; and white linen, earth, for its origin is in the earth. Of these four elements, again, the human body is composed.

13. Whether, then, you join to faith already present in the soul, bodily acts agreeing thereto; or acts come first, and faith be joined as their companion, presenting them to God — here is the robe of the minister of religion, here the priestly vestment.

14. Faith is profitable, therefore, when her brow is bright with a fair crown of good works. James 2:14-26 This faith — that I may set the matter forth shortly — is contained in the following principles, which cannot be overthrown. If the Son had His origin in nothing, He is not Son; if He is a

creature, He is not the Creator; if He was made, He did not make all things; if He needs to learn, He has no foreknowledge; if He is a receiver, He is not perfect; if He progress, He is not God. If He is unlike (the Father) He is not the (Father's) image; if He is Son by grace, He is not such by nature; if He have no part in the Godhead, He has it in Him to sin. There is none good, but Godhead. Mark 10:18

CHAPTER 1.

The Arian argument from S. Mark 10:18 , There is none good but one, that is, God, refuted by explanation of these words of Christ.

15. THE OBJECTION I have now to face, your sacred Majesty, fills me with bewilderment, my soul and body faint at the thought that there should be men, or rather not men, but beings with the outward appearance of men, but inwardly full of brutish folly — who can, after receiving at the hands of the Lord benefits so many and so great, say that the Author of all good things is Himself not good.

16. It is written, say they, that There is none good but God alone. I acknowledge the Scripture — but there is no falsehood in the letter; would that there were none in the Arians' exposition thereof. The written signs are guiltless, it is the meaning in which they are taken that is to blame. I acknowledge the words as the words of our Lord and Saviour — but let us bethink ourselves when, to whom, and with what comprehension He speaks.

17. The Son of God is certainly speaking as man, and speaking to a scribe — to him, that is, who called the Son of God Good Master, but would not acknowledge Him as God. What he believes not, Christ further gives him to understand, to the end that he may believe in God's Son not as a good master, but as the good God, for if, wheresoever the One God is named, the Son of God is never sundered from the fullness of that unity, how, when God alone is said to be good, can the Only-begotten be excluded from the fullness of Divine Goodness? The Arians must therefore either deny that the Son of God is God, or confess that God is good.

18. With divinely inspired comprehension, then, our Lord said, *not* There is none good but the Father alone, but There is none good but God alone, and Father is the proper name of Him Who begets. But the unity of God by no means excludes the Godhead of the Three Persons, and therefore it is His Nature that is extolled. Goodness, therefore, is of the nature of God, and in the nature of God, again, exists the Son of God — wherefore that which the predicate expresses belongs not to one single Person, but to the [complete] unity [of the Godhead].

19. The Lord, then, does not deny His goodness — He rebukes this sort of disciple. For when the scribe said, Good Master, the Lord answered, Why do you call Me good? — which is to say, It is not enough to call Him good, Whom you believe not to be God. Not such do I seek to be My disciples — men who rather consider My manhood and reckon Me a good master, than look to My Godhead and believe Me to be the good God.

CHAPTER 2.

The goodness of the Son of God is proved from His works, namely, His benefits that He showed towards the people of Israel under the Old Covenant, and to Christians under the New. It is to one's own interest to believe in the goodness of Him Who is one's Lord and Judge. The Father's testimony to the Son. No small number of the Jewish people bear witness to the Son; the Arians therefore are plainly worse than the Jews. The words of the Bride, declaring the same goodness of Christ.

20. HOWBEIT, I would not that the Son should rely on the mere prerogative of His nature and the claims of peculiar rights of His Majesty. Let us not call Him good, if He merit not the title; and if He merit not this by works, by acts of lovingkindness, let Him waive the right He enjoys by virtue of His nature, and be submitted to our judgment. He Who is to judge us disdains not to be brought to judgment, that He may be justified in His saying, and clear when He is judged.

21. Is He then not good, Who has shown me good things? Is He not good, Who when six hundred thousand of the people of the Jews fled before their pursuers, suddenly opened the tide of the Red Sea, an unbroken mass of waters? — so that the waves flowed round the faithful, and were walls to them, but poured back and overwhelmed the unbelievers.

22. Is He not good, at Whose command the seas became firm ground for the feet of them that fled, and the rocks gave forth water for the thirsty? so that the handiwork of the true Creator might be known, when the fluid became solid, and the rock streamed with water? That we might

acknowledge this as the handiwork of Christ, the Apostle said: And that rock was Christ. 1 Corinthians 10:4

23. Is He not good, Who in the wilderness fed with bread from heaven such countless thousands of the people, lest any famine should assail them, without need of toil, in the enjoyment of rest? — so that, for the space of forty years, their raiment grew not old, nor were their shoes worn, a figure to the faithful of the Resurrection that was to come, showing that neither the glory of great deeds, nor the beauty of the power wherewith He has clothed us, nor the stream of human life is made for nought?

24. Is He not good, Who exalted earth to heaven, so that, just as the bright companies of stars reflect His glory in the sky, as in a glass, so the choirs of apostles, martyrs, and priests, shining like glorious stars, might give light throughout the world.

25. Not only, then, is He good, but He is more. He is a good Shepherd, not only for Himself, but to His sheep also, for the good shepherd lays down his life for his sheep. Aye, He laid down His life to exalt ours — but it was in the power of His Godhead that He laid it down and took it again: I have power to lay down My life, and I have power to take it. No man takes it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself.

26. You see His goodness, in that He laid it down of His own accord: you see His power, in that He took it again — do you deny His goodness, when He has said of Himself in the Gospel, If I am good, why is your eye evil? Ungrateful wretch what are you doing? Do you deny His goodness, in Whom is your hope of good things — if, indeed, you believe this? Do you deny His goodness, Who has given us what eye has not seen, nor ear heard?

27. It concerns my interest to believe Him to be good, for It is a good thing to trust in the Lord. It is to my interest to confess Him Lord, for it is written: Give thanks unto the Lord, for He is good.

28. It is to my interest to esteem my Judge to be good, for the Lord is a righteous Judge to the house of Israel. If, then, the Son of God is Judge, surely, seeing that the Judge is the righteous God and the Son of God is Judge, [it follows that] He who is Judge and Son of God is the righteous God.

29. But perchance you believe not others, nor the Son. Hear, then, the Father saying: My heart has brought forth out of its depth the good Word. The Word, then, is good — the Word, of Whom it is written: And the Word was with God, and the Word was God. John 1:1 If, therefore, the Word is good, and the Son is the Word of God, surely, though it displease the Arians, the Son of God is God. Let them now at least blush for shame.

30. The Jews used to say: He is good. Though some said: He is not, yet others said: He is good, — and you do *all* deny His goodness.

31. He is good who forgives the sin of one man; is He not good Who has taken away the sin of the world? For it was of Him that it was said: Behold the Lamb of God, behold Him Who takes away the sin of the world.

32. But why do we doubt? The Church has believed in His goodness all these ages, and has confessed its faith in the saying: Let Him kiss me with the kisses of His mouth; for your breasts are better than wine; Song of Songs 1:1 and again: And your throat is like the goodliest wine. Of His goodness, therefore, He nourishes us with the breasts of the Law and Grace, soothing men's sorrows with telling them of heavenly things; and do we, then, deny His goodness, when He is the manifestation of goodness, expressing in His Person the likeness of the Eternal Bounty, even as we showed above that it was written, that He is the spotless reflection and counterpart of that Bounty? Song of Songs 7:9

CHAPTER 3.

Forasmuch as God is One, the Son of God is God, good and true.

33. YET WHAT think you, who deny the goodness and true Godhead of the Son of God, though it is written that there is no God but One? 1 Corinthians 8:4 For although there be gods so-called, would you reckon Christ among them which are called gods, but are not, seeing that eternity is of His Essence, and that beside Him there is none other that is good and true God, forasmuch as God is in Him; John 17:22-23 while it follows from the very nature of the Father, that after Him there is no other true God, because God is One, neither confounding [the Persons of] the Father and Son, as the Sabellians do, nor, like the Arians, severing the Father and the Son. For the Father and the Son, as Father and Son, are distinct persons, but they admit no division of their Godhead.

CHAPTER 4.

The omnipotence of the Son of God, demonstrated on the authority of the Old and the New Testament.

34. SEEING, THEN, that the Son of God is true and good, surely He is Almighty God. Can there be yet any doubt on this point? We have already cited the place where it is read that the Lord Almighty is His Name. Because, then, the Son is Lord, and the Lord is Almighty, the Son of God is Almighty.

35. But hear also such a passage as you can build no doubts upon: Behold, He comes, says the Scripture, with the clouds, and every eye shall see Him, and they which pierced Him, and all the tribes of the earth shall mourn because of Him. Yea, amen. I am Alpha and Omega, says the Lord God, Who is, and Who was, and Who is to come, the Almighty. Revelation 1:8 Whom, I ask, did they pierce? For Whose coming hope we but the Son's? Therefore, Christ is Almighty Lord, and God.

36. Hear another passage, your sacred Majesty, — hear the voice of Christ. Thus says the Lord Almighty: After His glory has He sent me against the nations which have made spoil of you, forasmuch as he that touches you is as he that touches the pupil of His eye. For lo, I lay my hand upon them which despoiled you, and I will save you, and they shall be for a spoil, which made spoil of you, and they shall know that the Lord Almighty has sent Me. Plainly, He Who speaks is the Lord Almighty, and He Who has sent is the Lord Almighty. By consequence, then, almighty power appertains both to the Father and to the Son; nevertheless, it is One Almighty God, for there is oneness of Majesty.

37. Moreover, that your most excellent Majesty may know that it is Christ which has spoken as in the Gospel, so also in the prophet, He says by the mouth of Isaiah, as though foreordaining the Gospel: I Myself, Who spoke, have come, that is to say, I, Who spoke in the Law, am present in the Gospel.

38. Elsewhere, again, He says: All things that the Father has are Mine. John 16:25 What means He by all things? Clearly, not things created, for all these were made by the Son, but the things that the Father has — that is to say, Eternity, Sovereignty, Godhead, which are His possession, as begotten of the Father. We cannot, then, doubt that He is Almighty, Who has all things that the Father has (for it is written: All things that the Father has are Mine).

CHAPTER 5.

Certain passages from Scripture, urged against the Omnipotence of Christ, are resolved; the writer is also at especial pains to show that Christ not seldom spoke in accordance with the affections of human nature.

39. ALTHOUGH IT is written concerning God, Blessed and only Potentate, 1 Timothy 5:15 yet I have no misgiving that the Son of God is thereby severed from Him, seeing that the Scripture entitled God, not the Father by Himself, the only Potentate. The Father Himself also declares by the prophet, concerning Christ, that I have set help upon one that is mighty. It is not the Father alone, then, Who is the only Potentate; God the Son also is Potentate, for in the Father's praise the Son is praised too.

40. Aye, let some one show what there is that the Son of God cannot do. Who was His helper, when He made the heavens, — Who, when He laid the foundations of the world? Had He any need of a helper to set men free, Who needed none in constituting angels and principalities? Colossians 1:15-16

41. It is written, say they: 'My Father, if it be possible, take away this cup from Me.' If, then, He is Almighty, how comes He to doubt of the possibility? Which means that, because I have proved Him to be Almighty, I have proved Him unable to doubt of possibility.

42. The words, you say, are the words of Christ. True — consider, though, the occasion of His speaking them, and in what character He speaks. He has taken upon Him the substance of man, and therewith its affections. Again, you find in the place above cited, that He went forward a little further, and fell on His face, praying, and saying: Father, if it be

possible. Not as God, then, but as man, speaks He, for could God be ignorant of the possibility or impossibility of anything? Or is anything impossible for God, when the Scripture says: For You nothing is impossible? Job 22:17

43. Of Whom, howbeit, does He doubt — of Himself, or of the Father? Of Him, surely, Who says: Take away from Me, — being moved as man is moved to doubt. The prophet reckons nothing impossible with God. The prophet doubts not; think you that the Son doubts? Will you put God lower than man? What — God has doubts of His Father, and is fearful at the thought of death! Christ, then, is afraid — afraid, while Peter fears nothing. Peter says: I will lay down my life for Your sake. John 13:37 Christ says: My soul is troubled. John 12:27

44. Both records are true, and it is equally natural that the person who is the less should not fear, as that He Who is the greater should endure this feeling, for the one has all a man's ignorance of the might of death, while the other, as being God inhabiting a body, displays the weakness of the flesh, that the wickedness of those who deny the mystery of the Incarnation might have no excuse. Thus, then, has He spoken, yet the Manichæan believed not; Valentinus denied, and Marcion judged Him to be a ghost.

45. But indeed He so far put Himself on a level with man, such as He showed Himself to be in the reality of His bodily frame, as to say, Nevertheless, not as I will, but as You will, Matthew 26:39 though truly it is Christ's special power to will what the Father wills, even as it is His to do what the Father does.

46. Here, then, let there be an end of the objection which it is your custom to oppose to us, on the ground that the Lord said, Not as I will, but as You will; and again, For this cause I came down from heaven, not to do My own will, but the will of Him that sent Me. John 6:38

CHAPTER 6.

The passages of Scripture above cited are taken as an occasion for a digression, wherein our Lord's freedom of action is proved from the ascription to the Spirit of such freedom, and from places where it is attributed to the Son.

47. LET US now, for the present, explain more fully why our Lord said, If it be possible, and so call a truce, as it were, while we show that He possessed freedom of will. You deny — so far are you gone in the way of iniquity — that the Son of God had a free will. Moreover, it is your wont to detract from the Holy Spirit, though you cannot deny that it is written: The Spirit does breathe, where He will. Where He will, says the Scripture, not where He is ordered. If, then, the Spirit does breathe where He will, cannot the Son do what He will? Why, it is the very same Son of God Who in His Gospel says that the Spirit has power to breathe where He will. Does the Son, therefore, confess the Spirit to be greater, in that He has power to do what is not permitted to Himself?

48. The Apostle also says that all is the work of one and the same Spirit, distributing to each according to His will. 1 Corinthians 12:11 According to His will, mark you — that is, according to the judgment of a free will, not in obedience to compulsion. Furthermore, the gifts distributed by the Spirit are no mean gifts, but such works as God is wont to do — the gift of healing and of working deeds of power. While the Spirit, then, distributes as He will, the Son of God cannot set free whom He will. But hear Him speak when He does even as He will: I have willed to do Your will, O my God; and again: I will offer You a freewill offering.

49. The holy Apostle later knew that Jesus had it in His power to do as He would, and therefore, seeing Him walk upon the sea, said: Lord, if it be You, bid me come to You over the waters. Matthew 14:28 Peter believed that if Christ commanded, the natural conditions could be changed, so that water might support human footsteps, and things discrepant be reduced to harmony and agreement. Peter asks of Christ to command, not to request: Christ requested not, but commanded, and it was done — and Arius denies it!

50. What indeed is there that the Father will have, but the Son will not, or that the Son will have, but the Father will not? The Father quickens whom He will, and the Son quickens whom He will, even as it is written. John 5:21 Tell me now whom the Son has quickened, and the Father would not quicken. Since, however, the Son quickens whom He will, and the action [of Father and Son] is one, you see that not only does the Son the Father's will, but the Father also does the Son's. For what is quickening but quickening through the passion of Christ? But the passion of Christ is the Father's will. Whom, therefore, the Son quickens, He quickens by the will of the Father; therefore their will is one.

51. Again, what was the will of the Father, but that Jesus should come into the world and cleanse us from our sins? Hear the words of the leper: If You will, You can make me clean. Matthew 8:2 Christ answered, I will, and straightway health, the effect, followed. See you not that the Son is master of His own will, and Christ's will is the same as the Father's. Indeed, seeing that He has said, All things that the Father has are Mine, John 16:15 nothing of a certainty being excepted, the Son has the same will that the Father has.

CHAPTER 7.

The resolution of the difficulty set forth for consideration is again taken in hand. Christ truly and really took upon Him a human will and affections, the source of whatsoever was not in agreement with His Godhead, and which must be therefore referred to the fact that He was at the same time both God and man.

52. THERE IS, therefore, unity of will where there is unity of working; for in God His will issues straightway in actual effect. But the will of God is one, and the human will another. Further, to show that life is the object of human will, because we fear death, while the passion of Christ depended on the Divine Will, that He should suffer for us, the Lord said, when Peter would have detained Him from suffering: You savour not of the things which be of God, but the things which be of men. Matthew 16:23

53. My will, therefore, He took to Himself, my grief. In confidence I call it grief, because I preach His Cross. Mine is the will which He called His own, for as man He bore my grief, as man He spoke, and therefore said, Not as I will, but as You will. Mine was the grief, and mine the heaviness with which He bore it, for no man exults when at the point to die. With me and for me He suffers, for me He is sad, for me He is heavy. In my stead, therefore, and in me He grieved Who had no cause to grieve for Himself.

54. Not Your wounds, but mine, hurt You, Lord Jesus; not Your death, but our weakness, even as the Prophet says: For He is afflicted for our sakes Isaiah 53:4 — and we, Lord, esteemed You afflicted, when You grieved not for Yourself, but for me.

55. And what wonder if He grieved for all, Who wept for one? What wonder if, in the hour of death, He is heavy for all, Who wept when at the point to raise Lazarus from the dead? *Then*, indeed, He was moved by a loving sister's tears, for they touched His human heart — here by secret grief He brought it to pass that, even as His death made an end of death, and His stripes healed our scars, so also His sorrow took away our sorrow.

56. As being man, therefore, He doubts; as man He is amazed. Neither His power nor His Godhead is amazed, but His soul; He is amazed by consequence of having taken human infirmity upon Him. Seeing, then, that He took upon Himself a soul He also took the affections of a soul, for God could not have been distressed or have died in respect of His being God. Finally, He cried: My God, My God, why have You forsaken Me? As being man, therefore, He speaks, bearing with Him my terrors, for when we are in the midst of dangers we think ourself abandoned by God. As man, therefore, He is distressed, as man He weeps, as man He is crucified.

57. For so has the Apostle Paul likewise said: Because they have crucified the flesh of Christ. And again the Apostle Peter says: Christ having suffered according to the flesh. 1 Peter 4:1 It was the flesh, therefore, that suffered; the Godhead above secure from death; to suffering His body yielded, after the law of human nature; can the Godhead die, then, if the soul cannot? Fear not them, said our Lord, which can kill the body, but cannot kill the soul. Matthew 10:28 If the soul, then, cannot be killed, how can the Godhead?

58. When we read, then, that the Lord of glory was crucified, let us not suppose that He was crucified as in His glory. 1 Corinthians 2:8 It is because He Who is God is also man, God by virtue of His Divinity, and by taking upon Him of the flesh, the man Christ Jesus, that the Lord of glory is said to have been crucified; for, possessing both natures, that is, the human and the divine, He endured the Passion in His humanity, in order that

without distinction He Who suffered should be called both Lord of glory and Son of man, even as it is written: Who descended from heaven. John 3:13

CHAPTER 8.

Christ's saying, The Father is greater than I, is explained in accordance with the principle just established. Other like sayings are expounded in like fashion. Our Lord cannot, as touching His Godhead, be called inferior to the Father.

59. IT WAS due to His humanity, therefore, that our Lord doubted and was sore distressed, and rose from the dead, for that which fell does also rise again. Again, it was by reason of His humanity that He said those words, which our adversaries use to maliciously turn against Him: Because the Father is greater than I. John 14:28

60. But when in another passage we read: I came out from the Father, and have come into the world; again, I leave the world, and go to the Father, John 16:28 how does He go, except through death, and how comes He, save by rising again? Furthermore, He added, in order to show that He spoke concerning His Ascension: Therefore have I told you before it come to pass, in order that, when it shall have come to pass, you may believe. John 14:20 For He was speaking of the sufferings and resurrection of His body, and by that resurrection they who before doubted were led to believe — for, indeed, God, Who is always present in every place, passes not from place to place. As it is a man who goes, so it is He Himself Who comes. Furthermore, He says in another place: Rise, let us go hence. John 14:31 In that, therefore, does He go and come, which is common to Him and to us.

61. How, indeed, can He be a lesser God when He is perfect and true God? Yet in respect of His humanity He is less — and still you wonder that speaking in the person of a man He called the Father greater than Himself,

when in the person of a man He called Himself a worm, and not a man, saying: But I am a worm, and no man; and again: He was led as a sheep to the slaughter. Isaiah 53:7

62. If you pronounce Him less than the Father in this respect, I cannot deny it; nevertheless, to speak in the words of Scripture, He was not begotten inferior, but made lower, Hebrews 2:9 that is, *made* inferior. And how was He made lower, except that, being in the form of God, He thought it not a prey that He should be equal with God, but emptied Himself; Philippians 2:6-7 not, indeed, parting with what He was, but taking up what He was not, for He took the form of a servant. Philippians 2:6-7

63. Moreover, to the end that we might know Him to have been made lower, by taking upon Him a body, David has shown that he is prophesying of a man, saying: What is man, that You are mindful of him, or the son of man, but that You visit him? You have made him a little lower than the angels. And in interpreting this same passage the Apostle says: For we see Jesus, made a little lower than the angels, crowned with glory and honour because that He suffered death, in order that apart from God He might taste death for all. Hebrews 2:9

64. Thus, the Son of God was made lower than, not only the Father, but angels also. And if you will turn this to His dishonour; [I ask] is then the Son, in respect of His Godhead, less than His angels who serve Him and minister to Him? Thus, in your purpose to diminish His honour, you run into the blasphemy of exalting the nature of angels above the Son of God. But the servant is not above his master. Matthew 10:24 Again, angels ministered to Him even after His Incarnation, to the end that you should acknowledge Him to have suffered no loss of majesty by reason of His bodily nature, for God could not submit to any loss of Himself, while that which He has taken of the Virgin neither adds to nor takes away from His divine power.

65. He, therefore, possessing the fullness of Divinity and glory, Colossians 2:9 is not, in respect of His Divinity, inferior. Greater and less are distinctions proper to corporeal existences; one who is greater is so in respect of rank, or qualities, or at any rate of age. These terms lose their meaning when we come to treat of the things of God. He is commonly entitled the greater who instructs and informs another, but it is not the case with God's Wisdom that it has been built up by teaching received from another, forasmuch as Itself has laid the foundation of all teaching. But how wisely wrote the Apostle: In order that apart from God He might taste death for all, — lest we should suppose the Godhead, not the flesh, to have endured that Passion!

66. If our opponents, then, have found no means to prove [the Father] greater [than the Son], let them not pervert words unto false reports, but seek out their meaning. I ask them, therefore, as touching what do they esteem the Father the greater? If it is because He is the Father, then [I answer] here we have no question of age or of time — the Father is not distinguished by white hairs, nor the Son by youthfulness — and it is on these conditions that the greater dignity of a father depends. But father and son are names, the one of the parent, the other of the child — names which seem to join rather than separate; for dutifulness inspires no loss of personal worth, inasmuch as kinship binds men together, and does not rend them asunder.

67. If, then, they cannot make the order of nature a support for any questioning, let them now believe the witness [of Scripture]. Now the Evangelist testifies that the Son is not lower [than the Father] by reason of being the Son; nay, he even declares that, in being the Son, He is equal, saying, For the Jews sought to kill Him for this cause, that not only did He break the Sabbath, but even called God His own Father, making Himself equal to God. John 5:10

68. This is not what the Jews said — it is the Evangelist who testifies that, in calling Himself God's own Son, He made Himself equal to God, for the Jews are not presented as saying, For this cause we sought to kill Him; the Evangelist, speaking for himself, says, For the Jews sought to kill Him for this cause. Moreover, he has discovered the cause, [in saying] that the Jews were stirred with desire to slay Him because, when as God He broke the Sabbath, and also claimed God as His own Father, He ascribed to Himself not only the majesty of divine authority in breaking the Sabbath, but also, in speaking of His Father, the right appertaining to eternal equality.

69. Most fitting was the answer which the Son of God made to these Jews, proving Himself the Son and equal of God. Whatsoever things, He said, the Father has done, the Son does also in like wise. John 5:19 The Son, therefore, is both entitled and proved the equal of the Father — a true equality, which both excludes difference of Godhead, and discovers, together with the Son, the Father also, to Whom the Son is equal; for there is no equality where there is difference, nor again where there is but one person, inasmuch as none is by himself equal to himself. Thus has the Evangelist shown why it is fitting that Christ should call Himself the Son of God, that is, make Himself equal with God.

70. Hence the Apostle, following this revelation, has said: He thought it not a prey that He should be equal with God. For that which a man has not he seeks to carry off as a prey. Equality with the Father, therefore, which, as God and Lord, He possessed in His own substance, He had not as a spoil wrongfully seized. Wherefore the Apostle added [the words]: He took the form of a servant. Now surely a servant is the opposite of an equal. Equal, therefore, is the Son, in the form of God, but inferior in taking upon Him of the flesh and in His sufferings as a man. For how could *the same* nature be both lower and equal? And how, if [the Son] be inferior, can He do the same things, in like manner, as the Father does? How, indeed, can there be

sameness of operation with diversity of power? Can the inferior ever work such effects as the greater, or can there be unity of operation where there is diversity of substance?

71. Admit, therefore, that Christ, as touching His Godhead, cannot be called inferior [to the Father]. Christ speaks to Abraham: By Myself have I sworn. Genesis 22:16 Now the Apostle shows that He Who swears by Himself cannot be lower than any. Thus he says, When God rewarded Abraham with His promise, He swore by Himself, forasmuch as He had none other that was greater, saying, Surely with blessing will I bless you, and with multiplying will I multiply you. Hebrews 6:13-14 Christ had, therefore, none greater, and for that cause swore He by Himself. Moreover, the Apostle has rightly added, for men swear by one greater than themselves, forasmuch as men have one who is greater than themselves, but God has none.

72. Otherwise, if our adversaries will understand this passage as referred to the Father, then the rest of the record does not agree with it. For the Father did not appear to Abraham, nor did Abraham wash the feet of God the Father, but the feet of Him in Whom is the image of the man that shall be. Moreover, the Son of God says, Abraham saw My day, and rejoiced. John 8:56 It is He, therefore, Who swore by Himself, [and] Whom Abraham saw.

73. And how, indeed, has He any greater than Himself Who is one with the Father in Godhead? John 10:30 Where there is unity, there is no dissimilarity, whereas between greater and less there is a distinction. The teaching, therefore, of the instance from Scripture before us, with regard to the Father and the Son, is that neither is the Father greater, nor has the Son any that is above Him, inasmuch as in Father and Son there is no difference of Godhead parting them, but one majesty.

CHAPTER 9.

The objection that the Son, being sent by the Father, is, in that regard at least, inferior, is met by the answer that He was also sent by the Spirit, Who is yet not considered greater than the Son. Furthermore, the Spirit, in His turn, is sent by the Father to the Son, in order that Their unity in action might be shown forth. It is our duty, therefore, carefully to distinguish what utterances are to be fitly ascribed to Christ as God, and what to be ascribed to Him as man.

74. I HAVE no fears in the matter of that commonly advanced objection, that Christ is inferior because He was sent. For even if He be inferior, yet this is not so proved; on the other hand, His equal title to honour is in truth proved. Since all honour the Son as they honour the Father, John 5:23 it is certain that the Son is not, in so far as being sent, inferior.

75. Regard not, therefore, the narrow bounds of human language, but the plain meaning of the words, and believe facts accomplished. Bethink you that our Lord Jesus Christ said in Isaiah that He had been sent by the Spirit. Is the Son, therefore, less than the Spirit because He was sent by the Spirit? Thus you have the record, that the Son declares Himself sent by the Father and His Spirit. I am the beginning, He says, Isaiah 48:12 and I live for ever, and My hand has laid the foundations of the earth, My right hand has made the heaven to stand abidingly; and further on: I have spoken, and I have called; I have brought him, and have made his way to prosper. Draw near to Me, and hear these things: not in secret have I spoken from the beginning. When they were made, I was there: and now has the Lord and His Spirit sent Me. Isaiah 48:15-16 Here, indeed, He Who made the heaven and the

earth Himself says that He is sent by the Lord and His Spirit. You see, then, that the poverty of language takes not from the honour of His mission. He, then, is sent by the Father; by the Spirit also is He sent.

76. And that you may gather that there is no separating difference of majesty, the Son in turn sends the Spirit, even as He Himself has said: But when the Comforter has come, whom I will send you from My Father — the Spirit of truth, who comes forth from My Father. John 15:26 That this same Comforter is also to be sent by the Father He has already taught, saying, But the Comforter, that Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in My name. John 14:26 Behold their unity, inasmuch as whom God the Father sends, the Son sends also, and Whom the Father sends, the Spirit sends also. Else, if the Arians will not admit that the Son was sent, because we read that the Son is the right hand of the Father, then they themselves will confess with respect to the Father, what they deny concerning the Son, unless perchance they discover for themselves either another Father or another Son.

77. A truce, then, to vain wranglings over words, for the kingdom of God, as it is written, consists not in persuasive words, but in power plainly shown forth. Let us take heed to the distinction of the Godhead from the flesh. In each there speaks one and the same Son of God, for each nature is present in Him; yet while it is the same Person Who speaks, He speaks not always in the same manner. Behold in Him, now the glory of God, now the affections of man. As God He speaks the things of God, because He is the Word; as man He speaks the things of man, because He speaks in my nature.

78. This is the living bread, which came down from heaven. John 6:51 This bread is His flesh, even as He Himself said: This bread which I will give is My flesh. John 7:52 This is He Who came down from heaven, this is He Whom the Father has sanctified and sent into this world. Even the letter

itself teaches us that not the Godhead but the flesh needed sanctification, for the Lord Himself said, And I sanctify Myself for them, John 17:19 in order that you may acknowledge that He is both sanctified in the flesh for us, and sanctifies by virtue of His Divinity.

79. This is the same One Whom the Father sent, but born of a woman, born under the law, Galatians 4:4 as the Apostle has said. This is He Who says: The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me; wherefore He has anointed Me, to bring good tidings to the poor has He sent Me: This is He Who says: My doctrine is not Mine, but His, Who sent Me. If any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of Myself. John 7:16 Doctrine that is of God, then, is one thing; doctrine that is of man, another; and so when the Jews, regarding Him as man, called in question His teaching, and said, How knows this man letters, having never learned? Jesus answered and said, My doctrine is not Mine, for, in teaching without elegance of letters, He seems to teach not as man, but rather as God, having not learned, but devised His doctrine.

80. For He has found and devised all the way of discipline, as we read above, inasmuch as of the Son of God it has been said: This is our God, and none other shall be accounted of in comparison with Him, Who has found all the way of discipline. After these things He was seen on earth, and conversed with men. How, then, could He, as divine, not have His own doctrine — He Who has found all the way of discipline before He was seen on earth? Or how is He inferior, of Whom it is said, None shall be accounted of in comparison with Him? Surely He is entitled incomparable, in comparison of Whom none other can be accounted of — yet so that He cannot be accounted of before the Father. Now if men suppose that the Father is spoken of, they shall not escape running into the blasphemy of Sabellius, of ascribing the assumption of human nature to the Father.

81. Let us proceed with what follows. He who speaks of himself, seeks his own glory. John 7:18 See the unity wherein Father and Son are plainly revealed. He who speaks cannot but be; yet that which He speaks cannot be solely from Him, for in Him all that is, is naturally derived from the Father.

82. What now is the meaning of the words seeks his own glory? That is, not a glory in which the Father has no part — for indeed the Word of God is His glory. Again, our Lord says: that they may see My glory. John 17:24 But that glory of the Word is also the glory of the Father, even as it is written: The Lord Jesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father. In regard of His Godhead, therefore, the Son of God so has His own glory, that the glory of Father and Son is one: He is not, therefore, inferior in splendour, for the glory is one, nor lower in Godhead, for the fullness of the Godhead is in Christ.

83. How, then, you ask, is it written, Father, the hour has come; glorify Your Son? John 17:1 He Who says these words needs to be glorified, say you. Thus far you have eyes to see; the remainder of the Scripture you have not read, for it proceeds: that Your Son may glorify You. Hath ever the Father need of any, in that He is to be glorified by the Son?

CHAPTER 10.

The objection taken on the ground of the Son's obedience is disproved, and the unity of power, Godhead, and operation in the Trinity set forth, Christ's obedience to His mother, to whom He certainly cannot be called inferior, is noticed.

84. IN LIKE manner our adversaries commonly make a difficulty of the Son's obedience, forasmuch as it is written: And being found in appearance as a man, He humbled Himself, and became obedient even unto death. Philippians 2:7-8 The writer has not only told us that the Son was obedient even unto death, but also first shown that He was man, in order that we might understand that obedience unto death was the part not of His Godhead but of His Incarnation, whereby He took upon Himself both the functions and the names belonging to our nature.

85. Thus we have learned that the power of the Trinity is one, as we are taught both in and after the Passion itself: for the Son suffers through His body, which is the earnest of it; the Holy Spirit is poured upon the apostles: into the Father's hands the spirit is commended; furthermore, God is with a mighty voice proclaimed the Father. We have learned that there is one form, one likeness, one sanctification, of the Father and of the Son, one activity, one glory, finally, one Godhead.

86. There is, therefore, but one only God, for it is written: You shall worship the Lord your God, and Him only shall you serve. Deuteronomy 6:13 One God, not in the sense that the Father and the Son are the same Person, as the ungodly Sabellius affirms — but forasmuch as there is one

Godhead of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. But where there is one Godhead, there is one will, one purpose.

87. Again, that you may know that the Father is, and the Son is, and that the work of the Father and of the Son is one, follow the saying of the Apostle: Now may God Himself, and our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ direct our way unto you. 1 Thessalonians 3:11 Both Father and Son are named, but there is unity of direction, because unity of power. So also in another place we read: Now may our Lord Himself, Jesus Christ, and God and our Father, Who has loved us, and given us eternal consolation, and good hope in grace, console and strengthen your hearts. 2 Thessalonians 2:15-16 How perfect a unity it is that the Apostle presents to us, insomuch that the fount of consolation is not many, but one. Let doubt be dumb, then, or, if it will not be overcome by reason, let the thought of our Lord's gracious kindliness bend it.

88. Let us call to mind how kindly our Lord has dealt with us, in that He taught us not only faith but manners also. For, having taken His place in the form of man, He was subject to Joseph and Mary. Luke 2:51 Was He less than all mankind, then, because He was subject? The part of dutifulness is one, that of sovereignty is another, but dutifulness does not exclude sovereignty. Wherein, then, was He subject to the Father's law? In His body, surely, wherein He was subject to His mother.

CHAPTER 11.

The purpose and healing effects of the Incarnation. The profitableness of faith, whereby we know that Christ bore all infirmities for our sakes — Christ, Whose Godhead revealed Itself in His Passion; whence we understand that the mission of the Son of God entailed no subservience, which belief we need not fear lest it displease the Father, Who declares Himself to be well pleased in His Son.

89. LET US likewise deal kindly, let us persuade our adversaries of that which is to their profit, let us worship and lament before the Lord our Maker. For we would not overthrow, but rather heal; we lay no ambush for them, but warn them as in duty bound. Kindliness often bends those whom neither force nor argument will avail to overcome. Again, our Lord cured with oil and wine the man who, going down from Jerusalem to Jericho, fell among thieves; having forborne to treat him with the harsh remedies of the Law or the sternness of Prophecy.

90. To Him, therefore, let all come who would be made whole. Let them receive the medicine which He has brought down from His Father and made in heaven, preparing it of the juices of those celestial fruits that wither not. This is of no earthly growth, for nature nowhere possesses this compound. Of wondrous purpose took He our flesh, to the end that He might show that the law of the flesh had been subjected to the law of the mind. He was incarnate, that He, the Teacher of men, might overcome as man.

91. Of what profit would it have been to me, had He, as God, bared the arm of His power, and only displayed His Godhead inviolate? Why should He take human nature upon Him, but to suffer Himself to be tempted under

the conditions of my nature and my weakness? It was right that He should be tempted, that He should suffer with me, to the end that I might know how to conquer when tempted, how to escape when hard pressed. He overcame by force of continence, of contempt of riches, of faith; He trampled upon ambition, fled from intemperance, bade wantonness be far from Him.

92. This medicine Peter beheld, and left His nets, that is to say, the instruments and security of gain, renouncing the lust of the flesh as a leaky ship, that receives the bilge, as it were, of multitudinous passions. Truly a mighty remedy, that not only removed the scar of an old wound, but even cut the root and source of passion. O Faith, richer than all treasure-houses; O excellent remedy, healing our wounds and sins!

93. Let us bethink ourselves of the profitableness of right belief. It is profitable to me to know that for my sake Christ bore my infirmities, submitted to the affections of my body, that for me, that is to say, for every man, He was made sin, and a curse, that for me and in me was He humbled and made subject, that for me He is the Lamb, the Vine, the Rock, the Servant, the Son of an handmaid, knowing not the day of judgment, for my sake ignorant of the day and the hour.

94. For how could He, Who has made days and times, be ignorant of the day? How could He not know the day, Who has declared both the season of Judgment to come, and the cause? A curse, then, He was made not in respect of His Godhead, but of His flesh; for it is written: Cursed is every one that hangs on a tree. In and after the flesh, therefore, He hung, and for this cause He, Who bore our curses, became a curse. He wept that thou, man, might not weep long. He endured insult, that you might not grieve over the wrong done to you.

95. A glorious remedy — to have consolation of Christ! For He bore these things with surpassing patience for our sakes — and we forsooth

cannot bear them with common patience for the glory of His Name! Who may not learn to forgive, when assailed, seeing that Christ, even on the Cross, prayed — yea, for them that persecuted Him? See you not that those weaknesses, as you please to call them, of Christ's are your *strength?* Why question Him in the matter of remedies for us? His tears wash us, His weeping cleanses us — and there is strength in *this* doubt, at least, that if you begin to doubt, you will despair. The greater the insult, the greater is the gratitude due.

96. Even in the very hour of mockery and insult, acknowledge His Godhead. He hung upon the Cross, and all the elements did Him homage. Matthew 27:51 The sun withdrew his rays, the daylight vanished, darkness came down and covered the land, the earth trembled; yet He Who hung there trembled not. What was it that these signs betokened, but reverence for the Creator? That He hangs upon the Cross — this, thou Arian, you regard, that He gives the kingdom of God — this, you regard not. That He tasted of death, you read, but that He also invited the robber into paradise, Luke 23:43 to this you give no heed. You gaze at the women weeping by the tomb, but not upon the angels keeping watch by it. John 20:11-12 What He *said*, you read, what He *did*, thou dost not read. You say that the Lord said to the Canaanitish woman: I am not sent, but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, Matthew 15:24 thou dost not say that He did what He was besought by her to do.

97. You should hereby understand that His being sent means not that He was compelled, at the command of another, but that He acted, of free will, according to His own judgment, otherwise thou dost accuse Him of despising His Father. For if, according to your expounding, Christ had come into Jewry, as one executing the Father's commands, to relieve the inhabitants of Jewry, and none besides, and yet before that was accomplished, set free the Canaanitish woman's daughter from her

complaint, surely He was not only the executor of another's instruction, but was free to exercise His own judgment. But where there is freedom to act as one will, there can be no transgressing the terms of one's mission.

98. Fear not that the Son's act displeased the Father, seeing that the Son Himself says: Whatsoever things are His good pleasure, I do always, and The works that I do, He Himself does. How, then, could the Father be displeased with that which He Himself did through the Son? For it is One God, Who, as it is written, has justified circumcision in consequence of faith, and uncircumcision through faith. Romans 3:30

99. Read all the Scriptures, mark all diligently, you will then find that Christ so manifested Himself that God might be discerned in man. Misunderstand not maliciously the Son's exultation in the Father, when you hear the Father declaring His pleasure in the Son.

CHAPTER 12.

Do the Catholics or the Arians take the better course to assure themselves of the favour of Christ as their Judge? An objection grounded on Psalm 110:1 is disposed of, it being shown that when the Son is invited by the Father to sit at His right hand, no subjection is intended to be signified — nor yet any preferment, in that the Son sits at the Father's right hand. The truth of the Trinity of Persons in God, and of the Unity of their Nature, is shown to be proved by the angelic Trisagion.

100. HOWBEIT, IF our adversaries cannot be turned by kindness, let us summon them before the Judge. To what Judge, then, shall we go? Surely to Him Who has the Judgment. To the Father, then? Nay, but the Father judges no man, for He has given all judgment to the Son. John 5:22 He has given, that is to say, not as of largess, but in the act of generation. See, then, how unwilling He was that you should dishonour His Son — even so that He gave Him to be your Judge.

101. Let us see, then, before the judgment which has the better cause, thou or I? Surely it is the care of a prudent party to a suit to gain first the favourable regard of the judge. You honour man — do you not honour God? Which of the two, I ask, wins the favour of the magistrate — respect or contempt? Suppose that I am in error — as I certainly am not: is Christ displeased with the honour shown Him? We are all sinners — who, then, will deserve forgiveness, he who renders worship, or he who displays insolence?

102. If reasoning move you not, at least let the plain aspect of the judgment move you! Raise your eyes to the Judge, see Who it is that is

seated, with Whom He is seated, and where. Christ sits at the right hand of the Father. If with your eyes you can not perceive this, hear the words of the prophet: The Lord said to my Lord, Sit on My right hand. The Son, therefore, sits at the right hand of the Father. Tell me now, thou who holdest that the things of God are to be judged of from the things of this world — say whether you think Him Who sits at the right hand to be lower? Is it any dishonour to the Father that He sits at the Son's left hand? The Father honours the Son, and you make it to be insult! The Father would have this invitation to be a sign of love and esteem, and you would make it an overlord's command! Christ has risen from the dead, and sits at the right hand of God.

103. But, you object, the Father *said.* Good, hear now a passage where the Father does not speak, and the Son prophesies: Hereafter you shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power. Matthew 26:64 This He said with regard to taking back to Himself His body — to Him the Father said: Sit at My right hand. If indeed you ask of the eternal abode of the Godhead, He said — when Pilate asked Him whether He were the King of the Jews — For this I was born. And so indeed the Apostle shows that it is good for us to believe that Christ sits at the right hand of God, not by command, nor of any boon, but as God's most dearly beloved Son. For it is written for you: Seek the things that are above, where Christ is, sitting at the right hand of God; savour the things that are above. Colossians 3:2 This is to savour the things that be above — to believe that Christ, in His sitting, does not obey as one who receives a command, but is honoured as the well-beloved Son. It is with regard, then, to Christ's Body that the Father says: Sit at My right hand, until I make Your enemies Your footstool.

104. If, again, you seek to pervert the sense of these words, I will make Your enemies Your footstool, I answer that the Father also brings to the Son such as the Son raises up and quickens. For No man, says Christ, can come

to Me, except the Father, Which has sent Me, draw him, and I will raise him up at the last day. John 6:44 And you say that the Son of God is subject by reason of weakness — the Son, to Whom the Father brings men that He may raise them up in the last day. Seems this in your eyes to be subjection, I pray you, where the kingdom is prepared for the Father, and the Father brings to the Son and there is no place for perversion of words, since the Son gives the kingdom to the Father, and none is preferred before Him? For inasmuch as the Father renders to the Son, and the Son, again, to the Father, here are plain proofs of love and regard: seeing that They so render, the One to the Other, that neither He Who receives obtains as it were what was another's, nor He That renders loses.

105. Moreover, the sitting at the right hand is no preferment, nor does that at the left hand betoken dishonour, for there are no degrees in the Godhead, Which is bound by no limits of space or time, which are the weights and measures of our puny human minds. There is no difference of love, nothing that divides the Unity.

106. But wherefore roam so far afield? You have looked upon all around you, you have seen the Judge, you have remarked the angels proclaiming Him. *They* praise, and *thou* revilest Him! Dominations and powers fall down before Him — you speak evil of His Name! All His Saints adore Him, but the Son of God adores not, nor the Holy Spirit. The seraphim say: Holy, Holy, Holy! Isaiah 6:3

107. What means this threefold utterance of the same name Holy? If thrice repeated, why is it but one act of praise? If one act of praise, why a threefold repetition? Why the threefold repetition, unless that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are one in holiness? The seraph spoke the name, not once, lest he should exclude the Son; not twice, lest he should pass by the Holy Spirit; not four times, lest he should conjoin created beings [in the praise of the Creator]. Furthermore, to show that the Godhead of the Trinity

is One, he, after the threefold Holy, added in the singular number the Lord God of Sabaoth. Holy, therefore, is the Father, holy the Son, holy likewise the Spirit of God, and therefore is the Trinity adored, but adores not, and is praised, but praises not. As for me, I will rather believe as the seraphim, and adore after the manner of all the principalities and powers of heaven.

CHAPTER 13.

The wicked and dishonourable opinions held by Arians, Sabellians, and Manichæans as concerning their Judge are shortly refuted. Christ's remonstrances regarding the rest of His adversaries being set forth, St. Ambrose expresses a hope of milder judgment for himself.

108. LET US proceed, then, with your accusations, and see how you gain the favour of your Judge. Speak now, speak, I say, and tell Him: I consider You, O Christ, to be unlike Your Father; and He will answer: Mark, if you can, mark, I say, and tell Me wherein you hold Me to differ.

109. Say again: I judge You to be a created being; and Christ will reply: If the witness of two men is true, ought you not to have believed both Me and My Father, Who has called Me His Son?

110. Then you will say: I deny Your [perfect] goodness; and He will answer: Be it unto you according to your faith; so will I not be good to you.

111. That You are Almighty, I hold not; and He will answer, in turn: Then can I not forgive you your sins.

112. You are a subject being. Whereto He will reply: Why, then, do you seek freedom and pardon of Him Whom you think to be subject as a slave?

113. I see your accusation halt here. I press you not, forasmuch as I myself know my own sins. I grudge you not pardon, for I myself would obtain indulgence, but I would know the object of your prayers. Look, then, while I recite before the Judge your desires. I betray not your sins, but look to behold your prayers and wishes set forth in their order.

114. Speak, therefore, those desires, which all alike would have granted to them. Lord, make me in the image of God. Whereto He will answer: In

what image? The image which you have denied?

115. Make me incorruptible. Surely His reply will be: How can I make you incorruptible, I, Whom you call a created being, and so would make out to be corruptible? The dead shall rise purified from corruption — do you call Him corruptible Whom you see to be God?

116. Be good to me. Why do you ask what you have denied [to Me]? I would have had you to be good, and I said 'Be holy, for I Myself am holy,' Leviticus 19:2 and you set yourself to deny that I am good? Do *you* then look for forgiveness of sins? Nay, none can forgive sins, but God alone. Mark 2:7 Seeing, then, that to you I am not the true and only God, I cannot by any means forgive you your sins.

117. Thus let the followers of Arius and Photinus speak. I deny Your Godhead. To whom the Lord will make answer: 'The fool has said in his heart: There is no God?' Of whom, think you, is this said? — of Jew or Gentile, or of the devil. Whosoever he be of whom it is said, O disciple of Photinus, he is more to be borne with, who held his peace; thou, nevertheless, hast dared to lift up your voice to utter it, that you might be proved more foolish than the fool. You deny My Godhead, whereas I said, 'You are gods, and you are all the children of the Most High?' And you deny Him to be God, Whose godlike works you see around you.

118. Let the Sabellian speak in his turn. I consider You, by Yourself, to be at once Father and Son and Holy Spirit. To whom the Lord: You hear neither the Father nor the Son. Is there any doubt on this matter? The Scripture itself teaches you that it is the Father Who gives over the judgment, and the Son Who judges. John 5:22 You have not given ear to My words: 'I am not alone, but I and the Father, Who sent Me.'

119. Now let the Manichæan have his word. I hold that the devil is the creator of our flesh. The Lord will answer him: What, then, are you doing in the heavenly places? Depart, go your way to your creator. 'My will is that

they be with Me, whom my Father has given Me.' John 17:24 You, Manichæan, hold yourself for a creature of the devil; hasten, then, to his abode, the place of fire and brimstone, where the fire thereof is not quenched, lest ever the punishment have an end.

120. I set aside other heretical — not persons, but portents. What manner of judgment awaits them, what shall be the form of their sentence? To all these He will, indeed, reply, rather in sorrow than in anger: O My people, what have I done unto you, wherein have I vexed you? Did I not bring you up out of Egypt, and lead you out of the house of bondage into liberty?

121. But it is not enough to have brought us out of Egypt into freedom, and to have saved us from the house of bondage: a greater boon than this, You have given Yourself for us. You will say then: Have I not borne all your sufferings? Isaiah 53:4 Have I not given My Body for you? Have I not sought death, which had no part in My Godhead, but was necessary for your redemption? Are *these* the thanks I am to receive? Is it this that My Blood has gained, even as I spoke in times past by the mouth of the prophet: 'What profit is there in My Blood, for that I have gone down to corruption?' Is this the profit, that you should wickedly deny Me — you, for whom I endured those things?

122. As for me, Lord Jesu, though I am conscious within myself of great sin, yet will I say: I have not denied You; You may pardon the infirmity of my flesh. My transgression I confess; my sin I deny not. If You will You can make me clean. Matthew 8:2 For this saying, the leper obtained his request. Enter not, I pray, into judgment with Your servant. I ask, not that You may judge, but that You may forgive.

CHAPTER 14.

The sentence of the Judge is set forth, the counterpleas of the opposers are considered, and the finality of the sentence, from which there is no appeal, proved.

123. WHAT VERDICT do we look for from Christ? That do I know. Do I say, what verdict *will* He give? Nay, He has already pronounced sentence. We have it in our hands. Let all, says He, honour the Son, even as they honour the Father. He that honours not the Son, honours not the Father, Who has sent Him. John 5:23

124. If the sentence please you not, appeal to the Father, cancel the judgment that the Father has given. Say that He has a Son Who is unlike Him. He will reply: Then have I lied, I, Who said to the Son, ‘Let us make man in Our image and likeness.’ Genesis 1:26

125. Tell the Father that He has created the Son, and He will answer: Why, then, have you worshipped One Whom you thought to be a created being?

126. Tell Him that He has begotten a Son Who is inferior to Himself, and He will reply: Compare Us, and let Us see.

127. Tell Him that you owed no credence to the Son, whereto He will answer: Did I not say to you, ‘This is My well-beloved Son, in Whom I am well pleased: hear Him’? Matthew 17:5 What mean these words hear Him, if not Hear Him when He says: ‘All things that the Father has are Mine’? This did the apostles hear, even as it is written: And they fell upon their faces, and were greatly afraid. Matthew 17:6 If they who confessed Him fell to the earth, what shall they do who have denied Him? But Jesus laid His

hand upon His apostles, and raised them up — you He will suffer to lie prone, that you may see not the glory you have denied.

128. Let us look to it, then, forasmuch as whom the Son condemns, the Father condemns also, and therefore let us honour the Son, even as we honour the Father, that by the Son we may be able to come to the Father.

CHAPTER 15.

St. Ambrose deprecates any praise of his own merits: in any case, the Faith is sufficiently defended by the authoritative support of holy Scripture, to whose voice the Arians, stubborn as the Jews, are deaf. He prays that they may be moved to love the truth; meanwhile, they are to be avoided, as heretics and enemies of Christ.

129. THESE ARGUMENTS, your Majesty, I have set forth, briefly and summarily, in the rough, rather than in any form of full explanation and exact order. If indeed the Arians regard them as imperfect and unfinished, I indeed confess that they are scarce even begun; if they think that there be any still to be brought forward, I allow that there be nearly all; for whereas the unbelievers are in uttermost need of arguments, the faithful have enough and to spare. Indeed, Peter's single confession was abundant to warrant faith in Christ: You are the Christ, the Son of the living God; for it is enough to know His Divine Generation, without division or diminution, being neither derivation nor creation.

130. This, indeed, is declared in the books of Holy Writ, one and all, and yet is still doubted by misbelievers: For, as it is written, the heart of this people has become gross, and with their ears they have been dull of hearing, and their eyes have they darkened, lest ever they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand in their heart. Isaiah 6:10 For, like the Jews, the Arians' wont is to stop their ears, or make an uproar, as often as the Word of salvation is heard.

131. And what wonder, if unbelievers doubt the word of man, when they refuse to believe the Word of God? The Son of God, as you will find it

written in the Gospel, said: Father, glorify Your Name, and from heaven was heard the voice of the Father, saying: I have both glorified it, and again will glorify. John 12:28 These words the unbelievers heard, but believed not. The Son spoke, the Father answered, and the Jews said: A peal of thunder answered Him; others said: An angel spoke to Him. John 12:29

132. Paul, moreover, as it is written in the Acts of the Apostles, Acts 22:9 when by the Voice of Christ he received the call of grace, several companions journeying with him at the same time, alone said that he had heard Christ's Voice. Thus, your sacred Majesty, he who believes, hears — and he hears, that he may believe, while he who believes not, hears not, nay, he will not, he cannot hear, lest he should believe!

133. As for me, indeed, would that they might have a will to hear, that they might believe — to hear with true love and meekness, as men seeking what is true, and not assailing all truth. For it is written that we pay no heed to endless fables and genealogies, which do rather raise disputes than set forward the godly edification, which is in faith. But the aim of the charge is love from a pure heart, and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned, whence some have erred and betaken themselves to empty babbling, desirous of being teachers of the law, without understanding the words they say, nor the things whereof they speak with assurance. In another place also the same Apostle says: But foolish and ignorant questionings do thou avoid. 2 Timothy 2:23

134. Such men, who sow disputes — that is to say, heretics — the Apostle bids us leave alone. Of them he says in yet another place, that certain shall depart from the faith, giving heed to deceitful spirits, and the doctrines of devils. 1 Timothy 4:1

135. John, likewise, says that heretics are Antichrists, plainly marking out the Arians. For this [Arian] heresy began to be after all other heresies, and has gathered the poisons of all. As it is written of the Antichrist, that he

opened his mouth to blasphemy against God, to blaspheme His Name, and to make war with His saints, Revelation 13:6 so do they also dishonour the Son of God, and His martyrs have they not spared. Moreover, that which perchance Antichrist will not do, they have falsified the holy Scriptures. And thus he who says that Jesus is not the Christ, the same is Antichrist; he who denies the Saviour of the world, denies Jesus; he who denies the Son, denies the Father also, for it is written; Every one which denies the Son, denies the Father likewise. 1 John 2:23

CHAPTER 16.

St. Ambrose assures Gratian of victory, declaring that it has been foretold in the prophecies of Ezekiel. This hope is further stayed upon the emperor's piety, the former disasters being the punishment of Eastern heresy. The book closes with a prayer to God, that He will now show His mercy, and save the army, the land, and the sovereign of the faithful.

136. I MUST no further detain your Majesty, in this season of preparation for war, and the achievement of victory over the Barbarians. Go forth, sheltered, indeed, under the shield of faith, and girt with the sword of the Spirit; go forth to the victory, promised of old time, and foretold in oracles given by God.

137. For Ezekiel, in those far-off days, already prophesied the minishing of our people, and the Gothic wars, saying: Prophesy, therefore, Son of Man, and say: O Gog, thus says the Lord — Shall you not, in that day when My people Israel shall be established to dwell in peace, rise up and come forth from your place, from the far north, and many nations with you, all riders upon horses, a great and mighty gathering, and the valour of many hosts? Yea, go up against my people Israel, as clouds to cover the land, in the last days.

138. That Gog is the Goth, whose coming forth we have already seen, and over whom victory in days to come is promised, according to the word of the Lord: And they shall spoil them, who had been their despoilers, and plunder them, who had carried off their goods for a prey, says the Lord. And it shall be in that day, that I will give to Gog — that is, to the Goths — a place that is famous, for Israel an high-heaped tomb of many men, of men

who have made their way to the sea, and it shall reach round about, and close the mouth of the valley, and there [the house of Israel shall] overthrow Gog and all his multitude, and it shall be called the valley of the multitude of Gog: and the house of Israel shall overwhelm them, that the land may be cleansed.

139. Nor, furthermore, may we doubt, your sacred Majesty, that we, who have undertaken the contest with alien unbelief, shall enjoy the aid of the Catholic Faith that is strong in you. Plainly indeed the reason of God's wrath has been already made manifest, so that belief in the Roman Empire was first overthrown, where faith in God gave way.

140. No desire have I to recount the deaths, tortures, and banishments of confessors, the offices of the faithful made into presents for traitors. Have we not heard, from all along the border — from Thrace, and through Dacia by the river, Mœsia, and all Valeria of the Pannonians — a mingled tumult of blasphemers preaching and barbarians invading? What profit could neighbours so bloodthirsty bring us, or how could the Roman State be safe with such defenders?

141. Enough, yea, more than enough, Almighty God, have we now atoned for the deaths of confessors, the banishment of priests, and the guilt of wickedness so overweening, by our own blood, our own banishment — sufficiently plain is it that they, who have broken faith, cannot be safe. Turn again, O Lord, and set up the banners of Your faith.

142. No military eagles, no flight of birds, here lead the van of our army, but Your Name, Lord Jesus, and Your worship. This is no land of unbelievers, but the land whose custom it is to send forth confessors — Italy; Italy, ofttimes tempted, but never drawn away; Italy, which your Majesty has long defended, and now again rescued from the barbarian. No wavering mind in our emperor, but faith firm fixed.

143. Show forth now a plain sign of Your Majesty, that he who believes You to be the true Lord of Hosts, and Captain of the armies of heaven; he who believes that You are the true Power and Wisdom of God, no being of time nor of creation, but even as it is written, the eternal Power and Divinity of God, 1 Corinthians 1:24 may, upheld by the aid of your Might Supreme, win the prize of victory for his Faith.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER 1.

Statement of the reasons wherefore the matters, treated of shortly in the two former, are dealt with more at length in the three later books. Defence of the employment of fables, which is supported by the example of Holy Writ, wherein are found various figures of poetic fable, in particular the Sirens, which are figures of sensual pleasures, and which Christians ought to be taught to avoid, by the words of Paul and the deeds of Christ.

1. FORASMUCH AS your most gracious Majesty had laid command upon me to write for your own instruction some treatise concerning the Faith, and had yourself called me to your presence and encouraged my timidity, I, being as one on the eve of battle, composed but two books only, for the pointing out of certain ways and paths by which our faith progresses.

2. Seeing, however, that certain malicious minds, bent on sowing disputes, have not yet exhausted the force of their assaults, while your gracious Majesty's pious anxiety calls me to further labours, inasmuch as you desire to try in more things him whom you have proved in a few, I am resolved to deal somewhat more particularly with the matters whereof I have already treated in a few words, lest it should be thought, not that I have advanced those propositions in quietness and confidence, but that I, having asserted them, doubted and so abandoned their defense.

3. Again, seeing that we spoke of the Hydra and Scylla (I. vi. 46), and brought them in by way of comparison, to show how we must beware, whether of the ever-renewed outgrowths of infidelity, or the ill-omened shipwrecks made upon its shallows, if any one holds that such embellishments of an argument, borrowed from the romances of poets, are

unlawful, and, from lack of opportunity to speak evil of my faith, assails something in my language, then let him know that not only phrases but complete verses of poetry have been woven into the text of Holy Writ.

4. Whence, for instance, came that verse, His offspring truly are we, Acts 17:28 whereof Paul, by prophetic experience, taught, makes use? The course of prophetic speech avoids neither the Giants nor the Valley of the Titans, and Isaiah spoke of sirens and the daughters of ostriches. Jeremiah also has prophesied concerning Babylon, that the daughters of sirens shall dwell therein, in order to show that the snares of Babylon, that is, of the tumult of this world, are to be likened to stories of old-time lust, that seemed upon this life's rocky shores to sing some tuneful song, but deadly withal, to catch the souls of youth — which the Greek poet himself tells us that the wise man escaped through being bound, as it were, in the chains of his own prudence. So hard a thing, before Christ's coming, was it esteemed, even for the stronger, to save themselves from the deceitful shows and allurements of pleasure.

5. But if the poet judged the enticement of worldly pleasure and licence destructive of men's minds and a sure cause of shipwreck, what ought we to think, for whom it has been written: Train not the flesh in concupiscence? And again: I chastise my body and bring it into servitude, lest while I preach to others, I myself become a castaway. 1 Corinthians 9:27

6. Truly, Christ won salvation for us, not by luxury but by fasting. Moreover, it was not to obtain favour for Himself, but to instruct us, that He fasted. Nor yet did He hunger because He was overcome by the weakness of the body, but by His hunger He proved that He had verily taken upon Himself a body; that so He might teach us that He had taken not only our body, but also the weaknesses of that body, even as it is written: Surely He has taken our infirmities and borne our sicknesses.

CHAPTER 2.

The incidents properly affecting the body which Christ for our sake took upon Him are not to be accounted to His Godhead, in respect whereof He is the Most Highest. To deny which is to say that the Father was incarnate. When we read that God is one, and that there is none other beside Him, or that He alone has immortality, this must be understood as true of Christ also, not only to avoid the sinful heresy above-mentioned (Patripassianism), but also because the activity of the Father and the Son is declared to be one and the same.

7. IT WAS a bodily weakness, then, that is to say, a weakness of ours, that He hungered; when He wept, and was sorrowful even unto death, it was of our nature. Why ascribe the properties and incidents of our nature to the Godhead? That He was even, as we are told, made, is a property of a body. Thus, indeed, we read: Sion our mother shall say: 'He is a man,' and in her He was made man, and the Most High Himself laid her foundations. He was made man, mark you, not He was made God.

8. But what is He Who is at once the Most High and man, what but the Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus Who gave Himself as a ransom for us? 1 Timothy 2:5 This place indeed refers properly to His Incarnation, for our redemption was made by His Blood, our pardon comes through His Power, our life is secured through His Grace. He gives as the Most High, He prays as man. The one is the office of the Creator, the other of a Redeemer. Be the gifts as distinct as they may, yet the Giver is one, for it was fitting that our Maker should be our Redeemer.

9. Who indeed can deny that we have plain evidence that Christ is the Most High? He who knows otherwise makes the sacrament of Incarnation to be the work of God the Father. But that Christ is the Most High is removed beyond doubt by what Scripture has said in another place, concerning the mystery of the Passion: The Most High sent forth His Voice, and the earth was shaken. And in the Gospel you may read: And thou, child, shall be called the Prophet of the Highest; for you shall go before the face of the Lord, to prepare His ways. Luke 1:76 Who is the Highest? The Son of God. He, then, Who is the Most High God is Christ.

10. Again, while God is everywhere said to be One God, the Son of God is not separated from this Unity. For He Who is the Most High is alone, as it is written: And let them know that Your Name is the Lord: You alone are Most High over all the earth.

11. And so the adversaries' injurious conclusion is rejected with contempt and disgrace, which they drew from the Scripture speaking of God: Who alone has immortality and dwells in light unapproachable; 1 Timothy 6:16 for these words are written of God, which Name belongs equally to Father and to Son.

12. If, indeed, wheresoever they read the Name of God, they deny that there is any thought of the Son [as well as the Father], they blaspheme, inasmuch as they deny the Son's Divine Sovereignty, and they shall appear as though they shared the sinful error of the Sabellians in teaching the Incarnation of the Father. Let them, indeed explain how they can fail to interpret in a sense blasphemous to the Father the words of the Apostle: In Whom you also rose again, by faith in the working of God, Who raised Him from the dead. Colossians 2:12 Let them also take warning from what follows of what they are running upon — for this is what comes after: And though you were dead in your sins and the uncircumcision of your flesh, He quickened us with Him, pardoning us all our offenses, blotting out the

handwriting of the Ordinance, which was opposed to us, and removed it from our midst, nailing it to His Cross, divesting Himself of the flesh. Colossians 2:13-14

13. We are not, then, to suppose that the Father Who raised the flesh is alone [God]; nor, again, are we to suppose the like of the Son, Whose Body was raised again. He Who raised, did surely also quicken; and He who quickened, also pardoned sins; He who pardoned sins, also blotted out the handwriting; He Who blotted out the handwriting, also nailed it to the Cross: He who nailed it to the Cross, divested Himself of the flesh. But it was not the Father Who divested Himself of the flesh; for *not* the Father, but, as we read, the Word was made flesh. John 1:14 You see, then, that the Arians, in dividing the Father from the Son, run into danger of saying that the Father endured the Passion.

14. We, however, can easily show that the words treat of the Son's action, for the Son Himself indeed raised His own Body again, as He Himself said: Destroy this Temple, and in three days I will raise it again. John 2:19 And He Himself quickens us together with His Body: For as the Father raises the dead and quickens them, so also the Son quickens Whom He will. John 5:21 And He Himself has granted forgiveness for sins, saying, Your sins be forgiven you. Luke 5:20 He too has nailed the handwriting of the record to His Cross, in that He was crucified, and suffered in the body. Nor did any divest Himself of the flesh, save the Son of God, Who invested Himself therewith. He, therefore, Who has achieved the work of our resurrection is plainly pointed out to be very God.

CHAPTER 3.

That the Father and the Son must not be divided is proved by the words of the Apostle, seeing that it is befitting to the Son that He should be blessed, only Potentate, and immortal, by nature, that is, and not by grace, as even the angels themselves are immortal, and that He should dwell in the unapproachable light. How it is that the Father and the Son are alike and equally said to be alone.

15. WHEN, THEREFORE, you read the Name God, separate neither Father nor Son, for the Godhead of the Father and the Son is one and the same, and therefore separate them not, when you read the words blessed and only Potentate, 1 Timothy 6:15 for the words are spoken of God, even as you may read: I charge you before God, Who quickens all things. 1 Timothy 6:13 Christ also indeed does quicken, and therefore the Name of God is meetly given both to the Father and to the Son, inasmuch as the effect of their activity is in agreement. Let us go on to the words following: I charge you, he says, before God, Who quickens all things, and Jesus Christ.

16. The Word is in God, even as it is written: In God will I praise His Word. In God is His Eternal Power, even Jesus; in [speaking of] God, therefore, the Apostle has witnessed to the unity of the Godhead, while by the Name of Christ he has witnessed to the sacrament of the Incarnation.

17. Furthermore, to show that he has spoken of the Incarnation of Christ, he added: Who bore witness under Pontius Pilate with the good confession, [I charge you] keep undefiled the commandment, until the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, Which in His own good time the blessed and only Potentate shall manifest, the King of kings and Lord of lords, Who alone

has immortality, and dwells in light unapproachable, Whom no man has seen, nor can see. 1 Timothy 6:13-16 Those words, then, are written with regard to God, of which Name the dignity and truth are common to [both the Father and] the Son.

18. Why, then, should there be no thought of the Son in this place, seeing that all these things hold good of the Son also? If they do not so, then deny His Godhead, and so may thou deny what is proper to be said of God. His Blessedness cannot be denied, Who bestows blessings, for Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven. He cannot but be called Blessed, Who has given us wholesome teaching, even as it is written: Which is according to the Gospel of the beauty of the Blessed God. 1 Timothy 1:11 His Power cannot be denied, of Whom the Father says: I have laid help upon One that is mighty. And who dare refuse to acknowledge Him to be immortal, when He Himself has made others also immortal, as it is written of the Wisdom of God: By her shall I possess immortality. Wisdom 8:13

19. But the immortality of His Nature is one thing, that of ours is another. Things perishable are not to be compared to things divine. The Godhead is the one only Substance that death cannot touch, and therefore it is that the Apostle, though knowing both the [human] soul and angels to be immortal, declared that God only had immortality. In truth, even the soul may die: The soul that sins, it shall die, Ezekiel 18:20 and an angel is not absolutely immortal, his immortality depending on the will of the Creator.

20. Do not hastily reject this, because Gabriel dies not, nor Raphaël, nor Uriel. Even in their nature there is a capacity of sin, though not one of improvement by discipline, for every reasonable creature is exposed to influences from without itself, and liable to judgment. It is on the influences which work upon us that the award of judgment, and corruption, or advance to perfection, do depend, and therefore Ecclesiastes says: For God shall bring all His work to judgment. Every creature, then, has within it the

possibility of corruption and death, even though it do not [at present] die or commit sin; nor, if in anything it deliver not itself over to sin, has it this boon of its immortal nature, but of discipline or of grace. Immortality, then, that is of a gift is one thing: immortality without the possibility of change is another.

21. Do we deny the immortality of Christ's Godhead, because He tasted death for all in the flesh? Then is Gabriel better than Christ, for Gabriel never died, but Christ gave up the ghost. But the servant is not above his lord, Matthew 10:24 and we must discern the weakness of flesh from the eternity of Godhead. Christ's Death had its source in the flesh, immortality is of the nature of Christ's sovereignty. But if the Godhead brought it to pass that the flesh saw not corruption, the flesh being surely by nature liable to corruption, how could the Godhead itself have died?

22. And how is it that the Son dwells not in light unapproachable, if He is in the bosom of the Father, if the Father is Light, and the Son also is Light, because God is Light? 1 John 1:5 Or, if we suppose some other light, beside the Light of the Godhead, to be the unapproachable Light, is, then, this Light better than the Father, so that He is not in that Light, Who, as it is written, is both with the Father and in the Father? Let men, therefore, not exclude the thought of the Son, when they read only of *God* — and let them not exclude that of the Father, when they read of the *Son* only. John 16:32

23. On earth, the Son is not without *l.c.*John 10:30 the Father, and you think that the Father is without the Son in heaven? The Son is in the flesh — (when I say He is in the flesh or He is on earth, I speak as though we lived in the days whose story is in the Gospel, for now we no longer know Christ after the flesh 2 Corinthians 5:16) — He is in the flesh, and He is not alone, as it is written: And I am not alone, because the Father is with Me, John 8:16 and think you that the Father dwells alone in the Light?

24. Lest you should regard this argument as mere speculation take this sentence of authority. No man, says the Scripture, John 1:18 has seen God at any time, save the Only-begotten Son, Who is in the bosom of the Father; He has revealed Him. How can the Father be in solitude, if the Son be in the bosom of the Father? How does the Son reveal Him, Whom He sees not? The Father, then, exists not alone.

25. Observe now what the solitude of the Father and of the Son is. The Father is alone, because there is no other Father; the Son is alone, because there is no other Son; God is alone, because the Godhead of the Trinity is One.

CHAPTER 4.

We are told that Christ was only made so far as regards the flesh. For the redemption of mankind He needed no means of aid, even as He needed none in order to His Resurrection, whereas others, in order to raise the dead, had need of recourse to prayer. Even when Christ prayed, the prayer was offered by Him in His capacity as human; while He must be accounted divine from the fact that He commanded (that such and such things should be done). On this point the devil's testimony is truer than the Arians' arguments. The discussion concludes with an explanation of the reason why the title of mighty is given to the Son of Man.

26. IT IS now sufficiently made plain that the Father is not God in solitude, without the Son, and that the Son cannot be thought of as God alone, without the Father, for it is in respect of His flesh that we read that the Son of God was made, not in respect of His generation from God the Father.

27. Indeed, in what sense He was made He has declared by the mouth of the holy patriarch, saying: For My soul is filled with sorrow to overflowing, and My life has drawn near unto hell. I have been counted with them that go down into the pit; I have been made as a man free, without help, among the dead. Here, then, we read: I have been made as a man, not I have been made as God; and again: My soul overflows with sorrows. My soul, mark you, not My Godhead. He was made in so far as that was concerned wherein He was due to hell, wherein He was reckoned with others, for the Godhead admits of no likeness which may be ground for classing it with others. Yet mark how the majesty of Godhead shows itself in Christ, even in that flesh

which was appointed to death. Although He was made as a man, and made as flesh, yet He was made free among the dead, free, without help.

28. But how can the Son say here that He was without help, when it has already been said: I have laid help upon One that is mighty? Distinguish here also the two natures present. The flesh has need of help, the Godhead has no need. He is free, then, because the chains of death had no hold upon Him. He was not made prisoner by the powers of darkness, it is He Who exerted power among them. He is without help, because He Himself, the Lord, has by no office of messenger or ambassador, but by His own might, saved His people. How could He, Who raised others to life, require any help in order to raise His own body?

29. And though men also have raised the dead, still they did this not of their own power, but in the Name of Christ. To ask is one thing, to command is another; to obtain is different from bestowing.

30. Elijah, then, raised the dead, but he prayed — he did not command. Elisha raised one to life after laying himself upon the dead body, in accordance with its posture; 2 Kings 4:34 and, again, the very contact of Elisha's corpse gave life to the dead, that the prophet might foreshow the coming of Him, Who, being sent in the likeness of sinful flesh, should, even after His burial, raise the dead to life.

31. Peter, again, when he healed Aeneas, said: In the Name of Jesus of Nazareth, rise and walk. Not in his own name, but in the Name of Christ. But rise is a command; on the other hand, it is an instance of confidence in one's right, SeeMark 16:17-18 not an arrogant claim to power, and the authority of the command stood in the effective influence of the Name, not in its own might. What answer, then, make the Arians? Peter commands in the Name of Christ — this on the one hand: on the other, they will have it that the Son of God did not command, but requested.

32. We read, they objected, of His uttering a prayer. John 11:41 But take note of the difference. He prays as Son of *Man*, He commands as Son of *God*. Will you not ascribe unto the Son of God what even the devil has ascribed? Will you accuse yourselves of greater wickedness than Satan's? The devil says: If You be the Son of God, command this stone that it become bread. Luke 4:3 Satan says command, you say entreat. The devil believes that, at the word of God's Son, the nature of an elementary substance may be exchanged for that of a composite one; you think that, unless the Son of God prefers a request, even His Will cannot be done. Again, the devil thinks that the Son of God is to be esteemed from His power, Romans 1:4 you that He is to be esteemed from His infirmity. The devil's temptations are more tolerable than the Arians' disputings.

33. Let us not, then, be troubled if we find the Son of Man entitled mighty in one place, and yet in another, that the Lord of glory was crucified. 1 Corinthians 2:8 What might is greater than sovereignty over the powers of heaven? But this was in the hands of Him Who ruled over thrones, principalities, angels; for, although He was among the wild beasts, as it is written, yet angels ministered to Him, that you may perceive the difference between what is proper to the Incarnation, and what is proper to Sovereignty. So far as His flesh is concerned, then, He endures the assault of wild beasts; in regard of His Godhead, He is adored by angels.

34. We have learned, then, that He was made man, and that His being made must be referred to His manhood. Furthermore, in another passage of Scripture, you may read: Who was made for Him of the seed of David, Romans 1:3 that is to say, in respect of the flesh He was made of the seed of David, but He was God begotten of God before the worlds.

CHAPTER 5.

Passages brought forward from Scripture to show that made does not always mean the same as created; whence it is concluded that the letter of Holy Writ should not be made the ground of captious arguments, after the manner of the Jews, who, however, are shown to be not so bad as the heretics, and thus the principle already set forth is confirmed anew.

35. AT THE same time, becoming does not always imply *creation;* for we read: Lord, You have become our refuge, and You have become my salvation. Plainly, here is no statement of the fact or purpose of a *creation*, but God is said to have become my refuge and have turned to my salvation, even as the Apostle has said: Who became for us 1 Corinthians 1:30 Wisdom from God, and Righteousness, and Sanctification, and Redemption, that is, that Christ was made for us, of the Father, not *created*. Again, the writer has explained in the sequel in what sense he says that Christ was made Wisdom for us: But we preach the Wisdom of God in doctrine of mystery, which Wisdom is hidden, foreordained by God before the existence of the world for our glory, and which none of the princes of this world knew, for had they known they would never have crucified the Lord of glory. When the mystery of the Passion is set forth, surely there is no speaking of an eternal process of generation.

36. The Lord's Cross, then, is my wisdom; the Lord's Death my redemption; for we are redeemed with His precious blood, as the Apostle Peter has said. 1 Peter 1:19 With His blood, then, as man, the Lord redeemed us, Who also, as God, has forgiven sins. Mark 2:8-12

37. Let us not, therefore, lay snares as it were in words, and eagerly seek out entanglements therein; let us not, because misbelievers make out the written word to mean that it means not, set forth only what this letter bears on the face of it, instead of the underlying sense. This way went the Jews to destruction, despising the deep-hidden meaning, and following only after the bare form of the word, for the letter kills, but the Spirit makes alive. 2 Corinthians 3:6

38. And yet, of these two grievous impieties, to ascribe to the Godhead what is true only of manhood is perchance more detestable than to attribute to spirit what belongs only to letter. The Jews feared to believe in manhood taken up into God, and therefore have lost the grace of redemption, because they reject that on which salvation depends; the Arians degrade the majesty of Godhead to the weakness of humanity. Detestable as are the Jews, who crucified the Lord's flesh, more detestable still do I hold them who have believed that the Godhead of Christ was nailed to the Cross. So one who ofttimes had dealings with Jews said: Avoid a heretic, after once reproving him Titus 3:10

39. Nor, again, are these men careful to avoid doing dishonour to the Father, in their impious application of the fact, that Christ was made Wisdom for us, to His incomprehensible generation, that transcends all limits and divisions of time; for, leaving it out of account that dishonour done to the Son is an insult to the Father, they do even carry their blasphemy in assault upon the Father, of Whom it is written: Let God be made truthful, but every man a liar. Romans 3:4 If indeed they think that the Son is spoken of, they do not foreclose against His generation, but in that they rest on the authority of this text they do confess that which they reject, namely, that Christ is God, and true God.

40. It would be a lengthy matter were I to pass in review each several place where we read of His being made, not indeed by nature, but by way of

gracious dispensation. Moses, for example, says: You are made my Helper and Protector, to save me; Exodus 15:2 and David: Be unto me for a God of salvation, and a house of refuge, that You may save me; and Isaiah: He has become an Helper for every city that is lowly. Isaiah 25:4 Of a surety the holy men say not to God: You have been created, but By Your grace You are made a Protector and Helper unto us.

CHAPTER 6.

In order to dispose of an objection grounded on a text in St. John, St. Ambrose first shows that the Arian interpretation lends countenance to the Manichæans; then, after setting forth the different ways of dividing the words in this same passage, he shows plainly that it cannot, without dishonour to the Father, be understood with such reference to the Godhead as the Arians give it, and expounds the true meaning thereon.

41. WE HAVE no reason, therefore, to fear the argument which the Arians, in their reckless manner of expounding, use to construct, showing that the Word of God was made, for, say they, it is written: That which has been made in Him is life.

42. First of all, let them understand that if they make the words That which has been made to refer to the Godhead, they entangle themselves in the difficulties raised by the Manichæans, for these people argue: If that which has been made in Him is life, then there is something which has not been made in Him, and is death, so that they may impiously bring in two principles. But this teaching the Church condemns.

43. Again, how can the Arians prove that the Evangelist actually said this? The most part of those who are learned in the Faith read the passage as follows: All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that has been made. Others read thus: All things were made by Him, and without Him was nothing made. Then they proceed: What has been made, and to this they join the words in Him; that is to say, But whatsover is has been made in Him. But what mean the words in Him? The Apostle tells

us, when he says: In Him we have our being, and live, and move. Acts 17:28

44. Howbeit, let them read the passage as they will, they cannot diminish the majesty of God the Word, in referring to His Person, as subject, the words That which was made, without also doing dishonour to God the Father, of Whom it is written: But he who does the truth comes to the light, that his works may be made manifest that they are wrought in God. John 3:21 See then — here we read of man's works being wrought in God, and yet for all that we cannot understand the Godhead as the subject of them. We must either recognize the works as wrought through Him, as the Apostle's affirmation shows that all things are through Him, and were created in Him, and He is before all, and all things *exist together* in Him, or, as the witness of the text here cited teaches us, we ought to regard the virtues whereby the fruit of life eternal is gained, as wrought in God — chastity, piety, devoutness, faith, and others of this kind, whereby the will of God is expressed.

45. Just as the works, then, are the expression of the will and power of God the Father, so are they of Christ's, even as we read: Created in Christ in good works; Ephesians 2:10 and in the psalm: Peace be made in Your power; and again: In wisdom have You made them all. In wisdom have You made, mark you — not You have made wisdom; for since all things have been made in wisdom, and Christ is the Wisdom of God, then this Wisdom is plainly not an accident, but a substance, and an everlasting one, but if the Wisdom has been made, then is it made in a worse condition than all things, forasmuch as it could not, by itself, be made Wisdom. If, then, being made is oftentimes referred to something accidental, not to the essence of a thing, so may creation also be referred to some end had in view.

CHAPTER 7.

Solomon's words, The Lord created Me, etc., mean that Christ's Incarnation was done for the redemption of the Father's creation, as is shown by the Son's own words. That He is the beginning may be understood from the visible proofs of His virtuousness, and it is shown how the Lord opened the ways of all virtues, and was their true beginning.

46. HEREBY WE are brought to understand that the prophecy of the Incarnation, The Lord created me the beginning of His ways for His works, Proverbs 8:22 means that the Lord Jesus was created of the Virgin for the redeeming of the Father's works. Truly, we cannot doubt that this is spoken of the mystery of the Incarnation, forasmuch as the Lord took upon Him our flesh, in order to save the works of His hands from the slavery of corruption, so that He might, by the sufferings of His own body, overthrow him who had the power of death. For Christ's flesh is for the sake of things created, but His Godhead existed before them, seeing that He is before all things, while all things exist together in Him. Colossians 1:16

47. His Godhead, then, is not by reason of creation, but creation exists because of the Godhead; even as the Apostle showed, saying that all things exist because of the Son of God, for we read as follows: But it was fitting that He, through Whom and because of Whom are all things, after bringing many sons to glory, should, as Captain of their salvation, be made perfect through suffering. Hebrews 2:10 Has he not plainly declared that the Son of God, Who, by reason of His Godhead, was the Creator of all, did in after time, for the salvation of His people, submit to the taking on of the flesh and the suffering of death?

48. Now for the sake of what works the Lord was created of a virgin, He Himself, while healing the blind man, has shown, saying: In Him must I work the works of Him that sent Me. Furthermore He said in the same Scripture, that we might believe Him to speak of the Incarnation: As long as I am in this world, I am the Light of this world, John 9:5 for, so far as He is man, He is in this world for a season, but as God He exists at all times. In another place, too, He says: Lo, I am with you even unto the end of the world. Matthew 28:20

49. Nor is there any room for questioning with respect to the beginning, seeing that when, during His earthly life, He was asked, Who are You? He answered: The beginning, even as I tell you. This refers not only to the essential nature of the eternal Godhead, but also to the visible proofs of virtues, for hereby has He proved Himself the eternal God, in that He is the beginning of all things, and the Author of each several virtue, in that He is the Head of the Church, as it is written: Because He is the Head of the Body, of the Church; Colossians 1:18 Who is the beginning, first-begotten from the dead. Ephesians 4:15-16

50. It is clear, then, that the words beginning of His ways, which, as it seems, we must refer to the mystery of the putting on of His body, are a prophecy of the Incarnation. For Christ's purpose in the Incarnation was to pave for us the road to heaven. Mark how He says: I go up to My Father and your Father, to My God and your God. John 20:17 Then, to give you to know that the Almighty Father appointed His ways to the Son, after the Incarnation, you have in Zechariah the words of the angel speaking to Joshua clothed in filthy garments: Thus says the Lord Almighty: If you will walk in My ways and observe My precepts. Zechariah 3:7 What is the meaning of that filthy garb save the putting on of the flesh?

51. Now the ways of the Lord are, we may say, certain courses taken in a good life, guided by Christ, Who says, I am the Way, and the Truth, and the

Life. John 14:6 The way, then, is the surpassing power of God, for Christ, is our way, and a good way, too, is He, a way which has opened the kingdom of heaven to believers. Moreover, the ways of the Lord are straight, as it is written: Make Your ways known unto me, O Lord. Chastity is a way, faith is a way, abstinence is a way. There is, indeed, a way of virtue, and there is a way of wickedness; for it is written: And see if there be any way of wickedness in me.

52. Christ, then, is the beginning of our virtue. He is the beginning of purity, Who taught maidens not to look for the embraces of men, but to yield the purity of their bodies and minds to the service of the Holy Spirit rather than to a husband. Christ is the beginning of frugality, for He became poor, though He was rich. 1 Corinthians 8:9 Christ is the beginning of patience, for when He was reviled, He reviled not again, when He was struck, He did not strike back. Christ is the beginning of humility, for He took the form of a servant, though in the majesty of His power He was equal with God the Father. From Him each several virtue has taken its origin.

53. For this cause, then, that we might learn these various virtues, a Son was given us, Whose beginning was upon His shoulder. That beginning is the Lord’s Cross — the beginning of strong courage, wherewith a way has been opened for the holy martyrs to enter the sufferings of the Holy War.

CHAPTER 8.

The prophecy of Christ's Godhead and Manhood, contained in the verse of Isaiah just now cited, is unfolded, and its force in refuting various heresies demonstrated.

54. THIS BEGINNING did Isaiah see, and therefore he says: A Child is born, a Son is given to us, as also did the Magi, and therefore worshipped they, when they saw the little One in the stable, and said: A Child is born, and, when they saw the star, declared, A Son is given to us. On the one hand, a gift from earth — on the other, a gift from heaven — and both are One Person, perfect in respect of each, without any changeableness in the Godhead, as without any taking away from the fullness of the Manhood. One Person did the Magi adore, to one and the same they offered their gifts, to show that He Who was seen in the stall was the very Lord of heaven.

55. Mark how the two verbs differ in their import: A Child is born, a Son is given. Though born of the Father, yet is He not born, but given to us, forasmuch as the Son is not for our sakes, but we for the Son's. For indeed He was not born to us, being born before us, and the maker of all things created: nor is He now brought to life for the first time, Who was always, and was in the beginning; John 1:1 on the other hand, that which before-time was not is born to us. Again we find it thus recorded, how that the angel, when he spoke to the shepherds, said that He had been born: Who is this day born to us a Saviour, Who is Christ the Lord, in the city of David. Luke 2:11 To us, then, was born that which was not before — that is, a child of the Virgin, a body from Mary — for this was made after man had been created, whereas [the Godhead] was before us.

56. Some manuscripts read as follows: A Child is born to us a Son is given to us; that is to say, He, Who is Son of God, is born as Mary's child for us, and given to us. As for the fact that He is given, listen to the prophet's words: And grant us Your salvation. But that which is above us is given: what is from heaven is given: even as indeed we read concerning the Spirit, that the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, Who is given unto us. Romans 5:5

57. But note how this passage is as water upon fire to a crowd of heresies. A Child is born to *us*, not to the Jews; to *us*, not to the Manichæans; to *us*, not to the Marcionites. The prophet says to *us*, that is, to those who believe, not to unbelievers. And He indeed, in His pitifulness, was born for all, but it is the disloyalty of heretics that has brought it to pass that the birth of Him Who was born for all should not profit all. For the sun is bidden to rise upon the good and the bad, but to them that see not there is no appearance of sunrise.

58. Even as the Child, then, is born not unto all, but unto the faithful: so the Son is given to the faithful and not to the unbelieving. He is given to us, not to the Photinians; for they affirm that the Son of God was not given unto us, but was born and first began to exist among us. To us is He given, not to the Sabellians, who will not hear of a Son being given, maintaining that Father and Son are one and the same. Unto us is He given, not unto the Arians, in whose judgment the Son was not given for salvation, but sent over subject and inferior, to whom, moreover, He is no Counsellor, inasmuch as they hold that He knows nought of the future, no Son, since they believe not in His eternity, though of the Word of God it is written: That which was in the beginning; and again: In the beginning was the Word. John 1:1-2 To return to the passage we set before us to discuss. In the beginning, says the Scripture, before He made the earth, before He made

the deeps, before He brought forth the springs of water, before all the hills He begot Me.

CHAPTER 9.

The preceding quotation from Solomon's Proverbs receives further explanation.

59. PERCHANCE YOU will ask how I came to cite, as referring to the Incarnation of Christ, the place, The Lord created Me, seeing that the creation of the universe took place before the Incarnation of Christ? But consider that the use of holy Scripture is to speak of things to come as though already past, and to make intimation of the union of two natures, Godhead and Manhood, in Christ, lest any should deny either His Godhead or His Manhood.

60. In Isaiah, for example, you may read: A Child is born unto us, and a Son is given unto us; so here also [in the Proverbs] the prophet sets forth first the creation of the flesh, and joined thereto the declaration of the Godhead, that you might know that Christ is not two, but One, being both begotten of the Father before the worlds, and in the last times created of the Virgin. And thus the meaning is: I, Who am begotten before the worlds, am He Who was created of mortal woman, created for a set purpose.

61. Again, immediately before the declaration, The Lord created Me, He says, I will tell of the things which are from eternity, and before saying, He begot, He premised, In the beginning, before He made the earth, before all hills. In its extent, the preposition before reaches back into the past without end or limit, and so Before Abraham was, I am, John 8:58 clearly need not mean after Adam, just as before the Morning Star need not mean after the angels. But when He said before, He intended, not that He was included in any one's existence, but that all things are included in His, for thus it is the

custom of Holy Writ to show the eternity of God. Finally, in another passage you may read: Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever the earth and the world were made, You are from everlasting to everlasting.

62. Before all created things, then, is the Son begotten; within all and for the good of all is He made; begotten of the Father, above the Law, Mark 2:28 brought forth of Mary, under the Law. Galatians 4:4

CHAPTER 10.

Observations on the words of John the Baptist (John 1:30), which may be referred to divine fore-ordinance, but at any rate, as explained by the foregoing considerations, must be understood of the Incarnation. The precedence of Christ is mystically expounded, with reference to the history of Ruth.

63. BUT [SAY they] it is written: After me comes a Man, Who is made before me, because He was before me; John 1:30 and so they argue: See, He Who was aforetime is 'made.' Let us take the words by themselves. After me comes a Man. He, then, Who came is a Man, and this is the Man Who was made. But the word man connotes sex, and sex is attributed to human nature, but never to the Godhead.

64. I might argue: The Man [Christ Jesus] was in pre-existence so far as His body was foreknown, though His power is from everlasting — for both the Church and the Saints were foreordained before the worlds began. But here I lay aside this argument, and urge that the being made concerns not the Godhead, but the nature of the Incarnation, even as John himself said: This is He of Whom I said: After me comes a Man, Who was made before me.

65. The Scripture, then, having, as I showed above, discovered the twofold nature in Christ, that you might understand the presence of both Godhead and Manhood, here begins with the flesh; for it is the custom of Holy Writ to begin without fixed rule sometimes with the Godhead of Christ, and descend to the visible tokens of Incarnation; sometimes, on the other hand, to start from its humility, and rise to the glory of the Godhead,

as oftentimes in the Prophets and Evangelists, and in St. Paul. Here, then, after this use, the writer begins with the Incarnation of our Lord, and then proclaims His Divinity, not to confound, but to distinguish, the human and the divine. But Arians, like Jew vintners, mix water with the wine, confounding the divine generation with the human, and ascribing to the majesty of God what is properly said only of the lowliness of the flesh.

66. I have no fears of a certain objection they are likely to put forward, namely, that in the words cited we have a *man* — for some have, Who comes after me. But here, too, let them observe what precedes. The Word, it is said, was made flesh. John 1:14 Having said that the Word was made *flesh*, the Evangelist added no mention of *man*. We understand man there in the mention of flesh, and flesh by the mention of man. After the statement made, then, that the Word was made *flesh*, there was no need here to particularly mention man, whom he already intended by using the name flesh.

67. Later on, St. John uses the lamb, that takes away the sins of the world, as an example; and to teach you plainly the Incarnation of Him, of Whom he had spoken before, he says: This is He of Whom I said before: After me comes a Man, Who is made before me, to wit, of Whom I said that He was made as being man, not as being God. However, to show that it was He Who was before the worlds, and none other, that became flesh, lest we should suppose two Sons of God, he adds: because He was before me. If the words was made had referred to the divine generation, what need was there that the writer should add this, and repeat himself? But, having first said, with regard to the Incarnation only, After me comes a Man, Who is made before me, he added: because He was before me, because it was needful to teach the eternity of [Christ's] Godhead; and this is the reason why St. John acknowledged Christ's priority, that He, Who is His own Father's eternal Power, may be presented as on that account duly preferred.

68. But the abounding activity of the spiritual understanding makes it a pleasing exercise to sally forth and drive into a corner the Arians, who will understand the term made in this passage, not of the manhood, but of the Godhead [of Christ]. What ground, indeed, is left for them to take their stand upon, when the Baptist has declared that after me comes One Who is made before me, that is, Who, though in the course of earthly life He comes after me, yet is placed above the degree of my worth and grace, and Who has title to be worshipped as God. For the words comes after me belong to an event in time, but was before me signify Christ's eternity; and is made before me refer to His pre-eminence, forasmuch as, indeed, the mystery of the Incarnation is above human deserving.

69. Again, St. John Baptist also taught in less weighty language what ideas they were he had combined, saying: After me comes a Man, Whose shoes I am not worthy to bear, setting forth at least the more excellent dignity [of Christ], though not the eternity of His Divine Generation. Now these words are so fully intended of the Incarnation, that Scripture has given us, in an earlier book, a human counterpart of the mystic sandal. For, by the Law, when a man died, the marriage bond with his wife was passed on to his brother, or other man next of kin, in order that the seed of the brother or next of kin might renew the life of the house, and thus it was that Ruth, though she was foreign-born, but yet had possessed a husband of the Jewish people, who had left a kinsman of near relation, being seen and loved of Boaz while gleaning and maintaining herself and her mother-in-law with that she gleaned, was yet not taken of Boaz to wife, until she had first loosed the shoe from [the foot of] him whose wife she ought, by the Law, to have become.

70. The story is a simple one, but deep are its hidden meanings, for that which was done was the outward betokening of somewhat further. If indeed we should rack the sense so as to fit the letter exactly, we should almost find

the words an occasion of a certain shame and horror, that we should regard them as intending and conveying the thought of common bodily intercourse; but it was the foreshadowing of One Who was to arise from Jewry — whence Christ was, after the flesh — Who should, with the seed of heavenly teaching, revive the seed of his dead kinsman, that is to say, the people, and to Whom the precepts of the Law, in their spiritual significance, assigned the sandal of marriage, for the espousals of the Church.

71. Moses was not the Bridegroom, for to him comes the word, Loose your shoe from off your foot, Exodus 3:5 that he might give place to his Lord. Nor was Joshua, the son of Nun, the Bridegroom, for to him also it was told, saying, Loose your shoe from off your foot, Joshua 5:16 lest, by reason of the likeness of his name, he should be thought the spouse of the Church. None other is the Bridegroom but Christ alone, of Whom St. John said: He Who has the bride is the Bridegroom. John 3:29 They, therefore, loose their shoes, but His shoe cannot be loosed, even as St. John said: I am not worthy to loose the latchet of His shoe. John 1:27

72. Christ alone, then, is the Bridegroom to Whom the Church, His bride, comes from the nations, and gives herself in wedlock; aforetime poor and starving, but now rich with Christ's harvest; gathering in the hidden bosom of her mind handfuls of the rich crop and gleanings of the Word, that so she may nourish with fresh food her who is worn out, bereaved by the death of her son, and starving, even the mother of the dead people — leaving not the widow and destitute, while she seeks new children.

73. Christ, then, alone is the Bridegroom, grudging not even to the synagogue the sheaves of His harvest. Would that the synagogue had not of her own will shut herself out! She had sheaves that she might herself have gathered, but, her people being dead, she, like one bereaved by the death of her son, began to gather sheaves, whereby she might live, by the hand of the Church — the which sheaves they who come in joyfulness shall carry, even

as it is written: Yet surely shall they come with joy, bringing their sheaves with them.

74. Who, indeed, but Christ could dare to claim the Church as His bride, whom He alone, and none other, has called from Libanus, saying: Come hither from Libanus, my bride; come hither from Libanus? Song of Songs 4:8 Or of Whom else could the Church have said: His throat is sweetness, and He is altogether desirable? Song of Songs 5:26 And seeing that we entered upon this discussion from speaking of the shoes of His feet — to Whom else but the Word of God incarnate can those words apply? His legs are pillars of marble, set upon bases of gold. Song of Songs 5:15 For Christ alone walks in the souls and makes His path in the minds of His saints, in which, as upon bases of gold and foundations of precious stone the heavenly Word has left His footprints ineffaceably impressed.

75. Clearly we see, then, that both the man and the type point to the mystery of the Incarnation.

CHAPTER 11.

St. Ambrose returns to the main question, and shows that whenever Christ is said to have been made (or become), this must be understood with reference to His Incarnation, or to certain limitations. In this sense several passages of Scripture — especially of St. Paul — are expounded. The eternal Priesthood of Christ, prefigured in Melchizedek. Christ possesses not only likeness, but oneness with the Father.

76. WHEN, THEREFORE, Christ is said to have been made, to have become, the phrase relates, not to the substance of the Godhead, but often to the Incarnation — sometimes indeed to a particular office; for if you understand it of His Godhead, then God was made into an object of insult and derision inasmuch as it is written: But you have rejected your Christ, and brought Him to nought; you have driven Him to wander; and again: And He was made the derision of His neighbours. Of His neighbours, mark you — not of them of His household, not of them who clave to Him, for he who cleaves to the Lord is one Spirit; 1 Corinthians 6:17 he who is neighbour does not cleave to Him. Again, He was made a derision, because the Lord's Cross is to Jews a stumbling-block, and to Greeks is foolishness: 1 Corinthians 1:23 for to them that are wise He is, by that same Cross, *made* higher than the heavens, higher than angels, and is made the Mediator of the better covenant, even as He was Mediator of the former.

77. Mark how I repeat the phrase; so far am I from seeking to avoid it. Yet take notice in what sense He is made.

78. In the first place, having made purification, He sits on the right hand of Majesty on high, being made so much better than the angels. Hebrews

1:3-4 Now where purification is, there is a victim; where there is a victim, there is also a body; where a body is, there is oblation; where there is the office of oblation, there also is sacrifice made with suffering.

79. In the next place, He is the Mediator of a better covenant. But where there is testamentary disposition, the death of the testator must first come to pass, as it is written a little further on. Howbeit, the death is not the death of His eternal Godhead, but of His weak human frame.

80. Furthermore, we are taught how He is made higher than the heavens. Unspotted, says the Scripture, Hebrews 7:26-27 separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens; not having daily need, as the priests have need, to offer a victim first for his own sins, and then for those of the people. For this He did by sacrificing Himself once and for all. None is said to be made higher, save he who has in some respect been lower; Christ, then, is, by His sitting at the right hand of the Father, made higher in regard of that wherein, being made lower than the angels, He offered Himself to suffer.

81. Finally, the Apostle himself says to the Philippians, that being made in the likeness of man, and found in outward appearance as a man, He humbled Himself, being made obedient even unto death. Philippians 2:7-8 Mark that, in regard whereof He is made, He is made, the Apostle says, in the likeness of man, not in respect of Divine Sovereignty, and He was made obedient unto death, so that He displayed the obedience proper to man, and obtained the kingdom appertaining of right to Godhead.

82. How many passages need we cite further in evidence that His being made must be understood with reference to His Incarnation, or to some particular dispensation? Now whatsoever is made, the same is also created, for He spoke and they were made; He gave also the word, and they were created. The Lord created me. These words are spoken with regard to His

Manhood; and we have also shown, in our First Book, that the word created appears to have reference to the Incarnation.

83. Again, the Apostle himself, by declaring that no worship is to be rendered to a created existence, has shown that the Son has not been created, but begotten, of God. Romans 1:25 At the same time he shows in other places what there was in Christ that was created, in order to make plain in what sense he has read in Solomon's book: The Lord created Me.

84. Let us now review a whole passage in order. Seeing, then, that the sons have parts of flesh and blood, He too likewise was made to have part in the same, to the end that by death He might overthrow him who had the power of death. Hebrews 2:14 Who, then, is He Who would have us to be partakers in His own flesh and blood? Surely the Son of God. How, save by means of the flesh, was He made partaker with us, or by what, save by bodily death, broke He the chains of death? For Christ's endurance of death was made the death of Death. 1 Corinthians 15:54-55 This text, then, speaks of the Incarnation.

85. Let us see what follows: For He did not indeed [straightway] put on Him the nature of angels, but that of Abraham's seed. And thus was He able to be made like to His brethren in all things throughout, that He might become a compassionate and faithful Prince, a Priest unto God, to make propitiation for the sins of the people; for in that He Himself suffered He is able also to help them that are tempted. Wherefore, brethren most holy, you who have each his share in a heavenly calling, look upon the Apostle and High Priest of our confession, Jesus, regard His faithfulness to His Creator, even as Moses was in his house. These, then, are the Apostle's words.

86. You see what it is in respect whereof the writer calls Him created: In so far as He took upon Him the seed of Abraham; plainly asserting the begetting of a body. How, indeed, but in His body did He expiate the sins of the people? In what did He suffer, save in His body — even as we said

above: Christ having suffered in the flesh? In what is He a priest, save in that which He took to Himself from the priestly nation?

87. It is a priest's duty to offer something, and, according to the Law, to enter into the holy places by means of blood; seeing, then, that God had rejected the blood of bulls and goats, this High Priest was indeed bound to make passage and entry into the holy of holies in heaven through His own blood, in order that He might be the everlasting propitiation for our sins. Priest and victim, then, are one; the priesthood and sacrifice are, however, exercised under the conditions of humanity, for He was led as a lamb to the slaughter, and He is a priest after the order of Melchizedek.

88. Let no man, therefore, when he beholds an order of human establishment, contend that in it resides the claim of Divinity; for even that Melchizedek, by whose office Abraham offered sacrifice, the Church does certainly not hold to be an angel (as some Jewish triflers do), but a holy man and priest of God, who, *prefiguring* our Lord, is described as without father or mother, without history of his descent, without beginning and without end, in order to show beforehand the coming into this world of the eternal Son of God, Who likewise was incarnate and then brought forth without any father, begotten as God without mother, and was without history of descent, for it is written: His generation who shall declare? Isaiah 53:8

89. This Melchizedek, then, have we received as a priest of God made upon the model of Christ, but the one we regard as the type, the other as the original. Now a type is a shadow of the truth, and we have accepted the royalty of the one in the name of a single city, but that of the other as shown in the reconciliation of the whole world; for it is written: God was in Christ, reconciling the world to Himself; 2 Corinthians 5:19 that is to say, [in Christ was] eternal Godhead: or, if the Father is in the Son, even as the Son is in

the Father, then Their unity in both nature and operation is plainly not denied.

90. But how, indeed, could our adversaries justly deny this, even if they would, when the Scripture says: But the Father, Who abides in Me, even He does the works; and The works that I do, He Himself works? John 14:10 Not He *also* does the works, but one should regard it as similarity rather than unity of work; in saying, The things that I do, He Himself does, the Apostle has left it clear that we ought to believe that the work of the Father and the work of the Son is one.

91. On the other hand, when He would have similarity, not unity, of works, to be understood, He said: He that believes in Me, the works which I do, shall he do also. John 14:12 Skilfully inserting here the word also, He has allowed us similarity, and yet has not ascribed natural unity. One, therefore, is the work of the Father and the work of the Son, whether the Arians please so to think or not.

CHAPTER 12.

The kingdom of the Father and of the Son is one and undivided, so likewise is the Godhead of each.

92. I WOULD now ask how they suppose the kingdom of the Father and the Son to be divided, when the Lord has said, as we showed above: Every kingdom divided against itself shall be speedily overthrown. Matthew 12:25

93. Indeed, it was to debar the impious teaching of Arian enmity that Saint Peter himself asserted the dominion of the Father and the Son to be one, saying: Wherefore, my brethren, labour to make your calling and election sure, for so doing you shall not go astray, for thus your entrance into the eternal realm of God and our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ shall be granted with the greater abundance of grace. 1 Peter 2:10-11

94. Now, if it be thought that Christ's dominion alone is spoken of, and the place be therefore understood in such sense that the Father and the Son are regarded as divided in authority — yet it will be still acknowledged that it is the dominion of the Son, and that an eternal one, and thus not only will two kingdoms, separate, and so liable to fail, be brought in, but, furthermore, inasmuch as no kingdom is to be compared with God's kingdom, which they cannot, however greatly they may desire to, deny to be the kingdom of the Son, they must either turn back upon their opinion, and acknowledge the kingdom of the Father and the Son to be one and the same; or they must ascribe to the Father the government of a lesser kingdom — which is blasphemy; or they must acknowledge Him, Whom they wickedly declare to be inferior in respect of Godhead, to possess an equal kingdom, which is inconsistent.

95. But this [their teaching] squares not, agrees not, holds not [with its premisses]. Let them confess, then, that the kingdom is one, even as we confess and prove, not indeed on our own evidence, but upon testimony vouchsafed from heaven.

96. To begin with, learn, from further testimonies [of Scripture], how that the kingdom of heaven is also the kingdom of the Son: Verily, verily, I say unto you, that there are some among those which stand here with us, who shall not taste death, until they see the Son of Man coming into His kingdom. Matthew 16:28 There is therefore no room for doubt that the kingdom appertains to the Son of God.

97. Now learn that the kingdom of the Son is the very same as the kingdom of the Father: Verily, I say unto you that there be some of those which stand around us, who shall not taste death until they see the kingdom of God coming in power. Mark 8:39 So far, indeed, is it one kingdom, that the reward is one, the inheritor is one and the same, and so also the merit, and He Who promises [the reward].

98. How can it but be one kingdom, above all when the Son Himself has said of Himself: Then shall the righteous shine like the sun in the kingdom of My Father? Matthew 13:43 For that which is the Father's, by fitness to His majesty, is also the Son's, by unity in the same glory. John 17:5 The Scripture, therefore, has declared the kingdom to be the kingdom both of the Father and of the Son.

99. Now learn that where the kingdom of God is named, there is no putting aside of the authority either of the Father or of the Son, because both the kingdom of the Father and the kingdom of the Son is included under the single name of God, saying: When you shall see Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets, in the kingdom of God. Luke 13:28 Do we deny that the prophets are in the kingdom of the Son, when even to a dying robber who said, Remember me, when You come into Your kingdom, the

Lord made answer: Verily, I say unto you, today shall you be with Me in paradise. Luke 23:42-43 What, indeed, do we understand by being in the kingdom of God, if not the having escaped eternal death? But they who have escaped eternal death see the Son of Man coming into His kingdom.

100. How, then, can He not have in His power that which He gives, saying: To you will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven? Matthew 16:19 See the gulf between [the one and the other]. The servant opens, the Lord bestows; the One through Himself, the other through Christ; the minister receives the keys, the Lord appoints powers: the one is the right of a giver, the other the duty of a steward.

101. See now yet another proof that the kingdom, the government, of the Father and the Son is one. It is written in the Epistle to Timothy: Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ, according to the government of God, our Saviour, and Christ Jesus, our Hope. 1 Timothy 1:1 One, therefore, the kingdom of the Father and the Son is plainly declared to be, even as Paul the Apostle also asserted, saying: For know this, that no shameless person, none that is impure, or covetous (which means idolatry), has inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God. Ephesians 5:5 It is, therefore, one kingdom, one Godhead.

102. Oneness in Godhead the Law has proved, which speaks of one God, Deuteronomy 6:4 as also the Apostle, by saying of Christ; In Whom dwells all the fullness of the Godhead bodily. For if, as the Apostle says, all the fullness of the Godhead, bodily, is in Christ, then must the Father and the Son be confessed to be of one Godhead; or if it is desired to sunder the Godhead of the Son from the Godhead of the Father, while the Son possesses all the fullness of the Godhead bodily, what is supposed to be further reserved, seeing that nothing remains over and above the fullness of perfection? Therefore the Godhead is one.

CHAPTER 13.

The majesty of the Son is His own, and equal to that of the Father, and the angels are not partakers, but beholders thereof.

103. NOW, WE having already laid down that the Father and the Son are of one image and likeness, it remains for us to show that They are also of one majesty. And we need not go far afield for proof, inasmuch as the Son Himself has said of Himself: When the Son of Man shall come in His majesty, and all the angels with Him, then shall He sit upon the throne of His majesty. Matthew 25:31 Behold, then, the majesty of the Son declared! What lacks He yet, Whose uncreated majesty cannot be denied? Majesty, then, belongs to the Son.

104. Let our adversaries now hold it proved beyond doubt that the majesty of the Father and of the Son is one, forasmuch as the Lord Himself has said: For he who shall be ashamed of Me and of My words, of Him shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when He comes in His majesty and His Father's, and the majesty of the holy angels. Luke 9:26 What is the force of the words and the majesty of the holy angels, but that the servants derive honour from the worship of their Lord?

105. The Son, therefore, ascribed His majesty to His Father as well as to Himself, not, indeed, in such sort that the angels should share in that majesty on equal terms with the Father and the Son, but that they should behold the surpassing glory of God; for truly not even angels possess a majesty of their own, after the manner in which Scripture speaks of the Son: When He shall sit upon the throne of His majesty, but they stand in the

presence, that they may see the glory of the Father and the Son, in such degrees of vision as they are either worthy of or able to bear.

106. Furthermore, the God-given words themselves declare their own meaning, that you may understand that glory of the Father and the Son not to be held in common with them by angels, for thus they run: But when the Son of Man shall come in His majesty, and all the angels with Him. Again, to show that His Father's majesty and glory and His own majesty and glory are one and the same, our Lord Himself says in another book: And the Son of Man shall confound him, when He shall come in the glory of His Father, with the holy angels. Mark 8:38 The angels come in obedience, He comes in glory: they are His retainers, He sits upon His throne: they stand, He is seated — to borrow terms of the daily dealings of human life, He is the Judge: they are the officers of the court. Note that He did not place first His Father's divine majesty, and then, in the second place, His own and the angels', lest He should seem to have made out a sort of descending order, from the highest to lower natures. He placed His own majesty first, and then spoke of His Father's, and the majesty of the angels (because the Father could not appear lower than they), in order that He might not, by placing mention of Himself between that of His Father and that of the angels, seem to have made out some ascending scale, leading from angels to the Father through increase of His own dignity; nor, again, be believed to have, contrariwise, shown a descent from the Father to angels, entailing diminution of that dignity. Now we who confess one Godhead of the Father and the Son suppose no such order of distinction as the Arians do.

CHAPTER 14.

The Son is of one substance with the Father.

108. AND NOW, your Majesty, with regard to the question of the substance, why need I tell you that the Son is of one substance with the Father, when we have read that the Son is the image of the Father's substance, that you may understand that there is nothing wherein, so far as Godhead is regarded, the Son differs from the Father.

109. In virtue of this likeness Christ said: All things that the Father has are Mine. John 16:15 We cannot, then, deny substance to God, for indeed He is not unsubstantial, Who has given to others the ground of their being, though this be different in God from what it is in the creature. The Son of God, by Whose agency all things endure, could not be unsubstantial.

110. And therefore, the Psalmist says: My bones are not hidden, which You made in secret, and my substance in the underworld. For to His power and Godhead, the things that before the foundation of the world were done, though their magnificence was [as yet] invisible, could not be hidden. Here, then, we find mention of substance.

111. But it may be objected that the mention of His substance is the consequence of His Incarnation. I have shown that the word substance is used more than once, and that not in the sense of inherited possessions, as you would construe it. Now, if it please you, let us grant that, in accordance with the mystic prophecy, the substance of Christ was present in the underworld — for truly He did exert His power in the lower world to set free, in the soul which animated His own body, the souls of the dead, to loose the bands of death, to remit sins. 1 Peter 3:19

112. And, indeed, what hinders you from understanding, by that substance, His divine substance, seeing that God is everywhere, so that it has been said to Him: If I go up into heaven, You are there; if I go down into hell, You are present.

113. Furthermore, the Psalmist has in the words following made it plain that we must understand the divine substance to be mentioned when he says: Your eyes did see My being, [as] not the effect of working; inasmuch as the Son is not made, nor one of God's works, but the begotten Word of eternal power. He called Him ἀχατέργαστον, meaning that the Word neither made nor created, is begotten of the Father without the witnessing presence of any created being. Howbeit, we have abundance of testimony besides this. Let us grant that the substance here spoken of is the bodily substance, provided you also yourself say not that the Son of God is something effected by working, but confess His uncreated Godhead.

114. Now I know that some assert that the mystic incarnate form was uncreated, forasmuch as nothing was done therein through intercourse with a man, because our Lord was the offspring of a virgin. If, then, many have, on the strength of this passage, asserted that neither that which was brought forth of Mary was produced by creative operation, dare you, disciple of Arius, think that the Word of God is something so produced?

115. But is this the only place where we read of substance? Hath it not also been said in another passage: The gates of the cities are broken down, the mountains are fallen, and His substance is revealed? What, does the word mean something created here also? Some, I know, are accustomed to say that the substance is substance in money. Then, if you give this meaning to the word, the mountains fell, in order that some one's possessions of money might be seen.

116. But let us remember *what* mountains fell, those, namely, of which it has been said: If you shall have faith as a grain of mustard seed you shall

say to this mountain: Be removed, and be cast into the sea! Matthew 17:19 By mountains, then, are meant high things that exalt themselves. 2 Corinthians 10:5

117. Moreover, in the Greek, the rendering is this: The palaces are fallen. What palaces, save the palace of Satan, of whom the Lord said: How shall His kingdom stand? We are reading, therefore, of the things which are the devil's palaces as being very mountains, and therefore in the fall of those palaces from the hearts of the faithful, the truth stands revealed, that Christ, the Son of God, is of the Father's eternal substance. What, again, are those mountains of bronze, from the midst of which four chariots come forth? Zechariah 6:1

118. We behold that height, lifting up itself against the knowledge of God, cast down by the word of the Lord, when the Son of God said: Hold your peace, and come forth, you foul spirit. Mark 1:25 Concerning whom the prophet also said: Behold, I have come to you, you mount of corruption!

119. *Those* mountains, then, are fallen, and it is revealed that in Christ was the substance of God, in the words of those who had seen Him: Truly You are the Son of God, Luke 4:41 for it was in virtue of divine, not human power, that He commanded devils. Jeremiah also says: Make mourning upon the mountains, and beat your breasts upon the desert tracks, for they have failed; forasmuch as there are no men, they have not heard the word of substance: from flying fowl to beasts of burden, they trembled, they have failed.

120. Nor has it escaped us, that in another place also, setting forth the frailties of man's estate, in order to show that He had taken upon Himself the infirmity of the flesh, and the affections of our minds, the Lord said, by the mouth of His prophet: Remember, O Lord, what My substance is, because it was the Son of God speaking in the nature of human frailty.

121. Of Him the Scripture says, in the passage cited, in order to discover the mysteries of the Incarnation: But You have rejected, O Lord, and counted for nought — You have cast out Your Christ. You have overthrown the covenant made with Your Servant, and trampled His holiness in the earth. What was it, in regard whereof the Scripture called Him Servant, but His flesh? — seeing that He did not hold equality with God as a prey, but emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant, being made into the likeness of men, and found in fashion as a man. Philippians 2:6-7 So, then, in that He took upon Himself My nature, He was a servant, but by virtue of His own power He is the Lord.

122. Furthermore, what means it that you read, Who has stood in the *truth* (*substantia*) of the Lord? and again: Now if they had stood in My *truth*, and had given ear to My words, and had taught My people, I would have turned them from their follies and transgressions?

CHAPTER 15.

The Arians, inasmuch as they assert the Son to be of another substance, plainly acknowledge substance in God. The only reason why they avoid the use of this term is that they will not, as Eusebius of Nicomedia has made it evident, confess Christ to be the true Son of God.

123. HOW CAN the Arians deny the substance of God? How can they suppose that the word substance which is found in many places of Scripture ought to be debarred from use, when they themselves do yet, by saying that the Son is ἑτεροούσιος, that is, of another substance, admit substance in God?

124. It is not the term itself, then, but its force and consequences, that they shun, because they will not confess the Son of God to be true [God]. For though the process of the divine generation cannot be comprehended in human language, still the Fathers judged that their faith might be fitly distinguished by the use of such a term, as against that of ἑτεροούσιος, following the authority of the prophet, who says: Who has stood in the truth (*substantia*) of the Lord, and seen His Word? Jeremiah 23:18 Arians, therefore, admit the term substance when it is used so as to square with their blasphemy; contrariwise, when it is adopted in accordance with the pious devotion of the faithful, they reject and dispute against it.

125. What other reason can there be for their unwillingness to have the Son spoken of as ὁ μοούσιος, of the same substance, with the Father, but that they are unwilling to confess Him the true Son of God? This is betrayed in the letter of Eusebius of Nicomedia. If, writes he, we say that the Son is true God and uncreate, then we are in the way to confess Him to be of one

substance (ὁμοούσιος) with the Father. When this letter had been read before the Council assembled at Nicæa, the Fathers put this word in their exposition of the Faith, because they saw that it daunted their adversaries; in order that they might take the sword, which their opponents had drawn, to smite off the head of those opponents' own blasphemous heresy. 1 Samuel 17:51

126. Vain, however, is their plea, that they avoid the use of the term, because of the Sabellians; whereby they betray their own ignorance, for a being is of the same substance (ὁ μοούσιον) with another, not with itself. Rightly, then, do we call the Son ὁ μοούσιος (of the same substance), with the Father, forasmuch as that term expresses both the distinction of Persons and the unity of nature.

127. Can they deny that the term οὐσία is met with in Scripture, when the Lord has spoken of bread, that is, ἐ πιούσιος, and Moses has written ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθέ μοι λαὸς περιούσιος ? Exodus 19:6 What does οὐσία mean, whence comes the name, but from οὖσα ἀεί, that which endures for ever? For He Who *is*, and *is* for ever, is God; and therefore the Divine Substance, abiding everlastingly, is called οὐσία . Bread is ἐπιούσιος, because, taking the substance of abiding power from the substance of the Word, it supplies this to heart and soul, for it is written: And bread strengthens man's heart.

128. Let us, then, keep the precepts of our forefathers, nor with rude and reckless daring profane the symbols bequeathed to us. That sealed book of prophecy, whereof we have heard, neither elders, nor powers, nor angels, nor archangels, ventured to open; for Christ alone is reserved the peculiar right of opening it. Revelation 5:5 Who among us dare unseal the book of the priesthood, sealed by confessors, and long hallowed by the testimony of many? They who have been constrained to unseal, nevertheless have since, respecting the deceit put upon them, sealed again; they who dared not lay

sacrilegious hands upon it, have stood forth as martyrs and confessors. How can we deny the Faith held by those whose victory we proclaim?

CHAPTER 16.

In order to forearm the orthodox against the stratagems of the Arians, St. Ambrose discloses some of the deceitful confessions used by the latter, and shows by various arguments, that though they sometimes call the Son God, it is not enough, unless they also admit His equality with the Father.

129. LET NONE fear, let none tremble; he who threatens gives the advantage to the faithful. The soothing balms of deceitful men are poisoned — then must we be on our guard against them, when they pretend to preach that they do deny. Thus were those aforetime, who lightly trusted to them, deceived, so that they fell into the snares of treachery, when they thought all was good faith.

130. Let him be accursed, say they, who says that Christ is a creature, after the manner of the rest of created beings. Plain folks have heard this, and put faith in it, for, as it is written, the simple man believes every word. Proverbs 14:15 Thus have they heard and believed, being taken in by the first sound thereof, and, like birds, eager for the bait of faith, have not noted the net spread for them, and so, pursuing after faith, have caught the hook of ungodly deceit. Wherefore be wise as serpents, says the Lord, and harmless as doves. Matthew 10:16 Wisdom is put foremost, in order that harmlessness may be unharmed.

131. For those are serpents, such as the Gospel intends, who put off old habits, in order to put on new manners: Putting off the old man, together with his acts, and putting on the new man, made in the image of Him Who created him. Colossians 3:9-10 Let us learn then, the ways of those whom the Gospel calls the serpents, throwing off the slough of the old man, that

so, like serpents, we may know how to preserve our life and beware of fraud.

132. It would have been sufficient to say, Accursed be he who says that Christ is a created being. Why, then, Arian, do you mingle poison with the good that is in your confession, and so defile the whole body of it? For by addition of after the manner of the rest of created beings, you deny not that Christ is a being created, but that He is a created being like [all] others — for created being you do entitle Him, albeit you assign to Him dignity transcending the rest of creation. Furthermore, Arius, the first teacher of this ungodly doctrine, said that the Son of God was a perfect created being, and not as the rest of created beings. See you, then, how that you have adopted language bequeathed you from your father. To deny that Christ is a being created is enough: why add but not as the rest of beings created? Cut away the gangrened part, lest the contagion spread — it is poisonous, deadly.

133. Again, you say sometimes that Christ is God. Nay, but so call Him true God, as meaning, that you acknowledge Him to possess the fullness of the Father's Godhead — for there are gods, so called, alike in heaven or upon earth. The name God, then, is not to be used as a mere manner of address and mention, but with the understanding that you affirm, of the Son, that same Godhead which the Father has, as it is written: For as the Father has life in Himself, so has He given to the Son also to have life in Himself; John 5:26 that is to say, He has given it to Him, as to His Son, through begetting Him — not by grace, as to one indigent.

134. And He has given Him power to execute judgment, because He is the Son of Man. John 5:27 Note well this addition, that you may not take occasion, upon a word, to preach falsehood. You read that He is the Son of Man; do you therefore deny that He accepts [the power given]? Deny God, then, if all things proper to God are not given to the Son, for whereas He has said, All things that the Father has are Mine, John 16:15 why not

acknowledge that all the properties and attributes of Divinity are in the Son [as they are in the Father]? For He who says, All things that the Father has are Mine, what does He except as having not?

135. Why is it that you recount with insistence and in such sincere language, Christ's raising the dead to life, walking upon the waters, healing the sicknesses of men? These powers, indeed, He has given to His bondmen to display as well as Himself. They do the more arouse my wonder when seen present in men, forasmuch as God has given them power so great. I would hear somewhat concerning Christ that is His distinctly and peculiarly, and cannot be held in common with Him by created beings, now that He is begotten, the only Son of God, very God of very God, sitting at the Father's right hand.

136. Wheresoever I read of the Father and Son sitting side by side, I find the Son always upon the right hand. Is that because the Son is above the Father? Nay, we say not so; but He Whom God's love honours is dishonoured by man's ungodliness. The Father knew that doubts as concerning the Son must needs be sown, and He has given us an example of reverence for us to follow after, lest we dishonour the Son.

CHAPTER 17.

An objection based on St. Stephen's vision of the Lord standing is disposed of, and from the prayers of the same saint, addressed to the Son of God, the equality of the Son with the Father is shown.

137. THERE IS just one place, in which Stephen has said that he saw the Lord Jesus *standing* at the right hand of God. Acts 7:55 Learn now the import of these words, that you may not use them to raise a question upon. Why (you would ask) do we read every where else of the Son as sitting at the right hand of God, but in one place of His standing? He sits as Judge of quick and dead; He stands as His people's Advocate. He stood, then, as a Priest, while He was offering to His Father the sacrifice of a good martyr; He stood, as the Umpire, to bestow, as it were, upon a good wrestler the prize of so mighty a contest.

138. Receive also the Spirit of God, that you may discern those things, even as Stephen received the Spirit; and you may say, as the martyr said: Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God. Acts 7:55 He who has the heavens opened to him, sees Jesus at the right hand of God: he whose soul's eye is closed, sees not Jesus at the right hand of God. Let us, then, confess Jesus at God's right hand, that to us also the heavens may be opened. They who confess otherwise close the gates of heaven against themselves.

139. But if any urge in objection that the *Son* was standing, let them show upon this passage that the Father was seated, for though Stephen said that the Son of Man was standing, still he did not further say here that the Father was sitting.

140. Howbeit, to make it more abundantly clear and known that the standing implied no dishonour, but rather sovereignty, Stephen prayed to the Son, being desirous to commend himself the more to the Father, saying: Lord Jesu, receive my spirit. Acts 7:58 Again, to show that the sovereignty of the Father and of the Son is one and the same, he prayed again, saying, Lord, lay not this sin to their charge. Acts 7:51 These are the words that the Lord, in His own Passion, speaks to the Father, as the Son of Man — these the words of Stephen's prayer, in his own martyrdom to the Son of God. When the same grace is sought of both the Father and the Son, the same power is affirmed of each.

141. Otherwise, if our opponents will have it that Stephen addressed himself to the Father, let them consider what, on their own showing, they affirm. We indeed are unmoved by their arguments; howbeit, let them, to whom the letter and sequence is all important, take notice that the *first* petition is addressed to the Son. Now we, even on their understanding of the passage, prove from it the unity of the Father's and the Son's majesty; for when the Son is addressed in prayer as well as the Father, the equality which the prayer assigns points to unity in action. But if they will not allow that the Son was addressed with the title Lord, we see that they do indeed seek to deny that He is Lord.

142. Seeing, however, that so great a martyr's crown has been brought forth, let us abate the eagerness of disputation, and bring today's discourse to a close. Let us sing the praises of the holy martyr, as is fitting always after a mighty conflict — the martyr bleeding indeed from the enemy's blows, but rewarded with the crown bestowed by Christ.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER 1.

The marvel is, not that men have failed to know Christ, but that they have not listened to the words of the Scriptures. Christ, indeed, was not known, even of angels, save by revelation, nor again, by His forerunner. Follows a description of Christ's triumphal ascent into heaven, and the excellence of its glory over the assumption of certain prophets. Lastly, from exposition of the conversation with angels upon this occasion, the omnipotence of the Son is proved, as against the Arians.

1. ON CONSIDERATION, your Majesty, of the reason wherefore men have so far gone astray, or that many — alas! — should follow diverse ways of belief concerning the Son of God, the marvel seems to be, not at all that human knowledge has been baffled in dealing with superhuman things, but that it has not submitted to the authority of the Scriptures.

2. What reason, indeed, is there to wonder, if by their worldly wisdom men failed to comprehend the mystery of God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, in Whom all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge are hidden, Colossians 2:3 that mystery of which not even angels have been able to take knowledge, save by revelation?

3. For who could by force of imagination, and not by faith, follow the Lord Jesus, now descending from the highest heaven to the shades below, now rising again from Hades to the heavenly places; in a moment self-emptied, that He might dwell among us, and yet never made less than He was, the Son being ever in the Father and the Father in the Son?

4. Even Christ's forerunner, though only in so far as representing the synagogue, doubted concerning Him, even he who was appointed to go

before the face of the Lord, and at last sending messengers, enquired: Are You He that should come, or do we look for another? Matthew 11:3

5. Angels, too, stood spellbound in wonder at the heavenly mystery. And so, when the Lord rose again, and the heights of heaven could not bear the glory of His rising from the dead, Who of late, so far as regarded His flesh, had been confined in the narrow bounds of a sepulchre, even the heavenly hosts doubted and were amazed.

6. For a Conqueror came, adorned with wondrous spoils, the Lord was in His holy Temple, before Him went angels and archangels, marvelling at the prey wrested from death, and though they knew that nothing can be added to God from the flesh, because all things are lower than God, nevertheless, beholding the trophy of the Cross, whereof the government was upon His shoulder, and the spoils borne by the everlasting Conqueror, they, as if the gates could not afford passage for Him Who had gone forth from them, though indeed they can never o'erspan His greatness — they sought some broader and more lofty passage for Him on His return — so entirely had He remained undiminished by His self-emptying.

7. However, it was meet that a new way should be prepared before the face of the new Conqueror — for a Conqueror is always, as it were, taller and greater in person than others; but, forasmuch as the Gates of Righteousness, which are the Gates of the Old and the New Testament, wherewith heaven is opened, are eternal, they are not indeed changed, but raised, for it was not merely one man but the whole world that entered, in the person of the All-Redeemer.

8. Enoch had been translated, Elias caught up, but the servant is not above his Master. For No man has ascended into heaven, but He Who came down from heaven; John 3:13 and even of Moses, though his corpse was never seen on earth, we do nowhere read as of one abiding in celestial glory, unless it was after that the Lord, by the earnest of His own Resurrection,

burst the bonds of hell and exalted the souls of the godly. Enoch, then, was translated, and Elias caught up; both as servants, both in the body, but not after resurrection from the dead, nor with the spoils of death and the triumphal train of the Cross, had they been seen of angels.

9. And therefore [the angels] descrying the approach of the Lord of all, first and only Vanquisher of Death, bade their princes that the gates should be lifted up, saying in adoration, Lift up the gates, such as are princes among you, and be lifted up, O everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in.

10. Yet there were still, even among the hosts of heaven, some that were amazed, overcome with astonishment at such pomp and glory as they had never yet beheld, and therefore they asked: Who is the King of glory? Howbeit, seeing that the angels (as well as ourselves) acquire their knowledge step by step, and are capable of advancement, they certainly must display differences of power and understanding, for God alone is above and beyond the limits imposed by gradual advance, possessing, as He does, every perfection from everlasting.

11. Others, again — those, to wit, who had been present at His rising again, those who had seen or who already recognized Him — made reply: It is the Lord, strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle.

12. Then, again, sang the multitude of angels, in triumphal chorus: Lift up the gates, O you that are their princes, and be lifted up, you everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in.

13. And back again came the challenge of them that stood astonished: Who is that King of glory? For we saw Him having neither form nor comeliness; Isaiah 53:2 if then it be not He, *who* is that King of glory?

14. Whereto answer they which know: The Lord of Hosts, He is the King of glory. Therefore, the Lord of Hosts, He is the Son. How then do the Arians call Him fallible, Whom we believe to be Lord of Hosts, even as we

believe of the Father? How can they draw distinctions between the sovereign powers of Each, when we have found the Son, even as also the Father, entitled Lord of Saboath? For, in this very passage, the reading in many copies is: The Lord of Sabaoth, He is the King of glory. Now the translators have, for the Lord of Sabaoth, rendered in some places the Lord of Hosts, in others the Lord the King, and in others the Lord Omnipotent. Therefore, since He Who ascended is the Son, and, again, He Who ascended is the Lord of Sabaoth, it surely follows that the Son of God is omnipotent!

CHAPTER 2.

None can ascend to heaven without faith; in any case, he who has so ascended there will be cast out wherefore, faith must be zealously preserved. We ourselves each have a heaven within, the gates whereof must be opened and be raised by confession of the Godhead of Christ, which gates are not raised by Arians, nor by those who seek the Son amongst earthly things, and who must therefore, like the Magdalene, be sent back to the apostles, against whom the gates of hell shall not prevail. Scriptures are cited to show that the servant of the Lord must not diminish any of his Master's honour.

15. WHAT SHALL we do, then? How shall we ascend unto heaven? There, powers are stationed, principalities drawn up in order, who keep the doors of heaven, and challenge him who ascends. Who shall give me passage, unless I proclaim that Christ is Almighty? The gates are shut — they are not opened to any and every one; not every one who will shall enter, unless he also believes according to the true Faith. The Sovereign's court is kept under guard.

16. Suppose, however, that one who is unworthy has crept up, has stolen past the principalities who keep the gates of heaven, has sat down at the supper of the Lord; when the Lord of the banquet enters, and sees one not clad in the wedding garment of the Faith, He will cast him into outer darkness, where is weeping and gnashing of teeth, Matthew 22:11 if he keep not the Faith and peace.

17. Let us, therefore, keep the wedding garment which we have received, and not deny Christ that which is His own, Whose omnipotence angels

announce, prophets foretel, apostles witness to, even as we have already shown above.

18. Perchance, indeed, the prophet has spoken of His entering in not only with regard to the gates of the universal heaven; for there be other heavens also whereinto the Word of God passes, whereof it is said: We have a great Priest, a High Priest, Who has passed through the heavens, Jesus, the Son of God. Hebrews 4:14 What are those heavens, but even the heavens whereof the prophet says that the heavens declare the glory of God?

19. For Christ stands at the door of your soul. Hear Him speaking. Behold, I stand at the door, and knock: if any man open to Me, I will come in to him, and I will sup with him, and he with Me. Revelation 3:20 And the Church says, speaking of Him: The voice of my brother sounds at the door. Song of Songs 5:2

20. He stands, then — but not alone, for before Him go angels, saying: Lift up the gates, O you the princes. What gates? Even those of the which the Psalmist sings in another place also: Open to me the gates of righteousness. Open, then, your gates to Christ, that He may come into you — open the gates of righteousness, the gates of chastity, the gates of courage and wisdom.

21. Believe the message of the angels: Be lift up, you everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in, the Lord of Sabaoth. Your gate is the loud confession made with faithful voice; it is the door of the Lord, which the Apostle desires to have opened for him, as he says: That a door of the word may be opened for me, to proclaim the mystery of Christ. Colossians 4:3

22. Let your gate, then, be opened to Christ, and let it be not only opened, but lifted up, if, indeed, it be eternal and not condemned to ruin; for it is written: And be lifted up, you *everlasting* doors. The lintel was lift up for Isaiah, when the seraph touched his lips and he saw the Lord of Sabaoth.

23. Your gates shall be lifted up, then, if you believe the Son of God to be eternal, omnipotent, above and beyond all praise and understanding, knowing all things, both past and to come, while if you judge Him to be of limited power and knowledge, and subordinate, you lift not up the everlasting doors.

24. Be your gates lifted up, then, that Christ may come in unto you, not such a Christ as the Arians take Him to be — petty, and weak, and menial — but Christ in the form of God, Christ with the Father; that He may enter such as He is, exalted above the heaven and all things; and that He may send forth upon you His Holy Spirit. It is expedient for you that you should believe that He has ascended and is sitting at the right hand of the Father, for if in impious thought you detain Him among things created and earthly, if He depart not for you, ascend not for you, then to you the Comforter shall not come, even as Christ Himself has told us: For if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you, but if I depart, I will send Him unto you. John 16:7

25. But if you should seek Him among earthly beings, even as Mary of Magdala sought Him, take heed lest He say to you, as unto her: Touch Me not, for I am not yet ascended unto My Father. John 20:17 For your gates are narrow — they give me no passage — they cannot be lifted up, and therefore I cannot come in.

26. Go your way, therefore, to my brethren — that is, to those everlasting doors, which, as soon as they see Jesus, are lifted up. Peter is an everlasting door, against whom the gates of hell shall not prevail. Matthew 16:18 John and James, the sons of thunder, to wit, Mark 3:17 are everlasting doom. Everlasting are the doors of the Church, where the prophet, desirous to proclaim the praises of Christ, says: That I may tell all your praises in the gates of the daughter of Sion.

27. Great, therefore, is the mystery of Christ, before which even angels stood amazed and bewildered. For this cause, then, it is your duty to worship Him, and, being a servant, you ought not to detract from your Lord. Ignorance you may not plead, for to this end He came down, that you may believe; if you believe not, He has not come down for you, has not suffered for you. If I had not come, says the Scripture, and spoken with them, they would have no sin: but now have they no excuse for their sin. He that hates Me, hates My Father also. John 15:22-23 Who, then, hates Christ, if not he who speaks to His dishonour? — for as it is love's part to render, so it is hate's to withdraw honour. He who hates, calls in question; he who loves, pays reverence.

CHAPTER 3.

The words, The head of every man is Christ...and the head of Christ is God misused by the Arians, are now turned back against them, to their confutation. Next, another passage of Scripture, commonly taken by the same heretics as a ground of objection, is called in to show that God is the Head of Christ, in so far as Christ is human, in regard of His Manhood, and the unwisdom of their opposition upon the text, He who plants and He who waters are one, is displayed. After which explanations, the meaning of the doctrine that the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father, and that the faithful are in Both, is expounded.

28. NOW LET us examine some other objections raised by the Arians. It is written, say they, that the head of every man is Christ, and the head of woman is man, and the head of Christ is God. 1 Corinthians 11:3 Let them, if they please, tell me what they mean by this objection — whether to join together, or to dissociate, these four terms. Suppose they mean to join them, and say that God is the Head of Christ in the same sense and manner as man is the head of woman. Mark what a conclusion they fall into. For if this comparison proceeds on the supposed equality of the terms of it, and these four — woman, man, Christ, and God — are viewed together as in virtue of a likeness resulting from their being of one and the same nature, then woman and God will begin to come under one definition.

29. But if this conclusion be not satisfactory, by reason of its impiety, let them divide, on what principle they will. Thus, if they will have it that Christ stands to God the Father in the same relation as woman to man, then surely they pronounce Christ and God to be of one substance, inasmuch as

woman and man are of one nature in respect of the flesh, for their difference is in respect of sex. But, seeing that there is no difference of sex between Christ and His Father, they will acknowledge then that which is one, and common to the Son and the Father, in respect of nature, whereas they will deny the difference lying in sex.

30. Does this conclusion content them? Or will they have woman, man, and Christ to be of one substance, and distinguish the Father from them? Will this, then, serve their turn? Suppose that it will, then observe what they are brought to. They must either confess themselves not merely Arians, but very Photinians, because they acknowledge only the Manhood of Christ, Whom they judge fit only to be placed on the same scale with human beings. Or else they must, however contrary to their leanings, subscribe to our belief, by which we dutifully and in godly fashion maintain that which they have come at by an impious course of thought, that Christ is indeed, after His divine generation, the power of God, while after His putting on of the flesh, He is of one substance with all men in regard of His flesh, excepting indeed the proper glory of His Incarnation, because He took upon Himself the reality, not a phantom likeness, of flesh.

31. Let God, then, be the Head of Christ, with regard to the conditions of Manhood. Observe that the Scripture says not that the *Father* is the Head of Christ; but that *God* is the Head of Christ, because the Godhead, as the creating power, is the Head of the being created. And well said [the Apostle] the Head of Christ is God; to bring before our thoughts both the Godhead of Christ and His flesh, implying, that is to say, the Incarnation in the mention of the name of Christ, and, in that of the name of God, oneness of Godhead and grandeur of sovereignty.

32. But the saying, that in respect of the Incarnation God is the Head of Christ, leads on to the principle that Christ, as Incarnate, is the Head of man, as the Apostle has clearly expressed in another passage, where he

says: Since man is the head of woman, even as Christ is the Head of the Church; Ephesians 5:23 while in the words following he has added: Who gave Himself for her. Ephesians 5:25 After His Incarnation, then, is Christ the head of man, for His self-surrender issued from His Incarnation.

33. The Head of Christ, then, is God, in so far as His form of a servant, that is, of man, not of God, is considered. But it is nothing against the Son of God, if, in accordance with the reality of His flesh, He is like men, while in regard of His Godhead He is one with the Father, for by this account of Him we do not take anything from His sovereignty, but attribute compassion to Him.

34. But who can with a good conscience deny the one Godhead of the Father and the Son, when our Lord, to complete His teaching for His disciples, said: That they may be one, even as we also are one. John 17:11 The record stands for witness to the Faith, though Arians turn it aside to suit their heresy; for, inasmuch as they cannot deny the Unity so often spoken of, they endeavour to diminish it, in order that the Unity of Godhead subsisting between the Father and the Son may seem to be such as is unity of devotion and faith among men, though even among men themselves community of nature makes unity thereof.

35. Thus with abundant clearness we disprove the objection commonly raised by Arians, in order to loosen the Divine Unity, on the ground that it is written: But he who plants and he who waters are one. This passage the Arians, if they were wise, would not quote against us; for how can they deny that the Father and the Son are One, if Paul and Apollos are one, both in nature and in faith? At the same time, we do grant that these cannot be one throughout, in all relations, because things human cannot bear comparison with things divine.

36. No separation, then, is to be made of the Word from God the Father, no separation in power, no separation in wisdom, by reason of the Unity of

the Divine Substance. Again, God the Father is in the Son, as we ofttimes find it written, yet [He dwells in the Son] not as sanctifying one who lacks sanctification, nor as filling a void, for the power of God knows no void. Nor, again, is the power of the one increased by the power of the other, for there are not two powers, but one Power; nor does Godhead entertain Godhead, for there are not two Godheads, but one Godhead. We, contrariwise, shall be One in Christ through Power received [from another] and dwelling in us.

37. The letter [of the unity] is common, but the Substance of God and the substance of man are different. We shall be, the Father and the Son [already] are, one; we shall be one by grace, the Son is so by substance. Again, unity by conjunction is one thing, unity by nature another. Finally, observe what it is that Scripture has already recorded: That they may all be one, as You, Father, are in Me, and I in You. John 17:21

38. Mark now that He said not You in us, and we in You, but You in Me, and I in You, to place Himself apart from His creatures. Further He added: that they also may be in Us, in order to separate here His dignity and His Father’s from us, that our union in the Father and the Son may appear the issue, not of nature, but of grace, while with regard to the unity of the Father and the Son it may be believed that the Son has not received this by grace, but possesses by natural right of His Sonship.

CHAPTER 4.

The passage quoted adversely by heretics, namely, The Son can do nothing of Himself, is first explained from the words which follow; then, the text being examined, word by word, their acceptation in the Arian sense is shown to be impossible without incurring the charge of impiety or absurdity, the proof resting chiefly on the creation of the world and certain miracles of Christ.

39. AGAIN, ANOTHER objection that the Arians bring up, denying that the Power of the Father and the Son can be one and the same, is rested on His saying: Verily, verily, I say unto you; the Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He has seen the Father doing. John 5:19 And therefore they affirm that the Son has done nothing of Himself, and can do nothing, save what He has seen the Father doing.

40. O wise foreknowledge of the arguments of unbelievers, which made further provision of means whereby to answer questions, by adding the words that follow: For whatsoever the Father does, the same does the Son also, in like fashion, John 5:19 for this indeed is the sequel. Why, then, is it written: The Son does the same things, and not such like things, but that you might judge that in the Son there is unity in the Father's works, not imitation of them?

41. But to put their proofs in turn upon trial: I would have them answer the question, whether the Son sees the works of the Father. Does He see, I ask, or not? If He sees them, then He also does them; if He does them, let heretics cease to deny the omnipotence of Him Whom they confess able to do all things that He has seen the Father doing.

42. But what are we to understand by has seen? Has the Son any need of bodily eyes? Nay, if they will affirm this of the Son, they will make out in the Father also a need of bodily activity, in order that the Son may see that which He Himself is to do.

43. Furthermore, what mean the words: The Son can do nothing of Himself? Let us put this question, and debate it. Now is there anything impossible to God's Power and Wisdom? These, observe, are names of the Son of God, Whose Might is certainly not a gift received from another, but just as He is the Life, John 14:6 not depending upon another's quickening action, but Himself quickening others, because He is the Life; so also He is Wisdom, 1 Corinthians 1:24 not as one that is ignorant acquiring wisdom, but making others wise from His own store; so, too, He is Power, 1 Corinthians 1:24 not as having through weakness obtained increase of strength, but being Himself Power, and bestowing power upon the strong.

44. How, then, does Power assert, as it were, under oath: Verily, verily I say unto you, which means: Of a truth, of a truth, I tell you? John 5:19 Truly, then, You speak, Lord Jesus, and affirm, repeating indeed your solemn declaration, that You can do nothing, save what You have seen the Father doing. You made the universe. Did Your Father then make another universe, for You to take as a model? So must Your blasphemers confess that there are two, or a multitude of universes, as philosophers affirm, and thus also entangle themselves in this heathen error, or, if they will follow the truth, let them say that what You have made, You made, without any pattern.

45. Tell me, Lord, when You saw Your Father incarnate, and walking upon the sea, for I know not, I hold it impious to believe this thing of the Father, knowing that You only have taken our flesh upon You. When did You see the Father at a marriage-feast, turning water into wine? Nay, but I have read that You alone are the only Son, begotten of the Father. I have

been taught that You alone, in the mystery of the Incarnation, were born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin. The things, then, which we have cited as Your doings, the Father did not, but You alone, without guidance of any work done by Your Father, for the purchase of the world's salvation with Your Blood, came forth spotless from the Virgin's womb.

46. When they say, The Son can do nothing of Himself, they indeed except nothing, so that one blasphemer has even said: He cannot make even a gnat, mocking with so headstrong profanity and with insolence so overweening the majesty of Supreme Power; yet perhaps they may think the mystery of Your Incarnate Life a needful exception. But say, Lord Jesu, what earth the Father made without You. For without You He made no heaven, seeing that it is written: By the Word of the Lord were the heavens established.

47. But neither did the Father make the earth without You, for it is written: All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made. For if the Father made anything without You, God the Word, then not all things were made by the Word, and the Evangelist lies. Whereas if all things were made by the Word, and if by You all things begin to be, which before were not, then surely You Yourself, of Yourself, hast made what You did not see made by the Father; though perchance our adversaries may have recourse to that theory of Plato, and place before You the ideas supposed by philosophers, which, indeed, we know have been exploded by philosophers themselves. On the other hand, if You Yourself hast of Yourself made all things, vain are the assertions of the unbelieving, which ascribe progress in learning to the Maker of all, Who of Himself supplies the teaching of His craft.

48. But if heretics deny that either the heavens or the earth were made by You, let them take heed into what a gulf they are by their own madness hurling themselves, seeing that it is written: Perish the gods, which have not

made heaven and earth. Jeremiah 10:11 Shall He then perish, O Arian, Who has found and saved that which had perished? But to purpose.

CHAPTER 5.

Continuing the exposition of the disputed passage, which he had begun, Ambrose brings forward four reasons why we affirm that something cannot be, and shows that the first three fail to apply to Christ, and infers that the only reason why the Son can do nothing of Himself is His Unity in Power with the Father.

49. IN WHAT sense can the Son do nothing of Himself? Let us ask what it is that He cannot do. There are many different sorts of impossibilities. One thing is naturally impossible, another is naturally possible, but impossible by reason of some weakness. Again, there are things which are rendered possible by strength, impossible by unskilfulness or weakness, of body and mind. Further, there are things which it is impossible to change, by reason of the law of an unchangeable purpose, the endurance of a firm will, and, again, faithfulness in friendship.

50. To make this clearer, let us consider the matter in the light of examples. It is impossible for a bird to pursue a course of learning in any science or become trained to any art: it is impossible for a stone to move in any direction, inasmuch as it can only be moved by the motion of another body. Of itself, then, a stone is incapable of moving, and passing from its place. Again, an eagle cannot be taught in the ways of human learning.

51. It is, to take another example, impossible for a sick man to do a strong man’s work; but in this case the reason of the impossibility is of a different kind, for the man is rendered unable, by sickness, to do what he is naturally capable of doing. In this case, then, the cause of the impossibility

is sickness, and this kind of impossibility is different from the first, since the man is hindered by bodily weakness from the possibility of doing.

52. Again, there is a third cause of impossibility. A man may be naturally capable, and his bodily health may allow of his doing some work, which he is yet unable to do by reason of want of skill, or because his rank in life disqualifies him; because, that is, he lacks the required learning or is a slave.

53. Which of these three different causes of impossibility, think you, which we have enumerated (setting aside the fourth) can we meetly assign to the case of the Son of God? Is He naturally insensible and immovable, like a stone? He is indeed a stone of stumbling to the wicked, a cornerstone for the faithful; but He is not insensible, upon Whom the faithful affection of sentient peoples are stayed. He is not an immovable rock, for they drank of a Rock that followed them, and that Rock was Christ. 1 Corinthians 10:4 The work of the Father, then, is not rendered impossible to Christ by diversity of nature.

54. Perchance we may suppose some things were made impossible for Him by reason of weakness. But He was not weakly Who could heal the weaknesses of others by His word of authority. Seemed He weak when bidding the paralytic take up his bed and walk? Mark 2:11 He charged the man to perform an action of which health was the necessary condition, even while the patient was yet praying a remedy for his disease. Not weak was the Lord of hosts when He gave sight to the blind, made the crooked to stand upright, raised the dead to life, Matthew 11:5 anticipated the effects of medicine at our prayers, and cured them that besought Him, and when to touch the fringe of His robe was to be purified. Mark 6:56

55. Unless, perhaps, you thought it was weakness, you wretches, when you saw His wounds. Truly, they were wounds piercing His Body, but there was no weakness betokened by that wound, whence flowed the Life of all,

and therefore was it that the prophet said: By His stripes we are healed. Isaiah 53:5 Was He, then, Who was not weak in the hour when He was wounded, weak in regard of His Sovereignty? How, then, I ask? When He commanded the devils, and forgave the offenses of sinners? Luke 5:20 Or when He made entreaty to the Father?

56. Here, indeed, our adversaries may perchance enquire: How can the Father and the Son be One, if the Son at one time commands, at another entreats? True, They are One; true also, He both commands and prays: yet while in the hour when He commands He is not alone, so also in the hour of prayer He is not weak. He is not alone, for whatsoever things the Father does, the same things does the Son also, in like manner. He is not weak, for though in the flesh He suffered weakness for our sins yet that was the chastisement of our peace upon Him, Isaiah 53:5 not lack of sovereign Power in Himself.

57. Moreover, that you may know that it is after His Manhood that He entreats, and in virtue of His Godhead that He commands, it is written for you in the Gospel that He said to Peter: I have prayed for you, that your faith fail not. Luke 22:32 To the same Apostle, again, when on a former occasion he said, You are the Christ, the Son of the living God, He made answer: You are Peter, and upon this Rock will I build My Church, and I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Matthew 16:18 Could He not, then, strengthen the faith of the man to whom, acting on His own authority, He gave the kingdom, whom He called the Rock, thereby declaring him to be the foundation of the Church? Consider, then, the manner of His entreaty, the occasions of His commanding. He entreats, when He is shown to us as on the eve of suffering: He commands, when He is believed to be the Son of God.

58. We see, then, that two sorts of impossibility furnish no explanation, inasmuch as the Power of God can be neither insensible nor weakly. Will

you then proffer the third kind [as an account of the matter], namely, that He can do nothing, just as an unskilled apprentice can do nothing without his master's instructions, or a slave can do nothing without his lord. Then did You speak falsely, Lord Jesus, in calling Yourself Master and Lord, and You deceived Your disciples by Your words: You call Me Master and Lord, and you say well, for so I am. John 13:13 Nay, but You, O Truth, would never have deceived men, least of all them whom You called friends. John 15:14-15

59. Yet if our enemies sunder You from the Creator, as being unskilled, let them see how they affirm that skill was lacking to You, that is to say, to the Divine Wisdom; for all that, however, they cannot divide the unity of substance that You have with the Father. It is not, indeed, by nature, but by reason of ignorance, that the difference exists between the craftsman and the unskilled; but neither is handicraft attributable to the Father, nor ignorance to You, for there is no such thing as ignorant wisdom.

60. Therefore, if insensibility is no attribute of the Son, and if neither weakness, nor ignorance, nor servility, let unbelievers put it to their minds for meditation that both by nature and sovereignty the Son is One with the Father, and by its working His power is not at cross-purpose with the Father, inasmuch as all things that the Father has done, the Son does likewise, for no one can do in like fashion the same work that another has done, unless he shares in the unity of the same nature, while he is also not inferior in method of working.

61. Yet I would still enquire *what* it is that the Son cannot do, unless He see the Father doing it. I will take the fool's line, and propound some examples drawn from things of a lower world. I have become a fool; you have compelled me. 2 Corinthians 12:11 What indeed is more foolish than to debate over the majesty of God, which rather occasions questionings, than godly instruction which is in faith. But to arguments let arguments

reply; let words make answer to them, but love to us, the love which is in God, issuing of a pure heart and good conscience and faith unfeigned. And so I stickle not to introduce even the ludicrous for the confutation of so vain a thesis.

62. How, then, does the Son see the Father? A horse sees a painting, which naturally it is unable to imitate. Not thus does the Son behold the Father. A child sees the work of a grown man, but he cannot reproduce it; certainly not thus, again, does the Son see the Father.

63. If, then, the Son can, by virtue of a common hidden power of the same nature which He has with the Father, both see and act in an invisible manner, and by the fullness of His Godhead execute every decree of His Will, what remains for us but to believe that the Son, by reason of indivisible unity of power, does nothing, save what He has seen the Father doing, forasmuch as because of His incomparable love the Son does nothing of Himself, since He wills nothing that is against His Father's Will? Which truly is the proof not of weakness but of unity.

CHAPTER 6.

The fourth kind of impossibility (§49) is now taken into consideration, and it is shown that the Son does nothing that the Father approves not, there being between Them perfect unity of will and power.

64. THE SON, moreover — to consider now our fourth premiss — is not self-assertive, for He, the Divine Assessor, has done nought that is not in agreement with His Father's Will. Further, the Father has seen the things that the Son made, and pronounced them very good; for so it is written in Genesis: And God said, Let there be light; and there was light. And God saw the light that it was good. Genesis 1:3-4

65. Now, did the Father say on that occasion, Let there be such light as I Myself have made, or Let there be light — light having as yet not existed; or did the Son ask what sort of light the Father made? Nay, the Son made light, according to His own Will, and so far in accordance with the Father's good pleasure, that He approved. It is of new, original work by the Son that the place speaks.

66. Again, if, as Arian, expositions of the Scriptures make out, it is a discredit to the Son to have made what He saw, whereas the Scriptures present Him as having made what He [before] saw not, and to have given being to things which as yet were not, what should they say of the Father, Who praised that He had seen, as though He could not have foreseen the things that were to be made?

67. The Son, therefore, sees the Father's work in like manner as the Father sees the Son's, and the Father praises not the work as one would praise work of another's doing, but recognizes it as His own, for whatsoever

things the Father has done, the same does the Son, in like manner. [So was it written, that] you might understand one and the same work to be the work both of the Father and of the Son. And thus the Son does nothing save what is approved of by the Father, praised by the Father, willed by the Father, because His whole Being is of the Father; and He is not as the created being, which commits many faults, ofttimes offending the Will of its Creator, in lusting after and falling into sin. Nought, then, is of the Son's doing, save what is pleasing to the Father, forasmuch as one Will, one Purpose, is Theirs, one true Love, one effect of action.

68. Furthermore, to prove to you that it comes of Love, that the Son can do nothing of Himself save what He has seen the Father doing, the Apostle has added to the words, Whatsoever the Father has done, the same things does the Son also, in like manner, this reason: For the Father loves the Son, and thus Scripture refers the Son's inability to do, whereof it testifies, to unity in Love that suffers no separation or disagreement.

69. But if the inseparableness of the Persons in Love rest, as it truly does, upon [identity of] nature, then surely they are also inseparable, for the same reason, in action, and it is impossible that the work of the Son should not be in agreement with the Father's Will, when what the Son works, the Father works also, and what the Father works, the Son works also, and what the Son speaks, the Father speaks also, as it is written: My Father, Who dwells in Me, He it is that speaks, and the works that I do He Himself does. John 14:10 For the Father appointed nought save by the exercise of His Power and Wisdom, forasmuch as He made all things wisely, as it is written: In wisdom have You made them all; and likewise, God the Word made nought without the Father's participation.

70. Not without the Father does He work; not without His Father's Will did He offer Himself for that most holy Passion, the Victim slain for the salvation of the whole world; not without His Father's Will concurring did

He raise the dead to life. For example, when He was at the point to raise Lazarus to life, He lifted up His eyes and said, Father, I thank You, for that You have heard Me. And I know that You always hear Me, but for the sake of the multitude that stands round I spoke, that they may believe that You have sent Me, John 11:40 in order that, though speaking agreeably to His assumed character of man, in the flesh, He might still express His oneness with the Father in will and operation, in that the Father hears all and sees all that the Son wills, and therefore also the Father sees the Son's doings, hears the utterances of His Will, for the Son made no request, and yet said that He had been heard.

71. Again, we cannot suppose that the Father hears not all, whatsoever the Son's will resolves; and to show that He is always heard by the Father, not as a servant, not as a prophet, but as Son, He said: And I know that Thou dost always hear Me, but for the sake of the multitude which stands round I spoke, that they may believe that You have sent Me.

72. It is for our sakes, therefore, that He renders thanks, lest we should suppose that the Father and the Son are one and the same Person, when we hear of one and the same work being wrought by the Father and the Son. Further, to show us that His rendering of thanks had not been the tribute due from one wanting in power, that, on the contrary, He, as Son of God, ever claimed for Himself the possession of divine authority, He cried, Lazarus, come forth. Here, surely, is the voice of command, not of prayer.

CHAPTER 7.

The doctrine had in view for enforcement is corroborated by the truth that the Son is the Word of the Father — the Word, not in the sense in which we understand the term, but a living and active Word. This being so, we cannot deny Him to be of the same Will, Power, and Substance with the Father.

73. TO RETURN, however, to what we had in hand before, and finish the task set before us. The Son, as the Word, carries out His Father's Will. Now, a word, as we understand and use it, is an *utterance.* There are syllables and sounds, which, however, are not at variance with the thought of our mind, and what we apprehend and are affected by inwardly we give token of by the testimony of the spoken word, which, as it were, works [for us]. But the words we speak have no direct efficacy in themselves, it is the Word of God alone, which is neither an utterance, nor an inward concept, as they call it, but works efficaciously, is living, and has healing power.

74. Would you know what is the nature of the Word — hear the Scriptures. For the Word of God is living and mighty, yea, working effectually, sharp and keener than any the sharpest sword, piercing even to the sundering of soul and spirit, of limbs and marrow. Hebrews 4:12

75. Do you hear, then, the Word of God, and will you separate Him from the Father's Will and Power? You hear Him called the living Word, the healing Word — seek not then to compare Him with the word of our mouth; for if the word we utter, though it have not eyes to see, nor ears to hear, yet speaks, and still the knowledge of what it speaks is wrought by virtue of hidden mysteries of man's nature, how can he escape the charge of

blasphemy, who requires that some sort of bodily vision and hearing shall go along with the Godhead in the Word of God, and thinks that the Son can do nothing of Himself, save what He shall have seen the Father doing, though (as we have said) there is in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit the same Will, both to do and not to do, and the same Power, by reason of unity in the same substance.

76. But if, though men are, as a rule, different in respect of their thoughts and feelings, they yet agree as to the meaning of a single proposition, what ought we to think as concerning the Father and the Son of God, seeing that in the Substance of the Godhead there is that is imitated by human love?

77. Let us, however, suppose — as our adversaries would have it — that the Son does, as it were, copy the pattern of that which He has seen His Father doing. But even this, we must confess, means that He is of the same substance, for none can completely imitate the working of another, unless he be one with him in the same nature.

CHAPTER 8.

The heretical objection, that the Son cannot be equal to the Father, because He cannot beget a Son, is turned back upon the authors of it. From the case of human nature it is shown that whether a person begets offspring or not, has nothing to do with his power. Most of all must this be true since, otherwise, the Father Himself would have to be pronounced wanting in power. Whence it follows that we have no right to judge of divine things by human, and must take our stand upon the authority of Holy Writ, otherwise we must deny all power either to the Father or to the Son.

78. THERE IS a fool's demurrer, your Majesty, which certain persons are given to raising, in order to show the Father and the Son to be not equal together, saying that the Father is Almighty, because He has begotten the Son, but that the Son is not Almighty, because He has not been able to beget.

79. But see how wild is their blasphemy, how their philosophers' logic confutes itself. For the raising of this question must lead either to their confessing with their own mouths that the Son is co-eternal with the Father, or, if they impose a beginning upon the Son's existence, to their assigning of necessity a beginning to the Father's power. When, therefore, they deny that the Son is Almighty, they are on the road to assert — which is impious — that the Father began to be Almighty by help of the Son.

80. For if the Father is Almighty by reason of begetting the Son, then, certainly, either the Son is co-eternal with the Father, because if the Father is eternally Almighty, then the Son also is eternal, or, if there was a time when there was not an eternal Son, there was by consequence a time when

there was not an Almighty Father. For when they would make out that there was a time when the Son began to be, they are sliding back into [the error of] saying that the Father's Power also has not been from everlasting, but began to be in consequence of the generation of the Son. So, in their desire to do dishonour to the Son of God, they do so increase His honour as to seem to make Him, contrary to all right belief, the source of His Father's Power, though the Son says, All things that the Father has are Mine John 16:15 — that is to say, not the things which He has bestowed upon the Father, but which He has received from the Father, by right as the Son Whom the Father has begotten.

81. And therefore we do declare the Son to be Eternal Power; Romans 1:20 if, then, His Power and Godhead be eternal, surely His Sovereignty is eternal also. He, then, who dishonours the Son dishonours the Father, and is an enemy and offender against duty and love. Let us honour the Son, in Whom the Father is well pleased, for it is the Father's pleasure that praise be given to the Son, in Whom He Himself is well pleased.

82. Let us, however, make answer to the conclusion they strive to establish; but we seem to have sought, in pursuit of a personal appeal, to escape from the difficulty of treating the question before us. The Father, they say, has begotten a Son; the Son has not. What proof is this that they are not equal? To beget is the Father's natural function, as a Father, and no necessary outcome of His Sovereign Power. Furthermore, dutiful regard places persons on an equality with each other, and does not sunder them. Again, our own experience of what holds good among us frail mortals teaches us that it may frequently happen that weak men have sons, while stronger men have not; that slaves have children, while their masters are childless; and that the poor beget offspring, while rich men are unblessed with any.

83. But if our adversaries say that this too may be the result of infirmity, inasmuch as men may desire to beget children, but be unable to do so; then, though things divine are not to be judged of and determined by things human, yet let them understand that with men also, as with God, whether one has children or no, is not dependent upon or derived of his authoritative power, but upon the personal attributes of a father, and that begetting lies not in the power of our will, but is contingent upon our qualities of body; for if it were a matter of sovereign authority, then the mightier king would have the greater number of sons. To have sons, then, or to be childless, therefore, is not in necessary connection or relation to sovereign authority. Is it, then, so with nature?

84. If you [my Arian adversaries] regard what you object as natural weakness, and rely upon examples taken from the nature of mankind, remember that the Father's nature is the same as the Son's, and therefore you do either confess the Son to be a true Son, and dishonour the Father in the Person of the Son, by reason of Their unity in one and the same Nature (for as the Father is by Nature God, so also is the Son; whereas the Apostle says that the gods many are not so by nature, but are only so called); or, if you deny Him to be a true Son, that is to say, possessing the same Nature, then He is not begotten, and if the Son is not begotten, the Father did not beget Him.

85. The conclusion we come at, therefore, on the line of your persuasion, is that God the Father is not Almighty, because He could not beget, if He did not beget the Son, but created Him. But forasmuch as the Father is Almighty, He being, as you hold, the Almighty in so far as He is the only Author of Being, then surely He has begotten His Son, and not created Him. Howbeit, we ought to believe His word before yours. He says: I have begotten, and that more than once, witnessing to Himself as begetting.

86. It is no sign, then, of infirmity, whether of nature or authority, in Christ, that He has not begotten, for to beget, as we have already said ofttimes, bears no relation to supremacy of authority, but to a personal property in a nature. For if the Omnipotence of the Father is thereby constituted, that He has a Son, then He might have been more Almighty had He begotten more Sons.

87. Then is His power exhausted in the begetting of One? Nay, but I will show that Christ also has sons, whom He begets every day, but with that generation, or rather regeneration, which is related to personal authority rather than nature, for adoption is the exercise and bestowal of authority, and generation the manifestation of a property, as Scripture itself has taught us: for John says that He was in this world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not. He came to His own, and His own received Him not. But as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become sons of God, to them which believe in His Name.

88. We say, therefore, that it is the function and exercise of His Authority that He has made us sons of God, whereas the oracles of God discover that His generation is in relation to personal attribute, for the Wisdom of God says: I came forth out of the mouth of the Most High, Sirach 24:5 that is to say not of compulsion, but free, not under bond of authority, but born in a hidden birth, according to personal powers of Supreme Sovereignty and rightfulness of authority. Again, concerning the same Wisdom, Which is the Lord Jesus, the Father says in another place: Out of the womb I begot You, before the morning star.

89. Now this He said, not to make us think of a bodily womb, but to show that true generation is His proper activity, for if we understand the words as speaking of generation from a body, then [we imply] the Father Almighty conceived and brought forth in travail. But far be it from us that we should make this weak bodily frame the measure of God’s greatness.

The word womb represents the hidden mystery, the inner sanctuary of the Father's being, into which neither angels nor archangels nor powers nor dominations, nor any created nature, has been able to enter. For the Son is always with the Father, and in the Father — with the Father, by virtue of the distinction, without division, proper to the Eternal Trinity; in the Father, by reason of the essential unity of the Divine Nature.

90. What room here, then, for one to sit in judgment upon the Godhead, to call in question the Father and the Son — the One for begetting, the Other for not begetting. No man condemns his servant or handmaid for begetting (or bearing) offspring; but those Arians condemn Christ for not begetting — they do condemn Him, for they privately pass sentence of condemnation upon Him, when they take from His glory and dignity. The question, why they have not begotten offspring, does not lead those who are joined in marriage into loss of their love, or denial of each other's merits, but the Arians, because Christ has not begotten a Son, make light of His sovereignty.

91. Why, ask they, is the Son not a Father? Because, on the other side, the Father is not a Son. Why has not Christ begotten? Even because the Father is not begotten. Yet the Son stands none the lower, because He is not a Father; nor the Father, because He is not a Son, for the Son said: All things that the Father has are Mine John 16:15 — so truly is generation involved in the Father's personal attributes, and comes not by mere right of sovereignty.

92. The Substance of the Trinity is, so to say, a common Essence in that which is distinct, an incomprehensible, ineffable Substance. We hold the distinction, not the confusion of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; a distinction without separation; a distinction without plurality; and thus we believe in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as each existing from and to eternity in this divine and wonderful Mystery: not in two Fathers, nor in two Sons, nor in

two Spirits. For there is one God, the Father, of Whom are all things, and we in Him; and one Lord, Jesus Christ, by Whom are all things, and we by Him. 1 Corinthians 8:6 There is One born of the Father, the Lord Jesus, and therefore He is the Only-begotten. There is also One Holy Spirit, 1 Corinthians 12:11 as the same Apostle has said. So we believe, so we read, so we hold. We know the fact of distinction, we know nothing of the hidden mysteries; we pry not into the causes, but keep the outward signs vouchsafed unto us.

93. O monstrous wickedness, that they who have no power over their own procreation should claim and usurp power to enquire into the Divine Generation! Let them deny, them, that the Son is equal to the Father, forasmuch as He has not begotten; let them deny that the Son is equal to the Father, because He has a Father! But if they talked after this fashion about men, who sometimes desire to beget sons, yet cannot, we should call it an insult, just as we should so call it, if of two men, one having sons and the other childless, the latter were said to be inferior to the former on that ground. So monstrous also, I say, does it seem, in regard simply to men, that one should therefore be esteemed the more lightly because he has a father. Peradventure, indeed, the Arians suppose that Christ is in the position of one in a family, and frets because He is not set free and independent of His Father's authority, and is not empowered to administer the estate. But Christ is not under tutelage; nay, rather has He abolished all tutelage.

94. How then, let them tell us, would they have these things to be? — a true generation, the true Son begotten of God the Father, that is, of the Substance of the Father, or of another substance? If they say begotten of the Father, that is, of the Substance of God, well and good, for then they acknowledge the Son as begotten of the Substance of the Father. If, then, they are of one Substance, surely they are also of one sovereign Power. Whereas, if the Son is begotten of another substance, how can the Father be

Almighty, and the Son not Almighty? For what advantage has God, if He have made His Son of another substance, when confessedly the Son, on His part, has of another substance made us sons of God? The Son, therefore, is either of one Substance with the Father, or of one sovereign Power.

95. Our adversaries' question, then, falls flat, because they cannot judge Christ — or rather, because He is clear, when He is judged. They are worthy, however, to be condemned upon their own sentence, who raise this question against us, for if the Son be therefore not equal to the Father, because He has not begotten a Son, then by all means let them who sow discussions of this kind confess, if they have not children, that their very servants are to be preferred before themselves, inasmuch as they cannot be the equals of those who have children — whereas, if they have children, let them regard the merit thereof as due not to themselves, but of right to their sons.

96. The objection, then, holds not together, that the Son cannot be equal to the Father, by reason of the Father having begotten the Son, while the Son has begotten no Son of Himself, for the spring begets the stream, though the stream begets no spring out of itself, and light begets radiance, and not radiance light, yet the nature of radiance and light is one.

CHAPTER 9.

Various quibbling arguments, advanced by the Arians to show that the Son had a beginning of existence, are considered and refuted, on the ground that while the Arians plainly prove nothing, or if they prove anything, prove it against themselves, (inasmuch as He Who is the beginning of all cannot Himself have a beginning), their reasonings do not even hold true with regard to facts of human existence. Time could not be before He was, Who is the Author of time — if indeed at some time He was not in existence, then the Father was without His Power and Wisdom. Again, our own human experience shows that a person is said to exist before he is born.

97. NOW THAT our opponents have failed to maintain their objection against the truth of His Son's equality with the Father, on the ground of His Generation, let them see that their well known device of controversy, their stock misrepresentation, is frustrated. Their common use is to propound this riddle: How can the Son be equal with the Father? If He is a Son, then before He was begotten He was not in existence. If He was in existence, why was He begotten? And men who advance difficulties raised by Arius yet sturdily deny that they are Arians.

98. Accordingly, they demand our answer, intending, if we say, The Son existed before He was begotten, to meet us with a subtle retort, that If so, then, before He was begotten, He was created, and there is no difference between Him and the rest of created beings, for He began to be a creature before He began to be the Son. To which they add: Why was He begotten, when He was already in existence? Because He was imperfect, and in order that He might afterwards be made more perfect? Whilst if we reply that the

Son did not exist before He was begotten, they will immediately reply: Then by being begotten He was brought into existence, not having existed before He was begotten, so as to lead on from this to the conclusion that the Son existed, when He did not exist.

99. But let those who propound this difficulty and endeavour to enwrap the truth in a cloud tell us themselves whether the Father exerts His power of begetting within or without limits of time. If they say within limits of time, then they will attribute to the Father what they object against the Son, so as to make the Father seem to have begun to be what He was not before. If their answer is without such limits, then what is left them but to resolve for themselves the problem they have propounded, and acknowledge that the Son is not begotten under limits and conditions of time, since they deny that the Father so begets?

100. If the Son, then, is not begotten within limits of time, we are free to judge that nothing can have existed before the Son, Whose being is not confined by time. If, indeed, there was anything in being before the Son, then it instantly follows that in Him were not created all things in heaven or in earth, and the Apostle is shown to have erred in so setting it down in his Epistle, Colossians 1:16 whereas, if before He was begotten there was nothing, I see not wherefore He, before Whom none was, should be said to have been after any.

101. With the consideration whereof we must join another most blasphemous objection of theirs, which covers a subtle purpose to confuse the sense and understanding of simple folk. They ask whether everything that comes to an end had also at any time a beginning. If they are told that what has an end also had a beginning, then they return to the charge with the question whether the Father has ceased to beget His Son. This by our consent being granted them, they conclude that the generation of the Son had a beginning. The which if you allow, it seems to follow that if the

Generation had a beginning, it appears to have begun in Him Who was begotten; so that one, who had not existed before, may be called begotten — their intent being to close the inquiry by laying down as conclusive that there was a time when the Son existed not.

102. Besides this, there are other vain objections, such as persons of their glibness of tongue would readily urge. If, say they, the Son is the Word of the Father, then He is called begotten, inasmuch as He is the Word. But then since He is the Word, He is not a work. Now the Father has spoken in various manners, Hebrews 1:1 whence it follows that He has begotten many Sons, if He has spoken His Word, not created it as a work of His hands. O fools, talking as though they knew not the difference between the word uttered and the Divine Word, abiding eternally, born of the Father — born, I say, not uttered only — in Whom is no combination of syllables, but the fullness of the eternal Godhead and life without end!

103. Follows another blasphemy, whereby they enquire whether it was of His own free will, or on compulsion, that the Father begot [His Son], intending, if we say, Of His own free will, that we should appear as though we acknowledged that the Father's Will preceded the [Divine] Generation, and to answer that there being something that preceded the existence of the Son, the Son is not co-eternal with the Father, or that He, like the rest of the world, is a being created, forasmuch as it is written, He has made all things, as many as He would, though this is spoken, not of the Father and the Son, but of those creatures which the Son made. Whereas if we answered that the Father begot [His Son] on compulsion, we should seem to have attributed infirmity to the Father.

104. But in the eternal Generation there is no foregoing condition, neither of will, nor of unwillingness, and therefore I can neither say that the Father begot of His free Will, nor yet that He begot on compulsion, for to beget depends not upon possibility as determined by will, but rather appears

to stand in a certain right and property of the hidden being of the Father. For just as the Father is not good because He wills to be so, or is compelled to be so, but is above these conditions — is good, that is, by nature, — even so the putting forth of His generative power is neither of will nor of necessity.

105. Yet let us grant their proposal. Granted that the Generation depends on the Will of Him Who generates; when do they say that this act of will took place? If it was in the beginning, then, plainly, the Son was in the beginning. If the Will is eternal, then the Son also is eternal. If the Will began to exist, then God the Father, as He was, was so displeased with Himself, that He made a change in His condition, that is to say, without His Son He was displeasing to Himself; in His Son He began to be well pleased.

106. To follow out the consequences thereof. If the Father conceived, after the manner of human nature, a desire to beget, then did He also pass through all the experiences which befal men before the birth takes place — but we find that generation is not determined merely by will, but is an object of wish.

107. Thus do they betray their own ungodliness, who would have it that Christ's generation had a beginning, in order that it may seem, not that true begetting of the Word abiding, but the utterance of words that pass and are forgotten, and that by intrusion of [the premiss of] a multitude of sons, they may [be warranted to] deny Christ's personal possession of the divine attributes, to the end that He may be regarded as neither the only-begotten nor the first-begotten Son; and lastly, that given the belief that His existence had a beginning, it may also be deemed as appointed to have an end.

108. But neither had the Son of God any beginning, seeing that He already was at the beginning, nor shall He come to an end, Who is the Beginning and the End of the Universe; for being the Beginning, how could He take and receive that which He already had, or how shall He come to an end, being Himself the End of all things, so that in that End we have an

abiding-place without end? The Divine Generation is not an event occurring in the course of time, and within its limits, and therefore before it time is not, and in it time has no place.

109. Again, their aimless and futile question finds no loophole for entry, even when directed upon the creation itself; nay, indeed, temporal existences appear, in certain cases, to admit of no division of time. For instance, light generates radiance, but we can neither conceive that the radiance begins to exist after the light, nor that the light is in existence before the radiance, for where there is a light, there is radiance, and where there is radiance there is also a light; and thus we can neither have a light without radiance, nor radiance without light, because both the light is in the radiance, and the radiance in the light. Thus the Apostle was taught to call the Son the Radiance of the Father's Glory, Hebrews 1:3 for the Son is the Radiance of His Father's light, co-eternal, because of eternity of Power; inseparable, by unity of brightness.

110. If then we can neither understand the mystery of, nor dissociate, these created objects in the sky above us, which we see, can we comprehend Him Whom we see not, Who is above every created existence, God, as He is in the very Holy of Holies of His own Generation? Can we make time a barrier between Him and the Son, when all time is the creation of the Son?

111. Let them cease therefore, and say no more that before He was begotten the Son was not. For the word before is a mark of time, whereas the Generation is before all times, and therefore that which comes after anything comes not before it, and the work cannot be before the maker, seeing that necessarily objects made take their commencement from the craftsman who makes them. How can the customary action of any created object be regarded as existing prior to the maker of it, while all time is a creation, and every creation has taken its being from its creator?

112. I would, therefore, further examine our opponents, who esteem themselves so cunning, and have them make good the application of their theory to human existence, seeing that they use it to disparage the glory of God's Existence, and keep far away from any confession of an inscrutable mystery in the Divine Generation. I would have them find ground for their objection in the facts of human generation. Of God's Son they assert that before He was begotten He was not — that is to say, they say this of the Wisdom, the Power, the Word of God, Whose Generation knows nothing prior to itself. But if, as they would have us believe, there was a time when the Son existed not (the which it is blasphemy to affirm), then there was a time when God lacked the fullness of Divine Perfection, if afterwards He passed through a process of begetting a Son.

113. To show them, however, the weakness and transparency of their objection, though it has no real relation to any truth, divine or human, I will prove to them that men have existed before they were born. Else, let them show that Jacob, who while yet hidden in the secret chamber of his mother's womb supplanted his brother, had not been appointed and ordained, ere ever he was born; Genesis 25:23 let them show that Jeremiah had not likewise been so, before his birth — Jeremiah, to whom the message comes: Before I formed you in your mother's womb, I knew you; and before you came forth from the belly, I sanctified you, and appointed you for a prophet among the nations. Jeremiah 1:5 What testimony can we have stronger than the case of this great prophet, who was sanctified before he was born, and known before he was shaped?

114. What, again, shall I say of John, of whom his holy mother testifies that, while he yet lay in her womb, he perceived in spirit the presence of his Lord, and leaped for joy, as we remember it to be written, his mother saying: For lo, as soon as the voice of the salutation entered mine ears, the babe leaped in my womb for joy. Luke 1:44 Was he, then, who prophesied,

in existence or not? Nay, surely he was — surely he was in being who worshipped his Maker; he was in being who spoke in his mother's womb. And so Elisabeth was filled with the spirit of her son, and Mary sanctified by the Spirit of hers, for thus you may find it recorded, that the babe leaped in her womb, and Elisabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost. Luke 1:41

115. Consider the proper force of each word. Elisabeth was indeed the first to hear the voice of Mary, but John was first to feel His Lord's gracious Presence. Sweet is the harmony of prophecy with prophecy, of woman with woman, of babe with babe. The women speak words of grace, the babes move hiddenly, and as their mothers approach one another, so do they engage in mysterious converse of love; and in a twofold miracle, though in diverse degrees of honour, the mothers prophesy in the spirit of their little ones. Who, I ask, was it that performed this miracle? Was it not the Son of God, Who made the unborn to be?

116. Thus your objection fails of reconcilement with the truths of human existence — can it attain thereto with divine mysteries? What mean you by your principle that before He was begotten He was not? Was the Father engaged for some time in conception, so that certain epochs passed away before the Son was begotten? Was He, like women, in travail of birth, so that just this travail? What would you? Why seek we to pry into divine mysteries? The Scriptures tell me the necessary effects of the Divine Generation, not how it is done.

CHAPTER 10.

The objection that Christ, on the showing of St. John, lives because of the Father, and therefore is not to be regarded as equal with the Father, is met by the reply that for the Life of the Son, in respect of His Godhead, there has never been a time when it began; and that it is dependent upon none, while the passage in question must be understood as referring to His human life, as is shown by His speaking there of His body and blood. Two expositions of the passage are given, the one of which is shown to refer to Christ's Manhood, while the second teaches His equality with the Father, as also His likeness with men. Rebuke is administered to the Arians for the insult which they are seeking to inflict upon the Son, and the sense in which the Son can be said to live because of the Father is explained, as also the union of life with the divine Life. A further objection, based upon the Son's prayer that He may be glorified by the Father, is briefly refuted.

118. THERE ARE not a few who raise this further objection, that it is written: As the living Father has sent Me, and I live by the Father; so he that eats Me, lives also by Me. John 6:58 How, ask they, is the Son equal with the Father, when He has said that He lives by the Father?

119. Let those who oppose us on this ground tell us first what the Life of the Son is. Is it a life bestowed by the Father upon one lacking life? But how could the Son ever fail to possess life, He Himself being the Life, as He says, I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life. Isaiah 14:6 Truly, His life is eternal, even as His power is eternal. Was there a time, then, when (so to speak) Life possessed not itself?

120. Bethink you what is read this day concerning the Lord Jesus, that He died for our sakes, to the end that whether we wake or whether we sleep, we may live with Him. 1 Thessalonians 5:10 He Whose Death is Life, is not His Godhead Life, seeing that the Godhead is Life eternal?

121. But is His Life truly in the Father's power? Why, He showed that even His bodily life was not in the power of any other, as we have it on record: I lay down My life, that I may take it again. No man takes it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down, and again I have power to take it. This commandment have I received of My Father.

122. Is His divine Life then to be regarded as depending upon the power of another, when His bodily life was subject to no other power but His own? For it would have been the power of another, but for the Unity of power. But just as He gives us to understand that His laying down His life was done of His own power, and of His free Will, so also He teaches us, in laying it down in obedience to His Father's command, the unity of His own with the Father's Will.

123. If, then, there has neither been a time when the Life of the Son took a commencement, nor any power to which it has been subjected, let us consider what His meaning was when He said: Even as the living Father has sent Me, and I live by the Father? Let us expound His meaning as best we can; nay, rather let Him expound it Himself.

124. Take notice, then, what He said in an earlier part of His discourse. Verily, verily, I say unto you. He first teaches you how you ought to listen. Verily, verily, I say unto you, unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, you shall have no life in you. John 6:54 He first premised that He was speaking as Son of Man; do you then think that what He has said, as Son of Man, concerning His Flesh and His Blood, is to be applied to His Godhead?

125. Then He added: For My Flesh is meat indeed, and My Blood is drink [indeed]. John 6:56 You hear Him speak of His Flesh and of His Blood, you perceive the sacred pledges, [conveying to us the merits and power] of the Lord's death, John 6:52 and you dishonour His Godhead. Hear His own words: A spirit has not flesh and bones. Luke 24:39 Now we, as often as we receive the Sacramental Elements, which by the mysterious efficacy of holy prayer are transformed into the Flesh and the Blood, do show the Lord's Death.

126. Then, after calling on us to take notice that He speaks as Son of Man, and frequent repeated mention of His Flesh and His Blood, He adds: Even as the living Father has sent Me, and I live by the Father, so he that eats Me, he also lives by Me. How then do they suppose that we are to understand these words? — for the comparison can be shown as a double one. The first comparison being after the following manner: Even as the living Father has sent Me, I live by the Father; the second: Even as the living Father has sent Me, and I live by the Father, so also he that eats Me, he too lives by Me.

127. If our adversaries choose the former, the meaning is this, that, as I am sent by the Father and have come down from the Father, so (in accordance therewith) I live by the Father. But in what character was He sent, and came down, save as Son of Man, even as He Himself said before: No man has ascended into heaven, save He that has come down from heaven as Son of Man. John 3:13 Then, just as He was sent and came down as Son of Man, so as Son of Man He lives by the Father. Furthermore, he that eats Him, as eating the Son of Man, does himself also live by the Son of Man. Thus, He has compared the effect of His Incarnation to His coming.

128. But if they choose the second method, do we not infer both the equality of the Son with the Father, and His likeness to men, together, though in clear mutual distinction? For what is the meaning of the words,

Even as He Himself lives by the Father, so we also live by Him, but that the Son so quickens a man, as the Father has in the Son quickened human nature? For as the Father raises the dead and quickens them, so also the Son quickens whom He will, John 5:21 as the Lord Himself has already said.

129. Thus the equality of the Son to the Father is established simply upon unity in the action of quickening, since the Son so quickens as the Father does. Acknowledge therefore the eternity of His Life and Sovereignty. Again, our likeness with the Son is discovered, and a certain unity with Him in the flesh, because that, like as the Son of God was quickened in the flesh by the Father, so also is man quickened; for thus it is written, that as God raised Jesus Christ from the dead, so we also, as men, are quickened by the Son of God. Romans 4:24

130. According to this interpretation, then, immortality is not only applied to our condition by grace of bounty, but is also proclaimed as the property of Godhead — the latter, because it is the Godhead which quickens; the former, because manhood is quickened in Christ.

131. But if any would apply the force of either comparison to Christ's *Godhead*, then the Son of God is put on one footing with men, so that the Son of God lives by the Father just as we live by the Son of God. But the Son of God bestows eternal life by free gift, we cannot so do. If then He be placed on a level with us, He too does not bestow this gift. Let Arius' disciples then have the due reward of their faith — which is, not to obtain eternal life of the Son.

132. I would now go further. If our opponents are pleased to apply the teaching of this passage to the principle of the eternity of the Divine Substance, let them hear a third exposition: Does not our Lord plainly appear to say that as the Father is a living Father, so too the Son also lives? — and who can but observe that here we must understand a reference to unity of Life, forasmuch as the same Life is the Life of the Father and the

Life of the Son? For as the Father has Life in Himself, so has He given to the Son also to have Life in Himself. John 5:26 He has given — by reason of unity with Him. He has given, not to take away, but that He may be glorified in the Son. He has given, not that He, the Father, might keep guard over it, but that the Son might have it in possession.

133. But the Arians think that they must oppose hereto the fact that He had said, I live by the Father. Of a certainty (suppose that they conceive the words as referring to His Godhead) the Son lives by the Father, because He is the Son begotten of the Father — by the Father, because He is of one Substance with the Father — by the Father, because He is the Word given forth from the heart of the Father, because He came forth from the Father, because He is begotten of the bowels of the Father, because the Father is the Fountain and Root of the Son's being.

134. But perhaps they may urge: If you hold that the Son, in saying, 'And I live by the Father,' spoke of the unity of life subsisting between the Father and the Son, does it not follow that He discovered the unity of life between the Son and mankind in saying that 'he that eats Me, the same lives by Me'?

135. Even so. Just as I confess the unity of celestial Life subsisting in Father and Son by reason of the unity of the substance of the Godhead, so too, save as concerns the prerogatives of the Divine Nature or those which are the effect of the Incarnation of our Lord, I affirm of the Son a participation of spiritual life with us by virtue of the unity of His Manhood with ours, for as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly. Further, even as in Him we sit at the right hand of the Father, not in the sense that we share His throne, but that we rest in the Body of Christ — even as, I say, we have part in Christ's session by reason of corporal unity, so too we live in Christ by reason of unity of our bodies with His Body.

136. Not only, then, have I no fears of the text, I live by the Father, but I should have none, even though Christ had said, I live by help of the Father.

137. Now another objection commonly urged by them starts from the text: This sickness is not unto death, but for the glory of God, to the end that His Son may be glorified by Him. John 11:4 But not only is the Son glorified through the Father and by the Father, as it is written: Glorify Me, Father; John 17:5 and again: Now has the Son of Man been glorified, and God has been glorified in Him, and God glorifies Him, John 13:31-32 but the Father also is glorified through the Son and by the Son, for Truth has said: I have glorified You upon earth. John 17:4

138. Even as the Son, therefore, is glorified through the Father, so too He lives by the Father. There are some who have been led by consideration of these words to the supposition that [the Greek] δόξα means opinion, belief, rather than glory, and therefore have interpreted as follows: I have given you a δόξα upon earth, I have finished the work which You gave Me to do, and now, O Father, give me a δόξα; that is to say: I have taught men so to believe concerning You, as to know that You are the true God; do Thou also establish in them, concerning Me, the belief that I am Your Son, and very God.

CHAPTER 11.

The particular distinction which the Arians endeavoured to prove upon the Apostle's teaching that all things are of the Father and through the Son, is overthrown, it being shown that in the passage cited the same Omnipotence is ascribed both to Father and to Son, as is proved from various texts, especially from the words of St. Paul himself, in which heretics foolishly find a reference to the Father only, though indeed there is no diminution or inferiority of the Son's sovereignty proved, even by such a reference. Finally, the three phrases, of Whom, through Whom, in Whom, are shown to suppose or imply no difference (of power), and each and all to hold true of the Three Persons.

139. NOW WE come to that laughable method, attempted by some, of showing a difference of Power to subsist between Father and Son, on the strength of apostolic testimony, it being written: But for us there is One God, the Father, of Whom are all things, and we in Him, and One Lord, Jesus Christ, through Whom are all things, and we through Him. 1 Corinthians 8:6 It is urged that no small difference in degree of Divine Majesty is signified in the affirmation that all things are of the Father, and through the Son. Whereas nothing is clearer than that here a plain reason is given of the Omnipotence of the Son, inasmuch as while all things are of the Father, none the less are they all through the Son.

140. The Father is not among all things, for to Him it is confessed that all things serve You. Nor is the Son reckoned among all things, for all things were made by Him, John 1:3 and all things exist together in Him, and He is above all the heavens. Colossians 1:17 The Son, therefore, exists not among

but *above* all things, being, indeed, after the flesh, of the people, of the Jews, but yet at the same time God over all, blessed for ever, having a Name which is above every name, Philippians 2:9 it being said of Him, You have put all things in subjection under His feet. But in making *all things* subject to Him, He left nothing that is not subject, even as the Apostle has said. Hebrews 2:8 But suppose that the Apostle's words were intended with reference to the Incarnate Lord; how then can we doubt the incomparable majesty of His Divine Generation?

141. Certain it is, then, that between Father and Son there can be no difference of Power. Nay, so far is such difference from being present, that the same Apostle has said that all things are of Him, by Whom are all things, as follows: For of Him and through Him and in Him are all things. Romans 11:36

142. Now if, as they suppose, it is the Father alone Who is spoken of, it cannot be that He is at once Omnipotent because all things are of Him, and not Omnipotent because all things are through Him. On their own showing, then, they will declare the Father lacking in Power, and not Omnipotent, or at the least they will be confessing with their own mouth, all against their will though it be, the Omnipotence of the Son as well as of the Father.

143. Howbeit, let them decide whether they will understand this affirmation as made concerning the Father. If they do so decide then all things are through Him also. If they decide that it is the Son Who is spoken of, then all things are of Him as well as of the Father. But if all things are through the Father also, then surely there is no argument for diminishing from the honour due to the Son; and if all things are of the Son, the Son must be honoured in like manner as the Father is.

144. In case our opponents should suspect that we are taking advantage of some intrusion of a single spurious verse into the text, let us review the whole passage. O depth of the riches of God's wisdom and knowledge!

exclaims the Apostle, how unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out! For Who has known the mind of the Lord, or who has been His counsellor? Or who has been first to give unto Him, and shall be recompensed? For of Him and through Him and in Him are all things. To Him be glory for ever!

145. Who, then, think they, is here spoken of — the Father or the Son? If it be the Father — then we answer that the Father is not the Wisdom of God, for the Son is. But what is there that is impossible to Wisdom, of Whom it is written: Seeing that she is almighty and abiding, she makes all things new in herself? Wisdom 7:27 We read of Wisdom, then, not as approaching, but as abiding. Thus have you the authority of Solomon to teach you of the Omnipotence and Eternity of Wisdom, and of her Goodness as well, for it is written: But malice overcomes not Wisdom. Wisdom 7:30

146. But to purpose. How unsearchable, says the Apostle, are His judgments! Now if the Father has given all judgment to the Son, John 5:22 it seems that the Father points to the Son as Judge.

147. But now, to show us that He is speaking of the Son, not of the Father, St. Paul proceeds: Who was first in giving to Him? For the Father has given to the Son, but it was as acknowledging the rights of Him Whom He has begotten, not by way of largess. Therefore, it being undeniable that the Son has received at the hands of the Father, as it is written, All things have been given unto Me of My Father, Matthew 11:27 yet, in saying, Who was first in giving to Him? the Apostle has not denied that the Son has received gifts of the Father, by virtue of His Nature, but he has indeed shown that, of Father and Son, Neither can be said to be before the Other, forasmuch as, albeit the Father has given gifts unto the Son, yet He has not so bestowed them as upon one that began to be after Him; because the

uncreate and incomprehensible Trinity, Which is of One Eternity and Glory, admits neither difference of time nor degree of precedence.

148. If, however, we hold ourselves more bound to observe those Greek manuscripts which show τίς προσέδωχεν αὐτῳ; it is clear that He to Whom nothing can be added is not unequal to Him Who is perfect and complete. Therefore, if this passage from the Apostle, in its entirety, is better understood with reference to the Son, we see that we must also believe concerning the Son, that all things are of Him, even as it is written: For of Him and through Him and in Him are all things.

149. Be it so, nevertheless, that they suppose the passage to be intended of the Father, then let us call to mind that even as we read of all things being *of* Him, so too we read of all things being *through* Him, that is to say, the authority of the Father and of the Son is extended over the whole created universe. And, though we have already proved the Omnipotence of the Son by the Omnipotence of the Father, still — forasmuch as they are ever bent upon disparagement — let them consider that they disparage the Father as well as the Son. For if the Son be limited in might, because all things are *through* Him, do we say further, that the Father likewise is limited, because all things are through Him also?

150. But to bring them to understand that these phrases involve no difference, I will once again show that it is the same person, of whom anything is, and through whom anything is, and that we read of things being related in both these ways to the Father. For we find: Faithful is God, through Whom you were called into the fellowship of His Son. Let our adversaries weigh the meaning of the Apostle's words. We are called through the Father — they raise no controversy: we are created through the Son — and this they have set down as a mark of inferiority. The Father has called us into fellowship with His Son, and this truth we, as in duty bound, devoutly receive. The Son has created all things, and Arius' followers

imagine that here they have not the decree of a free Will, but a forced service, slavishly performed!

151. Again, to obtain fuller understanding that, forasmuch as we are called through the Father into fellowship with His Son, there is no difference of Power in the Father and the Son, [note that] the fellowship itself has its beginning of the Son, as it is written: For from His fullness have we all received, though, if we follow the Greek text of the Gospel, we ought to render *of* His fullness. John 1:16

152. See, then, how there is fellowship both *through* the Father and *of* the Son, and yet not a different fellowship, but one and the same. And that our fellowship be with the Father and with His Son Jesus Christ. 1 John 1:3

153. Observe, further, that Scripture speaks of our having one fellowship not only of the Father and the Son, but also of the Holy Spirit. The grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ, says the Apostle, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you all.

154. Now, I ask, wherein does He, through Whom are all things, appear less than He, of Whom are all things? Is it because He is declared to be the Worker? But the Father also works, for He is true who said, My Father works hitherto, and I work. John 5:17 Therefore, even as the Father works, so works the Son also; and so He Who works is not limitary in power nor abject, for the Father also works; which being so, that which is common to the Son with the Father, or even which the Son has by the Father, ought not to be the less esteemed, lest heretics further dishonour the Father in the Person of the Son.

155. Not to be passed over for silencing the disputings of Arian misbelief are those words of the same Saint John, which he set down in another Scripture: If you know that He is just, know that he which does righteousness is born of Him. 1 John 2:29 But who is righteous, save the Lord, Who loves righteousness? Or whom — as the foregoing texts warn us

— have we to assure us of everlasting life, if we have not the Son? If, therefore, the Son of God has promised us everlasting life, and He is righteous, surely we are born of Him. Else, if our adversaries deny that we are born of the Son by grace, they likewise deny His righteousness.

156. You must therefore believe that all things are of the Son of God [even as of God the Father, for even as God is the Father of all, so likewise is the Son the Author and Creator of all. We see, then, the vanity of this their questioning, forasmuch as it holds good of the Son [as of the Father], that of Him and through Him and in Him are all things.

157. We have shown how all things are of Him, and likewise how all things are also through Him. Who then doubts that all things are in Him, when another Scripture says: For in Him are all things founded, that are in the heavens, and in Him they were created, and He is before all things, and all things consist in Him? Colossians 1:16. Of Him, then, you have grace; Himself you have for your Creator; in Him you find the foundation of all things.

CHAPTER 12.

The comparison, found in the Gospel of St. John, of the Son to a Vine and the Father to a husbandman, must be understood with reference to the Incarnation. To understand it with reference to the Divine Generation is to doubly insult the Son, making Him inferior to St. Paul, and bringing Him down to the level of the rest of mankind, as well as in like manner the Father also, by making Him not merely to be on one footing with the same Apostle, but even of no account at all. The Son, indeed, in so far as being God, is also the husbandman, and, as regards His Manhood, a grape-cluster. True statement of the Father's pre-eminence.

158. THERE IS yet another Scripture, which our opponents commonly object against us, in order to prove their division of the Godhead of the Father from the Godhead of the Son, namely, our Lord's words in the Gospel: I am the true Vine and My Father is the Husbandman. The vine and the husbandman, say they, are of different natures, and the vine is in the power of the husbandman.

159. Thus, then, you would have us believe that the Son, as touching His Godhead, is like to a vine, so that without a vine-dresser He is nothing, and may be neglected or even rooted up. Thus you juggle up a lie from the letter of the Scripture which says that our Lord called Himself the Vine, intending thereby the mystery of His Incarnation. Howbeit, if you are bent on it that we dispute upon the letter, I too confess, yea, I proclaim, that the Son called Himself the Vine. For woe be to me, if I deny the pledge of the salvation of His people!

160. How then do you purpose to understand the truth that the Son of God called Himself the Vine? If you interpret the saying with respect to the Substance of His Godhead, and if you suppose such a diversity of Godhead between the Father and the Son as there is of nature between a husbandman and a vine, you do double insult both to Father and to Son — to the Son, because if, as you affirm, He is, as touching His Godhead, beneath a husbandman, then must He on the same showing be esteemed lower than the Apostle Paul, forasmuch as Paul indeed called himself a husbandman, as we find it written: I have planted, Apollos has watered: but God has given the increase. 1 Corinthians 3:6 Will you have Paul, then, to be better than the Son of God?

161. Thus far the one insult. As for the other, it lies herein, that if the Son is the Vine in respect of His eternally-begotten Person, then, He having said: I am the Vine, you are the branches, John 15:5 that divinely-begotten One appears to be of one substance with us. But who is like You among the gods, O Lord? Exodus 15:11 as it is written; and again, in the Psalms: For who is there among the clouds that shall be equal to the Lord? Or who among the sons of God shall be like God.

162. Moreover, you disparage not only the Son, but the Father also. For if the term husbandman is to comprehend in its designation all the prerogative of the Father's Sovereignty, then, seeing that Paul too is a husbandman, you set the Apostle, to whom you deny that the Son is equal, on an even footing with the Father.

163. Again, it being written, But neither he which plants is anything, nor he that waters; but God, Who gives the increase, you will rest the fullness of the Father's Majesty in a name which, as you see, stands for weakness. For if he that plants is nothing, and he that waters is nothing, but it is God, Who gives the increase [Who is all], observe what your blasphemy intends — even to expose the Father to contempt under the title of a husbandman, and

to demand another God to provide the increase of the Father's labour. Wickedly, therefore, do they think to extol the Dignity of God the Father by this use of the term husbandman, in which God the Father is brought down to the level of man, as being designated by a common title.

164. Yet what wonder if, as you heretics would have it, the Father is to be exalted above a Son Whose Godhead differs not a whit from the common condition of mankind? If you suppose the Son to have been entitled the Vine with respect to His Godhead, then do ye esteem Him not only as liable to corruption and subject to changes of wind and weather, but even as partaking of manhood only, forasmuch as the Vine and its branches are of one nature, so that the Son of God appears, not to have taken upon Him our flesh, through the mystery of Incarnation, but to have altogether sprung into being from the flesh.

165. But I will indeed openly confess that His flesh, though born in a new and mysterious birth, was yet of the same nature with ours, and that this is the pledge of our salvation, not the source of the Divine Generation. He indeed is the Vine, for He bears my sufferings, whenever manhood, hitherto frail, leans on Him and so matures with plenteous fruit of renewed devotion.

166. Yet if the husbandman's power allures you, please tell me who it was that spoke in the prophet, saying: O Lord, make it known to me, that I may know; then saw I their thoughts. I was led as a harmless lamb to the slaughter and knew it not: they took counsel together against me, saying, Come, let us throw wood into his bread. Jeremiah 11:18 For if the Son here speaks of the mystery of His coming Incarnation — for it were blasphemy to suppose that the words are spoken concerning the Father — then surely it is the Son Who speaks in an earlier passage: I have planted you as a fruitful vine — how are You become bitter, and a wild vine? Jeremiah 2:21

167. And thus you see that the Son also is the husbandman — the Son, of one Name with the Father, one work, one dignity and Substance. If, then, the Son is both Vine and Husbandman, plainly we infer the meaning of the Vine with regard to the mystery of the Incarnation.

168. But not only has our Lord called Himself a Vine — He has also given Himself, by the voice of the prophet, the title of a Grape-cluster — even when Moses, at the command of the Lord, sent spies to the Valley of the Cluster. Numbers 13:24 What is that valley but the humility of the Incarnation and the fruitfulness of the Passion? I indeed think that He is called the Cluster, because that from the Vine brought out of Egypt, that is, the people of the Jews, there grew a fruit for the world's good. No man, truly, can understand the Cluster as a token of the Divine Generation — or if there be any who so understand it, they leave no conclusion open but that we should believe that Cluster to have sprung from the Vine. And thus in their folly they attribute to the Father that which they refuse to believe of the Son.

169. But if there be now left no room for doubt that the Son of God is called the Vine with respect and intention to His Incarnation, you see what hidden truth it was to which our Lord had regard in saying, The Father is greater than I. John 14:28 For after this premised, He proceeded immediately: I am the true Vine, and My Father is the Husbandman, that you might know that the Father is greater in so far as He dresses and tends our Lord's flesh, as the husbandman dresses and tends his vines. Further, our Lord's flesh is that which could increase in stature with age, and be wounded through suffering, to the end that the whole human race might rest guarded from the pestilent heat of the pleasures of this world, under the shadow of the Cross whereon Its limbs are spread.

BOOK V.

Prologue.

Who is a faithful and wise servant? His reward is pointed out in the case of Peter, as also in the case of Paul. Ambrose, being anxious to follow Paul's guidance, wished this book to be added to the others, for it could not be included in the preceding one. The subject for discussion is then stated, and the reason for such a discussion given. He must needs be pardoned, for usury is to be demanded from every servant for the money which has been entrusted to him. Their faithfulness is the usury desired in his own case. He will be happy if he may hope for a reward; but he does not look so much for the recompense of the saints, as for exemption from punishment. He urges all to seek to merit this.

1. WHO, THEN, is a faithful and wise servant, whom his lord has made ruler over his household, to give them meat in due season? Blessed is that servant, whom his lord when he comes shall find so doing. Matthew 24:45-46 Not worthless is this servant: some great one ought he to be. Let us think who he may be.

2. It is Peter, chosen by the Lord Himself to feed His flock, who merits thrice to hear the words: Feed My little lambs; feed My lambs; feed My sheep. And so, by feeding well the flock of Christ with the food of faith, he effaced the sin of his former fall. For this reason is he thrice admonished to feed the flock; thrice is he asked whether he loves the Lord, in order that he may thrice confess Him, Whom he had thrice denied before His Crucifixion.

3. Blessed also is that servant who can say: I have fed you with milk and not with meat; for hitherto you were not able to bear it. 1 Corinthians 3:2

For he knew how to feed them. Who of us can do this? Who of us can truly say: To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak? 1 Corinthians 9:22

4. Yet he, being so great a man, and chosen by Christ for the care of His flock, so as to strengthen the weak and to heal the sick — he, I say, rejects immediately after one admonition Titus 3:10 a heretic from the fold entrusted to him, for fear that the taint of one erring sheep might infect the whole flock with a spreading sore. He further bids that foolish questions and contentions be avoided. Titus 3:9

5. How, then, shall we act, being but ignorant dwellers set among these fresh tares in the old-standing harvest field? Matthew 13:25 If we are silent, we shall seem to be giving way; and if we contend against them, there is the fear that we too shall be held to be carnal. For it is written of matters of this sort, which beget strife: The servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all, apt to teach, patient, with moderation instructing those that oppose themselves. 2 Timothy 2:24-25 And in another place: If any man is contentious, we have no such custom, neither the Church of God. 1 Corinthians 11:16 For this reason it was our intention to write somewhat, in order that our writings might without any din answer the impiety of heretics on our behalf.

6. And so we prepare to commence this our Fifth Book, O Emperor Augustus. For it was but right that the Fourth Book should end with our discussion on the Vine, lest otherwise we should seem to have overloaded that book with a tumultuous mass of subjects, rather than to have filled it with the fruit of the spiritual vineyard. On the other hand, it was not seemly that the gathering of the vintage of the faith should be left unfinished, while there was still all abundance of such great matters for discussion.

7. In the Fifth Book, therefore, we speak of the indivisible Godhead of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost (omitting, however, a full

discussion on the Holy Ghost), being urged by the teaching of the Gospel to let out on interest to human minds the five talents of the faith entrusted to these five books being as it were the principal; lest perhaps when the Lord comes, and finds His money hidden in the earth, He may say to me: Thou wicked and slothful servant, you knew that I reap where I do not sow; and gather where I have not scattered; you ought therefore to have put My money to the exchangers, that at My coming I might have received Mine Own, Matthew 25:26-27 or as it stands in another book: And I, it says, at My coming might have received it with usury. Luke 19:23

8. I pray those to pardon me, whom the boldness of such a lengthy address displeases. The thought of my office compels me to entrust to others what I have received. We are stewards of the heavenly mysteries. 1 Corinthians 4:1 We are ministers, but not all alike. But, it says, even as the Lord gave to every man, I have planted; Apollos watered; but God gave the increase. 1 Corinthians 3:5-6 Let each one then strive that be may be able to receive a reward according to his labour. For we are labourers together with God, as the Apostle said; we are God's husbandry, God's building. 1 Corinthians 3:9 Blessed therefore is he who sees such usury on his principal; blessed too is he who beholds the fruit of his work; blessed again is he who builds upon the foundation of faith, gold, silver, precious stones. 1 Corinthians 3:12

9. You who hear or read these words are all things to us. You are the usury of the money-lender — the usury on speech, not on money; you are the return given to the husbandman; you are the gold, the silver, the precious stones of the builder. In your merits lie the chief results of the labours of the priest; in your souls shines forth the fruit of a bishop's work; in your progress glitters the gold of the Lord; the silver is increased if you hold fast the divine words. The words of the Lord are pure words, as silver tried in the fire; proved on the earth, purified seven times. You therefore

will make the lender rich, the husbandman to abound in produce; you will prove the master-builder to be skilful. I do not speak boastfully; for I do not desire so much my own advantage as yours.

10. Oh that I might safely say of you at that time: Lord, You gave me five talents, behold I have gained five other talents; Matthew 25:20 and that I might show the precious talents of your virtues! For we have a treasure in earthen vessels. 2 Corinthians 4:7 These are the talents which the Lord bids us spiritually to trade with, or the two coins of the New and the Old Testament, which that Samaritan in the Gospel left for the man robbed by the thieves, for the purpose of getting his wounds healed. Luke 10:35

11. Neither do I, my brethren, with greedy desires, long for this, so that I may be set over many things; the recompense I get from the fact of your advance is enough for me. Oh that I may not be found unworthy of that which I have received! Let those things which are too great for me be assigned to better men. I demand them not! Yet may Thou say, O Lord: I will give unto this last, even as unto you. Matthew 20:14 Let the man that deserves it receive authority over ten cities. Luke 19:17

12. Let him be such an one as was Moses, who wrote the Ten Words of the Law. Let him be as Joshua, the son of Nun, who subdued five kings, and brought the Gibeonites into subjection, that he might be the figure of a Man of his own name Who was to come, by Whose power all fleshly lust should be overcome, and the Gentiles should be converted, so that they might follow the faith of Jesus Christ rather than their former pursuits and desires. Let him be as David, whom the young maidens came to meet with songs, saying: Saul has triumphed over thousands, David over ten thousands. 1 Samuel 18:7

13. It is enough for me, if I am not thrust out into the outer darkness, as he was, who hid the talent entrusted to him in the earth so to speak, of his own flesh. This the ruler of the synagogue did, and the other rulers of the

Jews; for they employed , the words of the Lord, which had been entrusted to them, on the ground as it were of their bodies; and, delighting in the pleasures of the flesh, sunk the heavenly trust as though into the pit of an overweening heart.

14. Let us then not keep the Lord's money buried and hidden in the flesh; nor let us hide our one talent in a napkin; Luke 19:20 but like good money-changers let us ever weigh it out with labour of mind and body, with an even and ready will, that the word may be near, even in your mouth and in your heart. Deuteronomy 30:14

15. This is the word of the Lord, this is the precious talent, whereby you are redeemed. This money must often be seen on the tables of souls, in order that by constant trading the sound of the good coins may be able to go forth into every land, by the means of which eternal life is purchased. This is eternal life, which You, Almighty Father, give freely, that we may know You the only true God, and Jesus Christ Whom You have sent. John 17:3

CHAPTER 1.

How impious the Arians are, in attacking that on which human happiness depends. John ever unites the Son with the Father, especially where he says: That they may know You, the only true God, etc. In that place, then, we must understand the words true God also of the Son; for it cannot be denied that He is God, and it cannot be said He is a false god, and least of all that He is God by appellation only. This last point being proved from the Apostle's words, we rightly confess that Christ is true God.

16. WHEREFORE LET the Arians observe, how impious they are in calling in question our hope and the object of our desires. And since they are wont to cry out on this point above all others, saying that Christ is distinct from the only and true God, let us confute their impious ideas so far as lies in our power.

17. For on this point they ought rather to understand, that this is the benefit, this the reward of perfect virtue, namely, this divine and incomparable gift, that we may know Christ together with the Father, and not separate the Son from the Father; as also the Scriptures do not separate them. For the following tells rather for the unity than for the diversity of the Divine Majesty, namely, that the knowledge of the Father and of the Son gives us the same recompense, and one and the same honour; which reward no man will have but he that has known both the Father and the Son. For as the knowledge of the Father procures eternal life, so also does the knowledge of the Son.

18. Therefore as the Evangelist immediately at the outset joined the Word with God the Father in his devout confession of faith, saying: And the

Word was with God; John 1:1 and here too, in writing the words of the Lord: That they may know You, the only true God, and Jesus Christ Whom You have sent, John 17:3 he has undoubtedly, by thus connecting Them, bound together the Father and the Son, so that no one may separate Christ as true God from the majesty of the Father, for union does not dissever.

19. Therefore in saying, That they may know You, the only true God, and Jesus Christ Whom You have sent, he put an end to the Sabellians, and has also put the Jews out of court — those at any rate who heard him speak; so that the former might not suppose the Same to be the Father as the Son, which they might have done if he had not added also Christ, and that the latter might not sever the Son from the Father.

20. But, I ask, why do they not think we ought to gather and understand this from what has been already said; that as he has declared the Father to be only, true God, so we may understand Jesus Christ also to be only, true God? For it could not be expressed in any other way, for fear he might seem to be speaking of two Gods. For neither do we speak of two Gods; and yet we confess the Son to be of the same Godhead with the Father.

21. May we ask, therefore, on what grounds they think a distinction is made in the Godhead, and whether they deny Christ to be God? But they cannot deny it. Do they deny Him to be true God? But if they deny Him to be true God, let them say whether they declare Him to be a false God, or God by appellation only. For according to the Scriptures the word God is used either of the true God, or by appellation only, or of a false god. True God as the Father; God by appellation as the saints; a false god like the demons and idols. Let them say then how they will acknowledge and describe the Son of God. Do they suppose the name of God to have been falsely assumed; or was there in truth merely an indwelling of God within Him, as it were by appellation only?

22. I do not think they can say the name was falsely assumed, and so involve themselves in the open wickedness of blasphemy; lest they should betray themselves on the one hand to the demons and idols, and on the other to Christ, by insinuating that the name of God was falsely given to Him. But if they think He is called God because He had an indwelling of the Godhead within Him — as many holy men were (for the Scripture calls them Gods to whom the word of God came), John 10:35 — they do not place Him before other men, but think He is to be compared with them; so that they consider Him to be the same as He has granted other men to be, even as He says to Moses: I have made you a god unto Pharaoh. Exodus 7:1 Wherefore it is also said in the Psalms: I have said, you are gods.

23. This idea of these blasphemers Paul puts aside; for he said: For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth. 1 Corinthians 8:5 He said not: There be gods, but There be that are called gods. But Christ, as it is written, is the same yesterday and today. Hebrews 13:8 He is, it says; that is, not only in name but also in truth.

24. And well is it written: He is the same yesterday and today, so that the impiety of Arius might find no room to pile up its profanity. For he, in reading in the second psalm of the Father saying to the Son, You are My Son, this day have I begotten You, noted the word today, not yesterday, referring this which was spoken of the assumption of our flesh to the eternity of the divine generation; of which Paul also says in the Acts of the Apostles: And we declare unto you the promise which was made to our fathers: for God has fulfilled the same to our children, in that He has raised up the Lord Jesus Christ again, as it is written in the second psalm: You are My Son, this day have I begotten You. Acts 13:32-33 Thus the Apostle, filled with the Holy Ghost, in order that he might destroy that fierce madness of his, said: The same, yesterday, today, and forever. Yesterday on

account of His eternity; today on account of His taking to Himself a human body.

25. Christ therefore is, and always is; for He, Who is, always is. And Christ always is, of Whom Moses says: He that is has sent me. Exodus 3:14 Gabriel indeed was, Raphael was, the angels were; but they who sometime have not been are by no means with equal reason said always to be. But Christ, as we read, was not it is, and, it is not, but, it is was in Him. 2 Corinthians 1:19 Wherefore it is the property of God alone to be, Who ever is.

26. Therefore if they dare not say He is God by appellation, and it is a mark of deep impiety to say He is a false god, it remains that He is true God, not unlike to the true Father, but equal to Him. And as He sanctifies and justifies whom He will, Romans 9:18 not by assuming that power from without Himself, but having within Himself the power of sanctification, how is He not true God? For the Apostle called Him indeed true God, Who according to His nature was God, as it is written: Howbeit then, when you knew not God, you serviced unto them, who by nature were not gods; Galatians 4:8 that is, who could not be true gods, for this title by no means belonged to them by nature.

CHAPTER 2.

Since it has been proved that the Son is true God, and in that is not inferior to the Father, it is shown that by the word solus (alone) when used of the Father in the Scriptures, the Son is not excluded; nay, that this expression befits Him above all, and Him alone. The Trinity is alone, not amongst all, but above all. The Son alone does what the Father does, and alone has immortality. But we must not for this reason separate Him from the Father in our controversies. We may, however, understand that passage of the Incarnation. Lastly the Father is shut out from a share in the redemption of men by those who would have the Son to be separated from Him.

27. WE HAVE fully demonstrated by passages of Scripture, in the earlier books, that Christ is true, yea, very true God. Therefore if Christ, as it has been taught, is true God, let us enquire why they desire to separate the Son from the Father, when they read that the Father is the only true God.

28. If they say that the Father alone is true God, they cannot deny that God the Son alone is the Truth; for Christ is the Truth. Is the Truth then something inferior to Him that is true, seeing that according to the use of terms a man is called true from the word truth, as also wise from wisdom, just from justice? We do not deem it so between the Father and the Son. For there is nothing wanting to the Father, because the Father is full of truth; and the Son, because He is the Truth, is equal to Him that is true.

29. But that they may know, when they see the word alone, that the Son is in no wise to be separated from the Father, let them remember it was said by God in the Prophets: I stretched forth the heavens alone. Isaiah 44:24

The Father certainly did not stretch them forth without the Son. For the Son Himself, Who is the Wisdom of God, says: When He prepared the heavens I was present with Him. Proverbs 8:27 And Paul declares that it was said of the Son: You, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the work of Your hands. Whether therefore the Son made the heavens, as also the Apostle would have it understood, while He Himself certainly did not alone spread out the heavens without the Father; or as it stands in the Book of Proverbs: The Lord in wisdom has founded the earth, in understanding has He prepared the heavens; Proverbs 3:19 it is proved that neither the Father made the heavens alone without the Son, nor yet the Son without the Father. And yet He who spread out the heavens is said to be alone.

30. To show indeed how plainly we must understand the expression alone of the Son (although we may never believe that He did anything without the knowledge of the Father), we have here also another passage, where it is written: Which alone spreads out the heavens, and walks as it were on a pavement over the sea. Job 9:8 For the Gospel of the Lord has taught us that it was not the Father but the Son that walked upon the sea, when Peter asked Him, saying, Lord, bid me come unto You. Matthew 14:28 But even prophecy itself gives proof of this. For holy Job prophesied of the coming of the Lord; of Whom he said in truth that He would vanquish the great Leviathan, Job 41:8 and it was done. For that dread Leviathan that is, the devil, He smote, and struck down, and laid low in the last times by the adorable Passion of His own Body. Isaiah 27:1

31. The Son therefore is only and true God for this also is assigned to the Son as His sole right. For of no created being can it be accurately said that he is alone. How can he to whom fellowship in creation belongs be separated from the rest, as though he were alone? Thus man is seen to be a rational being among all earthly creatures, yet he is not the only rational

being; for we know that the heavenly works of God also are rational, we confess that angels and archangels are rational beings. If then the angels are rational, man cannot be said to be the only rational being.

32. But they say that the sun can be said to be alone, because there is no second sun. But the sun himself has many things in common with the stars, for he travels across the heavens, he is of that ethereal and heavenly substance, he is a creature, and is reckoned among all the works of God. He serves God in union with all, blesses Him with all, praises Him with all. Therefore he cannot accurately be said to be alone, for he is not set apart from the rest.

33. Wherefore since no created being can be compared with the Godhead of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Which is alone, not among all, but over all (our declaration concerning the Spirit being meanwhile held back); as the Father is said to be the only true God, because He has nothing in common with others; so also is the Son alone the Image of the true God, He alone is the Hand of the Father, He alone is the Virtue and Wisdom of God.

34. Thus the Son alone does what the Father does; for it is written: Whatsoever things I do, He does. John 5:19 And since the work of the Father and of the Son is one, it is well said of the Father and the Son, that God worked alone; wherefore also when we speak of the Creator, we own both the Father and the Son. For assuredly when Paul said, Who served the creature more than the Creator, Romans 1:25 he neither denied the Father to be the Creator, from Whom are all these things, nor yet the Son, through Whom are all things. Romans 11:36

35. And it does not seem out of agreement with this that it is written: Who alone has immortality. 1 Timothy 6:16 For how could He not have immortality Who has life in Himself? He has it in His nature; He has it in His essential Being; and He has it not as a temporal grace, but owing to His

eternal Godhead. He has it not by way of a gift as a servant, but by peculiar right of His Generation, as the co-eternal Son. He has it, too, as has the Father. For as the Father has life in Himself, so also has He given to the Son to have life in Himself. John 5:26 As He has it, it says, so He has given it. You have learned already how He gave it, that you may not think it to be a free gift of grace, when it is a secret of His generation. Since, then, there is no divergence of life between the Father and the Son, how can it be supposed that the Father alone has immortality, while the Son has it not?

36. Wherefore let them understand that in this passage the Son is not to be separated from the Father, Who is the only true God. For they cannot prove that the Son is not the only and true God, especially as here also it may be gathered, as I have said, that Christ too is true and only God; or the passage may at least be understood partly in reference to the Godhead of the Father and the Son, and partly to the Incarnation of Christ: for knowledge is not perfect unless it confesses Jesus Christ from eternity to be only-begotten God, true Son of God, and, according to the flesh, begotten of a Virgin. Which also this very Evangelist has taught us elsewhere, saying: Every spirit that confesses that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh, is of God. 1 John 4:2

37. Lastly, the whole of our passage teaches us that it is not improper in this verse to understand a reference to the sacrament of the Incarnation. For thus it is written: Father, the hour has come, glorify Your Son. John 17:1 When, therefore, He states that the hour has come, and prays to be glorified, how can one suppose Him to have spoken but only in accordance with the assumption of our flesh? For the Godhead has no fixed moments of time, nor does eternal light stand in need of glorification. Therefore in the only true God, Who is the Father, we also understand the only true Son of God to be in accordance with the unity of the Godhead. And in the name of Jesus

Christ, which He received when born of the Virgin, we acknowledge the sacrament of the Incarnation.

38. But if they wish to separate the Son, when they read that the Father is the only true God, I suppose that when they read of the Incarnation of the Son: This is the stone which was set at naught of you builders, which has become the head of the corner; and further: There is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved; Acts 4:11-12 then they imagine the Father is to be cut off from the benefit of imparting salvation to us. But there is neither salvation without the Father, nor eternal life without the Son.

CHAPTER 3.

To the objection of the Arians, that two Gods are introduced by a unity of substance, the answer is that a plurality of Gods is more likely to be inferred from diversity of substance. Further, their charge recoils upon themselves. Manifold diversity is the reason why two men cannot be said to be one man, though all men are called individually man, where a unity of nature is referred to. There is one nature alone in them, but there is wholly a unity in the Divine Persons. Therefore the Son is not to be severed from the Father, especially as they dare not deny that worship is due to Him.

39. BUT THE Arians maintain the following: If you say that, as the Father is the only true God, so also is the Son, and confess that the Father and the Son are both of one substance, you introduce not one God, but two. For they who are of one substance seem not to be one God but two Gods. Just as two men or two sheep or more are spoken of, but a man and a sheep are not spoken of as two men or two sheep, but as one man and one sheep.

40. This is what the Arians say; and by this cunning argument they attempt to catch the more simple-minded. However if we read the divine Scriptures we shall find that plurality occurs rather among those things which are of a diverse and different substance, that is, ἑτερούσια . We have this set forth in the books of Solomon, in that passage in which he said: There are three things impossible to understand, yea, a fourth which I know not, the track of an eagle in the air, the way of a serpent upon a rock, the path of a ship in the sea, and the way of a man in his youth. Proverbs 30:18-19 An eagle and a ship and a serpent are not of one family and nature, but of a distinguishable and different substance, and yet they are three. On the

testimony of Scripture, therefore, they learn that their arguments are against themselves.

41. Therefore, in saying that the substance of the Father and of the Son is diverse and their Godhead distinguishable, they themselves assert there are two Gods. But we, when we confess the Father and the Son, in declaring them still to be of one Godhead, say that there are not two Gods, but one God. And this we establish by the word of the Lord. For where there are several, there is a difference either of nature or of will and work. Lastly, that they may be refuted on their own witness, two men are mentioned: But though they are of one nature by right of birth, yet in time and thought and work and place, they are apart; and so one man cannot be spoken of under the signification and number of two; for there is no unity where there is diversity. But God is said to be one, and the glory and completeness of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is thus expressed.

42. Such, indeed, is the truth of unity that, when the nature alone of human birth or of human flesh is indicated, one man is the term used for the many, as it is written: The Lord is my helper, I will not fear what man can do unto me; that is, not the one person of a man, but the one flesh, the one frailty of human birth. It added also: It is better to trust in the Lord than to trust in man. Here, too, it did not denote one particular man, but a universal condition. Then, immediately after it added, speaking of many: It is better to put confidence in the Lord than to put confidence in princes. Where man is spoken of, as we have already said, there the common unity of the nature, which exists between all is indicated; but where the princes are mentioned, there is a certain distinction between their different powers.

43. Amongst men, or in men, there exists a unity in some one thing, either in love, or desire, or flesh, or devotion, or faith. But a universal unity, that embraces within itself all things agreeably to the divine glory, is the property of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit alone.

44. Wherefore the Lord also, in pointing out the diversity that exists among men, who have nothing in common that can tend towards the unity of an indivisible substance, says: In your law it is written that the testimony of two men is true. John 8:17 But though He had said, The testimony of two men is true, when He came to the testimony of Himself and His Father, He said not: Our testimony is true, for it is the testimony of two Gods; but: I am One that bear witness of Myself, and the Father that sent Me bears witness of Me. John 8:18 Earlier He also says: If I judge, My judgment is true; for I am not alone, but I and the Father that sent Me. John 8:16 Thus, both in one place and the other, He indicated both the Father and the Son, but neither implied the plurality, nor severed the unity of their divine Substance.

45. It is plain, then, that whatsoever is of one substance cannot be severed, even though it be not single, but one. By singleness I mean that which the Greeks call μονοτής . Singleness has to do with a person; unity with a nature. That those things which are of a different substance are wont to be called, not one alone, but many, though already proved on the testimony of the prophet, the Apostle himself has stated in so many words, saying: For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth. 1 Corinthians 8:5 Do you see, then, that those who are of different substances, and not of the verity of one nature, are called gods? But the Father and the Son, being of one substance, are not two Gods, but One God, the Father, of Whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ, through Whom are all things. 1 Corinthians 8:6 One God, he says, and one Lord Jesus; and above: One God, not two Gods; and then: One Lord, not two Lords. 1 Corinthians 8:4, 6

46. Plurality, therefore, is excluded, but the unity is not destroyed. But as, on the one hand, when we read of the Lord Jesus, we do not dissociate the Father, as I have already said, from the prerogative of ruling, because He has that in common with the Son; so, on the other hand, when we read

of the only true God, the Father, we cannot sever the Son from the prerogative of the only true God, for He has that in common with the Father.

47. Let them say what they feel or what they think, when we read: You shall worship the Lord your God, and Him only shall you serve. Matthew 4:10 Do they think Christ should not be worshipped, and that He ought not to be served? But if that woman of Canaan who worshipped Him, Matthew 15:25 merited to gain what she asked for, and the Apostle Paul, who confessed himself to be the servant of Christ in the very outset of his letters, merited to be an Apostle not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ; Galatians 1:1 let them say what they think should follow. Would they prefer to join with Arius in a league of treachery, and so show, by denying Christ to be the only true God, that they consider He should neither be worshipped nor served? Or would they sooner go in company with Paul, who in serving and worshipping Christ did not disown in word and heart the only true God, Whom he acknowledged with dutiful service?

CHAPTER 4.

It is objected by heretics that Christ offered worship to His Father. But instead it is shown that this must be referred to His humanity, as is clear from an examination of the passage. However, it also offers fresh witness to His Godhead, as we often see it happening in other actions that Christ did.

48. BUT IF any one were to say that the Son worships God the Father, because it is written, You worship you know not what, we know what we worship, John 4:22 let him consider when it was said, and to whom, and to whose wishes it was in answer.

49. In the earlier verses of this chapter it was stated, not without reason, that Jesus, being weary with the journey, was sitting down, and that He asked a woman of Samaria to give Him drink; John 4:6-7 for He spoke as man; for as God He could neither be weary nor thirst.

50. So when this woman addressed Him as a Jew, and thought Him a prophet, He answers her, as a Jew who spiritually taught the mysteries of the Law: You worship you know not what, we know what we worship. We, He says; for He joined Himself with men. But how is He joined with men, but according to the flesh? And to show that He answered as being incarnate, He added: for salvation is of the Jews. John 4:22

51. But immediately after this He put aside His human feelings, saying: But the hour comes, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father. John 4:23 He said not: We shall worship. This He would certainly have said, if He had a share in our obedience.

52. And when we read that Mary worshipped Him, Matthew 28:9 we ought to learn that it is not possible for Him under the same nature both to

worship as a servant, and to be worshipped as Lord; but rather that as man He is said to worship among men, and that as Lord He is worshipped by His servants.

53. Many things therefore we read and believe, in the light of the sacrament of the Incarnation. But even in the very feelings of our human nature we may behold the Divine Majesty. Jesus is wearied with His journey, that He may refresh the weary; He desires to drink, when about to give spiritual drink to the thirsty; He was hungry, when about to supply the food of salvation to the hungry; He dies, to live again; He is buried, to rise again; He hangs upon the dreadful tree, to strengthen those in dread; He veils the heaven with thick darkness, that He may give light; He makes the earth to shake, that He may make it strong; He rouses the sea, that He may calm it; He opens the tombs of the dead, that He may show they are the homes of the living; He is made of a Virgin, that men may believe He is born of God; He feigns not to know, that He may make the ignorant to know; as a Jew He is said to worship, that the Son may be worshipped as true God.

CHAPTER 5.

Ambrose answers those who press the words of the Lord to the mother of Zebedee's children, by saying that they were spoken out of kindness, because Christ was unwilling to cause her grief. Ample reason for such tenderness is brought forward. The Lord would rather leave the granting of that request to the Father, than declare it to be impossible. This answer of Christ's, however, is not to His detriment, as is shown both by His very words, and also by comparing them with other passages.

54. HOW, THEY say, can the Son of God be the only true God, like to the Father, when He Himself said to the sons of Zebedee: 'You shall drink indeed of My cup; but to sit on My right hand or on My left, is not Mine to give to you, but to those for whom it has been prepared of My Father?'? Matthew 20:23 This, then, is, as you desire, your proof of divine inequality; though in it you ought rather to reverence the Lord's kindness and to adore His grace; if, that is, you could but perceive the deep secrets of the virtue and wisdom of God.

55. For think of her who, with and for her sons, makes this request. It is a mother, who in her anxiety for the honour of her sons, though somewhat unrestrained in the measure of her desires, may for all that yet find pardon. It is a mother, old in years, devout in her zeal, deprived of consolation; who at that time, when she might have been helped and supported by the aid of her able bodied offspring, suffered her children to leave her, and preferred the reward her sons should receive in following Christ to her own pleasure. For they when called by the Lord, at the first word, as we read, left their nets and their father and followed Him. Matthew 4:22

56. She then, somewhat yielding to the devotion of a mother's zeal, besought the Saviour, saying: Grant that these my two sons may sit the one on Your right hand, the other on Your left in Your kingdom. Matthew 20:21 Although it was an error, it was an error of a mother's affections; for a mother's heart knows no patience. Though eager for the object of her desires, yet her longing was pardonable, for she was not greedy for money, but for grace. Not shameless was her request, for she thought not of herself, but of her children. Contemplate the mother, reflect upon her.

57. But it is nothing wonderful if the feelings of parents for their children seem nothing to you, who think the love of the Almighty Father for His only-begotten Son a trifling matter. The Lord of heaven and earth was ashamed (to speak as accords with the assumption of our flesh and the virtues of the soul) — He was ashamed, I say, and, to use His own word, disturbed, to refuse a share even in His own seat to a mother making request for her sons. You maintain sometimes that the proper Son of the eternal God stands to give service, at other times you would have His co-session to be as that of an attendant, that is, not because there is a oneness of majesty, but because it is the order of the Father; and you deny to the Son of God, Who is true God, that which He plainly was unwilling to refuse to men.

58. For He thought of the mother's love, who solaced her old age with the thought of her sons' reward, and, though harassed with a mother's longings, endured the absence of those dearest pledges of her love.

59. Think also of the woman, that is, the weaker sex, whom the Lord had not yet strengthened by His own Passion. Think, I say, of a descendant of Eve, the first woman, sinking under the inheritance of unrestrained passion, which had been passed on to all; one, too, whom the Lord had not yet redeemed with His own Blood, and from whom He had not yet washed out in His Blood the desire implanted in the hearts of all for unbounded honour

even beyond what is right. Thus the woman offended owing to an inherited tendency to wrong.

60. And what wonder if a mother should strive to win preference for her children (which is far better than if she had done it for herself), when even the Apostles themselves, as we read, strove among themselves, as to who should have the preference? Luke 22:24

61. The physician, therefore, ought not to wound a mother who has been deprived of all, nor a suffering mind, with shameful reproaches, lest when the request had been made and had been proudly denied, she should grieve over the condemnation of her petition as being unreasonable.

62. Lastly, the Lord, Who knew that a mother's affection is to be honoured, answered not the woman, but her sons, saying: Are you able to drink of the cup that I shall drink of? When they say: We are able, Jesus says to them: You shall drink indeed of My cup; but to sit on My right hand and on My left is not Mine to give to you, but to those for whom it is prepared of My Father. Matthew 20:22-23

63. How patient and kind the Lord is; how deep is His wisdom and good His love! For wishing to show that the disciples asked for no slight thing, but one they could not obtain, He reserved His own peculiar rights for His Father's honour, not fearing to detract anything from His own rights: Who thought it not robbery to be equal with God; Philippians 2:6 and loving, too, His disciples (for He loved them, as it is written, unto the end), John 13:1 He was unwilling to seem to refuse to those whom He loved what they desired; He, I say, the good and holy Lord, Who would rather keep some of His own prerogative secret, than lay aside anything of His love. For charity suffers long, and is kind; charity envies not, and seeks not her own. 1 Corinthians 13:4

64. Lastly, that you may learn it was no sign of weakness, but rather of tenderness, that He said: It is not Mine to give to you; note that when the

sons of Zebedee make the request without their mother, He said nothing about the Father; for thus it is written: It is not Mine to give to you, but those for whom it has been prepared. Mark 10:40 So the Evangelist Mark has stated it. But when the mother makes this request on her sons' behalf, as we find it in Matthew, He says: It is not Mine to give to you, but to those for whom it has been prepared of My Father. Matthew 20:23 Here He added: of My Father, for a mother's feelings demanded greater tenderness.

65. But if they think that by saying, For whom it has been prepared of My Father, He assigned greater power to His Father, or detracted anything from His own; let them say whether they think there is any detraction from the Father's power, because the Son in the Gospel says of the Father: The Father judges no man. John 5:22

66. But if we think it impious to believe that the Father has handed over all judgment to the Son in such wise that He has it not Himself — for He has it, and cannot lose what the Divine Majesty has by its very nature, — we ought to consider it equally impious to suppose that the Son cannot give what either men can merit, or any creature can receive; especially as He Himself has said: I go unto My Father, and whatsoever you shall ask of Him in My name, that will I do. John 14:12-13 For if the Son cannot give what the Father can give, the Truth has lied, and cannot do what the Father has been asked for in His name. He therefore did not say: For whom it has been prepared of My Father, in order that requests should be made only of the Father. For all things which are asked of the Father, He has declared that He will give. Lastly, He did not say: Whatsoever you shall ask of Me, that will I do; but: Whatsoever you shall ask of Him in My name, that will I do.

CHAPTER 6.

Wishing to answer the above-stated objection somewhat more fully, he maintains that this request, had it not been impossible in itself, would have been possible for Christ to grant; especially as the Father has given all judgment to Him; which gift we must understand to have been given without any feature of imperfection. However, he proves that the request must be reckoned amongst the impossibilities. To make it really possible, he teaches that Christ's answer must be taken in accordance with His human nature, and shows this next by an exposition of the passage. Lastly, he once more confirms the reply he has given on the impossibility of Christ's session.

67. I ASK now whether they think the request made by the wife and sons of Zebedee was possible or impossible to human circumstances, or to any created being? If it was possible, how is it that He Who made all things which were not had not the power of granting a seat to His apostles on His right hand and on His left? Or how was it that He, to Whom the Father gave all judgment, could not judge of men's merits?

68. We know well in what way He gave it; for how did the Son, who created all things out of nothing, receive it as though in want? Had He not the judgment of those whose natures He had made? The Father gave all judgment to the Son, that all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father. John 5:23 It is not therefore the power of the Son, but our knowledge of it, that increases; nor does what is learned by us add anything to His being, but only to our advantage; so that by knowing the Son of God, we may have eternal life.

69. As, then, in our knowledge of the Son of God His honour, but our profit, not His, is concerned; if any one thinks that the power of God is augmented by that honour, He must also believe that God the Father can receive augmentation; for He is glorified by our knowledge of Him, as is the Son: as it is written on the word of the Son: I have glorified You upon the earth. John 17:4 Therefore if that which was asked for was at all possible, it certainly was in the power of the Son to grant it.

70. Let them show, if they consider it possible, who of men or of other created beings sits either on the right hand or the left of God. For the Father says to the Son: Sit on My right hand. Therefore if any one sits on the right hand of the Son, the Son is found to be sitting (to speak in human wise) between Himself and the Father.

71. A thing impossible for man, then, was asked of Him. But He was unwilling to say that men could not sit with Him; seeing that He desired His divine glory should be veiled, and not revealed before He rose again. Matthew 17:9 For before this, when He had appeared in glory between His attendants Moses and Elias, He had warned His disciples that they should tell no man what they had seen.

72. Therefore if it was not possible for men or other created beings to merit this, the Son ought not to seem to have less power because He gave not to His apostles, what the Father has not given to men or other created beings. Or else let them say to which of them He has given it. Certainly not to the angels; of whom Scripture says that all the angels stood round about the throne. Revelation 7:11 Thus Gabriel said that he stands, as it says: I am Gabriel that stand before God. Luke 1:19

73. Not to the angels, then, has He given it, nor to the elders who worship Him that sits; for they do not sit upon the seat of majesty, but as the Scripture has said, round about the throne; for there are four and twenty other seats, as we have it in the Revelation of John: And upon the seats four

and twenty elders sitting. Revelation 4:4 In the Gospel also the Lord Himself says: When the Son of Man shall sit in the throne of His glory, you also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. Matthew 19:28 He did not say that a share in His own throne could be given to the apostles, but that there were those other twelve thrones; which, however, we ought not to think of as referring to actual sitting down, but as showing the happy issue of spiritual grace.

74. Lastly, in the Book of the Kings, Micaiah the prophet said: I saw the Lord God of Israel sitting on His throne, and all the host of heaven standing around Him, on His right hand and on His left. 1 Kings 22:19 How then, when the angels stand on the right hand and on the left of the Lord God, when all the host of heaven stands, shall men sit on the right hand of God or on His left, to whom is promised as a reward for virtue likeness to the angels, as the Lord says: You shall be as the angels in heaven? Matthew 22:30 As the angels, He says, not more than the angels.

75. If, then, the Father has given nothing more than the Son, the Son certainly has given nothing less than the Father. Therefore the Son can in no way be less than the Father.

76. Suppose, however, that it had been possible for men to obtain what was desired; what does it mean when He says: But to sit on My right hand and on My left is not Mine to give to you? Matthew 20:23 What is Mine? Above He said: You shall drink indeed of My cup; and again He added: It is not Mine to give to you. Above He said Mine, and again lower down He said Mine. He made no change. And so the earlier passages tell us why He said Mine.

77. For being asked by a woman as man to allow her sons to sit on His right hand and His left, because she asked Him as man, the Lord also as though only man answered concerning His Passion: Are you able to drink of the cup that I shall drink of? Matthew 20:22

78. Therefore because He spoke according to the flesh of the Passion of His Body, He wished to show that according to the flesh He left behind Him an example and pattern to us of the endurance of suffering; but that according to His position as man He could not grant them fellowship in the throne above. This is the reason why He said: It is not Mine; as also in another place He says: My doctrine is not Mine. John 7:16 It is not, He says, spoken after my flesh; for the words which are divine belong not to the flesh.

79. But how plainly He showed His tenderness for His disciples, whom He loved, saying first: Will you drink of My cup? For as He could not grant what they sought, He offered them something else, so that He might mention what He would assign to them, before He denied them anything; in order that they might understand that the failure lay more in the equity of their request to Him, than in the wish of their Lord to show kindness.

80. You shall indeed drink of My cup, He says; that is, I will not refuse you the suffering, which My flesh will undergo. For all that I have taken on Myself as man, you can imitate. I have granted you the victory of suffering, the inheritance of the cross. ‘But to sit on My right hand and on My left is not Mine to give to you.’ He did not say, It is not Mine to give, but: It is not Mine to give to you; meaning by this, not that He lacked the power, but that His creatures were wanting in merit.

81. Or take in another way the words: It is not Mine to give to you, that is, It is not Mine, for I came to teach humility; it is not Mine, for I came, not to be ministered unto, but to minister; it is not Mine, for I show justice, not favour.

82. Then, speaking of the Father, He added: For whom it has been prepared, to show that the Father also is not wont to give heed merely to requests, but to merits; for God is not a respecter of persons. Acts 10:34 Wherefore also the Apostle says: Whom He did foreknow, He also did

predestinate. Romans 8:29 He did not predestinate them before He knew them, but He did predestinate the reward of those whose merits He foreknew.

83. Rightly then is the woman checked, who demanded what was impossible, as a special kind of privilege from Him the Lord, Who of His own free gift granted not only to two apostles, but to all the disciples, those things which He had adjudged to be given to the saints; and that too without a prayer from any one, as it is written: You shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. Matthew 19:28

84. Therefore, although we may think the demand to have been possible, there is no room for false attacks. However, when I read that the seraphim stand, Isaiah 6:2 how can I suppose that men may sit on the right hand or the left of the Son of God? The Lord sits upon the cherubim, as it says: You that sits upon the cherubim, show myself. And how shall the apostles sit upon the cherubim?

85. And I do not come to this conclusion of my own mind, but because of the utterances of our Lord's own mouth. For the Lord Himself later on, in commending the apostles to the Father, says: Father, I will that they also whom You have given Me be with Me where I am. John 17:24 But if He had thought that the Father would give the divine throne to men, He would have said: I will that where I sit, they also may sit with Me. But He says: I will that they be with Me, not that they may sit with Me; and where I am, not as I am.

86. Then follow the words: That they may see My glory. Here too He did not say: that they may have My glory, but that they may see it. For the servant sees, the Lord possesses; as David also has taught us, saying: That I may see the delight of the Lord. And the Lord Himself in the Gospel has revealed it, stating: Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.

Matthew 5:8 They shall see, He says; not They shall sit with God upon the cherubim.

87. Let them therefore cease to think little of the Son of God according to His Godhead, lest they should think little also of the Father. For he who believes wrongly of the Son cannot think rightly of the Father; he who thinks wrongly of the Spirit cannot think rightly of the Son. For where there is one dignity, one glory, one love, one majesty, whatsoever you think is to be withdrawn in the case of any one of the Three Persons, is withdrawn from all alike. For that can never have completeness which you can separate and divide into various portions.

CHAPTER 7.

Objection is taken to the following passage: You have loved them, as You have loved Me. To remove it, he shows first the impiety of the Arian explanation; then compares these words with others; and lastly, takes the whole passage into consideration. Hence he gathers that the mission of Christ, although it is to be received according to the flesh, is not to His detriment. When this is proved he shows how the divine mission takes place.

88. THERE ARE some, O Emperor Augustus, who in their desire to deny the unity of the divine Substance, strive to make little of the love of the Father and the Son, because it is written: You have loved them, as You have loved Me. John 17:23 But when they say this, what else do they do but adopt a likeness of comparison between the Son of God and men?

89. Can men indeed be loved by God as the Son is, in Whom the Father is well-pleased? Matthew 3:17 He is well-pleasing in Himself; we through Him. For those in whom God sees His own Son after His own likeness, He admits through His Son into the favour of sons. So that as we go through likeness unto likeness, so through the Generation of the Son are we called unto adoption. The eternal love of God's Nature is one thing, that of grace is another.

90. And if they start a debate on the words that are written: And You have loved them, as You have loved Me, and think a comparison is intended; they must think that the following also was said by way of comparison: Be merciful, as your Father Which is in heaven is merciful; Luke 6:36 and elsewhere: Be perfect, as My Father Which is in heaven is perfect. Matthew 5:48 But if He is perfect in the fullness of His glory, we

are but perfect according to the growth of virtue within us. The Son also is loved by the Father according to the fullness of a love that ever abides, but in us growth in grace merits the love of God.

91. You see, then, how God has given grace to men, and do you wish to dissever the natural and indivisible love of the Father and the Son? And do you still strive to make nothing of words, where you note the mention of a unity of majesty?

92. Consider the whole of this passage, and see from what standpoint He speaks; for you hear Him saying: Father, glorify Me with the glory which I had with You before the world was. John 17:5 See how He speaks from the standpoint of the first man. For He begs for us in that request those things which, as Man, He remembered were granted in paradise before the Fall, as also He spoke of it to the thief at His Passion: Verily, verily, I say unto you, today shall you be with Me in paradise. Luke 23:43 This is the glory before the world was. But He used the word world instead men, as also you have it: Lo! The whole world goes after Him; John 12:19 and again That the world may know that You have sent Me. John 17:21

93. But that you might know the great God, even the life-giving and Almighty Son of God, He has added a proof of His majesty by saying: And all Mine are Yours, and Yours are Mine. John 17:10 He has all things, and do you turn aside the fact that He was sent, to wrong Him?

94. But if you do not accept the truth of His mission according to the flesh, as the Apostle spoke of it, Romans 8:3 and dost raise out of a mere word a decision against it, to enable you to say that inferiors are wont to be sent by superiors; what answer will you give to the fact that the Son was sent to men? For if you think that he who is sent is inferior to him by whom he is sent, you must learn also that an inferior has sent a superior, and that superiors have been sent to inferiors. For Tobias sent Raphael the archangel,

Tobit 9:3 and an angel was sent to Balaam, Numbers 22:22 and the Son of God to the Jews.

95. Or was the Son of God inferior to the Jews to whom He was sent? For of Him it is written: Last of all He sent unto them His only Son, saying, They will reverence My Son. Matthew 21:37 And mark that He mentioned first the servants, then the Son, that you may know that God, the only-begotten Son according to the power of His Godhead, has neither name nor lot in common with servants. He is sent forth to be reverenced, not to be compared with the household.

96. And rightly did He add the word My, that we might believe He came, not as one of many, nor as one of a lower nature or of some inferior power, but as true from Him that is true, as the Image of the Father's Substance.

97. Suppose, however, that he who is sent is inferior to him by whom he is sent. Christ then was inferior to Pilate; for Pilate sent Him to Herod. But a word does not prejudice His power. Scripture, which says that He was sent from the Father, says that He was sent from a ruler.

98. Wherefore, if we sensibly hold to those things which be worthy of the Son of God, we ought to understand Him to have been sent in such a way that the Word of God, out of the incomprehensible and ineffable mystery of the depths of His majesty, gave Himself for comprehension to our minds, so far as we could lay hold of Him, not only when He emptied Himself, but also when He dwelt in us, as it is written: I will dwell in them. 2 Corinthians 6:16 Elsewhere also it stands that God said: Go to, let us go down and confound their language. Genesis 11:7 God, indeed, never descends from any place; for He says: I fill heaven and earth. Jeremiah 23:24 But He seems to descend when the Word of God enters our hearts, as the prophet has said: Prepare the way of the Lord, make His paths straight. Isaiah 40:3 We are to do this, so that, as He Himself promised, He may

come together with the Father and make His abode with us. John 14:23 It is clear, then, how He comes.

CHAPTER 8.

Christ, so far as He is true Son of God, has no Lord, but only so far as He is Man; as is shown by His words in which He addressed at one time the Father, at another the Lord. How many heresies are silenced by one verse of Scripture! We must distinguish between the things that belong to Christ as Son of God or as Son of David. For under the latter title only must we ascribe it to Him that He was a servant. Lastly, he points out that many passages cannot be taken except as referring to the Incarnation.

99. WHEREFORE ALSO it is plain how He calls Him Lord, Whom He knew as Father. For He says: I confess to You, Father, Lord of heaven and earth. Matthew 11:25 First Wisdom spoke of His own Father, and then proclaimed Him Lord of creation. For this reason the Lord shows in His Gospel that no lordship is exercised where there is a true offspring, saying: What do you think of Christ? Whose Son is He? They say unto Him, The son of David. Jesus says to them, How then does David in spirit call Him Lord, saying: The Lord said to my Lord: Sit on My right hand? Then he added: If David in spirit then call Him Lord, how is He his son? And no man was able to answer Him a word. Matthew 22:42-46

100. With what care did the Lord provide for the faith in this witness because of the Arians! For He did not say: The spirit calls Him Lord, but that David spoke in spirit; in order that men might believe that as He is his, that is, David's son according to the flesh, so also He is his Lord and God according to His Godhead. You see, then, that there is a distinction between the titles that are used of relationship and of lordship.

101. And rightly did the Lord speak of His own Father, but of the Lord of heaven and earth; so that you, when you read of the Father and the Lord, may understand it is the Father of the Son, and the Lord of Creation. In the one title rests the claim of nature, in the other the authority to rule. For taking on Himself the form of a servant, He calls Him Lord, because He has submitted to service; being equal to Him in the form of God, but being a servant in the form of His body: for service is the due of the flesh, but lordship is the due of the Godhead. Wherefore also the Apostle says: The God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, 2 Corinthians 1:3 that is, terming Him God of the adoption of humanity but the Father of glory. Did God have two Sons, Christ and Glory? Certainly not. Therefore if there is one Son of God, even Christ, Christ is Glory. Why do you strive to belittle Him who is the glory of the Father?

102. If then the Son is glory, and the Father is glory (for the Father of glory cannot be anything else than glory), there is no separation of glories, but glory is one. Thus glory is referred to its own proper nature, but lordship to the service of the body that was assumed. For if the flesh is subject to the soul of a just man as it is written: I chastise my body and bring it into subjection; 1 Corinthians 9:27 how much more is it subject to the Godhead, of Which it is said: For all things serve You?

103. By one question the Lord has shut out both Sabellians and Photinians and Arians. For when He said that the Lord spoke to the Lord, Sabellius is set aside, who will have it that the same Person is both Father and Son. Photinus is set aside, who thinks of Him merely as man; for none could be Lord of David the King, but He Who is God, for it is written: You shall worship the Lord your God, and Him only shall you serve. Deuteronomy 6:13 Would the prophet who ruled under the Law act contrary to the Law? Arius is set aside, who hears that the Son sits on the right hand of the Father; so that if he argues from human ways, he refutes himself, and

makes the poison of his blasphemous arguments to flow back upon himself. For in interpreting the inequality of the Father and the Son by the analogy of human habits (wandering from the truth in either case), he puts Him first Whom he makes little of, confessing Him to be the First, Whom he hears to be at the right hand. The Manichæan also is set aside, for he does not deny that He is the Son of David according to the flesh, Who, at the cry of the blind men, Jesus, Son of David, have mercy on us, Matthew 20:30 was pleased at their faith and stood and healed them. But He does deny that this refers to His eternity, if He is called Son of David alone by those who are false.

104. For Son of God is against Ebion, Son of David, is against the Manichees; Son of God is against Photinus, Son of David is against Marcion; Son of God is against Paul of Samosata, Son of David is against Valentinus; Son of God is against Arius and Sabellius, the inheritors of heathen errors. Lord of David is against the Jews, who beholding the Son of God in the flesh, in impious madness believed Him to be only man.

105. But in the faith of the Church one and the same is both Son of God the Father and Son of David. For the mystery of the Incarnation of God is the salvation of the whole of creation, according to that which is written: That without God He should taste death for every man; Hebrews 2:9 that is, that every creature might be redeemed without any suffering at the price of the blood of the Lord's Divinity, as it stands elsewhere: Every creature shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption. Romans 8:21

106. It is one thing to be named Son according to the divine Substance, it is another thing to be so called according to the adoption of human flesh. For, according to the divine Generation, the Son is equal to God the Father; and, according to the adoption of a body, He is a servant to God the Father. For, it says, He took upon Him the form of a servant. Philippians 2:7 The Son is, however, one and the same. On the other hand, according to His

glory, He is Lord to the holy patriarch David, but his Son in the line of actual descent, not abandoning anything of His own, but acquiring for Himself the rights that go with the adoption into our race.

107. Not only does He undergo service in the character of man by reason of His descent from David, but also by reason of His name, as it is written: I have found David My Servant; and elsewhere: Behold I will send unto you My Servant, the Orient is His name. Zechariah 3:8 And the Son Himself says: Thus says the Lord, that formed Me from the womb to be His servant, and said to Me: It is a great thing for You to be called My Servant. Behold I have set You up for a witness to My people, and a light to the Gentiles, that You may be for salvation unto the ends of the earth. Isaiah 49:5-6 To whom is this said, if not to Christ? Who being in the form of God, emptied Himself and took upon Him the form of a servant. Philippians 2:6-7 But what can be in the form of God, except that which exists in the fullness of the Godhead?

108. Learn, then, what this means: He took upon Him the form of a servant. It means that He took upon Him all the perfections of humanity in their completeness, and obedience in its completeness. And so it says in the thirtieth Psalm: You have set my feet in a large room. I am made a reproach above all mine enemies. Make Your face to shine upon Your servant. Servant means the Man in whom He was sanctified; it means the Man in whom He was anointed; it means the Man in whom He was made under the law, made of the Virgin; and, to put it briefly, it means the Man in whose person He has a mother, as it is written: O Lord, I am Your Servant, I am Your Servant, and the Son of Your hand-maid; and again: I am cast down and sore humbled.

109. Who is sore humbled, but Christ, Who came to free all through His obedience? For as by one man’s disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous. Romans 5:19 Who

received the cup of salvation? Christ the High Priest, or David who never held the priesthood, nor endured suffering? Who offered the sacrifice of Thanksgiving?

110. But that is insufficient; take again: Preserve My soul, for I am holy. Did David say this of himself? Nay, He says it, Who also says: You will not leave My soul in hell, neither will You allow Your Holy One to see corruption. The Same then says both of these.

111. He has added further: Save Your Servant; and, further on: Give Your strength to Your servant, and to the Son of Your handmaid; and, elsewhere, that is, in Ezekiel: And I will set up one Shepherd over them, and He shall rule them, even My Servant David. He shall feed them, and He shall be their Shepherd. And I the Lord will be their God, and My Servant David a prince among them. Ezekiel 34:23-24 Now David the Son of Jesse was already dead. Therefore he speaks of Christ, Who for our sakes was made the Son of a handmaiden in the form of man; for according to His divine Generation He has no Mother, but a Father only: nor is He the fruit of earthly desire, but the eternal Power of God.

112. And so, also, when we read that the Lord said: My time is not yet full come; John 7:8 and: Yet a little while I am with you; and: I go unto Him that sent Me; John 7:33 and: Now is the Son of Man glorified; John 13:31 we ought to refer all this to the sacrament of the Incarnation. But when we read: And God is glorified in Him, and God has glorified Him; John 13:31 what doubt is there here, where the Son is glorified by the Father, and the Father is glorified by the Son?

113. Next, to make clear the faith of the Unity, and the Union of the Trinity, He also said that He would be glorified by the Spirit, as it stands: He shall receive of Mine, and shall glorify Me. John 16:14 Therefore the Holy Spirit also glorifies the Son of God. How, then, did He say: If I glorify Myself, My glory is nothing. John 8:54 Is then the glory of the Son

nothing? It is blasphemy to say so, unless we apply these words to His flesh; for the Son spoke in the character of man, for by comparison with the Godhead, there is no glory of the flesh.

114. Let them cease from their wicked objections which are but thrown back upon their own falseness. For they say, it is written: Now is the Son of Man glorified. I do not deny that it is written: The Son of Man is glorified. But let them see what follows: And God is glorified in Him. I can plead some excuse for the Son of Man, but He has none for His Father; for the Father took not flesh upon Himself. I can plead an excuse, but do not use it. He has none, and is falsely attacked. I can either understand it in its plain sense, or I can apply to the flesh what concerns the flesh. A devout mind distinguishes between the things which are spoken after the flesh or after the Godhead. An impious mind turns aside to the dishonour of the Godhead, all that is said with regard to the littleness of the flesh.

CHAPTER 9.

The saint meets those who in Jewish wise object to the order of the words: In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, with the retort that the Son also is often placed before the Father; though he first points out that an answer to this objection has been already given by him.

115. WHY IS it that the Arians, after the Jewish fashion, are such false and shameless interpreters of the divine words, going indeed so far as to say that there is one power of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost, since it is written: Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost? And why do they make a distinction of divine power owing to the mere order of words?

116. Though I have already given this very witness for a unity of majesty and name in my former books, yet if they make this the ground of debate, I can maintain on the testimony of the Scriptures that the Son is mentioned first in many places, and that the Father is spoken of after Him. Is it therefore a fact that, because the name of the Son is placed first, by the mere accident of a word, as the Arians would have it, the Father comes second to the Son? God forbid, I say, God forbid. Faith knows nothing of such order as this; it knows nothing of a divided honour of the Father and the Son. I have not read of, nor heard of, nor found any varying degree in God. Never have I read of a second, never of a third God. I have read of a first God, Isaiah 44:6 I have heard of a first and only God.

117. If we pay such excessive regard to order, then the Son ought not to sit at the right hand of the Father, nor ought He to call Himself the First and the Beginning. The Evangelist was wrong in beginning with the Word and

not with God, where he says: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God. John 1:1 For, according to the order of human usage, he ought to name the Father first. The Apostle also was ignorant of their order, who says: Paul the servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an Apostle, separated unto the Gospel of God; Romans 1:1 and elsewhere: The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost. 2 Corinthians 13:14 If we follow the order of the words, he has placed the Son first, and the Father second. But the order of the words is often changed; and therefore you ought not to question about order or degree, in the case of God the Father and His Son, for there is no severance of unity in the Godhead.

CHAPTER 10.

The Arians openly take sides with the heathen in attacking the words: He that believes in Me, believes not in Me, etc. The true meaning of the passage is unfolded; and to prevent us from believing that the Lord forbade us to have faith in Him, it is shown how He spoke at one time as God, at another as Man. After bringing forward examples of various results of that faith, he shows that certain other passages also must be taken in the same way.

118. LAST OF all, to show that they are not Christians, they deny that we are to believe in Christ, saying that it is written: He that believes in Me, believes not on Me, but on Him that sent Me. John 12:44 I was awaiting this confession; why did you delude me with your quibbles? I knew I had to contend with heathens. Nay, they indeed are converted, but you are not. If they believe, that the sacrament [of Baptism] is safe; you have received it, and destroyed it, or perchance it has never been received, but was unreal from the first.

119. It is written, they say: He that believes in Me, believes not on Me, but on Him that sent Me. But see what follows, and see how the Son of God wishes to be seen; for it continues: And he that sees Me, sees Him that sent Me, John 12:45 for the Father is seen in the Son. Thus, He has explained what He had spoken earlier, that he who confesses the Father believes on the Son. For he who knows not the Son, neither knows the Father. For every one that denies the Son has not the Father, but he that confesses the Son has both the Father and the Son. 1 John 2:23

120. What, then, is the meaning of Believes not on Me? That is, not on that which you can perceive in bodily form, nor merely on the man whom you see. For He has stated that we are to believe not merely on a man, but that you may believe that Jesus Christ Himself is both God and Man. Wherefore, for both reasons He says: I came not from Myself; John 7:28 and again: I am the beginning, of which also I speak to you. John 8:25 As Man He came not from Himself; as Son of God He takes not His beginning from men; but I am, He says, Myself 'the beginning of which also I speak to you.' Neither are the words which I speak human, but divine.

121. Nor is it right to believe that He denied we were to believe in Him, since He Himself said: That whosoever believes in Me should not abide in darkness; John 12:46 and in another place again: For this is the will of My Father that sent Me, that every one that sees the Son, and believes in Him, may have eternal life; John 6:40 and again: You believe in God, believe also in Me. John 14:1

122. Let no one, therefore, receive the Son without the Father, because we read of the Son. The Son has the Father, but not in a temporal sense, nor by reason of His passion, nor owing to His conception, nor by grace. I have read of His Generation, I have not read of His Conception. And the Father says: I have begotten; He does not say: I have created. And the Son calls not God His Creator in the eternity of His divine Generation, but Father.

123. He represents Himself also now in the character of man, now in the majesty of God; now claiming for Himself oneness of Godhead with the Father, now taking upon Him all the frailty of human flesh; now saying that He has not His own doctrine, and now that He seeks not His own will; now pointing out that His testimony is not true, and now that it is true. For He Himself has said: If I bear witness of Myself, My witness is not true. John 5:31 Later on He says: If I bear witness of Myself, My witness is true. John 7:14

124. And how is Your testimony, Lord Jesus, not true? Did not he who believed it, though he hung upon the cross, and paid the penalty for the crime he owned to, cast aside the deserts of the robber and gain the reward of the innocent? Luke 23:41

125. Was Paul deceived, who received his sight, because he believed; Acts 9:12 which sight he had lost, before he believed?

126. And did Joshua, the son of Nun, err in recognizing the leader of the heavenly host? Joshua 5:13 But after he believed, he immediately conquered, being found worthy to triumph in the battle of faith. Again, he did not lead forth his armed ranks into the fight, nor did he overthrow the ramparts of the enemy's walls, with battering rams or other engines of war, but with the sound of the seven trumpets of the priests. Thus the blare of the trumpet and the badge of the priest brought a cruel war to an end.

127. A harlot saw this; and she who in the destruction of the city lost all hope of any means of safety, because her faith had conquered, bound a scarlet thread in her window, and thus uplifted a sign of her faith and the banner of the Lord's Passion; Joshua 2:18 so that the semblance of the mystic blood, which should redeem the world, might be in memory. So, without, the name of Joshua was a sign of victory to those who fought; within, the semblance of the Lord's Passion was a sign of salvation to those in danger. Wherefore, because Rahab understood the heavenly mystery, the Lord says in the Psalm: I will be mindful of Rahab and Babylon that know Me.

128. How, then, is Your testimony not true, O Lord, except it be given in accordance with the frailty of man? For every man is a liar.

129. Lastly, to prove that He spoke as man, He says: The Father that sent Me, He bears witness of Me. John 8:18 But His testimony as God is true, as He Himself says: My record is true: for I know whence I come, and whither I go, but you know not whence I come, and whither I go. You judge after

the flesh. John 8:14-15 They judge then not after the Godhead but after the manhood, who think that Christ had not the power of bearing witness.

130. Therefore, when you hear, He that believes, believes not on Me; or: The Father that sent Me, He gave Me a commandment; John 12:49 you have now learned whither you ought to refer those words. Lastly, He shows what the commandment is, saying: I lay down My life, that I may take it again. No man takes it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. John 10:17 You see, then, what is said so as to show He had full power to lay down or to take up His life; as He also said: I have power to lay it down, and I have power again to take it up. This commandment have I received of My Father. John 10:18

131. Whether, then, a command, or, as some Latin manuscripts have it, a direction was given, it was certainly not given to Him as God, but as incarnate man, with reference to the victory He should gain in undergoing His Passion.

CHAPTER 11.

We must refer the fact that Christ is said to speak nothing of Himself, to His human nature. After explaining how it is right to say that He hears and sees the Father as being God, He shows conclusively, by a large number of proofs, that the Son of God is not a creature.

132. ARE WE indeed to bring the Son of God to such a low estate that He may not know how to act or speak, except as He hears, and are we to suppose that a fixed measure of action or of speech is assigned to Him, because it is written: I speak not of Myself, and, further on: As the Father has said to Me, even so I speak? John 12:50 But those words have reference to the obedience of the flesh, or else to the faith in the Unity. For many learned men allow that the Son hears, and that the Father speaks to the Son through the unity of their Nature; for that which the Son, through the unity of their will, knows that the Father wills, He seems to have heard.

133. Whereby is meant no personal duty, but an indivisible sentence of co-operation. For this does not signify any actual hearing of words, but the unity of will and of power, which exists both in the Father and in the Son. He has stated that this exists also in the Holy Spirit, in another place, saying, For He shall not speak of Himself, but whatsoever He shall hear, that shall He speak, John 16:13 so that we may learn that whatsoever the Spirit says, the Son also says; and whatsoever the Son says, the Father says also; for there is one mind and one mode of working in the Trinity. For, as the Father is seen in the Son, not indeed in bodily appearance, but in the unity of the Godhead, so also the Father speaks in the Son, not with a voice of earth, not with a human sound, but in the unity of Their work. So when

He had said: The Father that dwells in Me, He speaks; and the works that I do, He does; John 14:10 He added: Believe Me, that I am in the Father, and the Father in Me; or else believe Me for the very work's sake. John 14:17

134. This is what we understand according to the whole course of the holy Scriptures; but the Arians, who will not think of God the things that be right, may be put to silence by an example just suited to their deserts; that they may not believe everything in carnal fashion, since they themselves do not see the works of their father the devil with bodily eyes. So the Lord has declared of their fellows the Jews, saying: You do what you have seen your father doing; John 8:38 though they are reproved not because they saw the work of the devil, but because they did his will, since the devil unseen works out sin in them in accordance with their own wickedness. We have written this, as the Apostle did, because of the folly of these traitors. 2 Timothy 3:9

135. But we have sufficiently proved by examples from Scripture that it is a property of the unity of the divine majesty that the Father should abide in the Son, and that the Son should seem to have heard from the Father those things which He speaks. How else can we understand the unity of majesty than by the knowledge that the same deference is paid to the Father and the Son? For what can be better put than the Apostle's saying that the Lord of glory was crucified? 1 Corinthians 2:8

136. The Son then is the God of glory and the Lord of glory, but glory is not subject to creatures; the Son therefore is not a creature.

137. The Son is the Image of the Father's Substance; Hebrews 1:3 but every creature is unlike that divine Substance, but the Son of the Father is not unlike God; therefore the Son is not a creature.

138. The Son thought it not robbery to be equal with God; Philippians 2:6 but no creature is equal with God, the Son, however, is equal; therefore the Son is not a creature.

139. Every creature is changeable; but the Son of God is not changeable; therefore the Son of God is not a creature.

140. Every creature meets with chance occurrences of good and evil after the powers of its nature, and also feels their passing away; but nothing can pass away from or bring addition to the Son of God in His Godhead; therefore the Son of God is not a creature.

141. Every work of His God will bring into judgment; Ecclesiastes 12:14 but the Son of God is not brought into judgment; for He Himself judges; therefore the Son of God is not a creature.

142. Lastly, that you may understand the unity, the Saviour in speaking of His sheep says: No man is able to pluck them out of My hand. My Father Which gave them to Me is greater than all, and no man is able to pluck them out of My Father's hand. I and My Father are one. John 10:28-30

143. So the Son gives life as does the Father. For as the Father raises up the dead and quickens them, even so the Son quickens whom He will. John 5:21 So the Son raises up as does the Father: so too the Son preserves as does the Father. He Who is not unequal in grace, how is He unequal in power? So also the Son does not destroy, as neither does the Father. Therefore lest any one should believe there were two Gods, or should imagine a diversity of power, He said that He was one with His Father. How can a creature say that? Therefore the Son of God is not a creature.

144. It is not the same thing to rule as to serve; but Christ is both a King and the Son of a King. The Son of God therefore is not a servant. Every creature, however, gives service. But the Son of God, Who makes servants become the sons of God, does not give service. Therefore the Son of God is not a servant.

CHAPTER 12.

He confirms what has been already said, by the parable of the rich man who went into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom; and shows that when the Son delivers up the kingdom to the Father, we must not regard the fact that the Father is said to put all things in subjection under Him, in a disparaging way. Here we are the kingdom of Christ, and in Christ's kingdom. Hereafter we shall be in the kingdom of God, where the Trinity will reign together.

145. IN DIVINE fashion has He represented that parable of the rich man, who went to a far-off country to receive a kingdom, and to return, Luke 19:12 thus describing Himself in the substance of the Godhead, and of His Manhood. For He being rich in the fullness of His Godhead, Who was made poor for us though He was rich and an eternal King, and the Son of an eternal King; He, I say, went to a foreign country in taking on Him a body, for He entered upon the ways of men as though upon a strange journey, and came into this world to prepare for Himself a kingdom from among us.

146. Jesus therefore came to this earth to receive for Himself a kingdom from us, to whom He says: The kingdom of God is within you. John 17:21 This is the kingdom which Christ has received, this the kingdom which He has delivered to the Father. For how did He receive for Himself a kingdom, Who was a King eternal? The Son of Man therefore came to receive a kingdom and to return. The Jews were unwilling to acknowledge Him, of whom He says: They which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither and slay them. Luke 19:27

147. Let us follow the course of the Scriptures. He Who came will deliver up the kingdom to God the Father; and when He has delivered up the kingdom, then also shall He be subject to Him, Who has put all things in subjection under Him, that God may be all in all. 1 Corinthians 15:24-28 If the Son of God has received the kingdom as Son of Man, surely as Son of Man also He will deliver up what He has received. If He delivers it up as Son of Man, as Son of Man He confesses His subjection indeed under the conditions of the flesh, and not in the majesty of His Godhead.

148. And do you make objections and contemn Him, because God has put all things in subjection under Him, when you hear that the Son of Man delivers up the kingdom to God, and hast read, as we said in our earlier books: No man can come to Me, except the Father draw him; and I will raise him up at the last day? John 6:44 If we follow it literally, see rather and notice the unity of honour each gives to other: The Father has put all things in subjection under the Son, and the Son delivers the kingdom to the Father. Say now which is the greater, to deliver up, or to raise up to life? Do we not after human fashion speak of the service of delivering up, and the power of raising to life? But both the Son delivers up to the Father, and also the Father to the Son. The Son raises to life, and the Father also raises to life. Let them create the fiction of a blasphemous division where there is a unity of power.

149. Let the Son then deliver up His kingdom to the Father. The kingdom which He delivers up is not lost to Christ, but grows. We are the kingdom, for it was said to us: The kingdom of God is within you. Luke 17:21 And we are the kingdom, first of Christ, then of the Father; as it is written: No man comes to the Father, but by Me. John 14:6 When I am on the way, I am Christ’s; when I have passed through, I am the Father’s; but everywhere through Christ, and everywhere under Him.

150. It is a good thing to be in the kingdom of Christ, so that Christ may be with us; as He Himself says: Lo I am with you always, even unto the end of the world. Matthew 28:20 But it is better to be with Christ: For to depart and be with Christ is far better. Philippians 1:23 Though we are under sin in this world, Christ is with us, that by the obedience of one man many may be made just. Romans 5:19 And if I escape the sin of this world, I shall begin to be with Christ. And so He says: I will come again, and receive you unto Myself; John 14:3 and further on: I will that where I am, there you may be also with Me. John 14:3

151. Therefore we are now under Christ's rule, while we are in the body, and are not yet stripped of the form of a servant, which He put upon Him, when He emptied Himself. But when we shall see His glory, which He had before the world was, we shall be in the kingdom of God, in which are the patriarchs and prophets, of whom it is written: When you shall see Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets in the kingdom of God; Luke 13:28 and shall thus acquire a deeper knowledge of God.

152. But in the kingdom of the Son the Father also reigns; and in the kingdom of the Father the Son also reigns: for the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father; and in whomsoever the Son dwells, in him also the Father dwells; and in whomsoever the Father dwells, in him also the Son dwells, as it is written: Both I and My Father will come to Him, and make Our abode with Him. John 14:23 Thus as there is one dwelling, so also there is one kingdom. Yea, and so far is the kingdom of the Father and of the Son but one, that the Father receives what the Son delivers, and the Son does not lose what the Father receives. Thus in the one kingdom there is a unity of power. Let no one therefore sever the Godhead between the Father and the Son.

CHAPTER 13.

With the desire to learn what subjection to Christ means after putting forward and rejecting various ideas of subjection, he runs through the Apostle's words; and so puts an end to the blasphemous opinions of the heretics on this matter. The subjection, which is shown to be future, cannot concern the Godhead, since there has always been the greatest harmony of wills between the Father and the Son. Also to that same Son in His Godhead all things have indeed been made subject; but they are said to be not yet subject to Him in this sense, because all men do not obey His commands. But after that they have been made subject, then shall Christ also be made subject in them, and the Father's work be perfected.

153. BUT IF the one name and right of God belong to both the Father and the Son, since the Son of God is also true God, and a King eternal, the Son of God is not made subject in His Godhead. Let us then, Emperor Augustus, think how we ought to regard His subjection.

154. How is the Son of God made subject? As the creature to vanity? But it is blasphemous to have any such idea of the Substance of the Godhead.

155. Or as every creature is to the Son of God, for it is rightly written: You have put all things in subjection under His feet? But Christ is not made subject to Himself.

156. Or as a woman to a man, as we read: Let the wives be subject to their husbands; Ephesians 5:22 and again: Let the woman learn in silence in all subjection? 1 Timothy 2:11 But it is impious to compare a man to the Father, or a woman to the Son of God.

157. Or as Peter said: Submit yourselves to every human creature? 1 Peter 2:13 But Christ was certainly not so subject.

158. Or as Paul wrote: Submitting yourselves mutually to God and the Father in the fear of Christ? Ephesians 5:21 But Christ was not subject either in His own fear, nor in the fear of another Christ. For Christ is but one. But note the force of these words, that we are subject to the Father, while we also fear Christ.

159. How, then, do we understand His subjection? Shall we review the whole chapter which the Apostle wrote, so as to give no appearance of having falsely withheld anything, or of having weakened its force with intention to deceive? If in this life only, he says, we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable. But if Christ is risen from the dead, He is the first-fruits of them that slee Corinthians 15:19-20 You see how he discusses the question of Christ's Resurrection.

160. For since by one man, he says, came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. But each one in his own order: Christ the firstfruits; afterward they that are Christ's, who have believed in His coming. Then comes the end, when He shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father, when He shall have put down all rule and authority and power. For He must reign until He has put all enemies under His feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death; for He has put all things under His feet. But when He says, all things are put under Him, it is manifest that He is excepted Which did put all things under Him. But when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him, that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all. 1 Corinthians 15:21-28 Thus also the same Apostle said to the Hebrews: But now we see not yet all things put under Him. Hebrews 2:8 We have heard the whole of the Apostle's discourse.

161. How, then, do we speak of His subjection? The Sabellians and Marcionites say that this subjection of Christ to God the Father will be in such wise that the Son will be re-absorbed into the Father. If, then, the subjection of the Word means that God the Word is to be absorbed into the Father; then whatsoever is made subject to the Father and the Son will be absorbed into the Father and the Son, that God may be all and in all His creatures. But it is foolish to say so. There is therefore no subjection through re-absorption. For there are other things which are made subject, those, that is to say, which are created, and there is Another, to Whom that subjection is made. Let the expounders of a cruel re-absorption keep silence.

162. Would that they too were silent, who, as they cannot prove that the Word of God and Wisdom of God can be re-absorbed, attribute the weakness of subjection to His Godhead, saying that it is written: But when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him. 1 Corinthians 15:28

163. We see, then, that the Scripture states that He is not yet made subject, but that this is to come: Therefore now the Son is not made subject to God the Father. In what, then, do you say that the Son will be made subject? If in His Godhead, He is not disobedient, for He is not at variance with the Father; nor is He made subject, for He is not a servant, but the only Son of His own proper Father. Lastly, when He created heaven, and formed the earth, He exercised both power and love. There is therefore no subjection as that of a servant in the Godhead of Christ. But if there is no subjection then the will is free.

164. But if they think of this as the subjection of the Son, namely, that the Father makes all things in union with His will, let them learn that this is really a proof of inseparable power. For the unity of Their will is one that began not in time, but ever existed. But where there is a constant unity of

will, there can be no weakness of temporal subjection. For if He were made subject through His nature, He would always remain in subjection; but since He is said to be made subject in time, that subjection must be part of an assumed office and not of an everlasting weakness: especially as the eternal Power of God cannot change His state for a time, neither can the right of ruling fall to the Father in time. For if the Son ever will be changed in such wise as to be made subject in His Godhead, then also must God the Father, if ever He shall gain more power, and have the Son in subjection to Himself in His Godhead, be considered now in the meantime inferior according to your explanation.

165. But what fault has the Son been guilty of, that we should believe that He could hereafter be made subject in His Godhead? Has he as man seized for Himself the right to sit at His Father's side, or has He claimed for Himself the prerogative of His Father's throne, against His Father's will? But He Himself says: For I do always those things that please Him. John 8:29 Therefore if the Son pleases the Father in all things, why should He be made subject, Who was not made subject before?

166. Let us see then that there be not a subjection of the Godhead, but rather of us in the fear of Christ, a truth so full of grace, and so full of mystery. Wherefore, again, let us weigh the Apostle's words: But when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him: that God may be all in all. What then do you say? Are not all things now subject unto Him? Are not the choirs of the saints made subject? Are not the angels, who ministered to Him when on the earth? Matthew 4:11 Are not the archangels who were sent to Mary to foretell the coming of the Lord? Are not all the heavenly hosts? Are not the cherubim and seraphim, are not thrones and dominions and powers which worship and praise Him?

167. How, then, will they be brought into subjection? In the way that the Lord Himself has said. Take My yoke upon you. Matthew 11:29 It is not the fierce that bear the yoke, but the humble and the gentle. This clearly is no base subjection for men, but a glorious one: that in the Name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things beneath; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus is Lord in the glory of God the Father. Philippians 2:10 But for this reason all things were not made subject before, for they had not yet received the wisdom of God, not yet did they wear the easy yoke of the Word on the neck as it were of their mind. But as many as received Him, as it is written, to them gave He power to become the sons of God. John 1:12

168. Will any one say that Christ is now made subject, because many have believed? Certainly not. For Christ's subjection lies not in a few but in all. For just as I do not seem to be brought into subjection, if the flesh in me as yet lusts against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh, Galatians 5:17 although I am in part subdued; so because the whole Church is the one body of Christ, we divide Christ as long as the human race disagrees. Therefore Christ is not yet made subject, for His members are not yet brought into subjection. But when we have become, not many members, but one spirit, then He also will become subject, in order that through His subjection God may be all and in all.

169. But as Christ is not yet made subject, so is the work of God not yet perfected; for the Son of God said: My meat is to do the will of My Father that sent Me, and to finish His work. John 4:34 What manner of doubt is there that the subjection of the Son in me is still in the future, in whom the work of the Father is unfinished, because I myself am not yet perfect? I, who make the work of God to be unfinished, do I make the Son of God to be in subjection? But that is not a matter of wrong, it is a matter of grace. For in so far as we are made subject, it is to our profit, not to that of the

Godhead, that we are made subject to the law, that we are made subject to grace. For formerly, as the Apostle himself has said, the wisdom of the flesh was at enmity with God, for it was not made subject to the law, Romans 8:7 but now it is made subject through the Passion of Christ.

CHAPTER 14.

He continues the discussion of the difficulty he has entered upon, and teaches that Christ is not subject but only according to the flesh. Christ, however, while in subjection in the Flesh, still gave proofs of His Godhead. He combats the idea that Christ is made subject in This. The humanity indeed, which He adopted, has been so far made subject in us, as ours has been raised in that very humanity of His. Lastly, we are taught, when that same subjection of Christ will take place.

170. HOWEVER, LEST anyone should cavil, see what care Scripture takes under divine inspiration. For it shows to us in what Christ is made subject to God, while it also teaches us in what He made the universe subject to Himself. And so it says: Now we see not yet all things put under Him. Hebrews 2:8 For we see Jesus made a little lower than the angels for the suffering of death. Hebrews 2:9 It shows therefore that He was made lower in taking on Him our flesh. What then hinders Him from openly showing His subjection in taking on Him our flesh, through which He subjects all things to Himself, while He Himself is made subject in it to God the Father?

171. Let us then think of His subjection. Father, He says, if You be willing, remove this cup from Me; nevertheless not My will but Yours be done. Luke 22:42 Therefore that subjection will be according to the assumption of human nature; as we read: Being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself, being made obedient unto death. Philippians 2:8 The subjection therefore is that of obedience; the obedience is that of death; the death is that of the assumed humanity; that subjection therefore will be the

subjection of the assumed humanity. Thus in no wise is there a weakness in the Godhead, but there is such a discharge of pious duty as this.

172. See how I do not fear their intentions. They allege that He must be subject to God the Father, I say He was subject to Mary His Mother. For it is written of Joseph and Mary: He was subject unto them. Luke 2:51 But if they think so, let them say how the Deity was made subject to men.

173. Let not the fact that He is said to have been made subject work against Him, Who receives no hurt from the fact that He is called a servant, or is stated to have been crucified, or is spoken of as dead. For when He died He lived; when He was made subject He was reigning; when He was buried He revived again. He offered Himself in subjection to human power, yet at another time He declared He was the Lord of eternal glory. He was before the judge, yet claimed for Himself a throne at the right hand of God, as Judge forever. For thus it is written: Hereafter you shall see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of the power of God, and coming in the clouds of heaven. Matthew 26:64 He was scourged by the Jews, and commanded the angels; He was born of Mary under the law; Galatians 4:4 He was before Abraham above the law. On the cross He was revered by nature; the sun fled; the earth trembled; the angels became silent. Could the elements see the Generation of Him Whose Passion they feared to see? And will they uphold the subjection of an adorable Nature in Him, in Whom they could not endure the subjection of the body?

174. But since the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are of one Nature, the Father certainly will not be in subjection to Himself. And therefore the Son will not be in subjection in that in which He is one with the Father; lest it should seem that through the unity of the Godhead the Father also is in subjection to the Son. Therefore, as upon that cross it was not the fullness of the Godhead, but our weakness that was brought into subjection, so also will the Son hereafter become subject to the Father in the participation of

our nature, in order that when the lusts of the flesh are brought into subjection the heart may have no care for riches, or ambition, or pleasures; but that God may be all to us, if we live after His image and likeness, as far as we can attain to it, through all.

175. The benefit has passed, then, from the individual to the community; for in His flesh He has tamed the nature of all human flesh. Thus, according to the Apostle: As we have borne the image of the earthly, so also shall we bear the image of the heavenly. 1 Corinthians 15:49 This thing certainly cannot come to pass except in the inner man. Therefore, laying aside all these, that is those things which we read of: anger, malice, blasphemy, filthy communication; Colossians 3:8 as he also says below: Let us, having put off the old man with his deeds, put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of Him that created Him. Colossians 3:9-10

176. And that you might know that when he says: That God may be all in all, he does not separate Christ from God the Father, he also says to the Colossians: Where there is neither male nor female, Jew nor Greek, Barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all and in all. Colossians 3:11 So also saying to the Corinthians: That God may be all and in all, he comprehended in that the unity and equality of Christ with God the Father, for the Son is not separated from the Father. And in like manner as the Father works all and in all, so also Christ works all in all. If, then, Christ also works all in all, He is not made subject in the glory of the Godhead, but in us. But how is He made subject in us, except in the way in which He was made lower than the angels, I mean in the sacrament of His body? For all things which served their Creator from their first beginning seemed not as yet to be made subject to Him in that.

177. But if you should ask how He was made subject in us, He Himself shows us, saying: I was in prison, and you came unto Me; I was sick, and you visited Me: Inasmuch as you have done it unto one of the least of these

you have done it unto Me. Matthew 25:36, 40 You hear of Him as sick and weak, and art not moved. You hear of Him in subjection, and art moved, though He is sick and weak in Him in whom He is in subjection, in whom He was made sin and a curse for us.

178. As, then, He was made sin and a curse not on His own account but on ours, so He became subject in us not for His own sake but for ours, being not in subjection in His eternal Nature, nor accursed in His eternal Nature. For cursed is every one that hangs on a tree. Galatians 3:13 Cursed He was, for He bore our curses; in subjection, also, for He took upon Him our subjection, but in the assumption of the form of a servant, not in the glory of God; so that while he makes Himself a partaker of our weakness in the flesh, He makes us partakers of the divine Nature in His power. But neither in one nor the other have we any natural fellowship with the heavenly Generation of Christ, nor is there any subjection of the Godhead in Christ. But as the Apostle has said that on Him through that flesh which is the pledge of our salvation, we sit in heavenly places, Ephesians 2:6 though certainly not sitting ourselves, so also He is said to be subject in us through the assumption of our nature.

179. For who is so mad as to think, as we have said already, that a seat of honour is due to Him at the right hand of God the Father, when that is granted to Christ according to the flesh by the Father of His Generation, even a seat of a heavenly and equal power? The angels worship, and do you attempt to overthrow the throne of God with impious presumption?

180. It is written, you say, that when we were dead in sins, He has quickened us in Christ, by Whose grace you are saved, and has raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus. Ephesians 2:5-6 I acknowledge that it is so written; but it is not written that God suffers men to sit on His right hand, but only to sit there in the Person of Christ. For He is the foundation of all, and is the head of the Church,

Ephesians 5:23 in Whom our common nature according to the flesh has merited the right to the heavenly throne. For the flesh is honoured as having a share in Christ Who is God, and the nature of the whole human race is honoured as having a share in the flesh.

181. As we then sit in Him by fellowship in our fleshly nature, so also He, Who through the assumption of our flesh was made a curse for us (seeing that a curse could not fall upon the blessed Son of God), so, I say, He through the obedience of all will become subject in us; when the Gentile has believed, and the Jew has acknowledged Him Whom he crucified; when the Manichæan has worshipped Him, Whom he has not believed to have come in the flesh; when the Arian has confessed Him to be Almighty, Whom he has denied; when, lastly, the wisdom of God, His justice, peace, love, resurrection, is in all. Through His own works and through the manifold forms of virtues Christ will be in us in subjection to the Father. And when, with vice renounced and crime at an end, one spirit in the heart of all peoples has begun to cleave to God in all things, then will God be all and in all. 1 Corinthians 15:28

CHAPTER 15.

He briefly takes up again the same points of dispute, and shrewdly concludes from the unity of the divine power in the Father and the Son, that whatever is said of the subjection of the Son is to be referred to His humanity alone. He further confirms this on proof of the love, which exists alike in either.

182. LET US then shortly sum up our conclusion on the whole matter. A unity of power puts aside all idea of a degrading subjection. His giving up of power, and His victory as conqueror won over death, have not lessened His power. Obedience works out subjection. Christ has taken obedience upon Himself, obedience even to taking on Him our flesh, the cross even to gaining our salvation. Thus where the work lies, there too is the Author of the work. When therefore, all things have become subject to Christ, through Christ's obedience, so that all bend their knees in His name, then He Himself will be all in all. For now, since all do not believe, all do not seem to be in subjection. But when all have believed and done the will of God, then Christ will be all and in all. And when Christ is all and in all, then will God be all and in all; for the Father abides ever in the Son. How, then, is He shown to be weak, Who redeemed the weak?

183. And lest you should by chance attribute to the weakness of the Son, that it is written, that God has put all things in subjection under Him; learn that He has Himself brought all things into subjection to Himself, for it is written: Our conversation is in heaven, from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus, Who shall change our vile body that it may be fashioned like His glorious body according to the working, whereby He is

able to subdue all things unto Himself. Philippians 3:20-21 You have learned, therefore, that He can subdue all things unto Himself according to the working of His Godhead.

184. Learn now how He receives all things in subjection according to the flesh, as it is written: Who wrought in Christ, raising Him from the dead, and setting Him at His own right hand in the heavenly places, above principality and power and might and dominion and every name that is named not only in this world, but also in that which is to come; and has put all things under His feet. Ephesians 1:20-21 According to the flesh then all things are given to Him in subjection; according to which also He was raised from the dead, both in His human soul and His rational subjection.

185. Many nobly interpret that which is written: Truly my soul will be in subjection to God; He said soul not Godhead, soul not glory. And that we might know that the Lord has spoken through the prophet of the adoption of our human nature, He added: How long will you cast yourselves upon a man? As also He says in the Gospel: Why do you seek to kill Me, a man? John 8:40 And He added again: Nevertheless they desired to refuse My price, they ran in thirst, they blessed with their mouth, and cursed with their heart. For the Jews, when Judas brought back the price, Matthew 27:4 would not receive it, running on in the thirst of madness, for they refused the grace of a spiritual draught.

186. This is the reverent interpretation of subjection, for since this is the office of the Lord's Passion, He will be subject in us in that in which He suffered. Do we ask wherefore? That neither angels, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor things present, nor things to come, nor any other creature may separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus. Romans 8:38-39 We see then, from what has been said, that no creature is excepted; but that every one, of whatever kind it may be, is enumerated among those he mentioned above.

187. At the same time, we must also think of the words which, after first saying Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Romans 8:35 he wrote next: Neither death, nor life, nor any other creature can separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus. We see, then, that the love of God is the same as the love of Christ. Thus it was not without reason that he wrote of the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus, lest otherwise you might imagine that the love of God and of Christ was divided. But there is nothing that love divides, nothing that the eternal Godhead cannot do, nothing that is unknown to the Truth, or deceives Justice, or escapes the notice of Wisdom.

CHAPTER 16.

The Arians are condemned by the Holy Spirit through the mouth of David: for they dare to limit Christ's knowledge. The passage cited by them in proof of this is by no means free from suspicion of having been corrupted. But to set this right, we must mark the word Son. For knowledge cannot fail Christ as Son of God, since He is Wisdom; nor the recognition of any part, for He created all things. It is not possible that He, who made the ages, cannot know the future, much less the day of judgment. Such knowledge, whether it concerns anything great or small, may not be denied to the Son, nor yet to the Holy Spirit. Lastly, various proofs are given from which we can gather that this knowledge exists in Christ.

188. WHEREFORE WE ought to know that they who make such statements are accursed and condemned by the Holy Spirit. For whom else but the Arians in chief does the prophet condemn, seeing that they say that the Son of God knows neither times nor years. For there is nothing which God is ignorant of; and Christ, yea the most high Christ, is God, for He is God over all. Romans 9:5

189. See how horrified holy David is at such men, in limiting the knowledge of the Son of God. For thus it is written: They are not in the troubles of other men, neither will they be scourged with men; therefore their pride has laid hold on them; they are covered with their wickedness and blasphemy; their iniquity has stood forth as it were with fatness; they have passed on to the thoughts of their heart. Truly he condemns those who think that divine things are to be regarded in the light of the thoughts of the heart. For God is not subject to arrangement or order; seeing that we do not

perceive even those very things, which are common among men and often occur in the history of the human race, to turn out always after the arrangement of some stated rule, but often to happen suddenly in some secret and mysterious manner.

190. They have thought, he says, and have spoken wickedness. They have spoken wickedness against the Most High. They have set their mouth against heaven. We see then that he condemns, as guilty of wicked blasphemy, those who claim for themselves the right to arrange the heavenly secrets after the semblance of our human nature.

191. And they have said: How has God known? And is there knowledge in the Most High? Do not the Arians echo this daily, saying that all knowledge cannot exist in Christ? For He, they say, stated that He knew not the day nor hour. Do they not say, how did He know, while they maintain that He could not know anything but what He heard and saw, and apply by a blasphemous interpretation that which concerns the unity of the divine Nature to weaken His power?

192. It is written, they say: But of that day and that hour knows no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father only. Mark 13:32 First of all the ancient Greek manuscripts do not contain the words, neither the Son. But it is not to be wondered at if they who have corrupted the sacred Scriptures, have also falsified this passage. The reason for which it seems to have been inserted is perfectly plain, so long as it is applied to unfold such blasphemy.

193. Suppose however that the Evangelist wrote thus. The name of Son embraces both natures. For He is also called Son of Man, so that in the ignorance attached to the assumption of our nature, He seems not to have known the day of the judgment to come. For how could the Son of God be ignorant of the day, seeing that the treasures of the wisdom and knowledge of God are hidden in Him? Colossians 2:3

194. I ask then, whether He had this knowledge by reason of His Being, or by chance? For all knowledge comes to us either through nature, or by learning. It is supplied by nature, as for instance to a horse to enable it to run, or to a fish to enable it to swim. For they do this without learning. On the other hand, it is by learning that a man is enabled to swim. For he could not do so unless he had learned. Since therefore nature enables dumb animals to do and to know what they have not learned, why should you give an opinion on the Son of God, and say whether He has knowledge by instruction or by nature? If by instruction, then He was not begotten as Wisdom, and gradually began to be perfect, but was not always so. But if He has knowledge by nature, then He was perfect in the beginning, He came forth perfect from the Father; and so needed no foreknowledge of the future.

195. He therefore was not ignorant of the days; for it does not fall to the lot of the Wisdom of God to know in part and in part to be ignorant. For how can He who made all things be ignorant of a part, since it is a less thing to know than to make. For we know many things which we cannot make, neither do we all know things in the same way but we know them in part. For a countryman knows the force of the wind and the courses of the stars in one way — the inhabitant of a city knows them in another way — and a pilot in yet a third way. But although all do not know all things, they are said to know them; but He alone knows all things in full, Who made all things. The pilot knows for how many watches Arcturus continues, what sort of a rising of Orion he will discover, but he knows nothing of the connection of the Vergiliæ and of the other stars, or of their number or names, as does He Who numbers the multitude of stars, and calls them all by their names; Whom indeed the power of His work cannot escape.

196. How then do you wish the Son of God to have made these things? Like a signet ring which does not feel the impression it makes? But the

Father made all things in wisdom, that is, He made all things through the Son, who is the Virtue and Wisdom of God. 1 Corinthians 1:24 But it befits such Wisdom as that to know both the powers and the causes of His own works. Thus the Creator of all things could not be ignorant of what He did — or be without knowledge of what He had Himself given. Therefore He knew the day which He made.

197. But you say that He knows the present and does not know the future. Though this is a foolish suggestion, yet that I may satisfy you on Scriptural grounds, learn that He made not only what is past, but also what is future, as it is written: Who made things to come. Isaiah 45:11 Elsewhere too Scripture says: By whom also He made the ages, who is the brightness of His glory and the express Image of His Person. Hebrews 1:2-3 Now the ages are past and present and future. How then were those made which are future, unless it is that His active power and knowledge contains within itself the number of all the ages? For just as He calls the things that are not as though they were, Romans 4:17 so has He made things future as though they were. It cannot come to pass that they should not be. Those things which He has directed to be, necessarily will be. Therefore He who has made the things that are to be, knows them in the way in which they will be.

198. If we are to believe this about the ages, much more must we believe it about the day of judgment, on the ground that the Son of God has knowledge of it, as being already made by Him. For it is written: According to Your ordinance the day will continue. He did not merely say the day continues, but even will continue, so that the things which are to come might be governed by His ordinance. Does He not know what He ordered? He who planted the ear, shall He not hear? He that formed the eye shall He not see?

199. Let us however see if by chance there may be some great thing, which could be beyond the knowledge of its Creator; or at least let them

choose whether they will think of something great and superior to other things, or something very little and mean. If it is very little and mean, it is no loss, to speak after our fashion, to know nothing of worthless and petty things. For as it is a sign of power to know the greatest things, it seems rather to be a sign of inferior work to look upon what is worth less. Thus He is freed from fastidiousness, yet is not deprived of His power.

200. But if they think it a great and important thing to know the day of judgment: Let them say what is greater or better than God the Father. He knows God the Father, as He Himself says: No man knows the Father but the Son and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him. Matthew 11:27 I say, does He know the Father and yet not know the day? So then you believe that He reveals the Father, and yet cannot reveal the day?

201. Next because you make certain grades, so as to put the Father before the Son, and the Son before the Holy Spirit, tell me whether the Holy Spirit knew the day of judgment. For no thing is written of Him in this place. You deny it entirely. But what if I show you He knew it? For it is written: But God has revealed them to us by His Spirit, for the Spirit searches all things, yea the deep things of God. 1 Corinthians 2:10 Wherefore, because He searches the deep things of God, since God knows the day of judgment, the Spirit also knows it. For He knows all that God knows, as also the Apostle states, saying: For what man knows the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him, even so the things of God knows no man, but the Spirit of God. 1 Corinthians 2:11 Take heed therefore lest either by denying that the Holy Spirit knows, you should deny that the Father knows; (For the things of God, the Spirit of God also knows, but the things which the Spirit of God does not know, are not the things of God). Or by confessing that the Spirit of God knows, what you deny that the Son of God knows, you should put the Spirit before the Son in

opposition to your own declaration. But to hesitate on this point is not only blasphemous but also foolish.

202. Now consider how knowledge is acquired, and let us show that the Son Himself proved that He knew the day. For what we know we make clear either by mention of time or place or signs or persons, or by giving their order. How then did He not know the day of judgment Who described both the hour and the place of judgment, and the signs and the cases?

203. And so you have it: In that hour he which shall be on the housetop let him not come down to take his goods out of his house, and he that is in the field, let him likewise not return back. Luke 17:31 To such a point in the future did He know the issues of dangers, that He even showed the means of safety to those in danger.

204. Could the Lord be ignorant of a day Who Himself said of Himself that the Son of Man is Lord of the Sabbath? Matthew 12:8

205. He has also elsewhere marked out a place, when He said to His disciples who were showing Him the building of the temple, Do you see all these things? Verily I say unto you, there shall not be left one stone upon another which shall not be thrown down. Matthew 24:2

206. When questioned also about a sign by His disciples, He answered: Take heed that you be not deceived. For many shall come in My name, saying I am Christ; Luke 21:8 and further on He says: and great earthquakes shall be in various places, and famines, and pestilences, and terrors from heaven, and there shall be great signs. Luke 21:11 Thus He has described both persons and signs.

207. In what manner He tells that the armies will surround Jerusalem, or that the times of the Gentiles are to be fulfilled, and in what order — all this is disclosed to us by the witness of the Gospel words. Therefore He knew all things.

CHAPTER 17.

Christ acted for our advantage in being unwilling to reveal the day of judgment. This is made plain by other words of our Lord and by a not dissimilar passage from Paul's writings. Other passages in which the same ignorance seems to be attributed to the Father are brought forward to meet those who are anxious to know why Christ answered His disciples, as though He did not know. From these Ambrose argues against them that if they admit ignorance and inability in the Father, they must admit that the same Substance exists in the Son as in the Father; unless they prefer to accuse the Son of falsehood; since it belongs neither to Him nor to the Father to deceive, but the unity of both is pointed out in the passage named.

208. BUT WE ask for what reason He was unwilling to state the time. If we ask it, we shall not find it is owing to ignorance, but to wisdom. For it was not to our advantage to know; in order that we being ignorant of the actual moments of judgment to come, might ever be as it were on guard, and set on the watchtower of virtue, and so avoid the habits of sin; lest the day of the Lord should come upon us in the midst of our wickedness. For it is not to our advantage to know but rather to fear the future; for it is written: Be not high-minded but fear. Romans 11:20

209. For if He had distinctly stated the day, he would seem to have laid down a rule of life for that one age which was nearest to the judgment, and the just man in the earlier times would be more negligent, and the sinner more free from care. For the adulterer cannot cease from the desire of committing adultery unless he fears punishment day by day, nor can the robber forsake the hiding places in the woods where he dwells, unless he

knows punishment is hanging over him day by day. For impurity generally spurs them on, but fear is irksome to the end.

210. Therefore I have said that it was not to our advantage to know; nay, it is to our advantage to be ignorant, that through ignorance we might fear, through watchfulness be corrected, as He Himself said: Be ready, for you know not at what hour the Son of Man comes. Matthew 24:44 For the soldier does not know how to watch in the camp unless he knows that war is at hand.

211. Wherefore at another time also the Lord Himself when asked by his Apostles (Yes, for they did not understand it as Arius did, but believed that the Son of God knew the future. For unless they had believed this, they would never have asked the question.) — the Lord, I say, when asked when He would restore the kingdom to Israel, did not say that He did not know, but says: It is not for you to know the times or years, which the Father has put in His own power. Acts 1:7 Mark what He said: It is not for you to know! Read again, It is not for you. For you, He said, not for Me, for now He spoke not according to His own perfection but as was profitable to the human body and our soul. For you therefore He said, not for Me.

212. Which example the Apostle also followed: But of the times and seasons, brethren, he says, you have no need that I write unto you. 1 Thessalonians 5:1 Thus not even the Apostle himself, the servant of Christ, said that he knew not the seasons, but that there was no need for the people to be taught; for they ought ever to be armed with spiritual armour, that the virtue of Christ may stand forth in each one. But when the Lord says: Of the times which the Father has put in His own power, Acts 1:7 He certainly cannot be without a share in His Father’s knowledge, in whose power He is by no means without a share. For power grows out of wisdom and virtue; and Christ is both of these.

213. But you ask, why did He not refuse His disciples as one who knew, but would not say; and, why did He state instead that neither the angels nor the Son knew? Mark 13:32 I too will ask you why God says in Genesis: I will go down now, and see whether they have done altogether according to the cry that has come unto Me. And if not, that I may know. Genesis 18:21 Why does Scripture also say of God: And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which the sons of men built. Genesis 11:5 Why also does the prophet say in the Book of the Psalms: The Lord looked down upon the children of men, to see if there were any that did understand, and that did seek God? Just as though in one place, if God had not descended, and in the other, if He had not looked down, He would have been ignorant either of men's work or of their merits.

214. But in the Gospel of Luke also you have the same, for the Father says: What shall I do? I will send My beloved Son; it may be that they will reverence Him. Luke 20:13 In Matthew and in Mark you have: But He sent His only Son, saying: they will reverence My Son; Matthew 21:37 In one book He says: It may be that they will reverence My Son; Mark 12:6 and is in doubt as though He does not know; for this is the language of one in doubt. But in the two other books He says: They will reverence My Son; that is, He declares that reverence will be shown.

215. But God can neither be in doubt, nor can He be deceived. For he only is in doubt, who is ignorant of the future; and he is deceived, who has predicted one thing, while another has happened. Yet what is plainer than the fact that Scripture states the Father to have said one thing of the Son, and that the same Scripture proves another think to have taken place? The Son was beaten, He was mocked, was crucified, and died. He suffered much worse things in the flesh than those servants who had been appointed before. Was the Father deceived, or was He ignorant of it, or was He unable to give help? But He that is true cannot make a mistake; for it is written:

God is faithful Who does not lie. Titus 1:2 How was He ignorant, Who knows all? What could He not do, Who could do all?

216. Yet if either He was ignorant, or had not power (for you would sooner agree to say that the Father did not know than own that the Son knows), you see from this very fact that the Son is of one Substance with the Father; seeing that the Son like the Father (to speak in accordance with your foolish ideas) does not know all things, and cannot do all things. For I am not so eager or rash in giving praise to the Son as to dare to say that the Son can do more than the Father; for I make no distinction of power between the Father and the Son.

217. But perhaps you say that the Father did not say so, but that the Son erred about the Father. So now you convict the Son not only of weakness, but also of blasphemy and lying. However if you do not believe the Son with regard to the Father, neither may you believe Him with regard to that. For if He wished to deceive us in saying that the Father was in doubt as though He knew not what would take place, He wished also to deceive us about Himself in saying that He did not know the future. It would be far more endurable for Him to stretch the veil of ignorance in front of that which He does of His own accord, than that He should seem to be deluded by a result contrary to what He had foretold in the things He had declared of His Father.

218. But neither is the Father deceived, not does the Son deceive. It is the custom of the holy Scriptures to speak thus, as the examples I have already given, and many others testify, so that God feigns not to know what He does know. In this then a unity of Godhead, and a unity of character is proved to exist in the Father and in the Son; seeing that, as God the Father hides what is known to Him, so also the Son, Who is the image of God in this respect, hides what is known to Him.

CHAPTER 18.

Wishing to give a reason for the Lord's answer to the apostles, he assigns the one received to Christ's tenderness. Then when another reason is supplied by others he confesses that it is true; for the Lord spoke it by reason of His human feelings. Hence he gathers that the knowledge of the Father and the Son is equal, and that the Son is not inferior to the Father. After having set beside the text, in which He is said to be inferior, another whereby He is declared to be equal, he censures the rashness of the Arians in judging about the Son, and shows that while they wickedly make Him to be inferior, He is rightly called a Stone by Himself.

219. WE HAVE been taught therefore that the Son of God is not ignorant of the future. If they confess this, I too — that I may now answer why He declared that neither angels, nor the Son, but only the Father knows — call to mind His wonted love for His disciples also in this passage, and His grace, which by its very frequency ought to have been known to all. For the Lord, filled with deep love for His disciples, when they asked from Him what He thought unprofitable for them to know, prefers to seem ignorant of what He knows, rather than to refuse an answer. He loves rather to provide what is useful for us, than to show His own power.

220. There are, however, some not so faint-hearted as I. For I would rather fear the deep things of God, than be wise. There are some, however, relying on the words: And Jesus increased in age and in wisdom and in favour with God and man, Luke 2:52 who boldly say, that according to His Godhead indeed He could not be ignorant of the future, but that in His assumption of our human state He said that He as Son of Man was in

ignorance before His crucifixion. For when He speaks of the Son, He does not speak as it were of another; for He Himself is our Lord the Son of God and the Son of a Virgin. But by a word which embraces both, He guides our mind, so that He as Son of Man according to His adoption of our ignorance and growth of knowledge, might be believed as yet not fully to have known all things. For it is not for us to know the future. Thus He seems to be ignorant in that state in which He makes progress. For how does He progress according to His Godhead, in Whom the fullness of the Godhead dwells? Colossians 2:9 Or what is there which the Son of God does not know, Who said: Why do you think evil in your hearts? Matthew 9:4 How does He not know, of Whom Scripture says: But Jesus knew their thoughts? Luke 6:8

221. This is what others say, but I — to return to my former point, where I stated it was written of the Father: It may be they will reverence My Son, — I think indeed this was written in order that the Father, as He was speaking of men, might also seem to have spoken with human feelings. But still more am I inclined to think that the Son Who went about with men, and lived the life of man, and took upon Him our flesh, assumed also our feelings; so that after our ignorance He might say He knew not, though there was not anything He did not know. For though He seemed to be a man in the reality of His body, yet was He Life, and Light, and virtue came out of Him, Luke 6:19 to heal the wounds of the injured by the power of His Majesty.

222. You see then that this matter has been solved for you, since the saying of the Son is referred to the assumption of our state in its fullness, and it was thus written concerning the Father, in order that you might cease to cavil at the Son.

223. There was nothing then of which the Son of God was ignorant, for there was nothing of which the Father was ignorant. But if the Son was

ignorant of nothing, as we now conclude, let them say in what respect they wish Him to seem to be inferior. If God has begotten a Son inferior to Himself, He has granted Him less. If He has granted Him less, He either wished to give less, or could only give less. But the Father is neither weak nor envious, seeing that there was neither will nor power before the Son. For wherein is He inferior, Who has all things even as the Father has them? He has received all things from the Father by right of His Generation, John 16:15 and has shown forth the Father wholly by the glory of His Majesty.

224. It is written, they say: For the Father is greater than I. John 14:28 It is also written: He thought it not robbery to be equal with God. Philippians 2:6 It is written again that the Jews wished to kill Him, because He said He was the Son of God, making Himself equal with God. John 5:18 It is written: I and My Father are one. John 10:30 They read one, they do not read many. Can He then be both inferior and equal in the same Nature? Nay, the one refers to His Godhead, the other to His flesh.

225. They say He is inferior: I ask who has measured it, who is of so overweening a heart, as to place the Father and the Son before his judgment seat to decide upon which is the greater? My heart is not haughty nor are my eyes raised unto vanity, says David. King David feared to raise his heart in pride in human affairs, but we raise ours even in opposition to the divine secrets. Who shall decide about the Son of God? Thrones, dominions, angels, powers? But archangels give attendance and serve Him, cherubim and seraphim minister to Him and praise Him. Who then decides about the Son of God, on reading that the Father Himself knows the Son, but will not judge Him. For no man knows the Son, but the Father. Matthew 11:27 Knows it says, not judges. It is one thing to know, another to judge. The Father has knowledge in Himself. The Son has no power superior to Himself. And again: No man knows the Father, but the Son; and He Himself knows the Father, as the Father knows Him.

226. But you say that He said He was inferior, He said also He was a Stone. You say more and yet you impiously attack Him. I say less and with reverence add to His honour. You say He is inferior and confess Him to be above the angels. I say He is less than the angels, yet do not take from His honour; for I do not refute His Godhead, but I do proclaim His pity

CHAPTER 19.

The Saint having turned to God the Father, explains why he does not deride that the Son is inferior to the Father, then he declares it is not for him to measure the Son of God, since it was given to an angel — nay, perhaps even to Christ as man — to measure merely Jerusalem. Arius, he says, has shown himself to be an imitator of Satan. It is a rash thing to hold discussions on the divine Generation. Since so great a sign of human generation has been given by Isaiah, we ought not to make comparisons in divine things. Lastly he shows how carefully we ought to avoid the pride of Arius, by putting before us various examples of Scriptures.

227. TO YOU now, Almighty Father, do I direct my words with tears. I indeed have readily called You inapproachable, incomprehensible, inestimable; but I dared not say Your Son was inferior to Yourself. For when I read that He is the Brightness of Your glory, and the Image of Your Person, Hebrews 1:3 I fear lest, in saying that the Image of Your Person is inferior, I should seem to say that Your Person is inferior, of which the Son is the Image; for the fullness of Your Godhead is wholly in the Son. I have often read, I freely believe, that You and Your Son and the Holy Spirit are boundless, unmeasurable, inestimable, ineffable. And therefore I cannot appraise You so as to weigh You.

228. But be it so, that I desired with a daring and rash spirit to measure You? From whence, I ask, shall I measure You? The prophet saw a line of flax with which the angel measured Jerusalem. An angel was measuring, not Arius. And he was measuring Jerusalem, not God. And perchance even an angel could not measure Jerusalem, for it was a man. Thus it is written: I

raised my eyes and saw and beheld a man, and in his hand there was a line of flax. Ezekiel 40:3 He was a man, for a type of the body that was to be assumed was thus shown. He was a man, of whom it was said: There comes a man after me, Whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose. John 1:27 Therefore Christ in a type measures Jerusalem. Arius measures God.

229. Even Satan transforms himself into an angel of light; 2 Corinthians 11:14 what wonder then if Arius imitates his Author in taking upon himself what is forbidden? Though his father the devil did it not in his own case, that man with intolerable blasphemy assumes to himself the knowledge of divine secrets and the mysteries of the heavenly Generation. For the devil confessed the true Son of God, Arius denies Him.

230. If, then, I cannot measure You, Almighty Father, can I without blasphemy discuss the secrets of Your Generation? Can I say there is anything more or less between You and Your Son when He Himself Who was begotten of You, says: All things which the Father has are Mine. John 16:15 Who has made Me a judge and a divider of human affairs? This the Son says, Luke 12:14 and do we claim to make a division and to give judgment between the Father and the Son? A right feeling of duty avoids arbiters even in the division of an inheritance. And shall we become arbiters, to divide between You and Your Son the glory of the uncreated Substance?

231. This generation, it says, is an evil generation. It seeks a sign, and there shall no sign be given it, but the sign of Jonas the prophet. Luke 11:29 A sign of the Godhead then is not given, but only of the Incarnation. Thus when about to speak of the Incarnation the prophet says: Ask you a sign. And when the king had said: I will not ask, neither will I tempt the Lord, the answer was: Behold a Virgin shall conceive. Therefore we cannot see a sign of the Godhead, and do we seek a measure of it? Alas! Woe is me! We impiously dare to discuss Him, to Whom we cannot worthily pray!

232. Let the Arians see to what they do. I have unlawfully compared You, O Father, with Your works in saying that You are greater than all. If greater than Your Son, as Arius maintains, I have judged wickedly. Concerning You first will that judgment be. For no choice can be made except by comparison, nor can anyone be put before another without a decision being first given on Himself.

233. It is not lawful for us to swear by heaven, but it is lawful to judge about God. Yet You have given to Your Son alone judgment over all.

234. John feared to baptize the flesh of the Lord, John forbade Him, saying: I have need to be baptized by You, and You come to me? Matthew 3:4 And shall I bring Christ under my judgment?

235. Moses excuses himself from the Priesthood, Peter is for avoiding the obedience demanded in the Ministry; and does Arius examine even the deep things of God? But Arius is not the Holy Spirit. Nay, it was said even to Arius and to all men: Seek not that which is too deep for you. Sirach 3:22

236. Moses is prevented from seeing the face of God; Exodus 33:23 Arius merited to see it in secret. Moses and Aaron among His Priests. Moses who appeared with the Lord in glory, that Moses then saw only the back parts of God in appearance; Arius beholds God wholly face to face! But no one, it says, can see My face and live.

237. Paul also speaks of inferior beings: We know in part and we prophesy in part. 1 Corinthians 13:9 Arius says: I know God altogether and not in part. Thus Paul is inferior to Arius, and the vessel of election knows in part, but the vessel of perdition knows wholly. I know, he says, a man, whether in the body or out of the body, I cannot tell, God knows, how he was caught up into Paradise and heard unspeakable words. 2 Corinthians 13:3-4 Paul carried up to the third heaven, knew not himself; Arius rolling in filth, knows God. Paul says of himself: God knows; Arius says of God: I know.

238. But Arius was not caught up to heaven, although he followed him who with accursed boastfulness presumed on what was divine, saying: I will set my throne upon the clouds; I will be like the Most High. Isaiah 14:14 For as he said: I will be like the Most High, so too Arius wishes the Most High Son of God to seem like himself, Whom he does not worship in the eternal glory of His Godhead, but measures by the weakness of the flesh.

On the Mysteries

Translated by H. de Romestin, E. de Romestin and H. T. F. Duckworth

CONTENTS

Introduction.
CHAPTER 1
CHAPTER 2
CHAPTER 3
CHAPTER 4
CHAPTER 5
CHAPTER 6
CHAPTER 7
CHAPTER 8
CHAPTER 9

An eighteenth century etching of Ambrose

Introduction.

THE WRITER EXPLAINS in the commencement of this treatise that his object was to set forth, for the benefit of those about to be baptized, the rites and meaning of that Sacrament, as well as of Confirmation and the Holy Eucharist. For all these matters were treated with the greatest reserve in the Early Church, for fear of profanation by the heathen, and it was the custom, as in the case of the well-known Catechetical Lectures of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, to explain them to the catechumens during the latter part of Lent.

Treatises of this kind possess therefore a special interest, as in them we find clearly stated the full teaching of the Church at the time when those addresses which have come down to our times were drawn up.

St. Ambrose goes through and explains the greater part, first of the rites usual at the time of solemn baptism, pointing out the deep truths and mysteries underlying these outward things. He then treats Confirmation, referring to the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit; and lastly, speaks of the Holy Eucharist, especially setting forth the doctrine of the Real Presence.

Some writers in and since the sixteenth century have endeavoured to prove that this treatise has been falsely attributed to St. Ambrose, but there can be no real doubt on the matter, as is conclusively shown by the Benedictine Editors, and now universally admitted. The treatise was composed for use during Lent, but in what year cannot be fixed, possibly, from reference made to the treatise De *Patriarchis*, about a.d. 387.

CHAPTER 1

ST. AMBROSE STATES that after the explanations he has already given of holy living, he will now explain the Mysteries. Then after giving his reasons for not having done so before, he explains the mystery of the opening of the ears, and shows how this was of old done by Christ Himself.

1. We have spoken daily upon subjects connected with morals, when the deeds of the Patriarchs or the precepts of the Proverbs were being read, in order that being taught and instructed by these you might grow accustomed to enter the ways of the ancients and to walk in their paths, and obey the divine commands; in order that being renewed by baptism you might hold to that manner of life which beseems those who are washed.

2. The season now warns us to speak of the Mysteries, and to set forth the purport of the sacraments, which if we had thought it well to teach before baptism to those who were not yet initiated, we should be considered rather to have betrayed than to have portrayed the Mysteries. And then, too, another reason is that the light itself of the Mysteries will shed itself with more effect upon those who are expecting they know not what, than if any discourse had come beforehand.

3. Open, then, your ears, inhale the good savour of eternal life which has been breathed upon you by the grace of the sacraments; which was signified to you by us, when, celebrating the mystery of the opening, we said, Epphatha, which is, Be opened, Mark 7:34 that whosoever was coming in quest of peace might know what he was asked, and be bound to remember what he answered.

4. Christ made use of this mystery in the Gospel, as we read, when He healed him who was deaf and dumb. But He touched the mouth, because he who was healed was dumb and was a man, as regards one point that he might open his mouth with the sound of the voice given to him; as regards the other point because that touch was seemly towards a man, but would have been unseemly towards a woman.

CHAPTER 2

WHAT THOSE WHO were to be initiated promised on entering the Church, of the witnesses to these promises, and wherefore they then turned themselves to the East.

5. After this the Holy of holies was opened to you, you entered the sanctuary of regeneration; recall what you were asked, and remember what you answered. You renounced the devil and his works, the world with its luxury and pleasures. That utterance of yours is preserved not in the tombs of the dead, but in the book of the living.

6. You saw there the deacon, you saw the priest, you saw the chief priest [i.e. the bishop]. Consider not the bodily forms, but the grace of the Mysteries. You spoke in the presence of the angels, as it is written: For the priest's lips keep knowledge, and they seek the law at his mouth, for he is the angel of the Lord Almighty. Malachi 2:7 There is no place for deception nor for denial. He is an angel who proclaims the kingdom of Christ and eternal life. He is to be esteemed by you not according to his appearance, but according to his office. Consider what he delivered, reflect upon the rule of life he gave you, recognize his position.

7. You entered, then, that you might discern your adversary, whom you were to renounce as it were to his face, then you turned to the east; for he who renounces the devil turns to Christ, and beholds Him face to face.

CHAPTER 3

ST. AMBROSE POINTS out that we must consider the divine presence and working in the water and the sacred ministers, and then brings forward many Old Testament figures of baptism.

8. What did you see? Water, certainly, but not water alone; you saw the deacons ministering there, and the bishop asking questions and hallowing. First of all, the Apostle taught you that those things are not to be considered which we see, but the things which are not seen, for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal. 1 Corinthians 5:18 For you read elsewhere: That the invisible things of God, since the creation of the world, are understood through those things which have been made; His eternal power also and Godhead are estimated by His works. Romans 1:20 Wherefore also the Lord Himself says: If you believe not Me, believe at least the works. John 10:38 Believe, then, that the presence of the Godhead is there. Do you believe the working, and not believe the presence? Whence should the working proceed unless the presence went before?

9. Consider, however, how ancient is the mystery prefigured even in the origin of the world itself. In the very beginning, when God made the heaven and the earth, the Spirit, it is said, moved upon the waters. Genesis 1:2 He Who was moving upon the waters, was He not working upon the waters? But why should I say, working? As regards His presence He was moving. Was He not working Who was moving? Recognize that He was working in that making of the world, when the prophet says: By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all their strength by the spirit of His mouth.

Each statement rests upon the testimony of the prophet, both that He was moving and that He was working. Moses says that He was moving, David testifies that he was working.

10. Take another testimony. All flesh was corrupt by its iniquities. My Spirit, says God, shall not remain among men, because they are flesh. Genesis 6:3 Whereby God shows that the grace of the Spirit is turned away by carnal impurity and the pollution of grave sin. Upon which, God, willing to restore what was lacking, sent the flood and bade just Noah go up into the ark. And he, after having, as the flood was passing off, sent forth first a raven which did not return, sent forth a dove which is said to have returned with an olive twig. You see the water, you see the wood [of the ark], you see the dove, and do you hesitate as to the mystery?

11. The water, then, is that in which the flesh is dipped, that all carnal sin may be washed away. All wickedness is there buried. The wood is that on which the Lord Jesus was fastened when He suffered for us. The dove is that in the form of which the Holy Spirit descended, as you have read in the New Testament, Who inspires in you peace of soul and tranquillity of mind. The raven is the figure of sin, which goes forth and does not return, if, in you, too, inwardly and outwardly righteousness be preserved.

12. There is also a third testimony, as the Apostle teaches us: For all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were all baptized to Moses in the cloud and in the sea. 1 Corinthians 10:1-2 And further, Moses himself says in his song: You sent Your Spirit, and the sea covered them. Exodus 15:10 You observe that even then holy baptism was prefigured in that passage of the Hebrews, wherein the Egyptian perished, the Hebrew escaped. For what else are we daily taught in this sacrament but that guilt is swallowed up and error done away, but that virtue and innocence remain unharmed?

13. You hear that our fathers were under the cloud, and that a kindly cloud, which cooled the heat of carnal passions. That kindly cloud overshadows those whom the Holy Spirit visits. At last it came upon the Virgin Mary, and the Power of the Highest overshadowed her, Luke 1:35 when she conceived Redemption for the race of men. And that miracle was wrought in a figure through Moses. If, then, the Spirit was in the figure, is He not present in the reality, since Scripture says to us: For the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. John 1:17

14. Marah was a fountain of most bitter water: Moses cast wood into it and it became sweet. For water without the preaching of the Cross of the Lord is of no avail for future salvation, but, after it has been consecrated by the mystery of the saving cross, it is made suitable for the use of the spiritual laver and of the cup of salvation. As, then, Moses, that is, the prophet, cast wood into that fountain, so, too, the priest utters over this font the proclamation of the Lord's cross, and the water is made sweet for the purpose of grace.

15. You must not trust, then, wholly to your bodily eyes; that which is not seen is more really seen, for the object of sight is temporal, but that other eternal, which is not apprehended by the eye, but is discerned by the mind and spirit.

16. Lastly, let the lessons lately gone through from the Kings teach you. Naaman was a Syrian, and suffered from leprosy, nor could he be cleansed by any. Then a maiden from among the captives said that there was a prophet in Israel, who could cleanse him from the defilement of the leprosy. And it is said that, having taken silver and gold, he went to the king of Israel. And he, when he heard the cause of his coming, rent his clothes, saying, that occasion was rather being sought against him, since things were asked of him which pertained not to the power of kings. Elisha, however, sent word to the king, that he should send the Syrian to him, that he might

know there was a God in Israel. And when he had come, he bade him dip himself seven times in the river Jordan.

17. Then he began to reason with himself that he had better waters in his own country, in which he had often bathed and never been cleansed of his leprosy; and so remembering this, he did not obey the command of the prophet, yet on the advice and persuasion of his servants he yielded and dipped himself. And being immediately cleansed, he understood that it is not of the waters but of grace that a man is cleansed.

18. Understand now who is that young maid among the captives. She is the congregation gathered out of the Gentiles, that is, the Church of God held down of old by the captivity of sin, when as yet it possessed not the liberty of grace, by whose counsel that foolish people of the Gentiles heard the word of prophecy as to which it had before been in doubt. Afterwards, however, when they believed that it ought to be obeyed, they were washed from every defilement of sin. And he indeed doubted before he was healed; you are already healed, and therefore ought not to doubt.

CHAPTER 4

THAT WATER DOES not cleanse without the Spirit is shown by the witness of John and by the very form of the administration of the sacrament. And this is also declared to be signified by the pool in the Gospel and the man who was there healed. In the same passage, too, is shown that the Holy Spirit truly descended on Christ at His baptism, and the meaning of this mystery is explained.

19. The reason why you were told before not to believe only what you saw was that you might not say perchance, This is that great mystery which eye has not seen, nor ear heard, neither has it entered into the heart of man. 1 Corinthians 2:9 I see water, which I have been used to see every day. Is that water to cleanse me now in which I have so often bathed without ever being cleansed? By this you may recognize that water does not cleanse without the Spirit.

20. Therefore read that the three witnesses in baptism, the water, the blood, and the Spirit, 1 John 5:7 are one, for if you take away one of these, the Sacrament of Baptism does not exist. For what is water without the cross of Christ? A common element, without any sacramental effect. Nor, again, is there the Sacrament of Regeneration without water: For except a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. John 3:5 Now, even the catechumen believes in the cross of the Lord Jesus, wherewith he too is signed; but unless he be baptized in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, he cannot receive remission of sins nor gain the gift of spiritual grace.

21. So that Syrian dipped himself seven times under the law, but you were baptized in the Name of the Trinity, you confessed the Father. Call to mind what you did: you confessed the Son, you confessed the Holy Spirit. Mark well the order of things in this faith: you died to the world, and rose again to God. And as though buried to the world in that element, being dead to sin, you rose again to eternal life. Believe, therefore, that these waters are not void of power.

22. Therefore it is said: An angel of the Lord went down according to the season into the pool, and the water was troubled; and he who first after the troubling of the water went down into the pool was healed of whatsoever disease he was holden. John 5:4 This pool was at Jerusalem, in which one was healed every year, but no one was healed before the angel had descended. Because of those who believed not the water was troubled as a sign that the angel had descended. They had a sign, you have faith; for them an angel descended, for you the Holy Spirit; for them the creature was troubled, for you Christ Himself, the Lord of the creature, works.

23. Then one was healed, now all are made whole; or more exactly, the Christian people alone, for in some even the water is deceitful. Jeremiah 15:18 The baptism of unbelievers heals not but pollutes. The Jew washes pots and cups, as though things without sense were capable of guilt or grace. But do you wash this living cup of yours, that in it your good works may shine and the glory of your grace be bright. For that pool was as a type, that you might believe that the power of God descends upon this font.

24. Lastly, that paralytic was waiting for a man. And what man save the Lord Jesus, born of the Virgin, at Whose coming no longer the shadow should heal men one by one, but the truth should heal the whole. He it is, then, Whose coming down was being waited for, of Whom the Father said to John the Baptist: Upon Whom you shall see the Spirit descending and abiding upon Him, this is He Who baptizes with the Holy Spirit. John 1:33

And John bore witness of Him, and said: I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove and abiding upon Him. John 1:32 And why did the Spirit descend like a dove, but in order that you might see, that you might acknowledge, that that dove also which just Noah sent forth from the ark was a likeness of this dove, that you might recognize the type of the sacrament?

25. Perhaps you may object: Since that was a real dove which was sent forth, and the Spirit descended like a dove, how is it that we say that the likeness was there and the reality here, whereas in the Greek it is written that the Spirit descended in the likeness of a dove? But what is so real as the Godhead which abides for ever? Now the creature cannot be the reality, but only a likeness, which is easily destroyed and changed. So, again, because the simplicity of those who are baptized ought to be not in appearance but in reality, and the Lord says: Be wise as serpents and simple as doves. Matthew 10:16 Rightly, then, did He descend like a dove, in order to admonish us that we ought to have the simplicity of the dove. And further we read of the likeness being put for the reality, both as regards Christ: And was found in likeness as a man; Philippians 2:8 and as regards God the Father: Nor have you seen His likeness. John 5:37

CHAPTER 5

CHRIST IS HIMSELF present in Baptism, so that we need not consider the person of His ministers. A brief explanation of the confession of the Trinity as usually uttered by those about to be baptized.

26. Is there, then, here any room left for doubt, when the Father clearly calls from heaven in the Gospel narrative, and says: This is My beloved Son, in Whom I am well pleased? Matthew 3:17 When the Son also speaks, upon Whom the Holy Spirit showed Himself in the likeness of a dove? When the Holy Spirit also speaks, Who came down in the likeness of a dove? When David, too, speaks: The voice of the Lord is above the waters, the God of glory thundered, the Lord above many waters? When Scripture testifies that at the prayer of Jerubbaal, fire came down from heaven, Judges 6:21 and again, when Elijah prayed, fire was sent forth and consecrated the sacrifice.

27. Do not consider the merits of individuals, but the office of the priests. Or, if you look at the merits, consider the priest as Elijah. Look upon the merits of Peter also, or of Paul, who handed down to us this mystery which they had received of the Lord Jesus. To those [of old] a visible fire was sent that they might believe; for us who believe, the Lord works invisibly; for them that happened for a figure, for us for warning. Believe, then, that the Lord Jesus is present at the invocation of the priest, Who said: Where two or three are, there am I also. Matthew 18:20 How much where the Church is, and where His Mysteries are, does He vouchsafe to impart His presence!

28. You went down, then (into the water), remember what you replied to the questions, that you believe in the Father, that you believe in the Son,

that you believe in the Holy Spirit. The statement there is not: I believe in a greater and in a less and in a lowest person, but you are bound by the same guarantee of your own voice, to believe in the Son in like manner as you believe in the Father; and to believe in the Holy Spirit in like manner as you believe in the Son, with this one exception, that you confess that you must believe in the cross of the Lord Jesus alone.

CHAPTER 6

WHY THEY WHO come forth from the laver of baptism are anointed on the head; why, too, after baptism, their feet are washed, and what sins are remitted in each case.

29. After this, you went up to the priest, consider what followed. Was it not that of which David speaks: Like the ointment upon the head, which went down to the beard, even Aaron's beard? This is the ointment of which Solomon, too, says: Your Name is ointment poured out, therefore have the maidens loved You and drawn You. Song of Songs 1:2 How many souls regenerated this day have loved You, Lord Jesus, and have said: Draw us after You, we are running after the odour of Your garments, Song of Songs 1:3 that they might drink in the odour of Your resurrection.

30. Consider now why this is done, for the eyes of a wise man are in his head; Ecclesiastes 2:14 therefore the ointment flows down to the beard, that is to say, to the beauty of youth; and therefore, Aaron's beard, that we, too, may become a chosen race, priestly and precious, for we are all anointed with spiritual grace for a share in the kingdom of God and in the priesthood.

31. You went up from the font; remember the Gospel lesson. For our Lord Jesus Christ in the Gospel washed the feet of His disciples. When He came to Simon Peter, Peter said: You shall never wash my feet. John 13:8 He did not perceive the mystery, and therefore he refused the service, for he thought that the humility of the servant would be injured, if he patiently allowed the Lord to minister to him. And the Lord answered him: If I wash not your feet, you will have no part with Me. Peter, hearing this, replies: Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head. The Lord

answered: He that is washed needs not save to wash his feet but is clean every whit. John 13:9-10

32. Peter was clean, but he must wash his feet, for he had sin by succession from the first man, when the serpent overthrew him and persuaded him to sin. His feet were therefore washed, that hereditary sins might be done away, for our own sins are remitted through baptism.

33. Observe at the same time that the mystery consists in the very office of humility, for Christ says: If I, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet; how much more ought you to wash one another's feet. For, since the Author of Salvation Himself redeemed us through His obedience, how much more ought we His servants to offer the service of our humility and obedience.

CHAPTER 7

THE WASHING AWAY of sins is indicated by the white robes of the catechumens, whence the Church speaks of herself as black and comely. Angels marvel at her brightness as at that of the flesh of the Lord. Moreover, Christ Himself commended His beauty to His Spouse under many figures. The mutual affection of the one for the other is described.

34. After this white robes were given to you as a sign that you were putting off the covering of sins, and putting on the chaste veil of innocence, of which the prophet said: You shall sprinkle me with hyssop and I shall be cleansed, You shall wash me and I shall be made whiter than snow. For he who is baptized is seen to be purified both according to the Law and according to the Gospel: according to the Law, because Moses sprinkled the blood of the lamb with a bunch of hyssop; Exodus 12:22 according to the Gospel, because Christ's garments were white as snow, when in the Gospel He showed forth the glory of His Resurrection. He, then, whose guilt is remitted is made whiter than snow. So that God said by Isaiah: Though your sins be as scarlet, I will make them white as snow. Isaiah 1:18

35. The Church, having put on these garments through the laver of regeneration, says in the Song of Songs: I am black and comely, O daughters of Jerusalem. Song of Songs 1:4 Black through the frailty of her human condition, comely through the sacrament of faith. And the daughters of Jerusalem beholding these garments say in amazement: Who is this that comes up made white? Song of Songs 8:5 She was black, how is she now suddenly made white?

36. The angels, too, were in doubt when Christ arose; the powers of heaven were in doubt when they saw that flesh was ascending into heaven. Then they said: Who is this King of glory? And while some said Lift up your gates, O princes, and be lifted up, you everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in. In Isaiah, too, we find that the powers of heaven doubted and said: Who is this that comes up from Edom, the redness of His garments is from Bosor, He who is glorious in white apparel? Isaiah 63:1

37. But Christ, beholding His Church, for whom He Himself, as you find in the book of the prophet Zechariah, had put on filthy garments, now clothed in white raiment, seeing, that is, a soul pure and washed in the laver of regeneration, says: Behold, you are fair, My love, behold you are fair, your eyes are like a dove's, Song of Songs 4:1 in the likeness of which the Holy Spirit descended from heaven. The eyes are beautiful like those of a dove, because in the likeness of a dove the Holy Spirit descended from heaven.

38. And farther on: Your teeth are like a flock of sheep that are shorn, which have come up from the pool, which all bear twins, and none is barren among them, your lips are as a cord of scarlet. Song of Songs 4:2-3 This is no slight praise. First by the pleasing comparison to those that are shorn; for we know that goats both feed in high places without risk, and securely find their food in rugged places, and then when shorn are freed from what is superfluous. The Church is likened to a flock of these, having in itself the many virtues of those souls which through the laver lay aside the superfluity of sins, and offer to Christ the mystic faith and the grace of good living, which speak of the cross of the Lord Jesus.

39. The Church is beautiful in them. So that God the Word says to her: You are all fair, My love, and there is no blemish in you, for guilt has been washed away. Come hither from Lebanon, My spouse, come hither from Lebanon, from the beginning of faith will you pass through and pass on,

Song of Songs 4:7-8 because, renouncing the world, she passed through things temporal and passed on to Christ. And again, God the Word says to her: How beautiful and sweet are you made, O love, in your delights! Your stature has become like that of a palm-tree, and your breasts like bunches of grapes. Song of Songs 7:6-7

40. And the Church answers Him, Who will give You to me, my Brother, that sucked the breasts of my mother? If I find You without, I will kiss You, and indeed they will not despise me. I will take You, and bring You into the house of my mother; and into the secret chamber of her that conceived me. You shall teach me. Song of Songs 8:1-2 You see how, delighted with the gifts of grace, she longs to attain to the innermost mysteries, and to consecrate all her affections to Christ. She still seeks, she still stirs up His love, and asks of the daughters of Jerusalem to stir it up for her, and desires that by their beauty, which is that of faithful souls, her spouse may be incited to ever richer love for her.

41. So that the Lord Jesus Himself, invited by such eager love and by the beauty of comeliness and grace, since now no offenses pollute the baptized, says to the Church: Place Me as a seal upon your heart, as a signet upon your arm; Song of Songs 8:6 that is, you are comely, My beloved, you are all fair, nothing is wanting to you. Place Me as a seal upon your heart, that your faith may shine forth in the fullness of the sacrament. Let your works also shine and set forth the image of God in the Whose image you were made. Let no persecution lessen your love, which many waters cannot quench, nor many rivers drown.

42. And then remember that you received the seal of the Spirit; the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and strength, the spirit of knowledge and godliness, and the spirit of holy fear, Isaiah 11:2 and preserved what you received. God the Father sealed you, Christ the Lord

strengthened you, and gave the earnest of the Spirit in your heart, 2 Corinthians 5:5 as you have learned in the lesson from the Apostle.

CHAPTER 8

OF THE MYSTICAL feast of the altar of the Lord. Lest any should think lightly of it, St. Ambrose shows that it is of higher antiquity than the sacred rites of the Jews, since it was foreshadowed in the sacrifice of Melchisedech, and far better than the manna, as being the Body of Christ.

43. The cleansed people, rich with these adornments, hastens to the altar of Christ, saying: I will go to the altar of God, to God Who makes glad my youth; for having laid aside the slough of ancient error, renewed with an eagle's youth, it hastens to approach that heavenly feast. It comes, and seeing the holy altar arranged, cries out: You have prepared a table in my sight. David introduces the people as speaking, where he says: The Lord feeds me, and nothing shall be wanting to me, in a place of good pasture has He placed me. He has led me forth by the water of refreshment. And later: For though I walk in the midst of the shadow of death, I will fear no evils, for You are with me. Your rod and Your staff have comforted me. You have prepared in my sight a table against them that trouble me. You have anointed my head with oil, and Your inebriating cup, how excellent it is!

44. We must now pay attention, lest perchance any one seeing that what is visible (for things which are invisible cannot be seen nor comprehended by human eyes), should say, God rained down manna and rained down quails upon the Jews, Exodus 16:13 but for the Church beloved of Him the things which He has prepared are those of which it is said: That eye has not seen, nor ear heard, neither has it entered into the heart of man, what things God has prepared for them that love Him. 1 Corinthians 2:9 So, lest any one should say this, we will take great pains to prove that the sacraments of the

Church are both more ancient than those of the synagogue, and more excellent than the manna.

45. The lesson of Genesis just read shows that they are more ancient, for the synagogue took its origin from the law of Moses. But Abraham was far earlier, who, after conquering the enemy, and recovering his own nephew, as he was enjoying his victory, was met by Melchisedech, who brought forth those things which Abraham reverently received. It was not Abraham who brought them forth, but Melchisedech, who is introduced without father, without mother, having neither beginning of days, nor ending, but like the Son of God, of Whom Paul says to the Hebrews: that He remains a priest for ever, Who in the Latin version is called King of righteousness and King of peace.

46. Do you recognize Who that is? Can a man be king of righteousness, when himself he can hardly be righteous? Can he be king of peace, when he can hardly be peaceable? He it is Who is without mother according to His Godhead, for He was begotten of God the Father, of one substance with the Father; without a father according to His Incarnation, for He was born of a Virgin; having neither beginning nor end, for He is the beginning and end of all things, the first and the last. The sacrament, then, which you received is the gift not of man but of God, brought forth by Him Who blessed Abraham the father of faith, whose grace and deeds we admire.

47. We have proved the sacraments of the Church to be the more ancient, now recognize that they are superior. In very truth it is a marvellous thing that God rained manna on the fathers, and fed them with daily food from heaven; so that it is said, So man ate angels' food. But yet all those who ate that food died in the wilderness, but that food which you receive, that living Bread which came down from heaven, furnishes the substance of eternal life; and whosoever shall eat of this Bread shall never die, and it is the Body of Christ.

48. Now consider whether the bread of angels be more excellent or the Flesh of Christ, which is indeed the body of life. That manna came from heaven, this is above the heavens; that was of heaven, this is of the Lord of the heavens; that was liable to corruption, if kept a second day, this is far from all corruption, for whosoever shall taste it holily shall not be able to feel corruption. For them water flowed from the rock, for you Blood flowed from Christ; water satisfied them for a time, the Blood satiates you for eternity. The Jew drinks and thirsts again, you after drinking will be beyond the power of thirsting; that was in a shadow, this is in truth.

49. If that which you so wonder at is but shadow, how great must that be whose very shadow you wonder at. See now what happened in the case of the fathers was shadow: They drank, it is said, of that Rock that followed them, and that Rock was Christ. But with many of them God was not well pleased, for they were overthrown in the wilderness. Now these things were done in a figure concerning us. 1 Corinthians 10:4 You recognize now which are the more excellent, for light is better than shadow, truth than a figure, the Body of its Giver than the manna from heaven.

CHAPTER 9

IN ORDER THAT no one through observing the outward part should waver in faith, many instances are brought forward wherein the outward nature has been changed, and so it is proved that bread is made the true body of Christ. The treatise then is brought to a termination with certain remarks as to the effects of the sacrament, the disposition of the recipients, and such like.

50. Perhaps you will say, I see something else, how is it that you assert that I receive the Body of Christ? And this is the point which remains for us to prove. And what evidence shall we make use of? Let us prove that this is not what nature made, but what the blessing consecrated, and the power of blessing is greater than that of nature, because by blessing nature itself is changed.

51. Moses was holding a rod, he cast it down and it became a serpent. Exodus 4:3-4 Again, he took hold of the tail of the serpent and it returned to the nature of a rod. You see that by virtue of the prophetic office there were two changes, of the nature both of the serpent and of the rod. The streams of Egypt were running with a pure flow of water; of a sudden from the veins of the sources blood began to burst forth, and none could drink of the river. Again, at the prophet's prayer the blood ceased, and the nature of water returned. The people of the Hebrews were shut in on every side, hemmed in on the one hand by the Egyptians, on the other by the sea; Moses lifted up his rod, the water divided and hardened like walls, and a way for the feet appeared between the waves. Jordan being turned back, returned, contrary to nature, to the source of its stream. Joshua 3:16 Is it not clear that the nature of the waves of the sea and of the river stream was changed? The

people of the fathers thirsted, Moses touched the rock, and water flowed out of the rock. Exodus 17:6 Did not grace work a result contrary to nature, so that the rock poured forth water, which by nature it did not contain? Marah was a most bitter stream, so that the thirsting people could not drink. Moses cast wood into the water, and the water lost its bitterness, which grace of a sudden tempered. Exodus 15:25 In the time of Elisha the prophet one of the sons of the prophets lost the head from his axe, which sank. He who had lost the iron asked Elisha, who cast in a piece of wood and the iron swam. This, too, we clearly recognize as having happened contrary to nature, for iron is of heavier nature than water.

52. We observe, then, that grace has more power than nature, and yet so far we have only spoken of the grace of a prophet's blessing. But if the blessing of man had such power as to change nature, what are we to say of that divine consecration where the very words of the Lord and Saviour operate? For that sacrament which you receive is made what it is by the word of Christ. But if the word of Elijah had such power as to bring down fire from heaven, shall not the word of Christ have power to change the nature of the elements? You read concerning the making of the whole world: He spoke and they were made, He commanded and they were created. Shall not the word of Christ, which was able to make out of nothing that which was not, be able to change things which already are into what they were not? For it is not less to give a new nature to things than to change them.

53. But why make use of arguments? Let us use the examples He gives, and by the example of the Incarnation prove the truth of the mystery. Did the course of nature proceed as usual when the Lord Jesus was born of Mary? If we look to the usual course, a woman ordinarily conceives after connection with a man. And this body which we make is that which was born of the Virgin. Why do you seek the order of nature in the Body of

Christ, seeing that the Lord Jesus Himself was born of a Virgin, not according to nature? It is the true Flesh of Christ which crucified and buried, this is then truly the Sacrament of His Body.

54. The Lord Jesus Himself proclaims: This is My Body. Matthew 26:26 Before the blessing of the heavenly words another nature is spoken of, after the consecration the Body is signified. He Himself speaks of His Blood. Before the consecration it has another name, after it is called Blood. And you say, Amen, that is, It is true. Let the heart within confess what the mouth utters, let the soul feel what the voice speaks.

55. Christ, then, feeds His Church with these sacraments, by means of which the substance of the soul is strengthened, and seeing the continual progress of her grace, He rightly says to her: How comely are your breasts, my sister, my spouse, how comely they are made by wine, and the smell of your garments is above all spices. A dropping honeycomb are your lips, my spouse, honey and milk are under your tongue, and the smell of your garments is as the smell of Lebanon. A garden enclosed is my sister, my spouse, a garden enclosed, a fountain sealed. By which He signifies that the mystery ought to remain sealed up with you, that it be not violated by the deeds of an evil life, and pollution of chastity, that it be not made known to thou, for whom it is not fitting, nor by garrulous talkativeness it be spread abroad among unbelievers. Your guardianship of the faith ought therefore to be good, that integrity of life and silence may endure unblemished.

56. For which reason, too, the Church, guarding the depth of the heavenly mysteries, repels the furious storms of wind, and calls to her the sweetness of the grace of spring, and knowing that her garden cannot displease Christ, invites the Bridegroom, saying: Arise, O north wind, and come, thou south; blow upon my garden, and let my ointments flow down. Let my Brother come down to His garden, and eat the fruit of His trees. For it has good trees and fruitful, which have dipped their roots in the water of

the sacred spring, and with fresh growth have shot forth into good fruits, so as now not to be cut with the axe of the prophet, but to abound with the fruitfulness of the Gospel.

57. Lastly, the Lord also, delighted with their fertility, answers: I have entered into My garden, My sister, My spouse; I have gathered My myrrh with My spices, I have eaten My meat with My honey, I have drunk My drink with My milk. Song of Songs 5:1 Understand, you faithful, why He spoke of meat and drink. And there is no doubt that He Himself eats and drinks in us, as you have read that He says that in our persons He is in prison. Matthew 25:36

58. Wherefore, too, the Church, beholding so great grace, exhorts her sons and her friends to come together to the sacraments, saying: Eat, my friends, and drink and be inebriated, my brother. Song of Songs 5:1 What we eat and what we drink the Holy Spirit has elsewhere made plain by the prophet, saying, Taste and see that the Lord is good, blessed is the man that hopes in Him. In that sacrament is Christ, because it is the Body of Christ, it is therefore not bodily food but spiritual. Whence the Apostle says of its type: Our fathers ate spiritual food and drank spiritual drink, 1 Corinthians 10:3 for the Body of God is a spiritual body; the Body of Christ is the Body of the Divine Spirit, for the Spirit is Christ, as we read: The Spirit before our face is Christ the Lord. Lamentations 4:20 And in the Epistle of Peter we read: Christ died for us. 1 Peter 2:21 Lastly, that food strengthens our heart, and that drink makes glad the heart of man, as the prophet has recorded.

59. So, then, having obtained everything, let us know that we are born again, but let us not say, How are we born again? Have we entered a second time into our mother’s womb and been born again? I do not recognize here the course of nature. But here there is no order of nature, where is the excellence of grace. And again, it is not always the course of nature which

brings about conception, for we confess that Christ the Lord was conceived of a Virgin, and reject the order of nature. For Mary conceived not of man, but was with child of the Holy Spirit, as Matthew says: She was found with child of the Holy Spirit. Matthew 1:18 If, then, the Holy Spirit coming down upon the Virgin wrought the conception, and effected the work of generation, surely we must not doubt but that, coming down upon the Font, or upon those who receive Baptism, He effects the reality of the new birth.

Concerning Repentance

Translated by H. de Romestin, E. de Romestin and H. T. F. Duckworth

CONTENTS

Introduction.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER 1
CHAPTER 2
CHAPTER 3
CHAPTER 4
CHAPTER 5
CHAPTER 6
CHAPTER 7
CHAPTER 8
CHAPTER 9
CHAPTER 10
CHAPTER 11
CHAPTER 12
CHAPTER 13
CHAPTER 14
CHAPTER 15
CHAPTER 16
CHAPTER 17

BOOK II.

CHAPTER 1
CHAPTER 2
CHAPTER 3
CHAPTER 4
CHAPTER 5
CHAPTER 6
CHAPTER 7
CHAPTER 8
CHAPTER 9
CHAPTER 10
CHAPTER 11

Introduction.

THESE TWO BOOKS were written against the Novatian heresy, which took its name, and to a considerable extent its form, from Novatus, a priest of the Church of Carthage, and Novatian, schismatically consecrated bishop at Rome. It was the outcome of a struggle which had long existed in the Church upon the question of the restitution to Church privileges of those who had fallen into grievous sin, and the possibility of their repentance.

The severest ground was taken by the Novatians, who were condemned successively by many councils, which maintained the power of the Church to admit those guilty of any sin whatsoever to repentance, and prescribed various rules and penalties applicable to different cases. The heresy, however, lasted for some time, becoming weaker in the fifth century, and gradually fading away as a separate body with a distinctive name. Novatianism, in the tests which it used, its efforts after a perfectly pure communion, its crotchetty interpretations of Scripture, and many other features, presents a striking parallel to many modern sects. [See *Dict. Chr. Biog.*, Blunt, Sects and heresies, Ceillier, II. 427, etc.]

St. Ambrose, in writing against the Novatians, seems to have had some recent publication of theirs in his mind, which is now unknown. He begins by commending gentleness, a quality singularly wanting in the sect; speaks of the power committed to the Church of forgiving the greatest sins, and points out how God is more inclined to mercy than to severity, and refutes the arguments of the Novatians based on certain passages of holy Scripture. In the second book, after urging the necessity of careful and speedy repentance, and the necessity of confessing one's sins, St. Ambrose meets

the Novatian arguments based on Heb. vi. 4-6, from which they inferred the impossibility of restoration; and on St. Matthew 12:31-32, our Lord's words concerning sin against the Holy Spirit.

As regards the date of this treatise, it must have been somewhat before the exposition of Ps. xxxvii., which refers to it, but there is nothing else which can be taken as a certain guide. Possibly the Benedictine Editors are right in assigning it to about a.d. 384.

Some few persons, probably on doctrinal grounds, have been led to question the authorship of this treatise, but it is quoted by St. Augustine, and there has never been any real doubt on the subject.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER 1

St. Ambrose writes in praise of gentleness, pointing out how needful that grace is for the rulers of the Church, and commended to them by the meekness of Christ. As the Novatians have fallen away from this, they cannot be considered disciples of Christ. Their pride and harshness are inveighed against.

1. IF THE highest end of virtue is that which aims at the advancement of most, gentleness is the most lovely of all, which does not hurt even those whom it condemns, and usually renders those whom it condemns worthy of absolution. Moreover, it is the only virtue which has led to the increase of the Church which the Lord sought at the price of His own Blood, imitating the lovingkindness of heaven, and aiming at the redemption of all, seeks this end with a gentleness which the ears of men can endure, in presence of which their hearts do not sink, nor their spirits quail.

2. For he who endeavours to amend the faults of human weakness ought to bear this very weakness on his own shoulders, let it weigh upon himself, not cast it off. For we read that the Shepherd in the Gospel Luke 15:5 carried the weary sheep, and did not cast it off. And Solomon says: Be not overmuch righteous; Ecclesiastes 7:17 for restraint should temper righteousness. For how shall he offer himself to you for healing whom you despise, who thinks that he will be an object of contempt, not of compassion, to his physician?

3. Therefore had the Lord Jesus compassion upon us in order to call us to Himself, not frighten us away. He came in meekness, He came in humility, and so He said: Come unto Me, all you that labour and are heavy laden, and

I will refresh you. Matthew 11:28 So, then, the Lord Jesus refreshes, and does not shut out nor cast off, and fitly chose such disciples as should be interpreters of the Lord's will, as should gather together and not drive away the people of God. Whence it is clear that they are not to be counted among the disciples of Christ, who think that harsh and proud opinions should be followed rather than such as are gentle and meek; persons who, while they themselves seek God's mercy, deny it to others, such as are the teachers of the Novatians, who call themselves pure.

4. What can show more pride than this, since the Scripture says: No one is free from sin, not even an infant of a day old; and David cries out: Cleanse me from my sin. Are they more holy than David, of whose family Christ vouchsafed to be born in the mystery of the Incarnation, whose descendant is that heavenly Hall which received the world's Redeemer in her virgin womb? For what is more harsh than to inflict a penance which they do not relax, and by refusing pardon to take away the incentive to penance and repentance? Now no one can repent to good purpose unless he hopes for mercy.

CHAPTER 2

The assertion of the Novatians that they refuse communion only to the lapsed agrees neither with the teaching of holy Scripture nor with their own. And whereas they allege as a pretext their reverence for the divine power, they really are contemning it, inasmuch as it is a sign of low estimation not to use the whole of a power entrusted to one. But the Church rightly claims the power of binding and loosing, which heretics have not, inasmuch as she has received it from the Holy Spirit, against Whom they act presumptuously.

5. BUT THEY say that those should not be restored to communion who have fallen into denial of the faith. If they made the crime of sacrilege the only exception to receiving forgiveness, they would be acting harshly indeed, and, as it would seem, would be in opposition to the divine utterances only, while consistent with their own assertions. For when the Lord forgave all sins, He made an exception of none. But since, as it were after the fashion of the Stoics, they think that all sins are equal in gravity, and assert that he who has stolen a common fowl, as they say, no less than he who has smothered his father, should be for ever excluded from the divine mysteries, how can they select those guilty of one special offense, since even they themselves cannot deny that it is most unjust that the penalty of one should extend to many?

6. They affirm that they are showing great reverence for God, to Whom alone they reserve the power of forgiving sins. But in truth none do Him greater injury than they who choose to prune His commandments and reject the office entrusted to them. For inasmuch as the Lord Jesus Himself said in

the Gospel: Receive the Holy Spirit: whosesoever sins you forgive they are forgiven unto them, and whosesoever sins you retain, they are retained, John 20:22-23 who is it that honours Him most, he who obeys His bidding or he who rejects it?

7. The Church holds fast its obedience on either side, by both retaining and remitting sin; heresy is on the one side cruel, and on the other disobedient; wishes to bind what it will not loosen, and will not loosen what it has bound, whereby it condemns itself by its own sentence. For the Lord willed that the power of binding and of loosing should be alike, and sanctioned each by a similar condition. So he who has not the power to loose has not the power to bind. For as, according to the Lord's word, he who has the power to bind has also the power to loose, their teaching destroys itself, inasmuch as they who deny that they have the power of loosing ought also to deny that of binding. For how can the one be allowed and the other disallowed? It is plain and evident that either each is allowed or each is disallowed in the case of those to whom each has been given. Each is allowed to the Church, neither to heresy, for this power has been entrusted to priests alone. Rightly, therefore, does the Church claim it, which has true priests; heresy, which has not the priests of God, cannot claim it. And by not claiming this power heresy pronounces its own sentence, that not possessing priests it cannot claim priestly power. And so in their shameless obstinacy a shamefaced acknowledgment meets our view.

8. Consider, too, the point that he who has received the Holy Ghost has also received the power of forgiving and of retaining sin. For thus it is written: Receive the Holy Spirit: whosesoever sins you forgive, they are forgiven unto them, and whosesoever sins you retain, they are retained. John 20:22-23 So, then, he who has not received power to forgive sins has not received the Holy Spirit. The office of the priest is a gift of the Holy

Spirit, and His right it is specially to forgive and to retain sins. How, then, can they claim His gift who distrust His power and His right?

9. And what is to be said of their excessive arrogance? For although the Spirit of God is more inclined to mercy than to severity, their will is opposed to that which He wills, and they do that which He wills not; whereas it is the office of a judge to punish, but of mercy to forgive. It would be more endurable, Novatian, that you should forgive than that you should bind. In the one case you would assume the right as one who rarely offended; in the other you would forgive as one who had fellow-feeling with the misery of sin.

CHAPTER 3

To the argument of the Novatians, that they only deny forgiveness in the case of greater sins, St. Ambrose replies, that this is also an offense against God, Who gave the power to forgive all sins, but that of course a more severe penance must follow in case of graver sins. He points out likewise that this distinction as to the gravity of sins assigns, as it were, severity to God, Whose mercy in the Incarnation is overlooked by the Novatians.

10. BUT THEY say that, with the exception of graver sins, they grant forgiveness to those of less weight. This is not the teaching of your father, Novatian, who thought that no one should be admitted to penance, considering that what he was unable to loose he would not bind, lest by binding he should inspire the hope that he would loose. So that your father is condemned by your own sentence, you who make a distinction between sins, some of which you consider that you can loose, and others which you consider to be without remedy. But God does not make a distinction, Who has promised His mercy to all, and granted to His priests the power of loosing without any exception. But he who has heaped up sin must also increase his penitence. For greater sins are washed away by greater weeping. So neither is Novatian justified, who excluded all from pardon; nor are you, who imitate and, at the same time, condemn him, for you diminish zeal for penance where it ought to be increased, since the mercy of Christ has taught us that graver sins must be made good by greater efforts.

11. And what perversity it is to claim for yourselves what can be forgiven, and, as you say, to reserve to God what cannot be forgiven. This would be to reserve to oneself the cases for mercy, to God those for

severity. And what as to that saying: Let God be true but every man a liar, as it is written, That You might be justified in Your words, and overcome when You are judged? Romans 3:4 In order, then, that we may recognize that the God of mercy is rather prone to indulgence than to severity, it is said: I desire mercy rather than sacrifice. Hosea 6:6 How, then, can your sacrifice, who refuse mercy, be acceptable to God, since He says that He wills not the death of a sinner, but his correction? Ezekiel 18:32

12. Interpreting which truth, the Apostle says: For God, sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin condemned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the Law might be fulfilled in us. Romans 8:3-4 He does not say in the likeness of flesh, for Christ took on Himself the reality not the likeness of flesh; nor does He say in the likeness of sin, for He did no sin, but was made sin for us. Yet He came in the likeness of sinful flesh; that is, He took on Him the likeness of sinful flesh, the *likeness*, because it is written: He is man, and who shall know Him? He was man in the flesh, according to His human nature, that He might be recognized, but in power was above man, that He might not be recognized, so He has our flesh, but has not the failings of this flesh.

13. For He was not begotten, as is every man, by intercourse between male and female, but born of the Holy Spirit and of the Virgin; He received a stainless body, which not only no sins polluted, but which neither the generation nor the conception had been stained by any admixture of defilement. For we men are all born under sin, and our very origin is in evil, as we read in the words of David: For lo, I was conceived in wickedness, and in sin did my mother bring me forth. Therefore the flesh of Paul was a body of death, as he himself says: Who shall deliver me from the body of this death? Romans 7:24 But the flesh of Christ condemned sin, which He felt not at His birth, and crucified by His death, so that in our flesh there

might be justification through grace, in which before there had been pollution by guilt.

14. What, then, shall we say to this, except that which the Apostle said: If God is for us, who is against us? He who spared not His own Son, but gave Him up for us all, how has He not with Him also given us all things? Who shall lay a charge against the elect? It is God Who justifies, who is he that shall condemn? It is Christ Who died, yea, Who also rose again, Who is at the right hand of God, Who also makes intercession for us. Romans 8:31-35 Novatian then brings charges against those for whom Christ intercedes. Those whom Christ has redeemed unto salvation Novatian condemns to death. Those to whom Christ says: Take My yoke upon you, and learn of Me, for I am gentle, Matthew 11:29 Novatian says, I am not gentle. On those to whom Christ says: You shall find rest for your souls, for My yoke is pleasant and My burden is light, Matthew 11:30 Novatian lays a heavy burden and a hard yoke.

CHAPTER 4

St. Ambrose proceeds with the proof of the divine mercy, and shows by the testimony of the Gospels that it prevails over severity, and he adduces the instance of athletes to show that of those who have denied Christ before men, all are not to be esteemed alike.

15. ALTHOUGH WHAT has been said sufficiently shows how inclined the Lord Jesus is to mercy, let Him further instruct us with His own words, when He would arm us against the assaults of persecution. Fear not, He says, those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul, but rather fear Him Who can cast both body and soul into hell. Matthew 10:28 And farther on: Every one, therefore, who shall confess Me before men, him will I also confess before My Father, Who is in heaven, but he who shall deny Me before men, him will I also deny before My Father, Who is in heaven. Matthew 10:32-33

16. Where He says that He will confess, He will confess every one. Where He speaks of denying, He does not speak of denying every one. For, whereas in the former clause He says, Every one who shall confess Me, him will I confess, we should expect that in the following clause He would also say, Every one who shall deny Me. But in order that He might not appear to deny every one, He concludes: But he who shall deny Me before men, him will I also deny. He promises favour to every one, but He does not threaten the penalty to every one. He makes more of that which is merciful. He makes less of what is penal.

17. And this is written not only in that book of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus, which is written according to Matthew, but it is also to be read in that

which we have according to Luke, Luke 12:8-9 that we might know that neither had thus related the saying by chance.

18. We have said that it is thus written. Let us now consider the meaning. Every one, He says, who shall confess Me, that is to say, of whatever age, of whatever condition he may be, who shall confess Me, he shall have Me as the Rewarder of his confession. Whereas the expression is, every one, no one who shall confess is excluded from the reward. But it is not said in like manner, Every one who shall deny shall be denied, for it is possible that a man overcome by torture may deny God in word, and yet worship Him in his heart.

19. Is the case the same with him who denies voluntarily, and with him whom torture, not his own will, has led to denial? How unfit were it, since with men credit is given for endurance in a struggle, that one should assert that it had no value with God! For often in this world's athletic contests the public crown together with the victors even the vanquished whose conduct has been approved, especially if perchance they have seen that they lost the victory by some trick or fraud. And shall Christ suffer His athletes, whom He has seen to yield for a moment to severe torments, to remain without forgiveness?

20. Shall not He take account of their toil, Who will not cast off for ever even those whom He casts off? For David says: God will not cast off for ever, and in opposition to this shall we listen to heresy asserting, He does cast off for ever? David says: God will not for ever cut off His mercy from generation to generation, nor will He forget to be merciful. This is the prophet's declaration, and there are those who would maintain a forgetfulness of mercy on God's part.

CHAPTER 5

The objection from the unchangeableness of God is answered from several passages of Scripture, wherein God promises forgiveness to sinners on their repentance. St. Ambrose also shows that mercy will be more readily accorded to such as have sinned, as it were, against their will, which he illustrates by the case of prisoners taken in war, and by language put into the mouth of the devil.

21. BUT THEY say that they make these assertions in order not to seem to make God liable to change, as He would be if He forgave those with whom He was angry. What then? Shall we reject the utterances of God and follow their opinions? But God is not to be judged by the statements of others, but by His own words. What mark of His mercy have we more ready at hand than that He Himself, through the prophet Hosea, is at once merciful as though reconciled to those whom in His anger He had threatened? For He says: O Ephraim, what shall I do unto you, or what shall I do unto you, O Judah? Your kindness, etc. Hosea 6:4 And further on: How shall I establish you? I will make you as Admah, and as Zeboim. Hosea 11:8 In the midst of His indignation He hesitates, as it were, with fatherly love, doubting how He can give over the wanderer to punishment; for although the Jew deserves it, God yet takes counsel with Himself. For immediately after having said, I will make you as Admah and as Zeboim, which cities, owing to their nearness to Sodom, suffered together in like destruction, He adds, My heart is turned against Me, My compassion is aroused, I will not do according to the fierceness of Mine anger. Hosea 11:8

22. Is it not evident that the Lord Jesus is angry with us when we sin in order that He may convert us through fear of His indignation? His indignation, then, is not the carrying out of vengeance, but rather the working out of forgiveness, for these are His words: If you shall turn and lament, you shall be saved. He waits for our lamentations here, that is, in time, that He may spare us those which shall be eternal. He waits for our tears, that He may pour forth His goodness. So in the Gospel, having pity on the tears of the widow, He raised her son. He waits for our conversion, that He may Himself restore us to grace, which would have continued with us had no fall overtaken us. But He is angry because we have by our sins incurred guilt, in order that we may be humbled; we are humbled, in order that we may be found worthy rather of pity than of punishment.

23. Jeremiah, too, may certainly teach when he says: For the Lord will not cast off for ever; for after He has humbled, He will have compassion according to the multitude of His mercies, Who has not humbled from His whole heart nor cast off the children of men. Lamentations 3:31-32 This passage we certainly find in the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and from it, and from what follows, we note that the Lord humbles all the prisoners of the earth under His feet, Lamentations 3:34 in order that we may escape His judgment. But He does not bring down the sinner even to the earth with His whole heart Who raises the poor even from the dust and the needy from the dunghill. For He brings not down with His whole heart Who reserves the intention of forgiving.

24. But if He brings not down every sinner with His whole heart, how much less does He bring down him with His whole heart who has not sinned with his whole heart! For as He said of the Jews: This people honours Me with their lips, but their heart is far from Me, Isaiah 29:13 so perhaps He may say of some of the fallen: They denied Me with their lips, but in heart they are with Me. It was pain which overcame them, not

unfaithfulness which turned them aside. Matthew 15:8 But some without cause refuse pardon to those whose faith the persecutor himself confessed up to the point of striving to overcome it by torture. They denied the Lord once, but confess Him daily; they denied Him in word, but confess Him with groans, with cries, and with tears; they confess Him with willing words, not under compulsion. They yielded, indeed, for a moment to the temptation of the devil, but even the devil afterwards departed from those whom he was unable to claim as his own. He yielded to their weeping, he yielded to their repentance, and after making them his own lost those whom he attached when they belonged to Another.

25. Is not the case such as when any one carries away captive the people of a conquered city? The captive is led away, but against his will. He must of necessity go to foreign lands, does not willingly make the journey; he takes his native land with him in his heart, and seeks an opportunity to return. What then? When any such return, does any one urge that they should not be received; with less honour indeed, but with readier will, that the enemy may have nothing with which to reproach them? If you pardon an armed man who was able to fight, do you not pardon him in whom faith alone waged the battle?

26. If we were to enquire what is the opinion of the devil concerning those who have fallen after this sort, would he not probably reply: This people honours me with their lips, but their heart is far from me? For how can he be with me who does not depart from Christ? Without any cause do they appear to honour me who keep the doctrine of Jesus, and I thought that they would teach mine. They condemn me all the more when they forsake me after trial. Indeed Jesus is more glorified in these, when He receives them on their return to Him. All the angels rejoice, for in heaven there is greater joy over one sinner that repents, than over ninety and nine just persons who need not repentance. I am triumphed over in heaven and on

earth. Christ loses nothing when they who came to me with weeping return with longing to the Church, and I am in danger even as regards my own, who will learn that in reality there is nothing here where men are led on by present rewards, but that there must be very much there where groans and tears and fasts are preferred to my feasts.

CHAPTER 6

The Novatians, by excluding such from the banquet of Christ, imitate not indeed the good Samaritan, but the proud lawyer, the priest, and the Levite who are blamed in the Gospel, and are indeed worse than these.

27. DO YOU then, O Novatians, shut out these? For what is it when you refuse the hope of forgiveness but to shut out? But the Samaritan did not pass by the man who had been left half dead by the robbers; he dressed his wounds with oil and wine, first pouring in oil in order to comfort them; he set the wounded man on his own beast, on which he bore all his sins; nor did the Shepherd despise His wandering sheep.

28. But you say: Touch me not. You who wish to justify yourselves say, He is not our neighbour, being more proud than that lawyer who wished to tempt Christ, for he said Who is my neighbour? He asked, you deny, going on like that priest, like that Levite passing by him whom you ought to have taken and tended, and not receiving them into the inn for whom Christ paid the two pence, whose neighbour Christ bids you to become that you might show mercy to him. For he is our neighbour whom not only a similar condition has joined, but whom mercy has bound to us. You make yourself strange to him through pride, in vain puffing up yourself in your carnal mind, and not holding the Head. Colossians 2:18 For if you held the Head you would consider that you must not forsake him for whom Christ died. If you held the Head you would consider that the whole body, by joining together rather than by separating, grows unto the increase of God Colossians 2:19 by the bond of charity and the rescue of a sinner.

29. When, then, you take away all the fruits of repentance, what do you say but this: Let no one who is wounded enter our inn, let no one be healed in our Church? With us the sick are not cared for, we are whole, we have no need of a physician, for He Himself says: They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick.

CHAPTER 7

St. Ambrose, addressing Christ, complains of the Novatians, and shows that they have no part with Christ, Who wishes all men to be saved.

30. SO, THEN, Lord Jesus, come wholly to Your Church, since Novatian makes excuse. Novatian says, I have bought a yoke of oxen, and he puts not on the light yoke of Christ, but lays upon his shoulders a heavy burden which he is not able to bear. Novatian held back Your servants by whom he was invited, treated them contemptuously and slew them, polluting them with the stain of a reiterated baptism. Send forth, therefore, into the highways, and gather together good and bad, Luke 14:21 bring the weak, the blind, and the lame into Your Church. Command that Your house be filled, bring in all unto Your supper, for You will make him whom You shall call worthy, if he follow You. He indeed is rejected who has not the wedding garment, that is, the vestment of charity, the veil of grace. Send forth I pray You to all.

31. Your Church does not excuse herself from Your supper, Novatian makes excuse. Your family says not, I am whole, I need not the physician, but it says: Heal me, O Lord, and I shall be healed; save me, and I shall be saved. Jeremiah 17:14 The likeness of Your Church is that woman who went behind and touched the hem of Your garment, saying within herself: If I do but touch His garment I shall be whole. Matthew 9:21 So the Church confesses her wounds, but desires to be healed.

32. And You indeed, O Lord, desire that all should be healed, but all do not wish to be healed. Novatian wishes not, who thinks that he is whole. You, O Lord, say that You are sick, and feel our infirmity in the least of us,

saying: I was sick and you visited Me. Matthew 25:36 Novatian does not visit that least one in whom You desire to be visited. You said to Peter when he excused himself from having his feet washed by You: If I wash not your feet, you will have no part with Me. John 13:8 What fellowship, then, can they have with You, who receive not the keys of the kingdom of heaven, saying that they ought not to remit sins?

33. And this confession is indeed rightly made by them, for they have not the succession of Peter, who hold not the chair of Peter, which they rend by wicked schism; and this, too, they do, wickedly denying that sins can be forgiven even in the Church, whereas it was said to Peter: I will give unto you the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever you shall bind on earth shall be bound also in heaven, and whatsoever you shall loose on earth shall be loosed also in heaven. Matthew 16:19 And the vessel of divine election himself said: If you have forgiven anything to any one, I forgive also, for what I have forgiven I have done it for your sakes in the person of Christ. 2 Corinthians 2:10 Why, then, do they read Paul's writings, if they think that he has erred so wickedly as to claim for himself the right of his Lord? But he claimed what he had received, he did not usurp that which was not due to him.

CHAPTER 8

It was the Lord's will to confer great gifts on His disciples. Further, the Novatians confute themselves by the practices of laying on of hands and of baptism, since it is by the same power that sins are remitted in penance and in baptism. Their conduct is then contrasted with that of our Lord.

34. IT IS the will of the Lord that His disciples should possess great powers; it is His will that the same things which He did when on earth should be done in His Name by His servants. For He said: You shall do greater things than these. He gave them power to raise the dead. And whereas He could Himself have restored to Saul the use of his sight, He nevertheless sent him to His disciple Ananias, that by his blessing Saul's eyes might be restored, the sight of which he had lost. Acts 9:17 Peter also He bade walk with Himself on the sea, and because he faltered He blamed him for lessening the grace given him by the weakness of his faith. Matthew 14:31 He Who Himself was the light of the world granted to His disciples to be the light of the world through grace. Matthew 5:14 And because He purposed to descend from heaven and to ascend there again, He took up Elijah into heaven to restore him again to earth at the time which should please Him. And being baptized with the Holy Spirit and with fire, He foreshadowed the Sacrament of Baptism at the hands of John. Matthew 3:11

35. And in fine He gave all gifts to His disciples, of whom He said: In My Name they shall cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they shall drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall do well. Mark

16:17-18 So, then, He gave them all things, but there is no power of man exercised in these things, in which the grace of the divine gift operates.

36. Why, then, do you lay on hands, and believe it to be the effect of the blessing, if perchance some sick person recovers? Why do you assume that any can be cleansed by you from the pollution of the devil? Why do you baptize if sins cannot be remitted by man? If baptism is certainly the remission of all sins, what difference does it make whether priests claim that this power is given to them in penance or at the font? In each the mystery is one.

37. But you say that the grace of the mysteries works in the font. What works, then, in penance? Does not the Name of God do the work? What then? Do you, when you choose, claim for yourselves the grace of God, and when you choose reject it? But this is a mark of insolent presumption, not of holy fear, when those who wish to do penance are despised by you. You cannot, forsooth, endure the tears of the weepers; your eyes cannot bear the coarse clothing, the filth of the squalid; with proud eyes and puffed-up hearts you delicate ones say with angry tones, Touch me not, for I am pure.

38. The Lord said indeed to Mary Magdalene, Touch Me not, John 20:17 but He Who was pure did not say, because I am pure. Do you, Novatian, dare to call yourself pure, while, even if you were pure as regards your acts, you would be made impure by this saying alone? Isaiah says: O wretched that I am, and pricked to the heart; for that being a man, and having unclean lips, I dwell also in the midst of a people having unclean lips, Isaiah 6:5 and do you say, I am clean, when, as it is written, not even an infant of a day old is pure? David says, And cleanse me from my sin, whom for his tender heart the grace of God often cleansed; are you pure who are so unrighteous as to have no tenderness, as to see the mote in your brother’s eye, but not to consider the beam which is in your own eye? For with God no one who is unjust is pure. And what is more unjust than to desire to have your sins

forgiven you, and yet yourself to think that he who entreats you ought not to be forgiven? What is more unjust than to justify yourself in that wherein you condemn another, while you yourself are committing worse offenses?

39. Then, too, the Lord Jesus when about to consecrate the forgiveness of our sins replied to John, who said: I ought to be baptized by You, and You come to me? Suffer it now, for thus it becomes us to fulfil all righteousness. Matthew 3:14-15 And the Lord indeed came to a sinner, though indeed He had no sin, and desired to be baptized, having no need of cleansing; who, then, can tolerate you, who think there is no need for you to be cleansed by penance, because you say you are cleansed by grace, as though it were now impossible for you to sin?

CHAPTER 9

By collating similar passages with 1 Samuel 3:25 , St. Ambrose shows that the meaning is not that no one shall intercede, but that the intercessor must be worthy as were Moses and Jeremiah, at whose prayers we read that God spared Israel.

40. BUT YOU say, It is written: If a man sin against the Lord, who shall entreat for him? First of all, as I already said before, I might allow you to make that objection if you refused penance to those only who denied the faith. But what difficulty does that question produce? For it is not written, No one shall entreat for him; but, Who shall entreat? that is to say, the question is, Who in such a case can entreat? The entreaty is not excluded.

41. Then you have in the fifteenth Psalm: Lord, who shall dwell in Your tabernacle, or who shall rest upon Your holy hill? It is not that no one, but that he who is approved shall dwell there, nor does it say that no one shall rest, but he who is chosen shall rest. And that you may know that this is true, it is said not much later in the twenty-fourth Psalm: Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord, or who shall stand in His holy place? The writer implies, not any ordinary person, or one of the common sort, but only a man of excellent life and of singular merit. And that we may understand that when the question is asked, Who? It does not imply no one, but some special one is meant, after having said Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? the Psalmist adds: He that has clean hands and a pure heart, who has not lift up his mind unto vanity. And elsewhere it is said: Who is wise and he shall understand these things? Hosea 14:10 And in the Gospel: Who is the faithful and wise steward, whom the Lord shall set over His household

to give them their measure of wheat in due season? Luke 12:42 And that we may understand that He speaks of such as really exist, the Lord added: Blessed is that servant, whom his Lord when He comes shall find so doing. Luke 12:43 And I am of opinion that where it is said, Lord, who is like You? it is not meant that none is like, for the Son is the image of the Father.

42. We must then understand in the same manner, Who shall entreat for him? as implying: It must be some one of excellent life who shall entreat for him who has sinned against the Lord. The greater the sin, the more worthy must be the prayers that are sought. For it was not any one of the common people who prayed for the Jewish people, but Moses, Exodus 32:31 when forgetful of their covenant they worshipped the head of the calf. Was Moses wrong? Certainly he was not wrong in praying, who both merited and obtained that for which he asked. For what should such love not obtain as that of his when he offered himself for the people and said: And now, if You will forgive their sin, forgive; but if not, blot me out of the book of life. Exodus 32:32 We see that he does not think of himself, like a man full of fancies and scruples, whether he may incur the risk of some offense, as Novatian says he dreads that he might, but rather, thinking of all and forgetful of himself, he was not afraid lest he should offend, so that he might rescue and free the people from danger of offense.

43. Rightly, then, is it said: Who shall entreat for him? It implies that it must be such an one as Moses to offer himself for those who sin, or such as Jeremiah, who, though the Lord said to him, Pray not for this people, Jeremiah 7:16 and yet he prayed and obtained their forgiveness. For at the intercession of the prophet, and the entreaty of so great a seer, the Lord was moved and said to Jerusalem, which had meanwhile repented for its sins, and had said: O Almighty Lord God of Israel, the soul in anguish, and the troubled spirit cries unto You, hear, O Lord, and have mercy. And the Lord bids them lay aside the garments of mourning, and to cease the groanings of

repentance, saying: Put off, O Jerusalem, the garment of your mourning and affliction. and clothe yourself in beauty, the glory which God has given you forever. Baruch 5:1

CHAPTER 10

St. John did not absolutely forbid that prayer should be made for those who sin unto death, since he knew that Moses, Jeremiah, and Stephen had so prayed, and he himself implies that forgiveness is not to be denied them.

44. SUCH INTERCESSORS, then, must be sought for after very grievous sins, for if any ordinary persons pray they are not heard.

45. So that point of yours will have no weight, which you take from the Epistle of John, where he says: He who knows that his brother sins a sin not unto death, let him ask, and God will give him life, because he sinned not unto death. There is a sin unto death: not concerning it do I say, let him ask. 1 John 5:16 He was not speaking to Moses and Jeremiah, but to the people, who must seek another intercessor for their sins; the people, for whom it is sufficient they entreat God for their lighter faults, and consider that pardon for weightier sins must be reserved for the prayers of the just. For how could John say that graver sins should not be prayed for, when he had read that Moses prayed and obtained his request, where there had been wilful casting off of faith, and knew that Jeremiah also had entreated?

46. How could John say that we should not pray for the sin unto death, who himself in the Apocalypse wrote the message to the angel of the Church of Pergamos? You have there those that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balac to put a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication. So have you also them that hold the doctrines of the Nicolaitans. Repent likewise, or else I will come to you quickly. Revelation 2:14-16 Do you see that the same God Who requires repentance promises forgiveness? And

then He says: He that has ears let him hear what the Spirit says to the churches: To him that overcomes will I give to eat of the hidden manna. Revelation 2:17

47. Did not John himself know that Stephen prayed for his persecutors, who had not been able even to listen to the Name of Christ, when he said of those very men by whom he was being stoned: Lord, lay not this sin to their charge? Acts 7:60 And we see the result of this prayer in the case of the Apostle, for Paul, who kept the garments of those who were stoning Stephen, not long after became an apostle by the grace of God, having before been a persecutor.

CHAPTER 11

The passage quoted from St. John's Epistle is confirmed by another in which salvation is promised to those who believe in Christ, which refutes the Novatians who try to induce the lapsed to believe, although denying them pardon. Furthermore, many who had lapsed have received the grace of martyrdom, while the example of the good Samaritan shows that we must not abandon those in whom even the faintest amount of faith is still alive.

48. SINCE, THEN, we have spoken of the general Epistle of St. John, let us enquire whether the writings of John in the Gospel agree with your interpretation. For he writes that the Lord said: God so loved this world, that He gave His only-begotten Son, that every one that believes in Him should not perish but have everlasting life. John 3:16 If, then, you wish to reclaim any one of the lapsed, do you exhort him to believe, or not to believe? Undoubtedly you exhort him to believe. But, according to the Lord's words, he who believes shall have everlasting life. How, then, will you forbid to pray for him, who has a claim to everlasting life? Since faith is of divine grace, as the Apostle teaches where he speaks of the differences of gifts, for to another is given faith by the same Spirit. 1 Corinthians 12:9 And the disciples say to the Lord: Increase our faith. Luke 17:5 He then who has faith has life, and he who has life is certainly not shut out from pardon; that every one, it is said, that believes in Him should not perish. Since it is said, Every one, no one is shut out, no one is excepted, for He does not except him who has lapsed, if only afterwards he believes effectually.

49. We find that many have at length recovered themselves after a fall, and have suffered for the Name of God. Can we deny fellowship with the martyrs to these to whom the Lord Jesus has not denied it? Do we dare to say that life is not restored to those to whom Christ has given a crown? As, then, a crown is given to many after they have lapsed, so, too, if they believe, their faith is restored, which faith is the gift of God, as you read: Because unto you it has been granted by God not only to believe in Him, but also to suffer in His behalf. Philippians 1:29 Is it possible that he who has the gift of God should not have His forgiveness?

50. Now it is not a single but a twofold grace that every one who believes should also suffer for the Lord Jesus. He, then, who believes receives his grace, but he receives a second, if his faith be crowned by suffering. For neither was Peter without grace before he suffered, but when he suffered he received a second gift. And many who have not had the grace to suffer for Christ have nevertheless had the grace of believing on Him.

51. Therefore it is said: That every one that believes in Him should not perish. Let no one, that is, of whatever condition, after whatever fall, fear that he will perish. For it may come to pass that the good Samaritan of the Gospel may find some one going down from Jerusalem to Jericho, that is, falling back from the martyr's conflict to the pleasures of this life and the comforts of the world; wounded by robbers, that is, by persecutors, and left half dead; that good Samaritan, Who is the Guardian of our souls (for the word Samaritan means Guardian), may, I say, not pass by him but tend and heal him.

52. Perchance He therefore passes him not by, because He sees in him some signs of life, so that there is hope that he may recover. Does it not seem to you that he who has fallen is half alive if faith sustains any breath of life? For he is dead who wholly casts God out of his heart. He, then, who does not wholly cast Him out, but under pressure of torments has denied

Him for a time, is half dead. Or if he be dead, why do you bid him repent, seeing he cannot now be healed? If he be half dead, pour in oil and wine, not wine without oil, that may be the comfort and the smart. Place him upon your beast, give him over to the host, lay out two pence for his cure, be to him a neighbour. But you cannot be a neighbour unless you have compassion on him; for no one can be called a neighbour unless he have healed, not killed, another. But if you wish to be called a neighbour, Christ says to you: Go and do likewise. Luke 10:37

CHAPTER 12

Another passage of St. John is considered. The necessity of keeping the commandments of God may be complied with by those who, having fallen, repent, as well as by those who have not fallen, as is shown in the case of David.

53. LET US consider another similar passage: He that believes in the Son has eternal life, but he that believes not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abides on him. John 3:36 That which abides has certainly had a commencement, and that from some offense, viz., that first he not believe. When, then, any one believes, the wrath of God departs and life comes. To believe, then, in Christ is to gain life, for he that believes in Him is not judged. John 3:18

54. But with reference to this passage they allege that he who believes in Christ ought to keep His sayings, and say that it is written in the Lord's own words: I have come a light into this world, that whosoever believes in Me may not abide in darkness. And if any man hear My word and keep it, I judge him not. He judges not, and do you judge? He says, that whosoever believes in Me may not abide in darkness, that is, that if he be in darkness he may not remain therein, but may amend his error, correct his fault, and keep My commandments, for I have said, I will not the death of the wicked, but the correction. Ezekiel 23:11 I said above that he that believes in Me is not judged, and I keep to this: For I am not come to judge the world, but that the world may be saved through Me. John 3:17 I pardon willingly, I quickly forgive, I will have mercy rather than sacrifice, Hosea 6:6 because by sacrifice the just is rendered more acceptable, by mercy the sinner is

redeemed. I come not to call the righteous but sinners. Matthew 9:13 Sacrifice was under the Law, in the Gospel is mercy. The Law was given by Moses, grace by Me. John 1:17

55. And again further on He says: He that despises Me, and receives not My words, has one that judges him. John 12:48 Does he seem to you to have received Christ's words who has not corrected himself? Undoubtedly not. He, then, who corrects himself receives His word, for this is His word, that every one should turn back from sin. So, then, of necessity you must either reject this saying of His, or if you cannot deny it you must accept it.

56. It is also necessary that he who leaves off sinning must keep the commandments of God and renounce his sins. We ought not, then, to interpret this saying of him who has always kept the commandments, for if this had been His meaning He would have added the word *always*, but by not adding it He shows that He was speaking of him who has kept what he has heard, and what he heard has led him to correct his faults; he has then kept what he has heard.

57. But how hard it is to condemn to penance for life one who even afterwards keeps the commandments of the Lord, let Him teach us Himself Who has not refused forgiveness. Even to those who do not keep His commandments, as you read in the Psalm: If they profane My statutes and keep not My commandments, I will visit their offenses with the rod and their sins with scourges, but My mercy will I not take from them. So, then, He promises mercy to all.

58. Yet that we may not think that this mercy is without judgment, there is a distinction made between those who have paid continual obedience to God's commandments, and those who at some time, either by error or by compulsion, have fallen. And that you may not think that it is only our arguments which press you, consider the decision of Christ, Who said: If the servant knew his Lord's will and did it not, he shall be beaten with many

stripes, but if he knew it not, he shall be beaten with few stripes. Luke 12:47-48 Each, then, if he believes, is received, for God chastens every son whom He receives, Hebrews 12:6 and him whom He chastens He does not give over unto death, for it is written: The Lord has chastened me sore, but He has not given me over unto death.

CHAPTER 13

They who have committed a sin unto death are not to be abandoned, but subjected to penance, according to St. Paul. Explanation of the phrase Deliver unto Satan. Satan can afflict the body, but these afflictions bring spiritual profit, showing the power of God, Who thus turns Satan's devices against himself.

59. LASTLY, PAUL teaches us that we must not abandon those who have committed a sin unto death, but that we must rather coerce them with the bread of tears and tears to drink, yet so that their sorrow itself be moderated. For this is the meaning of the passage: You have given them to drink in large measure, that their sorrow itself should have its measure, lest perchance he who is doing penance should be consumed by overmuch sorrow, as was said to the Corinthians: What will you? Shall I come to you with a rod, or in love and a spirit of meekness? 1 Corinthians 4:21 But even the rod is not severe, since he had read: You shall beat him indeed with the rod, but shall deliver his soul from death. Proverbs 23:13

60. What the Apostle means by the rod is shown by his invective against fornication, his denunciation of incest, his reprehension of pride, because they were puffed up who ought rather to be mourning, and lastly, his sentence on the guilty person, that he should be excluded from communion, and delivered to the adversary, not for the destruction of the soul but of the flesh. For as the Lord did not give power to Satan over the soul of holy Job, but allowed him to afflict his body, Job 2:6 so here, too, the sinner is delivered to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the serpent might lick the dust Micah 7:17 of his flesh, but not hurt his soul.

61. Let, then, our flesh die to lusts, let it be captive, let it be subdued, and not war against the law of our mind, but die in subjection to a good service, as in Paul, who buffeted his body that he might bring it into subjection, in order that his preaching might become more approved, if the law of his flesh agreed and was consonant with the law of his flesh. For the flesh dies when its wisdom passes over into the spirit, so that it no longer has a taste for the things of the flesh, but for the things of the spirit. Would that I might see my flesh growing weak, would that I were not dragged captive into the law of sin, would that I lived not in the flesh, but in the faith of Christ! And so there is greater grace in the infirmity of the body than in its soundness.

62. Having explained Paul's meaning, let us now consider the words themselves, in what sense he said that he had delivered him to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, for the devil it is who tries us. For he brings ailments on each of our limbs, and sickness on our whole bodies. And then, too, he smote holy Job with evil sores from the feet to the head, because he had received the power of destroying his flesh, when God said: Behold, I give him up unto you, only preserve his life. Job 2:6 This the Apostle took up in the same words, giving up this man to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that his spirit might be saved in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ. 1 Corinthians 5:5

63. Great is the power, great is the gift, which commands the devil to destroy himself. For he destroys himself when he makes the man whom he is seeking to overthrow by temptation stronger instead of weak, because while he is weakening the body he is strengthening his soul. For sickness of the body restrains sin, but luxury sets on fire the sin of the flesh.

64. The devil is then deceived so as to wound himself with his own bite, and to arm against himself him whom he thought to weaken. So he armed holy Job the more after he wounded him, who, with his whole body covered with sores, endured indeed the bite of the devil, but felt not his poison. And

so it is well said of him, You shall draw out the dragon with an hook, you will play with him as with a bird, you shall bind him as a boy does a sparrow, you shall lay your hand upon him.

65. You see how he is mocked by Paul, so that, like the child in prophecy, he lays his hand on the hole of the asp, and the serpent injures him not; he draws him out of his hiding-places, and makes of his venom a spiritual antidote, so that what is venom becomes a medicine, the venom serves to the destruction of the flesh, it becomes medicine to the healing of the spirit. For that which hurts the body benefits the spirit.

66. Let, then, the serpent bite the earthy part of me, let him drive his tooth into my flesh, and bruise my body; and may the Lord say of me: I give him up unto you, only preserve his life. How great is the power of Christ, that the guardianship of man is made a charge even to the devil himself, who always desires to injure him. Let us then make the Lord Jesus favourable to ourselves. At the command of Christ the devil himself becomes the guardian of his prey. Even unwillingly he carries out the commands of heaven, and, though cruel, obeys the commands of gentleness.

67. But why do I commend his obedience? Let him be ever evil that God may be ever good, Who converts his ill-will into grace for us. He wishes to injure us, but cannot if Christ resist him. He wounds the flesh but preserves the life. And then it is written: Then shall the wolves and the lambs feed together, the lion and the ox shall eat straw, and they shall not hurt nor destroy in My holy mountain, says the Lord. For this is the sentence of condemnation on the serpent: Dust shall be your food. Genesis 3:14 What dust? Surely that of which it is said: Dust you are, and into dust shall you return. Genesis 3:19

CHAPTER 14

St. Ambrose explains that the flesh given to Satan for destruction is eaten by the serpent when the soul is set free from carnal desires. He gives, therefore, various rules for guarding the senses, points out the snares laid for us by means of pleasures, and exhorts his hearers not to fear the destruction of the flesh by the serpent.

68. THE SERPENT eats this dust, if the Lord Jesus is favourable to us, that our spirit may not sympathize with the weakness of the flesh, nor be set on fire by the vapours of the flesh and the heat of our members. It is better to marry than to burn, for there is a flame which burns within. Let us not then suffer this fire to approach the bosom of our minds and the depths of our hearts, lest we burn up the covering of our inmost hearts, and lest the devouring fire of lust consume this outward garment of the soul and its fleshy veil, but let us pass through the fire. Isaiah 43:2 And should any one fall into the fire of love let him leap over it and pass forth; let him not bind to himself adulterous lust with the bands of thoughts, let him not tie knots around himself by the fastenings of continual reflection, let him not too often turn his attention to the form of a harlot, and let not a maiden lift her eyes to the countenance of a youth. And if by chance she has looked and is caught, how much more will she be entangled if she gazes with curiosity.

69. Let custom itself teach us. A woman covers her face with a veil for this reason, that in public her modesty may be safe. That her face may not easily meet the gaze of a youth, let her be covered with the nuptial veil, so that not even in chance meetings she might be exposed to the wounding of another or of herself, though the wound of either were indeed hers. But if

she cover her head with a veil that she may not accidentally see or be seen (for when the head is veiled the face is hidden), how much more ought she to cover herself with the veil of modesty, so as even in public to have her own secret place.

70. But granted that the eye has fallen upon another, at least let not the inward affection follow. For to have seen is no sin, but one must be careful that it be not the source of sin. The bodily eye sees, but let the eye of the heart be closed; let modesty of mind remain. We have a Lord Who is both strict and indulgent. The prophet indeed said: Look not upon the beauty of a woman that is all harlot. But the Lord said: Whoever shall look on a woman to lust after her, has committed adultery with her already in his heart. Matthew 5:28 He does not say, Whosoever shall look has committed adultery, but Whosoever shall look on her to lust after her. He condemned not the look but sought out the inward affection. But that modesty is praiseworthy which has so accustomed itself to close the bodily eyes as often not to see what we really behold. For we seem to behold with the bodily sight whatever meets us; but if there be not joined to this any attention of the mind, the sight also, according to what is usual in the body, fades away, so that in reality we see rather with the mind than with the body.

71. And if the flesh has seen the flame, let us not cherish that flame in our bosoms, that is, in the depths of the heart and the inward part of the mind. Let us not instil this fire into our bones, let us not bind bonds upon ourselves, let us not join in conversation with such as may be the cause to us of unholy fires. The speech of a maiden is a snare to a youth, the words of a youth are the bonds of love.

72. Joseph saw the fire when the woman eager for adultery spoke to him. Genesis 39:7 She wished to catch him with her words. She set the snares of her lips, but was not able to capture the chaste man. For the voice of

modesty, the voice of gravity, the rein of caution, the care for integrity, the discipline of chastity, loosed the woman's chains. So that unchaste person could not entangle him in her meshes. She laid her hand upon him; she caught his garment, that she might tighten the noose around him. The words of a lascivious woman are the snares of lust, and her hands the bonds of love; but the chaste mind could not be taken either by snares or by bonds. The garment was cast off, the bonds were loosed, and because he did not admit the fire into the bosom of his mind, his body was not burnt.

73. You see, then, that our mind is the cause of our guilt. And so the flesh is innocent, but is often the minister of sin. Let not, then, desire of beauty overcome you. Many nets and many snares are spread by the devil. The look of a harlot is the snare of him who loves her. Our own eyes are nets to us, wherefore it is written: Be not taken with your eyes. Proverbs 6:25 So, then, we spread nets for ourselves in which we are entangled and hampered. We bind chains on ourselves, as we read: For every one is bound with the chains of his own sins.

74. Let us then pass through the fires of youth and the glow of early years; let us pass through the waters, let us not remain therein, lest the deep floods shut us in. Let us rather pass over, that we too may say: Our soul has passed over the stream, for he who has passed over is safe. And lastly, the Lord speaks thus: If you pass through the water, I am with you, the rivers shall not overflow you. Isaiah 43:2 And the prophet says: I have seen the wicked exalted above the cedars of Libanus, and I passed by, and lo, he was not. Pass by things of this world, and you will see that the high places of the wicked have fallen. Moses, too, passing by things of this world, saw a great sight and said: I will turn aside and see this great sight, Exodus 3:3 for had he been held by the fleeting pleasures of this world he would not have seen so great a mystery.

75. Let us also pass over this fire of lust, fearing which Paul — but fearing for us, inasmuch as by buffeting his body he had come no longer to fear for himself — says to us: Flee fornication. 1 Corinthians 6:18 Let us then flee it as though following us, though indeed it follows not behind us, but within our very selves. Let us then diligently take heed lest while we are fleeing from it we carry it with ourselves. For we wish for the most part to flee, but if we do not wholly cast it out of our mind, we rather take it up than forsake it. Let us then spring over it, lest it be said to us: Walk in the flame of your fire, which you have kindled for yourselves. Isaiah 50:11 For as he who takes fire into his bosom burns his clothes, Proverbs 6:27 so he who walks upon fiery coals must of necessity burn his feet, as it is written: Can one walk upon coals of fire and not burn his feet? Proverbs 6:28

76. This fire is dangerous, let us then not feed it with the fuel of luxury. Lust is fed by feastings, nourished by delicacies, kindled by wine, and inflamed by drunkenness. Still more dangerous than these are the incentives of words, which intoxicate the mind as it were with a kind of wine of the vine of Sodom. Let us be on our guard against abundance of this wine, for when the flesh is intoxicated the mind totters, the heart wavers, the heart is carried to and fro. And so with regard to each that precept is useful wherein Timothy is warned: Drink a little wine because of your frequent infirmities. 1 Timothy 5:23 When the body is heated, it excites the glow of the mind; when the flesh is chilled with the cold of disease the spirit is chilled; when the body is in pain, the mind is sad, but the sadness shall become joy.

77. Do not then fear if your flesh be eaten away, the soul is not consumed. And so David says that he does not fear, because the enemy were eating up his flesh but not his soul, as we read: When evil-doers come near upon me to eat up my flesh, my foes who trouble me, they were weakened and fell. So the serpent works overthrow for himself alone, therefore is he who has been injured by the serpent given over to the serpent

that he may raise up again him whom he cast down, and the overthrow of the serpent may be the raising again of the man. And Scripture testifies that Satan is the author of this bodily suffering and weakness of the flesh, where Paul says: There was given unto me a thorn in the flesh, a messenger of Satan to buffet me, that I should not be exalted. 2 Corinthians 12:7 So Paul learned to heal even as he himself had been made whole.

CHAPTER 15

Returning from this digression, St. Ambrose explains what is the meaning of St. Paul where he speaks of coming with a rod or in the spirit of meekness. One who has grievously fallen is to be separated, but to be again restored to religious privileges when he has sufficiently repented. The old leaven is purged out when the hardness of the letter is tempered by the meal of a milder interpretation. All should be sprinkled with the Church's meal and fed with the food of charity, lest they become like that envious elder brother, whose example is followed by the Novatians.

78. THAT FAITHFUL teacher, having promised one of two things, gave each. He came with a rod, for he separated the guilty man from the holy fellowship. And well is he said to be delivered to Satan who is separated from the body of Christ. But he came in love and with the spirit of meekness, whether because he so delivered him up as to save his soul, or because he afterwards restored to the sacraments him whom he had before separated.

79. For it is needful to separate one who has grievously fallen, lest a little leaven corrupt the whole lump. And the old leaven must be purged out, or the old man in each person; that is, the outward man and his deeds, he who among the people has grown old in sin and hardened in vices. And well did he say purged, not cast forth, for what is purged is not considered wholly valueless, for to this end is it purged, that what is of value be separated from the worthless, but that which is cast forth is considered to have in itself nothing of value.

80. The Apostle then judged that the sinner should then at once be restored to the heavenly sacraments if he himself wished to be cleansed. And well is it said Purge, for he is purged as by certain things done by the whole people, and is washed in the tears of the multitude, and redeemed from sin by the weeping of the multitude, and is purged in the inner man. For Christ granted to His Church that one should be redeemed by means of all, as she herself was found worthy of the coming of the Lord Jesus, in order that through One all might be redeemed.

81. This is Paul's meaning which the words make more obscure. Let us consider the exact words of the Apostle: Purge out, says he, the old leaven, that you may be a new lump, even as you are unleavened. 1 Corinthians 5:7 Either that the whole Church takes up the burden of the sinner, with whom she has to suffer in weeping and prayer and pain, and, as it were, covers herself with his leaven, in order that by means of all that which is to be done away in the individual doing penance may be purged by a kind of contribution and commixture of compassion and mercy offered with manly vigor. Or one may understand it as that woman in the Gospel teaches us, who is a type of the Church, when she hid the leaven in her meal, till all was leavened, and the whole could be used as pure.

82. The Lord taught me in the Gospel what leaven is when He said: Do you not understand that I said not concerning bread, Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees? Matthew 16:11 Then, it is said, they understood that He spoke not of bread, but that they should beware of the doctrine of the Pharisees and Sadducees. This leaven, then — that is, the doctrine of the Pharisees and the contentiousness of the Sadducees — the Church hides in her meal, when she softened the hard letter of the Law by a spiritual interpretation, and ground it as it were in the mill of her explanations, bringing out as it were from the husks of the letter the inner secrets of the mysteries, and setting forth the belief in the Resurrection,

wherein the mercy of God is proclaimed, and wherein it is believed that the life of those who are dead is restored.

83. Now this comparison seems to be not unfitly brought forward in this place, since the kingdom of heaven is redemption from sin, and therefore we all, both bad and good, are mingled with the meal of the Church that we all may be a new lump. But that no one may be afraid that an admixture of evil leaven might injure the lump, the Apostle said: That you may be a new lump, even as you are unleavened; 1 Corinthians 5:7 that is to say, This mixture will render you again such, as in the pure integrity of your innocence. If we thus have compassion, we are not stained with the sins of others, but we gain the restoration of another to the increase of our own grace, so that our integrity remains as it was. And therefore he adds: For Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us; 1 Corinthians 5:7 that is, the Passion of the Lord profited all, and gave redemption to sinners who repented of the sins they had committed.

84. Let us then keep the feast on good food, doing penance yet joyful in our redemption, for no food is sweeter than kindness and gentleness. Let no envy towards the sinner who is saved be mingled with our feasts and joy, lest that envious brother, as is set forth in the Gospel, exclude himself from the house of his Father, because he grieved at the reception of his brother, at whose lasting exile he was wont to rejoice.

85. And you Novatians cannot deny that you are like him, who, as you say, do not come together to the Church because by penance a hope of return had been given to those who had lapsed. But this is only a pretence, for Novatian contrived his schism through grief at his loss of the episcopal office.

86. But do you not understand that the Apostle also prophesied of you and says to you: And you are puffed up and did not rather mourn, that he who did this deed might be taken away from among you? 1 Corinthians 5:2

He is, then, wholly taken away when his sin is done away, but the Apostle does not say that the sinner is to be shut out of the Church who counsels his cleansing.

CHAPTER 16

Comparison between the apostles and Novatians. The fitness of the words, You know not what spirit you are of, when applied to them. The desire of penance is extinguished by them when they take away its fruit. And thus are sinners deprived of the promises of Christ, though, indeed, they ought not to be too soon admitted to the mysteries. Some examples of repentance.

87. INASMUCH, THEN, as the Apostle forgave sins, by what authority do you say that they are not to be forgiven? Who has the most reverence for Christ, Paul or Novatian? But Paul knew that the Lord was merciful. He knew that the Lord Jesus was offended more by the harshness of the disciples than by their pitifulness.

88. Furthermore, Jesus rebuked James and John when they spoke of bringing down fire from heaven to consume those who refused to receive the Lord, and said to them: You know not whose spirit you are of; for the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives but to save them. Luke 9:55-56 To them, indeed, He said, You know not whose spirit you are of, who were of His spirit; but to you He says, You are not of My spirit, who hold not fast My clemency, who reject My mercy, who refuse repentance which I willed to be preached by the apostles in My Name.

89. For it is in vain that you say that you preach repentance who remove the fruits of repentance. For men are led to the pursuit of anything either by rewards or results, and every pursuit grows slack by delay. And for this reason the Lord, in order that the devotion of His disciples might be increased, said that every one who had left all that was his, and followed

God, should receive sevenfold more both here and hereafter. Matthew 19:29 First of all He promised the reward *here*, to do away with the tedium of delay, and again *hereafter*, that we might learn to believe that rewards will also be given to us hereafter. Present rewards are then an earnest of those hereafter.

90. If, then, any one, having committed hidden sins, shall nevertheless diligently do penance, how shall he receive those rewards if not restored to the communion of the Church? I am willing, indeed, that the guilty man should hope for pardon, should seek it with tears and groans, should seek it with the aid of the tears of all the people, should implore forgiveness; and if communion be postponed two or three times, that he should believe that his entreaties have not been urgent enough, that he must increase his tears, must come again even in greater trouble, clasp the feet of the faithful with his arms, kiss them, wash them with tears, and not let them go, so that the Lord Jesus may say of him too: His sins which are many are forgiven, for he loved much. Luke 7:47

91. I have known penitents whose countenance was furrowed with tears, their cheeks worn with constant weeping, who offered their body to be trodden under foot by all, who with faces ever pale and worn with fasting bore about in a yet living body the likeness of death.

CHAPTER 17

That gentleness must be added to severity, as is shown in the case of St. Paul at Corinth. The man had been baptized, though the Novatians argue against it. And by the word destruction is not meant annihilation but severe chastening.

92. WHY DO we postpone the time of pardon for those who have mortified themselves, who during life have done themselves to death? Sufficient, says St. Paul, to such a one is this punishment which is inflicted by the many; so that contrariwise, you should rather forgive him and comfort him, lest by any means he should be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow. 2 Corinthians 2:6 If the punishment which is inflicted by the many is sufficient for condemnation, the intercession which is made by many is also sufficient for the remission of sin. The Master of morals, Who both knows our weakness and is the interpreter of the will of God, wills that comfort should be given, lest sorrow through the weariness of long delay should swallow up the penitent.

93. The Apostle then forgave him, and not only forgave him, but desired that love to him should again grow strong. He who is loved receives not harshness but mercy. And not only did he himself forgive him only, but willed that all should forgive him, and says that he forgave for the sake of others, lest many should be longer saddened on account of one. To whom, says he, you have forgiven anything, I forgive also, for I also have forgiven for your sakes in the person of Christ, for we are not ignorant of his devices. 2 Corinthians 2:10 Rightly can he be on his guard against the serpent who is not ignorant of his devices, of which there are so many to our detriment. He

is always desirous to do harm, always desirous to circumvent us, that he may cause death; but we ought to take heed lest our remedy become an occasion of triumph for him; for we are circumvented by him, if any one perish through overmuch sorrow, who might be set free by pitifulness.

94. And that we may know that this person was baptized, he added: I wrote to you in my epistle to have no company with fornicators, not altogether with fornicators of this world. 1 Corinthians 5:9 And farther on he adds: But now I write unto you not to keep company if any man that is named a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolator. 1 Corinthians 5:11 Those whom he has joined together under one penalty, he willed to attain together to forgiveness. If any be such, he says, with him not to eat. 1 Corinthians 5:11 How severe he is with the obstinate, how indulgent to those who seek. Against those rises up in arms the injury done to Christ, while the calling upon Christ aids these.

95. But lest any one be perplexed because it is written: I have delivered such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, 1 Corinthians 5:5 and should say: How can he attain forgiveness whose whole flesh has perished, seeing that it is evident that man was redeemed both in body and soul, and is saved in both and that neither the soul without the body, nor yet the body without the soul, since both are united by their fellowship in the deeds that have been done, can be without fellowship either in punishment or in reward? Let this suffice for an answer to him: That destruction does not mean the complete annihilation of the flesh, but its chastening. For as he who is dead to sin lives to God, so the allurements of the flesh perish, and the flesh dies to its lusts, in order that it may live again to purity and to other good works.

96. And what more suitable example can we take than one from our common mother? For the earth itself, from which we are all taken, when it is not worked and cultivated, seems to be desert; and the field dies to the

vines or olive-trees with which it was planted, and yet it does not lose its own nutritive power, which is, as it were, its life. And then later, when cultivation begins once more, and the seed is sown for which the land seems suitable, it breaks forth again more fruitful than before with its products. It is not, then, anything so strange if our flesh is said to die, and yet is understood to be subdued rather than annihilated.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER 1

St. Ambrose gives additional rules concerning repentance, and shows that it must not be delayed.

1. ALTHOUGH IN the former book we have written many things which may tend to the more perfect practice of repentance, yet inasmuch as a great deal more may be added, we will continue the repast so as not to seem to have relinquished the provisions of our teaching only half consumed.

2. For repentance must be taken in hand not only anxiously, but also quickly, lest perchance that father of the house in the Gospel who planted a fig-tree in his vineyard should come and seek fruit on it, and finding none, say to the vine-dresser: Cut it down, why does it cumber the ground? Luke 13:7 And unless the vine-dresser should intercede and say: Lord, let it alone this year also, until I dig about it and dung it, and if it bear fruit — well; but if not let it be cut down. Luke 13:8-9

3. Let us then dung this field which we possess, and imitate those hard-working farmers, who are not ashamed to satiate the land with rich dung and to scatter the grimy ashes over the field, that they may gather more abundant crops.

4. And the Apostle teaches us how to dung it, saying: I count all things but dung, that I may gain Christ, Philippians 3:8 and he, through evil report and good report, attained to pleasing Christ. For he had read that Abraham, when confessing himself to be but dust and ashes, Genesis 18:27 in his deep humility found favour with God. He had read how Job, sitting among the ashes, Job 2:8 regained all that he had lost. Job 42:10 He had heard in the

utterance of David, how God raises the poor out of the dust, and lifts the needy out of the dunghill.

5. Let us then not be ashamed to confess our sins unto the Lord. Shame indeed there is when each makes known his sins, but that shame, as it were, ploughs his land, removes the ever-recurring brambles, prunes the thorns, and gives life to the fruits which he believed were dead. Follow him who, by diligently ploughing his field, sought for eternal fruit: Being reviled we bless, being persecuted we endure, being defamed we entreat, we are made as the offscouring of the world. 1 Corinthians 4:12-13 If you plough after this fashion you will sow spiritual seed. Plough that you may get rid of sin and gain fruit. He ploughed so as to destroy in himself the last tendency to persecution. What more could Christ give to lead us on to the pursuit of perfection, than to convert and then give us for a teacher one who was a persecutor?

CHAPTER 2

A passage quoted by the heretics against repentance is explained in two ways, the first being that Hebrews 6:4 refers to the impossibility of being baptized again; the second, that what is impossible with man is possible with God.

6. BEING THEN refuted by the clear example of the Apostle and by his writings, the heretics yet endeavour to resist further, and say that their opinion is supported by apostolic authority, bringing forward the passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews: For it is impossible that those who were once enlightened, and have tasted the heavenly gift, and have been made partakers of the Holy Spirit, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, should if they fall away be again renewed unto repentance, crucifying again the Son of God, and put Him to open shame.

7. Could Paul teach in opposition to his own act? He had at Corinth forgiven sin through penance, how could he himself speak against his own decision? Since, then, he could not destroy what he had built, we must assume that what he says was different from, but not contrary to, what had gone before. For what is contrary is opposed to itself, what is different has ordinarily another meaning. Things which are contrary are not such that one can support the other. Inasmuch, then, as the Apostle spoke of remitting penance, he could not be silent as to those who thought that baptism was to be repeated. And it was right first of all to remove our anxiety, and to let us know that even after baptism, if any sinned their sins could be forgiven them, lest a false belief in a reiterated baptism should lead astray those who

were destitute of all hope of forgiveness. And secondly, it was right to set forth in a well-reasoned argument that baptism is not to be repeated.

8. And that the writer was speaking of baptism is evident from the very words in which it is stated that it is impossible to renew unto repentance those who were fallen, inasmuch as we are renewed by means of the laver of baptism, whereby we are born again, as Paul says himself: For we are buried with Him through baptism into death, that, like as Christ rose from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we, too, should walk in newness of life. Romans 6:4 And in another place: Be renewed in the spirit of your mind, and put on the new man which is created after God. Ephesians 4:23 And elsewhere again: Your youth shall be renewed like the eagle, because the eagle after death is born again from its ashes, as we being dead in sin are through the Sacrament of Baptism born again to God, and created anew. So, then, here as elsewhere, he teaches one baptism. One faith, he says, one baptism. Ephesians 4:5

9. This, too, is plain, that in him who is baptized the Son of God is crucified, for our flesh could not do away sin unless it were crucified in Jesus Christ. And then it is written that: All we who were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into His death. Romans 6:3 And farther on: If we have been planted in the likeness of His death, we shall be also in the likeness of His resurrection, knowing that our old man was fastened with Him to His cross. Romans 6:5-6 And to the Colossians he says: Buried with Him by baptism, wherein you also rose again with Him. Colossians 2:12 Which was written to the intent that we should believe that He is crucified in us, that our sins may be purged through Him, that He, Who alone can forgive sins, may nail to His cross the handwriting which was against us. Colossians 2:14 In us He triumphs over principalities and powers, as it is written of Him: He made a show of principalities and powers, triumphing over them in Himself. Colossians 2:15

10. So, then, that which he says in this Epistle to the Hebrews, that it is impossible for those who have fallen to be renewed unto repentance, crucifying again the Son of God, and putting Him to open shame, must be considered as having reference to baptism, wherein we crucify the Son of God in ourselves, that the world may be by Him crucified for us, who triumph, as it were, when we take to ourselves the likeness of His death, who put to open shame upon His cross principalities and powers, and triumphed over them, that in the likeness of His death we, too, might triumph over the principalities whose yoke we throw off. But Christ was crucified once, and died to sin once, and so there is but one, not several baptisms.

11. But what of the passage wherein the doctrine of baptisms is spoken of? Because under the Law there were many baptisms or washings, he rightly rebukes those who forsake what is perfect and seek again the first principles of the word. He teaches us that the whole of the washings under the Law are done away with, and that there is one baptism in the sacraments of the Church. But he exhorts us that leaving the first principles of the word we should go on to perfection. And this, he says, we will do, if God permits, Hebrews 6:3 for no one can be perfect without the grace of God.

12. And indeed I might also say to any one who thought that this passage spoke of repentance, that things which are impossible with men are possible with God; and God is able whenever He wills to forgive us our sins, even those which we think cannot be forgiven. And so it is possible for God to give us that which it seems to us impossible to obtain. For it seemed impossible that water should wash away sin, and Naaman the Syrian thought that his leprosy could not be cleansed by water. But that which was impossible God made to be possible, Who gave us so great grace. In like manner it seemed impossible that sins should be forgiven through repentance, but Christ gave this power to His apostles, which has been

transmitted to the priestly office. That, then, has become possible which was impossible. But, by a true reasoning, he convinces us that the reiteration by any one of the Sacrament of Baptism is not permitted.

CHAPTER 3

Explanation of the parable of the Prodigal Son, in which St. Ambrose applies it to refute the teaching of the Novatians, proving that reconciliation ought not to be refused to the greatest offender upon suitable proof of repentance.

13. AND THE Apostle does not contradict the plain teaching of Christ, Who set forth, as a comparison of a repentant sinner, one going to a foreign country after receiving all his substance from his father, wasted it in riotous living, and later, when feeding upon husks, longed for his father's bread and then gained the robe, the ring, the shoes, and the slaying of the calf, which is a likeness of the Passion of the Lord, whereby we receive forgiveness.

14. Well is it said that he went into a foreign country who is cut off from the sacred altar, for this is to be separated from that Jerusalem which is in heaven, from the citizenship and home of the saints. For which reason the Apostle says: Therefore now you are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow citizens with the saints and of the household of God. Ephesians 2:19

15. And, it is said, wasted his substance. Rightly, for he whose faith halts in bringing forth good works does consume it. For, faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen. Hebrews 11:1 And faith is a good substance, the inheritance of our hope.

16. And no wonder if he was perishing for hunger, who lacked the divine nourishment, impelled by the want of which he says: I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him: Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before you. Do you not see it plainly declared to us, that we are urged to prayer for the sake of gaining the sacrament? And do you wish to take away

that for the sake of which penance is undertaken? Deprive the pilot of the hope of reaching port, and he will wander uncertainly here and there on the waves. Take away the crown from the athlete, and he will fail and lie on the course. Take from the fisher the power of catching his booty, and he will cease to cast the nets. How, then, can he, who suffers hunger in his soul, pray more earnestly to God, if he has no hope of the heavenly food?

17. I have sinned, he says, against heaven, and before you. He confesses what is clearly a sin unto death, that you may not think that any one doing penance is rightly shut out from pardon. For he who has sinned against heaven has sinned either against the kingdom of heaven, or against his own soul, which is a sin unto death, and against God, to Whom alone is said: Against You only have I sinned, and done evil before You.

18. So quickly does he gain forgiveness, that, as he is coming, and is still a great way off, his father meets him, gives him a kiss, which is the sign of sacred peace; orders the robe to be brought forth, which is the marriage garment, which if any one have not, he is shut out from the marriage feast; places the ring on his hand, which is the pledge of faith and the seal of the Holy Spirit; orders the shoes to be brought out, Exodus 12:11 for he who is about to celebrate the Lord's Passover, about to feast on the Lamb, ought to have his feet protected against all attacks of spiritual wild beasts and the bite of the serpent; bids the calf to be slain, for Christ our Passover has been sacrificed. 1 Corinthians 5:7 For as often as we receive the Blood of the Lord, we proclaim the death of the Lord. 1 Corinthians 11:26 As, then, He was once slain for all, so whenever forgiveness of sins is granted, we receive the Sacrament of His Body, that through His Blood there may be remission of sins.

19. Therefore most evidently are we bidden by the teaching of the Lord to confer again the grace of the heavenly sacrament on those guilty even of

the greatest sins, if they with open confession bear the penance due to their sin.

CHAPTER 4

St. Ambrose turns against the Novatians themselves another objection concerning blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, showing that it consists in an erroneous belief, proving this by St. Peter's words against Simon Magus, and other passages, exhorting the Novatians to return to the Church, affirming that such is our Lord's mercy that even Judas would have found forgiveness had he repented.

20. BUT WE have heard that you are accustomed to bring forward as an objection that which is written: Every sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men, but blasphemies against the Spirit shall not be forgiven unto men. And whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him, but whosoever shall speak against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in that which is to come. Matthew 12:31-32 By which quotation the whole of your assertion is destroyed and done away, for it is written: Every sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men. Why, then, do you not remit them? Why do you bind chains which you do not loose? Why do you tie knots which you do not unfasten? Forgive the others, and deal with those who you think are bound for ever by the authority of the Gospel for sinning against the Holy Spirit.

21. But let us consider the case of those whom the Lord so binds, going back to the words before the passage quoted, that we may understand it more clearly: The Jews were saying: This man does not cast out devils, but by Beelzebub, prince of the devils. Jesus replied: Every kingdom divided against itself shall be destroyed, and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand; for if Satan casts out Satan, he is divided against

himself, how then shall his kingdom stand? But if I cast out devils by Beelzebub, by whom do your sons cast them out?

22. Now we see plainly here that the words are expressly used of those who were saying that the Lord Jesus cast out devils through Beelzebub, to whom the Lord gave that answer, because they were of the heritage of Satan, who compared the Saviour of all to Satan, and attributed the grace of Christ to the kingdom of the devil. And that we might know that He was speaking of this blasphemy, He added: O generation of vipers, how can you speak good, being yourselves evil? He says, then, that those who thus speak attain not to forgiveness.

23. Then, when Simon, depraved by long practice of magic, had thought he could gain by money the power of conferring the grace of Christ and the infusion of the Holy Spirit, Peter said: You have neither part nor lot in this faith, for your heart is not right with God. Repent therefore of this your wickedness, and pray the Lord, if perchance this thought of your heart may be forgiven you, for I see that you are in the bond of iniquity and in the bitterness of gall. We see that Peter by his apostolic authority condemns him who blasphemes against the Holy Spirit through magic vanity, and all the more because he had not the clear consciousness of faith. And yet he did not exclude him from the hope of forgiveness, for he called him to repentance.

24. The Lord then replies to the blasphemy of the Pharisees, and refuses to them the grace of His power, which consists in the remission of sins, because they asserted that His heavenly power rested on the help of the devil. And He affirms that they act with satanic spirit who divide the Church of God, so that He includes the heretics and schismatics of all times, to whom He denies forgiveness, for every other sin is concerned with single persons, this is a sin against all. For they alone wish to destroy the grace of

Christ who rend asunder the members of the Church for which the Lord Jesus suffered, and the Holy Spirit was given us.

25. Lastly, that we may know that He is speaking of those who destroy the unity of the Church, we find it written: He that is not with Me is against Me, and he that gathered not with Me, scatters. Matthew 12:30 And that we might know that He is speaking of these, He at once added: Therefore I say unto you, every sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men, but blasphemies against the Spirit shall not be forgiven unto men. When He says, Therefore say I unto you, is it not evident that He intended the words following to be laid to heart by us beyond the others? And He rightly added: A good tree brings forth good fruits, but a bad tree brings forth bad fruits, Matthew 7:17 for an evil association cannot produce good fruits. The tree, then, is the association; the fruits of the good tree are the children of the Church.

26. Return, then, to the Church, those of you who have wickedly separated yourselves. For He promises forgiveness to all who are converted, since it is written: Whosoever shall call on the Name of the Lord shall be saved. Joel 2:32 And lastly, the Jewish people who said of the Lord Jesus, He has a devil, John 8:43 and He casts out devils through Beelzebub, and who crucified the Lord Jesus, are, by the preaching of Peter, called to baptism, that they may put away the guilt of so great a wickedness.

27. But what wonder is it if you should deny salvation to others, who reject your own, though they lose nothing who seek for penance from you? For I suppose that even Judas might through the exceeding mercy of God not have been shut out from forgiveness, if he had expressed his sorrow not before the Jews but before Christ. I have sinned, he said, in that I have betrayed righteous blood. Matthew 27:5 Their answer was: What is that to us, you see to that. What other reply do you give, when one guilty of a smaller sin confesses his deed to you? What do you answer but this: What is

that to us, you see to that? The halter followed on those words, but the punishment is all the more severe, the smaller the sin is.

28. But if they be not converted, do you at least repent, who by many a slip have fallen from the lofty pinnacle of innocence and faith. We have a good Lord, Whose will it is to forgive all, Who called you by the prophet, and said: I, even I, am He that blots out transgressions, and I will not remember, but you remember, and let us plead together.

CHAPTER 5

As to the words of St. Peter to Simon Magus, from which the Novatians infer that there was no forgiveness for the latter, it is pointed out that St. Peter, knowing his evil heart, might well use words of doubt, and then by some Old Testament instances it is pointed out that perchance does not exclude forgiveness. The apostles transmitted to us that penitence, the fruits of which are shown in the case of David. St. Ambrose then adduces the example of the Ephraimites, whose penitence must be followed in order to gain the divine mercy and the sacraments.

29. THE NOVATIANS bring up a question from the words of the Apostle Peter. Because he said, if perchance, they think that he did not imply that forgiveness would be granted on repentance. But let them consider concerning whom the words were spoken: of Simon, who did not believe through faith, but was meditating trickery. So too the Lord to him who said, Lord, I will follow You withersoever You go, replied, Foxes have holes. Matthew 8:19-20 For He knew that the man's sincerity was not wholly perfect. If, then, the Lord refused to him who was not baptized permission to follow Him, because He saw that he was not sincere, do you wonder that the Apostle did not absolve him who after baptism was guilty of deceit, and whom he declared to be still in the bond of iniquity?

30. But let this be my answer to them. As to myself, I say that Peter did not doubt, and I do not think that so great a question can be burked by the questionable interpretation of a single word. For if they think that Peter doubted, did God doubt, Who said to the prophet Jeremiah: Stand in the court of the Lord's house, and you shall give an answer to all Judah, to

those who come to worship in the Lord's house, even all the words which I have appointed for you to answer them. Keep not back a word, perchance they will hearken and be converted. Jeremiah 26:2-3 Let them say, then, that God also knew not what would happen.

31. But ignorance is not implied in that word, but the common custom of holy Scripture is observed, in order to simplicity of utterance. Inasmuch as the Lord says also to Ezekiel: Son of man, I will send you unto the house of Israel, to those who have angered Me, both themselves and their fathers, unto this day, and you shall say unto them, Thus says the Lord, if perchance they will hear and be afraid. Ezekiel 2:4-5 Did He not know that they could or could not be converted? So, then, that expression is not always a proof of doubt.

32. Lastly, the wise men of this world, who stake all their reputation on expressions and words, do not everywhere use the Latin word *forte*, perchance, or its Greek equivalent τάχα, as an expression of doubt. And so they say that their earliest poet used the words,

...ἦ ˙ τάχα χήρη
...ἔσομαι,

which is, I shall soon be a widow; and the passage goes on:

... τάχα γάρ σε κατακνέουσιν ᾽Αχαιοὶ
πάντες εφορμηθέντες .

But he had no doubt that when all were Joining in the attack one might well be laid low by all.

33. But let us use our own instances rather than foreign ones. You find in the Gospel that the Son Himself says of the Father (when He had sent His servants to His vineyard, and they had been slain), that the Father said, I will send My well-beloved Son, perchance they will reverence Him.

Matthew 21:37 And in another place the Son says of Himself: You know neither Me nor My Father; for if you knew Me, you would perchance know My Father also. John 8:19

34. If, then, Peter used those words which were used by God without any prejudice to His knowledge, why should we not assume that Peter also used them without prejudice to his belief? For he could not doubt concerning the gift of Christ, Who had given him the power of forgiving sins; especially since he was bound not to leave any place for the craftiness of heretics who desire to deprive men of hope, in order the more easily to insinuate into the despairing their opinion as to the reiteration of baptism.

35. But the apostles, having this baptism according to the direction of Christ, taught repentance, promised forgiveness, and remitted guilt, as David taught when he said: Blessed are they whose transgressions are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord has not imputed sin. He calls each blessed, both him whose sins are remitted by the font, and him whose sin is covered by good works. For he who repents ought not only to wash away his sin by his tears, but also to cover and hide his former transgressions by amended deeds, that sin may not be imputed to him.

36. Let us, then, cover our falls by our subsequent acts; let us purify ourselves by tears, that the Lord our God may hear us when we lament, as He heard Ephraim when weeping, as it is written: I have surely heard Ephraim weeping. Jeremiah 31:18 And He expressly repeats the very words of Ephraim: You have chastised me and I was chastised, like a calf I was not trained. Jeremiah 31:18 For a calf disports itself, and leaves its stall, and so Ephraim was untrained like a calf far away from the stall; because he had forsaken the stall of the Lord, followed Jeroboam, Sirach 47:23 and worshipped the calves, which future event was prophetically indicated through Aaron, Exodus xxxi namely, that the people of the Jews would fall

after this manner. And so repenting, Ephraim says: Turn me, and I shall be turned, for You are the Lord my God. Surely in the end of my captivity I repented, and after I learned I mourned over the days of confusion, and subjected myself to You because I received reproach and made You known.

37. We see how to repent, with what words and with what acts, that the days of sin are called days of confusion; for there is confusion when Christ is denied.

38. Let us, then, submit ourselves to God, and not be subject to sin, and when we ponder the remembrance of our offenses, let us blush as though at some disgrace, and not speak of them as a glory to us, as some boast of overcoming modesty, or putting down the feeling of justice. Let our conversion be such, that we who did not know God may now ourselves declare Him to others, that the Lord, moved by such a conversion on our part, may answer to us: Ephraim is from youth a dear son, a pleasant child, for since My words are concerning him, I will verily remember him, therefore have I hastened to be over him; I will surely have mercy on him, says the Lord.

39. And what mercy He promises us, the Lord also shows, when He says further on: I have satiated every thirsty soul, and have satisfied every hungry soul. Therefore, I awaked and beheld, and My sleep was sweet unto Me. Jeremiah 31:25-26 We observe that the Lord promises His sacraments to those who sin. Let us, then, all be converted to the Lord.

CHAPTER 6

St. Ambrose teaches out of the prophet Isaiah what they must do who have fallen. Then referring to our Lord's proverbial expression respecting piping and dancing, he condemns dances. Next by the example of Jeremiah he sets forth the necessary accompaniments of repentance. And lastly, in order to show the efficacy of this medicine of penance, he enumerates the names of many who have used it for themselves or for others.

40. BUT IF they be not converted, do you at least repent, who by many a slip have fallen from the lofty pinnacle of innocence and faith. We have a good Lord, Whose will it is to forgive all, Who called you by the prophet and said: I, even I, am He that blots out your transgressions, and I will not remember, but you remember that we may plead together. I, He says, will not remember, but remember, that is to say, I do not recall those transgressions which I have forgiven you, which are covered, as it were, with oblivion, but remember them. I will not remember them because of My grace, remember them in order to correction; remember, you may know that the sin is forgiven, boast not as though innocent, that you aggravate not the sin, but you will be justified, confess your sin. For a shamefaced confession of sins looses the bands of transgression.

41. You see what God requires of you, that you remember that grace which you have received, and boast not as though you had not received it. You see by how complete a promise of remission He draws you to confession. Take heed, lest by resisting the commandments of God you fall into the offense of the Jews, to whom the Lord Jesus said: We piped to you and you danced not; we wailed and you wept not. Luke 7:32

42. The words are ordinary words, but the mystery is not ordinary. And so one must be on one's guard, lest, deceived by any common interpretation of this saying, one should suppose that the movements of wanton dances and the madness of the stage were commended; for these are full of evil in youthful age. But the dancing is commended which David practised before the ark of God. For everything is seemly which is done for religion, so that we need be ashamed of no service which tends to the worship and honouring of Christ.

43. Dancing, then, which is an accompaniment of pleasures and luxury, is not spoken of, but spiritually such as that wherewith one raises the eager body, and suffers not the limbs to lie slothfully on the ground, nor to grow stiff in their accustomed tracks. Paul danced spiritually, when for us he stretched forward, and forgetting the things which were behind, and aiming at those which were before, he pressed on to the prize of Christ. Philippians 2:13-14 And you, too, when you come to baptism, are warned to raise the hands, and to cause your feet wherewith you ascend to things eternal to be swifter. This dancing accompanies faith, and is the companion of grace.

44. This, then, is the mystery. We piped to you, singing in truth the song of the New Testament, and you danced not. That is, did not raise your souls to the spiritual grace. We wailed, and you wept not. That is, you did not repent. And therefore was the Jewish people forsaken, because it did not repent, and rejected grace. Repentance came by John, grace by Christ. He, as the Lord, gives the one; the other is proclaimed, as it were, by the servant. The Church, then, keeps both that it may both attain to grace and not cast away repentance, for grace is the gift of One Who confers it; repentance is the remedy of the sinner.

45. Jeremiah knew that penitence was a great remedy, which he in his Lamentations took up for Jerusalem, and brings forward Jerusalem itself as repenting, when he says: She wept sore in the night, and her tears are on her

cheeks, nor is there one to comfort her of all who love her. The ways of Sion do mourn. And he says further: For these things I weep, my eyes have grown dim with weeping, because he who used to comfort me is gone far from me. Lamentations 1:16 We notice that he thought this the bitterest addition to his woes, that he who used to comfort the mourner had gone far from him. How, then, can you take away the very comfort by refusing to repentance the hope of forgiveness?

46. But let those who repent learn how they ought to carry it out, with what zeal, with what affection, with what intention of mind, with what shaking of the inmost bowels, with what conversion of heart: Behold, he says, O Lord, that I am in distress, my bowels are troubled by my weeping, my heart is turned within me. Lamentations 1:20

47. Here you recognize the intention of the soul, the faithfulness of the mind, the disposition of the body: The elders of the daughters of Sion sat, he says, upon the ground, they put dust upon their heads, they girded themselves with haircloth, the princes hung their heads to the ground, the virgins of Jerusalem fainted with weeping, my eyes grew dim, my bowels were troubled, my glory was poured on the earth. Lamentations 2:10-11

48. So, too, did the people of Nineveh mourn, and escaped the destruction of their city. Jonah 3:5 Such is the remedial power of repentance, that God seems because of it to change His intention. To escape is, then, in your own power; the Lord wills to be entreated, He wills that men should hope in Him, He wills that supplication should be made to Him. You are a man, and willest to be asked to forgive, and do you think that God will pardon you without asking Him?

49. The Lord Himself wept over Jerusalem, that, inasmuch as it would not weep itself, it might obtain forgiveness through the tears of the Lord. He wills that we should weep in order that we may escape, as you find it in the

Gospel: Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for Me, but weep for yourselves. Luke 23:28

50. David wept, and obtained of the divine mercy the removal of the death of the people who were perishing, when of the three things proposed for his choice he selected that in which he might have the most experience of the divine mercy. Why do you blush to weep for your sins, when God commanded even the prophets to weep for the people?

51. And, lastly, Ezekiel was bidden to weep for Jerusalem, and he took the book, at the beginning of which was written: Lamentation, and melody, and woe, two things sad and one pleasant, for he shall be saved in the future who has wept most in this age. For the heart of the wise is in the house of mourning, and the heart of fools in the house of feasting. Ecclesiastes 7:4 And the Lord Himself said: Blessed are you that weep now, for you shall laugh. Luke 6:21

CHAPTER 7

An exhortation to mourning and confession of sins for Christ is moved by these and the tears of the Church. Illustration from the story of Lazarus. After showing that the Novatians are the successors of those who planned to kill Lazarus, St. Ambrose argues that the full forgiveness of every sin is signified by the odour of the ointment poured by Mary on the feet of Christ; and further, that the Novatian heretics find their likeness in Judas, who grudged and envied when others rejoiced.

52. LET US, then, mourn for a time, that we may rejoice for eternity. Let us fear the Lord, let us anticipate Him with the confession of our sins, let us correct our backslidings and amend our faults, lest of us too it be said: Woe is me, my soul, for the godly man is perished from the earth, and there is none among men to correct them.

53. Why do you fear to confess your sins to our good Lord? Set them forth, He says, that you may be justified. The rewards of justification are set before him who is still guilty of sin, for he is justified who voluntarily confesses his own sin; and lastly, the just man is his own accuser in the beginning of his speaking. Proverbs 18:17 The Lord knows all things, but He waits for your words, not that He may punish, but that He may pardon. It is not His will that the devil should triumph over you and accuse you when you conceal your sins. Be beforehand with your accuser: if you accuse yourself, you will fear no accuser; if you report yourself, though you were dead you shall live.

54. Christ will come to your grave, and if He finds there weeping for you Martha the woman of good service, and Mary who carefully heard the Word

of God, like holy Church which has chosen the best part, He will be moved with compassion, when at your death He shall see the tears of many and will say: Where have you laid him? John 11:34 that is to say, in what condition of guilt is he? In which rank of penitents? I would see him for whom you weep, that he himself may move Me with his tears. I will see if he is already dead to that sin for which forgiveness is entreated.

55. The people will say to Him, Come and see. John 11:34 What is the meaning of Come? It means, Let forgiveness of sins come, let the life of the departed come, the resurrection of the dead, let Your kingdom come to this sinner also.

56. He will come and will command that the stone be taken away which his fall has laid on the shoulders of the sinner. He could have removed the stone by a word of command, for even inanimate nature is wont to obey the bidding of Christ. He could by the silent power of His working have removed the stone of the sepulchre, at Whose Passion the stones being suddenly removed many sepulchres of the dead were opened, but He bade men remove the stone, in very truth indeed, that the unbelieving might believe what they saw, and see the dead rising again, but in a type that He might give us the power of lightening the burden of sins, the heavy pressure as it were upon the guilty. Ours it is to remove the burdens, His to raise again, His to bring forth from the tombs those set free from their bands.

57. So the Lord Jesus, seeing the heavy burden of the sinner, weeps, for the Church alone He suffers not to weep. He has compassion with His beloved, and says to him that is dead, Come forth, John 11:43 that is, You who lies in darkness of conscience, and in the squalor of your sins, as in the prison-house of the guilty, come forth, declare your sins that you may be justified. For with the mouth confession is made unto salvation. Romans 10:10

58. If you have confessed at the call of Christ the bars will be broken, and every chain loosed, even the stench of the bodily corruption be grievous. For he had been dead four days and his flesh stank in the tomb; but He Whose flesh saw no corruption was three days in the sepulchre, for He knew no evils of the flesh, which consists of the substances of the four elements. However great, then, the stench of the dead body may be, it is all done away so soon as the sacred ointment has shed its odour; and the dead rises again, and the command is given to loose his hands who till now was in sin; the covering is taken from his face which veiled the truth of the grace which he had received. But since he has received forgiveness, the command is given to uncover his face, to lay bare his features. For he whose sin is forgiven has nothing whereof to be ashamed.

59. But in the presence of such grace given by the Lord, of such a miracle of divine bounty, when all ought to have rejoiced, the wicked were stirred up and gathered a council against Christ, John 11:47 and wished moreover to kill Lazarus also. John 12:10 Do you not recognize that you are the successors of those whose hardness you inherit? For you too are angry and gather a council against the Church, because you see the dead come to life again in the Church, and to be raised again by receiving forgiveness of their sins. And thus, so far as in you, you desire to slay again through envy those who are raised to life.

60. But Jesus does not revoke His benefits, nay, rather He amplifies them by additions of His liberality, He anxiously revisits him who was raised again, and rejoicing in the gift of the restored life, He comes to the feast which His Church has prepared for Him, at which he who had been dead is found as one among those sitting down with Christ.

61. Then all wonder who look upon him with the pure gaze of the mind, who are free from envy, for such children the Church has. They wonder, as I

said, how he who yesterday and the day before lay in the tomb is one of those sitting with the Lord Jesus.

62. Mary herself pours ointment on the feet of the Lord Jesus. John 12:3 Perchance for this reason on His feet, because one of the lowliest has been snatched from death, for we are all the body of Christ, 1 Corinthians 12:27 but others perchance are the more honourable members. The Apostle was the mouth of Christ, for he said, You seek a proof of Christ that speaks in me. 2 Corinthians 13:3 The prophets through whom He spoke of things to come were His mouth, would that I might be found worthy to be His foot, and may Mary pour on me her precious ointment, and anoint me and wipe away my sin.

63. What, then, we read concerning Lazarus we ought to believe of every sinner who is converted, who, though he may have been stinking, nevertheless is cleansed by the precious ointment of faith. For faith has such grace that there where the dead stank the day before, now the whole house is filled with good odour.

64. The house of Corinth stank, when it was written concerning it: It is reported that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as is not even among the Gentiles. 1 Corinthians 5:1 There was a stench, for a little leaven had corrupted the whole lump. A good odour began when it was said: If you forgive anything to any one I forgive also. For what I also have forgiven, for your sakes have I done it in the person of Christ. 2 Corinthians 2:10 And so, the sinner being set free, there was great joy in that place, and the whole house was filled with the odour of the sweetness of grace. Wherefore the Apostle, knowing well that he had shed upon all the ointment of apostolic forgiveness, says: We are a sweet savour of Christ unto God in them that are saved. 2 Corinthians 2:15

65. At the pouring forth, then, of this ointment all rejoice; Judas alone speaks against it. John 12:4 So, too, now he who is a sinner speaks against

it, he who is a traitor blames it, but he is himself blamed by Christ, as he knows not the remedy of the Lord's death, and understands not the mystery of that so great burial. For the Lord both suffered and died that He might redeem us from death. This is manifest from the most excellent value from His death, which is sufficient for the absolution of the sinner, and his restoration to fresh grace; so that all may come and wonder at his sitting at table with Christ, and may praise God, saying: Let us eat and feast, for he was dead and is alive again, had perished and is found. Luke 15:24 But any one devoid of faith objects: Why does He eat with publicans and sinners? This is his answer: They that are whole have no need of the physician, but they that are sick. Matthew 9:11-12

CHAPTER 8

In urging repentance St. Ambrose turns to his own case, expressing the wish that he could wash our Lord's feet like the woman in the Gospel, which is a great pattern of penitence, though such as cannot attain to it find acceptance. He prays for himself, especially that he may sorrow with sinners, who are better than himself. Those for whom Christ died are not to be contemned.

66. SHOW, THEN, your wound to the Physician that He may heal it. Though you show it not, He knows it, but waits to hear your voice. Do away your scars by tears. Thus did that woman in the Gospel, and wiped out the stench of her sin; thus did she wash away her fault, when washing the feet of Jesus with her tears.

67. Would that You, Lord Jesus, might reserve for me the washing off from Your feet of the stains contracted since You walk in me! O that You might offer to me to cleanse the pollution which I by my deeds have caused on Your steps! But whence can I obtain living water, wherewith I may wash Your feet? If I have no water I have tears, and while with them I wash Your feet I trust to cleanse myself. Whence is it that You should say to me: His sins which are many are forgiven, because he loved much? I confess that I owe more, and that more has been forgiven me who have been called to the priesthood from the tumult and strife of the law courts and the dread of public administration; and therefore I fear that I may be found ungrateful, if I, to whom more has been forgiven, love less.

68. But all are not able to equal that woman, who was deservedly preferred even to Simon, who was giving the feast to the Lord; who gave a

lesson to all who desire to gain forgiveness, by kissing the feet of Christ, washing them with her tears, wiping them with her hair, and anointing them with ointment.

69. In a kiss is the sign of love, and therefore the Lord Jesus says: Let her kiss Me with the kisses of her mouth. Song of Songs 1:2 What is the meaning of the hair, but that you may learn that, having laid aside all the pomp of worldly trappings, you must implore pardon, throw yourself on the earth with tears, and prostrate on the ground move pity. In the ointment, too, is set forth the savour of a good conversation. David was a king, yet he said: Every night will I wash my bed, I will water my couch with tears. And therefore he obtained such a favour, as that of his house the Virgin should be chosen, who by her child-bearing should bring forth Christ for us. Therefore is this woman also praised in the Gospel.

70. Nevertheless if we are unable to equal her, the Lord Jesus knows also how to aid the weak, when there is no one who can prepare the feast, or bring the ointment, or carry with her a spring of living water. He comes Himself to the sepulchre.

71. Would that You would vouchsafe to come to this sepulchre of mine, O Lord Jesus, that You would wash me with Your tears, since in my hardened eyes I possess not such tears as to be able to wash away my offense. If You shall weep for me I shall be saved; if I am worthy of Your tears I shall cleanse the stench of all my offenses; if I am worthy that You weep but a little, You will call me out of the tomb of this body and will say: Come forth, that my meditations may not be kept pent up in the narrow limits of this body, but may go forth to Christ, and move in the light, that I may think no more on works of darkness but on works of light. For he who thinks on sins endeavours to shut himself up within his own consciousness.

72. Call forth, then, Your servant. Although bound with the chain of my sins I have my feet fastened and my hands tied; being now buried in dead

thoughts and works, yet at Your call I shall go forth free, and shall be found one of those sitting at Your feast, and Your house shall be filled with precious ointment. If You have vouchsafed to redeem any one, You will preserve him. For it shall be said, See, he was not brought up in the bosom of the Church, nor trained from childhood, but hurried from the judgment-seat, brought away from the vanities of this world, growing accustomed to the singing of the choir instead of the shout of the crier, but he continues in the priesthood not by his own strength, but by the grace of Christ, and sits among the guests at the heavenly table.

73. Preserve, O Lord, Your work, guard the gift which You have given even to him who shrank from it. For I knew that I was not worthy to be called a bishop, because I had devoted myself to this world, but by Your grace I am what I am. And I am indeed the least of all bishops, and the lowest in merit; yet since I too have undertaken some labour for Your holy Church, watch over this fruit, and let not him whom when lost You called to the priesthood, to be lost when a priest. And first grant that I may know how with inmost affection to mourn with those who sin; for this is a very great virtue, since it is written: And you shall not rejoice over the children of Judah in the day of their destruction, and speak not proudly in the day of their trouble. Obadiah 12 Grant that so often as the sin of any one who has fallen is made known to me I may suffer with him, and not chide him proudly, but mourn and weep, so that weeping over another I may mourn for myself, saying, Tamar has been more righteous than I. Genesis 38:26

74. Perchance a maiden may have fallen, deceived and hurried away by those occasions which are the sources of sins. Well, we who are older sin, too. In us, too, the law of this flesh wars against the law of our mind, and makes us captives of sin, so that we do what we would not. Her youth is an excuse for her, I now have none, for she ought to learn, we ought to teach. So that Tamar has been more righteous than I.

75. We inveigh against some one's covetousness, let us call to mind whether we ourselves have never done anything covetously; and if we have, since covetousness is the root of all evils, and is working in our bodies like a serpent secretly under the earth, let each of us say: Tamar has been more righteous than I.

76. If we have been seriously moved against any one, a layman may act hastily for a smaller matter than a bishop. Let us ponder that with ourselves and say, He who is reproved for quick temper is more righteous than I. For if we thus speak, we guard ourselves against this, that the Lord Jesus or one of His disciples should say to us: You behold the mote in your brother's eye, but behold not the beam which is in your own eye. You hypocrite, cast out first the beam out of your own eye, and then shall you see to cast out the mote out of your brother's eye. Matthew 7:4-5

77. Let us, then, not be ashamed to say that our fault is more serious than that of him whom we think we must reprove, for this is what Judah did who reprimanded Tamar, and remembering his own fault said: Tamar is more righteous than I. In which saying there is a deep mystery and a moral precept; and therefore is his offense not reckoned to him, because he accused himself before he was accused by others.

78. Let us, then, not rejoice over the sin of any one, but rather let us mourn, for it is written: Rejoice not against me, O my enemy, because I have fallen, for I shall arise; for if I sit in darkness the Lord shall be a light unto me, I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against Him, until He maintain my cause, and execute judgment for me, and bring me forth to the light, and I shall behold His righteousness. Mine enemy, too, shall see it and shall be covered with confusion, which said to me, Where is the Lord your God? My eyes shall behold her, and she shall be for treading down as the mire in the streets. And this not unreservedly, for he who rejoices at the fall of another rejoices at the victory of the devil.

Let us, then, rather mourn when we hear that one has perished for whom Christ died, Who despises not even the straw in time of harvest.

79. O that He may not cast away this straw at His harvest, the empty stalks of my produce; but may He gather it in, as is said by some one: Woe is me, for I have become as one that gathers straw in harvest, and grape gleanings in the vintage, Micah 7:1 that He may eat of the firstfruits at least of His grace in me, though He approve not the later fruit.

CHAPTER 9

In what way faith is necessary for repentance. Means for paying our debts, in which work, prayer, tears, and fasting are of more value than money. Some instances are adduced, and St. Ambrose declares that generosity is profitable, but only when joined with faith; it is, moreover, liable to certain defects. He goes on to speak of some defects in repentance, such as too great haste in seeking reconciliation, considering abstinence from sacraments all that is needed, of committing sin in hope of repenting later.

80. SO, THEN, it is fitting for us to believe both that sinners must repent and that forgiveness is to be given on repentance, yet still as hoping for forgiveness as granted upon faith, not as a debt, for it is one thing to earn, and another presumptuously to claim a right. Faith asks for forgiveness, as it were, by covenant, but presumption is more akin to demand than to request. Pay first that which you owe, that you may be in a position to ask for what you have hoped. Come with the disposition of an honest debtor, that you may not contract a fresh liability, but may pay that which is due of the existing debt with the possessions of your faith.

81. He who owes a debt to God has more help towards payment than he who is indebted to man. Man requires money for money, and this is not always at the debtor's command. God demands the affection of the heart, which is in our own power. No one who owes a debt to God is poor, except one who has made himself poor. And even if he have nothing to sell, yet has he wherewith to pay. Prayer, fasting, and tears are the resources of an honest

debtor, and much more abundant than if one from the price of his estate offered money without faith.

82. Ananias was poor, when after selling his land he brought the money to the apostles, and was not able with it to pay his debt, but involved himself the more. Acts 5:1-2 That widow was rich who cast her two small pieces into the treasury, of whom Christ said: This poor widow has cast in more than they all. Luke 21:3 For God requires not money but faith.

83. And I do not deny that sins may be diminished by liberal gifts to the poor, but only if faith commend what is spent. For what would the giving of one's whole property benefit without charity?

84. There are some who aim at the credit of generosity for pride alone, because they wish thereby to gain the good opinion of the multitude for leaving nothing to themselves; but while they are seeking rewards in this life, they are laying up none for the life to come, and having received their reward here they cannot hope for it there.

85. Some again, having, through impulsive excitement and not after long consideration, given their possessions to the Church, think that they can claim them back. These gain neither the first nor the second reward, for the gift was made thoughtlessly, its recall sacrilegiously.

86. Some repent of having distributed their property to the poor. But they who are doing penance must not repent of this, lest they repent of their own repentance. For many seek for penance through fear of future punishment, being conscious of their sins, and having received their penance are held back by fear of the public entreaties. These persons seem to have sought for repentance for their evil deeds, but to exercise it for their good ones.

87. Some seek penance because they wish to be at once restored to communion. These wish not so much to loose themselves as to bind the priest, for they do not put off the guilt from their own conscience, but lay it on that of the priest, to whom the command is given: Give not that which is

holy to the dogs, neither cast your pearls before the swine; Matthew 7:6 that is to say, that partaking of the holy Communion is not to be allowed to those polluted with impurity.

88. And so one may see those walking in other attire, who ought to be weeping and groaning because they had defiled the robe of sanctification and grace; and women loading their ears with pearls, and weighing down their necks, who had better have bent to Christ than to gold, and who ought to be weeping for themselves, because they have lost the pearl from heaven.

89. There are, again, some who think that it is penitence to abstain from the heavenly sacraments. These are too cruel judges of themselves, who prescribe a penalty for themselves but refuse the remedy, who ought to be mourning over their self-imposed penalty, because it deprives them of heavenly grace.

90. Others think that licence is granted them to sin, because the hope of penitence is before them, whereas penitence is the remedy, not an incentive to sin. For the salve is necessary for the wound, not the wound for the salve, since a salve is sought because of the wound, the wound is not wished for on account of the salve. The hope which is put off to a future season is but feeble, for every season is uncertain, and hope does not outlive all time.

CHAPTER 10

In order to do away with the feeling of shame which holds back the guilty from public penance, St. Ambrose points out the advantage of prayers offered by the whole Church, and sets forth the example of saints who have sorrowed. Then, after reproving those who imagine that penance may be often repeated, he points out the difficulty of repentance, and how it is to be carried out.

91. CAN ANY one endure that you should blush to entreat God, when you do not blush to entreat a man? That you should be ashamed to entreat Him Who knows you fully, when you are not ashamed to confess your sins to a man who knows you not? Do you shrink from witnesses and sympathizers in your prayers, when, if you have to satisfy a man, you must visit many and entreat them to be kind enough to intervene; when you throw yourself at a man's knees, kiss his feet, bring your children, still unconscious of guilt, to entreat also for their father's pardon? And you disdain to do this in the Church in order to entreat God, in order to gain for yourself the support of the holy congregation; where there is no cause for shame, except indeed not to confess, since we are all sinners, among whom he is the most praiseworthy who is the most humble; he is the most just who feels himself the lowest.

92. Let the Church, our Mother, weep for you, and wash away your guilt with her tears; let Christ see you mourning and say, Blessed are you that are sad, for you shall rejoice. It pleases Him that many should entreat for one. In the Gospel, too, moved by the widow's tears, because many were weeping for her, He raised her son. He heard Peter more quickly when He

raised Dorcas, because the poor were mourning over the death of the woman. He also immediately forgave Peter, for he wept most bitterly. And if you weep bitterly Christ will look upon you and your guilt shall leave you. For the application of pain does away with the enjoyment of the wickedness and the delight of the sin. And so while mourning over our past sins we shut the door against fresh ones, and from the condemnation of our guilt there arises as it were a training in innocence.

93. Let, then, nothing call you away from penitence, for this you have in common with the saints, and would that such sorrowing for sin as that of the saints were copied by you. David, as it were, ate ashes for bread, and mingled his drink with weeping, and therefore now rejoices the more because he wept the more: My eyes ran down, he said, with rivers of water.

94. John wept sore, Revelation 5:4 and, as he tells us, the mysteries of Christ were revealed to him. But that woman who, when she was in sin and ought to have wept, nevertheless rejoiced, and covered herself with a robe of purple and scarlet, Revelation 17:4 and adorned herself with much gold and precious stones, now mourns the misery of eternal weeping.

95. Deservedly are they blamed who think that they often do penance, for they are wanton against Christ. For if they went through their penance in truth, they would not think that it could be repeated again; for as there is but one baptism, so there is but one course of penance, so far as the outward practice goes, for we must repent of our daily faults, but this latter has to do with lighter faults, the former with such as are graver.

96. But I have more easily found such as had preserved their innocence than such as had fittingly repented. Does any one think that that is penitence where there still exists the striving after earthly honours, where wine flows, and even conjugal connection takes place? The world must be renounced; less sleep must be indulged in than nature demands; it must be broken by groans, interrupted by sighs, put aside by prayers; the mode of life must be

such that we die to the usual habits of life. Let the man deny himself and be wholly changed, as in the fable they relate of a certain youth, who left his home because of his love for a harlot, and, having subdued his love, returned; then one day meeting his old favourite and not speaking to her, she, being surprised and supposing that he had not recognized her, said, when they met again, It is I. But, was his answer, I am not the former I.

97. Well then did the Lord say: If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow Me. Matthew 16:24 For they who are dead and buried in Christ ought not again to make their conclusions as though living in the world. Touch not, it is said, nor attend to those things which tend to corruption by their very use, for the very customs of this life corrupt integrity.

CHAPTER 11

The possibility of repentance is a reason why baptism should not be deferred to old age, a practice which is against the will of God in holy Scripture. But it is of no use to practise penance while still serving lusts. These must be first subdued.

98. GOOD, THEN, is penitence, and if there were no place for it, every one would defer the grace of cleansing by baptism to old age. And a sufficient reason is that it is better, to have a robe to mend, than none to put on; but as that which has been repaired once is restored, so that which is frequently mended is destroyed.

99. And the Lord has given a sufficient warning to those who put off repentance, when He says: Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand. Matthew 4:17 We know not at what hour the thief will come, we know not whether our soul may be required of us this next night. God cast Adam out of Paradise immediately after his fault; there was no delay. At once the fallen were severed from all their enjoyments that they might do penance; at once God clothed them with garments of skins, not of silk.

100. And what reason is there for putting off? Is it that you may sin yet more? Then because God is good you are evil, and despise the riches of His goodness and long-suffering. Romans 2:4 But the goodness of the Lord ought rather to draw you to repentance. Wherefore holy David says to all: Come, let us worship and fall down before Him, and mourn before our Lord Who made us. But for a sinner who has died without repentance, because nothing remains but to mourn grievously and to weep, you find him

groaning and saying: O my son Absalom! My son Absalom! For him who is wholly dead mourning is without alleviation.

101. But of those who as exiles and banished from their ancestral homes, which the holy law of Moses had assigned them, will be entangled in the errors of the world, you hear him saying: By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept, when we remembered Zion. He sets forth the wailings of those who have fallen, and shows that they who are living in this condition of passing time and changing circumstances ought to repent, after the example of those who, as a reward for sin, had been led into miserable captivity.

102. But nothing causes such exceeding grief as when any one, lying under the captivity of sin, calls to mind whence he has fallen, because he turned aside to carnal and earthly things, instead of directing his mind in the beautiful ways of the knowledge of God.

103. So you find Adam concealing himself, when he knew that God was present, and wishing to be hidden when called by God with that voice which wounded the soul of him who was hiding: Adam, where are you? Genesis 3:9 That is to say, Why are you hiding yourself? Why are you concealed? Why do you avoid Him, Whom you once longed to see? A guilty conscience is so burdensome that it punishes itself without a judge, and wishes for covering, and yet is bare before God.

104. And so no one in a state of sin ought to claim a right to or the use of the sacraments, for it is written: You have sinned, be still. As David says in the Psalm lately quoted: We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof; and again: How shall we sing the Lord’s song in a strange land? For if the flesh wars against the mind, and is not subject to the guidance of the Spirit, that is a strange land which is not subdued by the toil of the cultivator, and so cannot produce the fruits of charity, patience, and peace. It is better, then, to be still when you cannot practise the works of repentance,

lest in the very acts of repentance there be that which afterward will need further repentance. For if it be once entered upon and not rightly carried out, it obtains not the result of a first repentance and takes away the use of a later one.

105. When, then, the flesh resists, the soul must be intent upon God, and if results do not follow, let not faith fail. And if the enticements of the flesh come upon us, or the powers of the enemy attack us, let the soul keep in submission to God. For we are then specially oppressed when the flesh yields. And some there are who trouble heavily the wretched soul, seeking to deprive it of all protection. To which case the words apply: Rase it, rase it, even to the foundations.

106. And David, pitying her, says: O wretched daughter of Babylon. Wretched indeed, as being the daughter of Babylon, when she ceased to be the daughter of Jerusalem. And yet he calls for a healer for her, and says: Blessed is he who shall take your little ones and dash them against the rock. That is to say, shall dash all corrupt and filthy thoughts against Christ, Who by His fear and His rebuke will break down all motions against reason, so as, if any one is seized by an adulterous love, to extinguish the fire, that he may by his zeal put away the love of a harlot, and deny himself that he may gain Christ.

107. We have then learned that we must do penance, and this at a time when the heat of luxury and sin is giving way; and that we, when under the dominion of sin, must show ourselves Godfearing by refraining, rather than allowing ourselves in evil practices. For if it is said to Moses when he was desiring to draw nearer: Put off your shoes from off your feet, Exodus 3:5 how much more must we free the feet of our soul from the bonds of the body, and clear our steps from all connection with this world.

Concerning Virgins

Translated by H. de Romestin, E. de Romestin and H. T. F. Duckworth

CONTENTS

Introduction.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER 1.
CHAPTER 2.
CHAPTER 3.
CHAPTER 4.
CHAPTER 5.
CHAPTER 6.
CHAPTER 7.
CHAPTER 8.
CHAPTER 9.
CHAPTER 10.
CHAPTER 11.
CHAPTER 12.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER 1.
CHAPTER 2.
CHAPTER 3.
CHAPTER 4.
CHAPTER 5.

CHAPTER 6.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER 1.
CHAPTER 2.
CHAPTER 3.
CHAPTER 4.
CHAPTER 5.
CHAPTER 6.
CHAPTER 7.

To Marcellina, His Sister.

Introduction.

THE STATE OF Virginity is undoubtedly commended in Holy Scripture, both by our Lord and St. Paul, but learned men have differed in their opinions as to the original customs and rules observed by virgins in the earliest ages. Some suppose that from the very beginning it was the custom for them to make a solemn profession of the virgin life, and to live together in common. Others consider that their vows were private, and they lived sometimes together, sometimes in the homes of their parents. Others, again, believing that there was no more than a simple purpose on the part of the virgins signified by the veil, and the simplicity of their dress, attribute the first commencements of community life to St. Ambrose himself.

The first opinion is hardly tenable as regards any profession which was notorious. Statements in the earlier Acts of Martyrs are to be regarded with suspicion, as so much of this class of writings is spurious. The utterances also of Fathers and Councils hardly establish anything on this point more than on the second mentioned above.

There would seem to have been some who publicly, like Marcellina, the sister of St. Ambrose, made their profession, and formally received the veil at the hands of the Bishop; and others, equally steadfast in purpose, whose vow of virginity was made in private. Of the former, those living in Milan hardly seem to have led a life in common, but at Bologna [I. 60] they did. The terms, vow, taking the veil, and profession, were in use in St. Ambrose's day, as at present.

It would appear, then, that from the days of the apostles there were some who devoted themselves to God in a life of chastity, and that later on the promise or vow was made in the presence of others — the bishop, clergy,

and friends. These virgins lived at home with their parents, while the times of persecution endured, making it practically impossible for them to live elsewhere. Common life among them would seem to have commenced in the East, and St. Athanasius, when, seeking refuge from the Arians, he came to Rome, introduced the custom to the Western Church.

St. Ambrose worked vigorously in this direction, not only in his own diocese, but in neighbouring provinces, and even in Africa. Early in his episcopate he addressed his flock on the subject, and at the request of his sister, Marcellina, gathered up his teaching in the following three books.

In the first book he treats of the dignity of Virginity, and states his reason for writing. As he commences his addresses on the anniversary of the martyrdom of St. Agnes, he takes her story as the subject of the earlier part of the treatise, and shows how, among the Jews, and even among the heathen, the grace of virginity was shadowed forth, and eventually proclaimed by the corning of our Lord. He then warns parents, especially widows, not to prevent their daughters from hearing addresses on this subject, and touches on the number of those who came even from great distances to receive the veil at Milan.

In the second book, speaking of the character and manner of life of virgins, he does this, as he says, by adducing examples and instances, preferably to laying down a code of rules. He speaks of Thecla, patron saint of Milan, a disciple of St. Paul, and of other virgins.

In the third book he goes through a summary of the address given by Pope Liberius, when Marcellina received the veil at his hands, before a large congregation. Some cautions are introduced by St. Ambrose against excessive austerity, and instead of some outward acts, prayer and the practice of interior virtues are recommended. The subject of certain virgins who had committed suicide rather than lose their chastity is dwelt upon in answer to a question of Marcellina.

The writer himself states that this treatise was composed in the third year of his episcopate, a.d. 377, and it is quoted with approval by St. Jerome, *Ep*. XXII. 22 and XLVIII. 14 [Vol. VI., p and 75, of this series, and St. Augustine, *de doct. Christ.* IV. 48, 50.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER 1.

St. Ambrose, reflecting upon the account he will have to give of his talents, determines to write, and consoles himself with certain examples of God's mercy. Then recognizing his own deficiencies desires that he may be dealt with like the fig-tree in the Gospel, and expresses a hope that words will not fail him in his endeavour to preach Christ.

1. IF, ACCORDING to the decree of heavenly truth, we have to give account of every idle word which we have spoken, Matthew 12:36 and if every servant will incur no small blame when his lord returns, who, either like a timid money-lender or covetous owner, has hidden in the earth the talents of spiritual grace which were entrusted to him in order that they might be multiplied by increasing interest, I, who, although possessed of but moderate ability, yet have a great necessity laid on me of making increase of the sayings of God entrusted to me, must rightly fear lest an account of the profit of my words be demanded of me, especially seeing that the Lord exacts of us effort, not profit. Wherefore I determined to write something, since, too, my words are listened to with greater risk to modesty than when they are written, for a book has no feeling of modesty.

2. And so distrusting indeed my own ability, but encouraged by the instances of divine mercy, I venture to compose an address, for when God willed even the ass spoke. Numbers 22:28 And I will open my mouth long dumb, that the angel may assist me also, engaged in the burdens of this world, for He can do away with the hindrances of unskilfulness, Who in the ass did away those of nature. In the ark of the Old Testament the priest's rod budded; Numbers 17:8 with God it is easy that in Holy Church a flower should spring from our knots also. And why should we despair that God should speak in men, Who spoke in the thorn bush? Exodus 3:4 God did not

despise the bush, and would He might give light also to my thorns. Perhaps some may wonder that there is some light even in our thorns; some our thorns will not burn; there will be some whose shoes shall be put off their feet at the sound of my voice, that the steps of the mind may be freed from bodily hindrances.

3. But these things are gained by holy men. Would that Jesus would cast a glance upon me still lying under that barren fig-tree, John 1:48 and that my fig-tree might also after three years bear fruit. But whence should sinners have so great hope? Would that at least that Gospel dresser of the vineyard, perhaps already bidden to cut down my fig-tree, would let it alone this year also, until he dig about it and dung it, that he may perchance lift the helpless out of the dust, and lift the poor out of the mire. Blessed are they who bind their horses under the vine and olive, Genesis 49:11 consecrating the course of their labours to light and joy: the fig-tree, that is, the tempting attraction of the pleasures of the world, still overshadows me, low in height, brittle for working, soft for use, and barren of fruit.

4. And perhaps some one may wonder why I, who cannot speak, venture to write. And yet if we consider what we read in the writings of the Gospel, and the deeds of the priests, and the holy prophet Zacharias is taken as an instance, he will find that there is something which the voice cannot explain, but the pen can write. And if the name John restored speech to his father, Luke 1:63-64 I, too, ought not to despair that although dumb I may yet receive speech, if I speak of Christ, of Whom, according to the prophet's word: Who shall declare the generation? Isaiah 53:8 And so as a servant I will announce the family of the Lord, for the Lord has consecrated to Himself a family even in this body of humanity replete with frailty.

CHAPTER 2.

This treatise has a favourable beginning, since it is the birthday of the holy Virgin Agnes, of whose name, modesty, and martyrdom St. Ambrose speaks in commendation, but more especially of her age, seeing that she, being but twelve years old, was superior to terrors, promises, tortures, and death itself, with a courage wholly worthy of a man.

5. AND MY task begins favourably, that since today is the birthday of a virgin, I have to speak of virgins, and the treatise has its beginning from this discourse. It is the birthday of a martyr, let us offer the victim. It is the birthday of St. Agnes, let men admire, let children take courage, let the married be astounded, let the unmarried take an example. But what can I say worthy of her whose very name was not devoid of bright praise? In devotion beyond her age, in virtue above nature, she seems to me to have borne not so much a human name, as a token of martyrdom, whereby she showed what she was to be.

6. But I have that which may assist me. The name of virgin is a title of modesty. I will call upon the martyr, I will proclaim the virgin. That panegyric is long enough which needs no elaboration, but is within our grasp. Let then labour cease, eloquence be silent. One word is praise enough. This word old men and young and boys chant. No one is more praiseworthy than he who can be praised by all. There are as many heralds as there are men, who when they speak proclaim the martyr.

7. She is said to have suffered martyrdom when twelve years old. The more hateful was the cruelty, which spared not so tender an age, the greater in truth was the power of faith which found evidence even in that age. Was there room for a wound in that small body? And she who had no room for the blow of the steel had that wherewith to conquer the steel. But maidens

of that age are unable to bear even the angry looks of parents, and are wont to cry at the pricks of a needle as though they were wounds. She was fearless under the cruel hands of the executioners, she was unmoved by the heavy weight of the creaking chains, offering her whole body to the sword of the raging soldier, as yet ignorant of death, but ready for it. Or if she were unwillingly hurried to the altars, she was ready to stretch forth her hands to Christ at the sacrificial fires, and at the sacrilegious altars themselves, to make the sign of the Lord the Conqueror, or again to place her neck and both her hands in the iron bands, but no band could enclose such slender limbs.

8. A new kind of martyrdom! Not yet of fit age for punishment but already ripe for victory, difficult to contend with but easy to be crowned, she filled the office of teaching valour while having the disadvantage of youth. She would not as a bride so hasten to the couch, as being a virgin she joyfully went to the place of punishment with hurrying step, her head not adorned with plaited hair, but with Christ. All wept, she alone was without a tear. All wondered that she was so readily prodigal of her life, which she had not yet enjoyed, and now gave up as though she had gone through it. Every one was astounded that there was now one to bear witness to the Godhead, who as yet could not, because of her age, dispose of herself. And she brought it to pass that she should be believed concerning God, whose evidence concerning man would not be accepted. For that which is beyond nature is from the Author of nature.

9. What threats the executioner used to make her fear him, what allurements to persuade her, how many desired that she would come to them in marriage! But she answered: It would be an injury to my spouse to look on any one as likely to please me. He who chose me first for Himself shall receive me. Why are you delaying, executioner? Let this body perish which can be loved by eyes which I would not. She stood, she prayed, she

bent down her neck. You could see the executioner tremble, as though he himself had been condemned, and his right hand shake, his face grow pale, as he feared the peril of another, while the maiden feared not for her own. You have then in one victim a twofold martyrdom, of modesty and of religion. She both remained a virgin and she obtained martyrdom.

CHAPTER 3.

Virginity is praised on many grounds, but chiefly because it brought down the Word from heaven, and hence its pursuit, which existed in but few under the old covenant, has spread to countless numbers.

10. AND NOW the love of purity draws me on, and you, my holy sister, even though not speaking in your silent habit, to say something about virginity, lest that which is a principal virtue should seem to be passed by with only a slight reference. For virginity is not praiseworthy because it is found in martyrs, but because itself makes martyrs.

11. But who can comprehend that by human understanding which not even nature has included in her laws? Or who can explain in ordinary language that which is above the course of nature? Virginity has brought from heaven that which it may imitate on earth. And not unfittingly has she sought her manner of life from heaven, who has found for herself a Spouse in heaven. She, passing beyond the clouds, air, angels, and stars, has found the Word of God in the very bosom of the Father, and has drawn Him into herself with her whole heart. For who having found so great a Good would forsake it? For Your Name is as ointment poured out, therefore have the maidens loved You, and drawn You. And indeed what I have said is not my own, since they who marry not nor are given in marriage are as the angels in heaven. Let us not, then, be surprised if they are compared to the angels who are joined to the Lord of angels. Who, then, can deny that this mode of life has its source in heaven, which we don’t easily find on earth, except since God came down into the members of an earthly body? Then a Virgin conceived, and the Word became flesh that flesh might become God.

12. But some one will say: But Elijah is seen to have had nothing to do with the embraces of bodily love. And therefore was he carried by a chariot into heaven, therefore he appeared glorified with the Lord, Matthew 17:3 and therefore he is to come as the forerunner of the Lord's advent. Malachi 4:5 And Miriam taking the timbrel led the dances with maidenly modesty. Exodus 15:20 But consider whom she was then representing. Was she not a type of the Church, who as a virgin with unstained spirit joins together the religious gatherings of the people to sing divine songs? For we read that there were virgins appointed also in the temple at Jerusalem. But what says the Apostle? These things happened to them in a figure, that they might be signs of what was to come. 1 Corinthians 10:11 For the figure is shown in few, the life exists in many.

13. But in truth after that the Lord, coming in our flesh, joined together the Godhead and flesh without any confusion or mixture, then the practice of the life of heaven spreading throughout the whole world was implanted in human bodies. This is that which angels ministering on earth signified should come to pass, Matthew 4:11 which ministry should be offered to the Lord with the service of an unstained body. This is that heavenly service which the host of rejoicing angels spoke of for the earth. Luke 2:13-14 We have, then, the authority of antiquity from of old, the fullness of the setting forth from Christ Himself.

CHAPTER 4.

The comeliness of virginity never existed amongst the heathen, neither with the vestal virgins, nor amongst philosophers, such as Pythagoras.

14. I CERTAINLY have not this in common with the heathen, nor in regard to it am I associated with barbarians, nor practise it with other animals, with whom, although we breathe one and the same vital air, and have a common condition of an earthly body, and from whom we differ not in the mode of generation, in this point alone we nevertheless avoid the reproach of likeness, that virginity is aimed at by the heathen, but when consecrated it is violated, it is attacked by barbarians, and is unknown to others.

15. Who will allege to me the virgins of Vesta, and the priests of Pallas? What sort of chastity is that which is not of morals, but of years, which is appointed not for ever, but for a term! Such purity is all the more wanton of which the corruption is put off for a later age. They teach their virgins ought not to persevere, and are unable to do so, who have set a term to virginity. What sort of a religion is that in which modest maidens are bidden to be immodest old women? Nor is she modest who is bound by law, and she immodest who is set free by law. O the mystery! O the morals! Where chastity is enforced by law and authority given for lust! And so she is not chaste, who is constrained by fear; nor honourable, who is hired for a price; nor is that modesty which, exposed to the daily importunity of lascivious eyes, is attacked by disgraceful looks. Exemptions are bestowed upon them, prices are offered them, as though to sell one’s chastity were not the greatest sign of wantonness. That which is promised for a price is given up for a

price; is made over for a price; is considered to have its price. She who is wont to sell her chastity knows not how to redeem it.

16. What shall I say of the Phrygian rites, in which immodesty is the rule, and that too of the weaker sex? What of the orgies of Bacchus, where the mystery of the rites is an incentive to lust? Of what sort can the lives of priests be, then, where the adulteries of the gods are matters of religion. So then they have no sacred virgins.

17. Let us see whether perchance the precepts of philosophers have formed any, for they are wont to claim the teaching of all virtues. A certain Pythagorean virgin is spoken of in story, whom a tyrant was endeavouring to compel to reveal the secret, and lest it should be possible even in her torments for revelation to be extorted from her, she bit off her tongue and spat it in the tyrant's face, that he who would not make an end of questioning might not have anything to question.

18. But that same virgin, so constant in mind, was overcome by lust, though she could not be overcome by torments. And so she who could keep the secret of her mind could not conceal the shame of her body. She overcame nature, but observed not discipline. How she would desire that her speech had existed as a defense of her chastity! So she was not unconquered on every side, for although the tyrant could not find out that which he sought, yet he did find what he sought not.

19. How much stronger are our virgins, who overcome even those powers which they do not see; whose victory is not only over flesh and blood, but also over the prince of this world, and ruler of this age! In age, Agnes indeed was less, but in virtue greater, triumphing over more, more constant in her confidence; she did not destroy her tongue through fear, but kept it for a trophy. For there was nothing in her which she feared to betray, since that which she acknowledged was holy, not sinful. And so the former

merely concealed her secret, the latter bore witness to the Lord, and confessed Him in her body, Whom her age did not yet suffer to confess.

CHAPTER 5.

Heaven is the home of virginity, and the Son of God its Author, Who though He was a Virgin before the Virgin, yet being of the Virgin took the Virgin Church as His bride. Of her we have all been born. Some of her gifts are enumerated. Her daughters have a special excellence in that virginity is not a matter of precept, and that it is a most powerful help in the pursuit of piety.

20. It is the custom in encomiums to speak of country and parentage of the subject, that the greatness of the offspring may be enhanced by mention of the father. Now I, who have not undertaken to praise but to set forth virginity, yet think it to the purpose to make known its country and its parent. First, let us settle where is its country. Now, if one's country be there where is the home of one's birth, without doubt heaven is the native country of chastity. And so she is a stranger here, but a denizen there.

21. And what is virginal chastity but purity free from stain? And whom can we judge to be its author but the immaculate Son of God, Whose flesh saw no corruption, Whose Godhead experienced no infection? Consider, then, how great are the merits of virginity. Christ was before the Virgin, Christ was of the Virgin. Begotten indeed of the Father before the ages, but born of the Virgin for the ages. The former was of His own nature, the latter is for our benefit. The former always was, the latter He willed.

22. Consider, too, another merit of virginity. Christ is the spouse of the Virgin, and if one may so say of virginal chastity, for virginity is of Christ, not Christ of virginity. He is, then, the Virgin Who was espoused, the Virgin Who bare us, Who fed us with her own milk, of whom we read: How great things has the virgin of Jerusalem done! The teats shall not fail from the rock, nor snow from Lebanon, nor the water which is borne by the strong wind. Who is this virgin that is watered with the streams of the Trinity, from

whose rock waters flow, whose teats fail not, and whose honey is poured forth? Now, according to the Apostle, the rock is Christ. 1 Corinthians 10:4 Therefore, from Christ the teats fail not, nor brightness from God, nor the river from the Spirit. This is the Trinity which waters their Church, the Father, Christ, and the Spirit.

23. But let us now come down from the mother to the daughters. Concerning virgins, says the Apostle, I have no commandment of the Lord. 1 Corinthians 7:25 If the teacher of the Gentiles had none, who could have one? And in truth he had no commandment, but he had an example. For virginity cannot be commanded, but must be wished for, for things which are above us are matters for prayer rather than under mastery. But I would have you, he says, be without carefulness. For he who is without a wife is careful for the things which are the Lord's, how he may please God....And the virgin takes thought for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy in body and in spirit. For she that is married takes thought for the things of the world, how she may please her husband.

CHAPTER 6.

St. Ambrose explains that he is not speaking against marriage, and proceeds to compare the advantages and disadvantages of the single and married state.

24. I AM not indeed discouraging marriage, but am enlarging upon the benefits of virginity. He who is weak, says the Apostle, eats herbs. Romans 14:2 I consider one thing necessary, I admire another. Are you bound to a wife? Seek not to be loosed. Are you free from a wife? Seek not a wife. 1 Corinthians 7:27 This is the command to those who are. But what does he say concerning virgins? He who gives his virgin in marriage does well, and he who gives her not does better. 1 Corinthians 7:38 The one sins not if she marries, the other, if she marries not, it is for eternity. In the former is the remedy for weakness, in the latter the glory of chastity. The former is not reproved, the latter is praised.

25. Let us compare, if it pleases you, the advantages of married women with that which awaits virgins. Though the noble woman boasts of her abundant offspring, yet the more she bears the more she endures. Let her count up the comforts of her children, but let her likewise count up the troubles. She marries and weeps. How many vows does she make with tears. She conceives, and her fruitfulness brings her trouble before offspring. She brings forth and is ill. How sweet a pledge which begins with danger and ends in danger, which will cause pain before pleasure! It is purchased by perils, and is not possessed at her own will.

26. Why speak of the troubles of nursing, training, and marrying? These are the miseries of those who are fortunate. A mother has heirs, but it increases her sorrows. For we must not speak of adversity, lest the minds of

the holiest parents tremble. Consider, my sister, how hard it must be to bear what one must not speak of. And this is in this present age. But the days shall come when they shall say: Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare. Luke 23:29 For the daughters of this age are conceived, and conceive; but the daughter of the kingdom refrains from wedded pleasure, and the pleasure of the flesh, that she may be holy in body and in spirit.

27. Why should I further speak of the painful ministrations and services due to their husbands from wives, to whom before slaves God gave the command to serve? Genesis 3:16 And I mention these things that they may comply more willingly, whose reward, if approved, is love; if not approved, punishment for the fault.

28. And in this position spring up those incentives to vice, in that they paint their faces with various colors, fearing not to please their husbands; and from staining their faces, come to think of staining their chastity. What madness is here, to change the fashion of nature and seek a painting, and while fearing a husband's judgment to give up their own. For she is the first to speak against herself who wishes to change that which is natural to her. So, while studying to please others, she displeases herself. What truer witness to your unsightliness do we require, O woman, than yourself who art afraid to be seen? If you are beautiful, why are you hiding yourself? If unsightly, why do you falsely pretend to beauty, so as to have neither the satisfaction of your own conscience, nor of the error of another? For he loves another, you desire to please another. And are you angry if he love another, who is taught to do so in your own person? You are an evil teacher of your own injury.

29. And next, what expense is necessary that even a beautiful wife may not fail to please? Costly necklaces on the one hand hang on her neck, on the other a robe woven with gold is dragged along the ground. Is this display purchased, or is it a real possession? And what varied enticements

of perfumes are made use of! The ears are weighed down with gems, a different color from nature is dropped into the eyes. What is there left which is her own, when so much is changed? The married woman loves her own perceptions, and does she think that this is to live?

30. But you, O happy virgins, who know not such torments, rather than ornaments, whose holy modesty, beaming in your bashful cheeks, and sweet chastity are a beauty, you do not, intent upon the eyes of men, consider as merits what is gained by the errors of others. You, too, have indeed your own beauty, furnished by the comeliness of virtue, not of the body, to which age puts not an end, which death cannot take away, nor any sickness injure. Let God alone be sought as the judge of loveliness, Who loves even in less beautiful bodies the more beautiful souls. You know nothing of the burden and pain of childbearing, but more are the offspring of a pious soul, which esteems all as its children, which is rich in successors, barren of all bereavements, which knows no deaths, but has many heirs.

31. So the holy Church, ignorant of wedlock, but fertile in bearing, is in chastity a virgin, yet a mother in offspring. She, a virgin, bears us her children, not by a human father, but by the Spirit. She bears us not with pain, but with the rejoicings of the angels. She, a virgin, feeds us, not with the milk of the body, but with that of the Apostle, wherewith he fed the tender age of the people who were still children. 1 Corinthians 3:2 For what bride has more children than holy Church, who is a virgin in her sacraments and a mother to her people, whose fertility even holy Scripture attests, saying, For many more are the children of the desolate than of her that has an husband? She has not an husband, but she has a Bridegroom, inasmuch as she, whether as the Church among nations, or as the soul in individuals, without any loss of modesty, she weds the Word of God as her eternal Spouse, free from all injury, full of reason.

CHAPTER 7.

St. Ambrose exhorts parents to train their children to virginity, and sets before them the troubles arising from their desire to have grandchildren. He says however that he does not forbid marriage, but rather defends it against heretics who oppose it. Still setting virginity before marriage, he speaks of the beauty of their spouse, and of the gifts wherewith He adorns them, and applies to these points certain verses of the Song of Songs.

32. YOU HAVE heard, O parents, in what virtues and pursuits you ought to train your daughters, that you may possess those by whose merits your faults may be redeemed. The virgin is an offering for her mother, by whose daily sacrifice the divine power is appeased. A virgin is the inseparable pledge of her parents, who neither troubles them for a dowry, nor forsakes them, nor injures them in word or deed.

33. But some one perhaps wishes to have grandchildren, and to be called grandfather. In the first place, such a one gives up what is his own, while seeking what is another's, and is already losing what is certain, while hoping to gain what is uncertain; he gives away his own riches, and still more is asked for; if he does not pay the dowry, it is exacted; if he lives long, he becomes a burden. This is to buy a son-in-law, not to gain one who would sell a sight of their daughter to her parents. Was she borne so long in her mother's womb in order that she might pass under the power of another? And so the parents take the charge of setting off their virgin that she may so be the sooner removed from them.

34. Some one may say, Do you, then, discourage marriage? Nay, I encourage it, and condemn those who are wont to discourage it, so much so, that indeed I am wont to speak of the marriages of Sarah, Rebecca, and Rachel, and other women of old time, as instances of singular virtues. For

he who condemns marriage, condemns the birth of children, and condemns the fellowship of the human race, continued by a series of successive generations. For how could generation succeed generation in a continual order, unless the gift of marriage stirred up the desire of offspring? Or how could one set forth that Isaac went to the altar of God as a victim of his father's piety, or that Israel, when yet in the body, saw God, Genesis 32:28 and gave a holy name to the people while speaking against that whereby they came into being? Those men, though wicked, have one point at any rate, wherein they are approved even by the wise persons, that in speaking against marriage they declare that they ought not to have been born.

35. I do not then discourage marriage, but recapitulate the advantages of holy virginity. This is the gift of few only, that is of all. And virginity itself cannot exist, unless it have some mode of coming into existence. I am comparing good things with good things, that it may be clear which is the more excellent. Nor do I allege any opinion of my own, but I repeat that which the Holy Spirit spoke by the prophet: Blessed is the barren that is undefiled. Wisdom 3:13

36. First of all, in that which those who purpose to marry desire above all things, that they may boast of the beauty of their husband, they must of necessity confess that they are inferior to virgins, to Whom alone it is suitable to say: You are fairer than the children of men, grace is poured on Your lips. Who is that Spouse? One not given to common indulgences, not proud of possessing riches, but He Whose throne is for ever and ever. The king's daughters share in His honour: At Your right hand stood the queen in a vesture of gold, clothed with variety of virtues. Hearken, then, O daughter, and consider, and incline your ear, and forget your own people and your father's house; for the king has desired your beauty, for He is your God.

37. And observe what a kingdom the Holy Spirit by the witness of the divine Scriptures has assigned to you — gold, and beauty; gold, either

because you are the bride of the Eternal King, or because having an unconquered mind, you are not taken captive by the allurements of pleasures, but rulest over them like a queen. Gold again, because as that metal is more precious when tried by fire, so the appearance of the virginal body, consecrated to the Divine Spirit, gains an increase of its own comeliness, for who can imagine a loveliness greater than the beauty of her who is loved by the King, approved by the judge, dedicated to the Lord, consecrated to God; ever a bride, ever unmarried, so that neither does love suffer an ending, nor modesty loss.

38. This is indeed true beauty, to which nothing is wanting, which alone is worthy to hear the Lord saying: You are all fair, My love, and no blemish is in you. Come hither from Lebanon, My spouse, come hither from Lebanon. You shall pass and pass through from the beginning of faith, from the top of Sanir and Hermon, from the dens of the lions, from the mountains of the leopards. Song of Songs 4:7-8 By which references is set forth the perfect and irreproachable beauty of a virgin soul, consecrated to the altars of God, not moved by perishable things amidst the haunts and dens of spiritual wild beasts, but intent, by the mysteries of God, on being found worthy of the Beloved, Whose breasts are full of joy. For wine makes glad the heart of man.

39. The smell of your garments, says He, is above all spices. Song of Songs 4:10 And again: And the smell of your garments is like the smell of Lebanon. Song of Songs 4:11 See what progress you set forth, O Virgin. Your first odour is above all spices, which were used upon the burying of the Saviour, John 19:39 and the fragrance arises from the mortified motions of the body, and the perishing of the delights of the members. Your second odour, like the odour of Lebanon, exhales the incorruption of the Lord’s body, the flower of virginal chastity.

CHAPTER 8.

Taking the passage concerning the honeycomb in the Song of Songs, he expounds it, comparing the sacred virgins to bees.

40. LET, THEN, your work be as it were a honeycomb, for virginity is fit to be compared to bees, so laborious is it, so modest, so continent. The bee feeds on dew, it knows no marriage couch, it makes honey. The virgin's dew is the divine word, for the words of God descend like the dew. The virgin's modesty is unstained nature. The virgin's produce is the fruit of the lips, without bitterness, abounding in sweetness. They work in common, and their fruit is in common.

41. How I wish you, my daughter, to be an imitator of these bees, whose food is flowers, whose offspring is collected and brought together by the mouth. Do imitate her, my daughter. Let no veil of deceit be spread over your words; let them have no covering of guile, that they may be pure, and full of gravity.

42. And let an eternal succession of merits be brought forth by your mouth. Gather not for yourself alone (for how do you know when your soul shall be required of you?), lest leaving your granaries heaped full with grain, which will be a help neither to your life nor to your merits, you be hurried there where you cannot take your treasure with you. Be rich then, but towards the poor, that as they share in your nature they may also share your goods.

43. And I also point out to you what flower is to be culled, that one it is Who said: I am the Flower of the field, and the Lily of the valleys, as a lily among thorns, which is a plain declaration that virtues are surrounded by

the thorns of spiritual wickedness, so that no one can gather the fruit who does not approach with caution.

CHAPTER 9.

Other passages from the Song of Songs are considered with relation to the present subject, and St. Ambrose exhorting the virgin to seek for Christ, points out where He may be found. A description of His perfections follows, and a comparison is made between virgins and the angels.

44. TAKE, THEN, O Virgin, the wings of the Spirit, that you may fly far above all vices, if you wish to attain to Christ: He dwells on high, but beholds lowly things; and His appearance is as that of a cedar of Lebanon, which has its foliage in the clouds, its roots in the earth. For its beginning is from heaven, its ending on earth, and it produces fruit very close to heaven. Search diligently for so precious a flower, if perchance you may find it in the recesses of your breast, for it is most often to be enjoyed in lowly places.

45. It loves to grow in gardens, in which Susanna, while walking, found it, and was ready to die rather than it should be violated. But what is meant by the gardens He Himself points out, saying: A garden enclosed is My sister, My spouse, a garden enclosed, a fountain sealed; because in gardens of this kind the water of the pure fountain shines, reflecting the features of the image of God, lest its streams mingled with mud from the wallowing places of spiritual wild beasts should be polluted. For this reason, too, that modesty of virgins fenced in by the wall of the Spirit is enclosed lest it should lie open to be plundered. And so as a garden inaccessible from without smells of the violet, is scented with the olive, and is resplendent with the rose, that religion may increase in the vine, peace in the olive, and the modesty of consecrated virginity in the rose. This is the odour of which the patriarch Jacob smelt when he heard his father say: See the smell of my

son is as the smell of a field which is full. Genesis 27:27 For although the field of the holy patriarch was full of almost all fruits, the other brought forth its crops with greater labour, the latter flowers.

46. To work, then, O Virgin, and if you wish your garden to be sweet after this sort, enclose it with the precepts of the prophets: Set a watch before your mouth, and a door to your lips, that you, too, may be able to say: As the apple-tree among the trees of the wood, so is my Beloved among the sons. In His shadow I delighted and sat down, and His fruit was sweet to my palate. I found Him Whom my soul loved, I held Him and would not let him go. My beloved came down into His garden to eat the fruit of His trees. Come, my Beloved, let us go forth into the field. Set me as a signet upon Your heart, and as a seal upon Your arm. My Beloved is white and ruddy. For it is fitting, O Virgin, that you should fully know Him Whom you love, and should recognize in Him all the mystery of His Divine Nature and the Body which He has assumed. He is white fittingly, for He is the brightness of the Father; and ruddy, for He was born of a Virgin. The color of each nature shines and glows in Him. But remember that the marks of His Godhead are more ancient in Him than the mysteries of His body, for He did not take His origin from the Virgin, but, He Who already existed came into the Virgin.

47. He Who was spoiled by the soldiers, Who was wounded by the spear, that He might heal us by the blood of His sacred wounds, will assuredly answer you (for He is meek and lowly of heart, and gentle in aspect): Arise, O north wind, and come, O south, and blow upon My garden, that My spices may flow out. For from all parts of the world has the perfume of holy religion increased, and the limbs of the consecrated Virgin have glowed. You are beautiful, O my love, as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem. So it is not the beauty of the perishable body, which will come to an end with sickness

or old age, but the reputation for good deserts, subject to no accidents and never to perish, which is the beauty of virgins.

48. And since you are worthy to be compared not now with men but with heavenly beings, whose life you are living on earth, receive from the Lord the precepts you are to observe: Set Me as a signet upon your heart, and as a seal upon your arm; that clearer proofs of your prudence and actions may be set forth, in which Christ the Figure of God may shine, Who, equalling fully the nature of the Father, has expressed the whole which He took of the Father's Godhead. Whence also the Apostle Paul says that we are sealed in the Spirit; Ephesians 1:13 since we have in the Son the image of the Father, and in the Spirit the seal of the Son. Let us, then, sealed by this Trinity, take more diligent heed, lest either levity of character or the deceit of any unfaithfulness unseal the pledge which we have received in our hearts.

49. But let fear secure this for the holy virgins, for whom the Church first provided such protection, who, anxious for the prosperity of her tender offspring, herself as a wall with breasts as many towers, increases her care for them, until, the fear of hostile attack being at an end, she obtains by the care of a mother's love peace for her vigorous children. Wherefore the prophet says: Peace be on your virtue, and abundance in your towers.

50. Then the Lord of peace Himself, after having embraced in His strong arms the vineyards committed to Him, and beholding their shoots putting forth buds, with glad looks, tempers the breezes to the young fruits, as Himself testifies, saying: My vineyard is in My sight, a thousand for Solomon, and two hundred who keep the fruit thereof. Song of Songs 8:12

51. Above it is said: Sixty strong men round about its offspring, armed with drawn swords, and expert in warlike discipline, Song of Songs 3:7-8 here there are a thousand and two hundred. The number has increased, where the fruit has increased, for the more holy each is, the more is he guarded. So Elisha the prophet showed the hosts of angels who were

present to guard him; so Joshua the Son of Nun recognized the Captain of the heavenly host. They, then, who are able also to fight for us are able to guard the fruit that is in us. And for you, holy virgins, there is a special guardianship, for you who with unspotted chastity keep the couch of the Lord holy. And no wonder if the angels fight for you who war with the mode of life of angels. Virginal chastity merits their guardianship whose life it attains to.

52. Why should I continue the praise of chastity in more words? For chastity has made even angels. He who has preserved it is an angel; he who has lost it a devil. And hence has religion also gained its name. She is a virgin who is the bride of God, a harlot who makes gods for herself. What shall I say of the resurrection of which you already hold the rewards: For in the resurrection they will neither be given in marriage, nor marry, but shall be, He says, as the angels in heaven. Matthew 22:30 That which is promised to us is already present with you, and the object of your prayers is with you; you are of this world, and yet not in this world. This age has held you, but has not been able to retain you.

53. But what a great thing it is that angels because of incontinence fell from heaven into this world, that virgins because of chastity passed from the world into heaven. Blessed virgins, whom the delights of the flesh do not allure, nor the defilement of pleasures cast down. Sparing food and abstinence in drink train them in ignorance of vices, seeing they keep them from knowing the causes of vices. That which causes sin has often deceived even the just. In this way the people of God after they sat down to eat and drink denied God. Exodus 32:5 In this way, too, Lot knew not, and so endured his daughters' wickedness. Genesis 19:32-33 So, too, the sons of Noah going backward covered their father's nakedness, which he who was wanton saw, he who was modest blushed at and dutifully hid, fearful of

offending if he too saw it. Genesis 9:22 How great is the power of wine, so that wine made him naked which the waters of the deluge could not.

CHAPTER 10.

Finally, another glory of virginity is mentioned, that it is free from avarice. St. Ambrose, addressing his sister, reminds her of the great happiness of those who are free from those troubles as to luxury and vanity which come upon those who are about to marry.

WHAT THEN? WHAT happiness it is that no desire of possessions inflames you! The poor man demands what you have, he does not ask for what you have not. The fruit of your labour is a treasure for the needy, and two mites, if they be all one has, are wealth on the part of the giver.

54. Listen, then, my sister, from what you escape. For it is not for me to teach nor for you to learn what you ought to guard against, for the practice of perfect virtue does not require teaching, but instructs others. You see how like she is to the litters at processions, who lays herself out to please, attracting to herself the look and gaze of all; less beautiful is she because she strives to please, for she displeases the people before she pleases her husband. But in you the rejection of all care for splendour is far more becoming, and the very fact that you do not adorn yourselves is an ornament.

55. Look at the ears pierced with wounds, and pity the neck weighed down with burdens. That the metals are different does not lighten the suffering. In one case a chain binds the neck, in another a fetter encloses the foot. It makes no difference whether the body be loaded with gold or with iron. Thus the neck is weighed down and the steps are hindered. The price makes it no better, except that you women are afraid lest that which causes you suffering be lost. What is the difference whether the sentence of another or your own condemn you? Nay, you, even more wretched than those, are

condemned by public justice, since they desire to be set free, you to be bound.

56. But how wretched a position, that she who is marriageable is in a species of sale put up as it were to auction to be bid for, so that he who offers the highest price purchases her. Slaves are sold on more tolerable conditions, for they often choose their masters; if a maiden chooses it is an offense, if not it is an insult. And she, though she be beautiful and comely, both fears and wishes to be seen; she wishes it that she may sell herself for a better price; she fears lest the fact of her being seen should itself be unbecoming. But what absurdities of wishes and fears and suspicions are there as to how the suitors will turn out, lest a poor man may beguile her, or a rich one contemn her, lest a handsome suitor mock her, lest a noble one despise her.

CHAPTER 11.

St. Ambrose answers objections made to the uselessness of his exhortations in favour of virginity, and brings forward instances of virgins especially in various places he mentions, and speaks of their zeal in the cause.

57. SOME ONE may say, you are always singing the praises of virgins. What shall I do who am always singing them and have no success? But this is not my fault. Then, too, virgins come from Placentia to be consecrated, or from Bononia, and Mauritania, in order to receive the veil here. You see a striking thing here. I treat the matter here, and persuade those who are elsewhere. If this be so, let me treat the subject elsewhere, that I may persuade you.

58. What is it, then, that even they who hear me not follow my teaching, and those who hear me follow me not? For I have known many virgins who had the desire, but were prevented from going forward by their mothers, and, which is more serious, mothers who were widows, to whom I will now address myself. For if your daughters desired to love a man, they could, by law, choose whom they would. Are they, then, who are allowed to choose a man not allowed to choose God?

59. Behold how sweet is the fruit of modesty, which has sprung up even in the affections of barbarians. Virgins coming from the most distant on this and that side of Mauritania desire to be consecrated here; and though all the families be in bonds, yet modesty cannot be bound. She who mourns over the hardship of slavery avows an eternal kingdom.

60. And what shall I say of the virgins of Bononia, a fertile band of chastity, who, forsaking worldly delights, inhabit the sanctuary of virginity?

Not being of the sex which lives in common, attaining in their common chastity to the number of twenty, and fruit to an hundredfold, leaving their parents' dwelling they press into the houses of Christ, as soldiers of unwearied chastity; at one time singing spiritual songs, they provide their sustenance by labour, and seek with their hands supplies for their liberality.

61. But if the attraction of searching for virgins has grown strong (for they beyond others follow up the search and watch for purity), they follow up their hidden prey with the greatest perseverance to its very chambers; or, if the flight of any one shall have seemed more free, one may see them rise on the wing, hear the rustling of their feathers, and the bursting of applause; so as to surround the one on wing with a chaste band of modesty, until rejoicing in that fair companionship, forgetful of her father's house, she enters the regions of modesty and the fenced-in home of chastity.

CHAPTER 12.

It is very desirable that parents should encourage the desire for the virgin life, but more praiseworthy when the love of God draws a maiden even against their will. The violence of parents and the loss of property are not to be feared, and an instance of this is related by St. Ambrose.

62. IT IS a good thing, then, that the zeal of parents, like favouring gales, should aid a virgin; but it is more glorious if the fire of tender age even without the incitement of those older of its own self burst forth into the flame of chastity. Parents will refuse a dowry, but you have a wealthy Spouse, satisfied with Whose treasures you will not miss the revenues of a father's inheritance. How much is poverty to chastity superior to bridal gifts!

63. And yet of whom have you heard as ever, because of her desire for chastity, having been deprived of her lawful inheritance? Parents speak against her, but are willing to be overcome. They resist at first because they are afraid to believe; they often are angry that one may learn to overcome; they threaten to disinherit to try whether one is able not to fear temporal loss; they caress with exquisite allurements to see if one cannot be softened by the inducement of various pleasures. You are being exercised, O virgin, while you are being urged. And the anxious entreaties of your parents are your first battles. Conquer your affection first, O maiden. If you conquer your home, you conquer the world.

64. But suppose that the loss of your patrimony awaits you; are not the future realms of heaven a compensation for perishable and frail possessions? For if we believe the heavenly message, there is no one who has forsaken house, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the

kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive sevenfold more in this present time, and in the world to come shall have everlasting life. Luke 18:29-30 Entrust your faith to God, who entrust your money to man; lend to Christ. The faithful keeper of the deposit of your hope pays the talent of your faith with manifold interest. The Truth does not deceive, Justice does not circumvent, Virtue does not deceive. But if you believe not God's word, at least believe instances.

65. Within my memory a girl once noble in the world, now more noble in the sight of God, being urged to a marriage by her parents and kinsfolk, took refuge at the holy altar. Whither could a virgin better flee, than there where the Virgin Sacrifice is offered? Nor was even that the limit of her boldness. She, the oblation of modesty, the victim of chastity, was standing at the altar of God, now placing upon her head the right hand of the priest, asking his prayers, and now impatient at the righteous delay, placing the top of her head under the altar. Can any better veil, she said, cover me better than the altar which consecrates the veils themselves? Such a bridal veil is most suitable on which Christ, the Head of all, is daily consecrated. What are you doing, my kinsfolk? Why do you still trouble my mind with seeking marriage? I have long since provided for that. Do you offer me a bridegroom? I have found a better. Make the most you can of my wealth, boast of his nobility, extol his power, I have Him with Whom no one can compare himself, rich in the world, powerful in empire, noble in heaven. If you have such an one, I do not reject the choice; if you do not find such, you do me not a kindness, my relatives, but an injury.

66. When the others were silent, one burst forth somewhat roughly: If, he said, your father were alive, would he suffer you to remain unmarried? Then she replied with more religion and more restrained piety: And perchance he is gone that no one may be able to hinder me. Which answer concerning her father, but warning as to himself, he made good by his own

speedy death. So the others, each of them, fearing the same for himself, began to assist and not to hinder her as before, and her virginity involved not the loss of the property due to her, but also received the reward of her integrity. You see, maidens, the reward of devotion, and do you, parents, be warned by the example of transgression.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER 1.

In this book St. Ambrose purposes to treat of the training of virgins, using examples rather than precepts, and explains why he does so in writing rather than by word of mouth.

1. IN THE former book I wished (though I was not able) to set forth how great is the gift of virginity, that the grace of the heavenly gift might of itself invite the reader. In the second book it is fitting that the virgin should be instructed and, as it were, be educated by the teaching of suitable precepts.

2. But, inasmuch as I am feeble in advising and unequal to teaching (for he who teaches ought to excel him who is taught), lest I should seem to have abandoned the task I have undertaken, or to have taken too much upon myself, I thought it better to instruct by examples than by precepts; for more progress may be made by means of an example, inasmuch as that which has been already done is considered to be not difficult, and that which has been tried to be expedient, and that which has been transmitted in succession to us by a kind of hereditary practice of ancestral virtue to be binding in religion.

3. But if any one rebukes me for presumption, let him rather rebuke me for zeal, because I thought that I ought not to refuse even this to the virgins who asked it of me. For I preferred rather to run the risk of perilling my own modesty, than not to fulfil the wish of those whose pursuits even our God favours with kindly approbation.

4. Nor can the mark of presumption be set on my task, since, when they had those from whom they could learn, they sought my good-will rather than my teaching, and my zeal may be excused, since when they had the

guidance of a martyr for the observance of discipline, I did not think it superfluous if I could turn the persuasion of my discourse into an allurement to profession. He who teaches with facility restrains fault with severity; I, who cannot teach, entice.

5. And because many who were absent desired to have the use of my discourse, I compiled this book, in order that holding in their hands the substance of what my voice had uttered to them, they might not think that he whom they were holding failed them. But let us go on with our plan.

CHAPTER 2.

The life of Mary is set before virgins as an example, and her many virtues are dwelt upon, her chastity, humility, hard life, love of retirement, and the like; then her kindness to others, her zeal in learning, and love of frequenting the temple. St. Ambrose then sets forth how she, adorned with all these virtues, will come to meet the numberless bands of virgins and lead them with great triumph to the bridal chamber of the Spouse.

6. LET, THEN, the life of Mary be as it were virginity itself, set forth in a likeness, from which, as from a mirror, the appearance of chastity and the form of virtue is reflected. From this you may take your pattern of life, showing, as an example, the clear rules of virtue: what you have to correct, to effect, and to hold fast.

7. The first thing which kindles ardour in learning is the greatness of the teacher. What is greater than the Mother of God? What more glorious than she whom Glory Itself chose? What more chaste than she who bore a body without contact with another body? For why should I speak of her other virtues? She was a virgin not only in body but also in mind, who stained the sincerity of its disposition by no guile, who was humble in heart, grave in speech, prudent in mind, sparing of words, studious in reading, resting her hope not on uncertain riches, but on the prayer of the poor, intent on work, modest in discourse; wont to seek not man but God as the judge of her thoughts, to injure no one, to have goodwill towards all, to rise up before her elders, not to envy her equals, to avoid boastfulness, to follow reason, to love virtue. When did she pain her parents even by a look? When did she disagree with her neighbours? When did she despise the lowly? When did she avoid the needy? Being wont only to go to such gatherings of men as mercy would not blush at, nor modesty pass by. There was nothing gloomy

in her eyes, nothing forward in her words, nothing unseemly in her acts, there was not a silly movement, nor unrestrained step, nor was her voice petulant, that the very appearance of her outward being might be the image of her soul, the representation of what is approved. For a well-ordered house ought to be recognized on the very threshold, and should show at the very first entrance that no darkness is hidden within, as our soul hindered by no restraints of the body may shine abroad like a lamp placed within.

8. Why should I detail her spareness of food, her abundance of services — the one abounding beyond nature, the other almost insufficient for nature? And there were no seasons of slackness, but days of fasting, one upon the other. And if ever the desire for refreshment came, her food was generally what came to hand, taken to keep off death, not to minister to comfort. Necessity before inclination caused her to sleep, and yet when her body was sleeping her soul was awake, and often in sleep either went again through what had been read, or went on with what had been interrupted by sleep, or carried out what had been designed, or foresaw what was to be carried out.

9. She was unaccustomed to go from home, except for divine service, and this with parents or kinsfolk. Busy in private at home, accompanied by others abroad, yet with no better guardian than herself, as she, inspiring respect by her gait and address, progressed not so much by the motion of her feet as by step upon step of virtue. But though the Virgin had other persons who were protectors of her body, she alone guarded her character; she can learn many points if she be her own teacher, who possesses the perfection of all virtues, for whatever she did is a lesson. Mary attended to everything as though she were warned by many, and fulfilled every obligation of virtue as though she were teaching rather than learning.

10. Such has the Evangelist shown her, such did the angel find her, such did the Holy Spirit choose her. Why delay about details? How her parents

loved her, strangers praised her, how worthy she was that the Son of God should be born of her. She, when the angel entered, was found at home in privacy, without a companion, that no one might interrupt her attention or disturb her; and she did not desire any women as companions, who had the companionship of good thoughts. Moreover, she seemed to herself to be less alone when she was alone. For how should she be alone, who had with her so many books, so many archangels, so many prophets?

11. And so, too, when Gabriel visited her, Luke 1:28 did he find her, and Mary trembled, being disturbed, as though at the form of a man, but on hearing his name recognized him as one not unknown to her. And so she was a stranger as to men, but not as to the angel; that we might know that her ears were modest and her eyes bashful. Then when saluted she kept silence, and when addressed she answered, and she whose feelings were first troubled afterwards promised obedience.

12. And holy Scripture points out how modest she was towards her neighbours. For she became more humble when she knew herself to be chosen of God, and went immediately to her kinswoman in the hill country, not in order to gain belief by anything external, for she had believed the word of God. Blessed, she said, are you who believed. Luke 1:56 And she abode with her three months. Now in such an interval of time it is not that faith is being sought for, but kindness which is being shown. And this was after that the child, leaping in his mother's womb, had saluted the mother of the Lord, attaining to reason before birth.

13. And then, in the many subsequent wonders, when the barren bore a son, the virgin conceived, the dumb spoke, the wise men worshipped, Simeon waited, the stars gave notice. Mary, who was moved by the angel's entrance, was unmoved by the miracles. Mary, it is said, kept all these things in her heart. Luke 2:19 Though she was the mother of the Lord, yet

she desired to learn the precepts of the Lord, and she who brought forth God, yet desired to know God.

14. And then, how she also went every year to Jerusalem at the solemn day of the passover, and went with Joseph. Everywhere is modesty the companion of her singular virtues in the Virgin. This, without which virginity cannot exist, must be the inseparable companion of virginity. And so Mary did not go even to the temple without the guardianship of her modesty.

15. This is the likeness of virginity. For Mary was such that her example alone is a lesson for all. If, then, the author displeases us not, let us make trial of the production, that whoever desires its reward for herself may imitate the pattern. How many kinds of virtues shine forth in one Virgin! The secret of modesty, the banner of faith, the service of devotion, the Virgin within the house, the companion for the ministry, the mother at the temple.

16. Oh! How many virgins shall she meet, how many shall she embrace and bring to the Lord, and say: She has been faithful to her espousal, to my Son; she has kept her bridal couch with spotless modesty. How shall the Lord Himself commend them to His Father, repeating again those words of His: Holy Father, these are they whom I have kept for You, on whom the Son of Man leant His head and rested; I ask that where I am there they may be with Me. John 17:24 And if they ought to benefit not themselves only, who lived not for themselves alone, one virgin may redeem her parents, another her brothers. Holy Father, the world has not known Me, but these have known Me, and have willed not to know the world. John 17:25

17. What a procession shall that be, what joy of applauding angels when she is found worthy of dwelling in heaven who lived on earth a heavenly life! Then too Mary, taking her timbrel, shall stir up the choirs of virgins, singing to the Lord because they have passed through the sea of this world

without suffering from the waves of this world. Exodus 15:20 Then each shall rejoice, saying: I will go to the altar of God; to God Who makes my youth glad; and, I will offer unto God thanksgiving, and pay my vows unto the Most High.

18. Nor would I hesitate to admit you to the altars of God, whose souls I would without hesitation call altars, on which Christ is daily offered for the redemption of the body. For if the virgin's body be a temple of God, what is her soul, which, the ashes, as it were, of the body being shaken off, once more uncovered by the hand of the Eternal Priest, exhales the vapour of the divine fire. Blessed virgins, who emit a fragrance through divine grace as gardens do through flowers, temples through religion, altars through the priest.

CHAPTER 3.

St. Ambrose having set forth the Virgin Mary as a pattern for life, adduces Thecla as a model for learning how to die. Thecla suffered not from the beasts to whom she was condemned, but on the contrary received from them signs of reverence. He then proceeds to introduce a more recent example.

19. LET, THEN, holy Mary instruct you in the discipline of life, and Thecla teach you how to be offered, for she, avoiding nuptial intercourse, and condemned through her husband's rage, changed even the disposition of wild beasts by their reverence for virginity. For being made ready for the wild beasts, when avoiding the gaze of men, she offered her vital parts to a fierce lion, caused those who had turned away their immodest looks to turn them back modestly.

20. The beast was to be seen lying on the ground, licking her feet, showing without a sound that it could not injure the sacred body of the virgin. So the beast reverenced his prey, and forgetful of his own nature, put on that nature which men had lost. One could see, as it were, by some transfusion of nature, men clothed with savageness, goading the beast to cruelty, and the beast kissing the feet of the virgin, teaching them what was due from men. Virginity has in itself so much that is admirable, that even lions admire it. Food did not induce them though kept without their meal; no impulse hurried them on when excited; anger did not exasperate them when stirred up, nor did their habits lead them blindly as they were wont, nor their own natural disposition possess them with fierceness. They set an example of piety when reverencing the martyr; and gave a lesson in favor of chastity when they did nothing but kiss the virgin's feet, with their eyes

turned to the ground, as though through modesty, fearing that any male, even a beast, should see the virgin naked.

21. Some one will say: Why have you brought forward the example of Mary, as if any one could be found to imitate the Lord's mother? And why that of Thecla, whom the Apostle of the Gentiles trained? Give us a teacher of our own sort if you wish for disciples. I will, therefore, set before you a recent example of this sort, that you may understand that the Apostle is the teacher, not of one only, but of all.

CHAPTER 4.

A virgin at Antioch, having refused to sacrifice to idols, was condemned to a house of ill-fame, whence she escaped unharmed, having changed clothes with a Christian soldier. Then when he was condemned for this, she returned and the two contended for the prize of martyrdom, which was at last given to each.

22. THERE WAS lately at Antioch a virgin who avoided being seen in public, but the more she shrank from men's eyes, the more they longed for her. For beauty which is heard of but not seen is more desired, there being two incentives to passion, love and knowledge — so long as nothing is met with which pleases less; and that which pleases is thought to be of more worth, because the eye is not in this case the judge by investigation, but the mind inflamed with love is full of longing. And so the holy virgin, lest their passions should be longer fed by the desire of gaining her, professed her intention of preserving her chastity, and so quenched the fires of those wicked men, that she was no longer loved, but informed against.

23. So a persecution arose. The maiden, not knowing how to escape, and afraid lest she might fall into the hands of those who were plotting against her chastity, prepared her soul for heroic virtue, being so religious as not to fear death, so chaste as to expect it. The day of her crown arrived. The expectation of all was at its height. The maiden is brought forward, and makes her twofold profession, of religion and of chastity. But when they saw the constancy of her profession, her fear for her modesty, her readiness for tortures, and her blushes at being looked on, they began to consider how they might overcome her religion by setting chastity before her, so that, having deprived her of that which was the greatest, they might also deprive her of that which they had left. So the sentence was that she should either

sacrifice, or be sent to a house of ill-fame. After what manner do they worship their gods who thus avenge them, or how do they live themselves who give sentence after this fashion?

24. And the virgin, not hesitating about her religion, but fearful as to her chastity, began to reflect, What am I to do? Each crown, that of martyrdom and that of virginity, is grudged me today. But the name of virgin is not acknowledged where the Author of virginity is denied. How can one be a virgin who cherishes a harlot? How can one be a virgin who loves adulterers? How a virgin if she seeks for a lover? It is preferable to have a virgin mind than a virgin body. Each is good if each be possible; if it be not possible, let me be chaste, not to man but to God. Rahab, too, was a harlot, but after she believed in God, she found salvation. Joshua 2:9 And Judith adorned herself that she might please an adulterer, but because she did this for religion and not for love, no one considered her an adulteress. Judith x This instance turned out well. For if she who entrusted herself to religion both preserved her chastity and her country, perhaps I, by preserving my religion, shall also preserve my chastity. But if Judith had preferred her chastity to her religion, when her country had been lost, she would also have lost her chastity.

25. And so, instructed by such examples, and at the same time bearing in mind the words of the Lord, where He says: Whosoever shall lose his life for My sake, shall find it, Matthew 10:39 she wept, and was silent, that the adulterer might not even hear her speaking, and she did not choose the wrong done to her modesty, but rejected wrong done to Christ. Consider whether it was possible for her to allow her body to be unchaste, who guarded even her speech.

26. For some time my words have been becoming bashful, and fear to laud on or describe the wicked series of what was done. Close your ears, you virgins! The Virgin of God is taken to a house of shame. But now

unclose your ears, you virgins. The Virgin of Christ can be exposed to shame, but cannot be contaminated. Everywhere she is the Virgin of God, and the Temple of God, and houses of ill-fame cannot injure chastity, but chastity does away with the ill-fame of the place.

27. A great rush of wanton men is made to the place. Listen, you holy virgins, to the miracles of the martyr, forget the name of the place. The door is shut within, the hawks cry without; some are contending who shall first attack the prey. But she, with her hands raised to heaven, as though she had come to a house of prayer, not to a resort of lust, says: O Christ, Who tamed the fierce lions for the virgin Daniel, Daniel 6:22 You can also tame the fierce minds of men. Fire became as dew to the Hebrew children, the water stood up for the Jews, of Your mercy, not of its own nature. Exodus 14:22 Susanna knelt down for punishment and triumphed over her adulterous accusers, the right hand withered which violated the gifts of Your temple; and now your temple itself is violated; suffer not sacrilegious incest, You Who did not suffer theft. Let Your Name be now again glorified in that I who came here for shame, may go away a virgin!

28. Scarcely had she finished her prayer, when, lo! A man with the aspect of a terrible warrior burst in. How the virgin trembled before him to whom the trembling people gave way. But she did not forget what she had read. Daniel, said she, had gone to see the punishment of Susanna, and alone pronounced her guiltless, whom the people had condemned. A sheep may be hidden in the shape of this wolf. Christ has His soldiers also, Who is Master of legions. Matthew 26:53 Or, perchance, an executioner has come in. Fear not, my soul, such an one makes martyrs. O Virgin! Your faith has saved you.

29. And the soldier said to her: Fear not, sister, I pray you. I, a brother, have come hither to save life, not to destroy it. Save me, that you yourself may be saved. I came in like an adulterer, to go forth, if you will, as a

martyr. Let us change our attire, mine will fit you, and yours will fit me, and each for Christ. Your robe will make me a true soldier, mine will make you a virgin. You will be clothed well, I shall be unclothed even better that the persecutor may recognize me. Take the garment which will conceal the woman, give me that which shall consecrate me a martyr. Put on the cloak which will hide the limbs of a virgin, but preserve her modesty. Take the cap which will cover your hair and conceal your countenance. They who have entered houses of ill-fame are wont to blush. When you have gone forth, take care not to look back, remembering Lot's wife, Genesis 19:26 who lost her very nature because she looked back at what was unchaste, though with chaste eyes. And be not afraid lest any part of the sacrifice fail. I will offer the victim to God for you, do you offer the soldier to Christ for me. You have served the good service of chastity, the wages of which are everlasting life; you have the breastplate of righteousness, which protects the body with spiritual armour, the shield of faith with which to ward off wounds, and the helmet of salvation, Ephesians 6:14-17 for there is the defense of our salvation where Christ is, since the man is the head of the woman. and Christ of the virgin.

30. Whilst saying this he put off his cloak. This garment has been up to this time suspected of being that of a persecutor and adulterer. The virgin offered her neck, the soldier his cloak. What a spectacle that was, what a manifestation of grace when they were contending for martyrdom in a house of ill-fame! Let the characters be also considered, a soldier and a virgin, that is, persons unlike in natural disposition, but alike by the mercy of God, that the saying might be fulfilled: Then the wolves and the lambs shall feed together. Isaiah 65:25 Behold the lamb and the wolf not only feed together but are also offered together. Why should I say more? Having changed her garment, the maiden flies from the snare, not now with wings of her own, seeing she was borne on spiritual wings, and (a sight which the

ages had never seen) she leaves the house of ill-fame a virgin, but a virgin of Christ.

31. But they who were looking with their eyes, yet saw not, raged like robbers for prey, or wolves for a lamb. One who was more shameless went in. But when he took in the state of the matter with his eyes, he said, What is this? A maiden entered, now a man is to be seen here. This is not the old fable of a hind instead of a maiden, but in truth a virgin become a soldier. I had heard but believed not that Christ changed water into wine; now He has begun also to change the sexes. Let us depart hence while we still are what we were. Am I too changed who see things differently from what I believe them to be? I came to a house of ill-fame, and see a surety. And yet I go forth changed, for I shall go out chaste who came in unchaste.

32. When the affair was known, because a crown was due to such a conqueror, he was condemned for the virgin who was seized for the virgin, and so not only a virgin but a martyr came forth from the house of ill-fame. It is reported that the maiden ran to the place of punishment, and that they both contended for death. He said: I am condemned to death, the sentence let you go free when it retained me. And she replied: I did not choose you as my surety on pain of death, but as a guarantee for my chastity. If chastity be attacked, my sex remains; if blood is sought, I desire none to give bail for me, I have the means to pay. The sentence was pronounced on me, which was pronounced for me. Undoubtedly, if I had offered you as security for my debt, and in my absence the judge had assigned your property to the creditor, you would share the sentence with me, and I should pay your obligations with my patrimony. Were I to refuse, who would not judge me worthy of a shameful death? How much more am I bound where there is a question of death? Let me die innocent, that I may not die guilty. In this matter there is no middle course; today I shall either be guilty of your blood or a martyr in my own. If I came back quickly, who dares to shut me out? If

I delayed, who dares acquit me? I owe a greater debt to the laws who am guilty not only of my own flight, but also of the death of another. My limbs are equal to death, which were not equal to dishonour. A virgin can accept a wound who could not accept contumely. I avoided disgrace, not martyrdom. I gave up my robe to you; I did not alter my profession. And if you deprive me of death, you will not have rescued but circumvented me. Beware, pray, of resisting, beware of venturing to contend with me. Take not away the kindness you have conferred on me. In denying me the execution of this sentence, you are setting up again the former one. For the sentence is changed for a former one. If the latter binds me not, the former one does. We can each satisfy the sentence if you suffer me to be slain first. From you they can exact no other penalty, but her chastity is in danger with a virgin. And so you will be more glorious if you are seen to have made a martyr of an adulteress. than to have made again an adulteress of a martyr.

33. What do you think was the end? The two contended, and both gained the victory, and the crown was not divided, but became two. So the holy martyrs, conferring benefits one on the other, gave the one the impulse and the other the result to their martyrdom.

CHAPTER 5.

The story of the two Pythagorean friends, Damon and Pythias, is related by St. Ambrose, who points out that the case mentioned in the last chapter is more praiseworthy. A comparison is instituted between the treatment of their gods by heathen without any punishment, and Jeroboam's irreverence with its punishment.

34. AND THE schools of the philosophers laud Damon and Pythias — the Pythagoreans — to the skies, of whom one, when condemned to death, asked for time to set his affairs in order, whereupon, the tyrant, in his cunning, not supposing that such could be found, asked for a bondsman who should suffer the penalty if the other delayed his return. I do not know which act of the two was the more noble. The one found the bondsman, the other offered himself. And so while he who was condemned met with some delay, the bondsman with calm countenance did not refuse death. As he was being led forth his friend returned, and offered his neck to the axe. Then the tyrant, wondering that friendship was dearer to philosophers than life, asked himself to be received into friendship by those whom he had condemned. The grace of Virtue was so great that it moved even a tyrant.

35. These things are worthy of praise; but are inferior to our instance. For those two were men, with us one was a virgin, who had first to be superior to her sex; those were friends, these were unknown to each other; those offered themselves to one tyrant, these to many tyrants; and these more cruel, for in the former case the tyrant spared them, these slew them; with the former one was bound by necessity, with these the will of each was free. In this, too, the latter were the wiser, that with those the end of their zeal was the pleasure of friendship, with these the crown of martyrdom, for they strove for men, these for God.

36. And since we have mentioned that man who was condemned, it is fitting to add what he thought of his gods, that you may judge how weak they are whom their own followers deride. For he, having come into the temple of Jupiter, bade them take off the fillet of gold with which his image was crowned, and to put on one of wool instead, saying that the golden fillet was cold in winter and heavy in summer. So he derided his god as being unable to bear either a weight or cold. He, too, when he saw the golden beard of Æsculapius, bade them remove it, saying that it was not fit for the son to have a beard when the father had none. Again, he took away the golden bowls from the images which held them, saying that he ought to receive what the gods gave. For, said he, men make prayers to receive good things from the gods, and nothing is better than gold; if, however, gold be evil, the gods ought not to have it; if it be good, it is better that men should have it who know how to use it.

37. Such objects of ridicule were they, that neither could Jupiter defend his garment, nor Æsculapius his beard, for Apollo had not yet begun to grow one; nor could all those who are esteemed gods keep the golden bowls which they were holding, not fearing the charge of theft so much as not having any feeling. Who, then, would worship them, who can neither defend themselves as gods nor hide themselves as men?

38. But when in the temple of our God, that wicked king Jeroboam took away the gifts which his father had laid up, and offered to idols upon the holy altar, did not his right hand, which he stretched out, wither, and his idols, which he called upon, were not able to help him? Then, turning to the Lord, he asked for pardon, and at once his hand which had withered by sacrilege was healed by true religion. So complete an example was there set forth in one person, both of divine mercy and wrath when he who was sacrificing suddenly lost his right hand, but when penitent received forgiveness.

CHAPTER 6.

St. Ambrose, in concluding the second book, ascribes any good there may be in it to the merits of the virgins, and sets forth that it was right before laying down any severe precepts to encourage them by examples, as is done both in human teaching and in holy Scripture.

39. I, WHO have been not yet three years a bishop, have prepared this offering for you, holy virgins, although untaught by my own experience, yet having learned much from your mode of life. For what experience could have grown up in so short a time of being initiated in religion? If you find any flowers herein, gather them together in the bosom of your lives. These are not precepts for virgins, but instances taken from virgins. My words have sketched the likeness of your virtue, you may see the reflection of your gravity, as it were, in the mirror of this discourse. If you have received any pleasure from my ability, all the fragrance of this book is yours. And since there are as many opinions as there are persons, if there be anything simple in my treatise let all read it; if anything stronger, let the more mature prove it; if anything modest, let it cleave to the breast and tinge the cheeks; if there be anything flowery, let the flowery age of youth not disdain it.

40. We ought to stir up the love of the bride, for it is written: You shall love the Lord your God. Deuteronomy 6:5 At bridal feasts we ought to adorn the hair at least with some ornaments of prayer, for it is written: Smite the hands together, and strike with the foot. Ezekiel 21:14 We ought to scatter roses on those uninterrupted bridals. Even in these temporal marriages the bride is received with acclamation before she receives commands, lest hard commands should hurt her, before love cherished by kindness grows strong.

41. Horses learn to love the sound of patting their necks, that they may not refuse the yoke, and are first trained with words of enticement before the stripe of discipline. But when the horse has submitted its neck to the yoke, the rein pulls in, and the spur urges on, and its companions draw it, and the driver bids it. So, too, our virgin ought first to play with pious love, and admire the golden supports of the heavenly marriage couch on the very threshold of marriage, and to see the door-posts adorned with wreaths of leaves, and to taste the delight of the musicians playing within; that she may not through fear withdraw herself from the Lord's yoke, before she obeys His call.

42. Come, then, hither from Lebanon, My spouse, come hither from Lebanon, you shall pass and pass through. Song of Songs 4:8 This verse must be often repeated by us, that at least being called by the words of the Lord, she may follow if there be any who will not trust the words of man. We have not formed this power for ourselves, but have received it; this is the heavenly teaching of the mystic song: Let Him kiss me with the kisses of His mouth, for Your breasts are better than wine, and the odor of Your ointments is above all spices. Your name is as ointment poured forth. Song of Songs 1:2-3 The whole of that place of delights sounds of sport, stirs up approval, calls forth love. Therefore, it continues, have the maidens loved You and have drawn You, let us run after the odour of Your ointments. The King has brought me into His chamber. Song of Songs 1:3-4 She began with kisses, and so attained to the chamber.

43. She, now so patient of hard toil, and of practised virtue, as to open the bars with her hand, go forth into the field, and abide in strongholds, at the beginning ran after the odour of the ointment; soon when she has come into the chamber the ointment is changed. And see whither she goes: If it be a wall, it is said, we will build upon it towers of silver. Song of Songs 8:9 She who sported with kisses now builds towers that, encircled with the

precious battlements of the saints, she may not only render fruitless the attacks of the enemy, but also erect the safe defences of holy merits.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER 1.

St. Ambrose now goes back to the address of Liberius when he gave the veil to Marcellina. Touching on the crowds pressing to the bridal feast of that Spouse Who feeds them all, he passes on to the fitness of her profession on the day on which Christ was born of a Virgin, and concludes with a fervent exhortation to love Him.

1. INASMUCH AS I have digressed in what I have said in the two former hooks, it is now time, holy sister, to reconsider those precepts of Liberius of blessed memory which you used to talk over with me, as the holier the man the more pleasing is his discourse. For he, when on the Nativity of the Saviour in the Church of St. Peter you signified your profession of virginity by your change of attire (and what day could be better than that on which the Virgin received her child?) while many virgins were standing round and vying with each other for your companionship. You, said he, my daughter, have desired a good espousal. You see how great a crowd has come together for the birthday of your Spouse, and none has gone away without food. This is He, Who, when invited to the marriage feast, changed water into wine. John 2:9 He, too, will confer the pure sacrament of virginity on you who before were subject to the vile elements of material nature. This is He Who fed four thousand in the wilderness with five loaves and two fishes. Luke 9:13 He could have fed more; if more had been there to be fed, they would have been. And now He has called many to your espousal, but it is not now barley bread, but the Body from heaven which is supplied.

2. Today, indeed, He was born after the manner of men, of a Virgin, but was begotten of the Father before all things, resembling His mother in body, His Father in power. Only-begotten on earth, and Only-begotten in heaven. God of God, born of a Virgin, Righteousness from the Father, Power from

the Mighty One, Light of Light, not unequal to His Father; nor separated in power, not confused by extension of the Word or enlargement as though mingled with the Father, but distinguished from the Father by virtue of His generation. He is your Brother, Song of Songs 5:1 without Whom neither things in heaven, nor things in the sea, nor things on earth consist. The good Word of the Father, Which was, it is said, in the beginning, John 1:1 here you have His eternity. And, it is said, the Word was with God. John 1:1 Here you have His power, undivided and inseparable from the Father. And the Word was God. John 1:1 Here you have His unbegotten Godhead, for your faith is to be drawn from the mutual relationship.

3. Love him, my daughter, for He is good. For, None is good save God only. Luke 18:19 For if there be no doubt that the Son is God, and that God is good, there is certainly no doubt that God the Son is good. Love Him I say. He it is Whom the Father begot before the morning star, as being eternal, He brought Him forth from the womb as the Son; He uttered him from His heart, as the Word. He it is in Whom the Father is well pleased; Matthew 17:5 He is the Arm of the Father, for He is Creator of all, and the Wisdom 1 Corinthians 1:30 of the Father, for He proceeded from the mouth of God; Wisdom 24:3 the Power of the Father, because the fullness of the Godhead dwells in Him bodily. Colossians 2:9 And the Father so loved Him, as to bear Him in His bosom, and place Him at His right hand, that you may learn His wisdom, and know His power.

4. If, then, Christ is the Power of God, was God ever without power? Was the Father ever without the Son? If the Father of a certainty always was, of a certainty the Son always was. So He is the perfect Son of a perfect Father. For he who derogates from the power, derogates from Him Whose is the power. The Perfection of the Godhead does not admit of inequality. Love, then, Him Whom the Father loves, honour Him Whom the Father honours, for he that honours not the Son, honours not the Father, John 5:23

and whoever denies the Son, has not the Father. 1 John 2:23 So much as to the faith.

CHAPTER 2.

Touching next upon the training of a virgin, he speaks of moderation in food and drink, and of restraint upon the impulses of the mind, introducing some teaching upon the fable of the death and resurrection of Hippolytus, and advises the avoidance of certain meats.

5. BUT SOMETIMES even when faith is to be relied upon, youth is not trusted. Use wine, therefore, sparingly, in order that the weakness of the body may not increase, not for pleasurable excitement, for each alike kindles a flame, both wine and youth. Let fasts also put a bridle on tender age, and spare diet restrain the unsubdued appetites with a kind of rein. Let reason check, hope subdue, and fear curb them. For he who knows not how to govern his desires, like a man run away with by wild horses, is overthrown, bruised, torn, and injured.

6. And this is said to have happened to a youth for his love of Diana. But the fable is colored with poet's tales, that Neptune, stirred with grief at his rival being preferred, sent madness upon his horses, whereby his great power might be set forth in that he overcame the youth, not by strength, but by fraud. And from this event a yearly sacrifice is celebrated for Diana, when a horse is offered at her altar. And they say that she was a virgin, and (of which even harlots would be ashamed) yet could love one who did not love her. But as far as I am concerned let their fables have authority, for though each be criminal, it is yet a less evil that a youth should have been so enamoured of an adulteress as to perish, than that two gods should, as they relate, contend for committing adultery, and that Jupiter avenged the grief of his daughter who played the harlot on the physician who cured the wound of him who had violated Diana in the woods, a most excellent

huntress, no doubt, not of wild beasts, but of lust: yet also of wild beasts, so that she was worshipped naked.

7. Let them ascribe, then, to Neptune the mastery over madness, in order to fix on him the crime of unchaste love. Let them ascribe to Diana the rule over the woods, wherein she dwelt, so as to establish the adultery which she practised. Let them ascribe to Æsculapius the restoration of the dead so long as they confess that when struck by lightning he himself escaped not. Let them also ascribe to Jupiter the thunderbolts which he did not possess, so that they witness to the disgrace with which he was laden.

8. And I think that one should sparingly eat all kinds of food which cause heat to the limbs, for flesh drags down even eagles as they fly. But within you let that bird of which we read, Your youth shall be renewed like the eagle's, holding its course on high, swift in its virgin flight, be ignorant of the desire for unnecessary food. The gathering of banquets and salutations must be avoided.

CHAPTER 3.

Virgins are exhorted to avoid visits, to observe modesty, to be silent during the celebration of the Mysteries after the example of Mary. Then after narrating the story of a heathen youth, and saying of a poet, St. Ambrose relates a miracle wrought by a holy priest.

9. I WILL, too, that visits among the younger, except such as may be due to parents and those of like age, be few. For modesty is worn away by intercourse, and boldness breaks forth, laughter creeps in, and bashfulness is lessened, while politeness is studied. Not to answer one who asks a question is childishness, to answer is nonsense. I should prefer, therefore, that conversation should rather be wanting to a virgin, than abound. For if women are bidden to keep silence in churches, even about divine things, and to ask their husbands at home, what do we think should be the caution of virgins, in whom modesty adorns their age, and silence commends their modesty.

10. Was it a small sign of modesty that when Rebecca came to wed Isaac, and saw her bridegroom, she took a veil, Genesis 24:65 that she might not be seen before they were united? Certainly the fair virgin feared not for her beauty, but for her modesty. What of Rachel, how she, when Jacob's kiss had been taken, Genesis 29:11 wept and groaned, and would not have ceased weeping had she not known him to be a kinsman? So she both observed what was due to modesty, and omitted not kindly affection. But if it is said to a man: Gaze not on a maid, lest she cause you to fall, Sirach 9:5 what is to be said to a consecrated virgin, who, if she loves, sins in mind; if she is loved, in act also?

11. The virtue of silence, especially in Church, is very great. Let no sentence of the divine lessons escape you; if you give ear, restrain your voice, utter no word with your lips which you would wish to recall, but let your boldness to speak be sparing. For in truth in much speaking there is abundance of sin. Proverbs 10:19 To the murderer it was said: You have sinned, be silent, Genesis 4:7 that he might not sin more; but to the virgin it must be said, Be silent lest you sin. For Mary, as we read, kept in heart all things that were said concerning her Son, Luke 2:19 and do you, when any passage is read where Christ is announced as about to come, or is shown to have come, not make a noise by talking, but attend. Is anything more unbecoming than the divine words should be so drowned by talking, as not to be heard, believed, or made known, that the sacraments should be indistinctly heard through the sound of voices, that prayer should be hindered when offered for the salvation of all?

12. The Gentiles pay respect to their idols by silence, of which this instance is given: As Alexander, the king of the Macedonians, was sacrificing, the sleeve of a barbarian lad who was lighting the lamp for him caught fire and burnt his body, yet he remained without moving and neither betrayed the pain by a groan, nor showed his suffering by silent tears. Such was the discipline of reverence in a barbarian lad that nature was subdued. Yet he feared not the gods, who were no gods, but the king. For why should he fear those who if the same fire had caught them would have burnt?

13. How much better still is it where a youth at his father’s banquet is bidden not to betray by coarse gestures his unchaste loves. And do you, holy virgin, abstain from groans, cries, coughing, and laughter at the Mystery. Can you not at the Mystery do what he did at a banquet? Let virginity be first marked by the voice, let modesty close the mouth, let religion remove weakness, and habit instruct nature. Let her gravity first announce a virgin to me, a modest approach, a sober gait, a bashful

countenance, and let the march of virtue be preceded by the evidence of integrity. That virgin is not sufficiently worthy of approval who has to be enquired about when she is seen.

14. There is common story how, when the excessive croaking of frogs was resounding in the ears of the faithful people, the priest of God bade them be silent, and show reverence to the sacred words, and then at once the noise was stilled. Shall then the marshes keep silence and not the frogs? And shall irrational animals re-acknowledge by reverence what they know not by nature? While the shamelessness of men is such, that many care not to pay that respect to the religious feelings of their minds, which they do to the pleasure of their ears.

CHAPTER 4.

Having summed up the address of Liberius, St. Ambrose passes on to the virtues of his sister, especially her fasts, which however he advises her to moderate to some extent, and to exercise herself in other matters, after the example which he adduces. Especially he recommends the Lord's Prayer, and the repetition of Psalms by night, and the recitation of the Creed before daylight.

15. AFTER SUCH a fashion did Liberius of holy memory address you, in words beyond the reality of practice in most cases, but coming short of your performance, who have not only attained to the whole of discipline by your virtue, but have surpassed it in your zeal. For we are bidden to practise fasting, but only for single days; but you, multiplying nights and days, pass untold periods without food, and if ever requested to partake of some, and to lay aside your book a little while, you at once answer: Man does not live by bread alone, but by every word of God. Matthew 4:4 Your very meals consisted but of what food came to hand, so that fasting is to be preferred to eating what was repugnant; your drink is from the spring, your weeping and prayer combine, your sleep is on your book.

16. These kings were suited to younger years, while he was ripening with the gray hairs of age; but when a virgin has gained the triumph over her subdued body, she should lessen her toil, that she may be preserved as teacher for a younger age. The vine laden with the fruitful branches of full growth soon breaks unless it be from time to time kept back. But while it is young let it grow rank, and as it grows older be pruned, so as not to grow into a forest of twigs, or die deprived of life by its exceptive produce. A good husbandman by tending the soil keeps the vine in excellent order, protects it from cold, and guards it from being parched by the mid-day sun. And he works his land by turns, or if he will not let it lie fallow, he

alternates his crops, so that the fields may rest through change of produce. Do you too, a veteran in virginity, at least sow the fields of your breast with different seeds, at one time with moderate sustenance, at another with sparing fasts, with reading, work, and prayer, that change of toil may be as a truce for rest.

17. The whole land does not produce the same harvest. On one side vines grow on the hills, on another you can see the purple olives, elsewhere the scented roses. And after leaving the plough, the strong husbandman with his fingers scrapes the soil to plant the roots of flowers, and with the rough hands wherewith he turns the bullocks striving among the vines, he gently presses the udders of the sheep. The land is the better the more numerous are its fruits. So do you, following the example of a good husbandman, avoid cleaving your soil with perpetual fastings as if with deep ploughings. Let the rose of modesty bloom in your garden, and the lily of the mind, and let the violet beds drink from the source of sacred blood. There is a common saying, What you wish to perform abundantly, sometimes do not do at all. There ought to be something to add to the days of Lent, but so that nothing be done for the sake of ostentation, but of religion.

18. Frequent prayer also commends us to God. For if the prophet says, Seven times a day have I praised You, though he was busy with the affairs of a kingdom, what ought we to do, who read: Watch and pray that you enter not into temptation? Matthew 26:41 Certainly our customary prayers ought to be said with giving of thanks, when we rise from sleep, when we go forth, when we prepare to receive food, after receiving it, and at the hour of incense, when at last we are going to rest.

19. And again in your bed-chamber itself, I would have you join psalms in frequent interchange with the Lord’s prayer, either when you wake up, or before sleep bedews your body, so that at the very commencement of rest sleep may find you free from the care of worldly matters, meditating upon

the things of God. And, indeed, he who first found out the name of Philosophy itself, every day before he went to rest, had the flute-player play softer melodies to soothe his mind disturbed by worldly cares. But he, like a man washing tiles, fruitlessly desired to drive away worldly things by worldly means, for he was, indeed, rather besmearing himself with fresh mud, in seeking a reward from pleasure, but let us, having wiped off the filth of earthly vices, purify our utmost souls from every defilement of the flesh.

20. We ought, also, specially to repeat the Creed, as a seal upon our hearts, daily, before light, and to recur to it in thought whenever we are in fear of anything. For when is the soldier in his tent or the warrior in battle without his military oath?

CHAPTER 5.

St. Ambrose, speaking of tears, explains David's saying, Every night wash l my couch with my tears, and goes on to speak of Christ bearing our griefs and infirmities. Everything should be referred to His honour, and we ought to rejoice with spiritual joy, but not after a worldly fashion.

21. AND WHO can now fail to understand that the holy prophet said for our instruction: Every night will I wash my couch and water my bed with my tears? For if you take it literally for his bed, he shows that such abundance of tears should be shed as to wash the bed and water it with tears, the couch of him who is praying, for weeping has to do with the present, rewards with the future, since it is said: Blessed are you that weep, for you shall laugh; Luke 6:21 or if we take the word of the prophet as applied to our bodies, we must wash away the offenses of the body with tears of penitence. For Solomon made himself a bed of wood from Lebanon, its pillars were of silver, its bottom of gold, its back strewn with gems. Song of Songs 3:6 What is that bed but the fashion of our body? For by gems is set forth the splendour of the brightness of the air, fire is set forth by the gold, water by silver, and earth by wood, of which four elements the human body consists, in which our soul rests, if it do not exist deprived of rest by the roughness of hills or the damp ground, but raised on high, above vices, supported by the wood. For which reason David also says: The Lord will send him help upon his bed of pain. For how can that be a bed of pain which cannot feel pain, and which has no feeling? But the body of pain is like the body of that death, of which it is said: O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death? Romans 7:24

22. And since I have inserted a clause in which mention is made of the Lord's Body, lest any one should be troubled at reading that the Lord took a body of pain, let him remember that the Lord grieved and wept over the death of Lazarus, John 11:35 and was wounded in His passion, and that from the wound there went forth blood and water, John 19:34 and that He gave up His Spirit. Water for washing, Blood for drink, the Spirit for His rising again. For Christ alone is to us hope, faith, and love — hope in His resurrection, faith in the laver, and love in the sacrament.

23. And as He took a body of pain, so too He turned His bed in His weakness, for He converted it to the benefit of human flesh. For by His Passion weakness was ended, and death by His resurrection. And yet you ought to mourn for the world but to rejoice in the Lord, to be sad for penitence but joyful for grace, though, too, the teacher of the Gentiles by a wholesome precept has bidden to weep with them that weep, and to rejoice with them that do rejoice. Romans 12:15

24. But let him who desires to solve the whole difficulty of this question have recourse to the same Apostle. Whatsoever you do, says he, in word or deed, do all in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, giving thanks to God the Father by Him. Colossians 3:17 Let us then refer all our words and deeds to Christ, Who brought life out of death, and created light out of darkness. For as a sick body is at one time cherished by warmth, at another soothed by cool applications, and the variation of remedies, if carried out according to the direction of the physician, is healthful, but if done in opposition to his orders increases the sickness; so whatever is paid to Christ is a remedy, whatever is done by our own will is harmful.

25. There ought then to be the joy of the mind, conscious of right, not excited by unrestrained feasts, or nuptial concerts, for in such modesty is not safe, and temptation may be suspected where excessive dancing accompanies festivities. I desire that the virgins of God should be far from

this. For as a certain teacher of this world has said: No one dances when sober unless he is mad. Now if, according to the wisdom of this world, either drunkenness or madness is the cause of dancing, what a warning is given to us among the instances mentioned in the Divine Scriptures, where John, the forerunner of Christ, being beheaded at the wish of a dancer, is an instance that the allurements of dancing did more harm than the madness of sacrilegious anger.

CHAPTER 6.

Having mentioned the Baptist, St. Ambrose enters into a description of the events concerning his death, and speaks against dancing and the festivities of the wicked.

26. AND SINCE we must not cursorily pass by the mention of so great a man, let us consider who he was, by whom, on what account, how, and at what time he was slain. A just man, he is put to death by adulterers, and the penalty of a capital crime is turned off by the guilty on to the judge. Again the reward of the dancer is the death of the prophet. Lastly (a matter of honour even to all barbarians), the cruel sentence is given in the midst of banqueting and festivities, and the news of the deadly crime is carried from the banquet to the prison, and then from the prison to the banquet. How many crimes are there in one wicked act!

27. A banquet of death is set out with royal luxury, and when a larger concourse than usual had come together, the daughter of the queen, sent for from within the private apartments, is brought forth to dance in the sight of men. What could she have learned from an adulteress but loss of modesty? Is anything so conducive to lust as with unseemly movements thus to expose in nakedness those parts of the body which either nature has hidden or custom has veiled, to sport with the looks, to turn the neck, to loosen the hair? Fitly was the next step an offense against God. For what modesty can there be where there is dancing and noise and clapping of hands?

28. Then, it is said, the king being pleased, said to the damsel, that she should ask of the king whatsoever she would. Then he swore that if she asked he would give her even the half of his kingdom. Mark 6:22-23 See how worldly men themselves judge of their worldly power, so as to give

even kingdoms for dancing. But the damsel, being taught by her mother, demanded that the head of John should be brought to her on a dish. That which is said that the king was sorry, is not repentance on the part of the king, but a confession of guilt, which is, according to the wont of the divine rule, that they who have done evil condemn themselves by their own confession. But for their sakes which sat with him, it is said. What is more base than that a murder should be committed in order not to displease those who sat at meat? And, it follows, for his oath's sake. What a new religion! He had better have forsworn himself. The Lord therefore in the Gospel bids us not to swear at all, Matthew 5:34 that there be no cause for perjury, and no need of offending. And so an innocent man is slain that an oath be not violated. I know which to have in the greatest horror. Perjury is more endurable than are the oaths of tyrants.

29. Who would not think when he saw some one running from the banquet to the prison, Mark 6:27 that orders had been given to set the prophet free? Who, I say, having heard that it was Herod's birthday, and of the state banquet, and the choice given to the damsel of choosing whatever she wished, would not think that the man was sent to set John free? What has cruelty in common with delicacies? What have death and pleasure in common? The prophet is hurried to suffer at a festal time by a festal order, by which he would even wish to be set free; he is slain by the sword, and his head is brought on a platter. This dish was well suited to their cruelty, in order that their insatiate savageness might be feasted.

30. Look, most savage king, at the sights worthy of your feast. Stretch forth your right hand, that nothing be wanting to your cruelty, that streams of holy blood may pour down between your fingers. And since the hunger for such unheard-of cruelty could not be satisfied by banquets, nor the thirst by goblets, drink the blood pouring from the still flowing veins of the cut-off head. Behold those eyes, even in death, the witnesses of your crime,

turning away from the sight of the delicacies. The eyes are closing, not so much owing to death, as to horror of luxury. That bloodless golden mouth, whose sentence you could not endure, is silent, and yet you fear. Yet the tongue, which even after death is wont to observe its duty as when living, condemned, though with trembling motion, the incest. This head is borne to Herodias: she rejoices, she exults as though she had escaped from the crime, because she has slain her judge.

31. What say you, holy women? Do you see what you ought to teach, and what also to unteach your daughters? She dances, but she is the daughter of an adulteress. But she who is modest, she who is chaste, let her teach her daughter religion, not dancing. And do you, grave and prudent men, learn to avoid the banquets of hateful men. If such are the banquets, what will be the judgment of the impious?

CHAPTER 7.

In reply to Marcellina, who had asked what should be thought of those who to escape violence killed themselves, St. Ambrose replies by narrating the history of Pelagia, a virgin, with her mother and sister, and goes on to speak of the martyrdom of the blessed Sotheris, one of their own ancestors.

32. As I am drawing near the close of my address, you make a good suggestion, holy sister, that I should touch upon what we ought to think of the merits of those who have cast themselves down from a height, or have drowned themselves in a river, lest they should fall into the hands of persecutors, seeing that holy Scripture forbids a Christian to lay hands on himself. And indeed as regards virgins placed in the necessity of preserving their purity, we have a plain answer, seeing that there exists an instance of martyrdom.

33. Saint Pelagia lived formerly at Antioch, being about fifteen years old, a sister of virgins, and a virgin herself. She shut herself up at home at the first sound of persecution, seeing herself surrounded by those who would rob her of her faith and purity, in the absence of her mother and sisters, without any defense, but all the more filled with God. What are we to do, unless, says she to herself, you, a captive of virginity, takest thought? I both wish and fear to die, for I meet not death but seek it. Let us die if we are allowed, or if they will not allow it, still let us die. God is not offended by a remedy against evil, and faith permits the act. In truth, if we think of the real meaning of the word, how can what is voluntary be violence? It is rather violence to wish to die and not to be able. And we do not fear any difficulty. For who is there who wishes to die and is not able to do so, when there are so many easy ways to death? For I can now rush upon the

sacrilegious altars and overthrow them, and quench with my blood the kindled fires. I am not afraid that my right hand may fail to deliver the blow, or that my breast may shrink from the pain. I shall leave no sin to my flesh. I fear not that a sword will be wanting. I can die by my own weapons, I can die without the help of an executioner, in my mother's bosom.

34. She is said to have adorned her head, and to have put on a bridal dress, so that one would say that she was going to a bridegroom, not to death. But when the hateful persecutors saw that they had lost the prey of her chastity, they began to seek her mother and sisters. But they, by a spiritual flight, already held the field of chastity, when, as on the one side, persecutors suddenly threatened them, and on the other, escape was shut off by an impetuous river, they said, what do we fear? See the water, what hinders us from being baptized? And this is the baptism whereby sins are forgiven, and kingdoms are sought. This is a baptism after which no one sins. Let the water receive us, which is wont to regenerate. Let the water receive us, which makes virgins. Let the water receive us, which opens heaven, protects the weak, hides death, makes martyrs. We pray You, God, Creator of all things, let not the water scatter our bodies, deprived of the breath of life; let not death separate our obsequies, whose lives affection has always conjoined; but let our constancy be one, our death one, and our burial also be one.

35. Having said these words, and having slightly girded up the bosom of their dress, to veil their modesty without impeding their steps, joining hands as though to lead a dance, they went forward to the middle of the river bed, directing their steps to where the stream was more violent, and the depth more abrupt. No one drew back, no one ceased to go on, no one tried where to place her steps, they were anxious only when they felt the ground, grieved when the water was shallow, and glad when it was deep. One could see the pious mother tightening her grasp, rejoicing in her pledges, afraid of

a fall lest even the stream should carry off her daughters from her. These victims, O Christ, said she, do I offer as leaders of chastity, guides on my journey, and companions of my sufferings.

37. But who would have cause to wonder that they had such constancy while alive, seeing that even when dead they preserved the position of their bodies unmoved? The water did not lay bare their corpses, nor did the rapid course of the river roll them along. Moreover, the holy mother, though without sensation, still maintained her loving grasp, and held the sacred knot which she had tied, and loosed not her hold in death, that she who had paid her debt to religion might die leaving her piety as her heir. For those whom she had joined together with herself for martyrdom, she claimed even to the tomb.

38. But why use instances of people of another race to you, my sister, whom the inspiration of hereditary chastity has taught by descent from a martyred ancestor? For whence have you learned who had no one from whom to learn, living in the country, with no virgin companion, instructed by no teacher? You have played the part then not of a disciple, for this cannot be done without teaching, but of an heir of virtue.

39. For how could it come to pass that holy Sotheris should not have been the originator of your purpose, who is an ancestor of your race? Who, in an age of persecution, borne to the heights of suffering by the insults of slaves, gave to the executioner even her face, which is usually free from injury when the whole body is tortured, and rather beholds than suffers torments; so brave and patient that when she offered her tender cheeks to punishment, the executioner failed in striking before the martyr yielded under the injuries. She moved not her face, she turned not away her countenance, she uttered not a groan or a tear. Lastly, when she had overcome other kinds of punishment, she found the sword which she desired.

Concerning Widows

Translated by H. de Romestin, E. de Romestin and H. T. F. Duckworth

CONTENTS

Introduction.
CHAPTER 1
CHAPTER 2
CHAPTER 3
CHAPTER 4
CHAPTER 5
CHAPTER 6
CHAPTER 7
CHAPTER 8
CHAPTER 9
CHAPTER 10
CHAPTER 11
CHAPTER 12
CHAPTER 13
CHAPTER 14
CHAPTER 15

Introduction.

THE WRITER INFORMS us himself at the beginning of his treatise that he felt moved by the example of St. Paul, after speaking about virgins, to continue with the subject of widows. But there was also another matter in his own diocese which touched him personally, and caused him at once to take up the matter. A certain widow who had several daughters, some married already and others of marriageable age, began to think of a second marriage for herself. St. Ambrose, partly for her own sake, partly that it might not be supposed that he had in any way advised the step, published the following treatise.

In the first place he affirms that the profession of widowhood comes very close to that of virginity, and is to be esteemed far above the married state. He proves this by the testimony of St. Paul and by his description of one who is a widow indeed; also by many examples taken both from the old and New Testament. Having mentioned St. Peter's wife's mother, he turns more particularly to the widow for whose sake he is writing, though he avoids mentioning her name, pointing out how really empty and insufficient are all the reasons she is setting before herself for marrying again. The marriage bond is, indeed, he says, holy and good, and the married and single are as various kinds of flowers in the field of the church. There is, however, more grain produced than lilies, more that is married than virgin. He points out that widowhood has been held in dishonour by idolaters alone, for which reason it may well be held in honour by Christians. St. Ambrose does not condemn a second marriage, though placing widowhood before it, as being

bound to aim at leading those committed to his loving care to the highest possible degree of perfection.

The treatise was written not long after that concerning Virgins, that is, soon after a.d. 377.

CHAPTER 1

After having written about virgins, it seemed needful to say something concerning widows, since the Apostle joins the two classes together, and the latter are as it were teachers of the former, and far superior to those who are married. Elijah was sent to a widow, a great mark of honour; yet widows are not honourable like her of Sarepta, unless they copy her virtues, notably hospitality. The avarice of men is rebuked, who forfeit the promises of God by their grasping.

1. SINCE I have treated of the honour of virgins in three books, it is fitting now, my brethren, that a treatise concerning widows should come in order; for I ought not to leave them without honour, nor to separate them from the commendation belonging to virgins, since the voice of the Apostle has joined them to virgins, according to what is written: The unmarried woman and the virgin cares for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit. 1 Corinthians 7:34 For in a certain manner the inculcation of virginity is strengthened by the example of widows. They who have preserved their marriage bed undefiled are a testimony to virgins that chastity is to be preserved for God. And it is almost a mark of no less virtue to abstain from marriage, which was once a delight, than to remain ignorant of the pleasures of wedlock. They are strong in each point, in that they regret not wedlock, the faith of which they keep, and entangle not themselves with wedded pleasures, lest they appear weak and not able to take care of themselves.

2. But in this particular virtue is contained also the prizes of liberty. For: The wife is bound as long as her husband lives; but if her husband fall asleep she is freed: let her marry whom she will, only in the Lord. But she will be happier if she so abide, after my judgment, for I think I also have the Spirit of God. 1 Corinthians 7:39-40 Evidently, then, the Apostle has

expressed the difference, having said that the one is bound, and stated that the other is happier, and that he asserts not so much as the result of his own judgment, as of the infusion of the Spirit of God; that the decision should be seen to be heavenly, not human.

3. And what is the teaching of the fact that at that time when the whole human race was afflicted by famine and Elias was sent to the widow? And see how for each is reserved her own special grace. An angel is sent to the Virgin, Luke 1:26-27 a prophet to the widow. Notice, farther, that in one case it is Gabriel, in the other Elisha. The most excellent chiefs of the number of angels and prophets are seen to be chosen. But there is no praise simply in widowhood, unless there be added the virtues of widowhood. For, indeed, there were many widows, but one is preferred to all, in which fact it is not so much that others are called back from their pursuit as that they are stimulated by the example of virtue.

4. What is said at first makes the ears attentive, although the simplicity itself of the understanding has weight to attract widows to the pattern of virtue; since each seems to excel, not according to her profession, but her merit, and the grace of hospitality is not lost sight of by God, Who, as He Himself related in the Gospel, rewards a cup of cold water with the exceeding recompense of eternity, and compensates the small measure of meal and oil by an unfailing abundance of plenty ever coming in. For if one of the heathen has said that all the possessions of friends should be common, how much more ought those of relatives to be common! For we are relatives who are bound into one body.

5. But we are not bound by any prescribed limit of hospitality. For why do you think that what is of this world is private property when this world is common? Or why do you consider the fruits of the earth are private, when the earth itself is common property? Behold, He said, the fowls of the air, they sow not, neither do they reap. Matthew 6:26 For to those to whom

nothing is private property nothing is wanting, and God, the master of His own word, knows how to keep His promise. Again, the birds do not gather together, and yet they eat, for our heavenly Father feeds them. But we turning aside the warnings of a general utterance to our private advantage, God says: Every tree which has in it the fruit of a tree yielding seed shall be to you for meat, and to every beast, and to every bird, and to everything that creeps upon the earth. Genesis 1:29-30 By gathering together we come to want, and by gathering together we are made empty. For we cannot hope for the promise, who keep not the saying. It is also good for us to attend to the precept of hospitality, to be ready to give to strangers, for we, too, are strangers in the world.

6. But how holy was that widow, who, when pinched by extreme hunger, observed the reverence due to God, and was not using the food for herself alone, but was dividing it with her son, that she might not outlive her dear offspring. Great is the duty of affection, but that of religion brings more return. For as no one ought to be set before her son, so the prophet of God ought to be set before her son and her preservation. For she is to be believed to have given to him not a little food, but the whole support of her life, who left nothing for herself. So hospitable was she that she gave the whole, so full of faith that she believed at once.

CHAPTER 2

The precepts of the Apostle concerning a widow indeed are laid down, such as, that she bring up children, attend to her parents, desire to please God, show herself irreproachable, set forth a ripeness of merits, have been the wife of one man. St. Ambrose notes, however, that a second marriage was not condemned by St. Paul, and adds that widows must have a good report for virtue with all. The reasons why younger widows are to be avoided, and what is meant by its being better to marry than to burn. St. Ambrose then goes on to speak of the dignity of widows, shown by the fact that any injury done to them is visited by the anger of God.

7. SO, THEN, a widow is not only marked off by bodily abstinence, but is distinguished by virtue, to whom I do not give commandments, but the Apostle. I am not the only person to do them honour, but the Doctor of the Gentiles did so first, when he said: Honour widows that are widows indeed. But if any widow have children or nephews, let her first learn to govern her own house, and to requite her parents. 1 Timothy 5:3-4 Whence we observe that each inclination of affection ought to exist in a widow, to love her children and to do her duty to her parents. So when discharging her duty to her parents she is teaching her children, and is rewarded herself by her own compliance with duty, in that what she performs for others benefits herself.

8. For this, says he, is acceptable with God. 1 Timothy 5:3-4 So that if you, O widow, carest for the things of God, you ought to follow after that which you have learned to be well pleasing to God. And, indeed, the Apostle somewhat farther back, 1 Corinthians 7:34 exhorting widows to the pursuit of continence, said that they mind the things of the Lord. But elsewhere, when a widow who is approved is to be selected, she is bidden not only to bear in mind but also to hope in the Lord: For she that is a widow indeed, it is said, and desolate, must hope in God, and be instant in

supplications and prayers night and day. 1 Timothy 5:5 And not without reason does he show that these ought to be blameless, to whom, as virtuous works are enjoined, so, too, great respect is paid, so that they are honoured even by bishops.

9. And of what kind she ought to be who is chosen the description is given in the words of the teacher himself: Not less than threescore years old, having been the wife of one man. 1 Timothy 5:9 Not that old age alone makes the widow, but that the merits of the widow are the duties of old age. For she certainly is the more noble who represses the heat of youth, and the impetuous ardour of youthful age, desiring neither the tenderness of a husband, nor the abundant delights of children, rather than one who, now worn out in body, cold in age, of ripe years, can neither grow warm with pleasures, nor hope for offspring.

10. Nor in truth is any one excluded from the devotion of widowhood, if after entering upon a second marriage, which the precepts of the Apostle certainly do not condemn as though the fruit of chastity were lost, if she be again loosed from her husband. She will have, indeed, the merit of her chastity, even if it be tardy, but she will be more approved who has tried a second marriage, for the desire of chastity is conspicuous in her, for the other old age or shame seems to have put an end to marrying.

11. Nor yet is bodily chastity alone the strong purpose of the widow, but a large and most abundant exercise of virtue. Well reported of for good works, if she have brought up children; if she have lodged strangers; if she have washed the saints' feet; if she have ministered to those suffering tribulation; if, lastly, she have followed after every good work. 1 Timothy 5:10 You see how many practices of virtue he has included. He demands, first of all, the duty of piety; secondly, the practice of hospitality and humble service; thirdly, the ministry of mercy and liberality in assisting; and, lastly, the performance of every good work.

12. And he, therefore, that the younger should be avoided, 1 Timothy 5:11 because they are not able to fulfil the requirements of so high a degree of virtue. For youth is prone to fall because the heat of various desires is inflamed by the warmth of glowing youth, and it is the part of a good doctor to keep off the materials of sin. For the first exercise in training the soul is to turn away sin, the second to implant virtue. Yet, since the Apostle knew that Anna, the widow of fourscore years, from her youth was a herald of the works of the Lord, I do not think that he thought that the younger should be excluded from the devotion of widowhood, especially as he said: It is better to marry than to burn. 1 Corinthians 7:9 For certainly he recommended marriage as a remedy, that she who would else perish might be saved; he did not prescribe the choice that one who could contain should not follow chastity, for it is one thing to succour one who is falling, another to persuade to virtue.

13. And what shall I say of human judgments, since in the judgments of God the Jews are set forth as having offended the Lord in nothing more than violating what was due to the widow and the rights of minors? This is proclaimed by the voices of the prophets as the cause which brought upon the Jews the penalty of rejection. This is mentioned as the only cause which will mitigate the wrath of God against their sin, if they honour the widow, and execute true judgment for minors, for thus we read: Judge the fatherless, deal justly with the widow, and come let us reason together, says the Lord. Isaiah 1:17 And elsewhere: The Lord shall maintain the orphan and the widow. And again: I will abundantly bless her widow. Wherein also the likeness of the Church is foreshadowed. You see, then, holy widows, that that office which is honoured by the assistance of divine grace must not be degraded by impure desire.

CHAPTER 3

St. Ambrose returns to the story of the widow of Sarepta, and shows that she represented the Church, hence that she was an example to virgins, married women, and widows. Then he refers to the prophet as setting forth Christ, inasmuch as he foretold the mysteries and the rain which was to come. Next he touches upon and explains the twofold sign of Gideon, and points out that it is not in every one's power to work miracles, and that the Incarnation of Christ and the rejection of the Jews were foreshadowed in that account.

14. TO RETURN to what was treated of above, what is the meaning of the fact that when there was a very great famine in all the land, yet the care of God was not wanting to the widow, and the prophet was sent to sustain her? And when in this story the Lord warns me that He is about to speak in truth, Luke 4:25 He seems to bid my ears attend to a mystery. For what can be more true than the mystery of Christ and the Church? Not, then, without a purpose is one preferred among many widows. Who is such an one, to whom so great a prophet who was carried up into heaven, should be guided, especially at that time when the heaven was shut for three years and six months, when there was a great famine in the whole land? The famine was everywhere, and yet notwithstanding this widow did not want. What are these three years? Are they not, perchance, those in which the Lord came to the earth and could not find fruit on the fig-tree, according to that which is written: Behold, there are three years that I came seeking fruit on this fig-tree, and find none. Luke 13:7

15. This is assuredly that widow of whom it was said: Rejoice, you barren that bear not, break forth and cry, you that availest not with child; for many are the children of the desolate, more than of her who has an husband. Isaiah 54:1 And well is she a widow of whom it is well said: You shall not

remember your shame and your widowhood, for I am the Lord Who make you. Isaiah 54:4 And perchance therefore is she a widow who has lost her Husband indeed in the suffering of His body, but in the day of judgment shall receive again the Son of Man Whom she seemed to have lost. For a short time have I forsaken you, Isaiah 54:7 He says, in order that, being forsaken, she may the more gloriously keep her faith.

16. All, then, have an example to imitate, virgins, married women, and widows. And perchance is the Church therefore a virgin, married, and a widow, because they are one body in Christ. She is then that widow for Whose sake when there was a dearth of the heavenly Word on earth, the prophets were appointed, for there was a widow who was barren, yet reserved her bringing forth for its own time.

17. So that his person does not seem to us of small account, who by his word moistened the dry earth with the dew of heaven, and unlocked the closed heavens certainly not by human power. For who is he who can open the heavens except Christ, for Whom daily out of sinners' food is gathered, an increase for the Church? For it is not in the power of man to say: The barrel of meal shall not waste, and the cruse of oil shall not fail, until the day on which the Lord shall send rain on the earth. For though it be the rule of the prophets to speak thus, the voice is in truth that of the Lord. And so it is stated first: For thus says the Lord. For it is of the Lord to vouch for a continuance of heavenly sacraments, and to promise that the grace of spiritual joy shall not fail, to grant the defences of life, the seals of faith, the gifts of virtues.

18. But what does this mean: Until the day on which the Lord shall send rain on the earth? Except that He, too, shall come down like rain upon a fleece, and like the drops that water the earth. In which passage is disclosed the mystery of the old history where Gideon, the warrior of the mystic conflict, receiving the pledge of future victory, recognized the spiritual

sacrament in the vision of his mind, that that rain was the dew of the Divine Word, which first came down on the fleece, when all the earth was parched with continual drought, and by a second true sign, moistened the floor of all the earth with a shower, while dryness was upon the fleece.

19. For the prescient man observed the sign of the future growth of the Church. For first in Judæa the dew of the divine utterance began to give moisture (for in Jewry is God known), while the whole earth remained without the dew of faith. But when Joseph's flock began to deny God, and by venturing on various enormous offenses to incur guilt before God, then when the dew of the heavenly shower was poured on the whole earth, the people of the Jews began to grow dry and parched in their own unbelief, when the clouds of prophecy and the healthful shower of the Apostles watered the holy Church gathered together from all parts of the world. This is that rain, now condensed from earthly moisture, now from mountain mists, but diffused throughout the whole world in the salutary shower of the heavenly Scriptures.

20. By this example, then, it is shown that not all can merit the miracles of divine power, but they who are aided by the pursuits of religious devotion, and that they lose the fruits of divine working who are devoid of reverence for heaven. It is also shown in a mystery that the Son of God, in order to restore the Church, took upon Himself the mystery of a human body, casting off the Jewish people, from whom the counsellor and the prophet and the miracles of the divine benefits were taken away, Isaiah 3:2 because that as it were by a kind of national blemish they were not willing to believe in the Son of God.

CHAPTER 4

By the example of Anna St. Ambrose shows what ought to be the life of widows, and shows that she was an example of chastity at every age. From this he argues that there are three degrees of the same virtue, all of which are included in the Church, and sets forth several examples in Mary, in Anna, and in Susanna. But, he adds, the state of virginity is superior to either of the others, but that a widow ought to take greater care for the preservation of her good name.

21. SCRIPTURE THEN teaches as how much grace is conferred by unity, and how great is the gift of divine blessing in widows. And since such honour is given them by God, we must observe what mode of life corresponds thereto; for Anna shows what widows ought to be, who, left destitute by the early death of her husband, yet obtained the reward of full praise, being intent not less on the duties of religion than on the pursuit of chastity. A widow, it is said, of fourscore and four years, a widow who departed not from the temple, a widow who served God night and day with fastings and with prayers. Luke 2:36-37

22. You see what sort of person a widow is said to be, the wife of one man, tested also by the progress of age, vigorous in religion, and worn out in body, whose resting-place is the temple, whose conversation is prayer, whose life is fasting, who in the times of day and night by a service of unwearied devotion, though the body acknowledge old age, yet knows no age in her piety. Thus is a widow trained from her youth, thus is she spoken of in her age, who has kept her widowhood not through the chance of time, nor through weakness of body, but by large-heartedness in virtue. For when it is said that she was for seven years from her virginity with her husband, it is a setting forth that the things which are the support of her old age began in the aims of her youth.

23. And so we are taught that the virtue of chastity is threefold, one kind that of married life, a second that of widowhood, and the third that of virginity, for we do not so set forth one as to exclude others. These result each in that which belongs to each. The training of the Church is rich in this, that it has those whom it may set before others, but has none whom it rejects, and would that it never could have any! We have so spoken of virginity as not to reject widowhood, we so reverence widows as to reserve its own honour for wedlock. It is not our precepts but the divine sayings which teach this.

24. Let us remember then how Mary, how Anna, and how Susanna are spoken of. But since not only must we celebrate their praises but also follow their manner of life, let us remember where Susanna, and Anna, Luke 2:37 and Mary Luke 1:28 are found, and observe how each is spoken of with her special commendation, and where each is mentioned, she that is married in the garden, the widow in the temple, the virgin in her secret chamber.

25. But in the former the fruit is later, in virginity it is earlier; old age proves them, virginity is the praise of youth, and does not need the help of years, being the fruit of every age. It becomes early years, it adorns youth, it adds to the dignity of age, and at all ages it has the gray hairs of its righteousness, the ripeness of its gravity, the veil of modesty, which does hinder devotion and increases religion. For we see by what follows that holy Mary went every year with Joseph to Jerusalem on the solemn day of the passover. Luke 2:41 Everywhere in company with the Virgin is eager devotion and a zealous sharer of her chastity. Nor is the Mother of the Lord puffed up, as though secure of her own merits, but the more she recognized her merit, the more fully did she pay her vows, the more abundantly did she perform her service, the more fully did she discharge her office, the more religiously did she perform her duty and fill up the mystic time.

26. How much more then does it beseem you to be intent on the pursuit of chastity, lest you leave any place for unfavourable opinion who have the evidence of your modesty and your behaviour alone. For a virgin, though in her also character rather than the body has the first claim, puts away calumny by the integrity of her body, a widow who has lost the assistance of being able to prove her virginity undergoes the inquiry as to her chastity not according to the word of a midwife, but according to her own manner of life. Scripture, then, has shown how attentive and religious should be the disposition of a widow.

CHAPTER 5

Liberality to the poor is recommended by the example of the widow the Gospel, whose two mites were preferred to the large gifts of the rich. The two mites are treated as mystically representing the two Testaments. What that treasure is for which we are taught to offer, after the example of the wise men, three gifts, or after that of the widow, two. St. Ambrose concludes the chapter by an exhortation to widows to be zealous in good works.

27. IN THE same book, too, but in another place, we are taught how fitting it is to be merciful and liberal towards the poor, and that this feeling should not be checked by the consideration of our poverty, since liberality is determined not by the amount of our possessions, but by the disposition of giving. For by the voice of the Lord that widow is preferred to all of whom it was said: This widow has cast in more than all. Luke 21:3 In which instance the Lord characteristically teaches all, that none should be held back from giving assistance through shame at his own poverty, and that the rich should not flatter themselves that they seem to give more than the poor. For the piece of money out of a small stock is richer than treasures out of abundance, because it is not the amount that is given but the amount that remains which is considered. No one gives more than she who has left nothing for herself.

28. Why do you, rich woman, boast yourself by comparison with the poor, and when you are all loaded with gold, and drag along the ground a costly robe, desire to be honoured as though she were inferior and small in comparison with your riches, because you have surpassed the needy with your gifts? Rivers too overflow, when they are too full, but a draught from a brook is more pleasant. New wine foams while fermenting, and the husbandman does not consider as lost that which runs over. While the

harvest is being threshed out, grains of grain fall from the groaning floor; but though the harvests fail, the barrel of meal wastes not, and the cruse full of oil gives forth. But the draught emptied the casks of the rich, while the tiny cruse of oil of the widow gave abundance. That, then, is to be reckoned which you give for devotion, not what you cast forth disdainfully. For in fine, no one gave more than she who fed the prophet with her children's nourishment. And so since no one gave more, no one had greater merit. This has a moral application.

29. And considering the mystical sense, one must not despise this woman casting in two mites into the treasury. Plainly the woman was noble who in the divine judgment was found worthy to be preferred to all. Perchance it is she who of her faith has given two testaments for the help of man, and so no one has done more. Nor could any one equal the amount of her gift, who joined faith with mercy. Do you, then, whoever you are, who exercise your life the practice of widowhood, not hesitate to cast into the treasury the two mites, full of faith and grace.

30. Happy is she who out of her treasure brings forth the perfect image of the King. Your treasure is wisdom, your treasure is chastity and righteousness, your treasure is a good understanding, such as was that treasure from which the Magi, when they worshipped the Lord, brought forth gold, frankincense, and myrrh; Matthew 2:11 setting forth by gold the power of a king, venerating God by the frankincense, and by myrrh acknowledging the resurrection of the body. You too have this treasure if you look into yourself: For we have this treasure in earthen vessels. 2 Corinthians 4:7 You have gold which you can give, for God does not exact of you the precious gift of shining metal, but that gold which at the day of judgment the fire shall be unable to consume. Nor does He require precious gifts, but the good odour of faith, which the altars of your heart send forth and the disposition of a religious mind exhales.

31. From this treasure, then, not only the three gifts of the Magi but also the two mites of the widow are taken, on which the perfect image of the heavenly King shines forth, the brightness of His glory and the image of His substance. Precious, too, are those hardly earned gains of chastity which the widow gives of her labour and daily task, continually night and day working at her task, and by the wakeful labour of her profitable chastity gathering treasure; that she may preserve the couch of her deceased husband unviolated, be able to support her dear children, and to minister to the poor. She is to be preferred to the rich, she it is who shall not fear the judgment of Christ.

32. Strive to equal her, my daughters: It is good to be zealously affected in a good thing. Galatians 4:18 Covet earnestly the best gifts. 1 Corinthians 12:31 The Lord is ever looking upon you, Jesus looks upon you when He goes to the treasury, and you think that of the gain of your good works assistance is to be given to those in need. What is it, then, that you should give your two mites and gain in return the Lord's Body? Go not, then, empty into the sight of the Lord your God, Exodus 34:20 empty of mercy, empty of faith, empty of chastity; for the Lord Jesus is wont to look upon and to commend not the empty, but those who are rich in virtues. Let the maiden see you at work, let her see you ministering to others. For this is the return which you owe to God, that you should make your return to God from the progress of others. No return is more acceptable to God than the offerings of piety.

CHAPTER 6

Naomi is an instance of a widow receiving back from her daughter-in-law the fruits of her own good training, and is a token that necessary support will never fail the good widow. And if her life appears sad, she is happy, since the promises of the Lord are made to her. St. Ambrose then touches upon the benefits of weeping.

33. DOES THE widow Naomi seem to you of small account, who supported her widowhood on the gleanings from another's harvest, and who, when heavy with age, was supported by her daughter-in-law? Ruth 2:2 It is a great benefit both for the support and for the advantage of widows, that they so train their daughters-in-law as to have in them a support in full old age, and, as it were, payment for their teaching and reward for their training. For to her who has well taught and well instructed her daughter-in-law a Ruth will never be wanting who will prefer the widowed life of her mother-in-law to her father's house, and if her husband also be dead, will not leave her, will support her in need, comfort her in sorrow, and not leave her if sent away; for good instruction will never know want. So that Naomi, deprived of her husband and her two sons, having lost the offspring of her fruitfulness, lost not the reward of her pious care, for she found both a comfort in sorrow and a support in poverty.

34. You see, then, holy women, how fruitful a widow is in the offspring of virtues, and the results of her own merits, which cannot come to an end. A good widow, then, knows no want, and if she be weary through age, in extreme poverty, yet she has as a rule the reward of the training she has given. Though the nearest to herself have failed, she finds those not so near akin to cherish their mother, revere their parent, and by the trifling gifts for

her support desire to gain the fruit of their own kindness, for richly are gifts to a widow repaid. She asks food and pays back treasures.

35. But she seems to spend sad days, and to pass her time in tears. And she is the more blessed in this, for by a little weeping she purchases for herself everlasting joys, and at the cost of a few moments gains eternity. To such it is well said: Blessed are you that weep, for you shall laugh. Luke 6:21 Who then would prefer the deceitful appearances of present joys to the pleasure of future freedom from anxiety? Does he seem to us an insignificant authority, the elect forefather of the Lord after the flesh, who ate ashes as it were bread, and mingled his drink with weeping, and by his tears at night gained for himself the joy of redemption in the morning? Whence did he gain that great joy except that he greatly wept, and, as it were, at the price of his tears obtained the grace of future glory for himself.

36. The widow has, then, this excellent recommendation, that while she mourns her husband she also weeps for the world, and the redeeming tears are ready, which shed for the dead will benefit the living. The weeping of the eyes is fitted to the sadness of the mind, it arouses pity, lessens labour, relieves grief, and preserves modesty, and she no longer seems to herself so wretched, finding comfort in tears which are the pay of love and proofs of pious memory.

CHAPTER 7

By the example of Judith is shown that courage is not wanting in widows; her preparation for her visit to Holofernes is dwelt upon, as also her chastity and her wisdom, her sobriety and moderation. Lastly, St. Ambrose, after demonstrating that she was no less brave than prudent, sets forth her modesty after her success.

37. BUT BRAVERY also is usually not wanting to a good widow. For this is true bravery, which surpasses the usual nature and the weakness of the sex by the devotion of the mind, such as was in her who was named Judith, who of herself alone was able to rouse up from utter prostration and defend from the enemy men broken down by the siege, smitten with fear, and pining with hunger. For she, as we read, when Holofernes, dreaded after his success in so many battles, had driven countless thousands of men within the walls; when the armed men were afraid, and were already treating about the final surrender, went forth outside the wall, both excelling that army which she delivered, and braver than that which she put to flight.

38. But in order to learn the dispositions of ripe widowhood, run through the course of the Scriptures. From the time when her husband died she laid aside the garments of mirth, and took those of mourning. Every day she was intent on fasting except on the Sabbath and the Lord's Day and the times of holy days, not as yielding to desire of refreshment, but out of respect for religion. For this is that which is said: Whether you eat or drink, all is to be done in the name of Jesus Christ, 1 Corinthians 10:31 that even the very refreshment of the body is to have respect to the worship of holy religion. So then, holy Judith, strengthened by lengthened mourning and by daily fasting, sought not the enjoyments of the world regardless of danger, and strong in her contempt for death. In order to accomplish her stratagem she

put on that robe of mirth, wherewith in her husband's lifetime she was wont to be clothed, as though she would give pleasure to her husband, if she freed her country. But she saw another man whom she was seeking to please, even Him, of Whom it is said: After me comes a Man Who is preferred before me. John 1:30 And she did well in resuming her bridal ornaments when about to fight, for the reminders of wedlock are the arms of chastity, and in no other way could a widow please or gain the victory.

39. Why relate the sequel? How she among thousands of enemies, remained chaste. Why speak of her wisdom, in that she designed such a scheme? She chose out the commander, to ward off from herself the insolence of inferiors, and prepare an opportunity for victory. She reserved the merit of abstinence and the grace of chastity. For unpolluted, as we read, either by food or by adultery, she gained no less a triumph over the enemy by preserving her chastity than by delivering her country.

40. What shall I say of her sobriety? Temperance, indeed, is the virtue of women. When the men were intoxicated with wine and buried in sleep, the widow took the sword, put forth her hand, cut off the warrior's head, and passed unharmed through the midst of the ranks of the enemy. You notice, then, how much drunkenness can injure a woman, seeing that wine so weakens men that they are overcome by women. Let a widow, then, be temperate, pure in the first place from wine, that she may be pure from adultery. He will tempt you in vain, if wine tempts you not. For if Judith had drunk she would have slept with the adulterer. But because she drank not, the sobriety of one without difficulty was able both to overcome and to escape from a drunken army.

41. And this was not so much a work of her hands, as much more a trophy of her wisdom. For having overcome Holofernes by her hand alone, she overcame the whole army of the enemies by her wisdom. For hanging up the head of Holofernes, a deed which the wisdom of the men had been

unable to plan, she raised the courage of her countrymen, and broke down that of the enemy. She stirred up her own friends by her modesty, and struck terror into the enemy so that they were put to flight and slain. And so the temperance and sobriety of one widow not only subdued her own nature, but, which is far more, even made men more brave.

42. And yet she was not so elated by this success, though she might well rejoice and exult by right of her victory, as to give up the exercises of her widowhood, but refusing all who desired to wed her she laid aside her garments of mirth and took again those of her widowhood, not caring for the adornments of her triumph, thinking those things better whereby vices of the body are subdued than those whereby the weapons of an enemy are overcome.

CHAPTER 8

Though many other widows came near to Judith in virtue, St. Ambrose proposes to speak of Deborah only. What a pattern of virtue she must have been for widows, who was chosen to govern and defend men. It was no small glory to her that when her son was over the host he refused to go forth to battle unless she would go also. So that she led the army and foretold the result. In this story the conflicts and triumphs of the Church, and her spiritual weapons, are set forth, and every excuse of weakness is taken from women.

43. AND IN order that it may not seem as if only one widow had fulfilled this inimitable work, it seems in no way doubtful that there were many others of equal or almost equal virtue, for good seed grain usually bears many ears filled with grains. Doubt not, then, that that ancient seed-time was fruitful in the characters of many women. But as it would be tedious to include all, consider some, and especially Deborah, whose virtue Scripture records for us.

44. For she showed not only that widows have no need of the help of a man, inasmuch as she, not at all restrained by the weakness of her sex, undertook to perform the duties of a man, and did even more than she had undertaken. And, at last, when the Jews were being ruled under the leadership of the judges, because they could not govern them with manly justice, or defend them with manly strength, and so wars broke out on all sides, they chose Deborah, by whose judgment they might be ruled. And so one widow both ruled many thousands of men in peace, and defended them from the enemy. There were many judges in Israel, but no woman before was a judge, as after Joshua there were many judges but none was a prophet. And I think that her judgeship has been narrated, and her deeds described, that women should not be restrained from deeds of valour by the

weakness of their sex. A widow, she governs the people; a widow, she leads armies; a widow, she chooses generals; a widow, she determines wars and orders triumphs. So, then, it is not nature which is answerable for the fault or which is liable to weakness. It is not sex, but valour which makes strong.

45. And in time of peace there is no complaint, and no fault is found in this woman whereas most of the judges were causes of no small sins to the people. But when the Canaanites, a people fierce in battle and rich in troops, successively joined them, showed a horrible disposition against the people of the Jews, this widow, before all others, made all the preparations for war. And to show that the needs of the household were not dependent on the public resources, but rather that public duties were guided by the discipline of home life, she brings forth from her home her son as leader of the army, that we may acknowledge that a widow can train a warrior; whom, as a mother, she taught, and, as judge, placed in command, as, being herself brave, she trained him, and, as a prophetess, sent to certain victory.

46. And lastly, her son Barak shows the chief part of the victory was in the hands of a woman when he said: If you will not go with me I will not go, for I know not the day on which the Lord sends His angel with me. How great, then, was the might of that woman to whom the leader of the army says, If you will not go I will not go. How great, I say, the fortitude of the widow who keeps not back her son from dangers through motherly affection, but rather with the zeal of a mother exhorts her son to go forth to victory, while saying that the decisive point of that victory is in the hand of a woman!

47. So, then, Deborah foretold the event of the battle. Barak, as he was bidden, led forth the army; Jael carried off the triumph, for the prophecy of Deborah fought for her, who in a mystery revealed to us the rising of the Church from among the Gentiles, for whom should be found a triumph over Sisera, that is, over the powers opposed to her. For us, then, the oracles of

the prophets fought, for us those judgments and arms of the prophets won the victory. And for this reason it was not the people of the Jews but Jael who gained the victory over the enemy. Unhappy, then, was that people which could not follow up by the virtue of faith the enemy, whom it had put to flight. And so by their fault salvation came to the Gentiles, by their sluggishness the victory was reserved for us.

48. Jael then destroyed Sisera, whom however the band of Jewish veterans had put to flight under their brilliant leader, for this is the interpretation of the name Barak; for often, as we read, the sayings and merits of the prophets procured heavenly aid for the fathers. But even at that time was victory being prepared over spiritual wickedness for those to whom it is said in the Gospel: Come, you blessed of My Father, take possession of the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. Matthew 25:34 So the commencement of the victory was from the Fathers, its conclusion is in the Church.

49. But the Church does not overcome the powers of the enemy with weapons of this world, but with spiritual arms, which are mighty through God to the destruction of strongholds and the high places of spiritual wickedness. 2 Corinthians 10:4 And Sisera's thirst was quenched with a bowl of milk, because he was overcome by wisdom, for what is healthful for us as food is deadly and weakening to the power of the enemy. The weapons of the Church are faith, the weapons of the Church are prayer, which overcomes the enemy.

50. And so according to this history a woman, that the minds of women might be stirred up, became a judge, a woman set all in order, a woman prophesied, a woman triumphed, and joining in the battle array taught men to war under a woman's lead. But in a mystery it is the battle of faith and the victory of the Church.

51. You, then, who are women have no excuse because of your nature. You who are widows have no excuse because of the weakness of your sex, nor can you attribute your changeableness to the loss of the support of a husband. Every one has sufficient protection if courage is not wanting to the soul. And the very advance of age is a common defense of chastity for widows; and grief for the husband who is lost, regular work, the care of the house, anxiety for children, frequently ward off wantonness hurtful to the soul; while the very mourning attire, the funeral solemnities, the constant weeping, and grief impressed on the sad brow in deep wrinkles, restrains wanton eyes, checks lust, turns away forward looks. The sorrow of regretful affection is a good guardian of chastity, guilt cannot find an entrance if vigilance be not wanting.

CHAPTER 9

To an objection that the state of widowhood might indeed be endurable if circumstances were pleasant, St. Ambrose replies that pleasant surroundings are more dangerous than even trouble; and goes to show by examples taken from holy Scripture, that widows may find much happiness in their children and their sons-in-law. They should have recourse to the Apostles, who are able to help us, and should entreat for the intercessions of angels and martyrs. He touches then on certain complaints respecting loneliness, and care of property, and ends by pointing out the unseemliness of a widow marrying who has daughters either married already or of marriageable age.

52. YOU HAVE learned, then, you who are widows, that you are not destitute of the help of nature, and that you can maintain sound counsel. Nor, again, are you devoid of protection at home, who are able to claim even the highest point of public power.

53. But perhaps some one may say that widowhood is more endurable for her who enjoys prosperity, but that widows are soon broken down by adversity, and easily succumb. On which point not only are we taught by experience that enjoyment is more perilous for widows than difficulties, but by the examples in the Scriptures that even in weakness widows are not usually without aid, 1 Timothy 5:16 and that divine and human support is furnished more readily to them than to others, if they have brought up children and chosen sons-in-law well. And, finally, when Simon's mother-in-law was lying sick with violent fever, Peter and Andrew besought the Lord for her: And He stood over her and commanded the fever and it left her, and immediately she arose and ministered unto them. Luke 4:39

54. She was taken, it is said, with a great fever, and they besought him for her. Luke 4:38 You too have those near you to entreat for you. You have the Apostles near, you have the Martyrs near; if associated with the Martyrs

in devotion, you draw near them also by works of mercy. Do you show mercy and you will be close to Peter. It is not relationship by blood but affinity of virtue which makes near, for we walk not in the flesh but in the Spirit. Cherish, then, the nearness of Peter and the affinity of Andrew, that they may pray for you and your lusts give way. Touched by the word of God you, who lay on the earth, will then immediately rise up to minister to Christ. For our conversation is in heaven, whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ. Philippians 3:20 For no one lying down can minister to Christ. Minister to the poor and you have ministered to Christ. For what you have done unto one of these, He says, you have done unto Me. Matthew 25:40 You, widows, have then assistance, if you choose such sons-in-law for yourselves, such patrons and friends for your posterity.

55. So Peter and Andrew prayed for the widow. Would that there were some one who could so quickly pray for us, or better still, they who prayed for the mother-in-law, Peter and Andrew his brother. Then they could pray for one related to them, now they are able to pray for us and for all. For you see that one bound by great sin is less fit to pray for herself, certainly less likely to obtain for herself. Let her then make use of others to pray for her to the physician. For the sick, unless the physician be called to them by the prayers of others, cannot pray for themselves. The flesh is weak, the soul is sick and hindered by the chains of sins, and cannot direct its feeble steps to the throne of that physician. The angels must be entreated for us, who have been to us as guards; the martyrs must be entreated, whose patronage we seem to claim for ourselves by the pledge as it were of their bodily remains. They can entreat for our sins, who, if they had any sins, washed them in their own blood; for they are the martyrs of God, our leaders, the beholders of our life and of our actions. Let us not be ashamed to take them as intercessors for our weakness, for they themselves knew the weaknesses of the body, even when they overcame.

56. So, then, Peter's mother-in-law found some to pray for her. And you, O widow, find those who will pray for you, if as a true widow and desolate you hope in God, continue instant in supplications, persist in prayers, 1 Timothy 5:5 treat your body as dying daily, that by dying you may live again; avoid pleasures, that you, too, being sick, may be healed. For she that lives in pleasure is dead while she lives. 1 Timothy 5:6

57. You have no longer any reason for marrying, you have some to intercede for you. Say not, I am desolate. This is the complaint of one who wishes to marry. Say not, I am alone. Chastity seeks solitude: the modest seek privacy, the immodest company. But you have necessary business; you have also one to plead for you. You are afraid of your adversary; the Lord Himself will intervene with the judge and say: Judge for the fatherless, and justify the widow. Isaiah 1:17

58. But you wish to take care of your inheritance. The inheritance of modesty is greater, and this a widow can guard better than one married. A slave has done wrong. Forgive him, for it is better that you should bear with another's fault than expose it. But you wish to marry. Be it so. The simple desire is no crime. I do not ask the reason, why is one invented? If you think it good, say so; if unsuitable, be silent. Do not blame God, do not blame your relatives, saying that protection fails you. Would that the wish did not fail! And say not that you are consulting the interests of your children, whom you are depriving of their mother.

59. There are some things permissible in the abstract, but not permissible on account of age. Why is the bridal of the mother being prepared at the same time with that of the daughters, and often even afterwards? Why does the grown-up daughter learn to blush in the presence of her mother's betrothed rather than her own? I confess that I advised you to change your dress, but not to put on a bridal veil; to go away from the tomb, not to prepare a bridal couch. What is the meaning of a newly-married woman

who already has sons-in-law? How unseemly it is to have children younger than one’s grand-children!

CHAPTER 10

St. Ambrose returns again to the subject of Christ, speaking of His goodness in all misery. The various ways in which the good Physician treats our diseases, and the quickness of the healing if only we do not neglect to call upon Him. He touches upon the moral meaning of the will, which he shows was manifested in Peter's mother-in-law, and lastly points out what a minister of Christ and specially a bishop ought to be, and says that they specially must rise through grace.

60. BUT LET us return to the point, and not, while we are grieving over the wounds of our sins, leave the physician, and while ministering to the sores of others, let our own go on increasing. The Physician is then here asked for. Do not fear, because the Lord is great, that perhaps He will not condescend to come to one who is sick, for He often comes to us from heaven; and is wont to visit not only the rich but also the poor and the servants of the poor. Luke 4:18 And so now He comes, when called upon, to Peter's mother-in-law. And He stood over her and rebuked the fever, and it left her, and immediately she arose and ministered unto them. Luke 4:38 As He is worthy of being remembered, so, too, is He worthy of being longed for, worthy, too, of love, for His condescension to every single matter which affects men, and His marvellous acts. He disdains not to visit widows, and to enter the narrow rooms of a poor cottage. As God He commands, as man He visits.

61. Thanks be to the Gospel, by means of which we also, who saw not Christ when He came into this world, seem to be with Him when we read His deeds, that as they, to whom He drew near, borrowed faith from Him, so may He, when we believe His deeds, draw near to us.

62. Do you see what kinds of healing are with Him? He commands the fever, He commands the unclean spirits, at another place He lays hands on

them. He was wont then to heal the sick, not only by word but also by touch. And do you then, who burn with many desires, taken either by the beauty or by the fortune of some one, implore Christ, call in the Physician, stretch forth your right hand to Him, let the hand of God touch your inmost being, and the grace of the heavenly Word enter the veins of your inward desires, let God's right hand strike the secrets of your heart. He spreads clay on the eyes of some that they may see, John 9:6 and the Creator of all teaches us that we ought to be mindful of our own nature, and to discern the vileness of our body; for no one can see divine things except one who through knowledge of his vileness cannot be puffed up. Another is bidden to show himself to the priest, that he may for ever be free from the scales of leprosy. Luke 5:14 For he alone can preserve his purity, both of body and soul, who knows how to show himself to that priest, Whom we have received as an Advocate for our sins, and to Whom is plainly said: You are a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech.

63. And be not afraid that there will be any delay in healing. He who is healed by Christ has no hindrances. You must use the remedy which you have received; and as soon as He has given the command, the blind man sees, the paralytic walks, the dumb speaks, the deaf hears, she that has a fever ministers, the lunatic is delivered. And do you, then, who ever after an unseemly fashion languish for desire of anything, entreat the Lord, show Him your faith, and fear no delay. Where there is prayer, the Word is present, desire is put to flight, lust departs. And be not afraid of offending by confession, take it rather as a right, for you who were before afflicted by an intense disease of the body will begin to minister to Christ.

64. And in this place can be seen the disposition of the will of Peter's mother-in-law, from which she received for herself, as it were, the seed grain of what was to come, for to each his will is the cause of that which is to come. For from the will springs wisdom, which the wise man takes in

marriage to himself, saying: I desire to make her my spouse. Wisdom 8:2 This will, then, which at first was weak and languid under the fever of various desires, afterwards by the office of the apostles rose up strong to minister unto Christ.

65. At the same time it is also shown what he ought to be who ministers to Christ, for first he must be free from the enticements of various pleasures, he must be free from inward languor of body and soul, that he may minister the Body and Blood of Christ. For no one who is sick with his own sins, and far from being whole, can minister the remedies of the healing of immortality. See what you do, O priest, and touch not the Body of Christ with a fevered hand. First be healed that you may be able to minister. If Christ bids those who are now cleansed, but were once leprous, to show themselves to the priests, Luke 17:14 how much more is it fitting for the priest himself to be pure. That widow, then, cannot take it ill that I have not spared her, since I spare not myself.

66. Peter’s mother-in-law, it is written, rose up and ministered to them. Well is it said, rose up, for the grace of the apostleship was already furnishing a type of the sacrament. It is proper to the ministers of Christ to rise, according to that which is written: Awake, you that sleep, and arise from the dead. Ephesians 5:14

CHAPTER 11

Having shown that the pretexts usually alleged for second marriages have no weight, St. Ambrose declares that he does not condemn them, though from the Apostle's words he sets forth their inconveniences, though the state of those twice married is approved in the Church, and he takes occasion to advert to those heretics who forbid them. And he says that it is because the strength of different persons varies that chastity is not commanded, but only recommended.

67. I SAY, then, that widows who have been in the habit of giving neither are in want of their necessary expenses, nor of help, who in very great dangers have often guarded the resources of their husbands; and further, I think that the good offices of a husband are usually made up for to them by sons-in-law and other relatives, and that God's mercy is more ready to help them, and therefore, when there is no special cause for marrying, the desire of so doing should not exist.

68. This, however, I say as a counsel, we do not order it as a precept, stirring up the wills of widows rather than binding them. For I do not forbid second marriages, only I do not advise them. The consideration of human weakness is one thing, the grace of chastity is another. I say more, I do not forbid second, but do not approve of often repeated marriages, for not everything is expedient which is lawful: All things are lawful to me, says the Apostle, but all things are not expedient. 1 Corinthians 6:12 As, also, to drink wine is lawful, but, for the most part, it is not expedient.

69. It is then lawful to marry, but it is more seemly to abstain, for there are bonds in marriage. Do you ask what bonds? The woman who is under a husband is bound by the law so long as her husband lives; but if her husband be dead she is loosed from the law of her husband. Romans 7:2 It is then proved that marriage is a bond by which the woman is bound and

from which she is loosed. Beautiful is the grace of mutual love, but the bondage is more constant. The wife has not power of her own body, but the husband. 1 Corinthians 7:4 And lest this bondage should seem to be rather one of sex than of marriage, there follows: Likewise, also, the husband has not power of his own body, but the wife. How great; then, is the constraint in marriage, which subjects even the stronger to the other; for by mutual constraint each is bound to serve. Nor if one wishes to refrain can he withdraw his neck from the yoke, for he is subject to the incontinence of the other. It is said: You are bought with a price, be not servants of men. 1 Corinthians 7:23 You see how plainly the servitude of marriage is defined. It is not I who say this, but the Apostle; or, rather, it is not he, but Christ, Who spoke in him. And he spoke of this servitude in the case of good married people. For above you read: The unbelieving husband is sanctified by his believing wife; and the unbelieving wife by her believing husband. 1 Corinthians 7:14 And further on: But if the unbelieving depart, let him depart. A brother or a sister is not bound in such cases. 1 Corinthians 7:15 If, then, a good marriage is servitude, what is a bad one, when they cannot sanctify, but destroy one another?

70. But as I exhort widows to keep the grace of their gift, so, too, I incite women to observe ecclesiastical discipline, for the Church is made up of all. Though it be the flock of Christ, yet some are fed on strong food, others are still nourished with milk, who must be on their guard against those wolves who are hidden in sheep’s clothing, pretending to all appearance of continence, but inciting to the foulness of incontinence. For they know how severe are the burdens of chastity, since they cannot touch them with the tips of their fingers; they require of others that which is above measure, when they themselves cannot even observe any measure, but rather give way under the cruel weight. For the measure of the burden must always be according to the strength of him who has to bear it; otherwise, where the

bearer is weak, he breaks down with the burden laid upon him; for too strong meat chokes the throats of infants.

71. And so as in a multitude of bearers their strength is not estimated by that of a few; nor do the stronger receive their tasks in accordance with the weakness of others, but each is allowed to bear as great a burden as he desires, the reward increasing with the increase of strength; so, too, a snare is not to be set for women, nor a burden of continence beyond their strength to be taken up, but it must be left to each to weigh the matter for herself, not compelled by the authority of any command, but incited by increase of grace. And so for different degrees of virtue a different reward is set forth, and one thing is not blamed that another may be praised; but all are spoken of, in order that what is best may be preferred.

CHAPTER 12

The difference between matters of precept and of counsel is treated of, as shown in the case of the young man in the Gospel, and the difference of the rewards set forth both for counsels and precepts is spoken of.

72. MARRIAGE, THEN, is honourable, but chastity is more honourable, for he that gives his virgin in marriage does well, but he that gives her not in marriage does better. 1 Corinthians 7:28 That, then, which is good need not be avoided, but that which is better should be chosen. And so it is not laid upon any, but set before him. And, therefore, the Apostle said well: Concerning virgins I have no commandment of the Lord, yet I give my counsel. 1 Corinthians 7:25 For a command is issued to those subject, counsel is given to friends. Where there is a commandment, there is a law; where counsel, there is grace. A commandment is given to enforce what is according to nature, a counsel to incite us to follow grace. And, therefore, the Law was given to the Jews, but grace was reserved for the elect. The Law was given that, through fear of punishment, it might recall those who were wandering beyond the limits of nature, to their observance, but grace to incite the elect both by the desire of good things, and also by the promised rewards.

73. You will see the difference between precept and counsel, if you remember the case of him in the Gospel, to whom it is first commanded to do no murder, not to commit adultery, not to bear false witness; for that is a commandment which has a penalty for its transgression. But when he said that he had fulfilled all the commandments of the Law, there is given to him a counsel that he should sell all that he had and follow the Lord, Matthew

19:18-21 for these things are not imposed as commands, but are offered as counsels. For there are two ways of commanding things, one by way of precept, the other by way of counsel. And so the Lord in one way says: You shall not kill, where He gives a commandment; in the other He says: If you will be perfect, sell all that you have. He is, then, not bound by a commandment to whom the choice is left.

74. And so they who have fulfilled the commandments are able to say: We are unprofitable servants, we have done that which was our duty to do. Luke 17:10 The virgin does not say this, nor he who sold all his goods, but they rather await the stored-up rewards like the holy Apostle who says: Behold we have forsaken all and followed You, what shall we have therefore? Matthew 19:27 He says not, like the unprofitable servant, that he has done that which was his duty to do, but as being profitable to his Master, because he has multiplied the talents entrusted to him by the increase he has gained, having a good conscience, and without anxiety as to his merits he expects the reward of his faith and virtue. And so it is said to him and the others: You which have followed Me, in the regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit in the throne of His glory, shall also yourselves sit upon twelve thrones, judging the tribes of Israel. Matthew 19:28 And to those who had faithfully preserved their talents He promises rewards indeed, though smaller saying: Because you have been faithful over a few things, I will make you ruler over many things. Matthew 25:21 Good faith, then, is due, but mercy is in the rewards. He who has kept good faith has deserved that good faith should be kept with him; he who has made good profit, because he has not sought his own benefit, has gained a claim to a heavenly reward.

CHAPTER 13

St. Ambrose, treating of the words in the Gospel concerning eunuchs, condemns those who make themselves such. Those only deserve praise who have through continence gained the victory over themselves, but no one is to be compelled to live this life, as neither Christ nor the Apostle laid down such a law, so that the marriage vow is not to be blamed, though that of chastity is better.

75. SO, THEN, a commandment to this effect is not given, but a counsel is. Chastity is commanded, entire continence counselled. But all men cannot receive this saying, but they to whom it is given. For there are eunuchs which were so born from their mothers womb, Matthew 25:11-12 in whom exists a natural necessity not the virtue of chastity. And there are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs, of their own will, that is, not of necessity. And there are eunuchs which were made eunuchs of men.... And, therefore, great is the grace of continence in them, because it is the will, not incapacity, which makes a man continent. For it is seemly to preserve the gift of divine working whole. And let them not think it too little not to be impeded by the inclination of the body, for if the reward for going through that conflict is taken from their reach, the matter of sin is also removed, and though they cannot receive the crown, no more can they be overcome. They have other kinds of virtues by which they ought to commend themselves if their faith be firm, their mercifulness abundant, avarice far from them, grace abundant. But in them there is no fault, for they are ignorant of the act of sin.

76. The case is not the same of those who mutilate themselves, and I touch upon this point advisedly, for there are some who look upon it as a holy deed to check by the evil violence of this sort. And though I am not willing to express my own opinion concerning them, though decisions of

our forefathers are in existence; but then consider whether this tends not rather to a declaration of weakness than to a reputation for strength. On this principle no one should fight lest he be overcome, nor make use of his feet, fearing the danger of stumbling, nor let his eyes do their office because he fears a fall through lust. But what does it profit to cut the flesh, when there may be guilt even in a look? For whosoever looks on a woman to lust after her has committed adultery already with her in his heart. Matthew 5:28 And likewise she who looks on a man to lust after him commits adultery. It becomes us, then, to be chaste, not weak, to have our eyes modest, not feeble.

77. No one, then, ought, as many suppose, to mutilate himself, but rather gain the victory; for the Church gathers in those who conquer, not those who are defeated. And why should I use arguments when the words of the Apostle's command are at hand? For you find it thus written: I would that they were mutilated who desire that you should be circumcised. For why should the means of gaining a crown and of the practice of virtue be lost to a man who is born to honour, equipped for victory? How can he through courage of soul mutilate himself? There be eunuchs which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. Matthew 19:12

78. This, however, is not a commandment given to all, but a wish set before all. For he who commands must always keep to the exact scope of the commandments, and he who distributes tasks must observe equity in looking into them, for: A false balance is abomination to the Lord. Proverbs 11:1 There is, then, an excess and a defect in weight, but the Church accepts neither, for: Excessive and defective weights and various measures, both of them are alike abominable in the sight of the Lord. Proverbs 20:10 There are tasks which wisdom apportions, and apportions according to the estimate of the virtue and strength of each. He that is able to receive it let him receive it. Matthew 19:12

79. For the Creator of all knows that the dispositions of each are different, and therefore incited virtue by rewards, instead of binding weakness by chains. And he, the teacher of the Gentiles, the good guide of our conduct, and instructor of our inmost affections, who had learned in himself that the law of the flesh resists the law of the mind, but yields to the grace of Christ, he knows, I say, that various movements of the mind are opposed to each other; and, therefore, so expresses his exhortations to chastity, as not to do away with the grace of marriage, nor has he so exalted marriage as to check the desire of chastity. But beginning with the recommendation of chastity, he goes on to remedies against incontinence, and having set before the stronger the prize of their high calling, he suffers no one to faint by the way; approving those who take the lead so as not to make little of those who follow. For he, himself, had learned that the Lord Jesus gave to some barley bread John 6:9 lest they should faint by the way, and administered His Body to others, Matthew 26:26 that they might strive for the kingdom.

80. For the Lord Himself did not impose this commandment, but invited the will, and the Apostle did not lay down a rule, but gave a counsel. 1 Corinthians 7:25 But this not a man's counsel as to things within the compass of man's strength, for he acknowledges that the gift of divine mercy was bestowed upon him, that he might know how faithfully to set first the former, and to arrange the latter. And, therefore, he says: I think, not, I order, but, I think that this is good because of the present distress. 1 Corinthians 7:26

81. The marriage bond is not then to be shunned as though it were sinful, but rather declined as being a galling burden. For the law binds the wife to bear children in labour and in sorrow, and is in subjection to her husband, for that he is lord over her. So, then, the married woman, but not the widow, is subject to labour and pain in bringing forth children, and she only that is

married, not she that is a virgin, is under the power of her husband. The virgin is free from all these things, who has vowed her affection to the Word of God, who awaits the Spouse of blessing with her lamp burning with the light of a good will. And so she is moved by counsels, not bound by chains.

CHAPTER 14

Though a widow may have received no commandment, yet she has received so many counsels that she ought not to think little of them. St. Ambrose would be sorry to lay any snare for her, seeing that the field of the Church grows richer as a result of wedlock, but it is absolutely impossible to deny that widowhood, which St. Paul praises, is profitable. Consequently, he speaks severely about those who have proscribed widowhood by law.

82. BUT NEITHER has the widow received any command, but a counsel; a counsel, however, not given once only but often repeated. For, first, it is said: It is good for a man not to touch a woman. 1 Corinthians 7:1 And again: I would that all men were even as I myself; 1 Corinthians 7:7 and once more: It is good for them if they remain even as I; 1 Corinthians 7:8 and a fourth time: It is good for the present distress. 1 Corinthians 7:26 And that it is well pleasing to the Lord, and honourable, and, lastly, that perseverance in widowhood is happier, he lays down not only as his own judgment, but also as an aspiration of the Holy Spirit. Who, then, can reject the kindness of such a counsellor? Who gives the reins to the will, and advises in the case of others that which he has found advantageous by his own experience, he who is not easy to catch up, and is not hurt at being equalled. Who, then, would shrink from becoming holy in body and spirit, since the reward is far above the toil, grace beyond need, and the wages above the work?

83. And this, I say, not in order to lay a snare for others, but that as a good husbandman of the land entrusted to me, I may see this field of the Church to be fruitful, at one time blossoming with the flowers of purity, at another time strong in the gravity of widowhood, and yet again abounding with the fruits of wedlock. For though they be diverse, yet they are the fruits

of one field; there are not so many lilies in the gardens as ears of grain in the fields, and many more fields are prepared for receiving seed than lie fallow after the crops are gathered in.

84. Widowhood is, then, good, which is so often praised by the judgment of the apostles, for it is a teacher of the faith and a teacher of chastity. Whereas they who honour the adulteries and the shame of their gods appointed penalties for celibacy and widowhood; that zealous in pursuit of crimes they might punish the study of virtues; under the pretext, indeed, of seeking increase of the population, but in reality that they might put an end to the purpose of chastity. For the soldier, when his time is ended, lays aside his arms, and leaving the rank which he held, is dismissed as a veteran to his own land, that he may obtain rest after the toils of a laborious life, and cause others to be more ready to undergo labour in the hope of future repose. The labourer, too, as he grows too old, entrusts the guiding of the plough to others, and worn out by the toil of his youth, enjoys in his old age that which his foresight has cared for, still ready to prune the vine rather than to press the grapes, so as to check the luxuriance of early life, and to cut off with his pruning knife the wantonness of youth, teaching, as it were, that blessed fruitfulness is to be aimed at even in the vine.

85. In like manner the widow, as a veteran, having served her time, though she lays aside the arms of married life, yet orders the peace of the whole house: though now freed from carrying burdens, she is yet watchful for the younger who are to be married; and with the thoughtfulness of old age she arranges where more pains would be profitable, where produce would be more abundant, which is fitted for the marriage bond. And so, if the field is entrusted to the elder rather than to the younger, why should you think that it is more advantageous to be a married woman than a widow? But, if the persecutors of the faith have also been the persecutors of

widowhood, most certainly by those who hold the faith, widowhood is not to be shunned as a penalty, but to be esteemed as a reward.

CHAPTER 15

St. Ambrose meets the objection of those who make the desire of having children an excuse for second marriage, and especially in the case of those who have children of their former marriage; and points out the consequent troubles of disagreements among the children, and even between the married persons, and gives a warning against a wrong use of Scripture instances in this matter.

86. PERHAPS, HOWEVER, it may seem good to some that marriage should again be entered upon for the sake of having children. But if the desire of children be a reason for marrying, certainly where there are children, the reason does not exist. And is it wise to wish to have a second trial of that fruitfulness which has already been tried in vain, or to submit to the solitude which you have already borne? This is the case of those who have no children.

87. Then, too, she who has borne children, and has lost them (for she who has a hope of bearing children will have an intenser longing), does not she, I say, seem to herself to be covering over the deaths of her lost children by the celebration of a second marriage? Will she not again suffer what she is again seeking? And does she not shrink at the graves of her hopes, the memories of the bereavements she has suffered, the voices of the mourners? Or, when the torches are lit and night is coming on, does she not think rather that funeral rites are being prepared than a bridal chamber? Why, then, my daughter, do you seek again those sorrows which you dread, more than you look for children whom you no longer hope for? If sorrow is so grievous, one should rather avoid than seek that which causes it.

88. And what advice shall I give to you who have children? What reason have you for marrying? Perhaps foolish light-mindedness, or the habit of incontinence, or the consciousness of a wounded spirit is urging you on. But

counsel is given to the sober, not to the drunken, and so my words are addressed to the free conscience which is whole in each respect. She that is wounded has a remedy, she that is upright a counsel. What do you intend to do then, my daughter? Why do you seek for heirs from without when you have your own? You are not desiring of children, for you have them, but servitude from which you are free. For this true servitude, in which love is exhausted, which no longer the charm of virginity, and early youth, full of holy modesty and grace, excites; when offenses are more felt, and rudeness is more suspected, and agreement less common, which is not bound fast by love deeply rooted by time, or by beauty in its prime of youth. Duty to a husband is burdensome, so that you are afraid to love your children and blush to look at them; and a cause of disagreement arises from that which ordinarily causes mutual love to increase the tender affections of parents. You wish to give birth to offspring who will be not the brothers but the adversaries of your children. For what is to bring forth other children other than to rob the children which you have, who are deprived alike of the offices of affection and of the profit of their possessions.

89. The divine law has bound together husband and wife by its authority, and yet mutual love remains a difficult matter. For God took a rib from the man, and formed the woman so as to join them one to the other, and said: They shall be one flesh. Genesis 2:24 He said this not of a second marriage but of the first, for neither did Eve take a second husband, nor does holy Church recognize a second bridegroom. For that is a great mystery in Christ and in the Church. Ephesians 5:32 Neither, again, did Isaac know another wife besides Rebecca, Genesis 24:67 nor bury his father, Abraham, with any wife but Sarah. Genesis 25:10

90. But in holy Rachel there was rather the figure of a mystery than a true order of marriage. Notwithstanding, in her, also, we have something which we can refer to the grace of the first marriage, since he loved her best

whom he had first betrothed, and deceit did not shut out his intention, nor the intervening marriage destroy his love for his betrothed. And so the holy patriarch has taught us, how highly we ought to esteem a first marriage, since he himself esteemed his first betrothal so highly. Take care, then, my daughter, lest you be both unable to hold fast the grace of marriage, and also increase your own troubles.

Memorial of Symmachus

Translated by H. de Romestin, E. de Romestin and H. T. F. Duckworth

Symmachus addresses his memorial in the name of the Senate, nominally to the three Emperors, Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius, though really to the first of these alone, who was sole Emperor of the West. The memorial sets forth a request that the old religion should be restored, and the Altar of Victory again erected in the Senate House, that the ancient customs might be observed. The example of the late emperors should be followed in what they maintained, not in what they did away. The treasury would suffer no loss, while it is unjust that the Vestal Virgins and priests should be deprived of ancient legacies, a sacrilege which the gods punished by a famine. The memorial is drawn up with consummate skill, both in what is brought forward and in what is left unsaid.

1. As soon as the most honourable Senate, always devoted to you, knew that crimes were made amenable to law, and that the reputation of late times was being purified by pious princes, it, following the example of a more favourable time, gave utterance to its long suppressed grief, and bade me be once again the delegate to utter its complaints. But through wicked men audience was refused me by the divine Emperor, otherwise justice would not have been wanting, my lords and emperors, of great renown, Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius, victorious and triumphant, ever august.

2. In the exercise, therefore, of a twofold office, as your Prefect I attend to public business, and as delegate I recommend to your notice the charge laid on me by the citizens. Here is no disagreement of wills, for men have now ceased to believe that they excel in courtly zeal, if they disagree. To be loved, to be reverenced, to be esteemed is more than imperial sway. Who could endure that private disagreement should injure the state? Rightly does

the Senate censure those who have preferred their own power to the reputation of the prince.

3. But it is our task to watch on behalf of your Graces. For to what is it more suitable that we defend the institutions of our ancestors, and the rights and destiny of our country, than to the glory of these times, which is all the greater when you understand that you may not do anything contrary to the custom of your ancestors? We demand then the restoration of that condition of religious affairs which was so long advantageous to the state. Let the rulers of each sect and of each opinion be counted up; a late one practised the ceremonies of his ancestors, a later did not put them away. If the religion of old times does not make a precedent, let the connivance of the last do so.

4. Who is so friendly with the barbarians as not to require an Altar of Victory? We will be careful henceforth, and avoid a show of such things. But at least let that honour be paid to the name which is refused to the goddess — your fame, which will last for ever, owes much and will owe still more to victory. Let those be averse to this power, whom it has never benefited. Do you refuse to desert a patronage which is friendly to your triumphs? That power is wished for by all, let no one deny that what he acknowledges is to be desired should also be venerated.

5. But even if the avoidance of such an omen were not sufficient, it would at least have been seemly to abstain from injuring the ornaments of the Senate House. Allow us, we beseech you, as old men to leave to posterity what we received as boys. The love of custom is great. Justly did the act of the divine Constantius last but for a short time. All precedents ought to be avoided by you, which you know were soon abolished. We are anxious for the permanence of your glory and your name, that the time to come may find nothing which needs correction.

6. Where shall we swear to obey your laws and commands? By what religious sanction shall the false mind be terrified, so as not to lie in bearing witness? All things are indeed filled with God, and no place is safe for the perjured, but to be urged in the very presence of religious forms has great power in producing a fear of sinning. That altar preserves the concord of all, that altar appeals to the good faith of each, and nothing gives more authority to our decrees than that the whole of our order issues every decree as it were under the sanction of an oath. So that a place will be opened to perjury, and this will be determined by my illustrious Princes, whose honour is defended by a public oath.

7. But the divine Constantius is said to have done the same. Let us rather imitate the other actions of that Prince, who would have undertaken nothing of the kind, if any one else had committed such an error before him. For the fall of the earlier sets his successor right, and amendment results from the censure of a previous example. It was pardonable for your Grace's ancestor in so novel a matter to fail in guarding against blame. Can the same excuse avail us if we imitate what we know to have been disapproved?

8. Will your Majesties listen to other actions of this same Prince, which you may more worthily imitate? He diminished none of the privileges of the sacred virgins, he filled the priestly offices with nobles, he did not refuse the cost of the Roman ceremonies, and following the rejoicing Senate through all the streets of the eternal city, he contentedly beheld the shrines with unmoved countenance, he read the names of the gods inscribed on the pediments, he enquired about the origin of the temples, and expressed admiration for their builders. Although he himself followed another religion, he maintained its own for the empire, for everyone has his own customs, everyone his own rites. The divine Mind has distributed different guardians and different cults to different cities. As souls are separately given to infants as they are born, so to peoples the genius of their destiny.

Here comes in the proof from advantage, which most of all vouches to man for the gods. For, since our reason is wholly clouded, whence does the knowledge of the gods more rightly come to us, than from the memory and evidence of prosperity? Now if a long period gives authority to religious customs, we ought to keep faith with so many centuries, and to follow our ancestors, as they happily followed theirs.

9. Let us now suppose that Rome is present and addresses you in these words: Excellent princes, fathers of your country, respect my years to which pious rites have brought me. Let me use the ancestral ceremonies, for I do not repent of them. Let me live after my own fashion, for I am free. This worship subdued the world to my laws, these sacred rites repelled Hannibal from the walls, and the Senones from the capitol. Have I been reserved for this, that in my old age I should be blamed? I will consider what it is thought should be set in order, but tardy and discreditable is the reformation of old age.

10. We ask, then, for peace for the gods of our fathers and of our country. It is just that all worship should be considered as one. We look on the same stars, the sky is common, the same world surrounds us. What difference does it make by what pains each seeks the truth? We cannot attain to so great a secret by one road; but this discussion is rather for persons at ease, we offer now prayers, not conflict.

11. With what advantage to your treasury are the prerogatives of the Vestal Virgins diminished? Is that refused under the most bountiful emperors which the most parsimonious have granted? Their sole honour consists in that, so to call it, wage of chastity. As fillets are the ornament of their heads, so is their distinction drawn from their leisure to attend to the offices of sacrifice. They seek for in a measure the empty name of immunity, since by their poverty they are exempt from payment. And so they who diminish anything of their substance increase their praise,

inasmuch as virginity dedicated to the public good increases in merit when it is without reward.

12. Let such gains as these be far from the purity of your treasury. Let the revenue of good princes be increased not by the losses of priests, but by the spoils of enemies. Does any gain compensate for the odium? And because no charge of avarice falls upon your characters, they are the more wretched whose ancient revenues are diminished. For under emperors who abstain from what belongs to others, and resist avarice, that which does not move the desire of him who takes it, is taken solely to injure the loser.

13. The treasury also retains lands bequeathed to virgins and ministers by the will of dying persons. I entreat you, priests of justice, let the lost right of succession be restored to the sacred persons and places of your city. Let men dictate their wills without anxiety, and know that what has been written will be undisturbed under princes who are not avaricious. Let the happiness in this point of all men give pleasure to you, for precedents in this matter have begun to trouble the dying. Does not then the religion of Rome appertain to Roman law? What name shall be given to the taking away of property which no law nor accident has made to fail. Freedmen take legacies, slaves are not denied the just privilege of making wills; only noble virgins and the ministers of sacred rites are excluded from property sought by inheritance. What does it profit the public safety to dedicate the body to chastity, and to support the duration of the empire with heavenly guardianship, to attach the friendly powers to your arms and to your eagles, to take upon oneself vows efficacious for all, and not to have common rights with all? So, then, slavery is a better condition, which is a service rendered to men. We injure the State, whose interest it never is to be ungrateful.

14. And let no one think that I am defending the cause of religion only, for from deeds of this kind have arisen all the misfortunes of the Roman

race. The law of our ancestors honoured the Vestal Virgins and the ministers of the gods with a moderate maintenance and just privileges. This grant remained unassailed till the time of the degenerate money-changers, who turned the fund for the support of sacred chastity into hire for common porters. A general famine followed upon this, and a poor harvest disappointed the hopes of all the provinces. This was not the fault of the earth, we impute no evil influence to the stars. Mildew did not injure the crops, nor wild oats destroy the grain; the year failed through the sacrilege, for it was necessary that what was refused to religion should be denied to all.

15. Certainly, if there be any instance of this evil, let us impute such a famine to the power of the season. A deadly wind has been the cause of this barrenness, life is sustained by trees and shrubs, and the need of the country folk has betaken itself once more to the oaks of Dodona. What similar evil did the provinces suffer, so long as the public charge sustained the ministers of religion? When were the oaks shaken for the use of men, when were the roots of plants torn up, when did fertility on all sides forsake the various lands, when supplies were in common for the people and for the sacred virgins? For the support of the priests was a blessing to the produce of the earth, and was rather an insurance than a bounty. Is there any doubt that what was given was for the benefit of all, seeing that the want of all has made this plain?

16. But some one will say that public support is only refused to the cost of foreign religions. Far be it from good princes to suppose that what has been given to certain persons from the common property can be in the power of the treasury. For as the State consists of individuals, that which goes out from it becomes again the property of individuals. You rule over all; but you preserve his own for each individual; and justice has more weight with you than arbitrary will. Take counsel with your own liberality

whether that which you have conferred on others ought to be considered public property. Sums once given to the honour of the city cease to be the property of those who have given them, and that which at the commencement was a gift, by custom and time becomes a debt. Any one is therefore endeavouring to impress upon your minds a vain fear, who asserts that you share the responsibility of the givers unless you incur the odium of withdrawing the gifts.

17. May the unseen guardians of all sects be favourable to your Graces, and may they especially, who in old time assisted your ancestors, defend you and be worshipped by us. We ask for that state of religious matters which preserved the empire for the divine parent of your Highnesses, and furnished that blessed prince with lawful heirs. That venerable father beholds from the starry height the tears of the priests, and considers himself censured by the violation of that custom which he willingly observed.

18. Amend also for your divine brother that which he did by the counsel of others, cover over the deed which he knew not to be displeasing to the Senate. For it is allowed that that legation was denied access to him, lest public opinion should reach him. It is for the credit of former times, that you should not hesitate to abolish that which is proved not to have been the doing of the prince.

Sermon against Auxentius

Translated by H. de Romestin, E. de Romestin and H. T. F. Duckworth

SERMON AGAINST AUXENTIUS ON THE GIVING UP OF THE BASILICAS.

To calm the anxiety of the people over the imperial decree, he lays his answer before them, and adds that he did not go to the consistory, because he was afraid of losing the basilica. Then, first challenging his opponents to a discussion in the church, he says that he is not terrified at their weapons; and also, after recalling his answer on the subject of the sacred vessels, declares that he is ready for the contest. The will of God, he maintains, cannot be frustrated, nor can His protection be overcome, yet He is ready too to suffer in His servants. Since he has not already been taken before this, it is plain that the heretics are causing this disturbance for no reason whatever. Next, after applying Naboth's history and Christ's entry into Jerusalem to the present state of affairs, he censures Auxentius' cruel law, answers the Arians' objections, and states that he will gladly discuss the matter in the presence of the people. Auxentius, he adds, has been already condemned by the pagans, whom he had chosen to sit as judges, as he had been condemned by Paul and by Christ. The heretic had forgotten the year before, when he had made the same appeal to Cæsar; and the Arians, in stirring up ill-will against the servants of Christ, are much worse than the Jews: for the Church does not belong to Cæsar, but displays the image of Christ. Then adding to these a few more words on his answer and his hymns, he declares that he is not disobedient, that the Emperor is a son of the Church, and that Auxentius is worse than a Jew.

1. I see that you are unusually disturbed, and that you are closely watching me. I wonder what the reason is? Is it that you saw or heard that I had received an imperial order at the hands of the tribunes, to the effect that I was to go hence, whither I would, and that all who wished might follow me? Were you afraid that I should desert the Church and forsake you in fear for my own safety? But you could note the message I sent, that the wish to desert the Church had never entered my mind; for I feared the Lord of the universe more than an earthly emperor; and if force were to drag me from

the Church, my body indeed could be driven out, but not my mind. I was ready, if he were to do what royal power is wont to do, to undergo the fate a priest has to bear.

2. Why, then, are you disturbed? I will never willingly desert you, though if force is used, I cannot meet it. I shall be able to grieve, to weep, to groan; against weapons, soldiers, Goths, my tears are my weapons, for these are a priest's defense. I ought not, I cannot resist in any other way; but to fly and forsake the Church is not my way; lest any one should suppose I did so from fear of some heavier punishment. You yourselves know that I am wont to show respect to our emperors, but not to yield to them, to offer myself freely to punishment, and not to fear what is prepared for me.

3. Would that I were sure the Church would never be given over to heretics. Gladly would I go to the Emperor's palace, if this but fitted the office of a priest, and so hold our discussion in the palace rather than the church. But in the consistory Christ is not wont to be the accused but the judge. Who will deny that the cause of faith should be pleaded in the church? If any one has confidence let him come hither; let him not seek the judgment of the Emperor, which already shows its bias, which clearly proves by the law that is passed that he is against the faith; neither let him seek the expected goodwill of certain people who want to stand well with both sides. I will not act in such a way as to give any one the chance of making money out of a wrong to Christ.

4. The soldiers around, the clash of the arms wherewith the church is surrounded, do not alarm my faith, but they disquiet me from fear that in keeping me here you might meet with some danger to your lives. For I have learned by now not to be afraid, but I do begin to have more fear for you. Allow, I beg you, your bishop to meet his foes. We have an adversary who assails us, for our adversary the devil goes about, as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour, 1 Peter 5:8 as the Apostle said. He has received, no

doubt, he has received (we are not deceived, but warned of this) the power to tempt in this wise, lest I might perhaps by the wounds of my body be drawn away from the earnestness of my faith. You have read how the devil tempted holy Job in these many ways, and how at last he sought and obtained power to try his body, which he covered with sores.

5. When it was suggested that I should give up the vessels of the Church, I gave the following answer: I will willingly give up whatever of my own property is demanded, whether it is estates, or house, or gold, or silver — anything, in fact, which is in my power. But I cannot take anything away from the temple of God; nor can I give up what I have received to guard and not to give up. In doing this I am acting for the Emperor's good, for it would neither be right for me to give it up, nor for him to receive it. Let him listen to the words of a free-spoken bishop, and if he wishes to do what is best for himself, let him cease to do wrong to Christ.

6. These words are full of humility, and as I think of that spirit which a bishop ought to show towards the Emperor. But since our contest is not against flesh and blood, but also (which is worse) against spiritual wickedness in high places, Ephesians 6:12 that tempter the devil makes the struggle harder by means of his servants, and thinks to make trial of me by the wounds of my flesh. I know, my brethren, that these wounds which we receive for Christ's sake are not wounds that destroy life, but rather extend it. Allow, I pray, the contest to take place. It is for you to be the spectators. Reflect that if a city has an athlete, or one skilled in some other noble art, it is eager to bring him forward for a contest. Why do you refuse to do in a more important matter what you are wont to wish in smaller affairs? He fears not weapons nor barbarians who fears not death, and is not held fast by any pleasures of the flesh.

7. And indeed if the Lord has appointed me for this struggle, in vain have you kept sleepless watch so many nights and days. The will of Christ

will be fulfilled. For our Lord Jesus is almighty, this is our faith: and so what He wills to be done will be fulfilled, and it is not for us to thwart the divine purpose.

8. You heard what was read today: The Saviour ordered that the foal of an ass should be brought to Him by the apostles, and bade them say, if any one withstood them: The Lord has need of him. Luke 19:35 What if now, too, He has commanded that foal of an ass, that is, the foal of that animal which is wont to bear a heavy burden, as man must, to whom is said: Come unto Me all you that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest; take My yoke upon you, for it is easy; what if, I say, He has commanded that foal to be brought to Him now, sending forth those apostles, who, having put off their body, wear the semblance of the angels unseen by our eyes? If withstood by any, will they not say: The Lord has need of him? If, for instance, love of this life, or flesh and blood, or earthly intercourse (for perhaps we seem pleasing to some), were to withstand them? But he who loves me here, would show his love much more if he would suffer me to become Christ's victim, for to depart and be with Christ is much better, though to abide in the flesh is more needful for you. Philippians 1:23 There is nothing therefore for you to fear, beloved brethren. For I know that whatever I may suffer, I shall suffer for Christ's sake. And I have read that I ought not to fear those that can kill the flesh. Matthew 10:28 And I have heard One Who says: He that loses his life for My sake shall find it. Matthew 10:39

9. Wherefore if the Lord wills, surely no one will resist. And if as yet He delay my struggle, what do you fear? It is not bodily guardianship but the Lord's providence that is wont to fence in the servant of Christ.

10. You are troubled because you have found the double doors open, which a blind man in seeking his chamber is said to have unfastened. In this you learn that human watchfulness is no defense. Behold! One who has lost

the gift of sight has broken through all our defences, and escaped the notice of the guards. But the Lord has not lost the guard of His mercy. Was it not also discovered two days ago, as you remember, that a certain entrance on the left side of the basilica was open, which you thought had been shut and secured? Armed men surrounded the basilica, they tried this and the other entrance, but their eyes were blinded so that that could not see the one that was open. And you know well that it was open many nights. Cease, then, to be anxious; for that will take place which Christ commands and which is for the best.

11. And now I will put before you examples from the Law. Eliseus was sought by the king of Syria; an army had been sent to capture him; and he was surrounded on all sides. His servant began to fear, for he was a servant, that is, he had not a free mind, nor had he free powers of action. The holy prophet sought to open his eyes, and said: Look and see how many more are on our side than there are against us. 2 Kings 6:16 And he beheld, and saw thousands of angels. Mark therefore that it is those that are not seen rather than those that are seen that guard the servants of Christ. But if they guard you, they do it in answer to your prayers: for you have read that those very men, who sought Eliseus, entered Samaria, and came to him whom they desired to take. Not only were they unable to harm him, but they were themselves preserved at the intercession of the man against whom they had come.

12. The Apostle Peter also gives you an example of either case. For when Herod sought him and took him, he was put into prison. For the servant of God had not got away, but stood firm without a thought of fear. The Church prayed for him, but the Apostle slept in prison, a proof that he was not in fear. An angel was sent to rouse him as he slept, by whom Peter was led forth out of prison, and escaped death for a time.

13. And Peter again afterwards, when he had overcome Simon, in sowing the doctrine of God among the people, and in teaching chastity, stirred up the minds of the Gentiles. And when these sought him, the Christians begged that he would withdraw himself for a little while. And although he was desirous to suffer, yet was he moved at the sight of the people praying, for they asked him to save himself for the instruction and strengthening of his people. Need I say more? At night he begins to leave the town, and seeing Christ coming to meet him at the gate, and entering the city, says: Lord, where are You going? Christ answers: I am coming to be crucified again. Peter understood the divine answer to refer to his own cross, for Christ could not be crucified a second time, for He had put off the flesh by the passion of the death which He had undergone; since: In that He died, He died unto sin once, but in that He lives, He lives unto God. Romans 6:10 So Peter understood that Christ was to be crucified again in the person of His servant. Therefore he willingly returned; and when the Christians questioned him, told them the reason. He was immediately seized, and glorified the Lord Jesus by his cross.

14. You see, then, that Christ wills to suffer in His servants. And what if He says to this servant, I will that he tarry, you follow Me, John 21:22 and wishes to taste the fruit of this tree? For if His meat was to do the will of His Father, John 4:34 so also is it His meat to partake of our sufferings. Did He not, to take an example from our Lord Himself — did He not suffer when He willed, and was He not found when He was sought? But when the hour of His passion had not yet come, He passed through the midst of those that sought Him, John 7:30 and though they saw Him they could not hold Him fast. This plainly shows us that when the Lord wills, each one is found and taken, but because the time is put off, he is not held fast, although he meets the eyes of those who seek him.

15. And did not I myself go forth daily to pay visits, or go to the tombs of the martyrs? Did I not pass by the royal palace both in going and returning? Yet no one laid hands on me, though they had the intention of driving me out, as they afterwards gave out, saying, Leave the city, and go where you will. I was, I own, looking for some great thing, either sword or fire for the Name of Christ, yet they offered me pleasant things instead of sufferings; but Christ's athlete needs not pleasant things but sufferings. Let no one, then, disturb you, because they have provided a carriage, or because hard words, as he thinks them, have been uttered by Auxentius, who calls himself bishop.

16. Many stated that assassins had been dispatched, that the penalty of death had been decreed against me. I do not fear all that, nor am I going to desert my position here. Whither shall I go, when there is no spirit that is not filled with groans and tears; when throughout the Churches Catholic bishops are being expelled, or if they resist, are put to the sword, and every senator who does not obey the decree is proscribed. And these things were written by the hand and spoken by the mouth of a bishop who, that he might show himself to be most learned, omitted not an ancient warning. For we read in the prophet that he saw a flying sickle. Zechariah 5:1 Auxentius, to imitate this, sent a flying sword through all cities. But Satan, too, transforms himself into an angel of light, 2 Corinthians 11:14 and imitates his power for evil.

17. You, Lord Jesus, have redeemed the world in one moment of time: shall Auxentius in one moment slay, as far as he can, so many peoples, some by the sword, others by sacrilege? He seeks my basilica with bloody lips and gory hands. Him today's chapter answers well: But unto the wicked said God: Wherefore do you declare My righteousness? That is, there is no union between peace and madness, there is no union between Christ and Belial. 2 Corinthians 6:15 You remember also that we read today of Naboth,

a holy man who owned his own vineyard, being urged on the king's request to give it up. When the king after rooting up the vines intended to plant common herbs, he answered him: God forbid that I should give up the inheritance of my fathers. 1 Kings 21:3 The king was grieved, because what belonged by right to another had been refused him on fair grounds, but had been unfairly got by a woman's device. Naboth defended his vines with his own blood. And if he did not give up his vineyard, shall we give up the Church of Christ?

18. Was the answer that I gave then contumacious? For when summoned I said: God forbid that I should give up the inheritance of Christ. If Naboth gave not up the inheritance of his fathers, shall I give up the inheritance of Christ? And I added further: God forbid that I shall give up the inheritance of my fathers, that is, the inheritance of Dionysius, who died in exile in the cause of the faith; the inheritance of the Confessor Eustorgius, the inheritance of Mysocles and of all the faithful bishops of bygone days. I answered as a bishop ought to answer: Let the Emperor act as an emperor ought to. He must take away my life rather than my faith.

19. But to whom shall I give it up? Today's lesson from the Gospel ought to teach us what is asked for and by whom it is asked. You have heard read that when Christ Luke 19:35 sat upon the foal of an ass, the children cried aloud, and the Jews were vexed. At length they spoke to the Lord Jesus, bidding Him to silence them. He answered: If these should hold their peace, the stones will cry out. Luke 19:40 Then on entering the temple, He cast out the money-changers, and the tables, and those that sold doves in the temple of God. That passage was read by no arrangement of mine, but by chance; but it is well fitted to the present time. The praises of Christ are ever the scourges of the unfaithful. And now when Christ is praised, the heretics say that sedition is stirred up. The heretics say that death is being prepared for them, and truly they have their death in the praises of Christ. For how can

they bear His praises, Whose weakness they maintain. And so today, when Christ is praised, the madness of the Arians is scourged.

20. The Gerasenes could not bear the presence of Christ; Luke 8:37 these, worse than the Gerasenes, cannot endure the praises of Christ. They see boys singing of the glory of Christ, for it is written: Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings You have perfected praise. They mock at their tender age, so full of faith, and say: Behold, why do they cry out? But Christ answers them: If these should hold their peace, the stones will cry out, Luke 19:40 that is, the stronger will cry out, both youths and the more mature will cry out, and old men will cry out; these stones now firmly laid upon that stone of which it is written: The stone which the builders rejected has become the head of the corner.

21. Invited, then, by these praises, Christ enters His temple, John 2:15 and takes His scourge and drives the money-changers out of the temple. For He does not allow the slaves of money to be in His temple, nor does He allow those to be there who sell seats. What are seats but honours? What are the doves but simple minds or souls that follow a pure and clear faith? Shall I, then, bring into the temple him whom Christ shuts out? For he who sells dignities and honours will be bidden to go out. He will be bidden to go out who desires to sell the simple minds of the faithful.

22. Therefore, Auxentius is cast out. Mercurius is shut out. The portent is one, the names are two! That no one might know who he was, he changed his name so as to call himself Auxentius, because there had been here an Arian bishop, named Auxentius. He did this to deceive the people over whom the other had had power. He changed his name, but he did not change his falseness. He puts off the wolf, yet puts on the wolf again. It is no help to him that he has changed his name; whatever happens he is known. He is called by one name in the parts of Scythia, he is called by another here. He has a name for each country he lives in. He has two names already, and if he

were to go elsewhere from here, he will have yet a third. For how will he endure to keep a name as a proof of such wickedness? He did less in Scythia, and was so ashamed that he changed his name. Here he has dared to do worse things, and will he be ready to be betrayed by his name wherever he goes? Shall he write the death warrant of so many people with his own hand, and yet be able to be unshaken in mind?

23. The Lord Jesus shut a few out of His temple, but Auxentius left none. Jesus with a scourge drove them out of His temple, Auxentius with a sword; Jesus with a scourge, Mercurius with an axe. The holy Lord drives out the sacrilegious with a scourge; the impious man pursues the holy with a sword. Of him you have well said today: Let him take away his laws with him. He will take them, although he is unwilling; he will take with him his conscience, although he takes no writing; he will take with him his soul inscribed with blood although he will not take a letter inscribed with ink. It is written: Juda, your sin is written with a pen of iron and with the point of a diamond, and it is graven upon your heart, Jeremiah 17:1 that is, it is written there, whence it came forth.

24. Does he, a man full of blood and full of murder, dare to make mention to me of a discussion? He who thinks that they whom he could not mislead by his words are to be slain with the sword, giving bloody laws with his mouth, writing them with his hand, and thinking that the law can order a faith for man to hold. He has not heard what was read today: That a man is not justified by the works of the law, Galatians 2:16 or I, through the law, am dead to the law, that I may live unto God, Galatians 2:19 that is, by the spiritual law he is dead to the carnal interpretation of the law. And we, by the law of our Lord Jesus Christ, are dead to this law, which sanctions such perfidious decrees. The law did not gather the Church together, but the faith of Christ. For the law is not by faith, but the just man lives by faith. Galatians 3:11 Therefore, faith, not the law, makes a man just, for justice is

not through the law, but through the faith of Christ. But he who casts aside his faith and pleads for that the claims of the law, bears witness that he is himself unjust; for the just man lives by faith.

25. Shall any one, then, follow this law, whereby the Council of Ariminum is confirmed, wherein Christ was said to be a creature. But say they: God sent forth His Son, made of a woman, made under the law. Galatians 4:4 And so they say made, that is, created. Do they not consider these very words which they have brought forward; that Christ is said to have been made, but of a woman; that is, He was made as regards his birth from a Virgin, Who was begotten of the Father as regards His divine generation? Have they read also today, that Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us? Galatians 3:13 Was Christ a curse in His Godhead? But why He is called a curse the Apostle tells us, saying that it is written: Cursed is every one that hangs on a tree, Galatians 3:13 that is, He Who in his flesh bore our flesh, in His body bore our infirmities and our curses, that He might crucify them; for He was not cursed Himself, but was cursed in you. So it is written elsewhere: Who knew no sin, but was made sin for us, for He bore our sins, 2 Corinthians 5:21 that he might destroy them by the Sacrament of His Passion.

26. These matters, my brethren, I would discuss more fully with him in your presence; but knowing that you are not ignorant of the faith, he has avoided a trial before you, and has chosen some four or five heathen to represent him, if that is he has chosen any, whom I should like to be present in our company, not to judge concerning Christ, but to hear the majesty of Christ. They, however, have already given their decision concerning Auxentius, to whom they gave no credence as he pleaded before them day by day. What can be more of a condemnation of him than the fact, that without an adversary he was defeated before his own judges? So now we also have their opinion against Auxentius.

27. And that he has chosen heathen is rightly to be condemned; for he has disregarded the Apostle's command, where he says: Dare any of you, having a matter against another, go to law before the unjust and not before the saints? Do you not know the saints shall judge the world? 1 Corinthians 6:1-2 And below he says: Is it so, that there is not a wise man among you, who can judge between heathen? But brother goes to law with brother, and that before the unbelievers. 1 Corinthians 6:5 You see, then, that what he has introduced is against the Apostle's authority. Do you decide, then, whether we are to follow Auxentius or Paul as our master.

28. But why speak of the Apostle, when the Lord Himself cries through the prophet: Hearken unto Me, My people, you who know judgment, in whose heart is My law. Isaiah 51:7 God says: Hearken unto Me, My people, you that know judgment. Auxentius says: You know not judgment. Do you see how he condemns God in you, who rejects the voice of the heavenly oracle: Hearken unto Me, My people, says the Lord. He says not, Hearken, you Gentiles, nor does He say, Hearken, you Jews. For they who had been the people of the Lord have now become the people of error, and they who were the people of error have begun to be the people of God; for they have believed on Christ. That people then judges in whose heart is the divine, not the human law, the law not written in ink, but in the spirit of the living God; 2 Corinthians 3:3 not set down on paper, but stamped upon the heart. Who then, does you a wrong, he who refuses, or he who chooses to be heard by you?

29. Hemmed in on all sides, he betakes himself to the wiles of his fathers. He wants to stir up ill-will on the Emperor's side, saying that a youth, a catechumen ignorant of the sacred writings, ought to judge, and to judge in the consistory. As though last year when I was sent for to go to the palace, when in the presence of the chief men the matter was discussed before the consistory, when the Emperor wished to seize the basilica, I was

cowed then at the sight of the royal court, and did not show the firmness a bishop should, or departed with diminished claims. Do they not remember that the people, when they knew I had gone to the palace, made such a rush that they could not resist its force; and all offered themselves to death for the faith of Christ as a military officer came out with some light troops to disperse the crowd? Was not I asked to calm the people with a long speech? Did I not pledge my word that no one should invade the basilica of the church? And though my services were asked for to do an act of kindness, yet the fact that the people came to the palace was used to bring ill-will upon me. They wish to bring me to this now again.

30. I recalled the people, and yet I did not escape their ill-will, which ill-will, however, I think we ought rather to tempt than fear. For why should we fear for the Name of Christ? Unless perchance I ought to be troubled because they say: Ought not the Emperor to have one basilica, to which to go, and Ambrose wants to have more power than the Emperor, and so refuses to the Emperor the opportunity of going forth to church? When they say this, they desire to lay hold of my words, as did the Jews who tried Christ with cunning words, saying: Master, is it lawful to give tribute to Cæsar or not? Matthew 22:17 Is ill-will always stirred up against the servants of God on Cæsar's account, and does impiety make use of this with a view to starting a slander, so as to shelter itself under the imperial name? And can they say that they do not share in the sacrilege of those whose advice they follow?

31. See how much worse than the Jews the Arians are. They asked whether He thought that the right of tribute should be given to Cæsar; these want to give to Cæsar the right of the Church. But as these faithless ones follow their author, so also let us answer as our Lord and Author has taught us. For Jesus seeing the wickedness of the Jews said to them: Why do you tempt Me? Show Me a penny. When they had given it, He said: Whose

image and superscription has it? Matthew 22:18 They answered and said: Cæsar's. And Jesus says to them: Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's. Matthew 22:21 So, too, I say to these who oppose me: Show me a penny. Jesus sees Cæsar's penny and says: Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's. Can they in seizing the basilicas of the church offer Cæsar's penny?

32. But in the church I only know of one Image, that is the Image of the unseen God, of Which God has said: Let us make man in Our image and Our likeness; Genesis 1:26 that Image of Which it is written, that Christ is the Brightness of His glory and the Image of His Person. Hebrews 1:3 In that Image I perceive the Father, as the Lord Jesus Himself has said: He that sees Me sees the Father. John 14:9 For this Image is not separated from the Father, which indeed has taught me the unity of the Trinity, saying: I and My Father are One, John 10:30 and again: All things that the Father has are Mine. John 16:15 Also of the Holy Spirit, saying that the Spirit is Christ's, and has received of Christ, as it is written: He shall receive of Mine, and shall declare it unto you. John 16:14

33. How, then, did we not answer humbly enough? If he demand tribute, we do not refuse it. The lands of the Church pay tribute. If the Emperor wants the lands, he has the power to claim them, none of us will interfere. The contributions of the people are amply sufficient for the poor. Do not stir up ill-will in the matter of the lands. Let them take them if it is the Emperor's will. I do not give them, but I do not refuse them. They ask for gold. I can say: Silver and gold I do not ask for. But they stir up ill-will because gold is spent. I am not afraid of such ill-will as this. I have dependents. My dependents are Christ's poor. I know how to collect this treasure. On that they may even charge me with this crime, that I have spent money on the poor! And if they make the charge that I seek for defense at

their hands, I do not deny it; nay, I solicit it. I have my defense, but it consists in the prayers of the poor. The blind and the lame, the weak and the old, are stronger than hardy warriors. Lastly, gifts to the poor make God indebted to us, for it is written: He that gives to the poor, lends to God. Proverbs 19:17 The guards of warriors often do not merit divine grace.

34. They declare also that the people have been led astray by the strains of my hymns. I certainly do not deny it. That is a lofty strain, and there is nothing more powerful than it. For what has more power than the confession of the Trinity which is daily celebrated by the mouth of the whole people? All eagerly vie one with the other in confessing the faith, and know how to praise in verse the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. So they all have become teachers, who scarcely could be disciples.

35. What could show greater obedience than that we should follow Christ's example, Who, being found in fashion as a man, humbled Himself and became obedient even unto death? Philippians 2:7-8 Accordingly He has freed all through His obedience. For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of One shall many be made righteous. Romans 5:19 If, then, He was obedient, let them receive the rule of obedience: to which we cling, saying to those who stir up ill-will against us on the Emperor's side: We pay to Cæsar what is Cæsar's, and to God what is God's. Tribute is due to Cæsar, we do not deny it. The Church belongs to God, therefore it ought not to be assigned to Cæsar. For the temple of God cannot be Cæsar's by right.

36. That this is said with respectful feeling for the Emperor, no one can deny. For what is more full of respect than that the Emperor should be called the son of the Church. As it is said, it is said without sin, since it is said with the divine favour. For the Emperor is within the Church, not above it. For a good emperor seeks the aid of the Church and does not refuse it. As I say this with all humility, so also I state it with firmness.

Some threaten us with fire, sword, exile; we have learned as servants of Christ not to fear. To those who have no fear, nothing is ever a serious cause of dread. Thus too is it written: Arrows of infants their blows have become.

37. A sufficient answer, then, seems to have been given to their suggestion. Now I ask them, what the Saviour asked: The baptism of John, was it from heaven or men? Luke 20:4 The Jews could not answer Him. If the Jews did not make nothing of the baptism of John, does Auxentius make nothing of the baptism of Christ? For that is not a baptism of men, but from heaven, which the angel of great counsel Isaiah 9:6 has brought to us, that we might be justified to God. Wherefore, then, does Auxentius hold that the faithful ought to be rebaptized, when they have been baptized in the name of the Trinity, when the Apostle says: One faith, one baptism? Ephesians 4:5 And wherefore does he say that he is man’s enemy, not Christ’s, seeing that he despises the counsel of God and condemns the baptism which Christ has granted us to redeem our sins.

Selected Hymns

CONTENTS

Coeli Deus sanctissime
Creator Alme Siderum
Jam lucis orto sidere
Te Deum
Te lucis ante terminum

Coeli Deus sanctissime

EVENING HYMN

Translated by Edward Caswall

O Lord of perfect purity,
Who dost the world with light adorn,
And paint the fields of azure sky
With lovely hues of eve and morn:

Upon our fainting souls distil
The grace of thy celestial dew;
Let no fresh snare to sin beguile,
No former sin revive anew.

Keep thou our souls from schemes of crime,
No guilt remorseful let them know;
Nor thinking but on things of time,
Into eternal darkness go.

Teach us to knock at heav'n's high door,
Teach us the prize of life to win;
Teach us all evil to abhor,
And purify ourselves within.

Be thou our guide, be thou our goal,
Be thou our pathway to the skies:

Our joy when sorrow fills the soul,
In death our everlasting prize.

Creator Alme Siderum

ADVENT.

Translated by John Stanley Tute

Creator of the circling stars,
Light of Thy faithful saints,
Jesus, Redeemer, hear our prayers,
And pity our complaints.

Who, lest the mighty foe should win
Dominion o'er the earth,
The languid world's sweet Medicine
Became by Thy blest Birth.

Who, to the Cross and hard cold Tomb,
To expiate our shame,
Forth from the Virgin's hallowed womb,
A spotless Victim came.

Thy awful Name, and glorious Power,
When heaven and hell first hear,
On bended knees they both adore
With gladness, or with fear.

Thee then, before Whose awful Face,
The quick and dead shall stand;

We pray defend us by Thy Grace
From Satan's evil hand.

And now, to God, the Father, Son,
And Paraclete, we raise,
While years their onward courses run,
Our sacrifice of praise.

Jam lucis orto sidere

Translated by John Stanley Tute

The morning star hath risen high,
Lord, listen to our supliant cry;
And keep us ever day by day,
From such as seek our soul to slay.

Preserve in meekness, Lord, our tongue,
Lest it should utter aught of wrong;
Restrain and guard our wandering sight,
Lest aught of vanity delight.

Oh! keep our inmost heart, too, pure,
That anger may not there endure;
The fumes of pride he carried thence,
By the spare food of abstinence.

That when the day departing fades,
And night brings on her wonted shades;
Free from the power of earth we may
Sing unto Thee this noble lay;

All Glory to the Father be,
All Glory, Only Son, to Thee,
All Glory, Holy Paraclete,
As now, so is it ever meet.

THANKS BE TO GOD.

Te Deum

Anonymous Translation, 1848

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN hymn of praise *Te Deum* is traditionally ascribed to Saints Ambrose and Augustine, on the occasion of the latter's baptism by the former in AD 387; however, modern scholars doubt this attribution, many assigning it to Nicetas, Bishop of Remesiana in the late fourth to early fifth centuries.

THE RITE OF THE CONSECRATION OF A BISHOP IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

WE praise Thee, O God; we confess Thee our Lord.
Thee, the Father everlasting, all the earth doth worship.
To Thee, the Angels, to Thee the heavens, and all the powers;
To Thee the Cherubims and Seraphims cry out without ceasing;
Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth.
Full are the heavens and earth of the majesty of Thy glory:
Thee the glorious choir of the Apostles;
Thee the laudable number of the Prophets;
Thee the white-robed army of Martyrs, doth praise.
Thee the holy Church throughout the world doth confess
The Father of incomprehensible majesty,
The venerable, true, and only Son,
And the Holy Ghost, the Paraclete.
Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ.
Thou art the everlasting Son of the Father.

Thou, being to take upon Thee to deliver man, didst not abhor the Virgin's womb.
Thou, having overcome the sting of death, hast opened to believers the kingdom of heaven.
Thou sittest at the right hand of God in the glory of the Father.
Thee we believe to be the judge to come.
We therefore pray Thee help Thy servants, whom Thou hast redeemed with Thy precious blood.
Make them to be numbered with Thy saints in eternal glory.
O Lord save Thy people, and bless Thy inheritance,
And govern them; and exalt them for ever.
Every day we bless Thee,
And we praise Thy name for ever and ever.
Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us this day without sin.
Have mercy on us, O Lord, have mercy on us.
Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be upon us; as we have put our trust in Thee.
In Thee, O Lord, have I put my trust; let me not be confounded for ever.

At the end of the Hymn is sung the Anthem.

LET Thy hand be strengthened, and Thy right hand be exalted: justice and judgment are the preparation of Thy throne.
Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, &c.

Te lucis ante terminum

Anonymous transltion, 1847

Before the ending of the day,
Creator of the world, we pray
That with Thy wonted favour, Thou
Would’st be our guard and keeper now.

From all ill dreams defend our eyes;
From nightly terror and surprise:
Tread under foot our ghostly foe,
That no pollution we may know.

Father, let that we ask be done,
Through Jesus Christ Thine Only Son;
Who with the Holy Ghost and Thee,
Shall live and reign eternally.

Letters

Translated by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson

CONTENTS

NOTICE.
LETTER OF GRATIAN TO AMBROSE. A.D. 379.
LETTER I. A.D. 379.
LETTER II. A.D. 379.
LETTER III. A.D. 380.
LETTER IV. A.D. 380.
LETTER V.
LETTER VI.
LETTER VII. 381 A.D.
LETTER VIII. A.D. 381.
LETTER IX. A.D. 381.
LETTER X. A.D. 381.
LETTER XI. A.D. 381.
LETTER XII. A.D. 381.
LETTER XIII. A.D. 382.
LETTER XIV. A.D. 382.
LETTER XV. A.D. 383.
LETTER XVI. A.D. 383.
LETTER XVII. A.D. 384.
LETTER XVIII. A.D. 384.
LETTER XIX. A.D. 385.
LETTER XX. A.D. 385.
LETTER XXI. A.D. 386.

LETTER XXII. A.D. 386.
LETTER XXIII. A.D. 386.
LETTER XXIV. A.D. 387.
LETTER XXV.
LETTER XXVI.
LETTER XXVII. A.D. 387.
LETTER XXVIII. A.D. 387.
LETTER XXIX. A.D. 389.
LETTER XXX. A.D. 389.
LETTER XXXI.
LETTER XXXII. A.D. 387.
LETTER XXXIII.
LETTER XXXIV.
LETTER XXXV.
LETTER XXXVI.
LETTER XXXVII. A.D. 387.
LETTER XXXVIII. A.D. 387.
LETTER XXXIX. A.D. 387.
LETTER XL. A.D. 388.
LETTER XLI. A.D. 388.
LETTER XLII. A.D. 389.
LETTER XLIII.
LETTER XLIV. A.D. 389.
LETTER XLV. A.D. 385.
LETTER XLVI. A.D. 389.
LETTER XLVII. A.D. 390.
LETTER XLVIII.
LETTER XLIX. A.D. 390.
LETTER L.

LETTER LI. A.D. 390.
LETTER LII. A.D. 392.
LETTER LIII. A.D. 392.
LETTER LIV. A.D. 392.
LETTER LV. A.D. 392.
LETTER LVI. A.D. 392.
LETTER ON THE CASE OF BONOSUS. A.D. 392 or 393.
LETTER LVII.
LETTER LVIII. A.D. 393.
LETTER LIX. A.D. 393.
LETTER LX. A.D. 393.
LETTER LXI. A.D. 394.
LETTER LXII. A.D. 394.
LETTER LXIII. A.D. 396.
LETTER LXIV[277]
LETTER LXV.
LETTER LXVI.
LETTER LXVII.
LETTER LXVIII.
LETTER LXIX.
LETTER LXX.
LETTER LXXI.
LETTER LXXII.
LETTER LXXIII.
LETTER LXXIV.
LETTER LXXV.
LETTER LXXVI.
LETTER LXXVII.
LETTER LXXVIII.

LETTER LXXIX.
LETTER LXXX.
LETTER LXXXI.
LETTER LXXXII.
LETTER LXXXIII.
LETTER LXXXIV.
LETTER LXXXV.
LETTER LXXXVI.
LETTER LXXXVII.
LETTER LXXXVIII.
LETTER LXXXIX.
LETTER XC.
LETTER XCI.
EPISTOLA V. A.D. 380.
EPISTOLA VI. A.D. 380.
ENDNOTES.

A

LIBRARY OF FATHERS

OF THE

HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH,

ANTERIOR TO THE DIVISION OF THE EAST AND WEST:

TRANSLATED BY MEMBERS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

YET SHALL NOT THY TEACHERS BE REMOVED INTO A CORNER ANY MORE, BUT THINE EYES SHALL SEE THY TEACHERS. *Isaiah* xxx. 20.

OXFORD:

JAMES PARKER & CO.,

AND RIVINGTONS,

LONDON, OXFORD, AND CAMBRIDGE.

TO THE MEMORY

OF THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD

WILLIAM

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND,

FORMERLY REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,

THIS LIBRARY

OF

ANCIENT BISHOPS, FATHERS, DOCTORS, MARTYRS, CONFESSORS,

OF CHRIST'S HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH,

UNDERTAKEN AMID HIS ENCOURAGEMENT,

AND

CARRIED ON FOR TWELVE YEARS UNDER HIS SANCTION,

UNTIL HIS DEPARTURE HENCE IN PEACE,

IS

GRATEFULLY AND REVERENTLY

INSCRIBED.

THE

LETTERS

OF

S. AMBROSE,

BISHOP OF MILAN,

TRANSLATED,

WITH NOTES AND INDICES.

OXFORD,

JAMES PARKER AND CO.,

AND RIVINGTONS,

LONDON, OXFORD, AND CAMBRIDGE.

1881.

NOTICE.

THE TRANSLATION OF S. Ambrose's Epistles was made in the early days of the Library of the Fathers by a friend, now with God, before the check which the Series received through various sorrowful losses. It has now been revised by an accomplished scholar, the Rev. H. Walford, M.A., one of the Masters at Hayleybury.

Over-work prevented the writing of some introductory remarks.

E. B. P.

CHRIST CHURCH,

Lent, 1881.

LETTER OF GRATIAN TO AMBROSE. A.D. 379.

IT IS IN answer to this that Letter 1 was written by S. Ambrose. It was written by the Emperor Gratian in his 20th year, four years after his succession to the Empire in partnership with his Uncle Valens and his younger brother Valentinian the 2nd, on the death of their father Valentinian the first, 375 A.D. Tillemont (Hist. des Emp. vol. v. p. 158.) calls it 'une lettre toute pleine de piété et d'humilité, et d'ailleurs mesme écrite avec beaucoup d'esprit et d'elegance.'

THE EMPEROR GRATIAN TO AMBROSE BISHOP OF ALMIGHTY GOD.

1. GREAT is my desire that as I remember you though far away, and in spirit am present with you, so I may be with you in bodily presence also. Hasten then, holy Bishop[1] of God; come and teach me, who am already a sincere believer; not that I am eager for controversy, or seek to apprehend God in words rather than with my mind, but that the revelation of His Godhead may sink more deeply into an enlightened breast.

CREATURAM.

2. For He will teach me, He Whom I deny not, but confess to be my God and my Lord, not cavilling at that created nature in Him, which I see also in myself. That I can add nothing to Christ I acknowledge, but I am desirous by declaring the Son to commend myself to the Father also; for in God I can fear no jealousy; nor will I suppose myself such an eulogist as that I can

exalt His divinity by my words. Weak and frail, I proclaim Him according to my power, not according to His Majesty.

3. I beg you to bestow upon me the Treatise[2] you gave me before, adding to it an orthodox discussion on the Holy Spirit: prove, I beseech you, both by Scripture and reason, that He is God. God keep you for many years, my father, servant of the eternal God, Whom we worship, even Jesus Christ.

LETTER I. A.D. 379.

IN THIS LETTER S. Ambrose replies to the preceding. He apologises for not coming at once to Gratian, and, after praising his humility and faith, promises to come before long, and meanwhile sends him the two books (duos libellos) of the Treatise De Fide, which he had before composed at Gratian's request, begging for time to write on the subject of the Holy Spirit.

AMBROSE BISHOP TO THE BLESSED EMPEROR AND MOST CHRISTIAN PRINCE, GRATIAN.

1. IT was not lack of affection, most Christian Prince, (for I can give you no title more true or more illustrious than this,) it was not, I repeat, lack of affection, but modesty which put a restraint upon that affection, and hindered my coming to meet your Grace. But if I did not meet you on your return in person, I did so in spirit, and with my prayers, wherein the duties of a priest more especially lie. Meet, did I say? Nay, when was I absent? I who followed you with an entire affection, who clung to you in thought and heart; and surely it is by our souls that we are present to one other most intimately. I studied your route day by day; transported by my solicitude to your camp by night and day, I shielded it with my watchful prayers, prayers, if not of prevailing merit, yet of unremitting affection.

2. And in offering these for your safety we benefited ourselves. This I say without flattery, which you require not, and I deem unbefitting my office, but with the greatest regard to the favour you have shewn me. Our Judge Himself, Whom you acknowledge and in Whom you devoutly believe, knoweth that my heart is refreshed by your faith, your safety, your

glory, and that not only my public duty but my personal affection leads me to offer these prayers. For you have restored to me quiet in the Church, you have stopped the mouths (would that you had stopped the hearts) of the traitors, and this you have done not less by the authority of your faith than of your power.

3. What shall I say of your late letter? the whole is written with your own hand, so that the very characters tell of your faith and devotion. Thus Abraham of old, when ministering entertainment to his guests, slew a calf with his own hand, and had not, in this sacred service, the assistance of others. But he, a private man, ministered to the Lord and His Angels, or to the Lord in His Angels, you, the Emperor, honour with your royal condescension the lowest of Bishops. And yet the Lord is served when His minister is honoured; for He hath said, S. Matt. xxv. 40. *Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, ye have done it unto Me*.

4. But is it only this lofty humility which I praise in the Emperor, and not rather that faith, which you have rightly expressed with a mind conscious of your desert, or which He Whom you deny not hath taught you? For who but He could have taught you not to cavil at that created nature in Him which you see in yourself? Nothing could have been said more pious or more accurate; for to call Christ a creature savours of a contemptuous cavil, not of a reverent confession. Again, what could be more unworthy, than to suppose Him to be like as we ourselves are? Thus you have instructed me, from whom you profess your wish to learn, for I never read nor heard anything better.

5. Again, how pious, how admirable that expression, that you fear no jealousy in God! From the Father you anticipate a recompense for your love of the Son, yet you acknowledge that your praise of the Son can add nothing to Him, only you wish by praising the Son to commend yourself to

the Father also. This He alone hath taught you, Who hath said, S. John xiv. 21. *He that loveth Me, shall be loved of My Father*.

6. You go on to say that you, weak and frail as you are, do not suppose yourself such an eulogist as that you can exalt His divinity by your words, but that you preach Him according to your power, not according to His Majesty. This weakness is mighty in Christ, as the Apostle has said, *When I am weak, then I am strong*. This humility excludes frailty.

7. Certainly I will come, and that speedily, as you command, that I may be present with you and hear and read these things, as they are newly spoken by you. But I have sent two small volumes, for which, approved as they have been by your grace, I shall have no fears; I must plead for time to write on the Spirit, knowing as I do what a judge I shall have of my treatise.

8. Meanwhile however your sentiments and belief concerning our Lord and Saviour, transferred from the Son, form an abundant assertion to express our faith in the everlasting Godhead of the Holy Spirit, in that you cavil not at that created nature in Him which you find in yourself, and suppose not that God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, can be jealous of His own Spirit. For that which is separated from communion with the creature is divine.

9. If the Lord will, I will in this also comply with your Majesty's wishes; that as you have received the grace of the Holy Spirit, so also you may know that He, holding so high a place in the Divine glory, has in His own Name a right to our veneration.

10. May Almighty God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, vouchsafe, my Lord the Emperor, chosen by Divine providence, most glorious Sovereign, may He vouchsafe to keep your majesty in all happiness and prosperity to an advanced age, and establish your kingdom in perfect glory and in perpetual peace.

LETTER II. A.D. 379.

WE GATHER FROM the letter itself that Constantius, to whom it is addressed was a newly appointed Bishop, but of what see does not appear. In § 27 S. Ambrose commends to his care the see of Forum Cornelii, which was vacant at the time, as being in his neighbourhood. The grounds on which the Benedictine Editors fix the date seem rather vague. Its interest however is not historical: it is simply hortatory, urging on Constantius the fulfilment of the duties of his new office, and setting before him the chief subjects to which his preaching should be addressed. From S. Ambrose calling him 'my son' (§ 27) it would seem that he was either one of his own clergy, or had been in some way under his guidance. It is interesting as shewing how a great Bishop of that age dwelt upon the relations of the Episcopate, not merely to the Clergy under him as their superior, but to the laity of his diocese as their chief teacher.

AMBROSE TO CONSTANTIUS.

1. YOU have undertaken the office of a Bishop, and now, seated in the stern of the Church, you are steering it in the teeth of the waves. Hold fast the rudder of faith, that you may not be shaken by the heavy storms of this world. The sea indeed is vast and deep, but fear not, Ps. xxiv. 2. *for He hath founded it upon the seas, and prepared it upon the floods*. Rightly then the Church of the Lord, amid all the seas of the world, stands immoveable, built as it were, upon the Apostolic rock; and her foundation remains unshaken by all the force of the raging surge. The waves lash but do not shake it; and although this world's elements often break against it with a mighty sound, still it offers a secure harbour of safety to receive the distressed.

2. Yet although it is tossed on the sea, it rides upon the floods; and perhaps chiefly on those floods of which it is said, Ps. xciii. 4. *The floods have lift up their voice*. For there are S. John vii. 38. *rivers*, which *shall flow out of his belly*, who has received to drink from Christ, and partaken of the Spirit of God. These rivers then, when they overflow with spiritual grace, lift up their voice. There is a river too, which runs down upon His saints like a torrent. And there are Isa. lxvi. 12. *the rivers of the flood*, which Ps. xlvi. 4. *make glad* the peaceful and tranquil soul. He that receives, as did John the Evangelist, as did Peter and Paul, the fulness of this stream, lifts up his voice; and like as the Apostles loudly heralded forth to the farthest limits of the globe the Evangelic message, so he also begins to preach the Lord Jesus. Receive to drink therefore of Christ, that your sound may also go forth.

3. The Divine Scripture is a sea, containing in it deep meanings, and an abyss of prophetic mysteries; and into this sea enter many rivers. There are sweet and transparent streams, cool[3] fountains too there are, *springing up into life eternal*, and Prov. xvi. 24. *pleasant words as an honey-comb*. Agreeable sentences too there are, refreshing the minds of the hearers, if I may say so, with spiritual drink, and soothing them with the sweetness of their moral precepts. Various then are the streams of the sacred Scriptures. There is in them a first draught for you, a second, and a last.

4. Gather the water of Christ, that which Ps. cxlviii. 5. *praises the Lord*. Gather from many sources that water which the prophetic Eccles. xi. 3. *clouds pour forth*. He that gathers water from the hills and draws it to himself from the fountains, he also drops down dew like the clouds. Fill then the bosom of your mind, that your ground may be moistened and watered by domestic springs. He who needs and apprehends much is filled, he who hath been filled waters others, and therefore Scripture saith, Ib. *If the clouds be full of rain, they empty themselves upon the earth*.

5. Let your discourses then be flowing, let them be clear and lucid; pour the sweetness of your moral arguments into the ears of the people, and sooth them with the charm of your words, that so they may willingly follow your guidance. But if there be any contumacy or transgression in the people or individuals, let your sermons be of such a character as shall move your audience, and prick the evil conscience, for Ib. xii. 11. *the words of the wise are as goads*. The Lord Jesus too pricked Saul, when he was a persecutor. And think how salutary the goad was which from a persecutor made him an Apostle, by simply saying, Acts ix. 5. *It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks*.

6. There are discourses too like milk, such as Paul fed the Corinthians with; 1 Cor. iii. 2. for they who cannot digest stronger food, must have their infant minds nourished with the juice of milk.

7. Let your addresses be full of understanding. As Solomon says, Prov. xv. 7. *The*[4] *lips of the wise are the weapons of the understanding*, and in another place, *Let your lips be bound up with sense*, that is, let your discourses be clear and bright, let them flash with intelligence like lightning: let not your address or arguments stand in need of enforcement from without, but let your discourse defend itself, so to speak, with its own weapons, and let no vain or unmeaning word issue out of your mouth. For there is a bandage to bind up the wounds of the soul, and if any one cast it aside, he shews that his recovery is desperate. Wherefore to those who are afflicted with a grievous ulcer administer the oil of your discourse to soften the hardness of their heart, apply an emollient, bind on the ligature of salutary precepts; beware lest by any means you suffer men who are unstable and vacillating in faith or in the observance of discipline, to perish with minds unbraced and vigour relaxed.

8. Wherefore admonish and entreat the people of God that they abound in good works, that they renounce iniquity, that they kindle not the fires of

lust, (I say not on the Sabbath only, but never,) lest they set on fire their own bodies; Eph. v. 3. that there be no fornication or uncleanness in the servants of God, for we serve the immaculate Son of God. Let every man know himself, 1 Thess. iv. 4. and possess his own vessel, that, having, so to say, broken up the fallow ground of his body, he may expect fruit in due season, and it may not Gen. iii. 18. *bring forth thorns and thistles*, but he too may say, Ps. lxxxv. 13. *Our land hath given her increase*; and on this once wild thicket of the passions a graft of virtue may flourish.

9. Teach moreover and train the people to do what is good and that no one fail to perform works which shall be approved, whether he be seen of many, or be without witness, for the conscience is a witness abundantly sufficient unto itself.

10. And let them avoid shameful deeds, even though they believe they cannot be detected. For though a man be shut up within walls, and covered with darkness, without witness and without accomplice, still he has a Judge of his acts, Whom nothing ever deceives, and to Whom all things cry aloud. To Him the voice of Gen. iv. 10. *blood cried from the ground*. Every man has in himself and his own conscience a strict judge, an avenger of his wickedness and of his crimes. Cain wandered about in fear and trembling, suffering the punishment of his unnatural deed; so that death was to him a refuge, relieving the wandering outcast from that terror of death which he felt at every moment. Let no man then either alone or in company commit any shameful or wicked act. Though he be alone, let him be abashed before himself more than before others, for to himself is his greatest reverence due.

11. Nor let him covet many things, for even few things are to him as many; for poverty and wealth are words implying want and sufficiency. He is not rich who needs any thing, nor he poor who needs not. And let no man despise a widow, circumvent a ward, defraud his neighbour. Hab. ii. 9–12. *Woe unto him, whose substance has been collected by guile*, and *who*

buildeth a town, that is his own soul, *with blood*. For this it is, which Ps. cxxii. 3. *is built as a city*; and this city avarice builds not but destroys, lust builds not but sets on fire and consumes. Wouldest thou build this city well? Prov. xv. 16. *Better is little with the fear of the Lord, than great treasure without that fear.* A man's riches ought to avail to the ransom of his soul, not to its destruction. And a treasure is a ransom, if a man use it well; on the other hand it is a snare, if a man know not how to use it. What is a man's money to him but a provision for his journey? Much is a burthen, a little is useful. We are wayfarers in this life; many walk, but it is needful that we walk aright, for then is the Lord Jesus with us, as we read, Isa. xliii. 2. *When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee, and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not be burned*. But if a man take fire in his bosom, the fire of lust, the fire of immoderate desire he Prov. vi. 27. *walketh not through*, but burns this clothing of his soul. Ib. xxii. 1. *A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches, and loving favour than silver and gold!* Faith is sufficient for itself, and in its own possession is rich enough. And to the wise man nothing is foreign, but what is contrary to virtue; wherever he goes, he finds all things to be his own. All the world is his possession, for he uses it all if it were his own.

12. Why then is our brother circumvented, why is our hired servant defrauded? Prov. vi. 26. (not quoted ad verbum). Little it is said, is gained by the wages of an harlot, that is to say, of frailty so delusive. This harlot is not an individual, but something general; not one woman, but every idle lust. All perfidy, all deceit is this harlot; not she alone who offers her body to defilement; but every soul that barters away its hope, and seeks a dishonourable profit, and an unworthy reward. And we are hired servants, in that we labour for hire, and look for the reward of this our work from our Lord and God. If any one would know how we are hired servants, let him

listen to the words, S. Luke xv. 17. *How many hired servants of my father have bread enough and to spare, and I perish with hunger*, and again, v. 19. *Make me as one of thy hired servants*. All are hired servants, all are labourers; and let him, who looks for the reward of his labour, remember that if he defraud another of the wages due to him, he also will be defrauded of his own. Such conduct offends Him Who has lent to us, and He will repay it hereafter in more abundant measure. He therefore who could not lose what is eternal, let him not deprive others of what is temporal.

13. And let no one speak deceitfully with his neighbour. Prov. vi. 2. *There is a snare in our mouths*, and not seldom is it that *a man is entangled* rather than cleared *by his words*. Ib. xxii. 14 Sept. *The mouth of the evil-minded is a deep pit*: great is the fall of innocence, but greater that of iniquity. Ib. xiv. 15. The simple, by giving too easy credit, quickly falls, but when fallen he rises again; but the evil-speaker is so cast down by his own acts that he never can recover himself and escape. Therefore let every man weigh his words, not with deceit and guile, for Prov. xi. 1. *a false balance is abomination to the Lord*. I do not mean that balance which weighs the wares of others, (though even in lesser matters deceit often costs dear,) but that balance of words is hateful to the Lord, which wears the mask of the weight of sober gravity, and yet practises the artifices of cunning. Great is God's anger, if a man deceive his neighbour by flattering promises, and by treacherous subtlety oppress his debtor, a craft which will not benefit himself. S. Matt. xvi. 26. For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the riches of the whole world, and yet defraud his own soul of the wages of eternal life?

14. There is another balance which pious minds ought to consider, wherein the actions of individuals are weighed, and wherein for the most part sin inclines the scale towards judgement, or outweighs good deeds with crimes. Woe unto me, if my offences 1 Tim. v. 24. *go before*, and with a

fatal weight incline to the judgement of death! More terrible will it be if they *follow after*, though they all be manifest to God, even before judgement; neither can things good be secret, nor things full of scandal be concealed.

15. How blessed is he who can extirpate avarice, the root of all evil! he truly need not fear this balance. Ib. vi. 10. For avarice is wont to deaden man's senses, and pervert his judgement, so that he counts godliness a source of gain, and money the reward of prudence. But great is the reward of piety, and the gain of sobriety to have enough for use. For what do superfluous riches profit in this world, when you find in them neither a succour in birth nor a defence against death? For without a covering are we born into the world, without provision we depart hence, and in the grave we have no inheritance.

16. The deserts of each one of us are suspended in the balance, which a little weight either of good works or of degenerate conduct sways this way or that; if the evil preponderate, woe is me! if the good, pardon is at hand. For no man is free from sin; but where good preponderates, the evil flies up, is overshadowed, and covered. Wherefore in the Day of judgement our works will either succour us, or will sink us into the deep, weighed down as with a millstone. For iniquity is heavy, supported as by a Zech. v. 7. *talent of lead*; avarice is intolerable, and all pride is foul dishonesty. Wherefore exhort the people of God to trust rather in the Lord, to abound in the riches of simplicity, wherein they may walk without snare and without hindrance.

17. For the sincerity of a pure speech is good, and rich in the sight of God, although it walk among snares; yet, because it is innocent of laying wait or enthralling others, it escapes itself.

18. A great thing too it is if you can persuade them to know how to be abased, to know the true garb and nature of humility. Many possess the shew of humility, but not its power; many possess it abroad, but oppose it at

home; colourably they pretend it, but in truth they renounce it, in regard of grace they deny it. For Ecclus. xix. 23, 24. Vulg. *there is one that humbleth himself wickedly and his inward parts are full of deceit. And there is one that submitteth himself exceedingly with a great lowliness.* There is no true humility then but such as is without colour and pretence. Such humility is that which hath a pious sincerity of mind. Great is its virtue. Finally Rom. v. 19. *by one man's disobedience death entered*, and by the obedience of our Lord Jesus Christ came the redemption of all.

19. Holy Joseph knew how to be abased, who, when he was sold into bondage by his brethren, and purchased by merchants, Ps. cv. 18. *whose feet* as the Scripture saith, '*they hurt in the stocks*,' learned the virtue of humility and laid aside all weakness. For when he was bought by the royal servant, officer of the household, the memory of his noble descent as one of the seed of Abraham did not cause him to disdain servile offices or scorn his mean condition. On the contrary he was diligent and faithful in his master's service, knowing in his prudence that it matters not in what station a man renders himself approved, but that the object of good men is to merit approbation in whatever station they are placed; and the point of importance is that their character should dignify their station rather than their station their character. In proportion as the station is low the merit becomes illustrious. And such attention did Joseph exhibit that his lord entrusted to him his whole house, and committed to him all that he had.

20. And so his wife cast her eyes upon Joseph, captivated by the beauty of his form. Now we are not in fault, if either our age or our beauty becomes an object of desire to wanton eyes; let it be artless, and no blame attaches to beauty; if enticement be away, seemliness and grace of form is innocent. But this woman, fired with love, addresses the youth, and at the instigation of lust, overpowered by the force of passion confesses her crime. But he rejects the crime, saying that to defile another man's bed was

consonant neither with the customs nor the laws of the Hebrews, whose care it was to protect modesty, and to provide chaste spouses for chaste virgins, avoiding all unlawful intercourse, And that it were an impious deed for him, intoxicated by impure passion, and regardless of his master's kindness, to inflict a deadly injury on one to whom he owed obedience.

21. Nor did he disdain to call the despised Egyptian his master, and to confess himself his servant. And when the woman courted him, urging him by the fear of betrayal, or shedding passionate tears to force his compliance, neither was he moved by compassion to consent to iniquity, nor constrained by fear, but he resisted her entreaties and yielded not to her threats, preferring a perilous virtue to rewards, and chastity to a disgraceful recompense. Again she assailed him with greater temptations, yet she found him inflexible, yea for the second time immoveable; yet her furious and shameless passion gave her strength, and she caught the youth by his robe and drew him to her couch, offering to embrace him, nay, she would have done so, had not Joseph put off his robe; he put it off, that he might not put off the robe of humility, the covering of modesty.

22. He then knew how to be abased, for he was degraded even to the dungeon; and thus unjustly treated, he chose rather to bear a false accusation than to bring the true one. He knew how to be abased, I say, for he was abased for virtue's sake. He was abased as a type of Him Who was to abase Himself even to death, the death of the cross, Who was to come to raise our life from sleep, and to teach that our human life is but a dream: its vicissitudes reel past us as it were, with nothing in them firm or stable, but like men in a trance seeing we see not, hearing we hear not, eating we are not filled, congratulating we joy not, running we attain not. Vain are men's hopes in this world, idly pursuing the things that are not as though they were; and so, as in a dream, the empty forms of things come and go, appear and vanish; they hover around us, and we seem to grasp yet grasp them not.

But when a man has heard Him that saith Eph. v. 14. *Awake, thou that sleepest*, and rises up from the sleep of this world, then he perceives that all these things are false; he is now awake, and the dream is fled, and with it is fled ambition, and the care of wealth, and beauty of form, and the pursuit of honours. For these things are dreams which affect not those whose hearts wake, but affect only them that slumber.

23. And holy Joseph certifies this my assertion, that the things of this world are not perpetual or lasting, for he, noble by birth and with a rich inheritance, suddenly becomes a despised servant, and (what enhances the bitterness of servitude) a slave bought for a price by an unworthy master. For to serve the free is esteemed less disgraceful, but to be the servant of servants is a double slavery. Thus from being nobly born he became a slave, from having a wealthy father he became poor, from love he fell into hate, from favour into punishment. Again, he is raised from the prison to the court, from the bar to the judgement-seat. But he is neither depressed by adversity nor elated by prosperity.

24. The frequently changing condition of holy David also testifies how fleeting are the vicissitudes of life. He, overlooked by his father, but precious in the sight of God, exalted by his success, thrust down by envy, summoned to the service of the king and chosen to be his son-in-law, then again disguised in face and appearance, banished from the kingdom, flying from death at his own son's hands, weeping for his own offences, atoning for those of others, nobler in winning back the affection of the heir to his throne, than if he had disgraced him. Having thus tried every condition he says well, Ps. cxix. 71. *It is good for me that I have been humbled*.

25. This sentence however might well also be referred to Him Who Phil. ii. 6, 7. *being in the form of God*, and able to bow the heavens, yet came down, and *taking upon Him the form of a servant*, bore our infirmities. He, foreseeing that His saints would not think it a prize to claim the honour that

belonged to them, but would give place to their equals and prefer others to themselves, said, *It is good for me that I have been humbled*; it is good for me that I have subjected myself, that all things 1 Cor. xv. 28. *may be subject unto me, and God may be all in all*. Instil this humility into the minds of all, and shew yourself an example to all saying, Ib. xi. 1. *Be ye followers of me, even as I am also of Christ*.

26. Let them learn to seek the wealth of good wishes, and to be rich in holiness; the beauty of wealth consists not in the possession of money-bags, but in the maintenance of the poor. It is in the sick and needy that riches shine most. Wherefore let the wealthy learn to seek not their own things, but the things of Jesus Christ, that Christ also may seek them, and recompense to them what is their own. He spent for them His blood, He pours forth on them His Spirit, He offers to them His kingdom. What more shall He give, Who gave Himself, or what shall not the Father give, Who delivered up His Only Son to die for our sakes? Admonish them therefore to serve the Lord soberly and with grace, to lift their eyes with all diligence to heaven, to count nothing gain but what appertains to eternal life; for all this worldly gain is the loss of souls. He who desired Phil. iii. 8. *to win Christ, suffered the loss of all things*, which saying, marvellous as it is, falls short of what he had received, for he speaks of external things only, whereas Christ hath said, S. Luke ix. 23. *If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself*; let him lose himself so that Christ be gained. Fleeting are all things here, they bring loss and not gain; that only is gain, where enjoyment is perpetual, where eternal rest is our reward.

27. I commend to your care, my son, the Church which is at Forum Cornelii[5]; Being nigh thereunto, visit it frequently until a Bishop for it be ordained; I myself, engaged with the approaching season of Lent, cannot go to such a distance.

28. There you will find certain Illyrians imbued with the false doctrines of Arius; take heed of their tares, let them not come near the faithful, nor scatter their spurious seed. Let them remember what their perfidy has brought upon them[6], let them be quiet and follow the true faith. Difficult indeed it is for minds imbued with the poison of unbelief to rid themselves of this impiety, for it cleaves to them; and if the fatal venom has grown inveterate in them, you must not readily give them credence. For the very sinews and strength of wisdom lie in not giving credence too readily, especially in the matter of faith, which in men is seldom perfect.

29. Yet if any one, whose frailty is suspected and inclination dubious, desire nevertheless to clear himself of suspicion; suffer him to believe that he has made satisfaction, show him some indulgence, for if a man be cut off from reconciliation his mind is estranged. Thus skilful physicians, when they observe what they deem to be well-known diseases, do not apply a remedy, but wait their time, attending upon the sick man, and administering to him such soothing appliance as they can, to the intent that the disease may neither be aggravated by neglect or despair, nor may reject the medicine applied too early, for if an inexperienced physician touch it prematurely, it will never come to a head, just as even an apple, if shaken from the tree while yet unripe, soon withers.

30. Enjoin them too (as I have borrowed a figure from agriculture) to preserve inviolate the laws of common boundary, Deut. xix. 14. and to guard those paternal landmarks which the law protects. The affection of a neighbour often exceeds the love of a brother, for the one is often afar off, the other nigh at hand; the witness of your whole life, and judge of your conduct. Allow his cattle to stray at large over the neighbouring bounds, and to rest securely on the green herbage.

31. Let the master too temper with moderation his lawful rule over his servants, seeing that in soul they are brethren. For he is called the father of

the family, that he may govern them as sons; for he himself also is God's servant, and calls the Lord of heaven, the Source of all power, his Father.

Farewell; continue to love me, as I do you.

LETTER III. A.D. 380.

THIS GRACEFUL LITTLE letter, written in a tone of playful affectionateness, is addressed to Felix, who was, as the next letter shews, Bishop of Comum. It tells its own story.

AMBROSE TO FELIX.

1. I HAVE received your present of mushrooms; they were of an extraordinary size, so large as to excite admiration. I did not like to keep them hidden, as the saying is, in my bosom, but preferred shewing them to others also. Therefore I gave part to my friends, part I reserved for myself.

2. An agreeable present, but not of weight enough to repress my just complaint against you for never visiting one who has so long loved you. And take heed lest you hereafter have to bear yet heavier fungus-growths[7] of sorrow; for such things have a double signification; sent as gifts they are agreeable, in the body or the mind they are irksome. Prevail with yourself to cause me less sorrow by your absence, for my longing for you is the cause of my distress: make yourself, if you can, less necessary to me.

3. I have made my statement, proved my case. I am forced to assail you with that expression; no ordinary weapon, but one which will hit home[8]. You certainly shewed alarm; but see now that I am not so much grieved but that I can be playful about it. Hereafter however you must not excuse yourself, though your present excuse is to be a profitable one to me. Yet it were an ill judgment of you, and of me no better, to suppose that your absence is to be compensated by presents, or that I am to be bought off by them. Farewell: love me, as I do you.

LETTER IV. A.D. 380.

FELIX HAVING REPLIED to the preceding letter, S. Ambrose responds in the same affectionate style, rejoicing in the prospect of their meeting, asking meanwhile the prayers of Felix, and promising his own. He ends by praising Felix for 'fighting the good fight of faith,' and assures him of help and blessing.

AMBROSE TO FELIX, HEALTH.

1. ALTHOUGH not in a good state of bodily health, I derived no little alleviation from the perusal of words from a heart so congenial to my own, being refreshed by your discourse as by some soothing potion[9]; and also by your announcement that the day memorable for us both was at hand, that whereon you took on yourself the office of the high-priesthood of which I was just then speaking with my brother Bassianus[10]. For having begun to speak of the dedication of the Church which he had built in the name of the Apostles, we were led to the subject, for he said that he earnestly desired the company of your Holiness.

2. Wherefore I introduced the mention of your birthday[11], as being on the first of November, and that it was (if I mistook not) close at hand, and to be celebrated on the following day, so that after that it would yield you no excuse. So I made a promise on your behalf; for you too have liberty to do the same as regards me; I made a promise to him, and exacted one for myself: for I feel assured you will be present, because you ought to be. It will not therefore be so much my promise that will bind you, as your own purpose, having resolved to do that which you ought. You see then it was rather my knowledge of you, than any rash confidence which induced me to

give this pledge to my brother. Come then, lest you put two bishops to shame; yourself for not coming, me for having promised unadvisedly.

3. But we will remember your birthday in our prayers, and do you not forget us in yours. Our spirit shall accompany you; do you also, when you enter the second Tabernacle, which is called the Holy of Holies, do as we do, and carry us also in with you.

When in spirit you burn incense on the golden censer, forget us not; for it is the one which is in the second Tabernacle, and from which your prayer, full of wisdom, is directed to heaven as incense.

4. There is the Heb. ix. 4. *Ark of the Covenant overlaid round about with gold*; that is, the doctrine of Christ, the doctrine of the Wisdom of God. There is *the golden pot that had manna*, the depository, namely, of spiritual nutriment, and the store-place of divine knowledge. There is *the rod of Aaron*, the symbol of priestly grace. Before, it had withered, but it *budded* again in Christ. There are *the Cherubim* over the tables of the Covenant, that is, the knowledge of the sacred Lessons. There is the *Mercy-seat*, over which on high is God the Word, Col. i. 15. *the Image of the invisible God*, Who says to thee, Exod. xxv. 22. *I will commune with thee from above the Mercy-seat, between the two Cherubim*, for He speaks thus with us, that we may understand His saying, or because He speaks things not earthly but spiritual, as He saith, Ps. lxxviii. 2. *I will open My mouth in a parable*. For where Christ is, there are all things, there is His doctrine, there the remission of sins, there grace, there the separation of the living and the dead.

5. Aaron indeed once stood in the midst, Numb. xvi. 48. interposing himself to prevent death passing over to the hosts of the living from the carcases of the dead. But He, as the Word, ever stands within each of us, although we see Him not, and separates the faculties of our reason from the carcase of our deadly passions and pestilential thoughts. He standeth as He

Who came into the world to blunt the sting of death, to stop its devouring jaws, to give to the living an eternity of grace, to the dead a resurrection.

6. In His service you are warring a good warfare, His deposit you keep, His money you lend out at interest, as it is written, Deut. xv. 8. *Thou shalt lend unto many nations*; the good interest of spiritual grace, which the Lord when He comes will exact with usury; and when He finds that you have dispensed it well, He will give you for few things, many things. Then shall I reap most delightful fruit, in that my judgment of you is approved; the ordination which you received by the imposition of my hands and the benediction in the Name of the Lord Jesus will not be blamed. Work therefore a good work, that in that day you may receive a reward, and we may rest together, I in you and you in me.

7. S. Luke x. 2. *Plenteous is the harvest* of Christ, *but the labourers few*, and helpers are difficult to be found. So it was of old, but the Lord is powerful, Who will *send labourers into His harvest*. Without doubt among the ranks of the people of Comum[12] very many have already begun to believe by your ministry, and through your teaching have received the word of God. But He Who gave those who believe will also give them that will help: whereby all occasion will be removed for excusing yourself for your postponed visit, and thus also the grace of your presence will be more frequently shed around me.

Farewell: continue to love us, as you do.

LETTER V.

AMBROSE TO SYAGRIUS.

LETTER VI.

AMBROSE TO SYAGRIUS.

[To complete the character of S. Ambrose as shewn in his Letters, these will be printed at the end of the volume, but, on account of their subject, in the original Latin.]

LETTER VII. 381 A.D.

THE JUSTUS TO whom this letter and the following are addressed is in all probability S. Justus Bishop of Lyons, who is mentioned below as one of the Bishops who took part in the Council of Aquileia: that he was a Bishop is implied by S. Ambrose addressing him as 'brother.' The letter contains a mystical interpretation of the half-shekel of redemption, (Exodus xxx. 12. sqq.) and of the didrachma and stater of our Lord's miracle of the piece of money in the fish's mouth, and of the penny of the tribute money. The date given in the margin depends on the truth of the hypothesis that Justus is the Bishop of Lyons. Of him it is recorded that he did not return to his See after the Council of Aquileia, but became a monk in the deserts of Egypt. See Newman's Fleury vol. 1, p. 25.

AMBROSE TO JUSTUS, HEALTH.

1. YOUR question, my brother, as to the meaning of that shekel, half of which the Hebrew is commanded to offer for the redemption of the soul, is an excellent admonition to us to direct our intercourse by letter and our converse while at a distance to the interpretation of the heavenly oracles. For what can more unite us than to converse concerning the things of God?

2. Now the half of the shekel is a *piece of silver*, and the redemption of the soul is faith; faith therefore is that S. Luke xv. 8, 9. *piece of silver* which the *woman* in the Gospel, as we read, having *lost, diligently seeks for, lighting a candle and sweeping the house; and when she finds it, she calls together her friends and neighbours*, bidding them *rejoice with her for that she has found the piece of silver which she had lost*. For great is the loss of the soul, if a man lose his faith, or that grace which by means of faith he

had obtained to himself. Do thou therefore *light thy candle.* S. Matt. vi. 22. *Thy light is thine eye*; that is, the inward eye of the mind. Do thou light this candle, which is fed by spiritual oil, and *gives light to thy whole house*. Seek that *piece of silver*, the redemption of thy soul, which he that loses is troubled, he that finds rejoices.

3. Mercy too is the redemption of the soul; Prov. xiii. 8. for the redemption of a man's soul are his riches, by which he shews mercy, and expending them, relieves the poor. Wherefore faith, grace, and mercy, are the redemption of the soul, which is purchased by a piece of silver, that is, by the full price of a larger sum. For thus it is written in the words of the Lord to Moses: Exod. xxx. 12–15. *When thou takest the sum of the children of Israel after their number, then shall they give every man a ransom for his soul unto the Lord, when thou numberest them; that there be no plague among them when thou numberest them. This they shall give, every one that passeth among them that are numbered, half a shekel after the shekel of the sanctuary: (a shekel is twenty gerahs:) an half shekel shall be the offering of the Lord. Every one that passeth among them that are numbered, from twenty years old and above, shall give an offering unto the Lord. The rich shall not give more, and the poor shall not give less than half a shekel, when they give an offering unto the Lord to make an atonement for your souls. And thou shalt take the atonement money of the children of Israel and thou shalt appoint it for the service of the Tabernacle of the congregation, that it may be a memorial unto the children of Israel before the Lord, to make an atonement for your souls.*

4. Did then both the rich man who offered more, and the poor who had less, fail so much, if this half shekel consisted in money and had not hidden excellencies? Whence we are to understand that this half shekel is not material but spiritual, having to be paid by all and rated equally.

5. Again as to heavenly food (for the food and delight of heavenly nutriment is wisdom, whereon they feed in Paradise, the unfailing food of the soul, called in the Divine Word manna) the distribution of this was, we read, so made to each soul as to be equally divided. Ib. xvi. 17, 18. For they who gathered most and they who gathered least, all gathered according to the direction of Moses; and they made an omer the measure, and it did not exceed to him who gathered much nor fall short to him who gathered little. For each man, according to the number of souls who were with him in the tent, gathered for each an omer, that is, being interpreted, a measure of wine.

6. Now this is the measure of wisdom, which if it be above measure is hurtful, as it is written, Eccles. vii. 16. *Make not thyself over-wise*. And Paul has taught that the division of grace is according to measure, saying, 1 Cor. xii. 7–9. *The manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal, to one is given the word of wisdom, to another the word of knowledge*, [to another the faith of wisdom by the spirit of knowledge][13] *by the same Spirit, to another faith by the same Spirit*, and that this grace is given according to the will of the Spirit. In that He divides, He shews His equity, in that He divides as He will, His power. Or He may will to bestow that upon each which He knows will be profitable.

7. An omer then is a measure, and a measure of wine, Ps. civ. 15. *which maketh glad the heart of man*. For what is the joy of the heart but the draughts of wisdom? This is that Prov. ix. 2. *wine* which *Wisdom* hath *mingled* in a cup, and given us to drink, that we may receive to ourselves temperance and prudence, that wine which should be so equally transfused through all the senses and thoughts and all the emotions which are within this our house, that we may know how to abound to all and to be wanting to none.

8. More fully also it may be understood of the Blood of Christ, to Whose grace nothing can be added nor taken away. Whether you take little or drink much, to all the measure of Redemption is perfect.

9. Exod. xii. 4. The Passover too of the Lord, that is, the lamb, the fathers are ordered so to eat, that it might be according to the number of their souls, neither more nor less; that more should not be given to some, and less to others, but that it should be according to the number of their souls, lest the stronger should take more and the weaker less. For the grace, the gift, the redemption is distributed equally to all. And there ought not to be too many, lest any go away defrauded of his hope and redemption. Now there are too many, when any are beyond the number, for the saints are all S. Matt. x. 30. *numbered, and the hairs of their heads*; for *the Lord knoweth them that are His*. Neither can there be too few, lest any be too weak to receive the greatness of the grace.

10. Wherefore He hath commanded all to bring an equal faith and devotion to the Pasch of the Lord, that is, to the Passover. For it is the Pasch, when the mind lays down its senseless passion, and puts on good compassion, that it may suffer together with Christ, and take His Passover into itself, so as that He may 2 Cor. vi. 16. *dwell in* it, *and walk in* it, *and may* become *its God*. Thus grace is equal in all, but virtue is diverse in each. Let each then take that portion which fits his strength, that neither the stronger may lack nor the weaker be burthened.

11. This you have in the Gospel; S. Matt. xx. 10. for the same wages are paid to all the labourers in the vineyard; but few attain to the prize, to the reward; few say, 2 Tim. iv. 8. *There is laid up for me a crown of righteousness*. For the gift of bounty and of grace is one thing; another the wages of virtue, the recompense of labour.

12. Therefore a shekel is our ransom, nay half a shekel. He has redeemed us from death, redeemed from slavery, that we may not be subject to the

world, which we have renounced. Whence in the Gospel our Lord bids Peter S. Matt. xvii. 27. *go to the sea, and cast an hook*, and *take the stater which he will find in the fish's mouth*, and *give it to them* who required of the Lord and of himself a shekel. This then is that shekel which was exacted by the Law, nevertheless it was not due from the King's Son, but from strangers. For why should Christ ransom Himself from this world, when He came S. John i. 29. *to take away the sin of the world*? Why should He redeem Himself from sin, Who came down that He might remit to all their sins? Why should He redeem Himself from servitude, Who Phil. ii. 7. *emptied Himself* that He might give liberty to all? Why should He redeem Himself from death, Who took flesh, that by His Death He might obtain for all a resurrection?

13. Truly the Redeemer of all had no need of a redemption; but as He received circumcision that He might fulfil the Law, and came to be baptized that He S. Matt. iii. 15. *might fulfil righteousness*, so also did He not refuse to pay those who required of Him the shekel, but straightway commanded the stater to be given as the tribute for Himself and Peter. For He chose rather to give beyond the Law than to deny the Law's due. At the same time He shews that the Jews acted contrary to the Law, in exacting a shekel from one person, whereas Moses had ordained that half a shekel should be required. On this account He commanded as it were single pieces to be paid both for Himself and for Peter in the stater. Good is the tribute of Christ, which is paid by the *stater*, for justice is the *balance*[14], and justice is above the Law. Again, Rom. x. 4. *Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth*. This stater is found in the fish's mouth, of that fish which the fishers of men take, of that fish who weighs his words that Ps. xii. 6. they may be tried by the fire before they are uttered.

14. This stater the Jews knew not, giving Him up to the betrayer. But the Law exacts half a shekel for the redemption of a soul, and devotes it to God,

for she cannot claim the whole. For in the Jew scarcely a portion of devotion could be found. But he who is *free indeed*, a true Hebrew, belongs wholly to God, all that he has savours of liberty. He has nothing in common with him who refuses liberty, saying, Exod. xxi. 5. *I love my master, my wife, and my children, I will not go out free!* Which refers not only to his lord, but to the weakness of that man who shall have subjected himself to the world, in that he loves the world as his own soul, that is, his intelligence, the author of his will. Nor does it refer only to *his wife*, but also to that delight which cares for household not eternal things. This man's ear therefore his lord nails to his door or threshold, that he may remember these words whereby he chose servitude.

15. This man therefore, O Christian, imitate not; for thou art not commanded to offer half a shekel, but, S. Matt. xix. 21. *if thou wouldest be perfect*, to *sell all thou hast, and give to the poor*. Thou art not to reserve a part of thy service for the world, but to deny thyself altogether, and to *take up thy* Lord's *cross and follow Him*.

16. Now we have learned that the half-shekel was required by the Law, because the other half was reserved for the generation of this world, that is, for secular life, and domestic use, and for posterity, to whom it was necessary that a portion out of the original inheritance should be transmitted. Wherefore our Lord answered the Pharisees, when they tempted Him by the crafty question whether He would advise that tribute should be paid to Cæsar, S. Matt. xxii. 18, 19. *Why tempt ye Me, ye hypocrites, shew Me the tribute money*. And they brought Him a penny on which was Cæsar's image. He saith to them, *Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's*; shewing that they who thought themselves perfect were imperfect in that they paid to Cæsar before God. They with whom the world was their first care would first pay that which appertained to the world; wherefore He says *Render*,

that is, render ye, *the things which are Cæsar's* — ye, among whom the image and likeness of Cæsar is found.

17. Wherefore those Hebrew youths, Dan. iii. 18. and i. 8. Ananias, Azarias, Misael, and that wiser Daniel, who would not worship the image of the king, who received it not, nor any thing from the king's table, were not bound to pay tribute. For they possessed nothing that was under the power of an earthly king. And so their followers, they whose portion is God, pay no tribute. And so the Lord says, *Render*, that is, Do ye render, who have brought forth the image of Cæsar, with whom it is found, but I owe nothing to Cæsar, because I have nothing in this world. S. John xiv. 30. *The prince of this world cometh, and hath nothing in Me.* Peter owes nothing, nor the Apostles, because S. John xvii. 11, 14, 18. *they are not of this world* though *they are in this world. I have sent them into this world*, but now *they are not of this world*, because with Me they are above the world.

18. So that which belongs to the Divine Law, not to Cæsar, is that which is commanded to be paid. Yet even this He that was perfect, that is, the preacher of the Gospel, no longer owed, for He had preached more. The Son of God owed it not, nor did Peter who was by grace an adopted son of the Father. S. Matt. xvii. 27. *Notwithstanding*, says He, *lest we should offend them, go thou to the sea, and cast a hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up, and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a piece of money, that take, and give unto them for Me and thee*. O great mystery! He gives that half-shekel which the Law commanded, He refuses not what is of the Law, for He was Gal. iv. 4. *made of a woman, made under the Law*. 'Made,' I say, as regards His incarnation; 'of a woman,' as regards the sex; woman is the sex, virgin in the species; the sex relates to her nature, the virgin to her integrity. For wherein He came *under the Law*, therein He was *made of a woman*, that is, in the body. On this account He commands a shekel to be paid for Him and Peter, for both were born *under the Law*. He

commands it to be paid then according to the Law, that *He might redeem those who are under the Law*.

19. And yet He commands a stater to be paid that they might have their mouths closed, and so not commit sin by excess of talking. And He bids that to be given which was found in the mouth of the fish, that they might acknowledge the Word. For why was it that they who exacted what was of the Law, knew not what was the Law? For they ought not to have been ignorant of the Word of God; for it is written, Deut. xxx. 14. *The Word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart*. He therefore paid the whole shekel to God, who reserved no part for the world. For it is to God that righteousness, which is the moderation of the mind, is paid; to God is paid the keeping of the tongue, which is the moderation in speech. Rom. x. 10. *For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.*

20. The half-shekel may also be understood of the Old Testament, the whole shekel for the price of both Testaments, for according to the Law every one was redeemed by the Law, but he who is redeemed according to the Gospel, pays the half-shekel according to the Law, he is redeemed by the Blood of Christ according to grace, having a double redemption both of devotion and of Blood. For not even faith alone is sufficient for perfection, unless the redeemed also obtain the grace of Baptism, and receive the Blood of Christ. Good then is that half-shekel which is paid to God.

21. The half-shekel is not a penny[15], but is different. Again, in the penny is the image of Cæsar, in the half-shekel the image of God, for it is of one God, and formed after God Himself. Beginning from One it is infinitely diffused, and again, from the Infinite all things come back to one, as their end, for God is both the beginning and the end of all things. Wherefore arithmeticians have not called ‘one’ a number, but an element of number. And this we have said because it is written, Rev. i. 8. *I am Alpha and*

Omega, the beginning and the ending; and, Deut. vi. 4. *Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God is One Lord*.

22. Be thou then, after the likeness of God, one and the same; not sober to-day, drunken to-morrow; to-day pacific, to-morrow quarrelsome; to-day frugal, to-morrow immoderate; for each person is changed by diversity of manners and becomes another man, in whom that which he was is not recognized, while he begins to be that which he was not, degenerate from himself. It is a grievous thing to be changed for the worse. Be then as the image on the half-shekel, immutable, keeping daily the same deportment. Seeing the half-shekel, observe the image, that is, seeing the Law, observe in the Law Christ the Image of God; for He *is the Image of the invisible* and incorruptible *God*; let Him be displayed before thee as in the mirror of the Law. Confess Him in the Law, that thou mayest know Him again in the Gospel. If thou hast known Him in His precepts, acknowledge Him in works. Farewell, and if you do not think that this shekel has been committed to me unprofitably, doubt not to commit to me a second time whatever you may have to communicate.

LETTER VIII. A.D. 381.

S. AMBROSE IN this letter answers the objections raised against the Scriptures, that they were not written according to the rules of art, and illustrates his argument with various passages.

AMBROSE TO JUSTUS.

1. VERY many deny that the Sacred writers wrote according to the rules of art. Nor do we contend for the contrary; for they wrote not according to art, but according to grace, which is above all art; Acts ii. 4. for they wrote that which the Spirit gave them to speak. And yet they who wrote on art made use of their writings from which to frame their art, and to compose its comments and rules.

2. Again, in art there are principally required, a cause, a subject, and an end. When then we read that holy Isaac said to his father, αἴτιον, ὕλη, ἀποτέλεσμα. Gen. xxii. 7. *Behold the fire and the wood, but where is the lamb for a burnt offering*, which of these is wanting? For he who asks, doubts, he who answers the query pronounces and solves the doubt. *Behold the fire*, that is the cause, *and the wood*, that is ὕλη, which in Latin is 'materia,' what third thing remains but the end, which the son asked for, saying, *Where is the lamb for a burnt-offering*, and the father replied, Ib. 8. *My son, God will provide Himself a lamb for a burnt offering*?

3. Let us discuss for a little while the mystery. *God shewed a ram hanging by his horns.* Now the ram is the Word, full of tranquillity, moderation, and patience; whereby is shewn that Wisdom is a good sacrifice, and that He was well skilled in the mode of meritorious propitiation. Wherefore the Prophet also says, Ps. iv. 5. *Offer the sacrifice*

of righteousness. And so it is a sacrifice both of righteousness and of wisdom.

4. Here then is a mind fervent and glowing as fire which worketh; here is the thing to be understood, that is the subject-matter, where is the third, the understanding? Behold the colour, where is the seeing? behold the object of sense, where is the sense itself? For matter is not seen by all, and therefore God gives the gift of understanding, and feeling, and seeing.

5. The Word of God then is the end or completion; that is, the determination and completion of the discussion, which is communicated to the more prudent, and confirms things doubtful. Well do even they who believed not in the Coming of Christ refute themselves, so that they confess what they think to deny. For they say that the ram is the Word of God, and yet believe not the mystery of the Passion, whereas in that mystery is the Word of God, in Whom the Sacrifice was fulfilled.

6. Wherefore let us first kindle within us the fire of the mind, that it may work within us. Let us seek for the subject-matter, what it is that nourishes the mind, as if we were looking for it in darkness. Exod. xvi. 15, 16. For neither did the Fathers know what manna was: they found manna, it is said, declaring it to be the Discourse and word of God, from Whom all instruction as from a perennial fountain flows and is derived.

7. This is that heavenly food. And it is signified by the Person of the Speaker, Exod. xvi. 4. *Behold I will rain bread from heaven for you*. The 'cause' then we have in the operation of God, Who waters our minds with the dew of wisdom; the 'subject-matter' we have in that the minds which see and taste it are delighted, and inquire whence comes this which is brighter than light, sweeter than honey. They have their answer from the text of Scripture: Ib. 15. *This is the bread which the Lord hath given you to eat*; and this is the Word of God, Which God appointed and ordained, whereby the minds of the prudent are fed and comforted, which is white and

sweet, enlightening the minds of the hearers with the splendour of truth, and soothing them with the sweetness of virtue.

8. The Prophet had learned in himself what was the ‘cause’ of the thing to be completed. For when he was sent to the king of Egypt to deliver the people of God, he says, Ib. iii. 11–14. *Who am I, that I should go unto Pharaoh*, and deliver my people from the king’s power? the Lord answers, *I will be with thee*. Moses asked again, *What shall I say unto them, if they ask, Who is the Lord that hath sent thee, and what is His Name?* The Lord said, *I am that I am, thou shalt say*, I AM *hath sent me unto you*. This is the true Name of God — Eternity. Wherefore the Apostle also says of Christ, 2 Cor. i. 19. *For the Son of God, Jesus Christ, Who was preached among you by us, by me and Silvanus and Timotheus, was not Yea and Nay, but in Him was Yea*. Moses answered, Exod. iv. 1. *But behold they will not believe me, nor hearken unto my voice, for they will say, The Lord hath not appeared unto thee*. Then He gave him power to work miracles, that it might be believed that he was sent by God. A third time Moses says, Ib. 10. *I am not eloquent, but I am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue; how shall Pharaoh hear me?* the Lord answers, Ib. 12. *Go, and I will be with thy mouth, and teach thee what thou shalt say*.

9. These intermingled questions and answers contain the seeds and science of wisdom. The ‘end’ or ‘completion’ too is good, for He says, *I will be with thee*! And although He had given him power to work miracles, yet as he was still doubtful, that we might know that signs are for them that believe not, but the promise for believers, the weakness of his deserts or of his purpose receives this answer, Exod. iii. 12. *I will be with thy mouth, and teach thee what thou shalt say*! Thus a perfect ‘end’ is preserved.

10. This you have also in the Gospel, S. Matt. vii. 7. *Ask, and it shall be given you, seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you*. Ask from the ‘cause,’ that is, from the Author. You have as your subject-

matter things spiritual which cause you to seek; *knock, and* God the Word *opens to you*. That which asks is the mind, which works like fire; it is in things spiritual that the glow of the mind works, as fire on wood; God the Word opens unto you, this is the 'end.' We have also in another part of the Gospel these words of our Lord, Ib. x. 19, 20. *But when they deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak, for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you*.

11. These words too of Isaac you have in Genesis, Gen. xxvii. 20. *How is it that thou hast found it so quickly, my son? And he said, Because the Lord thy God brought it to me.* The Lord is the end. He who seeks in the Lord finds. And thus Laban who sought not in the Lord, Ib. xxxi. 33. for he sought idols, found not.

12. And he has well observed the rules[16] and distinctions as they are called. The first is Ib. xxvii. 4. *Go and take me some venison, that I may eat*. He excites and inflames his mind with the fire, as it were, of his exhortation, that he may labour and seek. The second is, *How is it that thou hast found it so quickly?* This is in the form of a question; the third is an answer, *Because the Lord thy God brought it to me*. The 'end' is God, Who concludes and perfects all things, of Whom we are not to doubt.

13. And there is a 'distinction' too as to spontaneous things; If you sow not, you shall not reap[17]; for although culture calls forth seeds, yet nature by a certain spontaneous impulse, worketh in them that they spring up.

14. Wherefore the Apostle says, 1 Cor. iii. 6, 7. *I have planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase. So then neither is he that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth, but God That giveth the increase!* God gives to you in the spirit, and the Lord sows in your heart. Take care then that He breathe life and sow in you, that you may reap; for if you sow not, neither shall you reap. This is a sort of admonition to you to sow. If you sow not

you shall not reap, is a proverb. The end agrees with the beginning; the seed is the beginning, the harvest the end.

15. Learn, he says, of me; nature aids the learner, and God is the Author of nature. It is of God too that we learn well, for it is a natural gift to learn well; the hard of heart learn not. Nature, which is preserved by the Divine bounty, gives the increase. The final consummation God giveth, that is, the most excellent and Divine Nature and Essence of the Trinity.

Farewell: love us, as you do, for we love you.

COUNCIL OF AQUILEIA A.D. 381.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF AQUILEIA AGAINST THE HERETICS PALLADIUS AND SECUNDIANUS.

THE official Record of the Proceedings of this Council seems to be inserted among S. Ambrose's Letters, partly because S. Ambrose took the leading part in them, and partly because they form the subject of the next series of letters, directly of the four first, and more indirectly of the two next, all of which, though written in the name of the Bishops of Italy, we may presume to have been S. Ambrose's composition. The Council was held in the year 381 A.D., the same year in which the Second General Council was held at Constantinople. It will be remembered that that Council, being summoned by Theodosius, then Emperor of the East, consisted of Eastern Bishops only. At this time Arianism, though rife in the East, seems not to have been prevalent in the West. S. Ambrose says, (Letter xi. 1.) 'as regards the West, two individuals only have been found to dare to oppose the Council with profane and impious words, men who had previously disturbed a mere corner of Dacia Ripensis.' These two men were Palladius and Secundianus. Palladius appears to have applied to Gratian to call a General Council, on the plea that he was falsely accused of Arianism,

in 379 A.D. Gratian granted his request, but afterwards, as we learn from his letter read at the Council, on the representation of S. Ambrose that such a question as the soundness or heresy of two Bishops might be settled by a Council of the Bishops of the Diocese of Italy, he so far altered his original order as to summon only these, giving permission for others to attend if they pleased. This reconsideration, and perhaps also the troubles that prevailed in the Empire at the time, (Tillemont Vie de S. Ambr. ch. xxiii.) caused such delay that it was not till towards the end of 381 A.D. that the Council assembled under the presidency of S. Valerian Bishop of Aquileia. The Bishops of Italy, with deputies from Gaul, Africa, and Illyria, to the number of thirty two or thirty three (see note 37) met at Aquileia at the beginning of September. The discussion recorded in the 'Gesta' took place probably on Septr. 3rd (see note 18) but S. Ambrose's words in § 2 imply that previous discussions had been held of which no Record had been taken, (diu citra acta tractavimus.)

The proceedings commence by the reading of the Emperor's Mandate. Palladius then raises objections on the ground of the absence of the Bishops from the East, and charges S. Ambrose with having tricked the Emperor into summoning only a small Council, and declines to take part in a Council which is not General. After some discussion on this point S. Ambrose proposes that Arius' letter from Nicomedia to S. Alexander should be read in detail, and Palladius called upon to condemn each heretical proposition. Palladius argues upon each, but eventually returns to his refusal to answer except in a General Council. In the end all the Bishops pronounce their decisions one by one, all agreeing that Palladius' doctrine was heretical and that he should be deposed. Secundianus is then more briefly dealt with in the same way. It would seem that the Record is incomplete, as the number of Bishops who give their decision is only 25, and the account of Secundianus' case ends abruptly without recording any decision. It may be

from the same cause that the Record itself is in one or two places seemingly defective, and the sense confused.

Secundianus is not mentioned again in History. Of Palladius it is said by Vigilius, Bishop of Thapsus in Africa, who lived in the latter part of the 5th Century, that after S. Ambrose's death he wrote a reply to his writings against Arianism, which Vigilius himself answered (Tillemont Vie de S. Ambr. xxvi.).

The genuineness of the Gesta has been disputed by Père Chifflet, who maintained that they were a forgery of the Vigilius mentioned above: his arguments however are satisfactorily refuted by Tillemont in an elaborate note. (Vol. x. p. 738. note 15. on S. Ambr. Life.)

1. IN the consulship of the illustrious SYAGRIUS and EUCHERIUS, on the 3rd day of September[18], the under-mentioned Bishops[19], sitting in council in the church at Aquileia, namely, VALERIAN, Bishop of Aquileia, AMBROSE, EUSEBIUS, LIMENIUS, ANEMIUS, SABINUS, ABUNDANTIUS, ARTEMIUS, CONSTANTIUS, JUSTUS, PHILASTER, CONSTANTIUS, THEODORUS, ALMACHIUS, DOMNINUS, AMANTIUS, MAXIMUS, FELIX, BASSIANUS, NUMIDIUS, JANUARIUS, PROCULUS, HELIODORUS, JOVINUS, FELIX, EXUPERANTIUS, DIOGENES, MAXIMUS, MACEDONIUS, CASSIANUS, MARCELLUS, and EUSTATHIUS, Bishops:

Ambrose, Bishop, said;

2. 'We have long been dealing with the matter without any Records[20], and now, since our ears are assailed with such sacrilegious words on the part of Palladius and Secundianus, that one can scarce believe that they could have so openly blasphemed, and that they may not attempt hereafter by any subtlety to deny their own words, though the testimony of such eminent Bishops does not admit of doubt, still as it is the pleasure of all the

Bishops, let Records be made, that no one may be able to deny his own profession. Do you therefore, holy men, declare what is your pleasure.'

All the Bishops said, 'It is our pleasure.'

Ambrose, Bishop, said, 'Our discussions must be confirmed by the Emperor's Letter, as the subject requires, so that they may be quoted.'

3. The Letter is read by Sabinianus a Deacon;

"Desirous to make our earliest efforts to prevent dissension among Bishops from uncertainty what doctrines they should reverence, we had ordered the Bishops to come together into the city of Aquileia, out of the diocese[21] which has been confided to the merits of your Excellency. For controversies of dubious import could not be better disentangled than by our constituting the Bishops themselves expounders of the dispute that has arisen, so that the same persons from whom come forth the instructions of doctrine may solve the contradictions of discordant teaching.

4. "Nor is our present order different from our last: we do not alter the tenour of our command, but we correct the superfluous numbers that would have assembled. For as Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, eminent both for the merits of his life and the favour of God, suggests that there is no occasion for numbers in a case in which the truth, though in the hands of a few supporters, would not suffer from many antagonists, and that he and the Bishops of the adjoining cities of Italy would be more than sufficient to meet the assertions of the opposite party, we have judged it right to refrain from troubling venerable men by bringing into strange lands any one who was either loaded with years, or disabled with bodily weakness, or in the slender circumstances of honourable poverty;[22] etc."

5. AMBROSE, Bishop, said; 'This is what a Christian Emperor has ordained. He has not thought fit to do an injury to the Bishops: he has constituted the Bishops themselves Judges. And therefore since we sit together in a Council of Bishops, answer to what is proposed to you. Arius's

letter has been read: it shall be recited now again, if you think proper. It contains blasphemies from the beginning; it says that the Father alone is eternal. If you think that the Son of God is not everlasting, support this doctrine in what manner you please: if you think it is a doctrine to be condemned, condemn it. Here is the Gospel, and the Apostle[23]: all the Scriptures are at hand. Support it from what quarter you please, if you think that the Son of God is not everlasting.'

6. PALLADIUS said; 'You have contrived, as appears by the sacred document[24] which you have brought forward, that this should not be a full and General Council: in the absence of our Colleagues we cannot answer.'

Ambrose, Bishop, said: 'Who are your colleagues?'

Palladius said: 'The Eastern Bishops.'

7. AMBROSE, Bishop, said: 'Inasmuch as in former times the usage of Councils has been that the Eastern Bishops should be appointed to hold them in the East, and the Western Bishops in the West, we, having our place in the West, are come together to the city of Aquileia according to the Emperor's command. Moreover, the Prefect of Italy has issued letters, that if the Eastern Bishops chose to meet, they should be allowed to do so; but inasmuch as they know that the custom is that the Council of the Eastern Bishops should be in the East and of the Western in the West, they have therefore thought fit not to come.'

8. PALLADIUS said: 'Our Emperor Gratian commanded the Eastern Bishops to come: do you deny that he did so? the Emperor himself told us that he had commanded the Eastern Bishops to come.'

Ambrose, Bishop, said: 'He certainly commanded them, in that he did not forbid them to come hither.'

Palladius said: 'But your prayer has prevented their coming: under a pretence of benevolence you have obtained this, and so put the Council off.'

9. AMBROSE, Bishop, said: ‘There is no occasion to wander any longer from the subject: answer now. Did Arius say rightly that the Father alone is eternal? and did he say this in agreement with the Scriptures or not?’

Palladius said: ‘I do not answer you.’

Constantius, Bishop, said: ‘Do not you answer when you have so long blasphemed?’

Eusebius, Bishop, said: ‘But you are under an obligation to express frankly the faith you claim the right to hold. If a heathen were to ask of you in what way you believe in Christ, you would be bound not to be ashamed to confess.’

10. SABINUS, Bishop, said: ‘It was your own request that we would answer: we come together this day according to your wish, and upon your own solicitation, and we have not waited for our other brethren, who might have come. It is therefore not open to you to wander from the subject. Do you say that Christ was created? or do you say that the Son of God is everlasting?’

Palladius said: ‘I have told you already: we said we would come and prove that you have not done well to take advantage of the Emperor.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said: ‘Let Palladius’s letter be read to shew whether he sent us this message, and it will appear that even now he is deceiving.’

Palladius said: ‘Let it be read by all means.’

The Bishops said: ‘When you saw the Emperor at Sirmium, did you address him, or was it he that pressed you?’ And they added: ‘What do you answer to this?’

Palladius answered: ‘He said to me, “Go.” We said: “Are the Eastern Bishops summoned to attend?” He said, “They are.” Should we have come if the Eastern Bishops had not been summoned?’

11. AMBROSE, Bishop, said: ‘Let the matter of the Eastern Bishops stand over. I enquire at present into your sentiments. Arius’s letter has been

read to you: you are in the habit of denying that you are an Arian. Either condemn Arius now, or defend him.'

Palladius said: 'It is not within the compass of your authority to ask this of me.'

Eusebius, Bishop, said: 'We do not believe that the religious Emperor said other than he wrote. He has ordered the Bishops to meet: it is impossible that he said to you and no one else contrary to his own letter, that the case was not to be discussed without the presence of the Eastern Bishops.'

Palladius said: 'He did, if the Italian Bishops alone were ordered to assemble.'

Evagrius, Presbyter and deputy, said:[25] [It is plain] 'that he promised to appear within four and even within two days. What then were you waiting for? was it, as you say, that you considered the opinion of your colleagues, the Eastern Bishops was to be waited for? Then you ought to have said so in your message, and not to have pledged yourself to discussion.'

Palladius said: 'I had come, believing it to be a General Council, but I saw that my colleagues had not assembled. I decided however[26] to come, in accordance with the summons, to bid you to do nothing to the prejudice of a future Council.'

12. AMBROSE, Bishop, said: 'You yourself required that we should sit to-day, moreover, even this very day you have said yourself "we come as Christians to Christians." You have therefore acknowledged us for Christians. You promised that you would engage in discussion: you promised that you would either assign your own reasons or accept ours. We therefore willingly accepted your opening, we wished that you should come as a Christian. I offered you the letter of Arius, which that Arius wrote, from whose name you say that you often suffer wrong. You say that you do

not follow Arius. To-day your sentiments must be made clear; either condemn him, or support him by whatever passage you will.'

He went on; 'Then according to Arius's letter Christ the Son of God is not everlasting?'

Palladius said; 'We said that we would prove ourselves Christians, but in a full Council. We do not answer you at all to the prejudice of a future Council.'

Eusebius, Bishop, said; 'You ought to state your profession of faith straightforwardly.'

Palladius said; 'And what do we reserve for the Council?'

13. AMBROSE, Bishop, said; 'He has been unanimously condemned who denies the Eternity of the Son of God. Arius denied it, Palladius, who will not condemn Arius, follows him. Consider then, whether his opinion is approved of; it is easy to perceive whether he speaks according to the Scriptures, or against the Scriptures. For we read: Rom. i. 20. *God's eternal Power and Godhead*. Christ is the Power of God. If then the Power of God is everlasting, Christ surely is everlasting; for 1 Cor. i. 18. *Christ is the Power of God*.'

Eusebius, Bishop, said; 'This is our faith: this is the Catholic doctrine; who says not this, let him be anathema.'

All the Bishops said; 'Anathema.'

14. EUSEBIUS, Bishop, said; 'He says specifically that the Father alone is everlasting, and that the Son at some time began to be.'

Palladius said; 'I have neither seen Arius, nor do I know who he is.'

Eusebius, Bishop, said; 'The blasphemy of Arius has been produced, in which he denies that the Son of God is everlasting. Do you condemn this wickedness and its author, or do you support it?'

Palladius said; 'When there is not the authority of a full Council, I do not speak.'

15. AMBROSE, Bishop, said; ‘Do you hesitate after the divine judgements to condemn Arius, when he has Acts i. 18. *burst asunder in the midst*?’ and he added; ‘Let the holy men too, the deputies of the Gauls, speak.’

Constantius, Bishop and deputy of the Gauls, said; ‘This impiety of that man we always have condemned, and we now condemn not only Arius, but also whoever does not say that the Son of God is everlasting.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘What says also my Lord Justus?’

Justus, Bishop and deputy of the Gauls, said; ‘He who does not confess that the Son of God is co-eternal with the Father, let him be accounted Anathema.’

All the Bishops said; ‘Anathema.’

16. AMBROSE, Bishop, said; ‘Let the deputies of the Africans speak too, who have brought hither the sentiments of all their countrymen.’

Felix, Bishop and deputy, said; ‘If any man denies that the Son of God is everlasting, and that He is co-eternal with the Father, not only do I the deputy of the whole province of Africa condemn him, but also the whole priestly company, which sent me to this most holy assembly, has itself also already condemned him.’

Anemius, Bishop, said; ‘There is no capital of Illyricum[27] but Sirmium: I am its Bishop. The person who does not confess the Son of God to be eternal and co-eternal with the Father, that is, everlasting, I call anathema; and I also say anathema to those who do not make the same confession.’

17. AMBROSE, Bishop, said; ‘Hear what follows.’ Then it was read; “Alone eternal, alone without beginning, alone true, Who alone has immortality.”

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘In this also condemn him who denies that the Son is very God. For since He Himself is the Truth, how is He not very God?’ And he added; ‘What say you to this?’

Palladius said; ‘Who denies that He is very Son?’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘Arius denied it.’

Palladius said; ‘When the Apostle says that Christ is God over all, can any one deny that He is the very Son of God?’

18. Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘That you may see with how much simplicity we seek the truth, lo, I say as you say: but I have then only half the truth. For by speaking thus, you appear to deny that He is very God; if however you confess simply that the Son of God is very God, state it in the order in which I propose it to you.’

Palladius said; ‘I speak to you according to the Scriptures: I call the Lord the very Son of God.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘Do you call the Son of God very Lord?’

Palladius said; ‘When I call Him very Son, what more is wanted?’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘I do not ask only that you should call Him very Son, but that you should call the Son of God very Lord.’

19. EUSEBIUS, Bishop, said; ‘Is Christ very God, according to the faith of all and to the Catholic profession?’

Palladius said; ‘He is the very Son of God.’

Eusebius, Bishop, said; ‘We also are by adoption sons; He is Son according to the property of His Divine Generation.’ And he added; ‘Do you confess that the very Son of God is very Lord by His Birth and essentially?’

Palladius said; ‘I call Him the very Son of God, only-begotten.’

Eusebius, Bishop, said; ‘Do you then think it is against the Scriptures, for Christ to be called very God?’

20. PALLADIUS being silent, Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘He who says only that He is the very Son of God, and will not say that He is very Lord, appears to deny it. Let Palladius then, if he does confess it, confess it in this order, and let him say whether he calls the Son of God very Lord.’

Palladius said; ‘When the Son says, S. John xvii. 3. *That they might know Thee the only true God and Jesus Christ Whom Thou hast sent*, is it by way of feeling only, or in truth?’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘John said in his epistle; 1 S. John v. 20. *This is the true God*. Deny this.’

Palladius said; ‘When I tell you that He is true Son, I acknowledge also a true Godhead.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘In this also there is evasion; for you art wont to speak of one only and true Godhead in such manner as to say that it is the divinity of the Father only, and not that of the Son also, which is one only and true. If then you wish to speak plainly, as you refer me to the Scriptures, say what the Evangelist John said; *This is the true God*, or deny that he hath said it.’

Palladius said; ‘Besides the Son there is none other that is begotten.’

21. EUSEBIUS, Bishop, said; ‘Is Christ very God, according to the faith of all and to the Catholic profession, or in your opinion is He not very God?’

Palladius said; ‘He is the Power of our God.’

Ambrose, Bishop said; ‘You do not speak frankly; and so anathema to him who does not confess that the Son of God is very Lord.’

All the Bishops said; ‘Let him be accounted anathema, who will not call Christ, the Son of God, very Lord.’

22. The reader continued; “Alone true, Who alone hath immortality.”

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘Has the Son of God immortality, or has He it not, in respect of His Godhead?’

Palladius said; ‘Do you accept or no the words of the Apostle, 1 Tim. vi. 16. *The King of kings Who alone hath immortality*?’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘What say you of Christ the Son of God?’

Palladius said; ‘Is Christ a divine Name or a human?’

23. EUSEBIUS, Bishop, said; ‘He is called Christ indeed according to the mystery of His Incarnation, but He is both God and Man.’

Palladius said; ‘Christ is a name of the flesh: Christ is a man’s name: do you answer me.’

Eusebius, Bishop, said; ‘Why do you dwell upon useless topics? When Arius’ impious words were read, who says of the Father that He alone hath immortality, you cited a testimony in confirmation of Arius’ impiety, quoting from the Apostle, *Who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto*. But if you understand it, he has expressed by the Name of God the dignity of the whole Nature, inasmuch as in the Name of God, both Father and Son are signified.’

Palladius said; ‘You also have not chosen to answer what I have asked.’

24. AMBROSE, Bishop, said; ‘I ask you to give your opinion plainly, has the Son of God immortality according to His divine generation, or has He not?’

Palladius said; ‘In respect of His divine generation He is incorruptible; and by means of His Incarnation He died.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘His divinity died not, but His flesh died.’

Palladius said; ‘Do you answer me first.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘Has the Son of God immortality in respect of His Godhead or has He it not? But have you not even now betrayed your fraudulent and insidious meaning according to Arius’ profession?’ and he added; ‘He who denies that the Son of God has immortality, what think you of him?’ All the Bishops said; ‘Let him be accounted anathema.’

25. PALLADIUS said; ‘A divine offspring is immortal.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘This also have you said evasively, to avoid expressing anything clearly about the Son of God. I say to you, the Son hath immortality in respect of His Godhead, or do you deny it and say that He has not.’

Palladius said; ‘Did Christ die or not?’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘In respect of the flesh He did: our soul does not die: for it is written, S. Matt. x. 28. *Fear not them who kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul*; seeing then that our soul cannot die, do you think Christ died in respect of His Godhead?’

Palladius said; ‘Why do you shrink from the name of death?’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘Nay, I do not shrink from it, but I confess it in respect of my flesh: for there is One by Whom I am released from the chains of death.’

Palladius said; ‘Death is caused by separation of the spirit (from the flesh), for Christ the Son of God took upon Him flesh, and by means of flesh he died.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘It is written that Christ suffered: He suffered then in respect of His flesh: in respect of His Godhead He has immortality. He who denies this, is a devil.’

Palladius said; ‘I know not Arius.’

26. AMBROSE, Bishop, said; ‘Then Arius said ill, since the Son of God also has immortality in respect of his Godhead.’ And he added, ‘Did he then say well or ill?’

Palladius said; ‘I do not agree.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘With whom do not you agree? Anathema to him, who does not frankly unfold his faith.’

All the Bishops said; ‘Anathema.’

Palladius said; ‘Say what you please; His Godhead is immortal.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘Whose? the Father’s or the Son’s?’ And he added: ‘Arius heaped together many impieties. But let us pass to other points.’

27. Then was recited; “Alone wise.”

Palladius said; ‘The Father is wise of himself, but the Son is not wise.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘Is then the Son not wise, when He Himself is Wisdom? For we also say that the Son is begotten of the Father.’

Eusebius, Bishop, said; ‘Is there anything as impious and profane as this which he said, that the Son of God is not wise?’

Palladius said; ‘He is called Wisdom, who can deny that he is Wisdom?’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘Is He wise or not?’

Palladius said; ‘He is Wisdom.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘Then He is wise, if He is Wisdom.’

Palladius said; ‘We answer you according to the Scriptures.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘Palladius, as far as I can see, has attempted to deny also that the Son of God is wise.’

Eusebius, Bishop, said; ‘He who denies that the Son of God is wise, let him be anathema.’

All the Bishops said; ‘Anathema.’

28. EUSEBIUS, Bishop, said; ‘Let Secundianus also answer to this.’

Secundianus being silent,

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘He who is silent wishes to reserve his judgement.’ And he added, ‘When he says that the Father alone is good, did he confess the Son or deny Him?’

Palladius said; ‘We read, S. John x. 11. *I am the good Shepherd*, and do we deny it? Who would not say that the Son of God is good?’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘Then is Christ good?’

Palladius said; ‘He is good.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘Arius then was wrong in asserting it of the Father alone, since the Son of God also is a good[28] God.’

Palladius said; ‘He who says that Christ is not good, says ill.’

29. EUSEBIUS, Bishop, said; ‘Do you confess that Christ is a good God? For I also am good. He has said to me; S. Luke xix. 17. *Well done,*

thou good servant; and, Ib. vi. 45. *A good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is good*.'

Palladius said; 'I have already said, I do not answer you until there is a full Council.'

Ambrose, Bishop, said; 'The Jews said S. John vii. 12. *He is a good man*; and Arius denies that the Son of God is good.'

Palladius said; 'Who can deny it?'

Eusebius, Bishop, said; 'Then the Son of God is a good God.'

Palladius said; 'The good Father begat a good Son.'

30. AMBROSE, Bishop, said; 'We also are begotten of Him and are good, but not in respect of Godhead. Do you call the Son of God a good God?'

Palladius said; 'The Son of God is good.'

Ambrose, Bishop, said; 'You see then that you call him a good Christ, a good Son, not a good God; which is what is asked of you.' And he added; 'He who does not confess that the Son of God is a good God, Anathema to him.'

All the Bishops said; 'Anathema.'

31. The reader likewise continued; "Alone mighty."

Ambrose, Bishop, said; 'Is the Son of God mighty or not?'

Palladius said; 'He Who made all things, is He not mighty? He Who made all things, is He deficient in might?'

Ambrose, Bishop, said: 'Then Arius said ill.' And he added; 'Do you even in this condemn Arius?'

Palladius said; 'How do I know who he is? I answer you for myself.'

Ambrose, Bishop, said; 'Is the Son of God the mighty God?'

Palladius said; 'He is mighty.'

Ambrose, Bishop, said; 'Is the Son of God the mighty God?'

Palladius said; ‘I have already said that the only-begotten Son of God is mighty.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘The mighty Lord.’

Palladius said; ‘The mighty Son of God.’

32. AMBROSE, Bishop, said; ‘Men also are mighty; for it is written, Ps. lii. 1. *Why boastest thou thyself in mischief, thou mighty man?* and in another place, 2 Cor. xii. 10. *When I am weak, then am I strong*. I ask you to confess that Christ the Son of God is the mighty Lord; or if you deny it, support your denial. For I speak of one Power of the Father and of the Son, and I call the Son of God mighty in the same way as the Father. Do you hesitate then to confess that the Son of God is the mighty Lord?’

Palladius said; ‘I have already said, we answer you in discussion as we can; for you wish to be sole judges, and at the same time parties to the case. We do not answer you now, but we will answer you in a General and full Council.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘Anathema to him who denies that Christ is the mighty Lord.’

All the Bishops said; ‘Anathema.’

33. It was likewise recited; “Alone mighty, Judge of all.”

Palladius said; ‘The Son of God, the Judge of all. There is Who gives, there is who receives.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘Did He give by grace or nature? Men also have judgement given them.’

Palladius said; ‘Do you call the Father greater or not?’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘I will answer you afterwards.’

Palladius said; ‘I do not answer you, if you do not answer me.’

Eusebius, Bishop, said; ‘Unless you condemn in order the impiety of Arius, we will give you no power of asking questions.’

Palladius said; ‘I do not answer you.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘Is the Son of God, as has been read, Judge or not?’

Palladius said; ‘If you do not answer me, I do not answer you, as being an impious person.’

34. AMBROSE, Bishop, said; ‘You have my profession, whereby I will answer you. In the mean time, let Arius’ letter be read through.’ And he added: ‘In that letter you will find that sacrilegious argument also which you are endeavouring at.’

Palladius said; ‘When I ask, do you not answer?’

Eusebius, Bishop, said; ‘We call the Son of God equal God.’

Palladius said: ‘You are Judge: your note-takers are here.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘Let any of yours write, who please.’

35. PALLADIUS said; ‘Is the Father greater or not?’

Eusebius, Bishop, said; ‘In respect of His Godhead the Son is equal to the Father. You have it in the Gospel that the Jews persecuted Him S. John v. 18. *because He not only broke the sabbath, but also called God His Father, making Himself equal with God*; what then impious men confessed while they persecuted, we who believe cannot deny.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘And in another place you have: Phil. ii. 6–8. *Who being in the form of God thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied himself*[29] *and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men; and became obedient unto death*. You see that in the form of God He is equal to God. And *he took*, S. Paul says, *the form of a servant*. In what then is He less? In respect surely of His form of a servant, not of the form of God?’

Eusebius, Bishop, said; ‘Just as, being established in the form of a servant, He was not less than a servant; so being established in the form of God, He could not be less than God.’

36. AMBROSE, Bishop, said; ‘Or say that in respect of Godhead the Son of God is less.’

Palladius said; ‘The Father is greater.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘In respect of the flesh.’

Palladius said; S. John xiv. 28. ‘*He who sent me, is greater than I*. Was the flesh sent by God or was the Son of God sent?’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘We prove this day that the holy Scriptures are falsely cited by you, for thus it is written: Ib. 27, 28. *Peace I leave unto you, my peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid: If ye loved me, ye would rejoice, because I said, I go unto the Father, for my Father is greater than I.* He did not say, He Who sent me is greater than I.’

Palladius said; ‘The Father is greater.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘Anathema to him, who adds to or takes from the holy Scriptures.’

All the Bishops said; ‘Anathema.’

37. PALLADIUS said; ‘The Father is greater than the Son.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘In respect of the flesh the Son is less than the Father: in respect of Godhead He is equal to the Father: I read therefore that the Son of God is equal to the Father, as also the instances that have been adduced testify. But why should you wonder that He is less in respect of the flesh, when He has called Himself a servant, a stone, a worm, when He has said that He is less than the angels, for it is written: Heb. ii. 7. *Thou madest him a little lower than the angels*.’

Palladius said; ‘I see that you make impious assertions. We do not answer you without arbiters.’

Sabinus, Bishop, said; ‘Let no one ask for an opinion from him who has blasphemed in such countless opinions.’

Palladius said; ‘We do not answer you.’

38. SABINUS, Bishop, said; ‘Palladius has now been condemned by all. The blasphemies of Arius are much lighter than those of Palladius.’

And when Palladius rose, as if he wished to go out, he said; ‘Palladius has risen, because he sees that he is to be convicted by manifest testimonies of the Scriptures, as indeed he has been already convicted: for thus it has been read, that in respect of Godhead the Son is equal to the Father. Let him admit that in respect of His Godhead the Son of God has no greater: it is written: Ib. vi. 13. *When God made promise to Abraham, because He could swear by no greater, he swear by himself*. You see therefore the Scripture, that He could swear by no greater. But it is the Son of Whom this is said, since it was He Who appeared to Abraham, whence also He says, S. John viii. 56. *He saw my day and was glad*.’

Palladius said; ‘The Father is greater.’

Eusebius, Bishop, said; ‘When He spake as God, He had no greater; when He spake as man, He had one greater.’

39. PALLADIUS said; ‘The Father begat the Son; the Father sent the Son.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘Anathema to him, who denies that in respect of His Godhead the Son is equal to the Father.’

All the Bishops said; ‘Anathema.’

Palladius said; ‘The Son is subject to the Father; the Son keeps the commands of the Father.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘He is subject in respect of His Incarnation. But even you yourself remember that you have read; S. John vi. 44. *No man can come unto me, except the Father draw him*.’

Sabinus, Bishop, said; ‘Let him say whether the Son is subject to the Father in respect of His Godhead, or in respect of His Incarnation.’

40. PALLADIUS said; ‘Then the Father is greater.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘In another place also it is written; 1 Cor. i. 8. *God is faithful, by Whom ye were called unto the fellowship of His Son*. I say that the Father is greater in respect of the assumption of the flesh, which the Son of God took upon Him, not in respect of the Son’s Godhead.’

Palladius said; ‘What then is the comparison of the Son of God? And can flesh say, God is greater than I? Did the flesh speak or the Godhead because the flesh was there?’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘The flesh does not speak without the soul.’

Eusebius, Bishop, said; ‘God in the flesh spoke according to the flesh, when He said, S. John viii. 40. *Why do ye persecute*[30] *me, a man?* Who said this?’

Palladius said; ‘The Son of God.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘Then the Son of God is God in respect of His Godhead and is man in respect of His flesh.’

Palladius said; ‘He took flesh upon Him.’

Eusebius, Bishop, said; ‘Accordingly He made use of human words.’

Palladius said; ‘He took man’s flesh upon Him.’

41. AMBROSE, Bishop, said; ‘Let him say that the Apostle did not call Him subject in respect of His Godhead, but in respect of His flesh; for it is written, *He humbled himself and became obedient unto death*. In what then did He taste death?’

Palladius said; ‘In that He humbled Himself.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘Not His Godhead but His flesh was humbled and subject.’ And he added; ‘Did Arius well or ill in calling him a perfect creature?’

Palladius said; ‘I do not answer you, for you have no authority.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘Profess what you please.’

Palladius said; ‘I do not answer you.’

42. SABINUS, Bishop, said; ‘Do you not answer on behalf of Arius? do you not answer to what has been asked?’

Palladius said; ‘I have not answered on behalf of Arius.’

Sabinus, Bishop, said; ‘You have answered so far as to deny that the Son of God is mighty, to deny that He is true God.’

Palladius said; ‘I do not allow you to be my judge, whom I convict of impiety.’

Sabinus, Bishop, said; ‘You yourself forced us to sit.’

Palladius said; ‘I gave in a request that you might sit, in order that I might convict you. Why have you practised upon the Emperor? You have gained by intrigue that the Council should not be a plenary one.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘When Arius’ impieties were read, your impiety also, which harmonized with his, was condemned equally. You have thought fit while the letter was in the midst of being read, to bring forward whatever passages you would: you were told in answer in what way the Son has said that the Father is greater, because in respect of His taking flesh upon Him, the Father is greater than He. You have urged also that the Son of God is subject; and on this head you were answered that the Son of God is subject in respect of His flesh, not in respect of His divinity. You have our profession. Now hear the rest. Since you have been answered, do you answer to what is read.’

43. PALLADIUS said; ‘I do not answer you, because what I have said has not been recorded; only your words are recorded. I do not answer you.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘You see that every thing is recorded. Moreover, what has been written is abundant for the proof of your impiety.’ And he added; ‘Do you say that Christ is a creature or do you deny it?’

Palladius said; ‘I do not answer you.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘An hour ago, when it was read that Arius called Christ a creature, you denied it: you had an opportunity offered you of

condemning his perfidy; you would not. Say now at last whether Christ was begotten of the Father or created.'

Palladius said; 'If you please, let my reporters come and so let the whole be taken down.'

Sabinus, Bishop, said; 'Let him send for his reporters.'

Palladius said; 'We will answer you in a full Council.'

44. AMBROSE, Bishop, said; 'Attalus subscribed the formula[31] of the Council of Nicæa. Let him deny it, as he has come to our Council. Let him say to-day, whether he subscribed the formula of the Council of Nicæa or no?'

Attalus remaining silent,

Ambrose, Bishop, said; 'Though the presbyter Attalus is an Arian, yet we give him permission to speak: let him frankly state whether he subscribed the formula of the Council of Nicæa under his Bishop Agrippinus, or no.'

Attalus said; 'You have already said that I have been several times condemned. I do not answer you.'

Ambrose, Bishop, said; 'Did you subscribe the formula of the Council of Nicæa or no?'

Attalus said; 'I do not answer you.'

45. PALLADIUS said; 'Do you now wish the formula to be regarded as general or no?'

Chromatius, presbyter, said; 'You have not denied that He is a creature, you have denied that He is mighty. You have denied every thing which the Catholic Faith professes.'

Sabinus, Bishop, said; 'We are witnesses that Attalus subscribed the Council of Nicæa, and that he now refuses to answer. What is the opinion of all?'

As Attalus did not speak,

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘Let him say whether he subscribed the formula of the Council of Nicæa or no.’

46. PALLADIUS said; ‘Let your reporter and ours stand forward and write down every thing.’

Valerian, Bishop, said; ‘What you have said and what you have denied is already all written.’

Palladius said; ‘Say what you please.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘Since Palladius who has been already many times condemned, wishes to be condemned still oftener, I am reading the letter of Arius which he has not chosen to condemn: do you state whether you approve of my doing so.’

All the Bishops said; ‘Let it be read.’

Then the words were read. “But begotten not putatively,” &c.

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘I have answered you on the Father’s being greater: I have answered you also on the Son’s being subject: do you yourself answer now.’

47. PALLADIUS said; ‘I will not answer unless arbiters come after the Lord’s day.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘You were come with a view to discussion, but since I have charged you with its doctrines, you have seen the letter of Arius which you have not chosen to condemn and which you cannot support: you now therefore shrink back and cavil. I read it to you fully point by point. Tell me whether you believe Christ to have been created; whether there was a time when he was not; or whether the only begotten Son of God has always existed. When you have heard Arius’ letter, either condemn it or approve of it.’

48. PALLADIUS said; ‘Since I convict you of impiety, I will not have you for judge. You are a transgressor.’

Sabinus, Bishop, said; ‘Say, what impieties you object to our brother and fellow-bishop Ambrose.’

Palladius said; ‘I have already told you, I will answer in a full Council, and with arbiters present.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘I desire to be confuted and convicted in the assembly of my brethren. Say then what I have said impiously; but I appear impious to you because I support piety.’

Sabinus, Bishop, said; ‘Does then he seem impious to you, who censures the blasphemies of Arius?’

49. PALLADIUS said; ‘I have not denied that the Son of God is good.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘Do you say that Christ is a good God?’

Palladius said; ‘I do not answer you.’

Valerian, Bishop, said; ‘Do not press Palladius so much: he cannot confess our truths with simplicity. For his conscience is confused with a twofold blasphemy: he was ordained by the Photinians and was condemned with them, and now he shall be condemned more fully.’

Palladius said; ‘Prove it.’

Sabinus, Bishop, said; ‘He would not have denied that Christ is true if he were not following his own teachers.’

50. AMBROSE, Bishop, said; ‘You have objected to me that I am impious: prove it.’

Palladius said; ‘We will bring forward our statement, and when we have brought it, then the discussion shall be held.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘Condemn the impiety of Arius.’

Palladius being silent,

Eusebius, Bishop, said; ‘He dwells upon useless subjects. There are so many impieties of Arius, which Palladius has not chosen to condemn, nay rather has confessed by supporting. He who does not condemn Arius is like him, and is rightly to be called a heretic.’

All the Bishops said; ‘On the part of us all let Palladius be anathema.’

51. AMBROSE, Bishop, said; ‘Do you consent, Palladius, that the other statements of Arius be read?’

Palladius said; ‘Give us arbiters: let reporters come on both sides. You cannot be judges unless we have arbitrators and unless persons come on both sides to arbitrate, we do not answer you.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘What arbitrators do you wish for?’

Palladius said; ‘There are here many men of high rank.’

Sabinus, Bishop, said; ‘After such a number of blasphemies do you wish for arbitrators?’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘Bishops ought to judge of laymen: not laymen of Bishops. But tell me what judges you wish for.’

Palladius said; ‘Let arbitrators attend.’

Chromatius, the Presbyter, said; ‘Without prejudice to condemnation by the Bishops, let those also who are of Palladius’ party be heard at full length.’

52. PALLADIUS said; ‘They are not allowed to speak. Let arbitrators attend and reporters on both sides, and then they will answer you in a General Council.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘Though he has been convicted of many impieties, yet we should blush that a person who claims the priesthood for himself should seem to have been condemned by laymen, and on this very ground and in this very point he deserves condemnation because he looks to the sentence of laymen, when priests ought rather to be the judges of laymen. Looking to what we have this day heard Palladius professing and to what he has refused to condemn, I pronounce him unworthy of the priesthood, and I judge that he should be deprived[32] thereof in order that a Catholic may be ordained in his place.’

All the Bishops said; ‘Anathema to Palladius.’

53. AMBROSE, Bishop, said; ‘The most gracious and Christian Emperor has committed the cause to the judgement of the Bishops and has constituted them arbitrators of the dispute[33]. Since therefore the decision appears to have been made over to us, so that we are the interpreters of the Scriptures, let us condemn Palladius, who has not chosen to condemn the sentiments of the impious Arius, and because he has himself denied the Son of God to be everlasting, and made the other statements which appear in our proceedings. Let him therefore be accounted Anathema.’

All the Bishops said; ‘We all condemn him; let him be accounted anathema.’

54. AMBROSE, Bishop, said; ‘Since all who are met here are Christian men, brethren approved of God, and our fellow-bishops, let each individual say, what he thinks.’

Valerian, Bishop, said; ‘My sentence is that he who defends Arius is an Arian; that he who does not condemn his blasphemies is himself a blasphemer; and therefore I judge that such a man is alien from the fellowship of Bishops.’

Palladius said; ‘You have begun to play; play on. Without an Eastern Council we answer you not.’

55. ANEMIUS, Bishop of Sirmium, said; ‘Whoever does not condemn the heresies of Arius must of necessity be an Arian. Him therefore I judge to be alien from our communion, and to be without place in the assembly of Bishops.’

Constantius, Bishop of Orange, said; ‘As Palladius is a disciple of Arius, whose impieties have been long since condemned by our Fathers in the Council of Nice, but have this day severally, when recited, been approved of by Palladius, inasmuch as he was not disturbed at his acknowledging that the Son of God was not of the same Nature with God the Father, and at his calling Him a creature, and saying that He began to be in time, and denying

Him to be true Lord, on these grounds, I judge that he should be condemned for ever.'

56. JUSTUS, Bishop, said; 'Palladius who has refused to condemn the blasphemies of Arius, and who seems rather to acknowledge them, can in my judgement no longer be called a Priest or be reckoned among Bishops.'

Eventius, Bishop of Ticinum, said; 'I think that Palladius who has refused to condemn the impieties of Arius, is removed for ever from the fellowship of Bishops.'

57. ABUNDANTIUS, Bishop of Trent, said; 'Since Palladius maintains evident blasphemies, let him know that he is condemned by the Council of Aquileia.'

Eusebius, Bishop of Bologna, said; 'Inasmuch as Palladius has not only refused to condemn the impieties of Arius, impieties written with the pen of the devil, and which it is not lawful so much as to listen to, but has also appeared as the maintainer of them by denying that the Son of God is true Lord, is good Lord, is wise Lord, is everlasting Lord; both by my sentence, and by the judgement of all Catholics I think that he is rightly condemned and excluded from the assembly of Bishops.'

58. SABINUS, Bishop of Placentia, said; 'Since it has been proved to all that Palladius supports the Arian perfidy and maintains its impiety that was counter to the Evangelical and apostolical institutions, a just sentence of the whole Council has been passed upon him, and humble individual as I am, let him by my judgement be deprived once more of the priesthood and banished justly from this most holy assembly.'

Felix and Numidius, deputies of Africa said; 'Anathema to the Sect of the Arian heresy to which by the Synod of Aquileia Palladius is pronounced to belong. But we condemn also those, who contradict the truth of the Nicene Synod.'

59. LIMENIUS, Bishop of Vercellæ, said; ‘It is manifest that the Arian doctrine has been often condemned: and therefore, inasmuch as Palladius having been appealed to in this holy Synod of Aquileia has refused to correct and amend himself, and has rather proved himself worthy of blame and defiled himself with the perfidy which he has publicly professed himself to hold, I too by my judgement declare that he is to be deprived of the fellowship of the Bishops.’

Maximus, Bishop of Emona, said; ‘That Palladius, who would not condemn, but has rather himself acknowledged, the blasphemies of Arius, is justly and deservedly condemned God knows, and the conscience of the faithful has condemned him.’

60. EXUPERANTIUS, Bishop of Dertona, said; ‘As the rest of my Colleagues have condemned Palladius who has refused to condemn the sect and doctrine of Arius, and on the contrary has defended them, I also likewise condemn him.’

Bassianus, Bishop of Lodi, said; ‘I have heard along with the rest of my Colleagues the impieties of Arius, which Palladius not only has not condemned but has confirmed. Let him be anathema and be deprived of the priesthood.’

61. PHILASTER, Bishop of Brescia, said; ‘The blasphemies and iniquity of Palladius, who follows and defends the Arian doctrine I in company with all have condemned.’

Constantius, Bishop of Sciscia, said; ‘As the rest of my brother Bishops, I also think that Palladius is to be condemned, who has refused to condemn the blasphemies and impieties of Arius.’

Heliodorus, Bishop of Altinum, said; ‘The man who maintains the perfidy of Arius, and of all the heretics with whom Palladius is partner, whose heart is foolish, and who has not confessed the truth, together with the rest of my brother Bishops I condemn.’

62. FELIX, Bishop of Jadera, said; ‘I also in like manner unite with all in condemning Palladius, who speaks blasphemies against the Son of God as Arius did.’

Theodorus, Bishop of Octodorum, said; ‘We judge Palladius, who has denied Christ to be true God, co-eternal with the Father, to be in no wise either a Christian or a priest.’

Domninus, Bishop of Grenoble, said; ‘As Palladius adheres to the perfidy of Arius, I also judge that he is to be condemned for ever, as my brethren also have condemned him.’

63. PROCULUS, Bishop of Marseilles, said; ‘Palladius, who by a kind of impious succession to the blasphemies of Arius has defended them in that he does not condemn them, as he has been already designated a blasphemer by the sentence of many venerable Bishops, and pronounced alien from the priesthood, so by my sentence also is marked out in the same manner as condemned for ever.’

Diogenes, Bishop of Genoa, said; ‘Palladius who while he does not confess has even denied Christ to be true Lord and God, like and equal to the Father, I together with the rest of my brethren and fellow Bishops adjudge to have the lot of condemnation.’

64. AMANTIUS, Bishop of Nice, said; ‘Palladius, who has refused to pull down the sect of Arius, according to the judgement of my brother Bishops, I also condemn.’

Januarius, Bishop, said; ‘As all my brother Bishops have condemned Palladius so also do I think that he ought to be condemned by a similar judgement[34].’

65. SECUNDIANUS having withdrawn for a while, and then returned to the Council[35],

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘You have heard, Secundianus, what sort of sentence the impious Palladius has received, having been condemned by the

Council of Bishops: and though we have been displeased that you have not shrunk from his madness, I nevertheless make some special enquiries of you. Do you say that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is or is not very God?'

Secundianus said; 'He who denies the Father of our Lord and God Jesus Christ to be true God is not a Christian, nor is he who denies that the Lord is the very Son of God.'

Ambrose, Bishop, said; 'Do you confess that the Son of God is very God?'

Secundianus said; 'I say that He is the very Son of God, the very only begotten Son of God.'

66. AMBROSE, Bishop, said; 'Do you call Him very Lord?'

Secundianus said; 'I call Him the very only-begotten Son of God. Who denies that He is the very Son of God?'

Eusebius, Bishop, said; 'It is not enough that you confess Him to be the only-begotten Son of God, for all confess this. But what influences us is that Arius said that the Father alone is Lord, alone is true, and denied that the Son of God is very Lord. Do you confess simply that the Son of God is very God?'

Secundianus said; 'Who Arius was, I know not; what he said, I know not. You speak with me, living man with living man. I say what Christ said: S. John i. 18. *The only begotten Son Which is in the bosom of the Father*. Therefore He asserts Himself to be the only-begotten Son of the Father: the only-begotten Son is then the very Son of God.'

67. AMBROSE, Bishop, said; "Is the very Son of God also very God? It is written in the divine books: Isa. lxv. 16. *he that sweareth on the earth, shall swear by the true God*, and that this applies to Christ there is no doubt. We therefore profess the true God, and this is our faith and profession, that

the only-begotten Son of the Father is very God. Do you then say ‘of very God,’ and then that the Son is very God.”

Secundianus said; ‘Of very God.’

68. AMBROSE, Bishop, said; ‘Is the Son of God very God?’

Secundianus said; ‘Then would he be a liar.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘In this you practise an evasion to avoid saying very God, but instead thereof, God, very only-begotten, and therefore say simply, The only-begotten Son of God is very God.’

Secundianus said; ‘I called Him the only-begotten Son of God.’

69. EUSEBIUS, Bishop, said; ‘This Photinus does not deny, this Sabellus confesses.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘And he who does not confess this is justly condemned, and on this point I appeal to you many times though by cavilling you have denied the truth. I do not ask you to call Him merely the very only-begotten Son of God, but to call Him also very God.’

Secundianus said; ‘I profess myself the servant of truth. What I say is not taken down and what you say is taken down. I say that Christ is the true Son of God. Who denies that He is the true Son of God?’

70. AMBROSE, Bishop, said; ‘He who denies that the only-begotten Son of God is very God, let him be anathema.’

Secundianus said; ‘The only-begotten Son of God, very God! why do you state to me what is not written?’

Ambrose, Bishop, said: ‘It is plain sacrilege, that Arius denied Christ the Son of God to be very God.’

Secundianus said; ‘Forasmuch as Christ is called the Son of God, I call the Son of God very Son[36]; but that He is very God is not written.’

71. AMBROSE, Bishop, said; ‘Have you not yet recovered your senses?’ And he added; ‘Lest it should appear that he has been unfairly treated, let

him state his opinion. Let him then say that Christ the only-begotten Son of God is very God.'

Secundianus said; 'I have already said. What more would you wring from me?'

Ambrose, Bishop, said; 'What have you said? certainly if you had said so great truths, what is said gloriously, may well be often repeated.'

Secundianus said; 'It is written, S. Matt. v. 37. *Let your conversation be yea, yea, nay, nay*.'

72. AMBROSE, Bishop, said; 'He who says that the Father Himself is the Son, is sacrilegious. This I ask of you that you would say that the Son of God is begotten very God of very God.'

Secundianus said; 'I say that the Son is begotten of God, as He says Himself Heb. i. 5. *I have begotten Thee*, and that He confesses Himself to be begotten.'

73. AMBROSE, Bishop, said; 'Is He very God of very God?'

Secundianus said; 'When you add to the Name and call Him very [God], do you understand what the character of your own faith is, and are you a Christian?'

Eusebius, Bishop, said; 'Who has denied that He is very God? Arius and Palladius have denied it. If you believe Him to be very God, you should simply express it.'

74. AMBROSE, Bishop, said; 'If you will not say that He is very God begotten of very God, you have denied Christ.'

Secundianus said; 'When asked about the Son, I answered you: I have answered as to the manner in which I ought to make my profession. We have your statement: we will bring it forward; let it be read.'

Ambrose, Bishop, said; 'You should have brought it forward to-day, but you are attempting a subterfuge. You demand a profession of me and I demand a profession of you. Is the Son of God very God?'

Secundianus said; ‘The Son of God is God only-begotten. I also ask him: Is He only-begotten?’

75. AMBROSE, Bishop, said; “Let reason move us: let us be moved too by your impiety and folly. When you speak of God very only-begotten, you do not apply the ‘very’ to ‘God,’ but to ‘only-begotten.’ And therefore to remove this question answer me this: Is He very God of very God?”

Secundianus said; ‘Did then God not beget God? He Who is very God begat What He is; He begat one true only-begotten Son.’

Ambrose, Bishop, said; ‘You do not confess Him very God but you would call Him very only-begotten. I too call Him only-begotten, but also very God.’

Secundianus said; ‘I say that he was begotten of the Father, I say to all that he was very begotten[37].’

The Names of the Bishops and Presbyters who were present at the Council.

VALERIAN, Bishop of Aquileia[38].

AMBROSE, Bishop of Milan.

EUSEBIUS, Bishop of Bologna.

LIMENIUS, Bishop of Vercellæ.

ANEMIUS, Bishop of Sirmium in Illyricum.

SABINUS, Bishop of Placentia.

ABUNDANTIUS, Bishop of Brescia.

CONSTANTIUS, Bishop of Orange, Deputy of the Gauls.

THEODORUS, Bishop of Octodurus.

DOMNINUS, Bishop of Grenoble.

AMANTIUS, Bishop of Nice.

MAXIMUS, Bishop of Emona.

BASSIANUS, Bishop of Lodi.

PROCULUS, Bishop of Marseilles, Deputy of the Gauls.

HELIODORUS, Bishop of Altinum.

FELIX, Bishop of Jadera.

EVENTIUS, Bishop of Ticinum[39].

EXSUPERANTIUS, Bishop of Dertona.

DIOGENES, Bishop of Genoa.

CONSTANTIUS, Bishop of Sciscia.

JUSTUS, Bishop of Lyons, also Deputy of the Gauls.

FELIX, Deputy of Africa.

NUMIDIUS, Deputy of Africa.

EVAGRIUS, Presbyter and Deputy.

ARTEMIUS, ALMACHIUS, JANUARIUS, JOVINUS, MACEDONIUS, CASSIANUS, MARCELLUS, EUSTATHIUS, MAXIMUS, CHROMATIUS a Presbyter.

LETTER IX. A.D. 381.

A FORMAL LETTER from the Italian Bishops assembled at Aquileia, thanking the Bishops of the three Provinces for the presence of their deputies, and announcing officially the condemnation of Palladius and Secundianus.

THE COUNCIL WHICH IS ASSEMBLED AT AQUILEIA TO OUR MOST BELOVED BRETHREN, THE BISHOPS OF THE VIENNESE AND THE FIRST AND SECOND NARBONESE PROVINCES[40] IN GAUL.

1. WE return thanks to your holy unanimity that in the persons of our Lords and brethren Constantius and Proculus you have given us the presence of you all, and at the same time following the directions of former times, have added not a little weight to our judgement, with which the profession of your holinesses also is in agreement, Lords and brethren most beloved. Therefore, as we received with gladness the above mentioned holy men of your order and ours, so do we also dismiss them with an abundant offering of thanks.

2. But how necessary the meeting was will be plain from the mere facts, since the adversaries and enemies of God, the defenders of the Arian sect and heresy, Palladius and Secundianus, the only two who dared to come to the meeting of the Council, received in person their due sentence, being convicted of impiety. Farewell. May our Almighty God keep you safe and prosperous, Lords and brethren most beloved. Amen.

LETTER X. A.D. 381.

IN THIS LETTER, addressed formally to the three Emperors, but really to Gratian, the Council offer their thanks for the summoning of the Council, and announce its results, requesting that they may be enforced by the imperial authority. They also request the removal of Julius Valens from Italy, and that the Photinians may be forbidden to hold assemblies, which they were doing at Sirmium.

THE HOLY COUNCIL WHICH IS ASSEMBLED AT AQUILEIA TO THE MOST GRACIOUS AND CHRISTIAN EMPERORS, AND MOST BLESSED PRINCES, GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN, AND THEODOSIUS.

1. BLESSED be God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Who has given you the Roman empire, and blessed be our Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, Who guards your reign with His loving-kindness, before Whom we return you thanks, most gracious Princes, that you have both proved the earnestness of your own faith in that you were zealous to assemble the Council of Bishops for the removal of disputes, and that in your condescension you reserved for the Bishops the honourable privilege that no one should be absent who wished to attend, and none should be constrained to attend against his will.

2. Therefore according to the directions of your Graces we have met together without the odium of large numbers and with zeal for discussion, nor were any of the Bishops found to be heretics, except Palladius and Secundianus, names of ancient perfidy, on whose account people from the farthest portions of the Roman world demanded that a Council should be summoned. None however, loaded with the years of a long life, whose gray

hairs alone would be entitled to reverence, was compelled to come from the most distant recesses of the Ocean: and yet nothing was lacking to the Council: no one dragging a feeble frame, weighed down by his campaigns of fasting, was forced by the hardships of his journey to lament the inconvenience of his loss of strength; no one finally, being without the means of coming, had to mourn over a poverty honourable to a Bishop. So that what the divine Scripture has praised was fulfilled in you, most merciful of Princes, Gratian, Ps. xli. 1. C.P.T. *Blessed is he that considereth the poor and needy*.

3. But what a hardship would it have been that on account of two Bishops only, who are rotten in perfidy, the Churches over the whole world should be left destitute of their Bishops. But though owing to the distance of the journey they could not come personally, nearly all from all the western provinces were present by the sending of deputies, and proved by manifest attestations that they hold what we assert and that they agree in the formula of the Council of Nicæa, as the documents hereto attached declare. Therefore the prayers of the nations are now in concert every where on behalf of your Empire, and yet assertors of the Faith have not been wanting to your decision. For though the directions of our predecessors, from which it is impious and sacrilegious to deviate, were plain enough, still we gave them the opportunity of discussion.

4. And in the first instance we examined the very beginning of the question which had arisen, and we thought fit to hear recited the letter of Arius, who is found to be the author of the Arian heresy, from whom also the heresy received its name, the arrangement being thus far even favourable to them, that since they had been in the habit of denying that they were Arians they might either by censure condemn the blasphemies of Arius, or by argument maintain them, or at least not refuse the name of the person, whose impiety and perfidy they followed. But inasmuch as they

could not condemn and were unwilling to support their Founder, after they had themselves, three days before, challenged us to a discussion, fixing place and time, and gone forth to it without waiting to be summoned, on a sudden the very individuals, who had said that they would easily prove that they were Christians, (which we heard with pleasure, and hoped that they would prove,) began to shrink from the engagement on the spot and to decline the discussion.

5. Yet had we much discourse with them: the divine Scriptures were set forth in the midst; and they had the offer made to them of a patient discussion from sun-rise to the seventh hour of the day. And would that they had said little, or that we could cancel what we heard. For when Arius by saying in sacrilegious words that the Father was alone eternal, alone good, alone true God, alone possessing immortality, alone wise and alone powerful, had intended that the Son by an impious inference should be understood to be without these attributes, these men have preferred following Arius to confessing that the Son of God is everlasting God and very God, and good God and wise and powerful and possessing immortality. We spent several hours to no purpose. Their impiety waxed greater and could in no wise be corrected.

6. At last when they saw that they were pressed by the sacrileges of Arius' letter, (which we have appended in order that even your Graces might shrink from it) they started away in the middle of the reading of the letter, and asked us to answer what they proposed. Though it lay not within either order or reason that we should interrupt the plan laid down, and though we had already answered that they were to condemn the impieties of Arius and then we would answer about whatever proposals of theirs they pleased, preserving order and plan, we notwithstanding acceded to their unreasonable wish: on which, falsifying the scriptures of the Gospel, they

stated to us that our Lord said, *He that sent Me is greater than I*: whereas the course of the Scriptures teaches us that it is written otherwise.

7. They were convicted of the falsehood even to confession: they were not however corrected by reason. For when we said that the Son is called less than the Father in respect to his taking flesh upon Him, but is proved according to the testimonies of the Scriptures to be like and equal to the Father in respect of His Godhead, and that there could not be degrees of any distinction or greatness, when there was unity of power; they not only would not correct their error; but began to carry their madness further, so as even to say that the Son is subject in respect of His divinity, as if there could be any subjection of God in respect of His Divinity and Majesty. In short they refer His death not to the mystery of our salvation, but to some infirmity of His Godhead.

8. We shudder, most gracious Princes, at such dire sacrileges, and such wicked teachers, and that they might not any longer deceive the people of whom they had a hold, we judged that they should be degraded from the Priesthood, since they agreed with the impieties of the book put before them. For it is not reasonable that they should claim to themselves the Priesthood of Him Whom they have denied. We appeal to your faith and your glory that you would shew the respect of your government to Him Who is the author of it, and judge that the assertors of impiety and debauchers of the truth be kept away from the threshold of the Church, by an order of your Graces issued to the competent authorities, and that Holy Bishops be put into the place of the condemned ones by deputies of our humble appointment.

9. The Presbyter Attalus[41] too who avows his error and adheres to the sacrilegious doctrines of Palladius is included under a similar sentence. For why should we speak of his master Julianus Valens[42]? who although he was close at hand shunned coming to the Council of Bishops for fear he should

be compelled to account to the Bishops for the ruin of his country, and his treason to his countrymen: a man, who, polluted with the impiety of the Goths, presumed, as is asserted, to go forth in the sight of a Roman army, wearing like a Pagan a collar and bracelet: which is unquestionably a sacrilege not only in a Bishop, but also in any Christian whatever: for it is alien to the Roman customs. It may be that the idolatrous priests of the Goths commonly go forth in such guise.

10. Let your piety be moved by the title of Bishop, which that sacrilegious person dishonours, convicted as he is of atrocious crime even by the voice of his own people, if indeed any of his own people can still survive. Let him at least return to his own home, and cease to contaminate the most flourishing cities of Italy; at present by unlawful ordinations he is associating with himself persons like himself, and he endeavours by help of all abandoned individuals to leave behind him a seed-plot of his own impiety and perfidy: whereas he has not so much as begun to be a Bishop. For, to begin with, at Petavio he was put in the place of the holy Marcus, a Bishop whose memory is highly esteemed: but, having been disgracefully degraded by the people, unable to remain at Petavio, he has been riding in state at Milan, after the overthrow, say rather the betrayal, of his country.

11. Deign then, most pious princes, to deal with all these matters, lest we should appear to have met to no purpose, when we obeyed your Graces' injunctions: for care must be taken that not only our decisions but yours also be saved from dishonour. We must request therefore that your Graces would be pleased to listen indulgently to the deputies of the Council, Holy men, and bid them to return speedily with accomplishment of what we ask for, that you may receive a reward from Christ our Lord and God, Whose Church you have cleansed from all stain of sacrilegious persons.

12. With respect to the Photinians also, whom by a former law you forbad forming assemblies, revoking at the same time the law which had

been passed for the assembling of a Council of Bishops[43], we request of your Graces, that as we have ascertained that they are attempting to hold assemblies in the town of Sirmium, you would by now again interdicting their meetings, cause respect to be paid, in the first place to the Catholic Church, and next to your own laws, that with God for your Patron you may be triumphant, while you provide for the peace and tranquillity of the Church.

LETTER XI. A.D. 381.

THIS LETTER, WHICH, like the previous one, is really addressed to Gratian, though in accordance with custom formally superscribed with the names of all the three Emperors, urges him to support Damasus as the orthodox and duly elected Bishop of Rome, and to condemn his rival Ursinus, whose interference with their Council, and intrigues with the Arian party they also inform him of.

TO THE MOST GRACIOUS EMPERORS AND CHRISTIAN PRINCES, THE MOST GLORIOUS AND MOST BLESSED, GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN, AND THEODOSIUS, THE COUNCIL WHICH IS ASSEMBLED AT AQUILEIA.

1. YOUR enactments have indeed already provided, most gracious Princes, that the perfidy of the Arians may not any further either be concealed or diffused: for we do not conceive that the decrees of the Council will be without effect; for as regards the West, two individuals only have been found to dare to oppose the Council with profane and impious words, men who had previously disturbed a mere corner of Dacia Ripensis[44].

2. There is another subject which distresses us more, which, as we were assembled, it was our business to discuss duly, lest it should spread through the whole body of the Church diffused over the whole world, and so trouble all things For though we were generally agreed that Ursinus[45] could not have overreached your piety (though he allows nothing to be quiet, and amid the many urgencies of war would press upon you with his importunity) still lest your holy tranquillity of mind, which delights in

having all persons in its care, should be swayed by the false adulation of that unreasonable person, we think it right, if you condescendingly allow it, to offer you our prayers and entreaties, not only to guard against what may be, but shuddering at past things also which have been brought about by his temerity. For if he found any vent for his audacity, where would he not spread confusion?

3. But if pity for a single person can sway you, much more let the prayer of all the Bishops move you. For which of us will be united to him in fellowship and communion when he has attempted to usurp a place not due to him, and one he could not lawfully have arrived at, and endeavours to regain in a manner most unreasonable what he was most unreasonable in aiming at? Often as he has been found guilty of turbulence, he still goes on, as if his past conduct should inspire no horror. He was often, as we ascertained and saw in the present Council, in union and combination with the Arians at the time when he endeavoured in company with Valens[46] to disturb the Church of Milan with their detestable assembly: holding private meetings sometimes before the doors of the synagogue and sometimes in the houses of the Arians, and uniting his friends to them; and, as he could not go openly himself to their congregations, teaching and informing them in what way the Church's peace might be disturbed. Their madness gave him fresh courage, so as well to earn the favour of their supporters and allies.

4. When therefore it is written; Titus iii. 10. *a man that is an heretic after*[47] *one admonition reject*, and when another man who spoke by the Holy Spirit has said 2 S. John 10. that beasts such as these should be spurned and not received with greeting or welcome, how is it possible that we should not judge the person whom we have seen united to their society to be also a maintainer of their perfidy? What even if he were not there? We might still have besought your Graces not to allow the Roman Church, the

Head of the whole Roman world, and the sacred faith of the Apostles to be disturbed; for from thence flow all the rights of venerable Communion to all persons. And therefore we pray and beseech you that you would condescend to take from him the means of stealing advantage from you.

5. We know your Graces' holy modesty: let him not press upon you words unbecoming your ears, or give his noisy utterance to what is alien from the office and name of a Bishop, or say to you what is unseemly. When he ought to have 1 Tim. iii. 3–7. *a good report* even *from those who are without*, let your Graces condescend to recollect what was the testimony with which the men of his own city have followed him. For it is a shame to say and against modesty to repeat how disgraceful is the rumour, with the reproach of which he is wounded. The shame of this ought to have constrained him to silence, and if he partook in any degree of the feelings and conscience of a Bishop, he would prefer the Church's peace and concord to his own ambition and inclination. But, lost to all shame, he sends letters by Paschasius an excommunicated person, the standard bearer of his madness, and so sows confusion, and attempts to excite even Gentiles and abandoned characters.

6. We therefore entreat you to restore by the degradation of that most troublesome person the security which has been interrupted both to us Bishops and to the Roman people, which is at present in uncertainty and suspense since the memorial of the Prefect of the city. And on obtaining this let us in continuous and unbroken course offer thanksgivings to God the Almighty Father and to Christ our Lord God.

LETTER XII. A.D. 381.

THIS LETTER, REFERRING to the settlement of affairs in the East, is really addressed to Theodosius, the Emperor of the East. After expressing the thanks due to the Emperors for the success which has attended their efforts to establish the true faith throughout the Empire, the Bishops beg that Theodosius will use his influence to settle the questions of disputed succession, which were vexing the Churches of Alexandria and Antioch, and endangering the maintenance of Communion between the East and West. They ask therefore that a general Council may be summoned to Alexandria to settle both questions.

TO THE MOST GRACIOUS AND CHRISTIAN EMPERORS, THE GLORIOUS AND MOST BLESSED PRINCES, GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN, AND THEODOSIUS, THE HOLY COUNCIL WHICH IS ASSEMBLED AT AQUILEIA.

1. MOST gracious Emperors and most blessed and most glorious princes, Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, beloved of God the Father and of His Son our Lord Jesus Christ, we are unable to match the benefits which your piety has conferred upon us, even with the most overflowing return of thanks. For now that, after many times of trial and various persecutions, which the Arians, especially Lucius[48], who marked his course by the impious murder of monks and virgins, and Demophilus[49] too, an evil source of perfidy, brought on the Catholics, all the Churches of God, in the East especially, have been restored to the Catholics; while in the West scarce two heretics have been found to oppose the decrees of the Holy

Council, who can conceive himself able to make an adequate acknowledgement of your goodness?

2. But though we cannot give full expression to your favours in words, we still desire to recompense them by the prayers of the Council; and though in all the several Churches we celebrate our daily vigils for your Empire before our God, still when assembled in one body, than which service we conceive nothing can be more glorious, we offer thanksgivings to our Almighty God both on behalf of the Empire, and of your own peace and safety, because peace and concord have been so shed over us through you.

3. In the West indeed only in two corners, on the borders of Dacia Ripensis and of Moesia did murmurs appear to have been raised against the faith: and these places after the sentence of the Council should, we conceive, be immediately provided for with your Graces' indulgence. But over all tracts and countries and village departments as far as the Ocean, the communion of the faithful remains one and unpolluted. And in the East we have had the greatest joy and delight in learning that the Arians, who had violently invaded the Churches, have been ejected, and that the sacred temples of God are frequented by Catholics alone.

4. But still since the envy of the Devil is never wont to rest, we hear that there are among the Catholics themselves frequent dissensions and implacable discord; and all our feelings are disturbed at ascertaining that many things have been innovated upon, and that persons are molested now who should have been relieved, men who continued always in our Communion. In short Timotheus Bishop of the Church of Alexandria, and Paulinus Bishop of the Church of Antioch[50], who always maintained the concord of Communion with us inviolate, are said to be distressed by the variances of other persons, whose faith in former times was scarcely stedfast. These persons, if it be possible, and they are recommended by a

sufficient faith, we would wish to have added to our fellowship: but without prejudice to the rights of those who share with us the ancient Communion. And our care for them is not superfluous, first of all because the fellowship of Communion should be clear of all offence, and secondly, because we have long since received letters from both parties, and particularly from those who were divided in the Church of Antioch.

5. Indeed if the irruption of the enemy[51] had not hindered, we had made arrangements to send thither some of our own number, to take the office of umpires and referees for diffusing peace again, should it be possible. But since our desires could not have accomplishment at that time owing to the troubles of the state, we think it right to offer our prayers to your Goodness, asking that by agreement[52] between the factions, on the death of the one, the rights of the Church should remain with the survivor, and that no additional consecration should be forcibly attempted. And therefore we request you, most gracious and Christian Princes, that you would have a Council of all Catholic Bishops held at Alexandria, that they may more fully discuss and define among themselves to whom Communion is to be imparted and with whom it is to be maintained[53].

6. For though we have always supported the disposition and order of the Church of Alexandria, and according to the manner and custom of our predecessors we retain Communion with it in indissoluble fellowship to these present times, still lest it should be thought that persons have been neglected who have sought our Communion according to the agreement, which we wish should stand, or that the shortest road to that peace and fellowship of the faithful has not been taken, we pray you that when they have discussed these matters in a full assembly among themselves, the decrees of the Bishops may be furthered by the assistance ministered by your Goodness. And allow us to be made acquainted with this, that our minds may not waver in uncertainty, but that, full of joy and relieved from

anxiety, we may return thanks to your goodness before Almighty God, not only that heresy is shut out, but also that faith and concord are restored to the Catholics. The prayer which the African and Gallic Churches offer you through their deputies is this, that you would make the Bishops over the whole world your debtors, though the debt already due to your excellence is not small.

7. To offer however our entreaties to your clemency and to obtain what we ask for, we have sent as deputies our brethren and fellow-presbyters, whom we pray you that you would condescend graciously to listen to, and allow to return speedily.

LETTER XIII. A.D. 382.

IN THE YEAR following the Council of Aquileia, a Council of the Bishops of the civil Diocese of Italy appears to have been held, over which S. Ambrose presided. It appears to have dealt principally with the questions at issue between the East and West. This letter was written by S. Ambrose in the name of the Council, after the end of its session (‘in concilio nuper,’ § 3), to Theodosius. The Bishops complain of the election of Flavian to succeed Meletius at Antioch, contrary to the compromise which they urged in the last letter, and maintain Maximus’ claim to the see of Constantinople against Nectarius, urging again the necessity of a General Council of both East and West, to settle finally all the questions in dispute between them, and suggest that it should be held at Rome.

TO THE MOST BLESSED EMPEROR AND MOST GRACIOUS PRINCE THEODOSIUS, AMBROSE AND THE OTHER BISHOPS OF ITALY.

1. WE knew indeed that your holy mind was devoted to God in pure and sincere faith, but your Majesty has loaded us with fresh benefits in restoring the Catholics to the Churches. And I would that you could have restored the Catholics themselves to their ancient reverence, that they would innovate in nothing against the prescription of our ancestors, and not be hasty either to rescind what they ought to maintain nor to maintain what they ought to rescind. Therefore we sigh, your Majesty, perhaps with too much grief, but not without sufficient reason, that it has proved easier to get the heretics expelled than to establish concord among the Catholics. For the extent of the confusion that has lately taken place is beyond expression.

2. We wrote to you not long ago, that since the city of Antioch had two Bishops, Paulinus and Meletius, both of whom we regarded as true to the faith, they should either agree with each other in peace and concord, preserving Ecclesiastical order, or at least, if one of them died before the other, no one should be put into the place of the deceased while the other lived. But now on the death of Meletius, while Paulinus is still alive, whom fellowship derived from our predecessors uninterruptedly testifies to have remained in our Communion, another person is said to have been not so much supplied, as super-added, into the place of Meletius, contrary to right and to Ecclesiastical order.

3. And this is alleged to have taken place by the consent and advice of Nectarius[54], the regularity of whose ordination we are not clearly convinced of. For in a Council lately, when Maximus the Bishop, having read the letter of Peter a man of holy memory, had shewn that the communion of the Church of Alexandria remained with him, and had proved by the clearest testimony, that he was consecrated[55] by three Bishops ordaining by mandate within his private house, because the Arians were at that time in possession of the Basilicas, we had no cause, most blessed of Princes, to doubt of his episcopacy, when he testified that he resisted and was forcibly constrained by a majority of the laity and clergy.

4. Still that we might not appear to have settled any thing over-hastily in the absence of the parties, we thought it fit to inform your Grace by letter, in order that his case might be provided for so as best to serve the interests of public peace and concord, because in truth we perceived that Gregory claimed to himself the priesthood of the Church of Constantinople, by no means in accordance with the tradition of the Fathers. We therefore in that Synod, attendance at which appeared to have been prescribed to the Bishops of the whole world, were of opinion that nothing ought to be decided rashly. So at that particular time the persons who declined a general Council and

who are said to have had one at Constantinople, where they had ascertained that Maximus had come hither to plead his cause in the Synod (and this, even if a Council had not been proclaimed it was competent for him to do lawfully and according to the customs of our predecessors, as also Athanasius of holy memory, and since that Peter, brother Bishops of the Church of Alexandria, and several of the Eastern Bishops have done, so as to appear to have sought the decision of the Churches of Rome, of Italy, and of all the West) when, as we said, they saw that he wished to bring the question to a trial with those who denied his episcopate, they were surely bound to wait for our opinion upon it[56]. We do not claim any special privilege of examining such matters, but we ought to have had a share in an united decision.

5. Last of all, it ought to have been decided whether he was to lose his See, before deciding whether another should receive it, especially by persons by whom Maximus complained that he was either deserted or injured. Therefore since Maximus the Bishop has been received into Communion by those of our fellowship on the ground that it was certain that he had been ordained by Catholics, we did not see that he ought to have been excluded from his claim to the Bishopric of Constantinople, and we thought that his allegation ought to be weighed in the presence of the parties.

But since we have learned recently that Nectarius has been ordained at Constantinople, we fear that our communion with the Oriental regions is broken, especially since Nectarius is said to have been left immediately without the fellowship of Communion by the very persons by whom he was ordained.

6. There is therefore no slight difficulty here. And it is not any contention about wishes and ambition of our own that makes us anxious, but we are greatly disturbed by the breaking up and interruption of

communion. Nor do we see any way in which concord can be established except either by restoring to Constantinople the Bishop who was first ordained, or at least having a Council of ourselves and of the Eastern Bishops at Rome, to consider the ordination of both of them.

7. Nor does it seem unbecoming, your Majesty, that the persons, who thought the judgement of Acholius, a single Bishop, so well worth waiting for, that they called him to Constantinople from the regions of the West, should be obliged to submit to the discussion of the Bishop of the Church of Rome, and of the Bishops of the neighbourhood and of Italy. If a question was reserved for a single individual, how much more should it be reserved for many?

8. We, however, as it has been suggested to us by the most blessed Prince, your Brother[57], that we should write to your Grace's Majesty, request that when the communion is one, you would be pleased that the judgement should be joint and the consent concurrent.

LETTER XIV. A.D. 382.

THIS LETTER IS a reply to one addressed to the Bishops of Italy by Theodosius, in answer to the last. He seems in it to have "undeceived them by informing them what Maximus was, and how different his ordination was from that of Nectarius. He represented to them that these affairs, and that of Flavian, ought to be judged in the East, where all the parties were present, and that there was no reason to oblige those of the East to come unto the West." (Fleury xviii, 17, vol. 1. p. 41, Newman's Transl.) The Bishops in this reply thank the Emperor for his efforts to appease the differences between the East and West, and profess the disinterestedness of their desire for a general Council, and add, as an additional reason for it, the spread of opinions attributed to Apollinaris, which require to be examined into in the presence of the parties concerned.

TO THE MOST BLESSED EMPEROR AND MOST GRACIOUS PRINCE THEODOSIUS, AMBROSE AND THE OTHER BISHOPS OF ITALY.

1. THE knowledge of your faith, which is diffused over the whole world, has soothed the innermost feelings of our minds; and therefore, that your reign might have the additional glory of having restored unity to the Churches both of the West and East, we have thought it right, most serene and faithful Emperor, at once to beseech and inform your Grace on Ecclesiastical subjects by our letter. For we have been grieved that the fellowship of holy Communion between the East and West was interrupted.

2. We say not a word by whose error or by whose fault this was, that we may not be supposed to be spreading fables and idle talk. Nor can we regret

having made an attempt, the neglect of which might have turned to our blame. For it was often made matter of blame to us that we appeared to disregard the society of the Eastern brethren, and to reject their kindness.

3. We thought moreover that we ought to take this trouble on ourselves, not for Italy, which now for this long time has been quiet and free from anxiety on the part of the Arians, and which is troubled with no disturbance of the heretics; not for ourselves, for we seek not our own things, but the things of all; not for Gaul and Africa which enjoy the individual fellowship of all their Bishops, but that the circumstances which have disturbed our communion on the side of the East might be enquired into in the Synod, and all scruple be removed from among us.

4. For not only with regard to the persons about whom your Grace condescended to write, but with regard to others who are attempting to bring into the Church some dogma or other, said to be Apollinaris'[58], there were several things that affected us, to which the knife should have been applied in the presence of the parties, that a person convicted of maintaining a new dogma and proved to be in error should not shelter himself under the general name of the Faith, but at once lay down both the office and name of Bishop, which he was not entitled to by authority of doctrine, and that no threads or artifices of delusion should remain for persons hereafter wishing to deceive. For the person who is convicted, not in the presence of the parties, as your Grace has truly decided in your august and princely answer, will always lay hold of a handle for reviving the enquiry.

5. This was why we asked for a Council of Bishops, that no one should be permitted to state what was false against a person in his absence, and that the truth might be cleared up by discussion in the Council. We ought not then to incur any suspicion either of over-zeal or over-leniency, seeing that we made all our observations in the presence of the parties.

6. In truth we drew up what was quoted, not to decide but to give information, and while we asked for a judgement, we offer no prejudgement. Nor ought it to have been regarded as any reproach to them, when Bishops were invited to the Council, who in many cases were more present by their very absence, since it contributed to the common good. For neither did we conceive it to be a reproach to us when a Presbyter of the Church of Constantinople, by name Paulus, demanded that there should be a Synod both of Eastern and Western Bishops in the province of Achaia.

7. Your Grace observes that this demand, which was made by the Greeks also, was not unreasonable. But, because there are disturbances in Illyricum[59], a neighbourhood near the sea and safer was sought. Nor have we indeed made any innovation in the way of precedent, but preserving the decisions of Athanasius of holy memory, who was as it were a pillar of the Faith, and of our holy fathers of old time in their Councils, we do not tear up the boundaries that our Fathers placed, or violate the rights of hereditary Communion, but reserving the honour due to your authority, we shew ourselves studious of peace and quietness[60].

LETTER XV. A.D. 383.

THIS LETTER IS addressed to the Bishops of Macedonia, in reply to their announcement of the death of Acholius[61], Bishop of Thessalonica. S. Ambrose pronounces a warm eulogium on the departed Bishop, whom he compares to Elijah, especially in leaving in Anysius a successor, like Elisha, endowed with a double portion of his spirit. He recounts the pleasure which he had felt in his intercourse with Acholius at Rome, when they had wept together over the evils of the times, and invokes the Blessing of God upon his successor.

AMBROSE TO ANATOLIUS, NUMERIUS, SEVERUS, PHILIP, MACEDONIUS, AMMIANUS, THEODOSIUS, EUTROPIUS, CLARUS, EUSEBIUS, AND TIMOTHEUS, PRIESTS OF THE LORD, AND TO ALL THE BELOVED CLERGY AND PEOPLE OF THESSALONICA, HEALTH.

1. WHILE longing to keep ever imprinted on my mind the holy man, and while I survey all his acts like one set on a watch-tower, my restless anxiety caused me to drink only too swiftly these bitter tidings, and I learned what I had rather still be ignorant of, that the man whom we were seeking on earth was already at rest in heaven.

2. You will ask who announced this to me, seeing that the letter of your Holinesses had not then arrived. I know not who was the bearer of the tidings: it is, you know, men’s wont not willingly to remember the bearer of tidings of sorrow: however, though the sea was then closed, and the land blocked by a barbarian invasion, there was no lack of a messenger, though it was impossible for any one to arrive from abroad; so that it appears to me

the saint himself announced his own death to us, for now that he enjoyed the eternal recompense of his labours, and freed from the bands of the body, had been carried by the ministry of Angels to the intimate presence of Christ, he was desirous of removing the error of one who loved him, that we might not be asking for him length of mortal life, while he was already receiving eternal rewards.

3. This veteran then of Christ Jesus is not dead, but has departed and left us, he has changed for heaven this earth below, and clapping the pinions and wings of his spirit he exclaims, Ps. lv. 7. *Lo, I have got me away far off!* For in the spirit of the Apostle he desired long ago to leave the earth, but he was detained by the prayers of all, as we read of the Apostle, Phil. i. 24. because it was needful for the Church that he should abide longer in the flesh. For he lived not for himself but for all, and was to the people the minister of eternal life, so that he gained the fruit thereof in others, before he experienced it in himself.

4. Now therefore he is a citizen of heaven, a possessor of that eternal city Jerusalem, which is in heaven. There he sees the boundless circuit of this city, its pure gold, its precious stones, its perpetual light though without the sun. And seeing all these things whereof he before had knowledge, but which are now manifested to him face to face, he says, Ps. xlviii. 7. *Like as we have heard, so have we seen in the city of the Lord of hosts, in the city of our God*. Standing there he appeals to the people of God saying, Baruch iii. 24, 25. *O Israel, how great is the house of God, and how large is the place of His possession!* Great is He, and hath none end.

5. But what is this? While I consider his merits, and follow as it were in spirit his departure, and mingle with the choirs of saints that escort him, not indeed by my desert but by my affection, meanwhile I have almost forgotten myself. Is then this wall of faith and grace and sanctity taken from us, that wall which, though frequently assaulted by the Goths[62], their

barbarian darts could never penetrate, nor the warlike fury of many nations overpower? They who in other places were spoilers there prayed for peace, and while they marvelled what was this unarmed force which opposed them, the wiser hinted that one like Elisha dwelt within, one who was nearly his equal in age, in spirit quite his equal, 2 Kings vi. 18. and bade them beware lest after the manner of the Syrian army, blindness should fall on them also.

6. However the gifts of Christ to His disciples are various. Elisha led captive into Samaria the army of the Syrians, holy Acholius by his prayers caused the victors to retreat from Macedonia. Do we not see in this a proof of supernatural forces, that though no soldiers were at hand, the victors should thus fly without a foe; is not this too a proof of blindness that they should fly when no man pursued? Though in truth holy Acholius pursued and fought them, not with swords but prayers, not with weapons but good works.

7. Do we not know that the saints fight even when they keep holiday? Was not Elisha at rest? Yes, at rest in body, but in spirit he was active, and by his prayers he fought Ib. vii. 6. when the noise of horses and the noise of a great host were heard in the camp of the Syrians, so that they thought that the forces of other princes were marching against them, to succour the people of Israel. So they were seized with great panic and fled, and four lepers, who had gone out to seek for death, spoiled their camp. And did not the Lord work like, or, I might almost say, greater wisdom in Macedonia, by the prayers of Acholius? For it was not by an idle panic nor a vague suspicion, but by a raging plague and burning pestilence that the Goths were troubled and alarmed. In short they then fled that they might escape; afterwards they returned and sued for peace to save their lives.

8. Wherefore in the great deeds of this eminent man we have seen former ages revived, and have witnessed those works of the prophet which we read

of. Like Elisha he was all his life in the midst of arms and battles, and by his good works made wars to cease. And when tranquillity was restored to his countrymen, he breathed out his holy soul, a misfortune heavier than war itself. Like Elijah he was carried up to heaven, 2 Kings ii. 4. not in a chariot of fire, nor by horses of fire, (unless haply it was but that we saw them not) nor in any whirlwind in the sky, but by the will and in the calm of our God, and with the jubilation of the holy Angels who rejoiced that such a man had come among them.

9. Surely we cannot doubt this, when all other particulars agree so well. For at the very moment when he was being taken up, he let fall so to speak the vestment which he wore, and invested with it holy Anysius his disciple, and clothed him with the robes of his own priesthood. His merits and graces I do not now hear for the first time, nor have I first learnt them from your letters, but I recognised them in what you wrote. For as if foreknowing that he would be his successor, Acholius designated him as such by tokens, though in open speech he concealed it; saying that he had been aided by his care, labour, and ministry, thus seeming to declare him his coadjutor, one who would not come as a novice to the chief office of the priesthood, but as a tried performer of its duties. Well does that saying in the Gospel befit him, S. Matt. xxv. 21. *Well done, thou good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things*.

10. So far both you and I participate in holy Acholius, but there is this special bond between him and me, that the man of blessed memory suffered me to become his friend. For on his arrival in Italy, when I was prevented by illness from going to meet him, he himself came and visited me. With what ardour, with what affection did we embrace each other! With what groans did we lament the evil of the times, and all that was happening here! Our garments were bedewed with a flood of tears, while in the enjoyment of our meeting long and mutually desired, we remained locked in each others

embrace. Thus what I had long yearned for he bestowed, the opportunity of seeing him. For although it is in the spirit, the seat of love, that the greater portion and more perfect knowledge lies, yet we desire to behold our friends in bodily form also. 1 Kings x. 24. Thus formerly the kings of the earth sought to behold the face of Solomon, and to hear his wisdom.

11. He is gone then from us, and has left us tossed on this sea; what is a benefit to him is to the many a heavier calamity than even the rage of the barbarians; for this he repelled, and now who shall bring back his presence to us? Nay, the Lord brings it back, and he himself gives himself back in his disciple. Your judgements give him back, by which you say, Deut. xxxiii. 8. *Give to Levi his manifest one, and his truths to Thy holy one*. You have given *his manifest one* inasmuch as he is established by his appointment; you have given a follower of that man, Ib. 9. *who said unto his father and to his mother I have not seen thee; neither did he acknowledge his brethren, nor knew his own children. He observed the word of the Lord, and kept His covenant.* Ecclus. xliv. 15. *The people will tell of his wisdom.*

12. Such was the man's life, such his heritage, such his conversation, such his succession. While yet a boy he entered a monastery, and though shut up in a narrow cell in Achaia, yet by grace he traversed the spaces of many countries. The people of Macedonia besought that he might be their Bishop, the priesthood elected him to that office, that where the faith had before been maimed[63] by the Bishop, there afterwards the solid foundations of the faith might be established by the Bishop.

13. None other did his disciple imitate, who also himself Deut. xxxiii. 9. *said unto his father and to his mother I have not seen thee*. He saw them not with affection, he saw them not with desire, and he knew not his brethren, because he desired to know the Lord. He observed also the word of the Lord and kept His covenant, and will ever offer sacrifice upon His altar. Bless, O Lord, his faith, his holiness, his assiduity. Deut. xxxiii. 16. Let Thy

blessing descend upon his head and upon his neck. Let him be honourable among his brethren, let him be as the leader of the herd. Let him sift the hearts of his enemies, let him soothe the minds of the saints, and let the judgement of Thy priests flourish in him as a lily. Brethren, farewell, and love me, as I love you.

LETTER XVI. A.D. 383.

THIS LETTER IS addressed to Anysius, immediately on his election as successor to Acholius, in answer apparently to one from Anysius, which accompanied that from the Bishops of Macedonia, and announced his appointment. He speaks of the responsibility of succeeding so zealous a Bishop as Acholius, whom he praises in enthusiastic terms, and prays that God may make him a worthy successor in every way.

BISHOP AMBROSE TO HIS BROTHER ANYSIUS.

1. I HAVE been for some time sure of what I now read for the first time, and I know well by his merits him whom my eyes have not seen. I grieve that the one event should have happened, I rejoice that the other has ensued; I should have wished that the one had not happened in my lifetime, but it was my hope that after the death of that holy man this alone would ensue, as it ought. So now we have you, once the disciple, now the successor of Acholius of blessed memory, the inheritor alike of his rank and of his grace. This is a great merit, my brother. I congratulate you that there was not a moment's doubt who should be the successor of so great a man. It is a great task too, my brother, to have taken upon you the burden of so great a name, a name of such weight, of such a scale. In you we look for Acholius, and as he was in your affections, so in your ministry is required a copy of his virtue, of his holy life, his vigorous mind in that decrepit body.

2. I have seen him, I confess: my seeing him is due to his merits: I saw him in such sort in the body as to believe him to be out of the body: I saw the image of him who, 2 Cor. xii. 2. knowing not whether it was in the body or out of the body, saw himself transported to Paradise. With such

rapid speed had he traversed every region, Constantinople, Achaia, Epirus, and Italy, that younger men could not keep pace with him. Men of stronger bodies yielded to him, knowing that he was free from the shackles of the body, so that he used it more as a covering than as an instrument, at all events that it was his slave not his helpmate, for he had so trained his body that he crucified the world in it, and himself to the world.

3. Blessed is the Lord, and blessed was His youth which He passed in the tabernacle of the God of Jacob, abiding in a monastery, in which, when sought after by His parents and relations He said, S. Matt. xii. 48. *Who is My mother, and who are My brethren?* I know not father, nor mother, nor brethren, save those *who hear the Word of God, and do it*. Blessed also were his maturer years, wherein he was elected to the chief priesthood, having given proof of his virtue by a long service. He came like David to restore peace to the people. 2 Chron. ix. 21. He came like that ship bringing with him spiritual treasure, and cedar wood, and precious stones, and those Ps. lxviii. 14. *silver wings of a dove*, with which, lying *in the midst of the lots*, she slept the sleep of tranquillity and peace.

4. For even the sleep of the saints is operative, as it is written, Cant. v. 2. *I sleep, but my heart waketh*, Gen. xxviii. 13. and as holy Jacob saw in sleep divine mysteries, which waking he saw not, even a passage opened for the saints between earth and heaven, and the Lord regarding him and promising to him the possession of that land. Thus by a brief sleep he attained that which his successors afterwards won by great toil. The sleep of the saints is free from all bodily pleasures, from all perturbation of mind, it brings tranquillity to the mind and peace to the soul, so that, freed from the fetters of the body, it raises itself aloft, and is united to Christ.

5. This sleep is the life of the saints, the life which holy Acholius lived, whose old age was also blest. That old age is truly venerable which is hoary not with gray hairs but in good deeds; for those hoar hairs are reverent

which belong to the soul, whose works and thoughts are, as it were, white and shining. Wisd. iv. 9. For what is true old age, but that unspotted life, which lasts not for days or months but for ages, whose continuance is without end, whose length of years is without weakness? For the longer it lives the stronger it waxes; the longer its life lasts the more vigorously does it grow unto a perfect man.

6. May God then approve you his successor not only in honor but also in conversation, and may He deign to establish you in His highest grace, that the people may flock to you also, and you may say often, Isa. lx. 8. *Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as the doves with their young?* Let them come also as the 2 Chron. ix. 21. ships of Tarshish, and take in corn which the true Solomon gives, even twenty measures of wheat. Let them receive the oil and wisdom of Solomon, and let there be peace between thee and thy people, and keep thou the covenant of peace. Brother, farewell: love me, for I too love you.

LETTER XVII. A.D. 384.

THIS LETTER WAS addressed to the Emperor Valentinian the 2nd at the time when a deputation from the Senate at Rome, headed by Symmachus, were seeking to obtain from him the restoration of the statue and altar of Victory. The facts relating to this statue form so important a page in the history of the gradual suppression of paganism in the Empire, that it may be well to give a brief outline of them, especially as this and the following letter, and the 'Memorial of Symmachus' which accompanies them, contain several allusions to them. Constantius 2nd, son of Constantine, when at Rome in 356 A.D., ordered the statue of Victory which stood in the senate-house, 'a majestic female standing on a globe, with flowing garments, expanded wings, and a crown of laurel in her outstretched hand' (Gibbon, ch. xxviii.) and the altar which stood before it, at which the senators were sworn, to be removed, as an offence to the Christians. The altar was restored by Julian, along with the other disused symbols and rites of paganism. It was tolerated by Valentinian 1st, who probably did not venture at once to overthrow Julian's work, (see Memorial of Symmachus § 7, 8) though S. Ambrose (Lett. xvii. § 16) rhetorically represents him as pleading that he was not aware of its being there, and that no one had complained to him of its presence. It was once more removed by Gratian, (see Lett. xvii. § 16.) The pagan party in the Senate then made great efforts to procure its restoration. Gibbon (ch. xxviii. note 13.) enumerates four successive deputations sent by them with this object, 'the first, A.D. 382, to Gratian, who refused them audience, the second, A.D. 384, to Valentinian, the third, A.D. 388, to Theodosius, the fourth, A.D. 392, to Valentinian.' The two

letters of S. Ambrose and the Memorial of Symmachus refer to the second of these deputations. In this first one he presses on the Emperor his duty and responsibility as a Christian Emperor, urges that the heathens have deprived themselves of any equitable claim by their persecution of the Christians in former times; asserts that the petition is only that of a minority of the Senate, just as had been the case years before, when they applied to Gratian. He then asks for a copy of the Memorial, in order to answer it in full, and warns Valentinian that he will find no Bishop to admit him to any share in Christian worship if he inflicts this insult on their faith, and reminds him of his brother and father, who would rise from the grave to reproach him.

Though called Letters, these two documents are rather state-papers. S. Ambrose himself in the latter speaks of the former as a 'libellus,' the term usually applied to petitions or memorials.

BISHOP AMBROSE TO THE MOST BLESSED PRINCE AND CHRISTIAN EMPEROR VALENTINIAN.

1. AS all who are under the dominion of Rome are enlisted to serve you, the emperors and kings of the earth, so you yourselves are enlisted to serve Almighty God and our holy Faith. For safety cannot be unperilled, save when every man is a sincere worshipper of the true God, the God of the Christians, who governs all things; for He is the only true God, and is to be worshipped by the inmost spirit. Ps. xcvi. 5. *As for all the gods of the heathen, they are but idols*, as the Scripture saith.

2. Now he that is the soldier of this, the true God, and worships Him in his inmost spirit, offers to Him no insincere or lukewarm service, but a zealous faith and devotion. At any rate no one ought to give his consent to the worship of idols and the observance of profane ceremonies. For no man can deceive God, before Whom all the secrets of the heart are manifest.

3. Seeing then, most Christian Emperor, that not only faith, but the very zeal and care and devotion of faith, is due from you to God, I wonder how

some men can have conceived the thought that it was your duty to command the restoration of altars to the gods of the Gentiles, and to bestow money for the purposes of profane sacrifices. For if you give what has long been appropriated to the emperor's privy purse or the city treasury[64], you will seem to be giving out of what is your own rather than refunding to others what belongs to them.

4. The men who now complain of their losses are those who never spared our blood, and have even laid in ruins the very structures of our Churches. The men who ask for privileges are they who denied to us by the late law of Julian[65] the common right of speaking and teaching, privileges too whereby even Christians have often been deceived, for by these means they sought to entrap some persons, either unawares or else by the desire to avoid the burthen of public duties. And since all men have not courage, many even under Christian Emperors have lapsed.

5. Even had these things never been repeated, I could have proved that your authority ought to have abolished them, but now that they have been severally forbidden by many previous Emperors and abolished at Rome in the interests of the true Faith by your Majesty's brother Gratian of illustrious memory, and abolished by a formal rescript, do not, I beseech you, pluck up again these Christian ordinances, nor rescind your brother's injunctions. In civil matters, if ought is decreed, no man considers that it should be overthrown, and shall a religious precept be trampled on?

6. Let no man beguile your youth; if he be a heathen who asks this of you, let him not ensnare your mind in the bonds of his own superstition, rather his very zeal ought to admonish you with what ardour you ought to defend the true Faith, when he with all the warmth of truth defends falsehood. I myself urge you to shew deference to the merits of illustrious men; but it is certain that God ought to be obeyed above all.

7. When we have to consult on military matters we should look for the opinion of one who is versed in war, and follow his counsel; when we treat of religion God is to be considered. No man is injured by Almighty God being preferred before him. He may keep his own opinion, you do not constrain any man to worship against his will, and your Majesty ought to have the same liberty, and every one should be content to be unable to extort from the Emperor, what it would be a hardship for the Emperor to desire to extort from him. The very heathen are wont to be displeased by a double-minded man, for every man ought boldly to defend the faith of his own heart, and to maintain his purpose.

8. But if any who call themselves Christians conceive that you should make such a decree, let not bare words affect your mind, let not idle names deceive you. Whoever persuades to this, or decrees it, offers sacrifice to the gods. Yet it is more tolerable that one should sacrifice than that all should fall. Here the whole Senate of Christians is in danger.

9. If at the present day, (which God forbid) an heathen Emperor were to erect an altar to false gods, and compel the Christians to assemble there, in order for them to be present at the sacrifice, so that the breath and mouth of the faithful might be tainted with ashes from the altar, with sparks from the sacrilege, with smoke from the pile, and should force them to vote in a house in which the members were sworn at the altar of an idol, (for on this account it is that they maintain that an altar should be set up, namely, that every one should consult for the public weal, under the obligation of what they consider its sanctity, although the majority of the Senate now consists of Christians,) if this, I say, were the case, Christians would consider themselves persecuted, if they were compelled by such an alternative to come to the assembly, and indeed it is often by violence that they are compelled to come: shall Christians then in *your* reign be compelled to swear on the altar? What is an oath, but an acknowledgement of the divine

power of him whom you call upon to attest your truthfulness? Is it in *your* reign that the request and demand is made, that you bid an altar to be erected, and money expended on profane sacrifices?

10. But this cannot be decreed without sacrilege, and so I beg you not to decree or order it, nor to subscribe any such decree. I appeal to your faith as a minister of Christ; all the Bishops would have appealed with me, had not this report which has reached men's ears that such a thing was either propounded in your Council or petitioned for by the Senate, been so sudden and incredible. But let it not be said that the Senate have petitioned for this; a few heathen have usurped the name of all. For nearly two years ago on an attempt of this kind, holy Damasus the Bishop of the Roman Church, chosen by the judgment of God, sent me a document which the Christian senators in large numbers had presented, declaring that they gave no commission of the sort, that they did not agree or consent to such petitions of the heathen, and they threatened that they would not come either publicly or privately to the Senate if such a decree was made. Is it worthy of your reign, that is of a Christian reign, that Christian senators should be deprived of their dignity, that the profane wishes of the heathen may be carried into effect? This document I sent to your Majesty's brother[66], and it proves that the Senate gave no commission to the deputies about the expenses of superstition.

11. But perhaps it may be said, Why then were they not present in the Senate, when these things were brought forward? They say plainly enough what they wish, by not being present; they have said enough in addressing your Majesty. And yet we need not wonder if they who will not concede to your Majesty the liberty of refusing to command that which you do not approve, or of maintaining your own opinion, should deprive private men at Rome of the right of resistance.

12. Remembering then the commission so lately laid upon me, I again appeal your own faith, I appeal to your own sentiments, not to give your answer in accordance with this heathen petition, or sign your name to such an answer, for it would be sacrilegious. Consult him who is your Excellency's father, the Emperor Theodosius, to whom you have been wont to refer in all causes of importance; and nothing can be graver than religion, more exalted than faith.

13. Were this a civil matter, the right of reply would be reserved for the opposing party: it is a matter of religion, and I, as Bishop, appeal to you, I request to be furnished with a copy of the Memorial which has been sent, that I may answer more at large; and so let your Majesty's father be consulted on the whole matter and vouchsafe a gracious answer. Assuredly should the decree be different, we as Bishops cannot quietly permit and connive at it; it will indeed be in your power to come to the Church, but there you will either not find a priest, or you will find one purposed to resist.

14. What answer will you give to the priest when he says to you, 'the Church seeks not your gifts, because you have adorned the heathen temples with gifts; the Altar of Christ rejects your gifts, because you have erected altars to idols, for it was your word, your hand, your signature, your act: the Lord Jesus refuses and repels your service, because you have served idols, for He has said to you, S. Luke xvi. 13. *Ye cannot serve two masters*? The Virgins dedicated to God enjoy no privileges from you, and do the vestal Virgins claim them? What do you want of the priests of God, when you have preferred to them the profane petitions of the heathen? We cannot enter into fellowship with the errors of others.'

15. What will you answer to this charge? That it is a boyish error? Every age is perfect in Christ, and fulfilled with God. No childhood in faith can be

admitted; for children confronted with their persecutors have boldly confessed Christ.

16. What answer will you make to your brother? Will he not say to you, ‘I would not believe myself conquered, for I left you Emperor, I regretted not to die, because you were my successor, I grieved not that I was withdrawn from power, because I believed that my edicts, specially those concerning religion, would continue for ever. These were the memorials of piety and virtue which I had erected, these trophies of victory over the world, these the spoils of the devil, of the adversary of all, which I had offered up, and in which lies eternal victory. What more could an enemy have deprived me of? You have abrogated my decrees; an act which even he who took up arms against me[67] has not yet committed. Now am I pierced with a more deadly weapon, in that my brother has annulled my ordinances. Your acts tend to the injury of my better part, for while the one destroys my body the other destroys my good name. Now are my laws repealed, repealed too (which makes it more painful) by your adherents and by mine; that very thing which even my enemies had praised in me is repealed. If you have willingly acquiesced, you have condemned the Faith which I held, if you have yielded reluctantly, you have betrayed your own. And so, what is a still heavier calamity, I incur danger in your person also.’

17. What answer will you make to your father[68], who with still greater grief will address you, saying: ‘You have judged very wrongly of me, my son, in supposing that I could have winked at the heathen. No man ever informed me that there was an altar in the Roman Senate house[69]; never could I have believed such a crime as that heathen sacrifices should be performed in that common council of Christians and heathens, that is to say, that the heathen should triumph in the presence of Christians, and Christians should be compelled against their wills to be present at sacrifices. Many and various were the crimes committed during my reign, those that were

discovered I punished, and if any man escaped unnoticed, is it just to say that I approved that which no one informed me of? You have judged most wrongly of me, if you suppose that a foreign superstition and not my own faith preserved to me the empire.'

18. Wherefore, your Majesty, seeing that if you make any such decree, you will injure, first God, and next your father and brother, I beseech you to do that which you know will be profitable to your salvation in the sight of God.

THE MEMORIAL OF SYMMACHUS, PREFECT OF THE CITY.

THE occasion on which this Memorial was presented is stated in the introduction to the last letter. It is addressed formally to the three Emperors Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius, but really to Valentinian only, who was at that time sole Emperor of the West. Symmachus was the leading orator and scholar of his day, and his plea is composed with much skill and vigour. Gibbon (ch. xxviii.) expresses hearty admiration of the caution with which he 'avoids every topic which might appear to reflect on the religion of his sovereign, and artfully draws his arguments from the schools of rhetoric rather than from those of philosophy,' and gives a summary of its contents in a tone of keen appreciation, as might be expected. We may allow, with Cave (Life of S. Ambrose 3, 3.) that 'it was the best plea the cause would bear.'

1. AS soon as the honourable Senate, ever faithful to your Majesty, learnt that offences were made amenable to law, and that the character of past times was being redeemed by pious governors, it hastened to follow the precedent of better times, and give utterance to its long repressed grief, and commissioned me once more to be the spokesman of its complaints, for I was before refused access to the deceased Emperor by evil men, because

otherwise justice could never have failed me, most noble Emperors Valentinian, Theodosius and Arcadius, victorious and triumphant, ever illustrious.

2. Filling then a twofold office, as your Prefect I report the proceedings of the Senate[70], as the envoy of the citizens I offer to your favourable notice their requests. Here is no opposition of wills. Men have ceased to believe that disagreement proves their superiority in courtly zeal. To be loved, to be the object of respect and affection is more than sovereignty. Who could suffer private contests to injure the commonwealth? Justly does the Senate assail those who prefer their own power to the honour of the prince.

3. It is our duty to be watchful for your Majesties. The very glory of this present time makes it the more fitting that we should maintain the customs of our ancestors, the laws and destinies of our country; for it conduces to this glory that you should know it is not in your power to do anything contrary to the practice of your parents. We ask the restoration of that state of religion under which the Republic has so long prospered. Let the Emperors of either sect and either opinion be counted up; a late Emperor observed the rites of his ancestors, his successor did not abolish them. If the religion of older times is no precedent, let the connivance of the last Emperors[71] be so.

4. Who is so friendly with the barbarians as not to require an altar of Victory? Hereafter we must be cautious, and avoid a display of such things. But let at least that honour be paid to the name which is denied to the Divinity[72]. Your fame owes much, and will owe still more, to Victory. Let those detest this power, who were never aided by it, but do you not desert a patronage which favours your triumphs. Vows are due to this power from every man, let no one deny that a power is to be venerated which he owns is to be desired.

5. But even if it were wrong to avoid this omen, at least the ornaments of the Senate-house ought to have been spared. Permit us, I beseech you, to transmit in our old age to our posterity what we ourselves received when boys. Great is the love of custom. And deservedly was the act of the deified Constantius of short duration. You ought to avoid all precedents which you know to have thus been reversed. We are solicitous for the endurance of your name and glory, and that a future age may find nothing to amend.

6. Where shall we swear to observe your laws and statutes? by what sanction shall the deceitful mind be deterred from bearing false witness? All places indeed are full of God, nor is there any spot where the perjured can be safe, but it is of great efficacy in restraining crime to feel that we are in the presence of sacred things. That altar binds together the concord of all, that altar appeals to the faith of each man, nor does any thing give more weight to our decrees than that all our decisions are sanctioned, so to speak, by an oath. A door will thus be opened to perjury, and this is to be approved of by the illustrious Emperors, allegiance to whom is guarded by a public oath!

7. But Constantius, of sacred memory, is said to have done the same thing. Be it so, let us then imitate his other actions, feeling sure that had any one committed this error before his time, he would never have fallen into it. For the fall of one is a warning to his successor, and the censure of a previous example causes amendment. It was allowable for this predecessor of your Majesties to incur offence in a novel matter, but how can the same excuse avail us, if we imitate that which we know was disapproved?

8. Will your Majesties listen to other acts of this same Emperor more worthy of your imitation? He left uncurtailed the privileges of the sacred virgins, he filled the priestly office with men of noble birth, he allowed the cost of the Roman ceremonies, and following the joyful Senate through all the streets of the eternal city, he beheld with serene countenance the

temples, reading the names of the gods inscribed on their pediments, he enquired after the origin of the sacred edifices, and admired their founders. Although he himself professed another religion he maintained the ancient one for the Empire; for every man has his own customs, his own rites. The Divine mind has distributed to cities various guardians and various ceremonies. As each man that is born receives a soul, so do nations receive a genius who guards their destiny. Here the proof from utility comes in, which is our best voucher with regard to the Deity. For since our reason is in the dark, what better knowledge of the gods can we have than from the record and evidence of prosperity? And if a long course of years give their sanction to a religion, we ought to keep faith with so many centuries, and to follow our parents, as they followed with success those who founded them.

9. Let us suppose Rome herself to approach, and address you in these terms: 'Excellent Emperors, Fathers of your country, respect these years to which pious rites have conducted me. Let me use the ancient ceremonies, for I do not repent of them. Let me live in my own way, for I am free. This worship reduced the world under my laws; these sacred rites repulsed Hannibal from the walls, and the Gauls from the Capitol. Am I reserved for this, to be censured in my old age? I am not unwilling to consider the proposed decree, and yet late and ignominious is the reformation of old age.'

10. We pray therefore for a respite for the gods of our fathers and our native gods[73]. That which all venerate should in fairness be accounted as one. We look on the same stars, the heaven is common to us all, the same world surrounds us. What matters it by what arts each of us seeks for truth? We cannot arrive by one and the same path at so great a secret; but this discussion belongs rather to persons at their ease, it is prayers not arguments which we now offer.

11. What advantage accrues to your treasury from the abolition of the privilege of the Vestal virgins? Shall that be denied under princes the most munificent which the most parsimonious have granted? Their sole honour consists in their wages, so to speak, of chastity. As their fillets adorn their heads, so is it esteemed by them an honour to be free to devote themselves to the ministry of sacrifices. It is but the bare name of exemption which they ask, for their poverty exonerates them from any payment. So that he who reduces their means, contributes to their praise, for virginity dedicated to the public welfare is meritorious in proportion as it is without reward.

12. Far be such gains from the purity of your treasury. The exchequer of good princes should be replenished by the spoils of enemies, not by the losses of ministers of religion. And is the gain any compensation for the odium? Those whose ancient resources are cut off only feel it the more acutely in that you are free from the charge of avarice. For under Emperors who keep their hands from other men's goods and check desire what does not excite the cupidity of the spoiler must be taken solely with a view of injuring the person robbed.

13. The Imperial Exchequer retains also lands bequeathed by the will of dying persons to the sacred virgins and priests. I implore you, as Priests of justice, to restore to the sacred functionaries of your city the right of inheritance. Let men dictate their wills in peace, knowing that under equitable princes their bequests will be undisturbed. Men are wont to take pleasure in this security, and I would have you sympathise with them, for the precedent lately set has begun to harass them on their death-beds. Shall it be said that the religion of Rome appertains not to Roman laws? What name shall we give to the taking away of legacies which no law no casualty has made void? Freedmen may take legacies, slaves are allowed[74] a due latitude of bequeathing by will, only the noble virgins and ministers of sacred rites are excluded from inheriting lands devised to them. What

advantage is it to dedicate one's virginity to the public safety, and to support the immortality of the empire with heavenly protection, to conciliate friendly powers to your arms and eagles, to take upon oneself vows salutary for all, and to refrain from commerce with mankind in general? Slavery then is a happier condition, whose service is given to men. It is the state which is wronged, whose interest it never is to be ungrateful.

14. Let me not be supposed to be defending the cause of the ancient religions only; from acts of this kind all the calamities of the Roman nation have arisen. The laws of our ancestors provided for the Vestal virgins and the ministers of the gods a moderate maintenance and just privileges. This gift was preserved inviolate till the time of the degenerate moneychangers, who diverted the maintenance of sacred chastity into a fund for the payment of base porters. A public famine ensued on this act, and a bad harvest disappointed the hopes of all the provinces. The soil was not here in fault, we ascribe no influence to the stars, no mildew blighted the crops, nor did tares choke the corn, it was sacrilege which rendered the year barren, for it was necessary that all should lose that which they had denied to religion.

15. By all means, if there is any instance of such an evil, let us attribute this famine to the effect of the seasons. An unhealthy wind has caused this blight, and so life is supported by means of shrubs and leaves, and the peasants in their want have had resource once more to the oaks of Dodona[75]. When did the provinces suffer such a calamity, so long as the ministers of religion were supported by the public bounty? When were oaks shaken for the food of man, when were roots dug up, when were opposite regions of the earth cursed with sterility, so long as provisions were furnished in common to the people and to the sacred virgins? The produce of the earth was blessed by its support of the priests, and thus the gift was rather in the nature of a safeguard than of a largess. Can it be doubted that the gift was

for the common benefit, now that a general scarcity has attended its discontinuance?

16. But it may be said that public aid is rightly refused to the cost of an alien religion. Far be it from good rulers to suppose that what has been bestowed from the common stock on certain individuals is within the disposal of the Imperial treasury. For as the commonwealth consists of individuals, so that which comes from it becomes again the property of individuals. You govern all, but you preserve for each his own, and justice has more power with you than arbitrary will. Consult your own generous feelings, whether that ought still to be deemed public property which has been conferred on others. Gifts once devoted to the honour of the city are placed out of the power of the donors, and that which originally was a free-gift becomes by usage and length of time a debt. Vain therefore is the fear which they would impress upon your minds who assert that unless you incur the odium of withdrawing the gift you share the responsibility of the donors of it.

17. May the unseen patrons of all sects be propitious to your Majesties, and may those in particular who of old assisted your ancestors, aid you and be worshipped by us. We ask for that religious condition which preserved the empire to your Majesties' father[76], and blessed him with lawful heirs. That venerable sire beholds from his starry seat the tears of the priests, and feels himself censured by the infraction of that custom which he readily observed.

18. I beg you also to amend for your departed brother what he did by the advice of others, to cover the act by which he unknowingly offended the Senate. For it is certain that the reason why the embassage was refused admittance was, to prevent the decision of the state from reaching him. It is due to the credit of past times to abolish without hesitation that which has been found not to have been the doing of the Emperor.

LETTER XVIII. A.D. 384.

THIS IS S. Ambrose's answer to the Memorial of Symmachus which precedes it. In it he replies in detail to the arguments which Symmachus had advanced, and meets him on his own ground. It is to be remembered in forming an estimate of it, that it is simply a state paper, adopting both the style and method natural to such a document. That it is over rhetorical for our taste may at once be allowed, for that is the character of the literature of the time generally; that it is not so perfect a specimen of the style, regarded merely as a piece of argument, as the document to which it replies, may be granted without disparagement to S. Ambrose, for Symmachus "stood foremost among his contemporaries as a scholar, a statesman, and an orator." (Dict. of Biog. sub voc.) But he fairly meets and refutes Symmachus' arguments, and his retort of his adversary's personification of Rome is happy and telling. The earlier portion is more vigorous than the latter, which is overwrought, especially in the argument against maintaining things as they were. The abundance of allusions to, and quotations of, Virgil are characteristic of the age, and evidences of S. Ambrose's early training in the education of a Roman of high birth and rank.

BISHOP AMBROSE TO THE MOST BLESSED PRINCE AND GRACIOUS EMPEROR, HIS MAJESTY VALENTINIAN.

1. THE honourable[77] Symmachus, Prefect of the city, having memorialised your Majesty that the altar, which had been removed from the Senate-house at Rome, ought to be restored to its place, and your Majesty, whose years of nonage and inexperience are yet unfulfilled, though a veteran in the power of faith, not having sanctioned the prayer of the

heathen, I also as soon as I heard of it presented a petition, in which, though it embraced all that seemed necessary to be said, I requested that a copy of the Memorial might be furnished to me.

2. Now therefore, not as doubting your faith, but as providing for the future, and assured of a righteous judgement, I will reply to the allegations of the Memorial, making this one request, that you will not look for elegance of phrases but force of facts. For as Holy Scripture teaches us, the tongue of learned and wise men is golden, and endowed with highly-decked words, and glittering with splendid elegance as with the brightness of some rich colour, and so captivates and dazzles the eyes of the mind with a shew of beauty. But this gold, if closely handled, may pass current outwardly, but within is base metal. Consider well, I beseech you, and sift the sect of the Heathens; their professions are grand and lofty, but what they espouse is degenerate and effete, they talk of God but worship idols.

3. The propositions of the honourable Prefect of the city, to which he attaches weight, are these, that Rome (as he asserts) seeks the restoration of her ancient rites, and that stipends are to be assigned to her priests and Vestal virgins, and that it was owing to these being withheld that a general famine has ensued.

4. According to his first proposition, Rome utters a mournful complaint, wanting back (as he asserts) her ancient ceremonies. These sacred rites, he says, repelled Hannibal from the walls, the Gauls from the Capitol. But even here, in blazoning the efficacy of these rites, he betrays their weakness. According to this, Hannibal long insulted the Roman religion, and pushed his conquest to the very walls of the city, though the gods fought against him. Why did they for whom their gods fought, allow themselves to be besieged?

5. For why speak of the Gauls, whom the remnant of the Romans could not have prevented from entering the sanctuary of the Capitol, if the timid

cackling of a goose had not betrayed them. These are the guardians of the Roman temples! Where was Jupiter then? Did he speak in a goose?

6. But why should I deny that their sacred rites fought for the Romans? Yet Hannibal also worshipped the same gods. Let them choose therefore which they will. If these rites conquered in the Romans, they were vanquished in the Carthaginians, but if they were thus overcome in the case of the Carthaginians, neither did they profit the Romans.

7. Away then with this invidious complaint of the Roman people; Rome never dictated it. It is with other words that she addresses them: ‘Why do you daily deluge me with the useless gore of the innocent flocks? The trophies of victory depend not on the limbs of cattle, but on the strength of warriors. It was by other powers that I subdued the world. Camillus was my soldier, who recovered the standards which had been taken from the Capitol, and slew those who had captured the Tarpeian rock; valour overthrew those against whom religion had not prevailed. Why should I name Regulus, who gave me even the services of his death? Africanus gained his triumph not among the altars of the Capitol, but among Hannibal’s ranks. Why do you produce to me the rites of our ancestors? I abhor the rites of the Neros. What shall I say of the two-month Emperors[78], and the ends of princes knit on to their accession? Or is it a thing unheard of, that the barbarians should cross their frontiers? Were those men Christians, in whose miserable and unprecedented fate, in the one case a captive Emperor, in the other a captive world[79] proved the falsehood of the rites which promised victory? Was there then no altar of Victory? I am ashamed of my downfall, the pale cheeks of age gather redness from that disgraceful bloodshed. I do not blush to be converted in my old age along with the whole world. It is surely true that no age is too late to learn. Let that old age blush which cannot improve itself. Wisd. iv. 9. It is not the hoary head of years but of virtue which is venerable. It is no disgrace to

pass to better things. This alone had I in common with the barbarians that of old I knew not God. Your sacrifice is a rite of sprinkling yourselves with the blood of beasts. Why do you look for the voice of God in dead beasts? Come and learn here on earth a heavenly warfare; we live here, but our warfare is above. Let God Himself, the Creator, teach me the mystery of heaven, not man who knew not himself. Whom should I believe about God, sooner than God Himself? How can I believe you, who confess that you know not what you worship?'

8. By a single path, he says, we cannot arrive at so great a secret. What you are ignorant of, that we have learnt by the voice of God; what you seek after by faint surmises, that we are assured of by the very Wisdom and Truth of God. Our customs therefore and yours do not agree. You ask the Emperors to grant peace to your gods, we pray for peace for the Emperors themselves from Christ. You worship the works of your own hands, we think it sacrilege that any thing which can be made should be called God. God wills not to be worshipped under the form of stones. Nay, your very philosophers have ridiculed this.

9. But if you are led to deny that Christ is God, because you cannot believe that He died, (for you are ignorant how that this was the death not of His Godhead but of His flesh, whereby it comes to pass that none of the faithful shall die,) how inconsistent are you, who insult by way of worship, and disparage by way of honour. You consider your god to be a block of wood; what an insulting kind of reverence! You believe not that Christ could die; what a respectful kind of unbelief!

10. But, he says, the ancient altars and images ought to be restored, and the temples adorned as of old. This request ought to be made to one who shares the superstition; a Christian Emperor has learned to honour the altar of Christ alone. Why do they compel pious hands and faithful lips to minister to their sacrilege? Let the voice of our Emperor speak of Christ

alone, let him declare Him only Whom in heart he believes, for Prov. xxi. 1. *the king's heart is in the Hand of God*. Did ever heathen Emperor raise an altar to God? In demanding a restoration of ancient things they remind us what reverence Christian Emperors ought to pay to the Religion which they profess, since heathen ones paid the utmost to their own superstitions.

11. Long since was our beginning, and now they follow us whom they shut out. *We* glory in shedding our blood, a trifling expense disturbs *them*. We consider such things a victory, they esteem them an injury. Never did they confer a greater favour on us than when they commanded Christians to be scourged, and proscribed and slain. Religion made into a reward what unbelief intended for a punishment. Behold their magnanimity! *We* have grown by wrongs, by want, by punishment; *they* find that without money their ceremonies cannot be maintained.

12. Let the Vestal virgins, he says, enjoy their privileges. It is for those to say this, who cannot believe in gratuitous virginity, it is for them to allure by profit who distrust virtue. But how many virgins have their promised rewards obtained them? They have barely seven Vestals. Such is the whole number whom the veiled and filleted head, the dye of the purple vest, the pompous litter surrounded by attendants, high privileges, great gains, and a prescribed period of virginity, have collected.

13. Let them turn their mental and bodily eye to us, let them behold a people of chastity, an undefiled multitude, a virgin assembly. No fillets to adorn their heads, but a veil of common use though dignified by chastity; the blandishments of beauty not curiously sought out, but cast aside; no purple trappings, no luxurious delicacies, but frequent fastings; no privileges, no gains; all things in short so ordered as to repress any affection in the very exercise of their functions. But in fact by this very exercise their affection to it is conciliated. Chastity is perfected by its own sacrifices. That is not virginity which is bought for money, not preserved for love of

holiness; that is not integrity which is bid for at an auction by a pecuniary equivalent, to last but for a time. The first triumph of chastity is to overcome the desire of wealth, for this desire is a temptation to modesty. But let us suppose that virginity ought to be supported by pecuniary bounty. In this case, what an abundance of gifts will overflow upon the Christians; what treasury will contain riches so great? Or do they consider that it ought to be bestowed exclusively on the Vestal virgins? Do not they, who claimed the whole under heathen Emperors, feel some shame in denying that under Christian Princes we ought to participate in the bounty?

14. They complain also that public support is not given to their priests and ministers. What a storm of words is here! To us on the other hand the privileges of inheriting private property[80] is denied by recent laws, and no one complains; we do not feel it to be an injury, for we grieve not at the loss. If a priest would claim the privilege of being exempt from the municipal[81] burthens, he must relinquish his paternal estate and all other property. How would the heathens press this ground of complaint, if they had it, that a priest must purchase the liberty of performing his functions by the loss of his whole patrimony, and at the expense of all his private advantages must buy the right of ministering to the public, and while he claims to hold vigils for the public safety must console himself with the wages of domestic poverty; for he does not sell service but purchase a favour.

15. Compare[82] the two cases. You wish to exempt a Decurio, when the Church may not exempt a priest. Wills are made in favour of ministers of temples; not even profane persons, even of the lowest rank, nor of abandoned character, are excepted; the clergy alone are excluded from the common privilege, by whom alone the general prayer for all men is offered, and the common office performed; no legacy, even of grave widows, no donation is allowed. When no blame can attach to character, a fine is

imposed on the office. The legacy which a Christian widow bequeaths to the minister of a temple is valid, that which she bequeaths to the ministers of God is invalid. This I have stated not by way of complaint, but that they may know how much I abstain from complaining of, for I would rather we were losers in money than in grace.

16. But they report that gifts or legacies to the Church have not been taken away. Let them state who has snatched gifts from the temples, a loss which Christians have[83] suffered. Had this been done to the Gentiles, it would rather have been the requital than the infliction of a wrong. Is it now only that they make a plea of justice, put in a claim for equity? Where was this sentiment, when, having despoiled all Christians of their goods, they grudged them the very breath of life, and debarred them from that last burial-rite which was never before denied to any of the dead? Those whom the heathen flung into it, the sea restored. This is a victory of faith, that they themselves impugn the acts of their ancestors, in that they condemn their proceedings. But what consistency is there in condemning the acts of those whose gifts they solicit?

17. Yet no man has forbidden gifts to the temples, or legacies to the soothsayers; their lands alone are taken away, because they did not use that religiously which they claimed on the plea of religion. If they avail themselves of our example why did they not copy our practice? The Church possesses nothing but her faith. There are her rents, her revenues. The wealth of the Church is the support of the poor. Let them count up how many prisoners the temples have ransomed, what support they have afforded to the poor, to how many exiles they have ministered the means of life. Hence it is that they have been deprived of their lands, but not of their rights.

18. This is what has been done, and a public famine, as they assert, has avenged this grave impiety, that the private emoluments of the priests have

been converted to the public service. For this cause they say it was that men stripped branches of their bark, and moistened their fainting life with this wretched juice. For this cause they were obliged to substitute for corn the Chaonian acorn, and thrust back again to this wretched fare, the food of beasts, they shook the oaks and thus appeased their sore hunger in the woods. As if forsooth these were new prodigies on earth, which never occurred so long as heathen superstition prevailed over the world! But in truth how often before this were the hopes of the greedy husbandmen frustrated by empty oat-stalks, while the blade of corn sought for in the furrows disappointed the race of peasants.

19. Why did the Greeks attribute oracles to their oaks, but that they fancied their sylvan fare was the gift of their heavenly religion? Such are the gifts which they suppose to come from their gods. Who but heathen ever worshipped the trees of Dodona, bestowing honour on the sorry sustenance of the sacred grove[84]? It is not probable that their gods in their anger gave them for a punishment what they were wont when appeased to confer as a gift.

20. But what equity were it, that because they are annoyed at the refusal of sustenance to a few priests they should themselves refuse it to every one? in that case their vengeance is more severe than was the fault. But in truth the cause they assign is not adequate to produce so great infirmity of a failing world, as that, when the crops were green, the full grown hopes of the season should all at once perish.

21. Certain it is that many years ago the rights of the temples were abolished throughout the world, is it only now that it has occurred to the gods of the Gentiles to avenge their injuries? Can it be said that the Nile failed to overflow his banks as usual, to avenge the losses of the priests of the City, when he did not do so to avenge his own priests?

22. But supposing that in the past year it was the wrongs of their gods that were avenged, why are the same wrongs neglected in the present year? Now the country people do not pluck up and eat the roots of herbs, nor seek solace from the sylvan berry, nor gather their food from thorns; but rejoicing in their successful labours they wonder at their own harvest, and their hopes fulfilled compensate for their fast, the earth having yielded us her produce with interest.

23. Who then is so inexperienced on human affairs as to be amazed at the vicissitudes of the seasons? And yet even last year we know that most provinces had an abundant harvest. What shall I say of Gaul which was more fertile than usual? The Pannonias[85] sold corn which they had not sown, and the second[86] Rhaetia learnt the danger of her own fertility, for being used to security from her sterility, she drew down an enemy on herself by her abundance. Liguria and Venice are replenished by the fruits of autumn. So then the former year was not withered by sacrilege, while the present has overflowed with the fruits of faith. Nor can they deny that the vineyards produced an overflowing crop. Thus our harvest yielded its produce with interest, and we enjoyed the benefits of a more abundant vintage.

24. The last and most weighty topic remains; as to whether your Majesties should restore those aids which have been profitable to yourselves, for he says, ‘Let them defend you, and be worshipped by us.’ This, most faithful Princes, we cannot endure; that they should make it a taunt to us that they supplicate their gods in your name, and without your command commit an atrocious sacrilege, taking your connivance as consent. Let them keep their guardians to themselves, let these guardians, if they can, protect their own. But if they cannot protect those who worship them, how can they protect you who worship them not?

25. Our ancestral rites, he says, should be preserved. But what if all things have become better? The world itself, which at first was compacted by the gathering together of the elemental seeds through the vast void, an unconsolidated sphere, or was obscured by the thick darkness of the yet unordered work, was it not afterwards endowed with the forms of things which constitute its beauty, and were not the heaven sea and earth distinguished from each other? The earth rescued from dripping darkness was amazed at its new sun. In the beginning too the day shines not, but as time goes on it is bright and warm with the increase of light and heat.

26. The moon herself, which in the prophetic oracles represents the Church, when first she rises again, and repairs her monthly wanings, is hidden from us by darkness, but gradually she fills her horns, or completes them as she comes opposite to the sun, and gleams with a bright and glorious splendour.

27. In former days, the earth knew not how to be wrought into fruitfulness; but afterwards when the careful husbandman began to till the fields, and to clothe the bare soil with vineyards, it was softened by this domestic culture, and put off its rugged nature.

28. So too the first season of the year itself, which has imparted a like habit to ourselves, is bare of produce, then, as time goes on, it blossoms out in flowers soon to fade, and in the end finds its maturity in fruits[87].

29. So we, while young in age, experience an infancy of understanding, but as we grow in years lay aside the rudeness of our faculties.

30. Let them say then that all things ought to have continued as at first; that the world once covered with darkness is now displeasing because it shines with the beams of the sun. And how much better is it to have dispelled the darkness of the mind than that of the body, and that the beam of faith has shone forth than that of the sun. So then the early stages of the world as of all else have been unsettled, that the venerable age of hoary

faith might follow. Let those who are affected by this find fault with the harvest too, because it ripens late; or with the vintage, because it is in the fall of the year; or with the olive, because it is the latest of fruits.

31. So then our harvest too is the faith of the soul; the grace of the Church is the vintage of good works, which from the beginning of the world flourished in the saints, but in these last days is spread over the people; to the intent that all might perceive that it is not into rude minds that the faith of Christ has insinuated itself, but these opinions which before prevailed being shaken off (for without a contest there is no crown of victory) the truth was preferred according as is just.

32. If the old rites pleased, why did Rome adopt alien ones? I pass over the covering of the ground with costly buildings, and shepherds' huts glittering with the gold of a degenerate age[88]. Why, to speak of the very subject of their complaint, have they admitted in their rivalry the images of captured cities, and of conquered gods, and the foreign rites of an alien superstition? Whence do they derive their precedent for Cybele washing her chariot in a stream to counterfeit the Almo[89]? Whence came the Phrygian seers, and the deities of faithless Carthage ever hateful to Rome, her for instance, whom the Africans worship as Cælestis[90], and the Persians as Mitra, the greater part of the world as Venus, the same deity under different names. So also they have believed Victory to be a goddess, which is in truth a gift not a power, is bestowed and does not rule, comes by the aid of legions not by the power of religion. Great forsooth is the goddess whom the number of soldiers claims, or the issue of the battle confers!

33. And her altar they now ask to have set up in the Senate-house at Rome, that is to say, where a majority[91] of Christians assemble. There are altars in all temples, an altar also in the temple of victories. Being pleased with numbers, they celebrate their sacrifices every where. But to insist on a sacrifice on this one altar, what is it but to insult over the Faith? Is it to be

borne that while a Gentile sacrifices Christians must attend? Let their eyes, he says, drink in the smoke whether they will or no; their ears the music; their mouth the ashes; their nostrils the incense; and though they loathe it, let the embers of our hearths besprinkle their faces. Is it not enough for him that the baths, the colonnades, the streets are filled with images? Even in that general assembly, are we not to meet upon equal terms? The believing portion of the Senate will be bound by the voices of them that call the gods to witness, by the oaths of them that swear by them. If they refuse, they will seem to prove their falsehood, if they acquiesce, to acquiesce in a sacrilege.

34. Where, he asks, shall we swear allegiance to your Majesties' laws and commands? Your minds then, of which your laws are the outward expression, gather support and secure fidelity by heathen rites. Moreover your Majesties' faith is assailed not only when you are present, but also, which is more, when you are absent, for you constrain when you command. Constantius, of illustrious memory, though not yet initiated into the sacred Mysteries, thought himself polluted by the sight of that altar; he commanded it to be removed, he did not command it to be replaced. His order bears all the authority of an Act, his silence does not bear the authority of a precept.

35. And let no one rest satisfied because he is absent. He is more to be considered present who unites himself to the minds of others than he who gives the testimony of his visible presence. It is a greater matter to be united in mind than to be joined in body. The Senate regards you as its presidents who summon its meetings; at your bidding it assembles; to you, not to the gods of the heathen, does she resign her conscience; you she prefers to her children though not to her faith. This is the affection worth seeking, an affection more powerful than dominion, if faith, which preserves dominion, be secured.

36. But perhaps some one may be influenced by the thought that if so, a most orthodox Emperor[92] has been left without his reward; as if the reward of good actions was to be estimated by the frail tenure of things present. And what wise man is there who knows not that human affairs move in a certain cycle and order, and meet not always with the same success, but their state is subject to vicissitudes?

37. Who more fortunate than Cneius Pompeius was ever sent forth by the temples of Rome? But he, after compassing the circuit of the globe in three triumphs, vanquished in battle, and driven into exile beyond the bounds of the empire he had saved, perished by the hand of an Eunuch[93] of Canopus.

38. What nobler king than Cyrus king of the Persians has the whole Eastern world produced? He too, after he had conquered the most powerful princes in battle, and detained them as his prisoners, was worsted and slain by the arms of a woman[94]. That king who had conferred on the vanquished the honour of sitting at meat with him, had his head cut off and enclosed in a vessel full of blood, and so was bid to satiate himself, exposed to the mockery of a woman. So in the course of his life like is not matched with like, but things most unlike.

39. Again who was more assiduous in sacrificing than Hamilcar[95] general of the Carthaginians? During the whole time of the battle he took his station between the ranks of the combatants, and there offered sacrifice: then, when he found himself vanquished, he threw himself upon the fire on which he was burning his victims, that he might extinguish even with his own body those flames which he had learnt availed him nothing.

40. And what shall I say of Julian? who blindly believing the answers of the diviners, deprived himself of the means of retreat[96]. Thus even when the circumstances are common there is not a common cause of offence, for our promises have deluded no one.

41. I have replied to those who harass me as though I had not been harassed: for my object has been to refute their Memorial, not to expose their superstitions. But let this very Memorial make your Majesty more cautious. For by pointing out that of a series of former Emperors, those who reigned first followed the rites of their ancestors, and their successors did not remove them, and by observing upon this, that if the religion of older ones was not an example, the connivance of the more recent ones was, they have plainly shewn that you owe it to the faith which you profess not to follow the precedent of heathen rites, and to brotherly love not to violate your brothers' ordinances. For if they for the sake of their own cause have praised the connivance of those Emperors, who being Christians, have not abrogated heathen decrees, how much more are you bound to shew deference to brotherly affection, and, whereas you would be bound to wink at what perhaps you did not approve, for fear of detracting from your brothers' decrees, now to maintain what you judge to be in accordance both with your own faith and the tie of brotherhood.

LETTER XIX. A.D. 385.

VIGILIUS, TO WHOM this letter is addressed, is supposed by the Benedictine Editors to have been the Bishop of Trent, (Tridentum,) who is commemorated in the Roman Martyrology. He had written to S. Ambrose, on his consecration as Bishop, to ask his guidance and instruction, and S. Ambrose replies, first with brief general directions, somewhat resembling those of Letter 11, and then dwells at length on the duty of preventing intermarriage between Christians and heathens, and recounts at full length, in support of this, the history of Samson. At the time when heathenism was rapidly dying out, it is clear how important a point this would seem, and we do not wonder at the stress which S. Ambrose lays on it.

AMBROSE TO VIGILIUS.

1. BEING newly consecrated to the sacred office, you have requested me to furnish you with the outlines of your teaching. Having built up yourself as was fitting, seeing you have been thought worthy of so high an office, you have now to be informed how to build up others also.

2. And in the first place remember that it is the Church of God that is committed to you, and be therefore always on your guard against the intrusion of any scandal, lest the body thereof become as it were common by any admixture of heathen. It is on this account that Scripture says to you Gen. xxviii. 1, 2. *Thou shalt not take a wife of the daughters of Canaan, but go to Mesopotamia, to the house of Bethuel* (that is the house of Wisdom) *and take thee a wife from thence*. Mesopotamia is a country in the East, surrounded by the two greatest rivers in those parts, the Tigris and Euphrates, which take their rise in Armenia, falling, each by a different

channel, into the Red sea; and so the Church is signified under the name of Mesopotamia, for she fertilizes the minds of the faithful by the mighty streams of wisdom and justice, pouring into them the grace of Baptism, the type of which was foreshewn in the Red sea, and washing away sin. Wherefore you must instruct the people that they should contract marriage not with strange-born but with Christian families.

3. Let no man defraud his hired servant of his due wages, for we too are the servants of our God, and look for the reward of our labour from Him. You then, (you must say) O merchant, whoever you be, refuse your servant his wages of money, that is, of what is vile and worthless, but to you will be denied the reward of heavenly promises: therefore Deut. xxiv. 14. *thou shalt not defraud thy hired servant of his reward*, as the Law saith.

4. Thou shalt not give thy money upon usury, for it is written that Ps. xv. 1. 6. *he who hath not given his money upon usury shall dwell in the tabernacle of God*, for he is Ps. xvii. 13. *cast down*, who seeks for usurious gains. Therefore let the Christian, if he have it, give money as though he were not to receive it again, or at all events only the principal which he has given. By so doing he receives no small increase of grace. Otherwise to lend would be to deceive not to succour. For what can be more cruel than to give money to one that hath not, and then to exact double? He that can not pay the simple sum how can he pay double the amount?

5. Tobit iv. 21. Let Tobit be an example to us, who never required again the money he had lent, till the end of his life; and that rather that he might not defraud his heir, than in order to levy and recover the money he had lent out. Nations have often been ruined by usury, and this has been the cause of public destruction. Wherefore it must be the principal care of us Bishops, to extirpate those vices which we find to prevail most extensively.

6. Teach them that they ought to exercise hospitality willingly rather than of necessity, so that in shewing this favour they may not betray a churlish

disposition of mind, and thus in the very reception of their guest the kindness be spoilt by wrong, but rather let it be fostered by the practice of social duties, and by the offices of kindness. It is not rich gifts that are required of thee, but willing services, full of peace and accordant harmony. Prov. xv. 17. *Better is a dinner of herbs* with grace and friendship than that the banquet should be adorned with exquisite viands, while the sentiment of kindness is lacking. We read of a people Judges xx. 44. perishing by a grievous destruction on account of the violation of the laws of hospitality. Gen. xxxiv. 25. Through lust also fierce wars have been kindled.

7. But there is scarce any thing more pernicious than marriage with a foreigner; already the passions both of lust and disorder, and the evils of sacrilege are inflamed. For seeing that the marriage ceremony itself ought to be sanctified by the priestly veil and benediction, how can that be called a marriage when there is not agreement in faith? Since their prayers ought to be in common, how can there be the love of a common wedlock between those whose religion is different. Often have men ensnared by the love of women betrayed their faith, as did the Jews at Baal-phegor. Num. xxv. 8. For which cause Phineas took a sword, and slew the Hebrew and the Midianitish woman, and appeased the Divine vengeance, that the whole people might not be destroyed.

8. And why should I bring forward more examples? I will produce one out of many, from the mention of which will appear what an evil thing it is to marry a strange woman. Who ever was mightier or more richly endowed from his very cradle with God’s Spirit than Samson the Nazarite? Yet was he betrayed by a woman, and by her means failed to retain God’s favour. We will now narrate his birth and the course of his whole life arranged in the style of history, following the contents of the sacred Book, which in substance not in form is as follows.

9. The Philistines for many years kept the Hebrew people in subjection; for they had lost the prerogative of faith, whereby their fathers had gained victories. Yet had not their Maker wholly blotted out the mark of their election nor the lot of their inheritance; but as they were often puffed up by success, He for the most part delivered them into the hand of their enemies, that thus, after the manner of men, they might be led to seek for themselves the remedy of their evils from heaven. For it is when any adversity oppresses us, that we submit ourselves to God; good fortune is wont to puff up the mind. This is proved by experience, as in other instances, so particularly in that change of fortune whereby success returned again from the Philistines to the Hebrews.

10. After the spirit of the Hebrews had been so subdued by the pressure of a long subjection that no one dared with a manly spirit to rouse them to liberty, Samson, fore-ordained by the Divine oracle, was raised up to them. A great man he was, not one of the multitude, but first among the few, and beyond controversy far excelling all in bodily strength. And he is to be regarded by us with great admiration from the beginning, not because in his early abstinence from vice he gave signal proofs of temperance and sobriety, nor on account of his long preserving as a Nazarite his locks unshorn, but because from his very youth, which in others is an age of softness, he achieved illustrious deeds of virtue, perfect beyond the measure of human nature. By these he gained credence to the Divine prophecy, that it was not for nothing that such grace had gone before upon him, that an Angel came down by whom his birth beyond their hopes was announced to his parents, to be the leader and protector of his countrymen, now for a length of years harassed by the tyranny of the Philistines.

11. His father was of the tribe of Dan, a man fearing God, born of no mean rank, and eminent above others, his mother was barren of body, but in virtues of the mind not unfruitful; seeing that in the sanctuary of her soul

she was counted worthy to receive the visit of an Angel, obeyed his command and fulfilled his prophecy. Not enduring however to know the secrets even of God apart from her husband she mentioned to him that she had seen a man of God, of beautiful form, bringing her the Divine promise of future offspring, and that she, confiding in this promise, was led to share with her husband her faith in the heavenly promises. But he, informed of this, devoutly offered his prayers to God, that the grace of this vision might be conferred on him also, saying, Judges xiii. 8. *To me, Lord, let Thine Angel come*.

12. I am of opinion therefore that it was not from jealousy of his wife, because she was remarkable for her beauty that he acted thus, as one writer[97] has supposed, but rather that he was filled with desire of the Divine grace, and sought to participate in the benefit of the heavenly vision. For one whose mind was depraved could not have found such favour with the Lord, as that an Angel should return to his house, who, having given those monitions which the Divine announcement made requisite, was suddenly carried away in the form of a smoking flame. This sight, which terrified the man, the woman interpreted more auspiciously, and so removed his solicitude, in that to see God is a sign of good not evil.

13. Now Samson, approved by such signal tokens from above, turned his thoughts as soon as he grew up, to marriage; whether this was that he abhorred those vague and licentious desires in which young men are wont to indulge, or that he was seeking an occasion of releasing the necks of his countrymen from the power of the hard yoke of the Philistines. Wherefore going down to Timnath, (this is the name of a city situated in those parts where the Philistines then dwelt,) he beheld a maiden of a pleasing form and beautiful countenance, and he besought his parents, by whose company he was supported in his journey, to ask her for him in marriage. But they, not knowing that his intention, either, if the Philistine refused her to him, to

be more fierce against them, or, if they assented, to remove their disposition to injure their subjects; and since from such a connexion a certain equality and kindliness of intercourse would naturally grow, or, on the other hand, if any offence were given, this desire of revenge would be more vehement, deemed that this maiden ought to be avoided as a foreigner. But after they had vainly attempted to change the purpose of their son by urging upon him these lawful objections, they of their own accord acquiesced in his desire.

14. This request was granted; and Samson on his return to visit his promised bride, turned a little way out of the road, and straightway there met him a lion from the wood, fierce in its savage freedom. Samson had no companion, nor any weapon in his hand; but he felt ashamed to fly, and conscious power gave him courage. He caught the lion as it rushed upon him in his arms, and strangled it by the tightness of his embrace, leaving it near the wayside lying upon the underwood, for the spot was clothed with luxuriant herbage, and planted with vineyards. The skin of the beast he thought would be little esteemed by his beloved bride, for seasons such as these derive their grace not from savage trophies, but rather from gentle joys and festal garlands. On his returning by the same road he found an honeycomb in the belly of the lion, and carried it off as a gift to the maiden and her parents; for such gifts befit a bride. And having first tasted the honey, he gave them the comb to eat, but was silent as to whence it came.

15. But it happened on a certain day that a nuptial feast was held, and that the young men inspirited by the banquet provoked each other to sport by question and answer, and as they assailed each other with wanton jests, as is the wont on such occasions, the contest of pleasure waxed hot. And then Samson put forth this riddle to his comrades, Judg. xiv. 14. *Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness*, promising them as a reward of their sagacity if they guessed it, thirty sheets and as many changes of garments according to the number of the company,

while they on their part, if they could not solve the riddle, were to pay a like penalty.

16. But they, unable to untie the knot and to expound the riddle, induced his wife, partly by intimidation, partly by importunate entreaties, to require from her husband the solution of the riddle to be a token of conjugal affection in return for her love. And she, either terrified, and won over as women are wont to be, as if complaining tenderly of her husband's aversion, began to profess grief that she, the consort and intimate of his whole life, had not learnt this, but that she was treated like the others as one to whom her own husband's secret should not be confided. Judg. xiv. 16. *Thou dost but hate me*, she said, *and lovest me not, thou hast put forth a riddle unto the children of my people and hast not told it me.*

17. Samson's mind, otherwise inflexible, was softened by these and the like blandishments of his wife, and discovered to her his riddle, and she told it to her countrymen. And they, having thus but just learned it on the seventh day, which was the term prescribed for its solution, answered after this manner, ib. 18. *What is sweeter than honey, or what is stronger than a lion?* To which he replied, Nor is ought more treacherous than a woman; *If ye had not ploughed with my heifer, ye had not found out my riddle*, and he straightway went down to Ascalon, and slew thirty men, and taking their spoils, bestowed on the men who had expounded the riddle their promised reward.

18. But the perfidy of the maiden being thus discovered, he abstained from intercourse with her, and returned to his father's house. The damsel, disturbed in mind, and justly dreading that the wrath of this mighty man would be kindled into fury by this wrong, gave her hand to another man, one whom Samson, relying on his fidelity, had brought with him as his bridesman to his marriage. But neither by this expedient of a marriage did she avoid offence. For when the affair was disclosed, and he was forbidden

to return to his wife, and her father said that she was married to another man, but that he might, if he chose, marry her sister, he was exasperated by the affront, and determined to take a public revenge for his domestic injury. Wherefore he took three hundred foxes, and in the heat of summer, when the corn was now ripe in the fields, he tied them together two and two by the tails, and fastened a burning firebrand between them, binding it with a firm knot, and by way of avenging his wrong turned them loose among the sheaves which the Philistines had cut. But the foxes, terrified by the fire, scattered flames whichever way they turned, and burnt the harvest. And the Philistines, incensed by the loss of all their corn in that region, told it to the princes of their land. And they sent men to Timnath, and burnt in the fire the woman who had been faithless to her husband, and her parents and all her house; saying that she had been the cause of this injury and devastation, and ought not to have provoked a man who could avenge himself by a public calamity.

19. But Samson did not forgive the Philistines their wrong, nor rest content with this measure of vengeance, but he slew them with a great slaughter, and many of them fell by the sword. And he retired to Etam, a torrent in the wilderness, where was a rock, a stronghold of the tribe of Judah. Now the Philistines, not daring to attack him, nor scale the steep heights on which this fortress stood, began to assail with threats of war the tribe of Judah: but when they saw that the plea of the men of Judah was a good one, that it was neither just nor fair nor expedient for them to destroy their own subjects and tributaries, especially for another man’s fault, they took counsel, and required that the author of the outrage should be delivered up to them, in order that his countrymen might be exonerated from the consequences of it.

20. These terms being imposed upon them, the men of Judah gathered together three thousand of their tribe and went up to him, and premising that

they were subject to the Philistines, and obliged to obey them, not willingly but by terror, they thus sought to turn away from themselves the odium of their act, throwing it upon those by whom they were constrained. Wherefore he thus replied, What kind of Justice is it, O children of Abraham, that the satisfaction I have taken for my bride first over-reached and then torn from me should be injurious to me, and that I may not safely avenge this private injury? Have ye so turned your minds to the low offices of slaves, as to become the ministers of the insolence of others, and to turn your arms against yourselves? If I must perish, because I gave free vent to my grief, I had rather perish by the hand of the Philistines. My home has been attempted, my wife tampered with, if I have not been allowed to live without harm from them, at least let my own countrymen be free from the guilt of my death. I did but requite the injury I had received, I did not inflict one. Judge ye whether it was an equal return. They complain of the loss of their home, I of the loss of my wife; compare the sheaves of corn, with a companion of the marriage bed. They have sanctioned my grief by avenging my injuries. Consider to what an office they have appointed you. They desire you to put to death that man, whom they themselves have judged worthy to be avenged on those who wronged him, and to whose vengeance they ministered. But if your necks are thus bowed down to these proud men, deliver me into the hand of the enemy, slay me not yourselves; I refuse not to die, but I shrink from implicating you in my death. If from fear ye comply with their insolence, bind my hands with chains: though unarmed they will break their bonds and find a weapon for themselves. They will assuredly consider that you have satisfied the imposed condition, if you deliver me alive into their hands.

21. When they heard this, though three thousand men had come up, they swore to him that they would make no attempt on his life, only he must

submit to be bound, in order that they might formally surrender him, and so keep clear of the crime of which they were accused.

22. Their word being pledged he came out of the cave, and left his fastness on the rock, and was bound with two ropes. When he saw the mighty men of the Philistines drawing near to seize him, his spirit rose within him, and he brake all his bands, and taking up a jaw bone of an ass that lay near he slew a thousand men, and put to flight the rest by this exploit of valour, whole hosts of armed soldiers giving way to one unarmed man. Thus those who ventured to close with him hand to hand he slew without effort; the others saved themselves by flight. Wherefore to this day the place is called Agon[98], because there Samson by his great valour achieved a glorious contest.

23. And I would that his moderation in victory had been equal to his courage against the enemy. But as is frequently the case, with mind unused to prosperity, he ascribed to himself the issue of the battle, which was due to the Divine favour and protection, saying, Judges xv. 16. *With the jaw bone of an ass have I slain a thousand men*. Nor did he build an altar to God, nor offer a victim, but neglecting sacrifice and assuming to himself the glory, to immortalize his triumph by a memorial name he called the place, The slaying of the jaw bone.

24. And now he began to burn with thirst, and there was no water, and yet he had great need of it. Wherefore perceiving that there is nothing so easy for human strength, as not to be rendered difficult by the absence of Divine aid, he besought God not to lay to his charge that he had ascribed ought to himself, giving Him all the glory of the victory, by the words, Ib. 18. *Thou hast given this great deliverance into the hand of Thy servant*, and now help me, for lo, *I die of thirst*, and thirst gives me over into the hand of those over whom Thou hast given me so great a triumph. Wherefore God in His mercy clave a hollow place in the jaw bone which Samson had cast

aside, and a stream of water flowed from it, and Samson drank, and his spirit revived, and he called the place ‘the invoking of the spring,’ because by his suppliant prayers he made amends for his boast of victory, and thus two judgements were opportunely declared, the one that arrogance soon incurs offence, the other that without any offence humility gains reconciliation.

25. Having, in the course of events closed his war with the Philistines, and shunning the sloth of his countrymen, Samson now betook himself to Gaza, which was in the region of the Philistines, and lodged there. When the men of Gaza knew this they did not dissemble or pass it over, but beset his lodging in haste, and guarded all the doors of the house that he might not escape by night. But Samson knowing their design, in the middle of the night forestalling the snare which had been laid for him, took the pillars of the house in his arms, and carried the whole structure and the weight of the roof on his back, up to a high hill above Hebron, a city inhabited by the Hebrews.

26. But now his licence transgressed the limits not only of his paternal territory, but of good morals, such as ancient discipline had prescribed, and this brought upon him destruction in the end. For although he had experienced in his first marriage the treachery of a foreign wife, and ought to have avoided it in future, he did not shun connecting himself with the harlot Delilah, and by his passionate love of her opened a way for the craft of his enemies to assail him. For the Philistines came up to her, and promised each of them to give her eleven hundred pieces of silver if she would disclose to them wherein his assurance of strength lay, that by means of this knowledge they might entrap and take him.

27. But she having once prostituted herself for money, began during the banquet and the blandishments of love, cunningly and craftily to inquire of him in what respect his strength excelled that of others, and at the same

time, as if solicitous and fearful for his safety, to entreat him to confide to his beloved by what means he could be bound and subdued into the power of others. But he, still self-possessed and unshaken, opposed craft to the allurements of the harlot, and told her that if he were bound with withs yet green and not dried, his strength would be like that of other men. When the Philistines learnt this from Delilah, they bound him while asleep with green withs, and then awoke him as though on a sudden, but found that he had not fallen off from his accustomed fortitude, but bursting its bonds his freed strength was able to resist and drive back a host of assailants.

28. This having failed, Delilah, as if she had been mocked began with complaints to renew her arts and to require a pledge of his love. Samson, still firm of purpose, intimated to her that, if he were bound by seven ropes which had never been used, he would fall into the hands of the enemy, but this also was in vain. The third time he disclosed part of the secret, and now drawing nearer to his fall, told her that, if the seven locks of his head were unfastened and woven[99] to about a cubit's length, his strength would depart from him. But herein also he deluded those who were plotting against his life.

29. But last of all the wanton woman complaining that she had been so often deceived, and grieving that her lover deemed her unworthy to be entrusted with his secret, and that under her pretext of succour her treacherous purpose was suspected, won his confidence by her tears. By this means, and because also it was ordained that this man of hitherto unshaken fortitude should fall into calamity, Samson was touched and opened to her his heart. He told her that he possessed within him the power of God, that he was sanctified to the Lord, and that by His command he let his hair grow, and that if it were shorn, he would cease to be a Nazarite, and lose the use of his strength. The Philistines having discovered through her means the

man’s weakness, bring her the reward of her perfidy, thus binding her to the commission of the crime.

30. And she, having wearied him by the wanton blandishments of love, threw him into slumber, and then caused the seven locks of his hair to be cut by a razor, whereupon by his transgression of the commandment his strength was immediately lost. When he woke out of sleep, he said, Judges xvi. 20. *I will go out as at other times, and shake myself* against mine adversaries, but he was no longer sensible of activity and strength, his vigour was gone, his grace was departed. Wherefore, considering within himself that he had incautiously trusted to women, and that, convicted of infirmity, it would be sheer folly for him to contend any longer, he gave up his eyes to blindness, and his hands to the fetters, and being bound with chains he entered the confinement from which he had been for a long season free.

31. But in process of time his hair began to grow again; and on the occasion of a great feast Samson is brought out of prison to the assembly of the Philistines, and set in sight of the people. There were nearly three thousand in number, men and women; and they insulted him with bitter reproaches, and carried him about in mockery, a trial harder to be borne than the very reality of captivity by a man conscious of innate power. For to live and die is natural, to be a laughing stock is counted a disgrace. Desirous therefore either of consoling himself by avenging so great an indignity, or of forestalling it for the future by death, he pretended that from the weakness of his limbs and the weight of his fetters he could not support himself, and desired the boy who guided his steps to bring him to the nearest pillars by which the whole house was supported. Being brought near, he grasped with both hands the props of the building, and while the Philistines were intent on the sacrificial feast which they were offering to Dagon their god, by whose help they deemed their adversary had been

delivered into their power, reckoning a woman's perfidy as a gift from above, he called unto the Lord, and said, Judges xvi. 28. '*O Lord God, remember me I pray Thee this once, that I may be avenged of the heathen for my two eyes*, and that they give not glory to their gods as if by their help they had gotten me into their power. Let me die with the Philistines, that they may find my weakness to have been no less fatal to them than my strength.'

32. Then he shook the columns with great force, and broke them in pieces, whereon followed the downfall of the upper roof, crushing Samson himself and casting down all those who were looking on from above. Thus were a great number of men and women slain together, and by an end not unworthy or disgraceful, but excelling all his former victories, the dying Samson obtained a triumph. For although to that point and thenceforward he was invincible, and incomparable during life among men versed in war, yet in death he conquered himself, and shewed an unconquerable soul, so as to despise and count for nothing that end of life which all men fear.

33. Thus it was through his valour that the last day of his life was also the sum of his victories, and that he met not a captive but a triumphant end. But to have been entrapped by a woman is to be ascribed to nature rather than to the man, because it was by the condition of his humanity more than through his own fault that he fell; for this is wont to be overcome, and yield to the allurements of wickedness. Wherefore, since Scripture bears witness that he slew more in his death than while in the light of life, it would seem that his captivity happened rather for the destruction of his adversaries than for his own fall and humiliation. For he whose burial was more efficacious than his living strength cannot be said to have found himself inferior. Lastly, he was overwhelmed and buried not by the weapons but by the bodies of his enemies, and thus, covered by his own triumph, he left a glorious memorial

to posterity. For he judged his countrymen, whom he found enslaved, twenty years, and buried in his native soil, left them inheritors of liberty.

34. By this example then it is plain that alliances with strangers should be avoided, lest through love for our wife the snares of treachery should be successful.

Farewell and love us, as we love you.

LETTER XX. A.D. 385.

AFTER THE DEATH of Gratian the empire of the West was nominally in the hands of Valentinian the 2nd, but, as he was a mere boy, the real power was exercised by his mother Justina, who was an Arian. S. Ambrose had already resisted her successfully in the question of the election of a Bishop at Sirmium (see Footnote 27), and although he had performed a difficult and dangerous service for them two years before this, in going on an embassy to Maximus after the death of Gratian, Justina and Valentinian were bitterly hostile to him, and supported the Arian faction against him. In March, A.D. 385, S. Ambrose was summoned to the Palace, as he himself relates in the Sermon of which he gives an account in this letter (§ 15 sqq.) and called upon to give up one of the Churches, the Portian Basilica, outside the walls, for the use of the Arians. This he refused, and was so energetically supported by the people of Milan, that the demand was for the time withdrawn. Various other efforts were then made either to induce him to yield or to get him out of the way, (one of the latter is recounted in a note on the Sermon against Auxentius § 15) but they all failed. At last on the Friday before Palm Sunday a fresh demand is made, not for the Portian Basilica, as a promise had been given that no further claim should be made upon it, but for the New Basilica which was within the walls. It is at this point that the narrative which S. Ambrose gives in this letter to his sister Marcellina begins. It recounts the occurrences from the Friday to the Wednesday in Holy Week, when the persecution was again for the time abandoned.

TO MARCELLINA.

1. IN nearly all your letters you inquire anxiously about the Church; hear then what is going on. The day after I received the letter in which you told me how you had been troubled in your dreams, a heavy weight of troubles began to assail me. It was not now the Portian Basilica, that is the one without the walls, which was demanded, but the new Basilica, that is, one within the walls, which is larger in size.

2. In the first place some chief men[100], counsellors of state, appealed to me to give up the Basilica, and restrain the people from raising any commotion. I replied as a matter of course, that a Bishop could not give up God's house.

3. On the following day the people expressed their approval in the Church, and the Præfect[101] also came thither, and began to urge us to yield up at least the Portian Basilica. The people were clamorous against this, whereupon he departed, saying, that he would report matters to the Emperor.

4. On the following day, which was the Lord's day, having dismissed the catechumens after the lessons and sermon, I was explaining the Creed to some candidates for Baptism in the Baptistery of the Church. There the news was reported to me that, on learning that officials[102] had been sent from the palace to the Portian Basilica, and were putting up the Imperial hangings[103], many of the people were proceeding thither. I however continued my ministrations, and began to celebrate the Eucharist[104].

5. While I was offering, tidings were brought me that the populace had seized upon one Castulus, whom the Arians called a priest. While making the oblation I began to weep bitterly and to beseech God's aid that no blood might be shed in the Church's quarrel; or if so, that it might be my own, and that not for my people only, but even for the ungodly themselves. But, to be brief, I sent some presbyters and deacons, and rescued the man.

6. The severest penalties were immediately decreed; first upon the whole body of merchants. And thus, during the sacred period of the last Week, wherein the debtor was wont to be loosed from his bonds, chains are placed on innocent men's necks, and two hundred pounds' weight of gold is demanded within three days. They reply they will willingly give as much, or twice as much again, so that they may not violate their faith. The prisons too were filled with tradesmen.

7. All the Officials of the palace, the Recorders, the Proctors, the Apparitors of the several Courts, on the pretext of its being unlawful for them to be present at seditious assemblies, were commanded to keep at home, severe threats were held out against men of high rank in case the Basilica was not delivered up. The persecution raged, and had an opening been afforded, they seemed likely to break out into every kind of outrage.

8. I myself had an interview with the Counts and Tribunes, who urged me to give up the Basilica without delay, declaring that the Emperor was acting on his rights, inasmuch as he had supreme power over all things. I replied that if he required of me what was my own, my estate, my money, or the like, I would not refuse it, although all my property really belonged to the poor, but that sacred things were not subject to the power of the Emperor. 'If my patrimony be required,' I said, 'take it; if my person, here it is. Will you drag me away to prison, or to death? I will go with pleasure. I will not entrench myself by gathering a multitude round me, I will not lay hold of the Altar and beg for my life; rather will I offer myself to death for the Altar.'

9. In fact my mind was shaken with fear when I found that armed men had been sent to occupy the Basilica, I was seized with dread lest in protecting the Church, blood might be shed which would tend to bring destruction on the whole city. I prayed that if so great a city or even all Italy were to perish I might not survive. I shrank from the odium of shedding

blood, and I offered my own throat to the knife. Some officers of the Goths[105] were present; I addressed them, saying, ‘Is it for this that you have become citizens of Rome, to shew yourselves disturbers of the public peace? Whither will you go, if everything here is destroyed?’

10. I was called upon to calm the people. I replied that it was in my power not to excite them, that it was in God’s Hand to pacify them. That if I was considered the instigator, I ought to be punished, that I ought to be banished into whatever desert places of the earth they chose. Having said this, they departed, and I spent the whole day in the old Church. Thence I returned home to sleep; that if any man wished to arrest me, he might find me prepared.

11. When, before dawn, I passed out over the threshold, I found the Basilica surrounded and occupied by soldiers. And it was said that they had intimated to the Emperor that he was at liberty to go to Church if he wished it, that they would be ready to attend him if he were going to the assembly of the Catholics; otherwise that they would go to the assembly which Ambrose had convened.

12. Not a single Arian dared come out, for there were none among the citizens, only a few of the royal household, and some of the Goths, who, as of old they made their waggon their home, so now make the Church their waggon. Wherever that woman goes, she carries with her all those of her own communion.

13. The groans of the people gave me notice that the Basilica was surrounded; but while the lessons are being read word is brought me that the New Basilica also is full of people, that the crowd seemed greater than when all were at liberty, that they were calling for a Reader. To be brief, the soldiers themselves, who were found to have occupied the Basilica, being informed of my directions that the people should abstain from communion with them, began to come to our assembly. At the sight of them the minds

of the women are agitated, one of them rushes forth. But the soldiers themselves exclaimed that they had come to pray not to fight. The people raised a cry. In the most modest, most resolute, most faithful manner they entreated that I would go to that Basilica. In that Basilica also the people were reported to desire my presence.

14. Then I began the following discourse: Ye have heard, my sons, the lesson from the book of Job, which according to the usual service of the season, is now in course. By use the devil knew that this book was to be declared, already all the power of his temptations is laid open and betrayed, and therefore he exerted himself to-day with greater violence. But thanks be to our God Who hath so confirmed you in faith and patience. I went up into the pulpit to admire Job, I found I had all of you to admire as Jobs. Job lives again in each of you, in each the patience and virtue of that saint is reflected. For what more opportune could be said by Christian men than that which the Holy Spirit hath spoken in you this day? 'We petition your Majesty, we use no force, we feel no fear, but we petition.' This is what becomes Christians, to desire peace and quiet fear, and still not to let the steadfastness of faith and truth be shaken even by peril of death. For the Lord is our Guide, Ps. xvii. 7. *Who will save those who hope in Him*.

15. But let us come to the lessons set before us. Ye see that power of temptation is given to the devil to prove the good. The wicked one envies our progress in good, he tempts us in various ways. He tempted holy Job in his patrimony, he tempted him in his sons, he tempted him by bodily pains. The stronger is tempted in his own person, the weaker in that of others. Me too he would fain have despoiled of the riches which I possess in you, and he desired to waste this patrimony of your tranquillity. Yourselves also he desired to snatch from me, my good children for whom I daily offer sacrifice; you he endeavoured to involve in the ruins of the public confusion. Already then I have incurred two kinds of temptation. And

perhaps the Lord, knowing my weakness, hath not yet given him power over my body: though I myself desire it, though I offer it, He perhaps still judges me unequal to this contest, and exercises me by diverse labours. Even Job himself did not begin with this contest, but was perfected by it.

16. But Job was tempted by the accumulated tidings of evil, he was tempted by his wife who said, Job ii. 9. *Curse God, and die*. Ye behold how many things are suddenly stirred up against us, the Goths, the troops, the heathen, the fine of the tradesmen, the punishment of the saints. Ye observe what is commanded, when it is said 'Deliver up the Basilica;' *Curse God, and die*. But here it is not only 'Speak against God,' but also 'Act against God.' The command is, 'Betray the altars of God.'

17. So then we are pressed by the Imperial mandates, but we are strengthened by the words of Scripture, which answered, ib. 10. *Thou speakest as one of the foolish women speaketh*. Not slight therefore is that temptation, for temptations which come through the agency of women we know to be more severe. Lastly, Adam also was betrayed by Eve, and thereby it came to pass that he betrayed the Divine commandments. Becoming aware of this error, and his guilty conscience accusing him, he desired to hide himself, but could not; wherefore God says to him, Gen. iii. 9. *Adam where art thou?* that is, what wert thou before? where hast thou now begun to be? where did I place thee? whither hast thou fallen? thou ownest thyself naked, because thou hast lost the garments of a good faith. The things wherewith thou desirest to clothe thyself are leaves. Thou hast cast aside the fruit, thou desirest to lie hid under the leaves of the tree, but thou art betrayed. For one woman's sake thou hast chosen to depart from thy God, therefore thou fliest from Him when thou soughtest to see. Thou hast chosen to hide thyself with one woman, to leave the mirror of the world, the abode of Paradise, the Grace of Christ.

18. Why need I add that Elijah also was cruelly persecuted by Jezebel? that Herodias caused John the Baptist to be put to death? Each man seems to suffer from this or that woman; for me, in proportion as my merits are less, my trials are heavier. My strength is weaker, but I have more danger. Women succeed each other, their hatreds are interchanged, their falsehoods are varied, the elders are gathered together, the plea of wrong to the Emperor is put forward. What explanation is there then of such grievous temptation to such a worm as I am, but that it is not me but the Church that they persecute.

19. At length came the command, 'Deliver up the Basilica;' I reply, 'It is not lawful for us to deliver it up, nor for your Majesty to receive it. By no law can you violate the house of a private man, and do you think that the house of God may be taken away? It is asserted that all things are lawful to the Emperor, that all things are his. But do not burden your conscience with the thought that you have any right as Emperor over sacred things. Exalt not yourself, but if you would reign the longer, be subject to God. It is written, S. Matt. xxii. 21. *God's to God and Cæsar's to Cæsar*. The palace is the Emperor's, the Churches are the Bishop's. To you is committed jurisdiction over public not over sacred buildings.' Again the Emperor is said to have issued his command, 'I also ought to have one Basilica;' I answered S. Matt. xiv. 4. '*It is not lawful for thee to have her*. What hast thou to do with an adultress who is not bound with Christ in lawful wedlock?'

20. While I was engaged with this subject, it was reported to me that the Imperial hangings were taken down, the Church filled with people, and that my presence was required; straightway I turned my discourse to this, saying, How deep and profound are the oracles of the Holy Spirit! Remember, brethren, what was read at matins and how we responded with deep grief of mind, Ps. lxxix. 1. *O God the heathen are come into Thine inheritance*. And truly the heathen came, nay, even more than the heathen,

for the Goths came and men of divers nations, they came armed with weapons, and surrounded and seized the Basilica. Ignorant of Thy Greatness we grieved for this, but our ignorance was mistaken.

21. The heathen came, but truly *into Thine inheritance* they came, for they who came as heathen were made Christians. They who came to invade Thine inheritance, were made coheirs of God; those whom I accounted enemies are become my defenders; I have as comrades those whom I esteemed adversaries. Thus has that been fulfilled which the prophet David spake of the Lord Jesus, that Ps. lxxvi. 2, 3. *His Dwelling is in peace*[106]*, there brake He the horns of the bow, the shield, the sword, and the battle*. For whose office, whose work is this but Thine, Lord Jesus? Thou sawest armed men coming to Thy temple, on the one hand the people groaning and collecting in a crowd that they might not seem to give up the Basilica, on the other hand the soldiers commanded to use force. Death was before my eyes, lest in the midst of all this madness should break out into licence. But Thou, O Lord plantedst Thyself in the midst, and madest the twain one. Thou restrainedst the soldiers, saying, If ye run to arms, if they who are within My temple are disturbed, Ps. xxx. 9. *What profit is there in My blood?* All thanks therefore be to Thee, O Christ. It was not an enemy, not a messenger but Ps. xxx. 11, 12. *Thou O Lord hast delivered Thy people, Thou hast put off my sackcloth and girded me with gladness*.

22. Thus I spoke, wondering that the Emperor's mind could be softened by the zeal of the soldiers, by the entreaties of the Counts, by the prayers of the people. Meanwhile I am informed that a Secretary was come with the mandate. I retired a little, and he notified to me the mandate. 'What has been your design,' says he, 'in acting against the Emperor's orders?' I replied, 'What has been ordered I know not, nor am I aware what is alleged to have been wrongly done.' He says, 'Why have you sent presbyters to the Basilica? If you are a tyrant I would fain know it, that I may know how to

arm myself against you.' I replied by saying that I had done nothing which assumed too much for the Church, but when I heard it was filled with soldiers, I only uttered deeper groans, and though many exhorted me to proceed thither, I replied, 'I cannot give up the Basilica, yet I must not fight.' That afterwards, when I was told that the Imperial hangings were removed, and that the people required me to go thither, I had directed the presbyters to do so, but that I was unwilling to go myself, saying, 'I trust in Christ that the Emperor himself will espouse our cause.'

23. If this seems like domineering, I grant indeed that I have arms, but only in the name of Christ; I have the power of offering up my body. Why, I asked, did he delay to strike if he considered my power unlawful? By ancient right Priests have conferred sovereignty, never assumed it, and it is a common saying that Emperors have coveted the Priesthood more often than Priests sovereignty. Christ fled that He might not be made a king. We have a power of our own. The power of a Priest is his weakness; 2 Cor. xii. 10. *When I am weak*, it is said, *then am I strong*. But let him against whom God has raised up no adversary beware lest he raise up a tyrant for himself. Maximus did not say that I domineered over Valentinian, though he complains that my embassage prevented his passing over into Italy. I added, that priests were never usurpers, but that they had often suffered from usurpers.

24. The whole of that day was past in this affliction; meanwhile the boys tore in derision the Imperial hangings. I could not return home, because the Church was surrounded by a guard of soldiers. We recited the Psalms with our brethren in the little Basilica belonging to the Church.

25. On the following day, the book of Jonah was read in due course, after which, I began this discourse; We have read a book, my brethren, wherein it is foretold that sinners shall return again to repentance. They are accepted on this footing, that their present state is considered an earnest of the future.

I added that this just man was even willing to incur blame, rather than behold or denounce destruction on the city; and, since that prophecy was mournful, that he was also grieved because the gourd had withered; that God had said to the prophet, Jonah iv. 9. *Art thou greatly angry for the gourd?* and Jonah had answered, *I am greatly angry*. Then the Lord said, if the withering of the gourd was a grief to him, how much more ought he to care for the salvation of so many souls; and therefore that He had suspended the destruction which had been prepared for the whole city.

26. Immediate tidings are brought to me that the Emperor had commanded the soldiers to retire from the Church; and that the fine which had been imposed on the merchants on their condemnation should be restored. What joy then prevailed among the whole people, what applause, what congratulations! Now it was the day whereon the Lord delivered Himself up for us, the day whereon there is a relaxation of penance in the Church. The soldiers eagerly brought the tidings, running in to the altars, and giving the kiss, the emblem of peace. Then I perceived that God had smitten Ib. 7. *the worm which came when the morning rose*, that the whole city might be preserved.

27. These are the past events, and would that they were terminated, but the excited words of the Emperor show that heavier trials are awaiting us. I am called a tyrant, and even more than tyrant. For when the Counts besought the Emperor to go to the Church, and said that they did so at the request of the soldiers, he replied, 'You would deliver me up to chains, if Ambrose bade you.' I leave you to judge what awaits us after these words; all shuddered at hearing them, but there are those about him who exasperate him.

28. Lastly Calligonus the Grand Chamberlain[107] ventured to address himself specially to me. 'Do you, while I live, despise Valentinian? I will have your head.' I replied, 'May God grant you to fulfil your threat: I shall

suffer as becomes a Bishop, you will act as befits an eunuch.' May God indeed turn them aside from the Church; may all their weapons be directed against me, may they satiate their thirst in my blood!

LETTER XXI. A.D. 386.

S. AMBROSE ENDS his letter to his sister with forebodings of more troubles. Nor was he wrong. One of the next steps taken was a challenge to dispute publicly before the Emperor with Auxentius the Arian (so-called) Bishop, with regular umpires (judices) appointed on both sides. This letter is his reply to the Emperor, setting forth his ground for refusing, as he had before done at the time of the Council of Aquileia, to allow laymen to be judges of questions of Faith. (See above, Council of Aquil. § 51, 52, 53.)

TO THE MOST CLEMENT EMPEROR, HIS BLESSED MAJESTY VALENTINIAN, AMBROSE, BISHOP, SENDS GREETING.

1. DALMATIUS the tribune and notary cited me at your Clemency's bidding, as he alleged, requiring that I also should choose umpires as Auxentius had done. He did not mention the names of those who had been called for, but he added that the trial would take place in the Consistory, and that your pious judgment would decide between us.

2. To this I make, as I consider, a sufficient answer. No one ought to deem me contumacious for asserting what your father of illustrious memory not only declared by word of mouth[108] but sanctioned by his laws; that in a matter of the Faith or of any ecclesiastical ordinance, the judges ought to be qualified for it, both competent by office and qualified by profession: (these are the words of the Rescript), that is to say, he would have Bishops judge Bishops. Moreover if a bishop were accused elsewhere also, and a charge of a moral nature to be examined, this too he willed should be referred to the judgment of Bishops.

3. Who then is it who makes a contumacious answer to your Clemency? He who would have you like your Father, or he who would have you unlike? Unless perhaps some persons count cheaply the opinion of that great Emperor, whose faith has been approved by the constancy of his confession[109], and his wisdom proclaimed by the improved condition of the State.

4. When have you ever heard, most gracious Emperor, that laymen had judged a Bishop in a matter pertaining to the Faith? Does their flattery make us cringe so low as to forget the rights of the priesthood, and suppose that what God has committed to me I should entrust to others? If a layman may teach a Bishop, what will follow? a layman will dispute, and a Bishop listen, a Bishop learn of a layman. Assuredly, if we revert to the volume of Holy Scripture or to the time of old, who is there who will deny that in a cause of the Faith, in a cause, I say, of the Faith, Bishops are wont to judge Christian Emperors, not Emperors to judge Bishops.

5. Hereafter, you will, by God's favour, reach a more mature age, and then you will judge what kind of Bishop he must be who submits the rights of the priesthood to laymen. Your father, who by God's favour attained a riper age, used to say: 'It is not for me to judge between Bishops:' your Majesty now says, 'I ought to judge.' He, although baptized into Christ, considered himself unequal to the weight of so important a judgment; does your Majesty, who have yet to earn for yourself the Sacrament of Baptism, claim to decide concerning the Faith, although still ignorant of the Sacrament of this Faith?

6. But what sort of judges he will have selected we may leave to be guessed, seeing that he fears to disclose their names. Let them come openly, if indeed there be any, to the Church; let them attend together with the people, not to sit as judges, but for every one to prove his own feelings and choose whom he will follow. The cause is concerning the Bishop of that

Church; if the people hear him and suppose he has the better of the argument, let them follow his Faith; I shall not be jealous.

7. I forbear to mention that the people themselves have already decided; I do not urge that the Bishop[110] whom they have they demanded from your Majesty's father; I urge not that your father promised tranquillity for the future if he, having been elected, took upon him the Bishopric. It was in reliance on these promises that I acted.

8. But if he prides himself on the support of any foreigners let him be Bishop in the place whence those come who hold that he should be invested with the name of a Bishop. For I neither acknowledge him as Bishop, nor know whence he comes.

9. How, your Majesty, can we be said to settle a matter in which you have already declared your judgment; nay, have yourself published laws precluding others from deciding otherwise. And when you laid down this rule for others you laid it down also for yourself; for the laws which the Emperor makes he ought to be the first to keep. Would you then have me make trial whether those who are chosen judges will meet, contrary to your decree, or whether they will allege that they have not been able to contravene so rigid and peremptory a command of the Emperor?

10. But this is the part of a contumacious not of a respectful Bishop. See, your Majesty, how you yourself partially rescind your own law; but I would that you would do so not partially but universally, for I would not wish your law to be above the law of God. The law of God has taught us what we should follow, human laws cannot teach us this. They can compel a change in the timid, but they cannot inspire faith.

11. Who therefore when he learns that in one moment it has been published through so many provinces that whoever shall resist the Emperor shall be put to death, whoever shall not give up the temple of God shall immediately be slain; who is there, I say, who either alone or with a few

others can say to the Emperor; ‘I do not approve your law?’ The priesthood are not allowed to say this; are then the laity allowed? And shall he judge concerning the faith, who either hopes for favour or fears giving offence?

12. Lastly, shall I venture to nominate laymen for umpires, who if they keep true to their Faith must be proscribed or put to death, as that law passed concerning the Faith prescribes. Shall I then expose them to the hazard either of prevarication or of punishment?

13. Ambrose is not of such importance as to degrade the priesthood on his account. One man’s life is not of as much value as the dignity of the whole priesthood, by whose advice I gave my direction when they suggested that there might be some heathen or Jew, chosen by Auxentius, to whom we might give a triumph over Christ if we committed to him judgment concerning Christ. What else pleases them but to hear of wrong done to Christ? What else can please them but the denial (which God forbid) of the Divinity of Christ? Clearly they agree entirely with the Arian, who calls Christ a creature, which heathens and Jews too are willing enough to confess.

14. This was decreed at the synod of Ariminum, and with good reason do I abhor that Council; following as I do the doctrine of the Nicene Council, from which neither death nor the sword can ever separate me. This Faith your Majesty’s father, the blessed Emperor Theodosius, both followed and approved. This Faith the provinces of Gaul and of Spain hold, and this they keep with the pious confession of the Divine Spirit.

15. If I have to preach, I have learnt to preach in the Church, as my predecessors did. If a conference is to be held on a matter of Faith, it ought to be a conference of Bishops, as was the case under Constantine of august memory, who laid down no laws beforehand, but left to the Bishops the liberty of judging. The same was the case also under Constantius of illustrious memory, who inherited his father’s dignity, but what began well

ended badly. For the Bishops had at first subscribed an orthodox confession, but, through the wish of certain persons to judge of the Faith in agreement with the palace, the result was that these judgments of the Bishops were fraudulently changed; they however immediately recalled this perverted decision. And there is no doubt that the majority at Ariminum approved the creed of the Nicene Council[111] and condemned the Arian decrees.

16. If Auxentius appeals to a Synod to discuss questions concerning the Faith, though it would be needless to disturb so many Bishops on one person's account, who, were he an Angel from heaven, ought not to be preferred to the Church's peace, I too will not be absent when I hear that the Synod is assembled. Let the law then be repealed, if you would have the contest entered upon.

17. I would have come to your Majesty's Consistory, to offer this plea in your presence, could I have obtained leave from the Bishops or the people; but they said that an argument concerning the Faith ought to be held in the Church in the presence of the people.

18. I could have wished that your Majesty had not declared that I might go into exile, whither I chose. I went abroad daily, no man guarded me. You should then have sent me wherever you thought fit, for I was ready to submit to any thing; now the Bishops say to me, 'There is little difference between voluntarily leaving Christ's altar and betraying it, for if you leave you will betray it.'

19. And I would I were certain that the Church would not be given up to the Arians, I would then willingly surrender myself to your Majesty's disposal. But if it is I only who am an intruder, why has the command been given to invade all other Churches also? I would it were certain, that no one would disturb the Churches, I would gladly then have any sentence which seems good passed concerning myself.

20. Let your Majesty then be pleased graciously to accept my reasons for not coming to the Church. I have not learned how to stand up in the Consistory except in your behalf[112]; and within the palace I cannot contend, for I neither seek after nor know the secrets of the palace.

21. I, Bishop Ambrose, offer this remonstrance to the most clement Emperor, his blessed Majesty Valentinian.

SERMON A.D. 386.

AGAINST AUXENTIUS ON THE GIVING UP THE BASILICAS.

THE persecution against S. Ambrose still continued. The Court party endeavoured to induce him to leave Milan, in order, they said, to prevent more serious troubles. This he refused to do, and at last he remained for several days and nights continuously within the Basilica[113], attended by a crowded congregation, all determined to protect him from the violence of the court, while a guard of soldiers was at the same time blockading the Church, and preventing any from leaving it. It was during this time that this Sermon was preached. In it S. Ambrose first calms the fears of the people lest he should be induced to leave them, assuring them that he will only yield to force; and proceeds to apply the Lessons of the day, the story of Naboth and the Entry into Jerusalem, to the circumstances of the time, giving incidentally several interesting details of the contest between himself and the Court, and alluding to the hymns which he then taught the people to sing.

1. I SEE that you are in an unusual state of excitement, and that your eyes are fixed upon me. I am at a loss to know the cause of this. Is it that you saw or heard that an Imperial message has been brought to me by the Tribunes, commanding me to depart hence whither I would, and that all who would were permitted to follow me. Were you then alarmed lest I

should desert the Church, and in fear for my own life abandon you? But you heard my answer. I said that the thought of deserting the Church could not for an instant enter my mind, for I feared the Lord of the Universe more than the Ruler of the Empire; that if I were to be forcibly removed from the Church, it would be my body not my mind which would be driven by violence from thence, that if the Emperor were to act as royal power is wont, I was prepared for that which is the part of a priest to suffer.

2. Why then are you thus disturbed? I will never desert you of my own will, but I may not repel force by force. I shall still be able to mourn, to weep, and to groan; when weapons, soldiers, Goths assail me, my tears are my weapons, for these are the defence of a priest. By any other means I neither can nor ought to resist; but to fly and desert the Church is not my wont, lest any one should impute it to fear of heavier punishment. You yourselves know that I am wont to pay deference to our Rulers, but not to give way to them, and willingly to offer myself to punishment, not fearing what is prepared for me.

3. Would that I could be satisfied that the Church would not be delivered to heretics! I would willingly go to the Emperor's palace, were this accordant with the priest's office, so as to hold our contest rather in the palace than in the Church. But in the Consistory Christ is not wont to be the accused, but the Judge. Who will deny that a matter of faith should be pleaded in the Church? If any one has confidence in his cause let him come hither; let him not look for the judgment of the Emperor, which already shews its leaning, which has declared plainly by the law he has enacted that he is adverse to the Faith, nor for the expected support of certain intriguers. I will not give occasion to any one to barter for gain a wrong to Christ.

4. The guard of soldiers and the din of the arms which beset the Church, alarm not my faith, but they make me fear that in keeping me here you may incur danger to yourselves. For I have learned ere this not to fear for myself,

but I begin now to fear more for you. Permit, I beg, your Bishop to enter the lists; we have an adversary who challenges us; for our 1 S. Pet. v. 8 *adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about seeking whom he may devour*, as the Apostle saith. Doubtless he has obtained, he has obtained (not to deceive us, but to warn us, is it recorded) this power of temptation, lest haply I should be removed from the stedfastness of my faith by the wounds of my body. You also have read that the devil thus tempted holy Job in many ways; and last of all he begged and obtained the power of afflicting his body which he covered with sores.

5. When it was proposed to me to give up at once the Church plate, I made this reply; That if my own property was required of me, farm or house, gold or silver, anything that lies in my power, I would willingly give it; but that I would withdraw nothing from God's temple, nor surrender what had been committed to me to keep, not to surrender. And further, that I was studying also for the Emperor's good, for it was expedient neither for me to surrender nor for him to receive these things; let him then listen to the words of an independent Bishop: if he regard his own interest, let him abstain from doing wrong to Christ.

6. These are words full of humility, and, I believe, of that affection which a Bishop owes to his Emperor. But since Eph. vi. 12. *our contest is not only against flesh and blood, but* also (which is more trouble) *against spiritual wickedness in high places*, that tempter, the Devil, sharpens the contest by his ministers, and deems that by the wounds of my body the trial must be made. I know, brethren, that these wounds which we receive for Christ, are no wounds: life is not lost by them, but its seed propagated. Permit, I beseech you, the contest to take place, it is for you to be spectators only. Consider that if there is in a city an athlete or one skilled in some other science, it wishes to present him for the combat. Why do ye reject in greater things what ye are wont to wish for even in smaller ones? He fears neither

arms nor barbarians, who dreads not death, who is entangled in no fleshly pleasure.

7. Without doubt if the Lord hath appointed me to this combat, it is in vain that you have kept sleepless watch and ward through so many nights and days; the will of Christ will be performed. For our Lord Jesus Christ is Almighty, this is our Faith; and therefore what He bids to be done will be fulfilled, nor does it become us to run counter to the Divine Will.

8. Ye have heard what has been read to-day: the Saviour commanded an ass's colt to be brought to Him by the Apostles and commanded that if any one sought to hinder them they should say, S. Luke xix. 35. *The Lord hath need of him*. What if now also He hath commanded this ass's colt, that is the colt of that animal which is wont to bear a heavy burthen, such as is the condition of man, to whom it is said, S. Matt. xi. 28. etc. *Come unto Me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest: take My yoke upon you, for My yoke is easy*: what, I say, if He hath now commanded this colt to be brought to Him, sending forth those Apostles who now having put off the body, wear, invisibly to our eyes, the guise of Angels? Will they not say, should any one seek to hinder them, *The Lord hath need of him*, if either the desire of this life, or flesh and blood, or the conversation of the world, for perhaps we are acceptable to some persons, should seek to hinder them? But he who loves me here, cannot give a better testimony of his affection than by suffering me to become a sacrifice for Christ; because Phil. i. 23. *to be dissolved and to be with Christ is much better; howbeit, to remain in the flesh is more needful for your sakes*. Ye have therefore, my beloved brethren, no cause for fear, for I know that whatever I shall suffer, I shall suffer for Christ. And I have read that I ought not to fear those who can kill the flesh, and I have heard One say, S. Matt. x. 39. *He who loses his life for My sake, shall find it*.

9. Wherefore, if the Lord wills it, I am sure that no resistance will be made. But if He still delay our contest, why should we fear? It is not bodily protection but the Lord's providence which is wont to protect the servant of Christ.

10. You are disturbed at finding some folding doors unclosed which a blind man in returning home is said to have opened. Acknowledge then that human guards are no support. Lo! one who had lost the gift of sight has broken through all your barriers and baffled your guards: but the Lord hath not lost[114] the guard of His mercy. Do you not remember that two days ago there was found open an entrance on the left side of the Basilica which you thought to be closed and guarded? The Basilica was surrounded by armed men who inspected every entrance, but their eyes were blinded so that they could not discover the one which was open; and so it remained open, as you know, for many nights. Cease then all anxiety, for what Christ commands, and what is expedient, shall come to pass.

11. In the next place I will produce to you instances from the Old Testament. Elisha was sought after by the king of Syria, an army was sent to take him, he was surrounded on every side, his servant began to fear, because he was a servant, that is, his mind was not free, nor had he freedom of action. The holy prophet prayed that his eyes might be opened, and said, 2 Kings vi. 16. (the sense, not the words.) *Look and see how many more are on our side than against us*. And he looked up and saw thousands of Angels. You see then that the servants of Christ are protected rather by invisible than by visible beings. But when they keep guard around you, they have been called to do so by your prayers; for you have read that those very men who sought for Elisha on entering Samaria came upon the very man whom they wished to capture, yet they were not able to injure him, but were saved by the intercession of the very man against whom they came.

12. Take the Apostle Peter too as an example of both these things. When Herod sought after and took him, he was put in prison; for the servant of God had not fled but stood firm and without fear. The Church prayed for him, but the Apostle was asleep in the prison, a proof that he feared not. An Angel was sent to rouse him from his sleep, and by him Peter was brought out of prison and for the time escaped death.

13. The same Peter, afterwards, after overcoming Simon, by spreading the precepts of God among the people and preaching chastity, stirred up the minds of the heathen against him: and when they sought to put him to death the Christians besought him to retire for a little while. And although he was desirous of suffering, yet he was moved by the sight of the people praying, for they besought him to reserve himself for the instruction and confirmation of the people. To be brief: as he set out from the walls by night, he saw Christ meeting him in the gate and entering the city, whereupon he said, 'Lord, whither goest Thou?' Christ answered, 'I am coming to be crucified again.' This Divine response Peter understood to refer to his own cross, for Christ, Who had put off the flesh by undergoing the suffering of death could not again be crucified, Rom. vi. 10. *For in that He died, He died unto sin once, but in that He liveth, He liveth unto God*. Wherefore Peter understood that Christ was again to be crucified in His servant; and so he turned back of his own accord, and when the Christians asked him why, he told them what he had seen, and was immediately seized, and honoured the Lord Jesus by his cross.

14. Ye see then that Christ wills to suffer in His servants. What if He saith to this servant also, S. John xxi. 22. *I will that he tarry, but follow thou Me*? what if He wills to taste of the fruit from this tree? For if it was His meat to do His Father's Will, it is His meat also to feed upon the sufferings of His servants. To take an example from our Lord Himself, did He not suffer when He willed, and was He not found when they sought for Him?

But when the hour of His passion had not arrived, He passed through the midst of them who sought for Him, and they who saw Him could not detain Him. Which evidently shews that when the Lord wills, each man is found and taken, while he whose time is not come although he meet the eyes, is not captured.

15. And did I not go out daily to make visits, or go to the tomb of the Martyrs? Did I not in going and returning pass close by the Royal palace? And yet no man arrested me, though they wished to drive me from the city, as they shewed afterwards by saying, 'Leave this city, and go where thou wilt.' I expected, I confess, something great, to be burned or slain with the sword for the name of Christ, but they offered me delights in the place of sufferings; and yet the soldiers of Christ seeks not for delights but for sufferings. Wherefore let no man trouble you by the intelligence that they have prepared a carriage[115], or that Auxentius, who calls himself Bishop, has uttered what he thinks terrible words.

16. Many said that executioners had been sent, that the punishment of death had been decreed; I fear them not, nor will I desert my post. For whither should I go to find a place that is not full of nothing but tears and groans? For in every Church the Catholic clergy are ordered to be cast forth; if they resist, to be put to death; all the senators[116] who do not obey this mandate, to be proscribed. And it is a Bishop who writes these orders with his own hand and dictates them with his own mouth, who to prove his learning omitted not an ancient precedent; for we read in the prophet that he saw a flying sickle[117], and in imitation of this Auxentius sent a winged sword through all the cities. And thus 2 Cor. xi. 14. *Satan transforms himself into an Angel of light*, and imitates his power for evil purposes.

17. Thou, Lord Jesus, hast in one moment redeemed the world; shall Auxentius in one moment, so far as in him lies, slay so many people, some with the sword, others by sacrilege[118]? My Basilica he sought with a mouth

and hands of blood, and to him our present Lesson may be well applied, Ps. l. 16. *Unto the ungodly, saith God, why dost thou preach my laws?* that is, There is no concord between peace and wrath, 2 Cor. vi. 15. *between Christ and Belial*. You remember also how in the Lesson of to-day that holy man Naboth, the owner of a vineyard, was requested by the king to surrender it to him, that he might root up the vines and plant it with common herbs, and that he answered, 1 Kings xxi. 3. *God forbid that I should give thee the inheritance of my fathers*; and that king was grieved that what belonged of right to another was refused him when he claimed it as his right, and only gained by the deceit of a woman's artifice. Naboth then defended his vineyard even with his own blood; if he would not surrender his vineyard, shall we surrender the Church of Christ?

18. How then did I reply contumaciously? When summoned, I said, 'God forbid that I should surrender Christ's heritage. If Naboth would not surrender the heritage of his fathers, shall I surrender Christ's heritage?' I added moreover, 'God forbid that I should surrender the heritage of my fathers, the heritage of Dionysius, who died in exile for the Faith, of the Confessor Eustorgius, of Myrocles, and of all the faithful Bishops of old time.' I answered as becomes a Bishop, let the Emperor act as becomes an Emperor. He shall deprive me of my life sooner than my Faith.

19. But to whom am I to surrender it? The Lesson just read from the Gospel ought to teach us what it is that is demanded, and by whom. Ye heard it read that, when Christ was sitting on the ass's colt, the children cried out, and the Jews were indignant, appealing to the Lord Jesus, and saying that He should bid them hold their peace, but He replied, S. Luke xix. 40. *If these were to hold their peace, the very stones would cry out*. Then He entered the Temple, and cast out the moneychangers, and their tables, and those that sold doves in the Temple of God. This Lesson was read by no direction of ours, but by chance; but it suits well with the present

time. For the praises of Christ are always as it were scourges to misbelievers. And now when Christ is praised the heretics say that we are exciting sedition, the heretics say that they were thereby threatened with death; and truly the praises of Christ are death to them. For how can they bear His praises Whose weakness they are proclaiming! Wherefore to this day the praises of Christ are a scourge to the madness of the Arians.

20. The Gerasenes could not bear the presence of Christ, these men, worse than the Gerasenes, cannot even bear the praises of Christ. They see children singing the glory of Christ; for it is written, Ps. viii. 2. *Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings Thou hast perfected praise*. They deride their tender years so full of faith, and ask, Why do they cry out? But Christ answers them, *If these should hold their peace the very stones would cry out*, that is, the stranger will cry out, the young men too will cry out, the more mature will cry out, the old men also: stones built into that Stone of Whom it is written, Ps. cxviii. 22. *The stone which the builders disallowed is become the head-stone of the corner*.

21. Christ then, invited by these praises, enters His Temple, and takes His scourge and drives out the moneychangers. For He will not permit those who are slaves of money to be in His Temple, He will not suffer those to be there who sell seats. What are *seats*, but honours? What are *doves*, but simple minds, or souls which embrace a sincere and pure faith? Shall I then introduce into the Temple him whom Christ excludes? For he is commanded to go forth who sells dignities and honours, he is commanded to go forth who would sell the simple minds of the faithful.

22. Wherefore Auxentius is cast forth, Mercurianus is excluded. This is one portent under two names. That it might not be known who he was, he changed his name, and, as there had been here Auxentius the Arian Bishop, so he, to deceive the people whom the other had influenced, called himself Auxentius. Thus he changed his name, but his perfidy he could not change;

he put off wolf, and yet put on wolf. It avails him not to have changed his name, what he really is is known. He was known by one name in the regions of Scythia, he is called by another here, he has names differing according to his country. Now therefore he has two names, and if from hence he goes elsewhere he will have a third also. For how will he endure to keep a name which betrays the greatness of his crime? In Scythia he did less wickedly, and yet he was so ashamed as to change his name; here he has dared to do more heinous things, and will he be willing wherever he goes to be betrayed by his name? After writing with his own hand the death warrant of so many people, will he be able to retain his senses unshaken?

23. The Lord Jesus drove out a few from His temple, Auxentius left no one. Jesus casts men out of His temple with a scourge, Auxentius with a sword; Jesus with a rod, Mercurianus with an axe. Our holy Lord drives out the sacrilegious with a scourge, this wicked man persecutes the godly with the sword. Of him ye have to-day said well; 'let him carry his laws away with him.' He shall carry them though he desire it not, he shall carry with him his conscience, though he carry not the writing, he shall carry his own soul inscribed in blood, although he carry not a letter inscribed with ink. Jer. xvii. 1. *Thy sin, O Judah, is written with a pen of iron and with the point of a diamond*, and *it is graven in thy heart*, graven that is in the place from whence it came forth.

24. Does he moreover, stained as he is with blood and slaughter, dare to mention discussion to me? Those whom he fails to deceive by his arguments he sentences to be smitten with the sword, and he dictates bloody laws with his mouth, writing them with his hand, and thinking that the law can impose a Creed on men. He has never heard what was read to-day, Gal. ii. 19. *A man is not justified by the works of the law*, or, *I by the law am dead to the law that I might live to God*, that is, by the spiritual law he is dead to the carnal interpretation of the law. Let us too by the law of our

Lord Jesus Christ die to this law which sanctions the decrees of perfidy. It is not the law which has gathered together the Church, but the faith of Christ. For the law is not of faith: Gal. iii. 11. *But the just shall live by faith*. It is faith then, not the law, which makes a man just, because righteousness is not by the law, but by the faith of Christ. But he who rejects faith, and takes law for his rule, bears witness to his own unrighteousness, for *the just shall live by faith*.

25. Shall any then follow this law confirming the Council of Ariminum wherein Christ is called a creature? But they say, Gal. iv. 4. *God sent His Son, made of a woman, made under the Law*. So then He is *made* they say, that is, created. Will they not consider this very text which they have produced; that Christ is said to be made, but *made of a woman*, that is, He according to His birth from the Virgin was *made*, Who was according to His Divine generation born of the Father? They read too to-day that Christ Gal. iii. 13. *redeemed us from the curse of the Law, being made a curse for us*. Was Christ a curse according to His Divinity? But why He should be called a curse the Apostle teaches thee, alleging the text, Ib. *Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree*, that is, He Who in His flesh took upon Him our flesh, in His body carried our griefs and our curses that He might crucify them, for He is cursed, not in Himself, but in thee. Lastly, you have in another place, 2 Cor. v. 21. *Who knew no sin, but was made sin for us*, for He took upon Him our sins, to do away with them by the Sacrament of His Passion.

26. These points, my brethren, I would have discussed more fully with you in his presence, but he, being aware that you were not ignorant of the Faith, fled from your scrutiny, and chose as his advocates, if indeed he chose any, four or five heathens, whom I would willingly have now present in our general assembly, not for them to judge of Christ, but that they might hear the majesty of Christ. They however have already pronounced

concerning Auxentius, for when he daily argued before them they gave him no credit. What can be a greater condemnation of him than that he was defeated without an adversary before his own judges? Thus we now have their own sentence against Auxentius.

27. And justly is he to be condemned for choosing heathen judges, for he disregarded the Apostle's precept who says 1 Cor. vi.1, 2. *Dare any of you, having a matter against another, go to law before the unjust, and not before the saints? Do you not know that the saints shall judge the world?* And below he says, Ib. vi. 5. *Is it so that there is not a wise man among you, no not one that shall be able to judge between his brethren? but brother goeth to law with brother, and that before the unbelievers?* Ye see that what he offered is contrary to the Apostle's authority. Choose whether we should follow Auxentius or Paul as our master?

28. But why should I speak of the Apostle, when our Lord Himself cries by the Prophet, Isa. li. 7. *hearken unto Me My people, ye that know righteousness, in whose heart is My law*. God says, *hearken unto Me My people, ye that know righteousness*. Auxentius says, Ye know not righteousness. Do ye not see that he now, who rejects the declaration of the heavenly oracles, despises God in you? *Hearken unto Me My people*; saith the Lord. He says not, Hearken ye Gentiles; He says not, Hearken ye Jews. For now they that were the people of God are become the people of error, and they who were the people of error have become the people of God, because they have believed in Christ. Wherefore that people are judges, in whose heart is the Divine, not human, law; the law 2 Cor. iii. 3. *written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God*; not inscribed on paper but stampt upon the heart; the law of grace not of blood. Who is it then who wrongs you, he who refuses or he who chooses to be heard by you?

29. Hemmed in on all sides, he has recourse to the wiles of his fathers. He wishes to excite odium against me in regard to the Emperor, saying, that

a youth yet a catechumen and ignorant of the sacred Scriptures, ought to judge, and to judge in the Consistory. As if last year, when I was summoned to the palace, when in the presence of the nobles the matter was argued before the Consistory, when the Emperor wished to take away the Basilica, I was then cowed by the sight of the Imperial court, and had not maintained the constancy of a priest, or had suffered our rights to be infringed there. Do they not remember that when the people knew I had gone to the palace they rushed in with an onset that nothing could withstand; and when a Military Count came forth with some light troops to disperse the multitude they all offered themselves to death for the Faith of Christ? Was I not then requested to make a long speech to soothe the people? Did I not pledge my faith that no one should invade the Church's Basilica? And although my good offices were requested as a kindness, yet the coming of the populace to the palace was made a ground of charge against me; into the same odium then they wish me again to fall.

30. I recalled the people, and yet I did not escape odium, and this odium ought, I conceive, to be controuled rather than feared. For what should we fear for the name of Christ? Unless perhaps this which they say ought to move me; 'And ought not the Emperor then to have one Basilica to go to; and does Ambrose desire to be more powerful than the Emperor, so as to exclude him from the liberty of attending Church?' When they say this, they wish to lay hold of my words, like the Jews who tempted Christ with empty words, saying, S. Matt. xxii. 17. *Master, is it lawful to give tribute to Cæsar or not?* Must the servants of God always be exposed to odium on Cæsar's account? And does impiety, with a view to calumny, seek to use the Imperial name as a cloak? And can they protest that they do not partake of the sacrilege of these men, whose guidance they follow?

31. Yet see how much worse the Arians are than the Jews. The latter enquired of Christ whether He thought that the right of tribute should be

rendered to Cæsar; the former are willing to surrender to the Emperor the rights of the Church. But like traitors, they follow their master, and so let us answer what our Lord and Master hath taught us. For Jesus perceiving the treachery of the Jews, said unto them, Ib. 18. sqq. *Why tempt ye Me, shew Me a penny. And when they gave it to Him, He said, Whose image and whose superscription is this? They answered, Cæsar's. Jesus replied, Render therefore unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.* Thus I also say to them who find fault with me, *Shew Me a penny*. Jesus saw the penny was Cæsar's, and said, *Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's*. Can they from the seizure of the Basilicas of the Church offer the penny of Cæsar?

32. But in the Church I know one image, that is, the image of the invisible God, of which God said, Gen. i. 26. *Let us make man in Our image, after Our likeness*, that image of which it is written, that Christ is Heb. i. 3. *the brightness of His glory, the express image of His substance*. In this image I behold the Father, as the Lord Jesus Himself said, S. John xiv. 9. *He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father also*. For this Image is not divided from the Father, for He hath taught me the unity of the Trinity, saying, Ib. x. 30. *I and the Father are One*, and below, Ib. xvi. 15. *All things that the Father hath are Mine*. And of the Holy Spirit, saying, that He is the Spirit of Christ, and hath received from Christ, as it is written, Ib. 16. *He shall take of Mine, and shall declare it unto you*.

33. In what respect then have we not answered with humility? If he ask for tribute we deny it not. The Church lands pay tribute; if the Emperor desire to possess these lands he has the power to claim them; none of us will interfere. The contributions of the people will more than suffice for the poor; let them excite no ill-will on account of the lands, let them take them if it please the Emperor; I give them not, but I do not refuse them. They ask

for gold, but I can say, Silver and gold I seek not. But this disbursement of gold they make a cause of offence: this offence I dread not. I have stipendiaries, it is true: my stipendiaries[119] are the poor of Christ, this is a treasure which I am well used to collect. May this offence of bestowing gold on the poor ever be charged upon me! And if they accuse me of defending myself by their means, I deny not, nay I even court the charge; a defence I have, but it is in the prayers of the poor. Blind they are and lame, weak and old, yet are they stronger than the stoutest warriors. Lastly, gifts to the poor make God our debtor, for it is written, Prov. xix. 17. *He that giveth to the poor, lendeth to the Lord*. The guards of warriors often gain not Divine grace.

34. Moreover they assert that the people have been beguiled by the strains of my hymns[120]. I deny not this either. It is a lofty strain, than which nothing is more powerful. For what can be more powerful than the confession of the Trinity, which is daily celebrated by the mouth of the whole people? All zealously desire to make profession of their faith, they know how to confess in verse the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Thus all are become teachers who were scarcely able to be disciples.

35. But what can be more lowly than for us to follow the example of Christ, Who Phil. iii. 7. *being found in fashion as a man humbled himself being made obedient unto death*. And again, by obedience He delivered all: Rom. v. 19. *For as by the disobedience of one man many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one Man shall many be made righteous*. If then He was obedient let them learn from Him the lesson of obedience, to which we adhere, saying to them who raise odium against us, on the Emperor's account, *We render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's*. To Cæsar tribute is due, we deny it not; the Church is God's, and must not be given up to Cæsar, because the Temple of God cannot by right be Cæsar's.

36. That this is said with due honour to the Emperor no one can deny. For what can be more honourable for the Emperor than to be styled a son of the Church? In saying this we are loyal to him without sinning against God. For the Emperor is *within* the Church, not *over* the Church; a good Emperor seeks the aid of the Church, he does not reject it, we say this humbly, but we assert it firmly. Some men threaten us with fire, sword and banishment. We, the servants of Christ, have learned not to fear. To them that fear not nothing is a cause of alarm. And it is thus written, Ps. lxiv. 7. vulg. *arrows of infants are their blows become*.

37. It would seem now that we have made a sufficient answer to what was proposed to us. Now I ask them the same question as did the Saviour, S. Luke xx. 4. *The baptism of John was it from heaven or of men?* And the Jews could not answer Him. If the Jews did not annul the baptism of John, shall Auxentius annul the Baptism of Christ? For that Baptism is not from men but from Christ which the Is. ix. 6. *Angel of mighty Counsel* brought down to us, that we might be justified before God. Why then does Auxentius hold that the faithful, those baptized in the name of the Trinity are to be re-baptized, when the Apostle says, Eph. iv. 5. *One faith, one baptism*; why does he say that he is the adversary of men, not of Christ, seeing that he spurns the counsel of God, and contemns that Baptism which Christ gave us for the redemption of our sins.

LETTER XXII. A.D. 386.

S. AMBROSE HERE recounts to his sister the discovery of the relics of S. S. Gervasius and Protasius, which occurred during the time of trial referred to in the last letter, and seems, by the pitch of excitement to which it raised the people of Milan, to have alarmed the court-party, and so to have caused the persecution to be dropped. The simple narrative needs no further introduction. It is strikingly told, and the question of the miracles discussed, in the 'Church of the Fathers' ch. iii. S. Augustine gives a brief account of the event in his Confessions, (ix. 7.) fully corroborating S. Ambrose's statements, and also speaks of it in De Civ. Dei xxii. 8, 2, and in Serm. de Divers. cclxxvi. 5.

TO THE LADY HIS SISTER WHOM HE LOVES MORE THAN HIS LIFE AND EYES AMBROSE HER BROTHER SENDS GREETING.

1. AS I am wont to keep your holiness informed of all that goes on here in your absence, I would have you know that we have found the bodies of some holy martyrs. After the consecration of a Church[121], many began to interrupt me crying with one voice; Consecrate this as you did the Roman Basilica. 'I will do so,' I replied, 'if I find any relics of Martyrs:' and immediately my heart burned within me as if prophetically.

2. In short the Lord lent us aid[122], though even the very clergy were alarmed. I caused the ground to be opened before the rails of the Church of S.S. Felix and Nabor. I found the suitable tokens; and when some persons were brought for us to lay our hands upon, the power of the holy martyrs became so manifest that before I began to speak, one of them, a woman[123], was seized[124] by an evil spirit and thrown down upon the ground in the

place where the martyrs lay. We found two men of stupendous size, such as belonged to ancient days. All their bones were entire, and there was much blood. The people flocked thither in crowds throughout the whole of those two days. We arranged all the bones in order, and carried them when evening set in, to the Basilica of Fausta[125]; where we kept vigils throughout the night, and some possessed persons received imposition of hands. The following day we transferred them to the Basilica which they call Ambrosian. During their transportation a blind man was healed[126]. My discourse to the people was as follows. When I considered in what overflowing and unprecedented numbers you were met together, and thought on the gifts of Divine Grace which shone forth in the holy Martyrs, I felt myself, I confess, unequal to this task, and thought it impossible that I could find language to express that which we can hardly conceive in mind or endure with our eyes. But when the reading of the regular Lessons of Holy Scripture began, the Holy Spirit, Who spoke by the Prophets, granted us grace to speak somewhat worthy of this great and expectant concourse, and of the merits of the holy Martyrs.

4. Ps. xix. 1. *The heavens*, the Psalmist says, *declare the glory of God*. On reading this Psalm the thought arises that it is not so much the material elements as the heavenly merits that seem to offer praise worthy of God. But by the coincidence of the Lesson being read to-day it is made plain what are the *heavens* which *tell of the glory of God*. Behold on my right hand and on my left the holy relics, behold men of heavenly conversation, behold the trophies of a lofty mind. These are the *heavens* which *declare the glory of God*; these are *the works of His hands* which *are told by the firmament*. For it was not worldly snares, but the favour of the Divine operation, which raised them to the firmament of the most sacred Passion, and long beforehand by the evidence of their conversation and virtues bore

this testimony of them, that they remained stedfast against the slippery wiles of this world.

5. Paul was an heaven, when he says, Phil. iii. 20. *Our conversation is in heaven*. James and John were heavens; they are called S. Mark iii. 17. *sons of thunder*; and therefore being as it were, an heaven, John saw S. John i. 1. *the Word with God*. The Lord Jesus Christ Himself was an heaven of perpetual light, when He told forth the glory of God, that glory which no man had before beheld. And therefore He said, Ib. 18. *No man hath seen God at any time, but the Only-Begotten Son, Who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him*. Moreover, if you look for the handiwork of God, hear what Job says, Job xxxiii. 4. *The Spirit of God hath made me*. And so, strengthened against the temptations of the devil, he preserved his steps stedfast and without stumbling. But let us proceed to what follows.

6. Ps. xix. 2. *Day unto day*, the Psalm says, *uttereth speech*. These are the true *days*, which no shades of night obscure; these are the true *days*, full of light and eternal radiance, who have *uttered the word* of God not by any mere transient utterance but from their inmost heart, continuing constant in their confession, persevering in their testimony.

7. Another Psalm we read saith, Ps. cxiii. 5, 6. *Who is like unto the Lord our God, that hath His dwelling so high, and yet regardeth the lowly things that are in heaven and earth*. Truly God hath *regarded the lowly*, Who hath discovered the relics of the martyrs of His Church as they lay hid under the unnoted sod, of those whose souls are in heaven, while their bodies are in the earth, Ps. cxiii. 7, 8. *taking up the simple out of the dust and lifting the poor out of the mire*, even those whom ye see, *to set them with the princes of His people*. For whom but the holy martyrs shall we deem to be *princes of the people*? In their number Protasius and Gervasius heretofore long unknown are enrolled, they who have caused the Church of Milan, once

barren of martyrs, but now Ib. 9. *the mother of many children*, to exult both in the honors and examples of her own sufferings?

8. Nor let this be considered alien from the true Faith: *Day unto day uttereth speech*, soul to soul, life to life, resurrection to resurrection. *And night unto night uttereth knowledge*, that is, flesh to flesh, the flesh whose sufferings have declared to all the true knowledge of faith. Bright and fair nights, full of stars: 1 Cor. xv. 41. *For one star differeth from another star in glory, so also is the resurrection of the dead*.

9. But many not improperly call this the resurrection of the martyrs; whether they have risen for themselves is another question, for us beyond a doubt they are risen. Ye have heard, nay, yourselves have seen, many cleansed from evil spirits; many also, after touching with their hands the garments of the saints, delivered from the infirmities under which they suffered: ye have seen the miracles of old time renewed, when through the coming of the Lord Jesus, a fuller Grace descended upon the earth; ye see many healed by the shadow, as it were, of the holy bodies. How many napkins are passed to and fro? How many garments placed on these holy relics, and endowed by the mere contact with the power of healing are reclaimed by their owners. All think themselves happy in touching even the outer-most thread, and whoever touches them will be made whole.

10. Thanks be to Thee, Lord Jesus, that at this time, when Thy Church requires greater guardianship, Thou hast raised up for us the spirits of the holy martyrs. Let all be well aware what kind of champions I desire, such as are wont to be protectors not assailants. Such are they, O holy people, whom I have obtained for you, a benefit to all, and a hurt to none. These are the defenders whom I desire, these are my soldiers, not the world's soldiers, but Christ's. I fear no odium on account of these; their patronage is safe in proportion to its power. Nay, I desire their protection for the very men who grudge them to me. Let them come then and see my body-guard: I deny not

that I am surrounded by such weapons as these; Ps. xx. 7. *Some put their trust in chariots and some in horses, but we will magnify ourselves in the Name of the Lord our God*.

11. The Lesson from Holy Scripture relates how Elisha, when surrounded by the army of the Syrians, told his trembling servant not to fear, 2 Kings vi. 16 sqq. *for they*, said he, *that are for us are more than they which are against us*; and in order to convince Gehazi of this, he prayed that his eyes might be opened, and when this was done he saw a countless host of Angels present with the prophet. And we, though we see them not, yet are conscious of their presence. Our eyes were held, as long as the bodies of the saints lay hid in their graves. Now God has opened our eyes, and we have seen the aids which had so often succoured us. Before, we saw them not, although we possessed them. And so, as though the Lord said to our trembling hearts, 'Behold what great martyrs I have given you;' even so 2 Cor. iii. 18. *with opened eyes we behold the glory of the Lord*, which as to the passion of the martyrs is past, as to their operation is present. We have escaped, my brethren, no light load of shame; we had patrons and we knew it not. This one thing we have found, wherein we seem to excel our ancestors; they lost the knowledge of the holy martyrs, and we have gained it.

12. These noble relics are dug out of an ignoble sepulchre; these trophies are displayed in the face of day. The tomb is moist with blood, the tokens of a triumphant death are displayed, the uninjured relics are found in their proper place and order, the head separated from the body. Old men now relate that they have formerly heard the names of these martyrs, and read their titles. The city which had seized on the martyrs of other places had lost her own. This is the gift of God, and yet the favour which the Lord Jesus has conferred in the time of my episcopate I cannot deny, and since I myself am not counted worthy to be a martyr, I have gained these martyrs for you.

13. Bring these victorious victims to the spot where Christ is the sacrifice. But He, Who suffered for all, upon the Altar, they, who have been redeemed by His passion, under the Altar. This spot I had destined for myself, for it is fitting that the priest should rest where he hath been wont to offer, but I give up the right side to the sacred victims: that spot was due to the martyrs. Wherefore let us bury the hallowed relics, placing them in a worthy home, and let us employ the whole day in faithful devotion.

14. The people loudly requested that the deposition of the martyrs should be deferred until the Lord's Day; but at length I prevailed that it should take place on the following day. On that day I delivered a second sermon to the people to the following effect.

15. Yesterday I discoursed upon the verse, Ps. xix. 2. *Day unto day uttereth speech*, speaking according to my capacity: to-day Holy Scripture seems to me to have prophecied, not only before, but now. For seeing that this your devout celebration has continued night and day, the oracles of prophetic song have declared that these, even yesterday and to-day, are the days of which it is most opportunely said *day unto day uttereth speech*, and these the nights to which the saying is appropriate that *night unto night uttereth knowledge*. For what else have ye done during these two days but utter the word of God with deep emotion, and prove yourselves to have the knowledge of faith?

16. This your celebration some, as is their wont, are envious of. And since their envious minds cannot endure it, they also hate its cause, and proceed to such a pitch of folly as to deny the merits of the martyrs, whose power the very devils confess. But this is not strange; for such is the faithlessness of unbelievers that the confession of the devil himself is often less intolerable. For the devil said, S. Matt. viii. 29. *Jesus, Thou Son of the living God, art Thou come to torment us before the time?* And yet when the Jews heard this they even then denied the Son of God. And now ye have

heard the devils crying out, and owning to the martyrs that they cannot bear their tortures, and saying ‘Why are ye come to torment us so grievously?’ And the Arians say, ‘These are not martyrs, nor can they torment the devil nor dispossess any one:’ while yet their own words are evidence of the torments of the evil spirits, and the benefits of the martyrs are shewn by the recovery of the healed, and the manifest proof of those that were dispossessed.

17. They deny that the blind man received his sight, but he denies not his own cure. He says, ‘I who was blind now see.’ He says, ‘My blindness has left me;’ he evidences it by the fact. They deny the benefit, though they cannot deny the fact. The man is well known: when in health he was employed in public trade, his name is Severus, a butcher by business. When his affliction befell him he laid down his employment. He calls as his witnesses those men by whose charities he was supported; he summons as witnesses of his present visitation the very men who bore testimony to his blindness. He declares that when he touched the border of the garment with which the martyrs’ bodies were clothed, his sight was restored to him.

18. Is not this like what we read in the Gospel? For the power which we admire proceeds from one and the same Author; nor does it signify whether it is a work or a gift, seeing that He confers gifts in His works and works by His gifts. For what He has enabled some themselves to perform, this in the work of others His Name effects. Thus we read in the Gospel that the Jews, when they saw that the blind man had received his sight, required the testimony of his parents. They asked, ‘How has your son received his sight?’ That blind man said, S. John ix. 25. *Whereas I was blind now I see*, and so too our blind man says, ‘I was blind, and now I see.’ Enquire of others, if ye believe me not; question strangers, if you suspect his parents of being in collusion with me. The obstinacy of these men is more detestable than that of the Jews, for the latter inquired of the man’s parents to solve

their doubts; they secretly inquire but openly deny, no longer refusing credit to the miracle but to its Author.

19 and 20. But I would fain ask, what it is they will not believe; is it that any one can be relieved by the martyrs? But this is not to believe in Christ, for He hath said, S. John xiv. 12. *And greater things than these shall ye do*. Or only by those martyrs, whose merits have long been efficacious, and whose bodies have long been discovered? Here I ask whether it is of myself or of the holy martyrs that they are jealous? If of me, have I wrought any miracles by my own means, in my own name? Why then do they envy me that which is not mine? But if of the martyrs (for if not of me it must be of them they are envious) they show that their Creed is different from that of the martyrs. For they would not envy their works unless they deemed the faith which was in them to be that which they themselves have not. This is that Faith sealed by the tradition of our ancestors, which the devils themselves cannot deny, though the Arians do.

21. We have heard to-day those on whom hands were laid, profess that no man can be saved who does not believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: that he was dead and buried who denied the Holy Ghost, who believed not the Almighty power of the Trinity. This the devil confesses, but the Arians will not own it. The devil says, Let him who denies the divinity of the Holy Spirit be tormented as he himself was tormented by the Martyrs.

22. What I accept from the devil is not his testimony, but his confession. He spoke unwillingly, compelled and tortured. That which wickedness suppressed, force extorted. The devil yields to blows, but as yet the Arians have not learned to yield. How much have they suffered, and like Pharaoh, they are hardened by their calamities! The devil said, as we find it written, S. Mark i. 24. *I know Thee Who Thou art, the Son of the Living God*. The Jews said, S. John ix. 29. *We know not who He is*. Yesterday, and the

preceding night and day the devils said, ‘We know that ye are martyrs,’ while the Arians said, ‘We know not, we will not understand nor believe.’ The devils say to the martyrs, ‘Ye are come to destroy us,’ the Arians say, ‘These torments of the devil are not true torments but pretended and counterfeit.’ I have heard of many counterfeits, but no man could ever feign himself a devil. Again, what is the meaning of the agony we see in them, when the hand is laid on them? What room is here for fraud and what suspicion of imposture?

23. But I will not call the words of devils as a testimony to the martyrs: let the sacred sufferings of the martyrs be established by their own supernatural acts; judges indeed they have, namely, those that have been cleansed, witnesses, namely those that have been dispossessed. Better than that of devils is their voice who came diseased and are now healed, better is that voice which the martyrs blood sends forth, for blood has a loud voice which reaches from earth to heaven. Ye have read those words of God, Gen. iv. 10. *Thy brother’s blood crieth unto Me!* This blood cries by its purple stains, it cries by its signal efficacy, it cries by its triumphant suffering.

We have granted your request and have put off till to-day the burial of the relics which should have taken place yesterday.

LETTER XXIII. A.D. 386.

THIS LETTER IS addressed to the Bishops of the province of Æmilia, which, as forming part of the political diocese of Italy, was under the ecclesiastical superintendence of the Bishop of Milan, who exercised the powers, if he had not the title, of Exarch. (See Bingham Antiq. ix. 1, § 6, 8.) The Bishops apply to him for his decision as to the proper day for observing Easter in the following year, A.D. 387, in which the first day of the week fell on the fourteenth day of the moon, or, as it is called here, the 'fourteenth moon.' This was a question which for long troubled the Church, and divided the East and West, and much importance was attached to it. The whole question is fully discussed in Dict. of Christ. Antiq. under 'Easter,' in a learned article by the Rev. L. Hensley. Some interesting remarks on it, in connection with disputes in England, may be seen in Prof. Bright's Early English Ch. Hist. pp. 76–79, and 193–200.

Mr. Hensley has kindly drawn up the following table, which exhibits at a glance the points on which S. Ambrose enters in this letter.

TABLE OF EASTER FROM A.D. 373 TO A.D. 387.

A.D.	Golden Number.	Sunday Letter.	Easter Term.		Easter Day.	
*373	13	F	March 24	F	March	31
374	14	E	April 12	D	April	13
375	15	D	April 1	G	April	5
376	16	CB	April 21	C	April	27
*377	17	A	April 9	A	April	16
378	18	G	March 29	D	April	1
379	19	F	April 17	B	April	21
*380	1	ED	April 5	D	April	12
381	2	C	March 25	G	March	28
382	3	B	April 13	E	April	17
*383	4	A	April 2	A	April	9
384	5	GF	March 22	D	March	24
385	6	E	April 10	B	April	13
386	7	D	March 30	E	April	5
*387	8	C	April 18	G	April	25

* The asterisks mark the year in which the full moon falls on the Sunday, and which are referred to in the Letter.

TO THE LORDS, HIS BRETHREN MOST BELOVED, THE BISHOPS ESTABLISHED THROUGHOUT THE PROVINCE OF ÆMILIA, AMBROSE, BISHOP.

1. THAT to settle the day of the celebration of the Passover requires more than ordinary wisdom, we are taught both by the Holy Scripture and by the tradition of the Fathers, who, when assembled at the Nicene Synod, in addition to their true and admirable decrees concerning the Faith, formed also for the above-mentioned celebration a plan for nineteen years with the aid of the most skilful calculators, and constituted a sort of cycle to serve as a pattern for subsequent years. This cycle they called the nineteen years'

cycle[127], their aim being that we should not waver in uncertain and ungrounded opinions on such a celebration, but ascertain the true method and so ensure such concurrence of the affections of all, that the sacrifice for the Lord's Resurrection should be offered every where on the same night.

2. My Lords and brethren most beloved, we ought not so far to deviate from truth, or to be of such varying and wandering minds, as to the obligation of this celebration having been imposed upon all Christians: since our Lord Himself selected the day to celebrate it upon, which agreed with the method of the true observance. For it is written: S. Luke xxii. 7–12. *Then came the day when the Passover must be killed. And He sent Peter and John, saying, Go and prepare us the Passover that we may eat. And they said unto Him, Where wilt Thou that we prepare? And He said unto them, Behold when ye are entered into the city, there shall a man meet you, bearing a pitcher of water: follow him into the house where he entereth in. And ye shall say unto the goodman of the house, the Master saith unto thee, Where is the guest-chamber, where I shall eat the Passover with My disciples? And he shall shew you a large upper room, there make ready.*

3. We observe then that we ought not to go down to places in the earth, but to seek *a large upper room furnished*, for us to celebrate the Lord's Passover. For we ought to wash our senses, so to speak, with the spiritual water of the everlasting fountain, and maintain the rule of the devout celebration, and not follow common notions and go in quest of days according to the moon, whereas the Apostle says, Gal. iv. 10, 11. *Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years. I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain*. For it is sure to be injurious[128].

4. But it is one thing to observe them after the heathen fashion, so as to decide on what day of the moon you are to attempt anything, for instance, that you should avoid the fifth[129] and begin no work upon it, and to recommend different points in the moon's course for commencing

employments, or to avoid certain days, as many are in the habit of avoiding days called ‘following’[130] or the Egyptian days: it is another thing to turn the observance of a religious mind to the day of which it is written, Ps. cxviii. 24. *This is the day which the Lord hath made*. For although it is written that the Lord’s Passover ought to be celebrated on the fourteenth day of the first month, and we ought to look for what is truly the fourteenth moon[131] for celebrating the course of our Lord’s Passion, still we can understand from this that to fix such a solemnity there is required either the perfection of the Church, or the fulness of clear faith, as the Prophet said when he spoke of the Son of God, that Ib. lxxxix. 36, 37. *his throne is as the sun before me, and as the perfect moon, it shall remain for ever*.

5. Hence it is that our Lord Himself also, when He had performed His wonderful works upon the earth, as if the faith of human minds were now established, observed that it was the time of His Passion, saying, S. John xvii. 1. *Father, the hour is come, glorify Thy Son, that Thy Son also may glorify Thee*. For He teaches elsewhere that He sought this glory of celebrating His Passion, where He says, S. Luke xiii. 32. *Go ye, and tell that fox, Behold, I cast out devils, and I do cures to-day and to-morrow, and the third day I am perfected*. In them indeed is Jesus perfected, who begin to be perfect, that with their faith they may believe on the fulness of His Divinity and His Redemption.

6. Therefore we seek out both the day and the hour, as the Scripture teaches us. The prophet David also says, Ps. cxix. 126. *It is time for thee, Lord, to work*, when he sought understanding to know the testimonies of the Lord. The Preacher also saith, Eccl. iii. 1. *To every thing there is a season*; Jeremy exclaims, Jerem. viii. 7. *The turtle and the swallow and the sparrows of the ground observe the time of their coming*. But what can appear more evident than that it is of the Passion of our Lord that it is said, Isaiah i. 3. *The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master’s crib*? Let us

then acknowledge this *crib of our Master*, wherein we are nourished, fed, and refreshed.

7. We ought therefore especially to know this time, at which over the universal world the accordant prayers of the sacred night are to be poured forth; for prayers are commended by season also, as it is written, Isa. xlix. 8. *In an acceptable time have I heard thee, and in a day of salvation have I helped thee*. This is the time of which the Apostle said, 2 Cor. vi. 2. *Behold, now is the accepted time, behold, now is the day of salvation*.

8. Accordingly, since, even after the calculations of the Egyptians, and the definitions of the church of Alexandria, and also of the Bishop of the church of Rome, several persons are still waiting my judgement by letter, it is needful that I should write what my opinion is about the day of the Passover. For though the question which has arisen is about the approaching Paschal day, yet we state what we think should be maintained for all subsequent time, in case any question of the kind should come up.

9. But there are two things to be observed in the solemnity of the passover, the fourteenth moon, and the first month, which is called Exod. xiii. 4. *the month of the new fruits*[132]. Therefore that we may not appear to be departing from the Old Testament, let us recite the words of the section concerning the day of celebrating the Passover. Moses warns the people, saying that they must keep the month of the new fruits, proclaiming that it is the first month, for he says, Exod. xii. 2. *This month shall be unto you the beginning of months; it shall be the first month of the year to you*, and Lev. xxiii. 5. *thou shalt offer the Passover of the Lord thy God on the fourteenth day of the first month*.

10. S. John i. 17. *The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.* He therefore, Who spake the law, afterwards coming by the Virgin in the last times, accomplished the fulness of the Law, for He came S. Matt. v. 17. *not to destroy the Law but to fulfil it*, and He celebrated the

Passover in the week in which the fourteenth moon was the fifth day of the week, and then on that very day, as what is said before teaches us, He ate the Passover with his disciples: but on the following day, on the sixth day of the week, He was crucified on the fifteenth moon. But the sixteenth moon was the *Sabbath which was an high day*, and so on the seventeenth moon He rose again from the dead.

11. We must then keep this law of Easter, not to keep the fourteenth day as the day of the Resurrection, but rather as the day of the Passion, or at least one of the next preceding days, because the feast of the Resurrection is kept on the Lord's day; and on the Lord's day we cannot fast; for we rightly condemn the Manichæans for their fast upon this day. For it is unbelief in Christ's Resurrection, to appoint a rule of fasting for the day of the Resurrection, since the Law says that the Passion is to be eaten with bitterness[133], that is, with grief, because the Author of Salvation was slain by so great a sacrilege on the part of men; but on the Lord's day the Prophet teaches us that we should rejoice, saying, Ps. cxviii. 24. *This is the day which the Lord hath made: let us rejoice and be glad in it*.

12. Therefore it is fit that not only the day of the Passion, but also that of the Resurrection be observed by us, that we may have a day both of bitterness and of joy; fast on the one, on the other be refreshed. Consequently, if the fourteenth moon of the first month fall, as will be the case next time, on the Lord's day, inasmuch as we ought neither to fast on the Lord's day, nor on the thirteenth moon which falls on the Sabbath-day to break the fast, which must especially be observed on the day of the Passion, the celebration of Easter must be postponed to the next week. For the fifteenth day of the month follows, on which Christ suffered, and it will be the second day of the week. The third day of the week will be the sixteenth moon, on which our Lord's Flesh rested in the tomb; and the fourth day of the week will be the seventeenth moon on which our Lord rose again.

13. When therefore these three sacred days run as they do next time into the further week, within which three days He both suffered and rested and rose again, of which three days He says, S. John ii. 19. *Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up*, what can bring us trouble or doubt? For if it raises a scruple that we do not on the fourteenth moon celebrate the particular day either of His Passion or Resurrection, we may remember that our Lord Himself did not suffer on the fourteenth moon, but on the fifteenth, and on the seventeenth He rose again. But if any are troubled at our passing over the fourteenth moon, which falls upon the Lord's day, that is the 18th of April, and recommending its celebration on the following Lord's day, there is this authority for doing so.

14. In times lately past, when the fourteenth moon of the first month fell on the Lord's day, the solemnity was celebrated on the Lord's day next ensuing. But in the eighty-ninth year of the Era of Diocletian[134], when the fourteenth moon was on the 24th of March, Easter was kept by us on the last day of March. The Alexandrians and Egyptians also, as they wrote themselves, when the fourteenth day of the moon fell on the 28th day of the month Phamenoth, kept Easter on the fifth day of the month Pharmuthi, which is the last day of March, and so agreed with us. Again in the ninety-third year of the Era of Diocletian, when the fourteenth moon fell on the fourteenth day of the month Pharmuthi, which is the 9th of April, and was the Lord's day, Easter was kept on the Lord's day, the 21st day of Pharmuthi, or according to us on the 16th of April. Wherefore since we have both reason and precedent, nothing should disturb us upon this head.

15. There is yet this further point that seems to require explanation, that several persons think that we shall be keeping Easter in the second month, whereas it is written, Deut. xvi. 1. *Keep the first month, the month of new fruits*. The case however cannot occur that any should keep Easter out of the month of the new fruits, except those who keep the fourteenth moon so

strictly to the letter, that they will not celebrate their Easter on any day but that. Moreover the Jews are going to celebrate the approaching Passover in the twelfth and not in the first month, viz. on the 20th of March according to us, but according to the Egyptians on the twenty-fourth day of the month Phamenoth, which is not the first month but the twelfth, for the first month of the Egyptians is called Pharmuthi, and begins on the 27th of March and ends on the 25th of April. Therefore according to the Egyptians we shall keep Easter Sunday in the first month, that is, on the 25th of April, which is the thirtieth day of the month Pharmuthi.

16. Nor do I consider it unreasonable to borrow a precedent for observing the month from the country in which the first Passover was celebrated. For which reason also our predecessors in the ordinance of the Nicene Council thought fit to decide that their cycle of nineteen years should belong to the same month, if one observes it diligently; and they rightly kept the very month of the new fruits, for in Egypt it is in this the first month that the new corn is cut: and this month is the first in respect of the crops of the Egyptians and first according to the Law, but the eighth according to our custom, for the indiction begins in the month of September. The first of April therefore is in the eighth month. But the month begins not according to vulgar usage, but according to the custom of learned men, from the day of the equinox, which is the 21st of March, and ends on the 21st of April. Therefore the days of Easter have been generally kept as much as possible within these thirty-one[135] days.

17. But after keeping Easter Sunday six years ago[136] on the 21st of April, that is on the thirtieth day of the month according to our reckoning, we have no reason to be distressed if this next time also we are to keep it on the thirtieth day of the month Pharmuthi. If any one think that it is the second month, because Easter Sunday will be on the third day from the completion of the month (but this appears to be completed on the 21st of April) he

should consider that the fourteenth moon, which is our object, will fall on the 18th of April and thus within the regular counting of the month. But what the law requires is that the day of the Passion should be kept within the first month, the month of new fruits.

18. The method then is satisfactory as far as the complete course of the moon is concerned, inasmuch as three more days remain to complete the month. Easter then does not pass on into another month, since it will be kept within the same month, that is, the first. But that it is not fit that we should be tied to the letter, not only does the customary method of keeping Easter of itself instruct us, but the Apostle too teaches us, when he says, 1 Cor. v. 7. *Christ our Passover is sacrificed*. The passage also which has been cited teaches us that we are not to follow the letter, for thus it runs: Exod. xii. 18. Lev. xxiii. 5. Num. xxviii. 16. *And thou shalt sacrifice the Passover to the Lord thy God on the fourteenth day of the first month*[137]. He uses the word 'day' in the place of 'moon;' and so the most skilful according to the law calculate the month by the moon's course, and since the moon's course, that is the first day, may begin with more than one of the nones, you perceive that the nones of May do still admit of being reckoned in the first month of the new fruits. Therefore even according to the judgement of the law this is the first month. To conclude, the Greeks call the moon μήνη, owing to which they call the months in Greek μῆνες, and the ordinary usage of foreign nation employs moon in the sense of day.

19. But even the Lessons of the Old Testament shew that different days are to be observed for the Passion and Resurrection: for there it runs, Exod. xii. 5–8. *Your lamb shall be without blemish, a male of the first year: ye shall take it out from the sheep or from the goats; and ye shall keep it up until the fourteenth day of the same month, and the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill it in the evening. And they shall take of the*

blood, and strike it on the two side posts, and on the upper door post of the house wherein they shall eat it. And they shall eat the flesh in that night, roast with fire, and further on, *And ye shall eat it with anxiety*[138]*: it is the Lord's Passover. For I will pass through the land of Egypt this night, and will smite all the first-born in the land of Egypt, both man and beast; and in all the land of Egypt*[139] *will I execute vengeance: I am the Lord. And the blood shall be to you for a token in the houses where ye are; and I will see the blood and I will protect you and the plague of extermination shall not be on you.* Exod. xii. 11–14. *And I will smite the land of Egypt, And this day shall be unto you for a memorial; and ye shall keep it a feast to the Lord throughout your generations: ye shall keep it a feast by an ordinance for ever.*

20. We observe that the day of the Passion is marked out as a fast, for the lamb is to be slain at the evening: though we might understand by evening the last time, according to John who says, 1 S. John ii. 18. *Children, it is the last time*. But even according to the mystery, it is plain that it was killed in the evening, when darkness immediately took place, and true fasting is to be observed on that day, for *thus shall ye eat it with anxiety*: but anxiety belongs to those who fast. But on the day of the Resurrection there is the exultation of refreshment and joy, on which day the people appears to have gone out of Egypt, when the first-born of the Egyptians had been killed. And this is shewn more evidently by what follows, wherein the Scripture says, that after the Jews kept the Passover as Moses ordered, Exod. xii. 29. *It came to pass that at midnight the Lord smote all the first-born in the land of Egypt from the first-born of Pharaoh*. Ib. 31. *And Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron by night, and said, Rise up, and get you forth from among my people, both ye and the children of Israel, and go serve the Lord.* Ib. 33. *And the Egyptians were urgent upon the people, that they might send them out of the land in haste.* Eventually the Israelites went in such manner, that

they had not opportunity to leaven their dough, for the Egyptians thrust them out, and would not wait for them to take the preparation they had made for themselves for the way.

21. We have made it clear then that the day of the Resurrection ought to be observed after the day of the Passion, and that this day of the Resurrection ought not to be on the fourteenth moon, but later, as the Old Testament says, because the day of the Resurrection is that on which the people going out of Egypt, after being 1 Cor. x. 2. *baptized*, as the Apostle says, *in the sea and in the cloud*, overcame death, receiving spiritual bread, and drinking spiritual drink from the rock: and further that the Lord's Passion cannot be celebrated on the Lord's day, and that if the fourteenth moon should fall upon the Lord's day, that another week ought to be added, as was done in the seventy sixth year[140] of the era of Diocletian. For then without any doubt or hesitation on the part of our fathers we celebrated Easter Sunday on the twenty-eighth day of the month Pharmuthi, which is the 23rd of April. And both the course of the moon and the reason of the case concur in recommending this, for next Easter is to be kept on the twenty first moon, for to that day its range has commonly extended.

22. Since therefore so many indications of truth are combined, let us after the example of our fathers celebrate the festival of our general Salvation with joy and exultation, colouring our side posts, between which is the door of the word Col. iv. 3. which the Apostle wishes to be opened unto him, with faith in the Lord's Passion. Of this door David also says, Ps. cxli. 3. *Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth; keep the door of my lips*, that we may speak of nothing but the Blood of Christ, whereby we have conquered death, whereby we are redeemed. Let the sweet odour of Christ burn in us. To Him let us listen, on Him let us turn the eyes both of mind and body, admiring His works, proclaiming His blessings; over the threshold of our door let the confession of holy Redemption shine

resplendent. Let us with fervent spirit keep the holy Feast, 1 Cor. v. 8. *in the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth*, and singing in pious doctrine with one accord the Glory of the Father and of the Son and the undivided Majesty of the Holy Spirit.

LETTER XXIV. A.D. 387.

S. AMBROSE HERE reports the result of his second mission to Maximus in behalf of Justina and her son Valentinian the 2nd. He had before gone, as he mentions in this letter, immediately after the murder of Gratian, A.D. 383, and had then, at much risk to himself, done them good service, and been mainly instrumental in securing peace, and inducing Maximus to abstain from invading Italy, and to leave Valentinian in possession of a share of the Empire. Now it seemed certain that Maximus was preparing to cross the Alps and deprive Valentinian of his dominions and probably of his life, and once more Justina and her son seek the aid of the great Bishop, whom they had so cruelly persecuted during the peace he had procured for them. It is very striking to see the persecutors thus reduced to be suppliants of their victim, and the good Bishop at once rendering them the service which they sought. He writes this report while on his way back, and sends it before him, that Valentinian and his mother might learn the truth at once, and lose no time in making preparation to meet their danger. He was commissioned to induce Maximus to maintain peace, and to restore the body of Gratian for burial at Milan. S. Ambrose was less successful in this embassy than in the former one, and Justina and Valentinian had to escape to the East and put themselves under the protection of Theodosius, who took up arms in their behalf, and marched to the West, defeated and captured Maximus at Aquileia, and had him put to death, and so restored Valentinian to the Empire of all the West, A.D. 388.

S. Ambrose cannot have started on his mission till after Easter, as this was the year in which he baptized S. Augustine.

AMBROSE TO THE EMPEROR VALENTINIAN.

1. OF my fidelity in my former mission you were so well assured as to require from me no account of it. Indeed the very fact that I was detained some days in Gaul sufficiently proved that I had made no promises acceptable to Maximus, nor agreed to any measures which inclined to what was pleasing to him rather than to the establishment of peace. And again, had you not approved of my first mission you would not have committed to me a second. But since as I was on the point of retiring he laid upon me the necessity of a discussion with him, I have thought it best to address to you in this letter an account of my mission, for fear any one should give you an account which mingled truth with falsehood, before my return could declare to you the truth in its perfect and sincere characters.

2. The day after I reached Trèves I presented myself at the palace; a Gaul came out to receive me, who was the Emperor's Chamberlain, and one of the royal eunuchs. I requested an audience; he enquired whether I had your Majesty's commission: I replied that I had. He said that I could only be heard in the Consistory. I answered that this was not usual for Bishops, and at all events that there were matters whereon I required serious conference with his master. To be brief; he consulted his master, and brought back the same answer, so that it was plain that the former had originated with his will. I said that such a course was inconsistent with the office I bore, but that I would not shrink from the duty I had undertaken, and that more especially in your service, and as it really was to support your brotherly affection, I was glad to humble myself.

3. As soon as he had taken his seat in the Consistory I entered; he rose to give me the kiss of peace. I stood among the members of the Consistory; some of them urged me to go up the steps, and he himself invited me. I replied, 'Why do you offer a kiss to one whom you do not acknowledge[141]? for had you acknowledged me you would not have seen me here.' 'You are

excited, Bishop,' said he. 'It is not anger,' I said, 'that I feel, but shame at appearing in a place unsuited to me.' 'Yet on your first mission,' he said, 'you entered the Consistory.' 'True,' I replied, 'but the blame rests on him who summoned, not on me who entered.' 'Why,' said he, 'did you then enter?' 'Because,' I replied, 'I was then suing for peace on behalf of one who was inferior to you, but I now appear for your equal.' 'By whose favour,' said he, 'is he my equal?' 'By that of Almighty God, who has maintained Valentinian in the empire He bestowed on him.'

4. At length he broke out, 'It is you who have cajoled me, you and the wretch Bauto, who wished by setting up a boy to acquire sovereignty for himself, who also brought barbarians upon me; as if I also had not those whom I could bring, seeing I have so many barbarians in my service and pay. But had I not been withheld at the time of your arrival, who could have resisted me and my power?'

5. I answered mildly, 'You need not be excited, for there is no occasion for excitement; listen rather with patience to the reply which I have to make. My reason for coming is, that you have declared that on my first mission you trusted me and were deceived by me. It is a glory to me to have done this for the safety of an orphan Emperor, for whom rather than orphans ought we bishops to protect? For it is written, Isa. i. 17. *Relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow*; and in another place, Ps. lxviii. 5. *father of the fatherless, and a judge of the widows*.'

6. But I will not make a boast of my services to Valentinian. To speak the truth, when did I oppose your legions, and resist your descent upon Italy? By what works, by what armies, with what forces? Did I block up against you the passes of the Alps with my body? Would that this were in my power, then I should not fear this allegation, nor your charges. By what promises did I beguile you into a consent to peace? Did not Count Victor, whom you had sent to request peace, meet me within the frontier of the

provinces of Gaul, near the city of Mayence? Wherein then did Valentinian deceive you, whom you asked to grant you peace before he himself asked for it? Wherein did Bauto deceive you, who shewed fidelity to his Emperor? Did he do so by not betraying his own master?

7. Wherein have I circumvented you? Was it when, on my first arrival, on your saying that Valentinian ought to have come to you as a son to a father, I answered that it was not reasonable for a boy with his widowed mother to cross the Alps in severe winter weather, or without his mother be exposed under critical circumstances to such a journey? My business was to bring a message concerning peace, not to make any promise of his coming: it is certain that I have given no pledge of that, concerning which I had received no commands, and that I did not make any promise whatever, for you said, 'Let us wait to see what answer Victor will bring back.' But it is well known that he arrived at Milan while I was detained here, and that his request was refused. It was only about peace that we felt a common zeal, not about the Emperor's arrival; whose coming ought not to have been required. I was present when Victor returned. How then did I meet Valentinian? The emissaries who were sent a second time into Gaul to say that he would not come, found me at Valence in Gaul. The soldiers of either party, sent to guard the mountain passes, I met on my return. What armies of yours did I then recall? what eagles did I turn back from Italy? what barbarians did Count Bauto send against you?

8. And what wonder if Bauto, whose native country lies beyond the Rhine, had done so, when you yourself threaten the Roman Empire with barbarian allies, and with troops from beyond the military frontier, whose commissariat was supplied by the taxes of the provinces? But consider what a difference there is between your threats and the mildness of the young Emperor Valentinian. You insisted on making an incursion into Italy accompanied by armies of barbarians, Valentinian turned back the Huns and

Alans on their approach to Italy through the territory of the Germans. What need for displeasure is there if Bauto set the barbarians at variance with each other? While you were employing the Roman forces, while he was presenting himself to oppose you on both sides, the Juthungi[142] in the very heart of the Roman Empire were laying Rhætia waste, and so the Huns were called in against the Juthungi. And yet when he was attacking the country of the Alemanni on your frontier, and was already threatening the provinces of Gaul with the near approach of danger, he was obliged to relinquish his triumphs, lest you should be alarmed. Compare the acts of the two; you caused the invasion of Rhætia, Valentinian by his gold has regained peace for you.

9. Look too at the man[143] who now stands at your right hand, whom Valentinian, when he had the opportunity of avenging his grief, sent back to you loaded with honours. He had him in his own territory, and yet restrained his hand: even when he received the tidings of his brother's death, he restrained his natural feelings, and abstained from retaliation, where the relationship was the same, though the rank was not. Compare therefore, yourself being judge, the two actions. He sent back your brother alive; do you restore to him his brother at least now that he is dead. Why do you refuse to him his relation's remains, when he refused not to you those who would assist you against him?

10. But you allege that you are alarmed lest the grief of the troops should be renewed by the return of these remains. Will they then defend after death one whom they deserted in life? Why do you fear him now he is dead, whom, when you might have saved him, you slew? 'It was my enemy' you say, 'that I have slain.' It was not he that was your enemy, but you that were his. He is no longer conscious of my advocacy, do you consider the case yourself[144]. If any one were to think of setting up a claim to the empire in these parts against you, I ask whether you would deem yourself to be his

enemy, or him to be yours? If I mistake not, it is the part of an usurper to excite war, of an Emperor to defend his rights. Will you then withhold even the body of him whom you ought not to have slain? Let Valentinian have at least the remains of his brother as a pledge of your peaceful intentions. How moreover will[145] you assert that you did not command him to be slain, when you forbid him to be buried? Will it be believed that you did not grudge him life, when you even grudge him burial?

11. But to return to myself. I find that you complain of the followers of Valentinian betaking themselves to the Emperor Theodosius rather than to yourself. But what could you expect, when you called for punishment on the fugitives, and put to death those who were taken, Theodosius on the other hand loaded them with gifts and honours. 'Whom,' said he, 'have I slain?' 'Vallio,' I replied. 'And what a man, what a soldier! Was it then a just cause of death, that he maintained his fidelity to his Emperor?' 'I gave no orders,' said he, 'for his death.' 'We have heard,' I replied, 'that the order was given for him to be put to death.' 'Nay,' said he, 'had he not laid violent hands on himself I had ordered him to be taken to Cabillonum[146] and there burnt alive.' 'Yes,' I replied, 'and that was why it was believed that you had put him to death. And who could suppose that he would himself be spared, when a valiant warrior, a faithful soldier, a valuable comrade was thus slain?' At that time, on taking my leave, he said he was willing to treat.

12. But afterwards on finding that I would not communicate with the Bishops who communicated with him, or who sought the death of any one, even though they were heretics[147], he grew angry and bade me depart without delay. And I, although many thought I should be waylaid, set forth gladly, grieving only that the aged Bishop Hyginus, now almost at his last gasp, was being carried into exile. And when I appealed to his guards against their suffering the old man to be driven out without a curtain or a pillow to rest upon, I was driven forth myself.

13. Such is the account of my mission. Farewell, your Majesty, and be well on your guard against a man who conceals war under the cloak of peace.

LETTER XXV.

THAT THIS AND the following letter were addressed to the same person is clear from their contents, especially from the commencement of Letter xxvi. Whether Studius and Irenæus were two names of the same person, as the Benedictines suggest, or whether there is any error in either title, cannot be ascertained for certain. Is it not most probable that the name of Irenæus, to whom a long series of letters follows, has been affixed to one immediately preceding them by mistake, and that we should put ‘Studio’ for ‘Irenæo’ at the head of xxvi?

The letter deals briefly with the question which Studius, a layman apparently and a judge, puts to S. Ambrose, whether he did violence to his duty as a Christian in sentencing criminals to death. S. Ambrose replies that it is lawful, but recommends merciful dealing wherever possible, in hope of amendment of life.

AMBROSE TO STUDIUS.

I RECOGNIZE in your application to me a pure intention of mind, zeal for the faith, and fear of our Lord Jesus Christ. And indeed I should fear to reply to it, being checked on the one hand by the obligation of the trust committed to you for the maintenance of the laws, and on the other by claims of mercy and clemency, had you not in this matter the Apostle’s authority that he who judgeth Rom. xiii. 4. *beareth not the sword in vain, for he is the avenger of God, upon him that doeth evil*.

2. But although you knew this, it was not without reason that you have thought fit to make the enquiry. For some there are, although out of the pale of the Church[148], who will not admit to the divine Mysteries those who have

deemed it right to pass sentence of death on any man. Many too abstain of their own accord, and are commended, nor can we ourselves but praise them, although we so far observe the Apostle's rule as not to dare to refuse them Communion.

3. You see therefore both what power your commission gives you, and also whither mercy would lead you; you will be excused if you do it, and praised if you do it not. Should you feel unable to do it, and are unwilling to afflict the criminal by the horrors of a dungeon, I shall, as a priest, the more commend you. For it may well be that when the cause is heard, the criminal may be reserved for judgment, who afterwards may ask for pardon for himself, or at any rate may suffer what is called mild confinement in prison. Even heathen are, I know, wont to boast that they have borne back their axes from their provincial government unstained by blood. And if heathen do this what ought Christians to do?

4. But in all these matters let our Saviour's answer suffice for you. The Jews apprehended an adultress and brought her to the Saviour, with the insidious intent that if He were to acquit her He might seem to destroy the law, though He had said, S. Matt. v. 27. *I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil the law*, and on the other hand, were He to condemn her, He might seem to be acting against the purpose of His coming. Wherefore the Lord Jesus, foreseeing this, stooped down and wrote upon the earth. And what did He write but that word of the prophet, Jer. xxii. 29, 30. *O Earth, Earth, Write these men deposed*[149]*,* which is spoken of Jeconiah in the prophet Jeremiah.

5. When the Jews interrupt Him, their names are written in the earth, when the Christians draw near, the names of the faithful are written not on the earth but in heaven. For they who tempt their Father, and heap insult on the Author of salvation, are written on the earth as cast off[150] by their Father. When the Jews interrupt Him, Jesus stoops His head, but not having where

to lay His head, He raises it again, is about to give sentence, and says, S. John viii. 8. *Let him that is without sin cast the first stone at her.* Ib. 9. *And again He stooped down and wrote on the ground.*

6. When they heard this they began to go out one by one beginning at the eldest, and this either because they who had lived longest had committed most sins, or because, as being most sagacious, they were the first to comprehend the force of His sentence, and though they had come as the accusers of another's sins, began rather to lament their own.

7. So when they departed Jesus was left alone, and lifting up His head, He said to the woman, S. John viii. 10, 11. *Woman, where are those thine accusers? hath no man condemned thee? She said, No man, Lord. And Jesus said unto her, Neither do I condemn thee, go, and sin no more.* Being the Redemption, He refuses to condemn her, being the Life He restores her, being the Fountain He washes her. And since Jesus, when He stoops down stoops that He may raise up the fallen, He says, as the Absolver of sins, *Neither do I condemn thee*.

8. Here is an example for you to follow, for it may be that there is hope of amendment for this guilty person; if he be yet unbaptized, that he may receive remission, if baptized that he may do penance[151], and offer up his body for Christ. See how many roads there are to salvation!

9. This is why our ancestors thought it better to be indulgent towards Judges; that by the terror of their sword the madness of crime should be repressed, and no encouragement given to it. For if Communion were denied to Judges, it would seem like a retribution on their punishment of the wicked. Our ancestors wished then that their clemency should proceed from their own free-will and forbearance, rather than from any legal necessity. Farewell, and love us, as we on our part love you.

LETTER XXVI.

THAT THIS LETTER is addressed to the same person as the preceding, in spite of the discrepancy in the address, is clear from the first sentence (See Introd. to xxv.). It resumes the subject, and dwells in detail on the example of our Lord's dealing with the woman taken in adultery.

AMBROSE TO IRENÆUS. [STUDIUS?]

1. ALTHOUGH in my previous letter I have resolved the question which you proposed to me, I will not refuse your request, my son, that I would somewhat more fully state and express my meaning.

2. Much agitated has ever been the question, and very famous this acquittal of that woman who in the Gospel according to John was brought to Christ accused of adultery. The stratagem which the equivocating Jews devised was this, that in case of the Lord Jesus acquitting her contrary to the Law, His sentence might be convicted of being at variance with the Law, but if she were to be condemned according to the Law, the Grace of Christ might seem to be made void.

3. And still more warm has the discussion become, since the time that bishops[152] have begun to accuse those guilty of the most heinous crimes before the public tribunals, and some even to urge them to the use of the sword and of capital punishment, while others again approve of such kind of accusations and of blood-stained triumphs of the priesthood. For those men say just the same as did the Jews, that the guilty ought to be punished by the public laws, and therefore that they ought also to be accused by the priests before the public tribunals, who, they assert, ought to be punished according to the laws. The case is the same, though the number is less, that

is to say, the question as to judgment is similar, the odium of the punishment is dissimilar. Christ would not permit one woman to be punished according to the Law; they assert that too small a number has been punished.

4. But in what place does Christ give this decision? For He generally vouchsafed to adapt His discourses to the character of the place wherein He was teaching His disciples[153]. For instance while walking in the porch of Solomon, that is, of the Wise man, He said, S. John x. 30. *I and My Father are One*; and in God's Temple He said, Ib. vii. 16. *My doctrine is not Mine, but His that sent Me*. It was in the Temple also that He gave the sentence of which we now speak, for in the verse following it is thus written, Ib. viii. 20. *These words spake Jesus in the treasury, as He taught in the Temple, and no man laid hands on Him*. What is the Treasury? It is the place of offering for the faithful, the bank of the poor, the refuge of the needy, near which Christ sat, when, according to Luke, S. Luke xxi. 2. He declared that the widow's two mites were to be preferred to the gifts of the rich, thus bearing Divine testimony to a zealous and cordial charity as preferable to the offerings of an affluent munificence.

5. Now let us consider what He Who passed such a judgment as this contributed when sitting near the Treasury, for not without a purpose did He prefer the woman who threw in two mites. Precious was her poverty, and rich in the mystery of faith. These are the same two pieces of money which the Ib. x. 35. Samaritan in the Gospel left with the host in order to cure the wounds of the man who had fallen among thieves. So too this woman, outwardly a widow, but mystically representing the Church, thought it right to cast into the sacred Treasury this gift whereby the wounds of the poor might be healed and the hunger of the strangers satisfied.

6. Now then it behoves you spiritually to consider what Christ bestows; Ps. xi. 7. for He distributed among the people silver tried by the fire of the

heavenly oracles, and to the desires of the people He told out money stamped with the Royal image. No one could give more than He Who gave all. He satisfied the hungry, He replenished the needy, He enlightened the blind, He redeemed the captives, He raised the palsied, He restored the dead, nay, what is more, He gave absolution to the guilty and forgave their sins. These are the two pence which the Church cast in, after having received them from Christ. And what are the two pence but the price of the New and Old Testament? The price of the Scripture is our faith, for it is according to the intelligence and will of each that what we read therein is valued. So then the remission of sins is the price of both Testaments, and is announced in type by the Lamb, and accomplished in verity by Christ.

7. You understand therefore that the Exod. xii. 3. Lev. xii. 2. purification of seven days brought with it also the purification of three days. The purification of seven days is according to the Law, which, under the semblance of the sabbath that now is, announced a spiritual sabbath; the purification of three days is according to Grace, and is sealed by the witness of the Gospel, S. Luke xxiv. 7. for the Lord rose on the third day. Where a penalty for sin is prescribed there also must penitence be, where remission of sins is accorded there follows Grace. Penitence precedes, Grace follows. So that there can neither be penitence without Grace, nor Grace without penitence, for penitence must first condemn sin, that Grace may abolish it. S. Matt. iii. 11. Wherefore John, fulfilling the type of the Law, baptized unto repentance, Christ unto Grace.

8. Now the seventh day denotes the mystery of the Law, the eighth that of the Resurrection, as you have in Ecclesiastes, Eccles. xi. 2. *Give a portion to seven and also to eight*. In the prophet Hosea also you have read that it was said to him, Hosea i. 2. *Go, take unto thee a wife of whoredoms for fifteen pieces of silver*, seeing that by the double price of the Old and

New Testament, that is, by the full price of faith, that woman is hired who was attended by a vagrant and licentious train of sojourners.

9. Ib. iii. 2. *And I bought her to me*, saith the prophet, *for fifteen pieces of silver, and for an homer of barley, and an half homer of barley and a measure*[154] *of wine*[155]. By barley is signified that the imperfect are called to the Faith that they may be made perfect, by the homer is understood a full measure, by the half homer a half measure. The full measure is the Gospel, the half measure is the Law, the fulfilment of which is the New Testament. Thus the Lord Himself saith, S. Matt. v. 17. *I am not come to destroy the Law, but to fulfil*.

10. Nor is it without meaning that we read in the Psalms of David of fifteen degrees, and that the sun had risen fifteen degrees, Isa. xxxviii. 8. when Hezekiah the righteous king received a new supply of life. Hereby was signified the coming of the Mal. iv. 2. Sun of Righteousness, Who was about to enlighten by His presence these fifteen steps of the Old and New Testament whereby our faith mounts up to life eternal. And this leads me to believe that what was read this day Gal. i. 18. from the Apostle of his remaining fifteen days with Peter has a mystical meaning; for it appears that while the holy Apostles held various discourses among themselves upon the interpretation of the Divine Scriptures a full and bright light fell upon them, and the shades of ignorance were dispersed. But now let us come to the absolution of the woman taken in adultery.

11. A woman accused of adultery was brought by the Scribes and Pharisees to the Lord Jesus with the malicious intent, that, if He was to acquit her, He might seem to annul the Law, if He condemned her, that He might seem to have changed the purpose of His coming, since He came to remit the sins of all men. To the same purport He said above[156], S. John viii. 15. *I judge no man*. So when they brought her they said, Ib. 4, 5. Lev. xx. 8. *This woman*

was taken in adultery, in the very act; now Moses in the Law commanded us that such should be stoned, but what sayest Thou?

12. While they were saying this, Jesus stooped down and wrote with His finger on the ground. And as they waited for His answer, He lifted up His head and said, v. 7. *He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her*. What can be more Divine than this sentence, that he should punish sins who is himself free from sin? For how can we endure one who takes vengeance on guilt in another and excuses it in himself? When a man condemns in another what he commits himself, does he not rather pronounce his own condemnation?

13. Thus He spake, and wrote upon the ground. What then did He write? This, S. Matt. vii. 3. *Thou beholdest the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye*. For lust is like a mote, it is quickly kindled, quickly consumed; the sacrilegious perfidy which led the Jews to deny the Author of their salvation declared the magnitude of their crime.

14. He wrote upon the ground with the finger with which He had written the Law. Jer. xvii. 13. Sinners' names are written in the earth, those of the just in heaven, as He said to His disciples, S. Luke x. 20. *Rejoice, because your names are written in heaven*. And He wrote a second time, that you may know that the Jews were condemned by both Testaments.

15. When they heard these words they went out one after another, beginning at the eldest, and sat down thinking upon themselves. *And Jesus was left alone, and the woman standing in the midst.* It is well said that they went out who chose not to be with Christ. Without is the letter, within are the mysteries. For in the Divine lessons they sought, as it were, after the leaves of trees, and not after the fruit; they lived in the shadow of the Law, and could not discern the Sun of Righteousness.

16. Finally, when they departed Jesus was left alone, and the woman standing in the midst. Jesus about to remit sin remains alone, as He says Himself, S. John xvi. 32. *Behold the hour cometh, yea is now come, that ye shall be scattered, every man to his own, and shall leave Me alone*; for it was no messenger, no herald, but the Lord Himself Who saved His people. He remains alone, because in the remission of sins no man can participate with Christ. This is the gift of Christ alone, Who Ib. i. 29. *took away the sins of the world*. The woman too was counted worthy to be absolved, seeing that, on the departure of the Jews, she remained alone with Jesus.

17. Then Jesus lifted up His head, and said to the woman, Ib. viii. 10. *Where are those thine accusers, hath no man condemned thee? She said, No man, Lord. And Jesus said unto her, Neither do I condemn thee, go, and sin no more.* See, O reader, these Divine mysteries, and the mercy of Christ. When the woman is accused, Christ stoops His head, but when the accusers retire He lifts it up again; thus we see that He would have no man condemned, but all absolved.

18. By the words, *Hath no man condemned thee?* He briefly overthrows all the quibbles of heretics, who say that Christ knows not the day of judgment. He Who says, S. Matt. xx. 23. *But to sit on My right hand and on My left is not Mine to give*, says also in this place, *Hath no man condemned thee?* How is it that He asks concerning that which He saw? It is for our sakes that He asks, that we might know the woman was not condemned. And such is the wont of the human mind, often to enquire concerning that which we know. The woman too answered, *No man, Lord*, that is to say, Who can condemn when Thou dost not condemn? Who can punish another under such a condition as Thou hast attached to his sentence?

19. The Lord answered her, *Neither do I condemn thee*. Observe how He has modified His own sentence; that the Jews might have no ground of allegation against Him for the absolution of the woman, but by complaining

only draw down a charge upon themselves; for the woman is dismissed not absolved; and this because there was no accuser, not because her innocence was established. How then could they complain, who were the first to abandon the prosecution of the crime, and the execution of the punishment?

20. Then He said to her who had gone astray, *Go, and sin no more*. He reformed the criminal, He did not absolve the sin. Faults are condemned by a severer sentence, whenever a man hates his own sin, and begins the condemnation of it in himself. When the criminal is put to death, it is the person rather than the transgression which is punished, but when the transgression is forsaken, the absolution of the person becomes the punishment of the sin. What is the meaning then of, *Go, and sin no more*? It is this; Since Christ hath redeemed thee, suffer thyself to be corrected by Grace; punishment would not reform but only afflict thee. Farewell, my son, and love me as a son, for I on my part love you as a parent.

LETTER XXVII. A.D. 387.

WHO IRENÆUS WAS to whom the series of letters from xxvii. to xxxiii. are addressed is not ascertained. From the affectionate and parental way in which S. Ambrose addresses him, and from Irenæus' applying to him for elucidation of his difficulties in the study of Holy Scripture, it is probable that he was one who had been trained, perhaps converted by him. The Benedictine Editors think that he must have been one of his Milan Clergy. All the letters are occupied in expounding passages of the Old Testament, or in solving questions connected with it; they are specimens of his method of mystical interpretation, in which he took great delight.

In this Letter he begins a reply to a question on Exodus viii. 26. and then goes off into a mystical interpretation of Rachel and Leah, making them an allegory, as S. Paul does Hagar and Sarah.

AMBROSE TO IRENÆUS, GREETING.

1. YOU tell me that you have felt a difficulty in the text Exod. viii. 26. *We shall sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians to the Lord our God*. But you had the means of solving it, for it is written in the book of Genesis, that Gen. xlvi. 34. *a shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians*, and this not on account of the shepherd himself, but of his flocks. For the Egyptians were tillers of the ground, but Abraham and Jacob, and afterwards Moses and David, were shepherds, and in this function exercised a certain kingly discipline.

2. The Egyptians then hated sacrifices which were duly offered; the pursuit of virtue, that is, which is perfect and replete with discipline. But that which these evil men hated is in the sight of the good sincere and pious.

The licentious man hates the works of virtue, the glutton shrinks from them. And so the Egyptian's body, loving the charms of pleasure, has an aversion to the virtues of the soul, hates its rule, and shrinks from the discipline of virtue, and all such like works.

3. But what the Egyptian shrinks from — he who is an Egyptian rather than a man, — that do thou, who hast the knowledge of what befits man, embrace and follow: and shun those things which they pursue and choose; for these two things cannot agree together, wisdom and folly. Thus as wisdom and continence remove themselves from those who are, as it were, in the ranks of unwisdom and intemperance, so no foolish and incontinent man has any part in what belongs to the goods and heritage of the wise and continent man.

4. Again, those women who were sanctified by their marriage, Leah and Rachel, (the one meaning 'wearied,' the other 'strong breath'[157]) from aversion not to the ties of kindred but to their differing manners, and informed by the much tried Jacob, that he desired to depart in order to shun the envy and sloth of Laban and his sons, made answer thus: Gen. xxxi. 14, 15. *Is there yet any portion or inheritance for us in our father's house? Are we not counted of him strangers? for he hath sold us, and hath quite devoured also all our money?* Observe first that the slothful and envious man alienates from himself one who labours and keeps strict discipline; he flies from her and seeks to separate himself. Finding that they will be burthensome to him he thinks he has gained by their removal, and esteems this to be his reward, and this the point of his pleasure.

5. Now let us hear how what virtue has, sloth has not: for they say, Ib. v. 16. *For all the riches which God hath taken from our father, that is ours, and our children's*. Rightly do they say that they were taken away by God's appointment, for it is He Who created the good, for whose sake the slothful are despoiled; for weak and evil men cannot apprehend the beauty of the

Divine inheritance; and thus the resolute, and he who hath in him the spirit of a brave man, succeeds to it. But who is strong but God alone Who regulates and governs all things?

6. To these therefore the heritage of God is justly due. Wherefore Isaiah also says, Isa. liv. 17. *There is an heritage for them that believe in the Lord*. Well saith he, *There is an heritage*, for this is the sole heritage, there is no other. For neither is blind treasure an heritage, nor have any transitory things the advantage of an heritage; that alone is an heritage wherein God is the portion. Wherefore the Saint of the Lord saith, Ps. cxix. 57. *Thou art my portion, O Lord*, and again, Ib. 111. *Thy testimonies have I claimed as mine heritage for ever*. You see what are the possessions of the just, the commandments of God, His oracles, His precepts, hereby he is enriched, hereby he is fed, hereby he is delighted as by all manner of riches.

7. Now Leah and Rachel, possessing these, required not their father's riches, for therein there was base coin, a senseless outward show, destitute of spiritual vigour. Again, being rich and liberal themselves they accounted their father rather indigent than rich. For no one who participates in good and liberal discipline deems any foolish man to be rich, but poor and needy, and even abject; and this although he overflow with royal riches, and in the pride of his gold boasts of his own power.

8. The society of such we must shun then, even though they be united to us by the ties of kindred: the conversation of the foolish is to be avoided, for it infects and discolors the mind, for as Ps. xviii. 26. *with the clean thou shalt be clean*, so *with the froward thou shalt be froward*. For it frequently happens that one who listens to an intemperate man against his own resolution, much as he himself desires to maintain the rule of continence, is yet stained by the hue of folly, and thus discipline and insolence truly prove themselves contrary and repugnant to each other.

9. Hence when much-tried Jacob inquired their opinion, they utter the words of virtue now proved by long exercise, Gen. xxxi. 14. *Is there yet any portion or inheritance for us in our father's house?* that is, 'Do you ask us whether we wish to depart from him? As if you knew not that we have no desire of his society, nor are we possessed with that thirst for riches and delight in luxury which is so sweet to most worldlings. These are the things which we deem miserable and alien to our feelings, these are the things which we deem to be full of poverty and want.'

10. They add also the cause of their departure, that Laban had lost the true glory and those stores of good treasure in which we are born. Vigour of mind has been given us, and the good coinage of God's image and likeness, which is a spiritual coinage. He lost these because he preferred the splendour of this world to things true and profitable for his true life; for the beauty of these things escapes one who is ignorant of the good things of God, while in his judgment of what is beautiful he deludes and deceives himself. Hear then his words and judge.

11. He pursued holy Jacob and his daughters, thinking haply to find upon them some of his own vices, and thus to have a plea for reclaiming them to himself, censuring the righteous, whereas he himself was refuted by reason, and could give no answer or reply why he had any right to detain him. Gen. xxxi. 27. *Wherefore*, says he, *didst thou not tell me, that I might have sent thee away?* Wherein he discloses what it was the just man feared, namely, such attendance, such a convoy, lest he should go forth escorted by such a company: in the first place because it behoved him not to submit himself to the service of many masters, so as to be dismissed by Laban as a servant: and next because this man, intent upon good discipline and desirous of following the true path of virtue, sought no man to guide him but the heavenly oracles. These, said he, have commanded me to depart from hence and now accompany me on my journey.

12. But how wouldst thou have dismissed me, he would say? Would it have been with such joy as thine which is full of sadness, with cymbals namely and instruments of ill-modulated harmony, and with the sweet notes of flutes sounding forth unpleasing strains, dissonant sounds, discordant noises, mute voices, cymbals jarring upon the sense? Didst thou believe that I could be delighted, that I be recalled by such things? It is from them that I fled, nor do I fear thy reproachful words. I fled that such things might not follow me, that I might receive no present from thee on my departure.

13. It is not by such guides as these that we arrive at the Church of Christ, to which Jacob was bending his steps, to carry down thither the wealth of the nations and the riches of the Gentiles, that he might transplant thither his posterity, flying from the shadows of empty things, preferring to senseless images of virtues their breathing beauty, and serious things to outward show. You see how the Gentiles deck out their banquets, and proclaim their feasts; but such things are hateful to pious minds, for by their means many are deceived, they are captivated by pleasant food, by the bands of dancers, while they fly from our fasts, deeming them irksome to them, and noxious and troublesome to the body.

14. Or didst thou think that I should desire thy gold? But thou hast not Ps. xii. 7. *gold tried by* that *fire* wherein the just are proved. Or was it silver that I desired? But thou hast not silver, for thou possessest not the brightness of the heavenly words. But perhaps I hoped that thou wouldst give me some of thy slaves to serve me? Nay, I seek for free men, and not the slaves of sin. But perhaps companions of my journey and guides of my path were necessary? Would that they had power to follow me! for I would have shewn them the ways of the Lord. But ye who know not God, how can ye know His ways? The elect of the Lord walk in His ways, not every one who enters them, and yet no man is excluded.

15. Let him who is prepared follow, let him enter upon the way which leads to Mesopotamia; so that he who seeks that country may pass through the waters, the waters of Tigris and Euphrates, the waters of courage and righteousness, through the tears of penitence, the baptism of grace. Here is the path of the army of God, for all who are in the Church are God's soldiers. There is that flock marked with divers virtues, Gen. xxx. 32. which Jacob chose for himself; for every soul which is not so marked is unlearned and uninstructed, ignorant of discipline: but that which is marked is rich in works and fertile in grace.

16. Let him who comes to it first be reconciled to his angry brother. Let him who comes to it inhabit Shechem, that precious and active laboratory of virtue, Ib. xxxiv. 25. sqq. where injured chastity is so deeply avenged. Ib. xxxii. 24. Let him who comes to it wrestle with God, that he may inure himself to imitate Him, that he may come in contact with the humility of Christ and His sufferings. Let him take up his cross and follow Christ. Lastly, a good combatant 1 Cor. xiii. 4. *envieth not, is not puffed up*, nay, he even blesses his antagonist with a like gift.

17. Let us then follow holy Jacob and his ways, that we may reach these sufferings, these combats, that we may reach the shoulder[158], that we may attain to patience, the mother of the faithful, and to their father Isaac, that is, one capable of delight[159], abounding in joy. For where patience is, there also is joy, for after tribulation comes patience, and Rom. v. 3, 4, 5. *patience worketh experience*, wherein is *hope, whereby we are not ashamed*, for whoso is not ashamed the cross of Christ, neither will Christ be ashamed of him.

Farewell, my son; blush not to ask questions of your father, as you blush not to glory in the sufferings of Christ.

LETTER XXVIII. A.D. 387.

S. AMBROSE IN this Letter maintains that Pythagoras derived much of his wisdom from a knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures, and dwells on his maxim, ‘not to follow the beaten track,’ as one specially addressed to the priesthood.

AMBROSE TO IRENÆUS, GREETING.

1. IN the writings of certain authors we find a precept of Pythagoras forbidding his disciples to enter upon the common path trodden by the people. Now the source from whence he drew this is not unknown. For as he derived (according to the general opinion) his descent from the Jews, from their learning he derived also the precepts of his school. This rendered him highly esteemed among philosophers, so that he hardly met, it is said, with his equal. Now he had read in the book of Exodus that by the Divine command Moses was bid Exod. iii. 5. *put off his shoes from off his feet*. This command was also given to Joshua the son of Nun, Josh. v. 15. namely that they, when desired to walk along the Lord’s path, should shake off the dust of the beaten and vulgar tracks. Exod. xxiv. 13, 14. He had also read the command to Moses to go up to the mount with the priests, while the people stood apart. So God separated the priests from the people, and subsequently commanded Moses himself to enter into the cloud.

2. You see then the separation. Nothing vulgar, nothing popular, nothing in common with the desires and usages and manners of the rude multitude is looked for in priests. The dignity of the priesthood claims for itself a sober and unruffled calmness, a serious life, an especial gravity. How can he be respected by the people, who is in nothing distinct from the people, or

different from the multitude? And what can a man look up to in you who recognizes himself in you, who sees nothing in you which is beyond himself, and who finds in you, to whom he deems respect to be due, the things which he blushes at in himself?

3. Wherefore let us pass over the opinions of the people, and the resorts of the common herd, and the line of the beaten track, the ground also of that common path along which he runs, whose Job ix. 25. *days are swifter than a post*, of whom it is said, *they flee away, they see no good*. But let us find for ourselves a path secluded from the conversation of the proud, inaccessible to the works of the unlearned, trodden by no polluted person, polluted that is by the stains of his own sloth, and smeared by the smoke of iniquity, his soul darkened and ruinous, one who has never tasted the sweetness of virtue, or at any rate has thought that she should be looked upon askance rather than met with direct regard and with open arms, who moreover (as is the wont of many who seem to themselves witty and polite, and transform the beauty of wisdom into dishonourable guile,) regards not true Grace, but shrouded as it were in darkness, gives no credence to those who live in the light of day, being of the number of the men of Tema and Sheba, who fall off and turn away from the truth; of whom Job says, Ib. vi. 19–21. *Behold ye the ways of them of Tema, the paths of the Sabæans, for they shall be confounded who put their hopes in cities and in riches. So ye also have risen against me without pity, therefore when ye see my wound, be afraid.*

4. Let us then abandon these devious paths of them that turn aside, and this dust of those who fail, who through their lust fall oftentimes in the desert, and let us be converted and follow the way of wisdom, that way which the children of those who boast and glorify themselves have not trodden, that way which destruction knows not, and death is ignorant of; for God hath marked it out; Ib. xxviii. 14. *the depth saith, It is not in me, and*

the sea saith, It is not with me. But if you seek for the way of wisdom and discipline, to worship God, and to be subject to Him is wisdom, and to abstain from sin is discipline.

5. What then have we to do with the way of this world, wherein is temptation; yea the life itself of men is temptation, and more empty even than vain fables, living in houses of clay, spending nights and days in quest of gain, with their thoughts ever upon it, seeking like hired servants their daily wages, and as they say grasshoppers do[160], feeding on the empty breath of desires. Truly, like grasshoppers, living from day to day, they burst with their own complainings[161]. For what is the semblance of men without gravity or discipline, but that of grasshoppers, born to a daily death, chirping rather than speaking? These beneath the heat of burning desires soothe themselves with a song hurtful to themselves, and quickly die bearing no fruit, and possessed of no grace. Noxious and crooked are their ways as those of serpents, whose bodies are drawn along in poisoned folds, who gather themselves up into a coil of wickedness[162], and cannot raise themselves to heavenly things.

6. But let us enter the gates of the Lord, Ps. cxviii. 19. *the gates of righteousness*, which the righteous entereth and *giveth praise unto the Lord*. But few enter in here, wherefore the Lord saith, S. Matt. vii. 14. *Straight is the gate and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it*. But the wide gate and broad way, wherein the many walk, leads to death, and carries thither them that travel on it.

7. Let our way then be narrow, our virtue abundant, our steps more careful, our faith more lofty, our path narrow, our energy of mind overflowing, our paths straight, for the steps of virtue cannot be turned aside; wherefore Solomon saith, Prov. ii. 13. *Who leave the paths of uprightness*.

8. Let our steps tend upward, for it is better to ascend. Lastly, as we read to-day, Is. xxxi. 1. *Woe to them that go down to Egypt!* Not that to pass over into Egypt is blameable, but to pass into their habits, to pass into their cruel perfidy and hideous lusts. He that passes over thither descends, he that descends falls. Wherefore let us avoid the Egyptian, who is man, not God. For the king of Egypt himself was given over to the dominion of his vices, and compared with him Moses was accounted a god, ruling over kingdoms and subjecting to himself powers. Hence we read that he was addressed thus, Exod. vii. 1. *See I have made thee a god to Pharaoh*. Farewell, and love me, as indeed you do, with the affection of a son.

LETTER XXIX. A.D. 389.

THIS LETTER IS in fact a meditation on Christ as the true Chief good of man, the true Source of happiness, and Food of the soul, and Fountain of life, to be sought therefore with eagerness, and clung to with all the affection of the soul, which must therefore scorn all meaner delights.

AMBROSE TO IRENÆUS, GREETING.

1. WHILE engaged in reading, after resting my mind for a while and desisting from study, I began to meditate on that versicle which in the evening we had sung at Vigils, Ps. xlv. 3. *Thou art fairer than the children of men*, and, Rom. x. 15. Is. lii. 7. *How beautiful are the feet of them that bring good tidings* of Him. And truly nothing is more beautiful than that chief good, the very preaching of which is beyond measure lovely, and specially the progress of continuous discourse, and the foot-steps, so to speak, of Apostolic preaching. But who is equal to these things? They to whom God gave not only to preach Christ, but also to suffer for Him.

2. Let us, as far as we can, direct our minds to that which is beautiful seemly and good, let us be occupied therein, let us keep it in mind, that by its illumination and brightness our souls may become beautiful and our minds transparent. For if our eyes, when obscured by dimness, are refreshed by the verdure of the fields and are able by the beauty of a grove or grassy hill to remedy every defect of the failing vision, while the very pupils and balls of the eye seem to be coloured with the hue of health: how much more does this eye of the mind, beholding that chief good, and dwelling and feeding thereupon, brighten and shine forth, so as to fulfil that which is

written, Ps. lxiii. 6. *My soul shall be satisfied even as it were with marrow and fatness*. Moreover, he who has a skilful knowledge of the souls of his flock, pays attention to wild grasses, that he may obtain much pasturage: for by the sweeter kind of herbage lambs are made fatter, and the milky juice more healthful. On these pastures those Ib. xxii. 29. *fat ones* have fed, who *have eaten and worshipped*, for good indeed are those pastures wherein is placed the saint of God.

3. There is grass also, whereby the flocks of sheep are nourished, for whence come the fleeces of wisdom, and the clothing of prudence. And perchance this is the Prov. xxvii. 25. *grass of the mountain*, upon which the words of the prophet distil Deut. xxxii. 2. *as the showers upon the grass*, and which the wise man carefully gathers, that he may have a fleece for a covering, that is, for a spiritual garment. And thus proper food and clothing are provided for that soul which cleaves to the chief Good, that Good Which is Divine, and which the Apostle Peter exhorts us to seek for, that by the acquisition of such knowledge we may become 2 S. Pet. i. 4. *partakers of the Divine nature*.

4. The knowledge hereof the good God opens to His saints, and grants it out of His good treasury, even as the sacred Law testifies, saying, Deut. xxviii. 11, 12. *The Lord sware unto thy fathers to give thee and open unto thee His good treasure*. From this heavenly treasure Ib. xxxii. 2. He gives rain to His lands, to bless all the works of thy hands. By this rain is signified the utterance of the Law, which moistens the soul fruitful and fertile in good works, that it may receive the dew of Grace.

5. The knowledge of this good David sought; as he himself declares, saying, Ps. xxvii. 4. *One thing have I desired of the Lord, which I will require, even that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life to behold the fair beauty of the Lord, and to visit His temple*. And that this is the chief Good he straightway added in the same Psalm, v. 13. *I believe*

verily to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living. He must be sought after, there He will be clearly seen face to face. This good is in the house of God, in His secret and hidden place. Wherefore he says again, Ps. lxv. 4. *He shall be satisfied with the pleasures of thy house*. In another place too he has shown this to be the highest blessing, saying, Ps. cxxviii. 5. *The Lord shall bless thee out of Sion, and thou shalt see the good of Jerusalem*. Wherefore blessed is he who dwells then in the vestibule of faith and in the spiritual abode, the dwelling place of devotion and the life of virtue.

6. In Him therefore let us be and in Him abide, of Whom Isaiah says, Isa. lii. 7. *How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of Him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace*. 1 Cor. i. 1. Who are they that preach but Peter, Paul, and all the Apostles? What do they preach to us but the Lord Jesus? He is our Peace, He is our chief Good, for He is Good from Good, S. Matt. vii. 17. and from a good tree is gathered good fruit. And good also is His Spirit, Who takes of Him and Ps. cxliii. 10. *leads* His servants *forth into the land of righteousness*. For who that hath the Spirit of God within him will deny that He is good, since He says Himself, S. Matt. xx. 15. *Is thine eye evil because I am good?* May this Good which the merciful God gives to them that seek Him come into our soul, and into our inmost heart. He is our Treasure, He is our Way, He is our Wisdom, He is our Righteousness, our Shepherd, the good Shepherd, He is our Life. Thou seest how many goods are in this one Good! These goods the Evangelists preach to us. David seeking for these goods saith, Ps. iv. 6. *Who will shew us any good?* And he shews that the Lord Himself is our Good by adding, *Lord, lift Thou up the light of Thy Countenance upon us*. But Who is the Light of the Father's Countenance, but Heb. i. 3. *the Brightness of His Glory*, and the Image of the invisible God, in Whom the Father is both seen and glorified, as He also glorifies His Son?

8. Wherefore the Lord Jesus Himself is that chief Good which was announced to us by Prophets, declared by Angels, promised by the Father, 1 Tim. iii. 16. preached by Apostles. He hath come to us as ripeness; nor as ripeness only, but as ripeness in the mountains; to the intent that in our counsels there should be nothing sour, or unripe, nothing harsh or bitter in our actions or manners, the first Preacher of good tidings hath come among us. Wherefore also He saith, I, Who spoke, am present with[163] you, that is, I Who spoke in the Prophets, am present in that Body which I took of the Virgin; I am present as the inward Likeness of God, and the Heb. i. 3. *express Image of His person*, I am present too as Man. But who knows Me? For they saw the Man, but His Works made them believe He was above man. S. John xi. 35. Was He not as man when weeping over Lazarus? again, was He not above man, when He raised him to life? Was He not as man when scourged? and again, above man when Ib. i. 29. *He took away the sin of the world*?

9. To Him therefore let us hasten in Whom is the chief Good: for He is the bounty and patience of Israel, Who calls thee to repentance, that thou come not into condemnation but mayest receive the remission of thy sins. He saith, S. Matt. iv. 17. Repent. This is He of Whom the Prophet Amos cries, Amos v. 14. *Seek good*. He is the chief Good, Who is in need of nothing, but abounds in all things. And well may He abound, Col. ii. 9. *in Whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily*; of S. John i. 16. *Whose fulness we have all received*, and *in Whom we are filled*, as saith the Evangelist.

10. If then the mind with its capacities of desire and pleasure hath tasted the chief Good, and by means of these two affections hath drank It in, unalloyed by sorrow and fear, it is wonderfully inflamed. For having embraced the Word of God, she knows no measure and yet feels no satiety, as it is written, Ps. cxix. 68. *Thou art good and gracious, O teach me Thy*

statutes: having embraced the Word of God, she desires Him above all beauty, she loves Him above all joy, she is delighted with Him above all perfumes, she desires often to see, often to look upon Him, often to be drawn to Him that she may follow. Cant. i. 3. *Thy Name*, it is said, *is as ointment poured forth; therefore we maidens love Thee*, therefore we strive but cannot attain to Thee. *Draw us* that we may *run after Thee*, that by the *fragrance of Thy ointments* we may gain power to follow Thee.

11. And the mind presses forward to the sight of internal mysteries, to the place of rest of the Word, to the very dwelling of that chief Good, His light and brightness. In that haven and home-retreat she hastens to hear His words, and having heard, finds them sweeter than all other things. Learn of the Prophet who had tasted and saith, Ps. cxix. 103. *O how sweet are Thy words unto my throat, yea sweeter than honey unto my mouth*. For what can that soul desire which hath once tasted the sweetness of the Word, and seen His brightness? Exod. xxxiv. 28. When Moses received the Law he remained forty days on the mount and required no bodily food; 1 Kings xix. 4. Elijah, hastening to this rest, prayed that his life might be taken away; Peter, himself also beholding on the Mount the glory of the Lord's Resurrection, would fain not have come down, saying, S. Matt. xvii. 4. *It is good for us to be here*. How great then is the glory of the Divine Essence and the graces of the Word, 1 Pet. i. 12. *which things the Angels desire to look into*.

12. The soul then which beholds this chief Good, requires not the body, and understands that it ought to have as little connexion with it as possible; it renounces the world, withdraws itself from the chains of the flesh, and extricates itself from all the bonds of earthly pleasures. Acts vii. 55. Thus Stephen beheld Jesus, and feared not being stoned, nay, while he was being stoned, prayed not for himself but for his murderers. Paul also, when 2 Cor. xii. 2. *caught up to the third heaven*, knew not *whether he was in the body*

or out of the body: caught up, I say, *into Paradise*, he became invisible to the presence of his own body, and having heard the words of God he blushed to descend again to the infirmities of the body.

13. Thus, knowing what he had seen and heard in Paradise, he cried saying, Col. ii. 20–22. *Why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances? Touch not, taste not, handle not, which all are to perish with the using.* For he would have us of this world in figure and semblance, not in use or possession, *using as though we used it not*, as our place of sojourn, not of rest, walking through it as in a vision, not with desire, so as to pass as lightly as possible over the mere shadow of this world. In this way S. Paul, who walked by faith not by sight, was 2 Cor. v. 8. *absent from the body and present with the Lord*, and although upon earth conversed not with earthly but with heavenly things.

14. Wherefore let our soul, wishing to draw near to God, raise herself from the body, and ever adhere to that chief End which is divine, Which is everlasting, S. John i. 1. *Which was from the beginning*, and *Which was with God*, that is, the Word of God. This is that Divine Being, Acts xvii. 28. *in Whom we live and move and have our being*. This is *That which was in the beginning*, the true *I AM*. 2 Cor. i. 19. *For the Son of God, Jesus Christ, was not yea nor nay but in Him was yea.* He bid Moses say, Exod. iii. 14. *I AM hath sent me*.

15. With this Good therefore let our soul be, and if possible, be continually, that each of us may say, Ps. cxix. 109. *My soul is continually in my hand*. And such will be the case, if it be not in the flesh, but in the spirit, and does not entangle itself in earthly things. For when it turns back to carnal things, then the allurements of the body creep over it, then it swells with rage and anger, then it is pierced with sorrow, then it is lifted up with arrogance, then it is bowed down with grief.

16. These are the heavy griefs of the soul by which it is often brought down to death, while its eyes are blinded so that they see not the light of true glory, and the riches of its eternal heritage. But by keeping them always fixed on God, it will receive from Christ the brightness of wisdom, so as to have its vision enlightened by the knowledge of God, and to behold that hope of our calling, and see that which is good and well-pleasing and perfect. For that which is good is well-pleasing to the Father, and that which is well-pleasing is perfect, as it is written in the Gospel, S. Matt. v. 44, 45. *Love your enemies, that ye may be the children of your Father Which is in heaven, for, He sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust*, which is surely a proof of goodness. Afterwards He concludes by saying, Ib. 48. *Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father Which is in heaven is perfect*. For charity is perfect; in short it is Rom. xiii. 10. *the fulfilling of the Law*; for what can be so good as *charity* which *thinketh no evil*?

17. Fly then those regions where dwell envy, ambition, and contention. Therefore let thy mind open itself to receive this Good, that it may mount above the clouds, that it may be Isa. xl. 31. *renewed as the eagle*, and like the eagle spread abroad its wings, that with new vigour in its pinions it may fearlessly soar aloft and leave its earthly dwelling-place behind it, Wisd. ix. 15. *for the earthly habitation weigheth down the mind*. Let it put off old things, let it cast off wandering desires, let it purge its eyes that it may see that Fountain of true wisdom, that Source of eternal life Which flows and abounds with all things and is in want of nothing. For who hath given to Him, seeing that Rom. xi. 36. *of Him and through Him and to Him are all things*?

18. The Fountain of life then is that chief Good from Which the means of life are dispensed to all, but It hath life abiding in Itself. It receiveth from none as though It were in need, It confers good on others rather than borrows from others for Itself, for It hath no need of us. Thus in the person

of man it is said, Ps. xvi. 2. *my goods are nothing unto Thee*. What then can be more lovely than to approach to Him, to cleave to Him; what pleasure can be greater? He who has seen and tasted freely of the Fountain of living water, what else can he desire? what kingdoms? what powers? what riches? perceiving how miserable even in this world is the condition of kings, how mutable the state of empires, how short the space of this life, in what bondage sovereigns themselves must live, seeing that their life is according to the will of others, not their own.

19. But what rich man passes to eternal life unless he be supported by the riches of virtue, that gift which is the portion of all, S. Matt. xix. 26. and declared to be impossible for the rich alone? Happiness then does not consist in using these things but in perceiving that whereby you may despise them, may regard them as void of truth[164], may judge them to be empty and fruitless, and may love the true beauty of naked truth which confesses the cheating vanities of this world.

20. Lift up therefore your eyes, O my soul; those eyes of which the Word of God saith, Cant. iv. 9. *Thou hast ravished my heart, my sister, my spouse, thou hast ravished my heart with one of thine eyes.* Ib. vii. 8. *Go up then to the palm tree*, overcome the world, that thou mayest reach the height of the Word. Leave out of doors the vain shows of this world, leave its malice, but bring in with you that goodness of mind which has grace in the tree of life, that is, if she wash her robes and enter into the city which is the true grace of the saints, wherein is the Tabernacle of God, around which the scribes of the Lord encamp, where neither day nor sun nor moon afford light, but Rev. xxi. 23. *the Lord Himself is the light thereof*, and enlightens all that city. For He is the S. John viii. 12. *Light of the world*, not indeed the visible light, but the intellectual brightness of the souls which are in this world, upon which He pours the bright beams of reason and of prudence, S. Luke xxiv. 32. and

in the Gospel is said to inspire with the breath of His spiritual influences the inmost soul, and the recesses of the mind.

21. If then any man hath begun to be an inhabitant of that heavenly city, an inhabitant, that is, by his life and manners, let him not depart from it, let him not go out again, or retrace his steps, the steps, that is, not of his body but of his mind; let him not turn back. Behind is luxury, behind is impurity. Gen. xix. 30. When Lot went up into the mountain he left behind him the crimes of Sodom, but she who looked back, could not reach the higher ground. It is not your feet but your manners which are never to turn back. Let not your hands hang down, or the knees of your faith and devotion become feeble. Let not the weakness of your will be backsliding, let there be no recurrence of crime. Thou hast entered in, remain therefore; thou hast arrived, stay still; Ib. 17. *escape for thy life*.

22. In your ascent your steps must tend directly upwards, no man can safely turn back. Here is the way, there, downfall; here ascent, there a precipice. In ascending there is labour, in descending danger; but the Lord is mighty, Who, when thou art founded there will guard and hedge thee round with prophetic walls and apostolic bulwarks. Therefore the Lord says to thee, Joel iii. 13. *Come, get you down, for the press is full*. Let us be found within, not out of doors. In the Gospel too the Son of God saith, S. Luke xvii. 31. *He which shall be upon the house-top let him not come down to take away his vessels*. And this He says not of this house-top, but of that of which it is said, Ps. civ. 2. *He spreadeth out the heavens like a vault*.

23. Remain within therefore, within Jerusalem, within thine own soul, peaceful, meek, and tranquil. Leave her not, nor descend in order to raise up this vessel of thine, either with honour, or wealth, or pride. Remain within, that aliens may not pass through thee, that sins may not pass through thy mind, vain acts, and idle thoughts: and they will not pass, if thou wilt wage a holy war in the cause of faith and devotion, for the love of truth against

the snares of passion, and wilt take up the arms of God against spiritual wickedness and the craft of the devil, who tempts our senses by fraud and stratagem, but who is easily crushed by the gentle warrior, who sees no strife, but, as becomes the servant of God, teaches the faith with modesty, and convinces those who oppose themselves. Of him the Scripture says, Joel iii. 9. *Let the warrior who is gentle arise*[165]*,* and let him that is weak say, Phil. iv. 13. *I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me*.

24. Supported by this faith, even he who is weak shall prevail, and his soul will be holy, and the prophetic or apostolic mountains shall Joel iii. 18. *drop down new wine* for him, and *the hills shall flow with milk*, like that hill which 1 Cor. iii. 2. gave milk to the Corinthians to drink, and water shall flow for him from their vessels, and from their well-heads. S. John iv. 14. *From his belly shall flow living water*, that spiritual water which the Holy Spirit supplies to His faithful; may He vouchsafe to water thy soul also, that in thee may be *a fountain springing up into life eternal*. Farewell: love me as a son, for I love you as a father.

LETTER XXX. A.D. 389.

S. AMBROSE HERE continues the subject of the last Letter, dwelling especially on the duty of rising above the level of earthly things, and bringing together various passages of the Old Testament which he interprets spiritually as setting forth this Lesson. The true follower of Christ will build Him a Temple in his heart, which his Lord will fill with the adornment of spiritual graces.

AMBROSE TO IRENÆUS, GREETING.

1. AFTER I had finished my last letter and directed it to be conveyed to you, the words which the Lord spake by the prophet Haggai came into my mind, Hag. i. 4. *Is it time for you, O ye, to dwell in your cieled houses?* What is the meaning of this but that we ought to dwell on high, not in low and subterranean abodes? For they who dwell beneath the earth, cannot build the temple of God, but say, Ib. 2. *The time is not come, the time that the Lord's house should be built*, because it is the mark of sensual persons to seek underground dwellings, courting the cool of summer, being enervated by indulgence and requiring shady retreats to enable them to bear the heat, or because the slothful live at ease beneath the earth, or lastly because dark and shady places suit them best, concealing, (as they believe,) their crimes. Ecclus. xxiii. 18. *I am compassed about with darkness, the walls cover me, what need I to fear?* But in vain do they hope for this, when God beholds the hidden depths of the abyss, and discovers all things before they take place.

2. But neither Elijah nor Elisha dwelt in underground dwellings. 1 Kings xvii. 19. Moreover the former carried the dead son of the widow up into the

loft where he abode, and there raised him to life; and for the latter, that 2 Kings iv. 8, 10. *great woman*, the Shunamite, prepared a *chamber on the wall*, and there she obtained the privilege of Ib. 16 et seq. conceiving a son, for she was barren, and there also she saw the miracle of his restoration to life. And what shall I say of Acts x. 9. Peter who at the sixth hour went up upon the house-top, and there learnt the mystery of the baptism of the Gentiles. 2 Sam. xviii. 17, 18. But the homicide Absalom had reared for himself a pillar in the King's dale, and then, after his death, he was cast into a great pit. So then the saints ascend unto the Lord, the wicked descend to crime; the saints are on the mountains, the wicked in the valleys; 1 Kings xx. 23. *For God is the God of the hills, not of the plains*.

3. Those therefore who dwelt in the plain, where God dwells not, could not have the house of God in themselves; for this is the house which God required of them, that they should build up themselves, and should erect within them the temple of God with the living stones of faith. For it was not the erection of earthly walls nor of wooden roofs that He required, for these, had they existed, would have been destroyed by the enemies' hand; but He sought for that temple which should be raised in men's minds, to whom it might be said, *Ye are the Temple of God*, wherein the Lord Jesus was to dwell, and from whence He was to proceed for the redemption of the world. Thus in the womb of a Virgin a sacred chamber was to be prepared, wherein the King of heaven might dwell, and the human Body might become the temple of God, Which also when It was destroyed, was to be raised again in three days.

4. But such a house as this sensual persons, Hag. i. 4. *they who dwell in cieled houses* and delight in chased silver, do not build. For as they despise pure silver, so also they despise simple dwellings. They enlarge the site of their houses, they add more and more, joining house to house and farm to farm, they dig up the ground; so that the very earth itself gives way to their

habitations, and like sons of the earth they are laid up within her womb, and hidden in her bowels. They surely are those of whom Jeremiah says, Jer. xxii. 13. *Woe unto him that buildeth his house in unrighteousness*. For he who builds in righteousness, builds not on earth but in heaven.

5. Ib. 14. *Thou hast built*, saith the Prophet, *a house, measure the upper chambers of it, even airy chambers, furnished with windows, cieled with cedar, and painted with vermilion*. Now he *measureth the upper chambers*, who, having contemplated the judgment of God, judgeth the judgment of the humble and the judgment of the poor. But he who seeks after gain and the blood of the innocent builds not his chambers with judgment, nor keeps the due measure, because he has not Christ, nor looks for the breath of Divine grace upon him, nor does he desire the brightness of full light, nor has he chambers painted with vermilion, for it cannot be said to him, Cant. iv. 3. *Thy lips are like a thread of scarlet*.

6. Jer. xxii. 19. He shall be buried with the burial of an ass. Engl. Vers. *A man of this sort*, it is said, *shall not be buried*, for he who has burrowed in the earth, and buried himself alive, so to speak, in a tomb, has deprived himself when dead of the rest of burial. And thus, laid in the pit of carnal pleasures, he has found no grave from whence to rise. Such a man therefore builds no temple to God, because he hath not known the time of his correction. How then can such men build a temple, who like wild beasts betake themselves to dens and hiding places, who like serpents bury themselves in ditches, and burrow in the earth like crafty foxes?

7. Neither does he build a sepulchre for himself who dies before the time, for 1 Tim. v. 6. *he is dead while he liveth*; and he hears not the voice of Haggai, that is being interpreted, of the Feaster, for he enters not the Tabernacle of God, Ps. xlii. 5. *in the voice of praise and thanksgiving, the sound of one feasting*. For how can he hear His voice, who sees not His works? If he saw them, he would have heard the Word which has been put

in His Hand, rejoicing in His acts, whereby S. Matt. vii. 7. *He knocked and it was opened to Him*, and He descended into his soul that He might feed therein upon the food of sincerity and truth.

8. Now because he has not heard, the word of Haggai comes again to hand, and says, Rise up from your Hag. i. 8. *cieled houses* that are weighed down by wickedness, and *go up to the mountain* of the heavenly Scriptures, and *hew wood*, the wood of wisdom, the wood of life, the wood of knowledge; and make straight your ways, direct your acts that they may keep their due order which is useful and necessary for building the house of God.

9. For if ye do it not, the Ib. 10. *heaven over you shall be stayed of her dew*, that is, the heavenly Word, Which descends *as the dew upon the grass*, shall not temper the fevered motions of your bodily passions, nor extinguish the fiery darts of your various desires; and *the earth*, that is, your soul, *shall be stayed from her fruit*, so that it shall be dried up, unless fully watered by the Word of God, and sprinkled with heavenly dew, even the fulness of spiritual Grace.

10. And as He knew how slothful they are who dwelt beneath the earth, and in the dark abodes of pleasure, Hag. i. 14. *I will stir up*, it is said, *the spirit of Jerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, Governor of Judah*, and *the spirit of Joshua the son of Josedech, the high priest*, that they may be stirred up to build the Divine house. For Ps. cxxvii. 1. *except the Lord build the house, their labour is lost that build it*. Now Zerubbabel means, 'constant overflowing,' like the Fountain of life, and the Word of God, Col. i. 16, 17. *by Whom and from Whom are all things and in Whom all things consist*. Thus saith the overflowing Fountain, S. John vii. 37. *If any man thirst, let him come unto Me, and drink*; drink, that is, from the stream of the unfailing flood. We read also of Zabulon, a nocturnal flood, that is to say prophetic, but it also is now brightened by the intermixture of this stream,

whereby was swallowed up that flood of vanity typified by Jezabel, which was opposed to truth and to the utterances of prophets, and was so torn in pieces by dogs that not a trace of it remained, but all its frame with every mark of its posterity was destroyed. Zerubbabel therefore of the tribe of Judah, and Jesus the High Priest, thus designated both by tribe and name seem to represent two persons, though one only is meant; for He Who as Almighty is born from the Almighty, as Redeemer is born of the Virgin, being the Same in the diversity of His two divisible natures, hath fulfilled as the Giant of salvation[166] the verity of the one Son of God.

11. Now being about to raise from the dead holy Zerubbabel He says, Hag. ii. 6. *Yet once, it is a little while, I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land*. Once before he had shaken these things when He delivered his people from Egypt, Exod. xiii. 21. when there was in heaven a pillar of fire, dry land among the waves, a wall in the sea, a path in the waters, when in the desert a daily supply of heavenly food was produced, Ib. xiv. 22. and the rock was melted into streams of water. But He shook them also afterwards in the Passion of the Lord Jesus, S. Luke xxiii. 44. when the heaven was covered with darkness, the sun withdrew his light, the rocks were rent, the tombs opened, the dead raised, the Dragon, vanquished on his own waves, saw the fishers of men not only sailing, but even walking on the sea without danger.

12. The *dry land was also shaken* when the barren Gentile nations began to ripen with the harvest of devotion and faith, and the desert and the Gentiles were so much shaken, that the preaching of the Apostles, whom He sent to call the Gentiles, was so loud and vehement, that Ps. xix. 4. *their sound went out into all lands, and their words unto the ends of the world*. So greatly, indeed, was the desert shaken that Is. liv. 1. *more are the children of the desolate than the children of the married wife*, and Ib. xxxv. 1. *the desert blossomed as a rose*, the elect of the Gentiles entered in to the

remnant of the people, that the Rom. xi. 5. *remnant might be saved according to the election of grace*.

13. Hag. ii. 7, 8. *And I will fill*, it is said, *this house with My silver and gold*, with the heavenly oracles, which are as Ps. xii. 7. *silver tried in the fire*, and in the brightness of the true light, glistening like spiritual gold in the secret hearts of the saints. These riches He confers on His Church, riches whereby spiritual treasures are increased, and the glory of the house is exalted above the former glory which the elect people enjoyed.

14. For peace and tranquillity of the soul is above all glory of any house; for Phil. iv. 7. *peace passeth all understanding*. This is that peace above all peace which shall be granted after the third shaking of the heaven, the sea, the earth and the dry land, when He shall destroy all Principalities and Powers. For S. Matt. xxiv. 35. *heaven and earth shall pass away*, and all the fashion of this world; and every man shall rise up against his brother with the sword, that is, with the word Heb. iv. 12. *piercing the marrow of the soul*, that whatever opposes itself, the Zech. ix. 10. *chariot from Ephraim* and *the horse from Jerusalem may be cut off*, as Zechariah says. And thus there will be peace over all, the passions of the body offering no resistance, and the unbelieving mind no obstacle, that *Christ may be all in all*, offering in subjection to the Father the hearts of all men.

15. Wherefore to Him alone is it mystically said, Hagg. ii. 23. *I will take thee, O Zerubbabel, and will make thee as a signet, for I have chosen thee*. When our mind shall have become peaceful so that it may be said to her, Cant. vi. 13. *Return, return, o Shulamite*, which signifies ‘peaceful,’ or, to use your own name, Irenice, then shall she receive Christ like a signet on herself, that is, the Image of God, that she may be according to that Image, for 1 Cor. xv. 48. *as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly*. And it behoves us Ib. 49. *to bear the image of the heavenly*, that is, peace.

16. And that we may know the truth of this, it is said in the Canticles to the soul now fully perfect, that which may the Lord Jesus say to you also, Cant. viii. 6. *Set me as a seal upon thine arm*; that peace may shine in your heart and Christ in your works, and that wisdom and righteousness and redemption may be formed in you. Farewell, my son: love me for I love you.

LETTER XXXI.

IRENÆUS HAD ASKED S. Ambrose whether God had greater love for those who had believed from their early years than for those who had been converted later in life. In answering this question, S. Ambrose enters into the history of the Jewish and Christian Churches, which he considers as set forth under the figures of David's two wives.

AMBROSE TO IRENÆUS, GREETING.

1. YOU have wisely thought it a subject of inquiry, whether there be any difference in God's love towards those who have believed from their childhood, and those who have believed in the course of their youth or more advanced age; for this also has not been past over nor left unnoticed in the sacred Scriptures. For it is not without meaning that the Lord our God says to the Prophet Joel, Joel i. 8. *Lament to me for the spouse girded with sackcloth and for the husband of her youth*, expressing his grief for the Synagogue, who, before, in her virginity, had been espoused to the Word of God, or, it may be, for a soul which had fallen from her good deeds, that by the heinousness of her sins she had incurred hatred, and through the defilement of impiety and the stains of unbelief had become miserable and despised, and far removed from the grace of that Spouse which had before been counted worthy to be told, Hosea ii. 19. *I will betroth thee unto Me in righteousness and in judgment and in lovingkindness and in mercies*.

2. Not without reason is she considered miserable, who has lost gifts of so great a price, and suffered so grievous a loss of her dowry of virtues as to be deprived of the Spouse of her virginity. For according to our merits the Word of God either lives or dies in us; for if our desires and works are good,

the Word of God lives and acts in us: if our thoughts and actions are darksome, Mal. iv. 2. the Sun of righteousness sets within us. And therefore He bids lamentation to be made for such a soul. For as they have cause of congratulation and feasting with whom the Bridegroom dwells, so that soul is to be mourned for, from whom the Spouse has been taken, as it is written of the Apostles in the Gospel; for S. Matt. ix. 15. *when the Bridegroom shall be taken away from them, then shall they fast in those days*.

3. Thus too this soul, in former times when she possessed the Virgin Word, had joy and gladness. And therefore she fasted not, because it was the season of feasting and refreshment; the Bridegroom was present bestowing by His presence the riches of plenty, stores of heavenly food, and dropping Ps. civ. 15. *wine, whereby the hearts of men are made glad*. But after she lost the Bridegroom by her acts, she is commanded to do penance in sackcloth for her sins, and to bewail herself, because Christ, Who is the Virgin Word, died and was crucified for her.

4. If this soul was espoused from early age, and never bore any other yoke, but from the beginning dedicated the maiden flower of her faith to Christ and as a virgin was united to Him in early days in the mysteries of piety, received a training in holiness as a heifer does the yoke; she is the very soul of the ancient Jewish stock from the family of the patriarchs, who, had she kept her course of faith without stumbling, would have been counted worthy of great things, the Spouse of the Virginal Word, as she who lays hold of Wisdom, Ecclus. xv. 2. *and as a mother shall she meet him, and receive him as a wife married of a virgin*.

5. The other likewise is procured from the Gentiles, and both are the Spouse of the One Word, which is a great mystery. And this is set forth to you in the book of Kings; since David had two wives, Ahinoam the Jezreelitess and 1 Sam. xxv. 39. Abigail whom he obtained afterwards; the first more severe, the latter full of mercy and grace, an hospitable and

liberal soul, who saw the Father with open face, having beheld His glory; she who received the divine dew of paternal Grace, as the interpretation of the name signifies. Now what is the dew of the Father, but the Word of God, Who has filled the hearts of all with the moisture of faith and justice?

6. Well therefore does the true David say to this soul what was said to Abigail, Ib. 32. *Blessed is the Lord God of Israel which sent thee this day to meet me*. And again he says to her, Ib. 35. *Go up in peace to thine house; see, I have hearkened to thy voice, and have accepted thy person*. Lastly in the Song of Solomon these are the words of the Bridegroom to the Bride, Cant. ii. 14. *Let me see thy countenance; let me hear thy voice*.

7. And at the time she was dismissed, for she had another husband who in Hebrew was called Nabal, which in Latin means foolish, a man harsh, inhospitable, uncourteous, ungrateful, who knew not how to repay good offices; but after his death, she was *set free from the law of her husband*, and the prophet David took her to wife. By this marriage the mystery of the Church which was to be called from among the Gentiles is signified, for she, having lost the husband to whom she had been married, became converted to Christ, bringing with her a dowry of piety, of humility and faith, enriched also with the patrimony of mercy.

8. But in this place it is not this wife, but that Ahinoam, who was evilly disposed towards her brother, wherefore her brother was made a trouble to her, and in their person it is said, Ps. xliv. 15. *thou makest us to be a bye-word among the heathen, and that the people shake their heads at us*. The devil, finding her off her guard, fell upon her as a lion, and deprived her of her charms, rooted up Mic. iv. 4. *her vine and fig-tree* under which she used to repose, and caused her fruit to wither.

9. But now God, having compassion on them, thus dried up and withered by drought, saith to the prophet, Joel i. 8. *Lament to Me for virgin girded with sackcloth and for the husband of her youth*, that is to say, over the dead

husband of this soul or of the Synagogue. And with her He expostulates in another place, Hosea iv. 6. forasmuch as she had forgotten her resolution, forgotten His grace, had wandered from discipline, and had lost her former affections as a wife. Lastly therefore He reproves her with His words, calling to mind and repeating her tenderness and her expressions of affection: 'Didst Thou not call me one of Thy household, the parent and guide of Thy virginity.'

10. Wherefore for this soul, to whom through her infidelity the Word of God is dead, and this Virgin Word is dead also, He appoints grief and brings in an Intercessor, that so she may be called to penitence, and may thereby earn compassion. But she who is of prudent understanding and very beautiful to look upon, was gained for him, like Abigail, in battle; her adversaries were conquered, and her husband, he who, surrounded by spiritual wickedness, struggled and fought not to lose his beautiful wife, being dead. On her, her victorious and loving Spouse confers sweetness and grace, cleansing her from all that might obscure her beauty, and taking off from her the garments of her captivity, that so, laying aside all the hairs of her head, that is, the curls of sins, which seem to be superfluous parts of our person (for 1 Cor. xi. 14. *if a man have long hair it is a shame unto him*), she may strive to come Eph. iv. 13. *in the unity of the faith, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ*, that she may lay aside all trouble of mind, and founded in love may grow up in the Lord Jesus, and make increase of the whole body.

11. This is that soul whom the Law shews to thee under the figure of a beautiful woman, and Deut. xxi. 12. *if thou seest her among the captives, and hast a desire unto her, that thou wouldest have her to thy wife*, it says to thee, *thou shalt bring her home to thine house*, that thou mayest commit to her the whole interior of thy house, the possession of all thy secrets, that thou mayest take away her superfluities, and cut off her transgressions; and

with a razor not too sharp, lest it come to evil, may cut off the slough of thy passions, and thy idle senses. Wherefore it is said, Ib. 12. *she shall shave her head*, that so the Eccles. ii. 14. *wise man's eyes* that *are in his head* may meet with no hindrance. And Deut. xxi. 13. *she shall remain*, it is said, *in thine house a full month*, bewailing the sins of her nativity, and the lies of her wicked father the devil, who would fain Jer. xvii. 12. Vulg. *gather what he hath not laid*, that so, cleansed by the purification of this mystic number, she may obtain the keys of marriage.

12. And it is well said, Deut. xxi. 13. *After that thou shalt go in unto her*, bidding thee to enter wholly into thy soul, and collect thyself within her, and so dwell in her that thou mayest be not in the flesh but in the spirit, and purpose to associate her to thyself in the commerce of life, knowing that she will communicate to thee of her goods, and that filled with her grace thou mayest say, Wisd. viii. 19. *I was a witty child, and had a good spirit*; and she may answer thee, Cant. iii. 4. *I will take thee, and bring thee into my mother's house, and unto the chamber of her that conceived me. A good mother of souls in that Jerusalem which is in heaven.*

13. She then shall be thy wife, she shall find thee and kiss thee. Deut. xxi. 14. *And it shall be, if thou hast no delight in her*, because she chastiseth her body, and bringeth it into slavery, thou shalt not suffer her to be a slave, that is, to the lusts of the body, nor subject her to the flesh, but suffer her to remain free; thou shalt not alienate her, for this were to sell her, nor shalt thou despise her, but shalt allow her to serve God in the chastity of faith and sobriety of good works. Farewell: love me, for I love you.

LETTER XXXII. A.D. 387.

S. AMBROSE IN this Letter applies the words of Jeremiah about the partridge (Jer. xvii. 11.) to Satan, and from it sets forth the way in which Jesus Christ has overcome him, and rescued man from his power.

AMBROSE TO IRENÆUS, GREETING.

1. Jer. xvii. 11. *THE partridge hath cried, she hath gathered what she hath not hatched*[167]. From the conclusion of my last letter I may borrow the opening of the ensuing. The question has been much mooted: with a view therefore of solving it, let us consider what natural history tells us of the nature of this bird. For it is the part of no little sagacity to consider even this, for Solomon knew the nature 1 Kings iv. 33. *of beasts and of fowl, and of creeping things and of fishes*!

2. Now this bird is said to be full of craft, fraud, and guile, skilled in the ways of deceiving the fowler, and experienced in the arts of turning him aside from her young ones; omitting no artful stratagem which may draw off the pursuer from her nest and lurking place. And we know that on observing his approach, she beguiles him until she has given her offspring the signal and opportunity for flight. As soon as she perceives they have escaped, she also withdraws herself, leaving her enemy deluded by her treacherous wiles.

3. It is said also to be a bird which copulates indiscriminately, and that the male bird rushes eagerly on the female, and burns with unrestrained desires. Wherefore it has been thought suitable to compare this impure malicious and deceitful creature with the adversary and circumventor of the human race, with him who is the arch-deceiver and author of impurity.

4. *The partridge then cried*, he that is, who derives his name from destroying[168]: even Satan, which in Latin means the adversary[169]. Gen. iii. 4, 5. He cried first in Eve, he cried in Cain, Exod. v. 2. he cried in Pharaoh, in Num. xvi. 2. Dathan, Abiram, Korah. Exod. xxxii. 1. He cried in the Jews, when they demanded gods to be made for them, while the law was being given to Moses. He cried again, when they said of the Saviour, S. Matt. xxvii. 23–25. *Let Him be crucified, let Him be crucified*, and, *His blood be on us and on our children*. 1 Sam. viii. 5. He cried, when they required that a king should be given them, that they might revolt from the Lord God their King. He cried in every one who was vain and faithless.

5. And by these cries he gathered to himself a people whom he had not created; Gen. i. 27. for God made man after His own likeness and image, and the Devil drew man to himself by the allurements of his voice: He gathered to himself the nations of the Gentiles, Jer. xvii. 11. *getting riches not by right*[170]. Wherefore it is a common saying concerning the rich and covetous man, that he is a partridge gathering riches not by right. But my Jesus, as a good Judge, does all things with righteousness[171], for He came saying, as it is written, Isa. lxiii. 1. *I speak righteousness and judgement*[172] *of salvation*.

6. By that grace then He despoiled that partridge the Devil, took from him the ill-gotten riches, even the multitude that followed Him, recalled from error the souls of the Gentiles, and the minds of the nations that wandered from the way. And since He knew that they were beguiled by the voice of the Devil, and in order that He might Himself loose the bonds and chains of ancient error, Gen. iv. 10. He cried first in Abel, the voice of whose blood cried out. He cried in Moses, to whom He said, Exod. xiv. 15. *Wherefore criest thou unto Me?* Josh. i. 1. He cried in Joshua, He cried in David, who says, Ps. cxix. 146. *Unto Thee do I call, help me*. He cried too in all the Prophets. Wherefore He says also to Isaiah, Isa. xl. 6. *Cry*, and

Isaiah answers, *What shall I cry?* He cried in Solomon, calling to all with a very loud voice in the power of Wisdom, Prov. ix. 5. *Come eat of my bread, and drink of the wine which I have mingled*. He cried also in His Body, as the Hab. ii. 11. *Beam out of the timber*. He cried that He might deceive and circumvent the lurking Enemy, saying, S. Matt. xxvii. 46. *My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me*. He cried that He might spoil him of his prey, replying to the thief, S. Luke xxiii. 43. *Verily I say unto thee, this day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise*. Wherefore when Jesus cried, Jer. xvii. 11. straightway that partridge was left by those whom he had gathered *in the midst of his days*.

7. Wherefore some have thought that this also agrees with the nature of the partridge, forasmuch as it steals the eggs of others, and hatches them with its own body, seeking by this treachery to gain for itself the offspring of others. But when she whose eggs have been stolen, or nest invaded, or her young have been tempted by a fraudulent resemblance, and deceived by the appearance of beauty, when she, I say, perceives this, she ‘picks out the crow’s eyes[173]‘ as the saying is, and, being inferior in strength, puts on and arms herself with cunning. And when all the labour she has bestowed on their nurture has exhausted her store of food, and her young ones have begun to grow up, she utters her cries, and calls to her offspring with the trumpet (as it were) of affection. And they, roused by this natural sound, recognise their mother, and desert their pretended parent. And thus, seeking to gather what he has not hatched, he loses those whom he thought to bring up.

8. Not without need therefore was it that Jesus also cried; it was in order that the whole universe which had been deceived by the voice, the allurements, the art, the specious beauty of the partridge, and enticed by his treacherous wiles, and had wandered from the true Author of their being, might be recalled by the voice of her true Parent, might abandon this

deceiver, and desert him *in the midst of his days*, that is, before the end of this world. From him the Lord Jesus has rescued us, and called us to eternal life. Wherefore now, Rom. vi. 8. *being dead to the world we live to God*.

9. When then this partridge shall have been completely forsaken by his false children, then that foolish one whom God has chosen and 1 Cor. i. 27. who has confounded the wise man, will be saved. Wherefore Ib. iii. 18. *if any man seemeth to be wise in this world let him become a fool, that he may be wise*.

Farewell my son, and love me, as indeed you do, for I love you.

LETTER XXXIII.

S. AMBROSE IN this Letter explains more fully the text of Deut. (xxi. 15 &c.) which he had alluded to in Letter xxi. and makes the *two wives* represent qualities.

AMBROSE TO IRENÆUS, GREETING.

1. IN a previous letter I said that the soul ought to be delivered from its adversaries, and a bond of life which shall be inseparable entered into with it. And inasmuch as my discourse took as a proof of its assertion that passage in the Book of Deuteronomy Deut. xxi. 15. which speaks of the man who had two wives, one beloved and the other hated, you seem to have felt much concern lest any one should suppose this man had taken to himself two souls, which is impossible.

2. But you yourself know that sometimes, when Scripture uses allegory, it refers some things to the figure of the Synagogue, some to that of the Church; some things to the soul, others to the mystery of the Word, others to souls of different kinds and qualities, which he who has spiritual discernment can distinguish. And so I conceive that it is not two souls, but different qualities of the same soul, which are treated of in the following chapter of the Law. For there is an amiable kind of soul, which desires pleasure, which shuns labour, shrinks from compunction, slights the judgments of God. It is amiable because it seems gentle and sweet for the time, and one that soothes rather than distresses the mind. But there is another severer kind, which is consumed with zeal for God, which, like a strict wife, will not permit or suffer her consort to commit whoredoms, allows no indulgence to the body, gives no licence to delight or pleasure,

renounces the hidden deeds of shame, devotes herself to arduous labours and to severe perils.

3. If therefore both have borne children, Ib. 16. *he may not*, it is said, *when he maketh his sons to inherit that which he hath, make the son of the beloved first*[174] *before the son of the hated, which is indeed the first*. The meaning of which I conceive not to be so much a simple preference as between two first ones, but rather a declaration that the son of the hated wife alone has the prerogative of being first. Now the word 'primitivus' means as first-born[175], and the first-born are holy, for Exod. xiii. 2. S. Luke ii. 23. *every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy to the Lord*. Nevertheless all first-born are not holy, for Esau who was the first-born was not holy.

4. But the holy are the first-born, for it is written in Numbers; Numb. iii. 12, 13. *Behold, I have taken the Levites from among the children of Israel instead of all the first-born that openeth the matrix among the children of Israel. For on the day that I smote all the first-born in the land of Egypt, I hallowed unto Me all the first-born in Israel.* Wherefore He took the Levites for the first-born, as being holy, for we know that the holy are first-born from the Epistle to the Hebrews, where it is written, Heb. xii. 22. *But ye are come to Mount Sion, and unto the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of Angels and to the Church of the first-born*. Wherefore as the first-born of the Church are holy, so also are the Levites, for they also are the first-born. For it is not by the order of their birth but by the gift of sanctification that they are holy; Gen. xxix. 34. Levi being the third son of Leah and not the first.

5. But he who is sanctified himself opens the womb. What womb? Hear the words, Ps. lviii. 3. *As soon as they are born they go astray*. As you have understood the first-born who opens the womb, so understand here the

womb of the good mother, from which it is not saints, but sinners who go astray. But the Levites are taken away from the midst of Israel, because they have nothing in common with the people, whose earthly first-born are destroyed. The first-born of the world are of another mother, Gal. i. 15. from whose womb Paul was separated when he was called to the grace of God. He received the Word Who is in the midst of our hearts. Whence it is said also, S. John i. 26. *There standeth One among you, Whom ye know not*.

6. This digression then of ours from one part of the Law to the other, for the purpose of shewing that the first-born is not the son of the beloved, that is of the more remiss and voluptuous wife, has not been needless, although the words of the chapter before us express the same truth: Deut. xxi. 16. *He may not make the son of the beloved first-born before the son of the hated, which is indeed the first-born*. He is indeed the first-born who is the holy son of a holy mother; just as she is indeed the mother, from whose womb not her true sons but sinners go astray. Wherefore the former is not the son of the true mother, nor the true first-born, but as though he were so, subsistence is indeed provided for him that he may not want, but he is not honoured, that he may become rich. But the other has received double from all, that he may abound; Gen. xlv. 22. just as in Genesis each of the patriarchs had two changes of raiment given to them by their brother Joseph, when they were sent back to their father to tell him that he whom he had believed to be dead was found.

7. Thus the first-born has received the prerogative of inheritance, as the Scripture says, Deut. xxi. 17. *He is the beginning of his strength, the right of the first-born is his*. Thus from the first-born Son of God the first-born are holy, and from that beginning, Rev. i. 8. (for He is the Beginning and the Ending,) the beginning is called holy, the beginning is the son to whom the prerogative of the first-fruits is due, according to that which was said to

Abraham, Gen. xxi. 10. *Cast out this bondwoman and her son, for the son of this bondwoman shall not be heir with my son, even with Isaac*.

8. Now the Divine Oracle teaches us that this relates to the inheritance of virtues rather than that of mercy, for the Lord says, Ib. xxi. 12. *In all that Sarah hath said unto thee, hearken unto her voice; for in Isaac shall thy seed be called*. What other inheritance was there in Isaac which could ennoble his father, but that of sanctity? The son of the handmaid indeed he set over the Gentiles, as bestowing upon him a simple portion of his patrimony, but to the son of Sarah he gave a double portion, for on him he bestowed not only temporal but also heavenly and eternal things.

Farewell: love me, for I love you.

LETTER XXXIV.

HORONTIANUS ASKS WHETHER the soul is from heaven. S. Ambrose first refers him to the Book of Esdras, and then dwells upon S. Paul's statement in Rom. viii.

AMBROSE TO HORONTIANUS[176], GREETING.

1. YOU have enquired of me whether the soul is formed of a heavenly substance; for you are too well instructed to suppose that the soul is made of blood or fire or any harmony of nerves, as the common herd of philosophers believe, nor as that patrician sect of them, the descendants of Plato assert, does that which moves of itself and is not moved by others appear to you to be the soul, nor indeed have you approved that fifth kind of element which the keen genius of Aristotle has introduced, namely a kind of[177] perfection of which the essence of the soul might be (as it were) framed and compounded.

2. On this subject I advise you to read the book of Esdras, who despised these trifles of the philosophers, and with a deeper wisdom which he had gathered from Revelation, pointed out that the soul is of a nobler substance.

3. The Apostle also, though he has not said it in so many words, has yet given us to understand, like a good master and spiritual husbandman calling forth the faculties of his disciples by the hidden seeds of doctrine, that our souls are of a better creation and a more excellent nature. For when he says that Rom. viii. 20, 21. *the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly but by reason of Him Who hath subjected the same in hope, because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the sons of God*, he shews that the grace of souls is

not small, seeing that by their strength and excellence mankind rises to the adoption of the sons of God, having within itself that which is given to it to make it in the likeness and image of God. For souls are not perceived by truth, nor are they seen by the bodily eye, wherefore they bear upon them the likeness of this incorporeal and invisible nature, and excel in their substance corporeal and sensible qualities. *For the things that are seen are temporal*, they represent and are united to things that are temporal, but the things that are not seen are united to the Eternal and Chief Good, Acts xvii. 28. *in Him they live and move and have their being*, and suffer not themselves, if they are wise, to be separated or divided from Him.

4. Every soul therefore, seeing herself shut up in the prison-house of the body, if it be not debased by her connexion with this earthly habitation, 2 Cor. v. 4. groans under the burthen of the body to which she is joined; Wisd. ix. 15. *for the corruptible body presseth down the soul, and the earthy tabernacle weigheth down the mind that museth upon many things*, knowing also that she walks 2 Cor. v. 7, 8. *by faith not by sight*, she is willing *to be absent from the body to be present with the Lord*.

5. Let us consider then how *the creature hath been made subject to vanity, not* indeed *willingly*, but by the Divine ordinance, which has appointed that our souls should be united to our bodies on account of their hopes, in order that, hoping for good, they should make themselves worthy of a heavenly recompense. Ib. 10. *For we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things belonging to the body*[178]. Every man's soul must therefore consider that she will be rewarded according to deserts of life. And he says well *the things belonging to the body*, that is to say, the body which was assigned to her to govern, that if she have governed it well she may receive the reward for the sake of which she was subjected in hope, but if ill, she may be punished, forasmuch

as she did not trust in God, nor aspire to that adoption of sons, and to the liberty of true glory.

6. So then the Apostle has taught that man is a creature subject to vanity. For what is so truly the man as his soul? of its companions he says, 2 Cor. v. 4. *For we that are in this tabernacle do groan being burthened*. David also says, Ps. cxliv. 4. *Man is like a thing of nought*, and, Ib. xxxix. 6. *Every man living is altogether vanity*. Wherefore the life of man in this world is vanity, to which vanity the soul is subject. And when a holy man doeth the things of the body, he doeth them not willingly but *by reason of Him Who hath subjected the same in hope*, he does them for obedience sake. From this example of the soul then let us proceed to the other creatures.

7. Consider the sun the moon and the stars; these heavenly luminaries, although they shine with an excellent brightness, are yet but creatures, and rise and set in performance of their daily task, obeying the ordinance of the eternal Creator, dispensing the radiance wherewith they are clothed, and giving light by night and by day. As often as the sun is obscured by clouds, as often as is it hidden by the interposition of the earth, or when the rays of its light are intercepted, eclipses occur, and, as the Scripture saith, Ps. civ. 19. *The moon knoweth her going down*[179]. She knows when she shines with a full, and when with a diminished orb. The stars also are overclouded and disappear, while going through the service of this earthly ministry, not willingly indeed but in hope; for they hope for the reward of this their toil from Him Who subjected them. Wherefore they go through it for His sake, that is, to do His will.

8. Nor is it surprising that they bear it with patience, knowing that their Lord, the Creator of all things in heaven and in earth, took upon Him our frail body and our servile state. Should not they then patiently bear the bondage of their corruption, seeing that the Lord of all humbled Himself even to death for the whole world, took upon Him the form of a servant,

and was made the sin of the world, nay even a curse for us? Wherefore the heavenly bodies although they groan in that they are subject to the vanity of this world, yet follow the example of His goodness, and console themselves with the expectation of being *delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of glory*, when the adoption of the sons of God, that is, the redemption of all men, shall have arrived. For when Rom. xi. 25, 26. *the fulness of the Gentiles shall be come in*, then *all Israel shall be saved*. For what people will He not pardon when He even pardons that persecuting people, who said, S. John xix. 6. *Crucify Him, crucify Him*, and, S. Matt. xxvii. 25. *His blood be on us and on our children*. Rom. viii. 20. But since even the heavenly creation is subject to vanity, albeit in hope, will not He Who is truly Mercy itself and the Redeemer of the world, suffer even the perfidy and insolence into which these men through the vanity of the world have fallen to obtain pardon?

9. To conclude then, both this great and glorious sun, and this moon which is not obscured by the shades of night, and these stars which are the garniture of the heaven, all these now suffer *the bondage of corruption*, for all creatures are corruptible, and the heavens shall perish and S. Matt. xxiv. 35. *the heaven and earth pass away*. But hereafter the sun and moon and the stars of heaven shall rest in the glory of the sons of God, when God shall be 1 Cor. xv. 28. *all in all*, He Who now in His immensity and mercy is in thee and in us.

10. And shall we not believe that the Angels themselves, who in the toils of this world fulfil divers ministries, Rev. iii. 1 &c. as we read in the Revelation of S. John, do not also groan when made the ministers of vengeance and destruction? Seeing that their life is blessed, would they not rather pass it in their ancient state of tranquillity than be interrupted by the infliction of vengeance on our sins? They who rejoice in the salvation of one sinner must surely groan over the miseries of so grievous sins.

11. If therefore the creatures and powers of heaven suffer the bondage of corruption, but still in hope, that hereafter they may rejoice on our behalf and together with us, let us also alleviate the sufferings of this present time by the hope and expectation of future glory. Farewell, my son; love me, for I love you.

LETTER XXXV.

IN THIS LETTER S. Ambrose continues his comment on the passage of S. Paul, especially on the 'groans of creation.'

AMBROSE TO HORONTIANUS.

1. MY former Letter was a reply to your inquiry; this is a part of my answer, supplemental not contradictory to the former. In reviewing the latter part of the passage I was struck, I confess, with his adding, Rom. viii. 22. *we know that every creature groaneth*, seeing that previously he had said without any addition, Ib. 20. *The creature was made subject to vanity*. For he said not every creature, but, *the creature was made subject*. And again he says, Ib. 21. *Because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption*. But in the third place he adds that Ib. 22. *every creature groaneth together*.

2. Now what does this addition mean? It means haply that every creature is not *subject to vanity*, and therefore every creature will not be *delivered from the bondage of corruption*. For why should that be delivered which is free and secure from the subjection of vanity and the bondage of that corruption? But they all groan together not in their own but in our pangs, and haply are in travail together of the Spirit of Salvation, the Spirit of sweetness, waiting for the adoption of the sons of God, that in the redemption of the human race they may attain to a common joy and gladness. So then either because of their charity they all groan for our labour, or for us as a member of their body, whose head is Christ. But you may understand this as you please, either as we have said, or simply that every creature groans and travails together.

3. And now let us consider what follows. Rom. viii. 23. *And not only they, but ourselves also, which have the first-fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit the redemption of the body.* We are taught in the previous passage what the adoption of sons is; therefore, in order to explain its meaning, to that passage we must recur.

4. Ib. 13. *He who through the Spirit*, says S. Paul, *mortifies the deeds of the body shall live*. Nor is it surprising that he should live, since he who has the Spirit of God, becomes the son of God. Wherefore he is the son of God that he may receive not the spirit of bondage, but the spirit of adoption of sons; to the intent that the Holy Ib. 16. *Spirit may bear witness with our spirit that we are the children of God*. But this is the testimony of the Holy Spirit, that He it is Who cries in our hearts, Gal. iv. 6. *Abba Father*, as it is written to the Galatians. There is also the great testimony that we are the sons of God; namely that we are Rom. viii. 17. *heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ*. Now he is joint heir with Him, who is glorified together with Him, and he is glorified together with Him who by suffering for Him suffers together with Him.

5. And in order to encourage us to suffer, he adds that all things which we suffer fall far below and are not worthy to be compared with the recompense of our labours, the reward of future good, which shall be revealed in us, when we shall be formed anew after the Image of God, and shall be worthy to behold His Glory face to face.

6. And to exalt the greatness of this future revelation, he adds that the creation also waits for this revelation of the sons of God, which now is made subject to vanity, not willingly, but in hope, because it hopes for the reward of its ministry from Christ, or else because it also will be Rom. viii. 21. *delivered from the bondage of corruption*, and received into *the glorious liberty of the sons of God*, that there may be one liberty of the creation and

of the sons of God, when their glory shall have been revealed. But now, so long as this revelation is delayed, the whole creation groans together, looking for the glory of our adoption and redemption, already travailing with that Spirit of salvation, and willing to be delivered from the servitude of vanity.

7. And to this the Apostle has conjoined the groans of the saints, who have the first-fruits of the Spirit, for they groan also. Of their own merits they are indeed secure, but since the redemption of the whole body of the Church is still future, they suffer together with it. For seeing that the members of this our body still suffer, shall not the other members, although higher, sympathize with the suffering members of one and the same body?

8. And this, I suppose, is why the Apostle has said that the 1 Cor. xv. 28. *Son Himself shall be subject unto Him that put all things under Him*, for they who still labour are not yet subject, and in these perhaps Christ still thirsts, in these is still hungry, in these is still naked, in that they do not fulfil the word of God, nor put on Christ, Who is the Garment of believers, and the Robe of the faithful. They also in whom He is sick still need medicine, and therefore are not yet subdued, for this subjection is of strength not of weakness: again, in those who are strong and obey the commands of God, the Son of God is subject. But now His travail is greater in those who do not succour those who are toiling, than in those who still require aid themselves. And this is the pious and true meaning of the subjection of the Lord Jesus, Who will subject Himself, to the intent Ib. *that God might be all in all*.

9. We have received the Apostle's meaning, let us now consider who are they that Rom. viii. 23. *have the first-fruits of the Spirit*. With this view let us inquire what is intended under the name of first-fruits or of beginning, Exod. xxii. 29. *Thou shalt not delay*, it is said, Ib. xxxiv. 26. *to offer the first of thy ripe fruits, and of thy liquors*; further on, Gen. iv. 4. *The first of the*

first-fruits of thy lands thou shalt bring into the house of the Lord thy God. First-fruits and tenths are different, first-fruits are of greater merit, an act of pious consecration. And on this account Abel pleased God, for he delayed not to offer his gift, but offered of the first-fruits of his flock. Although some suppose that there is a difference between first-fruits[180] and first-born[181], in that on gathering in the crops, the beginning, so to speak, of all kinds in the threshing floor are offered, while the first reaping of the harvest is offered to the Lord; but of this we will speak in another place. But by the offering of the first-fruits, the whole harvest appears to be sanctified, but the first-fruits themselves are the most holy.

10. In like manner the saints are the first-fruits of the Lord, and the chief are the Apostles, 1 Cor. xii. 28. *for God hath set in the Church first Apostles*, who have prophesied many things and preached the Lord Jesus, for they first received Him. S. Luke ii. 28. Simeon too received Him, and the prophet Zacharias, John his son, Nathanael, S. John i. 47. *in whom there was no guile*, who rested under the fig tree, S. Luke xxiii. 53. Joseph also who was called just, who buried Him. These are the first-fruits of our faith, nevertheless the nature of other seeds is the same as that of the first-fruits, although in some there is less grace, for S. Matt. iii. 9. *God is able of these stones to raise up children to Abraham*.

11. You have an example in the Lord Jesus Himself. In the resurrection of the dead He is called Col. i. 18. *the first-born from the dead*. The Apostle also has called Him the first-fruits; 1 Cor. xv. 23. Vulg. *In Christ shall all be made alive, but every man in his own order, Christ the first-fruits, afterward they that are Christ's, who have believed in His coming*. His body is as truly a body as our own, nevertheless He is called the first-born from the dead, because He rose first; and He is called the first-fruits because He is holier than all the other fruits, and they by union with Him are hallowed also. He also as Col. i. 15. *the Image of the invisible God* is the Head of those found

after that Image; in Him according to His Divinity there is nothing corporeal, nothing temporary; for Heb. i. 3. *He is the brightness of His Father's glory, and the express Image of His Person*. But in our desire to explain the meaning of first-fruits we have greatly extended the length of our letter.

12. Now the Apostles are our first-fruits, chosen from all the first-fruits of that time; to them it is said, S. John xiv. 12. *And greater things than these shall ye do*, for the Grace of God hath poured itself into them. These, I say, groaned, waiting for the redemption of the whole body, and they still groan, because many are still toiling, who are yet tossing on the sea. Just as, if a man is reaching the higher shore, but the waves still dash up to his middle, he groans and is in travail until he be wholly out of danger. Verily he groans, who still says to us, 2 Cor. xi. 29. *Who is weak, and I am not weak?*

13. We need not then to be perplexed by the words, Rom. viii. 23. *We, which have the first-fruits of the Spirit, groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit the redemption of our body*, for the sense is plain, forasmuch as they, having the first-fruits of the Spirit, groan, waiting for the adoption of sons. This adoption of sons is the redemption of the whole body, when he who is to be the son of God by adoption shall see face to face that Divine and Eternal Good; for there is the adoption of sons in the Church of God, when the Spirit cries, Gal. iv. 6. *Abba, Father*, as it is written to the Galatians. But this will be perfected when all shall rise again in incorruption power and glory who are counted worthy to see the Face of God, for then the human race will judge itself to be truly redeemed. And so the Apostle boasts, saying, Rom. viii. 24. *For we are saved by hope*. For hope saves, as also faith, whereof it is said, S. Luke xviii. 42. *Thy faith hath saved thee*.

14. Therefore the creature which *is made subject to vanity not willingly but in hope*, is saved by hope; just as Paul too, knowing that *to die was gain*

to him, that he might be freed from the body and be with Christ, Phil. i. 24. remained in the flesh for their sakes whom he wished to win to Christ. Now what is hope but the expectation of things future? Wherefore he says, Rom. viii. 24. *But the hope that is seen is not hope*. For it is not what is seen but what is unseen that is eternal, *for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for?* The things that we see we seem to possess, how then can we hope for that which we already possess? Thus none of those things which we hope for can we see; 1 Cor. ii. 9. *eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, the things that God hath prepared for them that love Him*.

15. Wherefore, if that which is seen cannot be hoped for, it is not well to read as some do, 'for[182] because any one sees a thing he also hopes for it;' unless it may be understood thus, 'for that which any one sees, why does he also hope for or expect it?' For most true it is that we hope for that which we see not, and therefore, although it seem to be absent from us, we still look for it in patience; Ps. xl. 1. *I waited patiently for the Lord, and He inclined unto me*. And we wait patiently, because Lament. iii. 25. *the Lord is good unto them that wait for Him*. And it seems to agree with this, that through patience He has given it back to us. We wait for the things which we hope for, but see not. For he does much who hopes and looks for those things which are not seen, and endures because he directs his mind to that which is.

16. Now it is well said that Rom. viii.24. *hope that is seen is not hope*, referring to the power and honour and riches of this world. You may see a man distinguished by his retinue and equipages, but he has not hope in his equipages which are seen. Nor is hope in the firmament of heaven, but in the Lord of heaven. The Chaldæan has not hope in the stars which he watches; nor the rich man in his possessions or the avaricious man in usury; but he hath hope who places his hope in Him Whom he sees not, that is, in the Lord Jesus, S. John i. 26. Who stands in the midst of us, yet is not seen.

Finally, 1 Cor. ii. 9. *eye hath not seen, nor ear heard the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him*.

LETTER XXXVI.

S. AMBROSE CONTINUES, in reply to a question of Horontianus, his discussion of the passage of S. Paul, and explains what are his ‘groanings unutterable.’

AMBROSE TO HORONTIANUS.

1. OUR letters are so linked together that we seem to be holding actual conversation with one another, so well do you with your question and I with my explanations supply subject matter for our correspondence.

2. You have intimated your doubt of what spirit it is said that he Rom. viii. 26. *maketh intercession for us with groanings that cannot be uttered*. Let us then refer to what has gone before, that the passage may make plain what we are seeking. *Likewise*, it is said, *the Spirit helpeth our infirmities*. Does it not seem to you that this is the Holy Spirit, for He is our Helper, as He to Whom it is said, Ps. xxvii. 9. *Thou hast been my succour, leave me not neither forsake me, O God of my salvation*?

3. For what other Spirit could teach Paul how to pray? The Spirit of Christ, like Christ Himself, S. Luke xi. 1. teaches His disciples to pray, for who could teach us, after Christ, but His Spirit, Whom He sent to teach us, and to direct our prayers, 1 Cor. xiv. 15. *for we pray with the Spirit and we pray with the understanding also*. That the understanding may pray well, the Spirit goes before and Ps. cxliii. 10. *leads it forth into the right way*, so as to prevent carnal things, or what either falls below or exceeds its strength, from secretly stealing over it. 1 Cor. xii. 7. *For the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal.* It is written also, S. Matt.

vi. 33. Seek great things, and small things shall be added unto you; seek heavenly things, and earthly things shall be added unto you.

4. Wherefore He wishes us to seek greater things, not to linger upon earth. And He knows what to bestow upon us, 1 Cor. xii. 11. *dividing unto every man severally as He will*. Sometimes, knowing our capacity, which we are ignorant of, He says to us, *Ye cannot receive it now*. I ask for myself the sufferings of martyrdom, S. Matt. xxvi. 41. *the* Holy *Spirit is willing*, but sees the weakness of my flesh, and lest, while I seek for greater things I should lose what is less, says to me, 'Thou canst not bear this.' What opportunities have I not had and yet when near the goal I have been held back[183]. The good physician knows what food is suitable to each disease, and to each season, for the benefit of health. Sometimes food seasonably taken restores health; but if a man eat food unseasonably or of an improper kind, it is dangerous to him.

5. Therefore since we know not what to pray for, nor how to pray, the Holy Spirit prays for us; for He is the Spirit of Jesus our Advocate, and He prays with groans unutterable, for Christ also mourns for us. And God the Father says, Jer. iv. 19. *My bowels, My bowels, I am pained at the very heart*. We often read too of Him as being indignant and grieved. He groans to take away our sins, and to teach us to do penance. For there are pious groans, and of prevailing power with God, whereof the Prophet speaks, Ps. xxxviii. 9. *And my groaning is not hid from Thee*. For he did not hide himself, like Adam, but said, Behold I am the shepherd, 1 Chron. xxi. 17. *but these sheep, what have they done? it is I that have sinned, let Thine hand be on me*.

6. Hence then cometh the groaning of the Spirit of God, and those groans of the Prophet[184], truly unutterable because they are divine. So those words which Paul heard in heaven are 2 Cor. xii. 4. *unspeakable, which it is not lawful for a man to utter*, but what is hidden from man is known to God.

Now He Who is the Searcher of hearts Rom. viii. 27. knows all things, but the things which He searches are those which the Spirit hath cleansed. God therefore knoweth what the Spirit prays for, and what is the wisdom of the Spirit Which intercedes for the saints, as it is written, Ib. *For the Spirit maketh intercession for us*. For those for whom Christ suffered, and whom He cleansed by His Blood, for them the Spirit also intercedes.

Farewell: love me as a Son, for I too love you.

LETTER XXXVII. A.D. 387.

SIMPLICIAN, TO WHOM this and the following Letters, and several later ones, are addressed, seems, from what little we know of him, to have been a very learned and yet simple-minded man. He was older than S. Ambrose, who speaks in this Letter of his ‘fatherly love’ towards himself, and was probably his adviser in the early days of his episcopate, and possibly, as the Benedictine Editors, (note on Letter lxv,) suggest, his ‘father in the faith,’ as having prepared him for his ordination, or even taught him as a catechumen at Rome in earlier days. Paulinus tells us that when S. Ambrose was on his death-bed he overheard some of his Clergy discussing the probabilities as to his successor, and when they mentioned Simplician’s name, he said “as if he were taking part in the convention, ‘Trahitur autem sapientia de occultis.’” Certainly Simplician was unanimously chosen his successor.

In this Letter he dwells in detail upon the theme that goodness is true freedom and sin slavery, which he illustrates at great length and with much rarity of argument. It is one of the most interesting of his expository Letters.

AMBROSE TO SIMPLICIAN, GREETING

1. WHEN we were lately conversing together, in the intimacy of an old-standing affection, you let me see that you were much pleased by my taking a passage from the writings of the Apostle Paul to preach upon to the people. You said further that this was the case, because the depth of his counsels is difficult to grasp, while the loftiness of his sentiment rouses the audience, and stimulates the preacher; and also because his discourses are so fully, for the most part, the interpreters of his meaning, that the

expounder of them finds nothing to add of his own, and, if he would say ought, fills the part of a critic rather than of a preacher.

2. However since I recognize herein the feelings of long friendship, and what is still more precious, the tenderness of your paternal regard, (for in length of attachment many may participate, but in paternal love they cannot;) since moreover you consider that I have already done what you ask satisfactorily, I will comply with what you desire, and that the more, as I am admonished and stimulated by my own example, an example not difficult for me to follow, since I shall imitate no great one, but myself only, thus returning to my own humble customs.

3. As to the plan pursued in my discourse, seeing that the image and character of the blessed life is delineated therein, I think I have so arranged the argument of it that it will not be disapproved by others, certainly not by yourself who are so partial to me, although it is more difficult to satisfy your judgment than theirs, only your affection softens its severity and renders it more indulgent to me.

4. Now this Letter, written as it is in your absence, has for its subject the sentence of the Apostle Paul, who calls us from slavery into liberty, saying, 1 Cor. vii. 23. *Ye are bought with a price, be not ye the servants of men*, shewing that our liberty lies in the knowledge of wisdom. This opinion has been bandied to and fro by philosophers in energetic discussions, while they assert that every wise man is free and every fool a slave.

5. But this was said long before by the son of David, Ecclus. xxvii. 11. *The fool changeth as the moon*. The wise man on the other hand is not dispirited by fear, nor changed by power, nor exalted by prosperity, nor cast down by sadness; for where wisdom is, there also is strength of mind, constancy, and fortitude. Now the wise man remains the same in mind, neither depressed nor exalted by the vicissitudes of things, he is not Eph. iv. 14. *tossed to and fro as a child, and carried about with every wind of*

doctrine, but continues perfect in Christ, grounded in charity, rooted in faith. Hence he is not conscious of failure, he knows not the various losses which befal the soul, but S. Matt. xiii. 43. *shall shine forth as the Sun of righteousness Who shines in the kingdom of His Father*.

6. But let us now consider from what source Philosophy more fully derived this, from what discipline and wisdom of the Patriarchs. Did it not come first from Noah who, perceiving that his son Ham had foolishly derided the nakedness of his father, cursed him in these words, Gen. ix. 25. *Cursed be Ham*[185]*, a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren*, and set his brethren as lords over him, seeing that they had wisely deemed their fathers old age worthy of honour?

7. Did not also that source of all good discipline, Jacob, who on account of his wisdom was preferred to his elder brother, instil into the breasts of all the riches of this copious subject? Gen. xxvii. 29. So also the pious father, whose paternal affection was equally strong towards his two sons, although his judgment varied, (for while the ties of blood sway the affections, our judgments are formed according to desert,) and who therefore dispensed to the one grace, to the other mercy, to the wise grace, to the foolish mercy, seeing that Esau could not raise himself to virtue by his own proper strength nor make progress spontaneously, blessed him in rendering him the subject and servant of his brother, shewing thereby that folly was so much worse than slavery that slavery itself is a remedy for it; because a fool cannot govern himself, and unless he has some director he falls by his own will.

8. His father therefore, loving him and careful for his welfare, made him the servant of his brother that he might be ruled by his counsels. And thus wise rulers are given to an indiscreet nation, that by their vigour they may guide the weakness of the people, ruling them by a show of power, and by this weight of authority constraining them against their wills to obey those wiser than themselves, and to submit to the laws. On the foolish son

therefore he laid a yoke as on one untamed, and to him who had said he would live by his sword he denied even freedom; that he might not fall away through presumption he set his brother over him, that being subdued by his authority and governance he might make progress towards conversion. And since there are two kinds of service, (for that which proceeds from necessity is weaker, that from free will stronger, for that good is more transcendent which proceeds not from necessity but from free will,) he therefore first laid upon him the yoke of necessity, and afterwards imparted to him the blessing of voluntary subjection.

9. It is not then nature which makes a person a slave, but folly; not manumission which sets free, but discipline. Esau was born free, and was made a servant, Joseph was sold into slavery, and then elected to power, to rule over those who bought him. He disdained not to be sedulous and obedient, but he maintained the height of virtue, he preserved the liberty of innocence, the dignity of integrity. The Psalmist therefore says well, Ps. cv. 18. *Joseph was sold to be a bond-servant; they humbled his feet in fetters*. *He was sold*, it is said, *to be a bond-servant*, but they could not make him a bond-servant; *they humbled his feet*, not his soul.

10. For how was that soul humbled of which it is said: *His soul pierced the iron*? For while sin pierces the souls of others, (for *the iron* means sin, which has a penetrating power,) the soul of holy Joseph was so far from being vulnerable by sin that it pierced through sin itself. The blandishments of his mistress' charms moved him not, and with reason was he insensible to the flames of lust, seeing that he was consumed by the brighter fire of Divine grace. It is therefore well said of him also, Ib. 19. *The word of the Lord inflamed him*; for thereby Eph. vi. 16. *he quenched the fiery darts of the Devil*.

11. How was he a bond-servant who directed the princes of the people to store up the corn, Gen. xli. 48. that thus they might forestall and provide for

future dearth? Or how was he a bond-servant, Ib. xlvii. 20. who gained the whole land, and reduced all the Egyptians to bondage? And this, not in order to impose upon them the condition of an ignoble bondage, but that he might establish a tribute from all but the lands of the priesthood, which he preserved free from tribute, Ib. 22. that among the Egyptians also respect for the priesthood might be held inviolable.

12. His being sold then did not make him a slave; for though of a truth he was sold to merchants, yet, if you regard price merely, you will find many who have bought for themselves maidens of an elegant form, and then, captivated by love, have basely enslaved themselves to them. 1 Esdr. iv. 29, 30, 31. *Apame the concubine of King Darius was once seen sitting at his right hand, taking his diadem off his head, and placing it on her own, and with the palm of her left hand striking his face, while the King gazed upon her with open mouth, glad if she would only smile upon him, and thinking himself miserable and afflicted if she scorned him, laying aside his authority, and seeking to soothe and persuade her to be reconciled to him.*

13. But why should I quote this at so great a length? Do we not often see parents who have been made slaves by pirates or cruel barbarians ransomed by their children? Are then the laws of mercy more powerful than the laws of nature? Is natural affection produced in slavery? People often buy lions and yet have no mastery over them, nay are so much their slaves that if they see them becoming enraged and shaking out their manes on their brawny necks, they run away and hide themselves. Money then determines nothing, for it often buys masters over itself, nor do catalogues of auctions, for by them the purchaser himself is often sold and allotted to another. A contract of sale does not change a man’s nature, nor deprive wisdom of her liberty. Many free men, as it is written, serve a wise servant, and Prov. xvii. 2.LXX. *there is a wise slave, who governs foolish masters*.

14. Whom then do you consider as more truly free? Wisdom alone is free, she sets the poor over the rich, and makes the servants lend at usury to their to their own masters; lend, that is, not money but understanding, lend the talent of that Divine and eternal Treasure which is never wasted, the mere loan of which is precious: to lend that mystical money of the heavenly oracles of which the Law says, Deut. xv. 6. *Thou shalt lend unto many nations, but thou shalt not borrow*. This the Jew lent to the Gentiles, for he received not instruction from them but imparted it; to him the Lord opened His treasures, that He might moisten the Gentiles with the dew of His Word, and might become the Head of the nations, while He Himself had no head over Him.

15. He then who is wise is free, bought with the price of the heavenly oracles, with that gold, that silver of the Divine Word; bought with the price of blood (for it is no small thing to acknowledge one's Redeemer;) bought with the price of Grace: he who heard and understood the words, Is. lv. 1. *Ho every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money, come ye, buy and drink and eat*.

16. He is free who going forth to war, if he have seen a beautiful woman, and when he spoils his enemies' goods has found her among them and Deut. xxi. 11. *has a desire unto her, takes her to wife*, having first *shaved her head and pared her nails, and taken off from her the raiment of her captivity*, taking her no longer as a slave but free, for he understands that prudence and discipline are not liable to a state of bondage. And therefore the Law says, Deut. xxi. 14. *Thou shalt not sell her at all for money*, for truly she is above all price. And Job says, Job xxviii. 18, 19. *Take*[186] *wisdom into thine inmost parts. The topaz of Ethiopia shall not equal it*, for it is more precious than gold and silver.

17. Freedom therefore is not his alone who has never had the auctioneer for his master, nor seen him raising his finger, but he is more truly free, who

is free within himself, who is free by the laws of nature, knowing that this law has a moral not merely an arbitrary sanction, and that the measure of its obligations is in accordance not with the will of man but with the discipline of nature. Does such a person therefore seem to you free merely? Does he not rather appear to you in the light of a censor and director of morals? Hence the Scripture says truly that *the poor shall be set over the rich, and private men over those who administer the state*[187].

18. Think you that he is free who buys votes with money, who courts the applause of the people more than the approbation of the wise? Is he free who is swayed by the popular breath, who dreads the hisses of the populace? That is not liberty which he who is manumitted receives, which he obtains as a gift from the blow of the lictor's palm. For it is not munificence but virtue that I hold to constitute liberty; liberty, which is not bestowed by the suffrages of others, but is won and possessed by a man's own greatness of mind. For a wise man is always free, always honoured, always one who presides over the laws 1 Tim. i. 9. *For the law is not made for the righteous but for the unrighteous*, for the just man is a law unto himself, having no need to fetch for himself from a distance the form of virtue, seeing that he bears it within his heart, having *the works of the law written on the tablets of his heart*, to whom it is said, Prov. v. 15. *Drink waters out of thine own cistern, and running waters out of thine own well*. For what is so near to us as the Word of God? This word is in our hearts, and in our mouth; we see it not, and yet possess it.

19. The wise man therefore is free, for he who does that which he wills is free. But it is not every will that is good, but it is the part of a wise man to will all things which are good, for he hates what is evil, having chosen that which is good. If therefore he has chosen what is good, he whose choice is free and who has chosen what he will do is free, for he does what he wills to do: the wise man therefore is free. All that the wise man does he does well.

But he that does all things well does all things rightly, and he that does all things rightly does them all without offence or reproach, without causing disturbance or loss to himself. Whoever then has this power of doing all things without offence or reproach, without loss or disturbance to himself, does nothing foolishly but does all things wisely. For he who acts wisely has nothing to fear, for fear is in sin. But where no fear is, there is liberty, and where liberty is, there is the power of doing what one wishes: the wise man therefore alone is free.

20. He who can neither be compelled nor forbidden is no slave; now it belongs to the wise man to be neither compelled nor forbidden; the wise man, therefore, is not a slave. Now he is forbidden who does not execute what he desires, but what does the wise man desire but the things which belong to virtue and discipline, without which he cannot exist? For they subsist in him, and cannot be separated from him. But if they are separated from him he is no longer wise, seeing that he is without the use and discipline of virtue, of which he would deprive himself if he were not the voluntary interpreter of virtue. But if he be constrained, it is manifest that he acts unwillingly. Now in all actions there are either corrections proceeding from virtue, or falls proceeding from malice, or things between the two and indifferent. The wise man follows virtue not compulsorily but voluntarily, for all things that are pleasing he does, as flying from malice, and admits not so much as a dream of it. So far is he from being moved by things indifferent, that no forces have the power to move him hither and thither as they do the herd of men, but his mind hangs as in a balance in equal scales, so that it neither inclines to pleasure, nor in any respect directs its desires however slightly to things which ought to be avoided, but remains unmoved in its affections. Whence it appears that the wise man does nothing unwillingly or by compulsion, because were he a slave he would be so compelled; the wise man therefore is free.

21. The Apostle likewise gives this definition, saying, 1 Cor. ix. 1. *Am I not an Apostle, am I not free?* Truly he was so free that when certain persons had Gal. ii. 4. *come in privily to spy out his liberty*, he *gave place*, as he himself says, *by subjection, no not for an hour, that the truth of the Gospel might be preached*. He therefore who yielded not preached voluntarily. Where free will is, there is the reward of free will; where obligation is, there is the service of obligation. Free will therefore is better than obligation; to will is the part of the wise man, to obey and to serve is the part of the fool.

22. This is also the Apostle's definition, who says, 1 Cor. ix. 17. *For if I do this thing willingly, I have a reward: but if against my will a dispensation is committed to me*. On the wise man therefore a reward is conferred, but the wise man acts willingly, according to the Apostle therefore the wise man is free. Wherefore he also exclaims, Gal. v. 13. *Ye have been called unto liberty, only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh*. He separates the Christian from the Law, that he may not seem to yield to the Law against his will; he calls him to the Gospel, which the willing both preach and practise. The Jew is under the Law, the Christian is by the Gospel; in the Law is bondage, in the Gospel, where is the knowledge of wisdom, is liberty. Every one therefore who receives Christ is wise, and he who is wise is free, every Christian therefore is both wise and free.

23. But the Apostle has taught me something even beyond freedom itself, namely that to serve is real freedom, 1 Cor. ix. 19. *Though I be free from all*, he says, *yet have I made myself servant unto all, that I might gain the more*. What is that which surpasses liberty but to have the Spirit of grace, to have charity? Liberty renders us free to men, but charity renders us beloved by God. Wherefore Christ also says, S. John xv. 15. *But I have called you friends*. Good indeed is charity; whereof it is said, Gal. v. 13. *By*

love of the Spirit[188] *serve one another*. Christ also became a servant that He might make all free. Ps. lxxxi. 6. LXX. *His hands served in the baskets*: He Who Phil. ii. 6. *thought it not robbery to be equal with God, took upon Him the form of a servant*, and was made all things to all men, that He might bring salvation to all. Following this example, Paul was both, as it were, under the Law, and lived without the Law, for the benefit of those whom he desired to gain: to the weak he voluntarily became weak that he might strengthen them; 1 Cor. ix. 24, 27. *he ran so as to obtain, he kept under his body that he might be victorious over heavenly powers in Christ*.

24. To the wise man therefore even bondage is freedom; whence we may gather that even to be in power is bondage to the fool, and what is worse, while he rules over a few, he serves more and severer masters. For he serves his own passions, his own lusts, their tyranny he can escape neither by night nor day, for he carries these masters within his own breast, and suffers within himself an intolerable bondage. For there is a double bondage, one of the body, another of the soul; now the lords of the body are men, but the lords of the soul are evil dispositions and passions, from which liberty of the mind alone frees the wise man and enables him to depart from his bondage.

25. Let us seek therefore that truly wise man, that truly free man, who although he live under the dominion of many, says freely, Job xiii. 19–21. *Who is he that will plead with me? from Whose sight I shall not be able to hide myself, only do Thou withdraw Thy hand far from me, and let not Thy dread make me afraid*.

26. And King David, who followed him, said, Ps. li. 6. *Against Thee only have I sinned*. For being supported by the royal dignity, and being, so to speak, master of the laws, he was not subject to them but was liable to God alone, Who is the Lord of hosts.

27. Hear another free man; 1 Cor. iv. 3, 4. *But with me it is a very small thing that I should be judged of you, or of man's judgment: yea, I judge not mine own self*, for I know nothing *against* myself, ... *but He that judgeth me is the Lord*. The freedom of the spiritual man is a true freedom, because 1 Cor. ii. 15. *he judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man*, because he knows himself to be subject to nothing which has any participation in the creature, but to God alone, Who only is without sin, of Whom Job also says, Job xxvii. 2. *God liveth Who hath taken away my judgment*, for the just man can only be judged by Him Ib. xxv. 5. *in Whose sight the heavens are not clean, nor the light of the stars pure and clean*.

28. Will any one bring forward those verses of Sophocles which say 'Jupiter, and no mortal man is ruler over me?' How much more ancient is Job, how much older is David? Let them acknowledge then that they have borrowed from us the more excellent of their sayings.

29. Who then is wise but he who has arrived at the very mysteries of the Godhead, and has known the hidden things of wisdom to be manifested to him. He then alone is wise who has taken God as his guide, to conduct him to the secret resting-place of truth, and although but a mortal man has become by grace the heir and successor of the eternal God, and partaker, as it were, of His sweetness, as it is written, Ps. xlv. 8. *Wherefore God, even thy God hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows*.

30. Now if any man will examine more closely these matters, he will perceive what great assistance the wise man finds and what great obstacles the foolish, in the very same things; that to the one freedom is an aid, to the other bondage is an impediment. For the wise man rises as a conqueror, having vanquished and triumphed over lust, fear, sloth, sadness and other vices. This he does until he casts them out from the possession of his mind, driving and excluding them from all its bounds and limits, for as a cautious general he knows how to guard against the incursions of robbers, and those

hostile stratagems which the wicked enemies of our soul are frequently attempting with their fiery darts; for we have both wars in peace and peace in war. Whence also he says, 2 Cor. vii. 5. *Without were fightings, within were fears*. But Rom. viii. 37. *in all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us*. He says this because he was terrified neither by straits nor persecutions, nor hunger, nor danger, nor death.

31. But he who fears these things, who dreads death, how is he not a slave? Truly he is a slave, and that in a miserable bondage; for nothing so subjects the mind to all kind of bondage as the fear of death. For how can the abject and vile and ignoble sense raise itself up, when it is deeply sunk in the pit of corruption, through the lusts of this life. Behold, how much he is a slave: Gen. iv. 14. *I shall be hid*, he says, *and I shall be a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth, and it shall come to pass that every one that findeth me shall slay me*. Therefore as a slave he received a sign, but even thus he could not escape death. Thus the sinner is a slave to fear, to cupidity, to avarice, to lust, to malice, to anger, nay, he is a greater slave than if he were set under tyrants.

32. But they are free who live by the laws. Now true law is right reason, true law not sculptured on tablets, nor engraved in brass, but impressed on the mind, and fixed in the senses; for the wise man is not under the law, but is a law unto himself, bearing the work of the Law in his heart, inscribed and formed therein by a kind of pen natural to himself. Are we then so blind as not to see the manifest characters of things, and the images of virtues? And how unworthy is it that whole nations should obey human laws, that they may become thereby partakers of liberty: but that wise men should neglect and abandon the true law of nature formed according to the image of God, and true reason, the sign-bearer of liberty; since there is so much liberty therein, that when children we are unconscious of any bondage to

vice, being removed from anger, free from avarice, ignorant of lust. How miserable therefore, that we who are born in liberty should die in bondage!

33. But this arises from the levity of our mind and the infirmity of our character; because we are occupied by idle cares, and superfluous actions: but the heart of the wise man, his works and deeds, ought to be stedfast and immoveable. Moses taught us this, Exod. xvii. 12. when his hands became heavy, so that Joshua the son of Nun could scarcely hold them up. And therefore the people were victorious when works not of a perfunctory kind, but full of gravity and virtue were being carried on, not the works of a mind unsteady, and staggering to and fro in its affections, but of one firmly rooted and established. The wise man therefore stretches out his hands, but the fool draws them together, as it is written, Eccles. iv. 5 *The fool foldeth his hands together, and eateth his own flesh*, meditating on carnal more than spiritual things. But not so did that daughter of Juda, who stretched forth her hands and cried to the Lord Susanna 43. *Thou knowest that they have borne false witness against me*. She thought it better not to sin and to incur the calumnies of her accusers, than to commit sin under the veil of impunity. And by the contempt of death she preserved her innocence. Not so, either, the daughter of Jepthah, Judges xi. 36. who by her own consent confirmed and even encouraged her father's vow concerning her own immolation.

34. For I will not produce the books of philosophers on the contempt of death, or the gymnosophists of the Indians, of whom the answer of Calanus[189] to Alexander, when he commanded him to follow him, is especially commended. 'To what praise' said he 'do you consider me entitled, that you require me to travel to Greece, if I can be compelled to do that to which my will consents not?' A reply truly full of dignity, and yet his mind was more full of liberty. He wrote this letter also.

CALANUS TO ALEXANDER.

35. “Your friends persuade you to lay hands and even constraint on the Indian philosophers, not even in their dreams beholding our works. Our bodies you may remove from place to place, our souls you cannot compel to do what they do not will, no more than wood or stone to utter sounds. A great fire burns pain into living bodies and begets corruption; on this fire we are, for we are burning alive. There is neither king nor prince who can compel us to do what we have not determined to do. Nor are we like the philosophers of Greece, who have conceived words rather than realities, in order to give celebrity to their opinions; in our case realities are associated with words and words with realities; our acts are swift and our discourses short, we enjoy a delightful freedom in the exercise of virtue.”

36 and 37. Excellent words, but still words; excellent constancy, but that of a man; excellent letter, but that of a philosopher. But amongst us, even maidens through desire of death have mounted even up to heaven by the lofty steps of virtue. Why should I mention Thecla, Agnes, or Pelagia, who sprouting forth as noble tendrils[190] have hastened to death as if to immortality? The virgin exulted among lions, and dauntlessly beheld the roaring beasts. And to compare our history with that of the Indian philosophers, what Calanus boasted in words holy Laurence proved by his acts, for he was burnt alive, and surviving the flames said, ‘Turn me and eat me.’ Nor did the youths of the race of Abraham[191] or the sons of the Maccabees strive less boldly; the former sung while in the midst of the flames, and the latter, during their punishment, asked not to be spared, but reproached their persecutor in order to enrage him more. The wise man therefore is free.

38. But what can be more sublime than holy Pelagia, who was surrounded by persecutors, but before she came into their presence said; ‘I die willingly, no man shall touch me, no one with wanton look shall defile my chastity, I will carry away with me my modesty, my honour untainted;

these ruffians shall reap no profit from their insolence. Pelagia will follow Christ, no man shall deprive her of her liberty, no man shall see her free faith made captive, her illustrious chastity, her inheritance of wisdom. What is enslaved shall remain here, not amenable to any duty.' Great therefore is the freedom of that pious virgin, who encircled by her persecutors gave way not the least in the midst of these great dangers to her integrity and her life.

39. But he is not free over whom anger reigns, for he is subject to the yoke of sin; for Prov. xxix. 22. stirreth up strife. E.V. *an angry man diggeth out sin*, and, S. John viii. 34. *Whosoever committeth sin, is the servant of sin*. Neither is he free who is enslaved to avarice, for he cannot possess his vessel. Neither is he free who seeing his desires and pleasures, fluctuates in his devious course. He is not free who is bowed down by ambition, for he obeys the rule of another. But he is free who is able to say, 1 Cor. vi. 12, 13. *All things are lawful unto me, but all things are not expedient, all things are lawful for me, but I will not be brought under the power of any. Meats for the belly, and the belly for meats.* He is free who says, 1 Cor. x. 29. *For why is my liberty judged of another man's conscience?*

40. Liberty therefore belongs to the wise man not to the fool; for Prov. xxvi. 8. *he who binds a stone in a sling is like him who giveth honour to a fool*, for he wounds himself, and while brandishing his dart chiefly endangers his own body. Certainly as he is stung by the sling, and by the falling of the stone the evil is increased, so the fall of a fool when he is set at liberty is more rapid. Wherefore the power of a fool is rather to be retrenched than any new liberty added, for slavery is suitable for him. And therefore it is added, Ib. 9. *As a thorn goeth up into the hand of a drunkard, so is a parable in the mouth of fools*. For as he is wounded by his cups, so is the fool by his deeds. The one by drinking involves himself in sin, the other by acting subjects himself to censure, and by his deeds is drawn into

bondage. Paul saw himself Rom. vii. 23. *brought into captivity by the law of sin*, and therefore, in order to be freed, he fled to the grace of liberty.

41. Fools then are not free, for it is said to them, Ps. xxxii. 10. *Be ye not like to horse and mule, which have no understanding, whose mouths must be held with bit and bridle lest they fall upon thee. Great plagues remain for the ungodly*; for they have need of these, in order that their folly may be restrained. It is good discipline which requires this, not severity. Further, Prov. xiii. 24. *he that spareth his rod hateth his son*: for a man's own sins scourge him still more severely. For heavy is the weight of crime, heavy the scourges of sin; they are heavy as a sore burthen, Ps. xxxviii. 4, 5. they inflict wounds upon the soul, and make the ulcers of the mind to stink.

42. Wherefore let us lay aside this grievous burthen of slavery, let us renounce sensuality, and the evil delights which bind us with the bonds, as it were, of lusts, and fetter us with chains. For these delights profit not the fool, and whoever has given himself to them from his boyhood will abide in bondage; living he will be as dead. Let sensuality then be cut down, let evil delights be pruned away, and let him who has been wanton bid farewell to his former courses. For the vine which has been cut down bears fruit, that which has been partly pruned puts forth leaves, that which has been neglected grows too luxuriantly. Therefore it is written, Prov. xxiv. 30. *Like a field is the foolish man, and like a vineyard the man void of understanding*; if you leave him alone, he will become desolate. Let us then tend this body of ours, let us chasten it, let us reduce it to subjection, let us not neglect it.

43. For our members are Rom. vi. 13. *instruments of righteousness*, they are also *instruments of sin*. If they are raised upwards, they are instruments of righteousness, that sin should not reign in them: if our body has died to sin, transgression will not reign therein, and our members will be free from sin. Let us not therefore obey its lusts, nor Ib. *yield our members*

instruments of unrighteousness unto sin. If you have looked upon a woman to lust after her, your members are the instruments of sin. If you have spoken and solicited her, your tongue and your mouth are instruments of sin. If you have removed the landmarks which your fathers set up, your members are instruments of sin. If you have hasted Ps. xiv. 6. *with swift feet to shed the blood* of the innocent, your members are instruments of sin.

44. On the other hand, if you have seen a poor man, and taken him into your house, your members are instruments of righteousness. If you have rescued one who was suffering wrong, or one who was being led to execution; if you have cancelled the bond of the debtor, your members are instruments of righteousness. If you have confessed Christ (for Prov. xiv. 7. *the lips of knowledge are the instruments of understanding*,) your lips are the members of righteousness. He who can say, Job xxix. 15. *I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame, I was a father to the poor*, his members are members of righteousness.

45. Being therefore set free from sin, and redeemed, as it were, at the price of the Blood of Christ, let us not be made subject to the bondage of men or of passion. Let us not blush to confess our sins. Behold how free he was who could say, Job xxxi. 33. *I feared not the multitude of the people; that I should not confess my sin in the sight of all*. For he that confesses his sin is released from servitude, and Prov. xviii. 17. *the just accuses himself in the beginning of his speech*. Not the free but the just man also; but justice is in liberty and liberty in confession, for as soon as a man shall confess he is absolved. Lastly, Ps. xxxii. 6. *I said I will confess my sins unto the Lord, and so Thou forgavest the wickedness of my sin*. The delay of absolution depends on confessing, the remission of sins follows closely on confession. He therefore is wise who confesses; he is free whose sin is remitted, for he contracts now no debt of guilt. Farewell: love me as indeed you do, for I also love you.

LETTER XXXVIII. A.D. 387.

IN THIS LETTER S. Ambrose continues the subject, maintaining that the truly wise man is not only free but rich also, illustrating his statements with instances from the Old Testament.

AMBROSE TO SIMPLICIAN, GREETING.

1. WHEN we lately pointed out, taking our theme from the epistle of the Apostle Paul, that every wise man is free, we seemed to have fallen into philosophical discussion. But afterwards, in reading the epistle of the Apostle Peter, I perceived that every wise man is also rich: and this he says without distinction of sex, for he writes that all a woman's ornaments consist in a virtuous life, not in costly jewels, 1 S. Pet. iii. 3, 4. *Whose adorning*, he says, *is not that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel, but the hidden man of the heart*.

2. Here then are two things, both that there is a man within the man, and that he is rich who seeks not for himself the enjoyment of any riches. And he has well said, *the man of the heart*, in that the whole man of wisdom is hidden, as is wisdom itself, which is not seen but understood. No one before Peter used such an expression as, *the man of the heart*; for the outward man consists of many members, but the inward man of the heart is entirely full of wisdom, full of grace, full of beauty.

3. 1 S. Pet. iii. 4. *In that*, he says, *which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price*. And he is truly rich, who can appear rich in the sight of God, in whose sight the earth is small, the world itself is narrow, but God considers

him only to be rich who is rich for eternity, who lays up the fruit not of riches, but of virtues. And who is rich before God but that meek and quiet spirit which is never corrupted? Does not he appear to you to be rich, who possesses peace of mind and the tranquillity of rest? who desires nothing, is not tossed by the storms of lust, despises not old things, seeks not new, so as by his constant desire to become poor in the midst of riches?

4. That peace is truly rich, which Phil. iv. 7. *passeth all understanding*. Peace is rich, modesty is rich, faith is rich, for Prov. xxviii. 10. *to the faithful the whole world is a possession*. Simplicity is rich, for there are also the riches of simplicity; for she scrutinizes nothing, has no mean, no suspicious, no deceitful thoughts, but pours herself forth with pure affection.

5. Goodness too is rich, and if a man preserve it he is fed by the riches of the heavenly inheritance. To quote also the more ancient examples of Scripture, Job v. 17–24. *Happy*, it is said, *is the man whom God correcteth*. Therefore *despise not thou the chastening of the Almighty ... in famine He shall redeem thee from death, and in war from the power of the sword. Thou shalt be hid from the scourge of the tongue; ... the beasts of the field shall be at peace with thee, and thou shalt know that thy tabernacle shall be in peace.* For the vices of this flesh being subdued, and those passions which are wont to war against the soul, your tabernacle shall be undisturbed, Gen. xxvii. 37. your house without offence, your seed shall not fail, your posterity shall be as the smell of a fruitful field, your burial as the harvest. Job v. 26. For while others are looking for theirs to fail, the heap of your corn will be carried ripe into the heavenly garners.

6. Ps. xxxvii. 26. Fit it is that the righteous ever lendeth, while the wicked man is in want. He lendeth justice, he lendeth the commandments of God to the poor and needy; but the fool does not possess even that which he believes himself to possess. Do you suppose that he can be said to possess,

who brooding over his treasure night and day, is troubled by covetous and wretched anxiety? Such a one truly wants; although to others he appears rich, to himself he is poor, because he who is still grasping after more and desiring more uses not that which he possesses. For where there are no bounds to desire, what profit can there be in riches? No man is rich who cannot carry away with him that which he has, for that which is left behind, is not our own but another's.

7. Gen. v. 24. Enoch was rich who carried away with him that which he had, and laid up all the riches of his goodness in the heavenly treasure-house; he was Wisd. iv. 11. *taken away lest that wickedness should alter his understanding*. 2 Kings ii. 11. Elias was rich, who riding in a chariot of fire carried the treasures of his virtues up to the heavenly mansions. Not small were the riches he left to his heir, and yet he himself did not lose them. Who would have called him poor even then, when being himself in need of the sustenance of daily food, 1 Kings xvii. 9. he was sent to the widow that he might be nourished by her, when at his voice the heaven was shut and opened, when at his word the barrel of meal and the cruse of oil failed not for three years, but overflowed; when it was replenished not diminished by use? 2 Kings i. 14. Who would call him poor at whose word there came fire down from heaven, Ib. ii. 8. whom the river impassible by others could not retard, retiring back to its source that the prophet might pass over dry-shod?

8. Ancient history tells us of two neighbours, king Ahab and the poor Naboth; which of these do we believe to be the richer, which the poorer? The one, endowed with the royal support of riches, insatiable and not to be replenished with wealth, coveted the little vineyard of the poor man; the other, despising in his mind the golden fortunes of kings, and imperial treasures, was content with his own vines. Does not he appear richer and more kingly, who was sufficient to himself, and controlled his own desires, coveting nothing that belonged to another? Does not he, on the other hand,

appear most needy, in whose eyes his own gold was accounted vile, and another man's vine precious. But learn for what reason he was most needy: because Job xx. 15. *riches unjustly gotten are vomited up again*, but Prov. xii. 12. *the root of the righteous yieldeth fruit,* Ps. xcii. 11. *and flourishes like a palm-tree*.

9. Is not he more needy than the poor man, who passeth away like a shadow? Ps. xxxvii. 35, 36. To-day the ungodly is in great power, to-morrow he is not, and his place can no more be found. But what is it to be rich, unless it be to abound? But who abounds whose mind is contracted, and therefore straightened, and what abundance can there be in straits? He therefore is not rich who does not abound. Wherefore David says well, Ps. xxxiv. 10. LXX, Vulg. *The rich lack and suffer hunger*; for although they possessed the treasures of the Divine Scriptures, they still lacked in that they did not understand, and hungered in that they tasted not the food of spiritual grace.

10. Nothing can therefore be richer than the temper of the wise man, nothing poorer than that of the fool. For since the S. Matt. v. 3. kingdom of God belongs to the poor, what can be richer? And therefore the Apostle says well, Rom. xi. 33. *O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God*! Well also David, who Ps. cxix. 14. *had as great delight in the way of the heavenly testimonies as in all manner of riches*. And Moses says expressly, Deut. xxxiii. 23. *Naphtali, satisfied with favour*. Now Naphtali means when translated, 'abundance' or 'increase.' So that to be satisfied and to abound go together, but where there is the hunger of desire and insatiable lust, there truly is poverty. But since scarcely any desire of money or of this world can be satisfied, it is added, Ib. 23. *full with blessing*.

11. It is in accordance with these principles that the Apostle Peter has declared that 1 S. Pet. iii. 3. the ornament of women consists not in gold and

silver and apparel, but in the secret and hidden man of the heart. Wherefore let no woman put off the dress of piety, the ornament of grace, the inheritance of eternal life.

Farewell: love me, for I love you.

LETTER XXXIX. A.D. 387.

S. AMBROSE IN this Letter seeks to rouse Faustinus from excessive grief for his sister's death, first on the ground of duty towards the children left to his care and protection, and then on the higher ground of submission to the Divine will, and realization of Christian hopes.

AMBROSE TO FAUSTINUS, GREETING.

1. I WAS well aware that you would grieve with bitter grief for the death of your sister: still you should not go into banishment, but rather give yourself back to us, for although mourners are little inclined to receive consolation, it is sometimes necessary for them. But you have fled to the recesses of the mountains, and made your dwelling in the caves of wild beasts, laying aside all customary human converse and, what is worse, the use of your own reason.

2. Is it in accordance with your esteem for your sister, that human nature, which ought to be much regarded by you for producing a woman so excellent, should on her account be of less value in your eyes? In quitting this life it doubtless was a consolation to her to believe that she left you behind her as a parent to your nephews, a guardian of their tender years, a succour to their destitution; but you so utterly withhold yourself both from your nephews and from us, that we do not reap any benefit from what she thus found a ground of consolation. These dear pledges invite you not to grieve, but to comfort them, that in seeing you they may believe their mother to be still alive. In you then let them recognize her; in you let them enjoy her presence, in you think that she still survives to them.

3. But you grieve that she has been lately cut off in the flower of her age. This however is the common fate not only of men, but of states and countries themselves. Coming from Bononia[192] you left behind you Claterna, Bononia itself, Matina, Rhegium; Brixillum was on your right, in front of you Placentia, by its very name still recalling its ancient lustre, on the left you saw with pity the wastes of the Apennines, you surveyed the fortresses of these once flourishing tribes, and remembered them with sorrowful affection. Do not then the carcases of so many half-ruined cities, and states stretched on their bier beneath your eyes, do not these remind you that the decease of one woman, holy and excellent as she was, is much less deplorable especially as these are for ever laid prostrate and destroyed, but she though removed from us for a while is passing a more blessed life elsewhere?

4. Wherefore I deem that you ought not so much to deplore her, as to offer for her your prayers; make her not sorrowful by your tears, rather commend her soul to God by oblations.

5. Perhaps however you will declare yourself to be secure of her merits and faith, you cannot endure the feeling of regret at seeing her no longer after the flesh, which is to you a better grief. And does not the Apostolic saying move you that 2 Cor. v. 16. *henceforth we know no man after the flesh; yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we Him no more*. For our flesh cannot be perpetual and lasting, it must needs die that it may rise again, it must be dissolved that it may rest, and sin come to an end. We too have known many according to the flesh, but now we know them no more. *We have known the Lord Jesus*, says the Apostle, *after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we Him no more*. For now He has put off the coil of the body, and is not seen in fashion as a Man, but has died for all and all are dead in Him, to the intent that being renewed by Him and quickened in the Spirit they may no longer live to themselves but

to Christ. Wherefore the same Apostle also says elsewhere, Gal. ii. 20. *I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me*.

6. And well indeed was it that he who had before known Christ after the flesh, who had before Acts ix. 1. &c. persecuted and oppressed with bitter hatred the disciples of the Man, and the attendants on His bodily presence, but who now recognized His invisible workings, discerning not His bodily presence but His power, — well indeed was it that he became the teacher of the Gentiles, and began to instruct and prepare the worshippers of His Divinity to become preachers of the Gospel. Wherefore he added, 2 Cor. v. 17. *if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature*, that is, he that is perfect in Christ is a new creature, for all flesh is imperfect. And the Lord saith, Gen. vi. 3. *My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh*. No carnal man then is in Christ, but *if any man be in Christ he is a new creature*, formed by newness not of nature but of grace. These *old things* which are according to the flesh 2 Cor. v. 17. *have past away, all things are made new*. And what are they but the things which S. Matt. xiii. 52. *the scribe instructed unto the kingdom of heaven* knows, *like unto that householder, who brings forth out of his treasure things new and old*; neither old things without new, nor new things without old? Thus too the Church saith, Cant. vii. 13. *things new and old have I laid up for Thee*. For old things, that is, the hidden mysteries of the Law are passed away, all things are made new in Christ.

7. This is the new creature of which the Apostle writing to the Galatians saith, Gal. v. 6. *For in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth any thing nor uncircumcision, but a new creature*, already our flesh now renewed flourishes, and having before borne the thorns of inveterate sin hath now found the fruit of grace. Why then need we grieve, if we can now say to the soul, Ps. ciii. 5. *thy youth is renewed like the eagles*? And why should we bewail the dead, now that by our Lord Jesus 2 Cor. v. 19, 20. *the world has*

been reconciled to the Father? Since then we hold the benefits which Christ hath given, we are to you as well as to all ambassadors in Christ's stead, that you may know His Gift to be irrevocable, that you may believe what you always have believed, and not bring your opinion into discredit by too much sorrow. For the Lord Jesus was made sin that He might S. John i. 29. *take away the sin of the world*, and we all might be 2 Cor. v. 21. *made the righteousness of God in Him*; now no longer subject to the penalty of sin, but sure of the reward of righteousness.

Farewell; love me, for I love you.

LETTER XL. A.D. 388.

IN THE YEAR 388 A.D. the synagogue of the Jews at Callinicum in Mesopotamia was burnt by the Christians, at the instance, it was asserted, of the Bishop. Some monks also in the same district, having been insulted by some Valentinian heretics, while singing Psalms in procession on the Festival of the Maccabees, (Aug. 1st.) had burnt their conventicle. Theodosius had ordered that the Bishop should re-build the synagogue at his own cost, and that the monks should be punished, and the whole matter carefully sifted, and justice done. This Letter is written by S. Ambrose to remonstrate. He urges his plea with the boldest importunity, and, as he tells his sister in the following letter, Theodosius eventually yielded.

TO THE MOST GRACIOUS PRINCE AND BLESSED EMPEROR HIS MAJESTY THEODOSIUS, BISHOP AMBROSE SENDS GREETING.

1. NEARLY incessant are the cares which harass me, most excellent Emperor, but never was I in such trouble as at present; for I see I must be on my guard against the danger even of a charge of sacrilege. Wherefore I beseech you patiently to hear my address. For if I am unworthy to be heard by you, I am unworthy to offer for you, or to have your vows and prayers intrusted to me. Will you not hear him whom you wish to be heard in your behalf? Will you not hear him pleading for himself whom you have heard when pleading for others? Will you not dread the consequences of your own judgment; and fear to render him unworthy to be heard in your behalf, by treating him as unworthy of a hearing from you.

2. But it is neither the part of an Emperor to deny liberty of speech, nor of a Bishop not to utter what he thinks. There is no quality more amiable and popular in an Emperor than to cherish freedom even in those who owe him military allegiance. For there is this difference between good and bad rulers, that the good love freedom, the bad slavery. And there is nothing in a Bishop so offensive in God's sight, or so base before men, as not freely to declare his opinions. For it is written, Ps. cxix. 46. *I spake of Thy testimonies also even before kings, and was not ashamed*, and in another place, Ezek. iii. 17. *Son of man, I have made thee a watchman unto the house of Israel; with the intent*, it proceeds, Ezek. iii. 20, 21. *that if the righteous man doth turn from his righteousness and commit iniquity, because thou hast not given him warning*[193] that is, hast not told him what to beware of, *his righteousness which he hath done shall not be remembered; but his blood will I require at thine hand. Nevertheless, if thou warn the righteous man, that the righteous sin not, and he doth not sin, he shall surely live, because he is warned; also thou shalt deliver thy soul.*

3. I prefer then, to have fellowship with your Majesty in good rather than in evil; and therefore the silence of a Bishop ought to be displeasing to your Clemency, and his freedom pleasing. For you will be implicated in the danger of my silence, you will share in the benefits of my outspokenness. I am not then an officious meddler in matters beyond my province, an intruder in the concerns of others, but I comply with my duty, I obey the commandment of our God. This I do chiefly from love and regard to you, and from a wish to preserve your well-being. But if I am not believed, or am forbidden to act on this motive, then in truth I speak from fear of offending God. For if my own danger could deliver you, I would consent to be offered for you, though not willingly, for I would rather that without danger to myself you should be accepted and glorified by God. But if I am to suffer under the charge of silence and dissimulation without effecting

your exculpation I had rather you should deem me too importunate than useless or mercenary. For it is written, in the words of the holy Apostle Paul, whose teaching you cannot gainsay, 2 Tim. iv. 2. *Be instant in season, out of season: reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine*.

4. We then also have One Whom it is even more dangerous to displease; especially as even Emperors themselves are not offended with any man for fulfilling his function, but you patiently give ear to every one speaking concerning his own department, nay you reprove him for not acting in accordance with his line of duty. Can that then which you readily accept from your soldiers, seem to you offensive in a Bishop; seeing that we speak not according to our own wills, but as we are commanded? For you know that it is written, S. Matt. x. 19, 20. *when ye shall be brought before governors and kings take no thought how or what ye shall speak, for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father Which speaketh in you.* Were it in civil causes that I had to speak, my not obtaining an audience would not give me such apprehension, although even then justice ought to be observed, but in God's cause whom will you hear, if you hear not the Bishop, at whose great peril it is that sin is committed? Who will dare to tell you the truth, if a Bishop does not?

5. I know that you are pious, merciful, meek and gentle, having at heart the faith and fear of the Lord; but some failings oftentimes escape our notice. Some men Rom. x. 2. *have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge*, and we ought, I think, to beware lest this steal even over faithful souls. I know your piety towards God, your lenity towards men; I am myself indebted to your courtesy for many benefits. Wherefore I feel greater fear, and deeper solicitude lest even your own judgment should hereafter condemn me for having failed, through cowardice or flattery, in saving you from a fall. If I had seen you sin against myself, I ought not to

have kept silence, for it is written, S. Matt. xviii. 15–17. *If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault; then rebuke him before two or three witnesses, and if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the Church*. Shall I then be silent in the cause of God? Now then let us consider what it is I have to apprehend.

6. The military Count of the East[194] reported that a synagogue had been burnt, and that this had been done at the instigation of the Bishop. You decided that the others should be punished, and that the synagogue should be rebuilt by the Bishop himself. I will not insist on the propriety of calling for the Bishop's own statement; for the clergy are wont to check disturbances and desirous of peace, save when they are themselves moved by some offence against God or insult to the Church. But suppose this Bishop to have been too eager in setting fire to this synagogue, and now to grow timid before the judgment-seat, has your Majesty no fear, lest he should acquiesce in your sentence, no apprehension of his becoming apostate?

7. Do you not fear, what will certainly be the case, that he will meet your officer with a refusal; and so he will be obliged to make him either an apostate or a martyr, and both of these are adverse to your interests and savour of persecution, that he should be forced either to become an apostate or undergo martyrdom. You see then whereunto this matter tends; if you think the Bishop firm, avoid driving his firmness to martyrdom; if you think him frail, shun exposing his frailty to a fall. For a heavy responsibility lies on him who has caused one who is weak to fall.

8. Under these circumstances I suppose that the Bishop will say that he himself kindled the fire, gathered the crowd, collected the people; so as not to lose an opportunity of martyrdom, and in place of the weak to offer up a bolder victim. O happy falsehood; obtaining for others acquittal, for himself Grace. This is my request also to your Majesty, that you would turn your

vengeance upon me, and, if you consider this a crime, impute it to me. Why do you order the absent to be punished? you have the guilty person before you, you hear his confession, I openly affirm that I myself set the synagogue on fire, or at least, that I ordered others to do so; that there might be no place in which Christ is denied. And if it be objected, why did I not set it on fire in this very city? It began to be burnt, I reply, by the Divine judgment, my work was superseded. And to speak the truth, I was the less zealous because I expected no punishment. Why should I do that which being unavenged would also be unrewarded? These words are a shock to modesty, but they also bring back grace; they provide against the commission of that which may offend Almighty God.

9. But suppose that no one will cite the Bishop to do this; for this is what I have begged of your Clemency, and though I have not yet read that the edict is revoked, I will nevertheless assume it to be so. But what if other more timid persons, from a fear of death offer to rebuild the synagogue from their own funds, or the Count, finding this previously ordained, should himself command it to be restored at the expense of the Christians? Your Majesty will then have an apostate Count, and you will entrust your victorious banner, your labarum, which is consecrated by the name of Christ, to one who is the restorer of the synagogue which knows not Christ. Command the labarum to be carried into the synagogue, and let us see if they do not resist.

10. Shall then a building be raised for perfidious Jews out of the spoils of the Church, and shall that patrimony, which by Christ's mercy has been assigned to Christians, be transferred to the temples of the unbelieving? We read that temples were in former days erected from the spoils of the Cimbri and other enemies of Rome. Shall the Jews inscribe this title on the front of their synagogue: 'The temples of impiety built from the spoils of Christians?'

11. But the maintenance of discipline is perhaps what influences your Majesty. Is the show of discipline then weightier than the cause of religion? Police should give place to religion.

12. Has your Majesty never heard that when Julian commanded the temple at Jerusalem to be restored, they who cleared away the rubbish were destroyed by fire from heaven? Are you not afraid lest this should now happen? Surely you ought not to have commanded what Julian commanded.

13. But why are you thus moved? Is it generally because a public building has been burnt, or because it is a synagogue? If you are moved by the conflagration of the meanest edifice, (and what else could there have been in so obscure a town,) does not your Majesty remember how many prefects' houses have been burnt at Rome, and yet no man enacted vengeance for them? Nay, if any Emperor had desired to punish such an act severely, he would rather have injured the cause of those who had suffered so great a loss. Which then is the more fitting, that the partial burning of some houses at Callinicum[195], or the burning of the city of Rome should be punished, if indeed either of them ought to have been so. At Constantinople, a while ago, the Bishop's[196] house was burnt, and your Majesty's son interceded with you, that you would not avenge the wrong done to him, the youthful Emperor, nor the burning of the Bishop's palace. Your Majesty should consider, that, if you should in like manner command this act to be punished, he may again intercede to prevent it. The former boon however was happily obtained from the father by the son, for it was only fitting that he should first remit the injury to himself. A good distribution of favour and well allotted it is, that the son should be petitioned for his own loss, and the father for the offence against his son. In this case there is nothing which you need keep back on your son's account, beware also lest you derogate ought from God.

14. There is then no adequate reason for any such commotion, that the people should be so severely punished for the burning of any building; much less seeing that it is a synagogue that has been burnt, a place of unbelief, a house of impiety, a receptacle of madness, which God Himself hath condemned. For thus we read what the Lord our God spake by the mouth of Jeremiah, Jer. vii. 14–17. *Therefore will I do unto this house, which is called by My Name, wherein ye trust, and unto the place which I gave to you, and to your fathers, as I have done to Shiloh. And I will cast you out of My sight, as I have cast out all your brethren, even the whole seed of Ephraim. Therefore pray not thou for this people, neither lift up cry nor prayer for them, neither make intercession to Me, for I will not hear thee. Seest thou not what they do in the cities of Judah?* God forbids him to intercede for those whom you think worthy of being avenged.

15. Were I pleading according to the law of nations, I should assuredly recount how many Churches the Jews burnt in the time of Julian's reign: two at Damascus, one of which is but just repaired, and that at the expense, not of the synagogue, but of the Church, while the other is still a mass of shapeless ruins. Churches were likewise burnt at Gaza, Ascalon, Berytus, and nearly every town in that region, and yet no man asked for vengeance. At Alexandria too the most beautiful Church of all was burnt down by the Gentiles and Jews. The Church has not been avenged, shall then the synagogue be?

16. And shall the burning of the temple of the Valentinians likewise be punished? For what but a temple is the place where Gentiles assemble? The Gentiles indeed reckon twelve gods, the Valentinians worship thirty two Æons[197], whom they call gods. Concerning these I am informed that they have called for punishment upon some monks. For the Valentinians having endeavoured to stop them as they were going in procession according to ancient custom, chanting psalms, to celebrate the festival of the Maccabees,

the monks exasperated by this affront, set fire to one of their rudely constructed temples in some country village.

17. How many have to offer themselves to this choice, remembering that in Julian's time he who threw down the altar and disturbed the sacrifice was condemned by the judge, and suffered martyrdom. And accordingly the judge who tried him was never considered other than a persecutor, no man would associate with him, no man deemed him worthy of a kiss of greeting. Were he not now dead, I should fear your Majesty's taking vengeance upon him. Nevertheless he escaped not the Divine vengeance, but saw his son die before him.

18. But it is reported that the judge was ordered to take cognizance of the matter, and was informed that he ought not to have reported upon it, but to have punished it, that the offerings which had been taken away were to be demanded back. Other particulars I will omit; but when the Jews burnt our Churches, nothing was restored, nothing demanded, nothing sought for. But what could the synagogue possess in that distant place, when everything in it was but of little value, nothing precious or abundant. In short of what could a fire deprive the treacherous Jews? These are devices of the Jews who wish to accuse us falsely, that through their representations an extraordinary military tribunal may be appointed, and an officer sent, who perhaps will say what one said here before your accession, 'How shall Christ help us, when we fight for the Jews against Christ? when we are sent to take vengeance on their behalf? They have lost their own armies, and they wish to destroy ours.'

19. Nay, what are the calumnies into which they will not rush, who by false witnesses have slandered Christ Himself? who are false even in matters relating to God? Whom will they not charge with the guilt of this sedition? whom will they not thirst after, even though they know them not? They desire to see rank after rank of Christians in chains, to see the necks of

the faithful placed under the yoke, the servants of God hidden in darkness, smitten with the axe, delivered to the fire, or sent to the mines, that their pains may be slow and lingering.

20. Will your Majesty give this triumph to the Jews over the Church of God? this victory over the people of Christ, this joy to the unbelievers, this felicity to the Synagogue, this grief to the Church? They will place this solemnity among their feast-days; numbering it among those wherein they triumphed over the Ammonites, or Canaanites, or over Pharaoh king of Egypt, or which delivered them from the hands of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon. This festival they will add in memory of the triumph they have gained over Christ's people.

21. Although they refuse to be bound by Roman laws, deeming them even criminal, they now pretend to claim vengeance according to those laws. Where were those laws, when they burnt the roofs of the consecrated Basilicas? If Julian avenged not the Church because he was an Apostate, will your Majesty, being a Christian, avenge the injury done to the Synagogue?

22. And what will Christ hereafter say to you? Do you not remember what he said to holy David by the prophet Nathan? 2 Sam. vii. 8. 'I have chosen thee the youngest of thy brethren, and from private life have made thee Emperor. I have placed thy offspring upon the Imperial throne. I have put barbarous nations under thy feet, I have given thee peace, I have delivered thine enemy captive into thy hands. Thou hadst no corn to support thy army, I opened to thee the enemies' gates, the enemies' granaries, by their own hand; they gave thee the very stores which they had provided for themselves. I confounded the counsels of thy enemy, so that he laid bare his own plans. The very usurper of thy empire I so bound, and so fettered his mind, that although he had the means of flying from you he shut himself in with all his followers, as if fearing lest any should escape you. His

lieutenant[198] and his forces on the other element, whom I had before dispersed to prevent their combining to make war on thee, I now called together again to render thy victory complete. Thy army, an assemblage of many fierce nations, I caused to keep faith and peace and concord, as if they had been one nation. And when there was imminent danger lest the perfidious plots of the barbarians should penetrate the Alps, I gave thee victory within the very barrier of the Alps, that thy victory might be without loss. Thus I made thee to triumph over thy enemy, and thou art giving my enemies a triumph over my people.'

23. Was it not the very reason why Maximus was abandoned, that before he set out on his expedition, hearing that a synagogue had been burnt at Rome, he sent an edict thither, acting as if he were the guardian of public order. Wherefore the Christians said, No good awaits this man. That king is become a Jew, and we have heard of him as a protector of order, but Christ, who died for sinners, shortly after put him to the proof[199]. And if this was said of words only, what will be said of actual punishment? So he was soon defeated by the Franks and by the Saxons, in Sicily, at Siscia[200], at Petavio, and in every quarter of the globe. What has a devout man in common with an unbeliever? The precedents of his impiety ought to be obliterated together with the impious man himself. That which injured the vanquished, that at which he stumbled, the victor ought to condemn, not to imitate.

24. Now I have recounted these things to you not as though you were ungrateful; rather I have spoken of them as being rightly bestowed, that reminded thereby you may love much, as being one on whom much has been bestowed. To Simon's answer our Lord thus replied, S. Luke vii. 43. *Thou hast rightly judged*; and then, turning straightway to the woman who had anointed His feet with ointment, and was the type of the Church, He said to Simon, Ib. 47. *Wherefore I say unto thee, her sins, which are many, are forgiven, for she loved much: but to whom little is forgiven, the same*

loveth little. This is that woman who entered the house of the Pharisee, and cast out the Jew, but gained Christ. For the Church shut out the Synagogue, and why is it now attempted, that, with the servant of Christ, that is, from the breast of faith, and abode of Christ, the Synagogue should shut out the Church.

25. It is from affection and regard for your Majesty, that I have introduced these things into my pleading. The beneficence which has led you, at my request, to liberate many persons from exile, from prison, from the extreme penalties of death, obliges me to incur the danger of offending you for the sake of your own good, rather than lose in one moment that privilege of every Bishop which I have for so long possessed. For no man can feel greater confidence than he who zealously loves, no man certainly ought to injure him who is careful for his well-being. And yet it is not the loss of favour I deprecate, but the danger to salvation.

26. Yet how important it is that your Majesty should not think of enquiry or punishment in a matter with regard to which no one up to this time has ever held enquiry or inflicted punishment! It is a grievous thing to hazard your faith for the sake of Jews. When Gideon killed the consecrated calf, the Gentiles[201] said, Let the gods themselves avenge this affront towards them. Who is to avenge the Synagogue? Christ Whom they slew, Whom they denied? Or will God the Father avenge them, seeing that by rejecting the Son they have rejected the Father also. Who is to avenge the heresy of the Valentinians? how will your Piety be able to avenge them, seeing that you have commanded them to be shut out, and forbidden them to meet together? And should I bring forward to you the example of King Josiah as approved of God, will you condemn in this case that for which he is praised?

27. But if you do not place sufficient confidence in me, let your Majesty command the presence of those bishops whom you do approve, and let the

question be discussed, what ought to be done so as not to injure the Faith. If in financial matters you consult your Courts, how much more fitting is it that in the cause of religion you should consult the Bishops of the Lord?

28. Let your Clemency consider what dangerous spies and liers in wait the Church has against her, if they find ever so small an opening they will plant a dart therein. I speak after the manner of men; but God is feared more than men, and is rightly preferred to Emperors themselves. If any man thinks obedience should be paid to a friend, a parent, or a neighbour, am I wrong in deeming that God should be obeyed, and that in preference to all others. Let your Majesty consult for your own well-being, or suffer me to consult for mine.

29. What shall I hereafter answer, if it shall appear that by an edict issued from hence Christians have been slain by the sword, or beaten to death with clubs or thongs loaded with lead? How shall I justify such an act, how shall I excuse it to those Bishops who having discharged the office of the priesthood for thirty years, nay for many more, have now bitterly to bewail, being deprived of their sacred functions and called to undertake municipal offices. If[202] those who fight for you are set free after a certain period of service, how much more ought you to consider those who fight for God! How I repeat, shall I defend this to the Bishops who complain in behalf of the clergy, and write word that the Churches are overborne by violent oppression.

30. This however I desired should be made known to your Majesty; about this you will deign to deliberate and direct according to your will; but as to that which distresses and rightly distresses myself, exclude and reject it from your consideration. You do yourself whatsoever you have commanded to be done; even if he[203] do it not, I would rather that you should be merciful than that he should refuse to do what he has been commanded.

31. Here are persons in dealing with whom you ought still to invite and earn the Clemency of God towards the Roman empire; here are persons for whom rather than for yourself you have to hope; let their grace, their well-being, appeal to you in what I now say. I fear your entrusting your cause to the judgement of others. As yet you are committed to nothing. Herein I will pledge myself for you to our God, fear not your oath. That change cannot be displeasing to God which is made for His honour. You have no need to alter your former letter whether it be yet dispatched or not, but command another to be written which shall be replete with faith and piety. It is open to you to change, it is not open to me to keep back the truth.

32. You have forgiven the people of Antioch[204] their offence against you, you have recalled the daughters of your enemy[205], you have committed them to be nurtured by their relative, you have bestowed money from your treasury on the mother of your enemy. This great piety, this great faith towards God will be obscured by your present act. Having thus spared your armed foes, and preserved your enemies, do not, I beseech you, so eagerly seek for vengeance upon Christians.

33. And now I entreat your Majesty not to disdain to listen to my fears both for yourself and myself; for it is the saying of an holy man, 1 Macc. ii. 7. *Woe is me, wherefore was I born to see this misery of my people?* is it that I should incur the risk of offending God? Assuredly I have done what is most respectful to you: I have sought that you should listen to me in the palace, that you might not have to listen to me in the Church.

LETTER XLI. A.D. 388.

IN THIS LETTER to his sister S. Ambrose relates the sequel of the affair referred to in the preceding one. That Letter failed to produce the effect which he had hoped for, and so he was driven to fulfil the threat with which he had ended it, and 'make the Emperor listen to him in the Church.' He gives his sister a full account of the sermon which he preached before the Emperor, and how he insisted on a promise that the matter should be quashed altogether, before he would celebrate the Eucharist, and how the Emperor at last gave way, and so all ended as he had wished.

THE BROTHER TO HIS SISTER.

1. YOU have kindly written me word, holy sister, that you are still anxious about me, because I told you of my own anxiety; this makes me wonder that you have not received the letter, in which I told you that tranquillity had been restored to me. Complaints had been made that a synagogue of the Jews had been burnt by the Christians, at the instigation of their Bishop, and also a conventicle of the Valentinians; and while I was at Aquileia a decree was issued that the synagogue should be rebuilt by the Bishop, and that the monks who had set fire to this building of the Valentinians should be punished. Wherefore, when I found that my personal endeavours were of little avail, I wrote and despatched a letter to the Emperor, and on his going to the Church, I delivered this discourse.

2. In the book of the Prophet it is written, Jer. i. 11. *Take to thyself the rod of an almond tree*; and with what intent the Lord said this to the prophet we ought to consider, for it was not written without a purpose, and we also read in the Pentateuch that the rod of Aaron the priest, Num. xvii. 8. budded

after being long laid up. Now the rod seems to signify that prophetic or sacerdotal authority ought to be unswerving, and to exhort rather to what is useful than to what is pleasing.

3. And the reason why the prophet is bidden to take the rod of an almond is this, that the fruit of this tree has a bitter rind and hard shell, while its inside is juicy, and so in like manner the prophet should hold out what is hard and bitter, and not shrink from declaring painful things. So too with the priest: his teaching may seem bitter for a time to some, and, like Aaron's rod, may for a long while be laid up in the ears of dissemblers, yet afterwards, when it is thought to have withered, it puts forth buds.

4. Hence the Apostle says, 1 Cor. iv. 21. *What will ye, shall I come unto you with a rod, or in love, and in the spirit of meekness*. First he speaks of *a rod*, and as with *the rod of an almond tree* had smitten the wanderers, that he might afterwards comfort them 2 Cor. ii. 10. with the spirit of meekness. Just so did meekness restore the man whom the rod had driven from the Divine sacraments. To his disciple too he gave the same injunctions, 2 Tim. iv. 2. *Reprove, beseech, rebuke*. Here are two harsh terms and one gentle; but they are only harsh, that they may themselves be softened. For like as bitter food or drink becomes sweet to these bodies which are laden with excess of gall, and on the other hand sweet repasts are bitter to them, so also when the mind is wounded it languishes under the flattering touch of pleasure, but is healed again by the bitterness of correction.

5. Thus much let it suffice to have gathered from the lesson from the Prophets, let us next consider what that from the Gospel would teach us: S. Luke vii. 36–38. *And one of the Pharisees desired the Lord Jesus that He would eat with him; and He went into the Pharisee's house and sat down to meat. And behold, a woman in the city, which was a sinner, when she knew that Jesus sat at meat in the Pharisee's house brought an alabaster box of ointment, and stood at His feet behind Him weeping.* And then the passage

was recited as far as the words, *Thy faith hath saved thee, go in peace*. How simple, I added, are the words of this Gospel lesson, how profound its counsels! Wherefore, seeing that it is spoken by the Is. ix. 6. *great Counsellor*, let us consider its depth.

6. Our Lord Jesus Christ believed that kindness has a greater power of constraining and inciting men to do what is right than fear; and that love avails more for correction than terror. And so, when He came on earth by the Virgin's womb, He first sent His free grace, forgiving our sins in baptism to make us more grateful to Him. Then if we will repay Him with such services as befit grateful men, He has declared by this example that He will give fresh gifts of grace to every man. Had He only remitted to us our first debt, He would have seemed cautious rather than merciful, more heedful of our amendment than munificent in His rewards. To allure is merely the cunning of a narrow mind, but it is befitting to God that those whom He has invited by grace He should lead forward by the increase of that grace. And so He first bestows on us His gifts in baptism, and afterwards if we serve him faithfully gives more abundantly. And so the benefits of Christ are both the incentives and the rewards of virtue.

7. Let no man be alarmed at the word *creditor*. We were indeed under an unforgiving creditor, who could not be satisfied by anything less than the death of his debtor; then the Lord Jesus came and found us burthened with a heavy debt. This debt no man could satisfy by his natural innocence; I had nothing of my own wherewith to purchase my freedom, and therefore He bestowed on me a new kind of acquittance; He made me debtor to Himself, seeing I had no means of discharging my debt. Now we became debtors not by nature but by our own fault; by our sins we contracted heavy debts, so that we who were free came under a bond; for he is a debtor who has received of his creditor's money. Now sin is from the devil, this is the money which belongs to the wicked one as his patrimony; for as virtues are

the treasure of Christ, so crimes are the riches of the devil. He had brought the human race under the perpetual slavery of an inherited liability by that heavy debt which our improvident ancestor transmitted by inheritance to his posterity. But then the Lord Jesus came, He gave His life for the life of all, and shed His blood for the blood of all.

8. Thus we have changed our creditor, not discharged our debt, nay we may even say we have discharged it, for although it remains, our bond is cancelled, the Lord Jesus having Is. xlix. 9. *said to the prisoners, Go forth; to them that are in darkness, Shew yourselves*; your sins therefore are forgiven. Thus He has forgiven all, nor is there any one to whom He has not shewn mercy. For so it is written, that He has Col. ii. 13, 14. *forgiven all trespasses; blotting out the hand-writing of the ordinances that was against us*. Why then do we hold the bonds of others? why would we exact our claims from others when we have obtained remission of our own? He Who has shewn mercy to all requires of each of us that what he remembers to have been remitted to himself he should himself remit to others.

9. Beware lest you begin to incur heavier blame as a creditor than you did as a debtor; S. Matt. xviii. 23. et seq. as that servant in the Gospel to whom his Lord forgave all his debt began to exact from his fellow servant what he himself had not paid; wherefore his Lord was wroth, and exacted from him with the greatest severity what he had before remitted to him. Let us beware therefore lest the same evil befal us, lest by not remitting our debts we also be called on to pay what had been forgiven us, for so it is written in the words of the Lord Jesus, Ib. 35. *So likewise shall My heavenly Father do also unto you, if ye from your hearts forgive not every one his brother their trespasses*. Let us then forgive small things to whom great have been forgiven, and understand that the more we forgive the more acceptable we shall be to God, for we are so much the more acceptable to God the more we have been forgiven.

10. Further, when the Pharisee was asked by our Lord, S. Luke vii. 42. *Which of them loved him most*, he answered, Ib. 43. *I suppose that he to whom he forgave most*. Whereupon the Lord said, *Thou hast rightly judged*. The Pharisees judgment is praised, but his affection is blamed. Of others he judges correctly, but what he believes of others, he does not believe in his own case. Thus you hear the Jew praising the discipline of the Church, praising its true graces, honouring its priests; but when you exhort him to believe he refuses to do so, and thus follows not himself what he praises in us. His eulogy then is not complete, though Christ has said to him, *Thou hast rightly judged*, for Cain also offered rightly, but did not divide rightly, wherefore God said unto him, Gen. iv. 7. *If thou offer rightly, but divide not rightly, thou hast sinned; be still*. And so this man offered rightly, because he judges that Christ, having forgiven Christians many sins, ought to be more earnestly loved by them; but he has not divided rightly, because he believes that He Who remitted the sins of men could possibly be ignorant of them.

11. And therefore He says to Simon, S. Luke vii. 44. *Seest thou this woman? I entered into thine house, thou gavest Me no water for My feet, but she hath washed My feet with tears.* We are all one body of Christ, the Head is God, and we are the members: some perhaps as the Prophets, may be the eyes; others the teeth, as the Apostles, who have filled our hearts with the food of the Evangelical preaching, and of whom it is written, Gen. xlix. 12. *His eyes shall be red with wine, and his teeth white with milk*. They are His hands who perform good works: His belly are they who bestow the strength of nourishment on the poor: Some too are His feet also, and would that I might be counted worthy to be even His heel. He then who pardons the very lowest their sins, pours water on the feet of Christ, and while he frees only the mean, yet washes the feet of Christ Himself.

12. He also pours water on the feet of Christ who cleanses his conscience from the pollution of sin; for Christ walks in the breast of each of us. Beware then lest your conscience be defiled, or you thus begin to stain the feet of Christ. Beware lest He encounter the thorn of wickedness within you, whereby His heel as He walks in you may be wounded. The reason why the Pharisee did not pour water on the feet of Christ was because his soul was not clean from the stain of wickedness. How could he cleanse his conscience, who had not received that water which Christ gives? But the Church has that water, and the Church has tears, the waters of Baptism and the tears of penitence. For faith, which mourns for former sins, is also wont to avoid fresh ones, wherefore Simon the Pharisee as he had no water so neither had he tears. For how could he have them, who did no penance? but as he believed not in Christ so neither had he tears. Had he had them, he would have washed his eyes that he might see Christ, Whom as yet, when he first sat down, he saw not. For had he seen Him, he would not have doubted of His power.

13. Nor had the Pharisee hair, in that he knew not the Nazarite; but the Church had hair, and she sought for the Nazarite. Hairs are considered a superfluous part of the body, but if they are anointed they send forth a good smell, and are an ornament to the head, but if not anointed with oil they grow heavy. So likewise riches are a burthen, if you know not how to use them, if you sprinkle them not with the odours of Christ. But if you feed the poor, if you wash and cleanse their filth, their wounds, you have truly wiped the feet of Christ.

14. S. Luke vii. 45. *Thou gavest Me no kiss, but this woman, since the time I came in, hath not ceased to kiss My feet.* A kiss is the sign of love. But how could the Jew possess this, who knew not peace, who received not peace from Christ when He said, S. John xiv. 27. *Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you*? This kiss belongs then not to the Synagogue but

to the Church, to her who looked for Him, who loved Him, who said, Cant. i. 2. *Let Him kiss me with the kisses of His mouth*. For the ardour of that lingering desire, which had grown with waiting for the Lord's coming, she sought slowly to quench by His kiss, and to satisfy her thirst by this gift. Wherefore the holy Prophet says, Ps. li. 17. *Thou shalt open my lips, and my mouth shall shew Thy praise*. He then who praises the Lord Jesus kisses Him; and he who praises surely believes in Him. Thus David Himself says, Ib. cxvi. 10. *I believed, and therefore have I spoken*; and before, Ib. lxxi. 8. *Let my mouth be filled with Thy praise, and let me sing of Thy glory*.

15. Concerning the gift of special grace the same Scripture also teaches thee that he who receives the Spirit kisses Christ, for the holy Prophet says, Ib. cxix. 131. *I opened my mouth, and drew in the spirit*[206]. He then kisses Christ, who confesses Him; Rom. x. 10. *For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation*. He kisses the feet of Christ, who, reading the Gospel, recognizes the acts of the Lord Jesus, and admires them with pious affection; thus religiously kissing, as it were, the Lord's steps as He walks. We kiss Christ then with the kiss of Communion; S. Matt. xxiv. 15. *Whoso readeth let him understand*.

16. But how can the Jew have this kiss? For as he believed not in His Advent, so neither did he believe in His Passion, for how can that man believe that He suffered, who believes not that He came? Hence the Pharisee had no kiss save haply that of the traitor Judas. But neither had Judas this kiss, and therefore when he would have shewn to the Jews that kiss which was the concerted sign of his betrayal, the Lord says to him: S. Luke xxii. 48. *Judas, betrayest* thou *the Son of man with a kiss?* that is, 'Thou offerest a kiss, though thou hast not the love that the kiss should express, thou offerest a kiss who art ignorant of the mystical meaning[207] of

the kiss.' What is required is not the kiss of the lips, but of the heart and mind.

17. But you will say that he kissed the Lord. True it is he kissed Him with his lips, and this kiss the Jewish people has, wherefore it is said, S. Matt. xv. 8. *This people honoureth Me with their lips, but their heart is far from Me*. Wherefore he has not the kiss who has not faith and charity; for by a kiss is conveyed the force of love. Where love is not, nor faith, nor charity, how can there be any sweetness in kisses?

18. Now the Church ceases not to kiss the feet of Christ, and therefore in the Cant. i. 1. Song of songs she asks not for one but many kisses; like holy Mary she is attentive to all His discourses, she receives all His words, when the Gospel is read, or the Prophets; she S. Luke ii. 51. *keeps all His sayings in her heart*. The Church, alone, then, as being the spouse, has kisses, for a kiss is, as it were, the pledge of marriage and the privilege of wedlock. How can the Jew have kisses who believes not in the Spouse, who knows not that He is already come?

19. Nor is it kisses alone that he lacks, but oil also, wherewith to anoint the feet of Christ, for if he had had oil he would before now have bowed down his neck. For Moses says, Exod. xxxiv. 9. *It is a stiff-necked people*; and the Lord says that S. Luke x. 31, 32. the priest and levite passed by on the other side, nor did either of these pour oil and wine into the wounds of him who had been wounded by robbers; had they possessed this oil they would have poured it into their own wounds. But Isaiah says, Is. i. 6. *They cannot apply ointment nor oil nor bandage*.

20. But the Church has oil wherewith she dresses the wounds of her children, that the hardness of the wound may not sink inwards; she has oil, which she has received secretly. With this oil Asher has washed his feet, as it is written, Deut. xxxiii. 24. *A blessed son is Asher; and he shall be acceptable to his brethren, dip his foot in oil*. With this oil therefore the

Church anoints the necks of her children, that they may receive the yoke of Christ; with this oil she has anointed the martyrs to purify them from the dust of this world; with this oil she has anointed confessors, that so they might not yield to labour, or sink down through weariness, or be overwhelmed by the waves of this world; it is for the purpose of refreshing them with spiritual oil that she has thus anointed them.

21. The Synagogue possesses not this oil, for she hath not the olive, Gen. viii. 11. she did not recognize that dove which brought back the olive branch after the deluge. This same dove afterwards descended, when Christ was being baptized, and abode upon Him, as John testifies in the Gospel, saying, S. John i. 32. *I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and it abode upon Him*. But how could he see the dove, who saw Him not upon whom the Spirit descended as a dove?

22. So then the Church both washes the feet of Christ, and wipes them with her hair, and anoints them with oil, and pours ointment upon them, in that she not only tends the wounded and comforts the weary, but also sprinkles over them the sweet odours of grace. Nor is it upon the rich and powerful only that she sheds this grace, but on men of low birth also, she weighs all in an equal balance, she receives all in the same bosom, and cherishes them in the same lap.

23. Christ died once, and was buried once, nevertheless He daily desires that ointment should be poured upon His feet. Now what are these feet of Christ whereon we pour ointment? The feet of Christ are they of whom He saith Himself, S. Matt. xxv. 40. *Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me*. These feet that woman in the Gospel tends[208], and washes with her tears, when the lowest have their sins remitted, their faults washed away, their pardon granted. These feet he kisses who loves even the lowest of the holy congregation. These feet he anoints with ointment, who imparts even to the weaker brethren the

graces of His meekness. In these the martyrs, in these the Apostles, in these the Lord Jesus Himself declares that He is honoured.

24. Thou seest what instruction the Lord imparts, how by His example He stimulates thee to devotion; for He instructs by His censure. And He thus accuses the Jews, Micah vi. 3, 4. *O My people, what have I done unto thee, and wherein have I wearied thee? testify against Me. For I brought thee up out of the land of Egypt, and redeemed thee out of the house of servants*; adding, *and I sent before thee Moses, Aaron, and Miriam.* Ib. 5. and Num. xxiii. 2. *Remember what Balak* devised against thee, he, that is, who sought the aid of enchantments, but I suffered him not to hurt thee. Truly thou wert oppressed while sojourning in foreign lands, thou wert laden with heavy burthens: I sent Moses Aaron and Miriam before thy face, and he who had spoiled the strangers was himself despoiled. Thou, who hadst lost thine own goods gainedst others, thou wert delivered from the enemies that surrounded thee, Exod. xiv. 29. and in the midst of the waters thou sawest in safety the death of thine enemies, for the same wave which had separated and carried thee forward flowed back again and drowned the Egyptians. When thou wert in want of food while journeying through the wilderness, did I not Ib. xvi. 4. *rain bread from heaven* for thee, and scatter food around thee, whereon thou wentest? Did I not subdue all thy enemies and bring thee into the region of Num. xiii. 24. the cluster of grapes? Did I not deliver up to thee Ib. xxi. 24. Sihon (which means ‘proud’) king of the Amorites (that is, chief of them that provoked thee); did I not also Joshua viii. 23. deliver to thee alive the king of Ai, whom, subject to the sentence of the ancient curse, Ib. 29. thou nailedst to the wood and hangedst upon a tree? What shall I say of the Josh. x. 26. slaughter of the hosts of the five kings, who strove to exclude thee from the promised land? Micah vi. 8. *And what doth the Lord require of thee, o man*, for all these things, *but to do justly and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?*

25. And to king David himself, that meek and holy man, what was His expostulation by the prophet Nathan? I chose thee, He says, the youngest among thy brethren; I filled thee with the spirit of meekness; by the hand of Samuel, in whom was My Spirit and My Name, 2 Sam. xii. 7. I anointed thee king. And from an exile I made thee a conqueror, taking out of the way that former king whom an evil spirit instigated to persecute the priests of the Lord. Upon thy throne I set one of thy seed not so much as an heir as a colleague. I made even strangers subject to thee, that they who resisted might serve thee, and wilt thou deliver My servants into the hands of My enemies, wilt thou take away that which was My servant's, whereby both thou wilt be branded with sin, and My adversaries will have whereof to glory?

26. Seeing therefore, O Emperor, (for I will now not only discourse of you but address myself to you) how severe the Lord's censures are wont to be, you must take care, in proportion as you become more illustrious, to submit so much the more humbly to your Maker. For it is written: When the Lord thy God shall have brought thee into a foreign land, and thou shalt eat the fruits of others, say not, Deut. ix. 4. 'By my own strength and righteousness I obtained these things,' but, 'The Lord God gave them to me, Christ in His mercy conferred them on me,' and therefore by loving His body, that is, the Church, pour water on His feet and kiss His feet; S. John xii. 5. thus shalt thou not only absolve those who have been taken in sin, but in giving to them peace you will bring them into concord and restore to them rest. Pour ointment on His feet, that the whole house wherein Christ sits at meat may be filled with the odour of thy ointment, and let all who sit at meat with Him rejoice in thy fragrance; that is to say, pay such regard even to the lowest, that in their absolution the Angels may rejoice, S. Luke xv. 10. as they do over one sinner that repenteth, the Apostles may be glad, the Prophets may exult. For 1 Cor. xii. 21. *the eye cannot say unto the hand,*

I have no need of thee, nor the head to the feet, I have no need of you. Since therefore each member is necessary, do thou protect the whole body of the Lord Jesus, that He also of His divine mercy may protect thy kingdom.

27. On my coming down he says to me, ‘You have been preaching at me to-day.’ I replied that in my discourse I had his benefit in view. He then said, ‘It is true, I did make too harsh a decree concerning the reparation of the synagogue by the Bishop, but this has been rectified. As for the monks, they commit many crimes.’ Then Timasius, one of the Generals-in-chief[209], began to be very vehement against the monks. I replied to him, ‘With the Emperor I deal as is fitting, because I know that he fears God, but with you, who speak so rudely, I shall deal differently.’

28. After standing for some time, I said to the Emperor, ‘Enable me to offer for you with a safe conscience, set my mind at rest.’ The Emperor sat still, and nodded, but did not promise in plain words; then, seeing that I still remained standing, he said that he would amend the order. I said at once that he must quash the whole enquiry, for fear the Count[210] should make it an opportunity for inflicting wrong on the Christians. He promised that it should be done. I said to him, ‘I act on your promise,’ and repeated the words again. ‘Do so’ said he. Then I went to the altar; but I would not have gone, if he had not given me his distinct promise. And indeed so great was the grace attending the oblation, that I myself was sensible that this favour he had granted was very acceptable to our God, and that the divine Presence had not been withheld. Then all was done as I wished.

THE LETTER OF POPE SIRICIUS TO THE CHURCH OF MILAN. A.D. 389.

THE Letter of Siricius was addressed to the Church of Milan to inform them of the sentence of excommunication passed against Jovinian and his

followers. Jovinian had been a monk, but had abandoned the ascetic life and rushed into extremes of self-indulgence: there is a good description of him in Tillemont, (Vie de S. Ambr. 63, 64,) who calls him ‘cet Epicure des Chrétiens.’ The false doctrines with which he ‘barked at the true doctrines of the Church’ are stated in this Letter and in the reply of the Synod of the Church of Milan which follows. Jovinian was answered by S. Jerome, who writes against him with much vehemence.

SIRICIUS TO THE CHURCH OF MILAN.

1. I WOULD fain always, beloved brethren, send you tidings of joys, sincere as you are in love and peace, so that by means of the mutual interchange of letters we might be pleased by the tidings of your welfare[211]. Our ancient Adversary however[212] does not suffer us to be free from his attacks, he who is a liar from the beginning, the enemy of truth, envious of man, in order to deceive whom he first deceived himself, the adversary of chastity, the teacher of sensuality, who is fed by cruelty, punished by abstinence, who hates fasts, asserting, as his followers also give out, that they are superfluous, having no hope of things to come, obnoxious to the censure of the Apostle, 1 Cor. xv. 32. *Let us eat and drink for to-morrow we die*.

2. O miserable boldness, O craft of a desperate mind! Already was this unknown language of heresy spreading through the Church like a cancer, seeking to fill the breast, and plunge the whole man in destruction: and unless the Lord of Sabaoth had broken through the snare which they had laid, the public exhibition of so much evil and hypocrisy would have led to ruin the hearts of many simple ones, for the human mind is easily drawn aside towards evil, choosing rather to fly through open space, than to travel with pain along the narrow way.

3. Wherefore it was very necessary, most dearly beloved, to commend what has been done here to your notice and consideration, lest through the

ignorance of any priest, the Church might be infected by the contagion of these most wicked men who are breaking in upon it under a religious pretext, as it is written and the Lord has said, S. Matt. vii. 15, 16. *Many come to you in sheeps' clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves; ye shall know them by their fruits*.

These are they who under a mean garb boast themselves as Christians, that walking under the semblance of piety they may enter the house of prayer and utter the words of wily disputation, Ps. xi. 2. *that they may privily shoot at them which are true of heart*, and, seducing them from Catholic truth, may draw them over, after the example of Satan, to the madness of their own doctrines, beguiling the simplicity of the flock.

4. And indeed from the times of the Apostles up to now we have heard and known by experience of many malignant heresies, but the sacred truth of the Church has never been assailed by the barking of such dogs as those who have now suddenly broken in upon us, with the doctrines of unbelief fully sprouted, enemies of the faith; who by the fruit of their works have betrayed whose disciples they are. For while other heretics misunderstanding single points have proposed to bear away and abstract from the Divine system of teaching, these men, S. Matt. xxii. 12. *not having on a wedding garment*, wound the Catholics, perverting, as I have said, the continuity of the New and Old Testament, and interpreting it in a diabolical spirit, have by their alluring and false arguments already begun to ruin some Christians, and to make them associates of their madness, not keeping within themselves the poison of their iniquity: but some of their chosen ones have betrayed their blasphemies by writing rash discourse, which the rage of a desperate mind has led them openly to publish, favouring, as it does, the cause of the Heathens.

5. But of their madness I suddenly received intelligence by means of a shocking writing which certain faithful Christians, men of high rank, and

signal piety, caused to be conveyed to me, unworthy as I am, in order that the opposition of these men to the Divine Law might be detected by the discernment of the Clergy and repressed by a spiritual sentence. Assuredly we receive without scorn the vows of those marriages which we assist at with the veil[213], but virgins, for whose existence marriage is necessary, as being devoted to God, we honour more highly.

6. Having therefore held an assembly of my clergy it became clear that their sentiments were contrary to our doctrine, that is, to the Christian law. Therefore, following the Apostolic precept, we, seeing that they were Gal. i. 8. *preaching another Gospel than that which we received*, have excommunicated them. Know therefore that it was the unanimous sentence of us all, as well of the presbyters and deacons as of the other clergy, that Jovinian, Auxentius, Genialis, Germinator, Felix, Prontinus[214], Martianus, Januarius, and Ingeniosus, who were discovered to be the promoters of the new heresy and blasphemy, should be condemned by the Divine sentence and our judgment, and remain in perpetual exclusion from the Church.

7. Nothing doubting that your Holiness will observe the aforesaid decree, I have sent you this Epistle by my brethren and fellow-priests, Crescens, Leopardus and Alexander, that they, with a fervent spirit, may perform a religious and faithful service.

LETTER XLII. A.D. 389.

IN THIS, THEIR reply to Siricius, drawn up in all probability by S. Ambrose himself, the Council of Milan thank him for his care, and announce that they have followed his example and condemned Jovinian and his followers in the same way. They dwell upon his errors, particularly on his disparagement of virginity, on his denial of the virginity of our Lord's Mother, on his contempt of widowhood, and of fasting, and condemn him as a follower of Manes. They argue in especial detail against his argument with regard to the Virgin Mary, which differs from that of Helvidius and other assailants of the ἀεὶ πάρθενος.

TO THEIR LORD, THEIR DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER, POPE SIRICIUS, AMBROSE, SABINUS, BASSANIUS, AND THE REST SEND GREETING.

1. IN your Holiness' Letter we recognized the vigilance of a good shepherd, for you faithfully guard the door which has been entrusted to you, and with pious solicitude watch over the fold of Christ, being worthy to be heard and followed by the sheep of the Lord. Knowing therefore the lambs of Christ, you will easily discover the wolves, and meet them as a wary shepherd, so as to keep them from scattering the Lord's flock by their unbelieving life and dismal barking.

2. We praise you for this, our Lord and brother dearly beloved, and join in cordial commendations of it. Nor are we surprised that the Lord's flock was terrified at the rage of wolves in whom they recognized not the voice of Christ. For it is a savage barking to shew no reverence to virginity, observe no rule of chastity, to seek to place every thing on a level, to abolish the

different degrees of merit, and to introduce a certain meagreness in heavenly rewards, as if Christ had only one palm to bestow, and there was no copious diversity in His rewards.

3. They pretend that they are giving honour to marriage. But what praise can rightly be given to marriage if no distinction is paid to virginity? We do not deny that marriage was hallowed by Christ, for the Divine words say, S. Matt. xix. 5. *And they twain shall be one flesh*, and one spirit, but our birth precedes our calling, and the mystery of the Divine operation is much more excellent than the remedy of human frailty. A good wife is deservedly praised, but a pious virgin is more properly preferred, for the Apostle says, 1 Cor. vii. 38. *He that giveth his virgin in marriage doeth well, but he that giveth her not in marriage doeth better;* Ib. 34. *for the one careth for the things of the Lord, the other for the things of the world*. The one is bound by the chains of marriage, the other is free from chains; the one is under the Law, the other under Grace. Marriage is good, for thereby the means of continuing the human race has been devised, but virginity is better, for thereby the heritage of the heavenly kingdom is regained, and the mode of attaining to heavenly rewards discovered. By a woman care entered the world; by a virgin salvation was brought to pass. Lastly, Christ chose virginity as His own special gift, and displayed the grace of chastity, thus making an exhibition of that in His own person which in His Mother He had made the object of His choice.

4. How great is the madness of their dismal barkings, that the same persons should say that Christ could not be born of a virgin, and yet assert that women, after having given birth to human pledges, remain virgins? Does Christ grant to others what, as they assert, He could not grant to Himself? But He, although He took on Him our flesh, although He was made man that He might redeem man, and recal him from death, still, as being God, came upon earth in an extraordinary way, that as He had said,

Isa. xliii. 19. *Behold I make all things new*, so also He might be born of an immaculate virgin, and be believed to be, as it is written, S. Matt. i. 23. *God with us*. But from their perverse ways they are induced to say 'She was a virgin when she conceived, but not a virgin when she brought forth.' Could she then conceive as a virgin, and yet not be able to bring forth as a virgin, when conception always precedes, and birth follows?

5. But if they will not believe the doctrines of the Clergy, let them believe the oracles of Christ, let them believe the admonitions of Angels who say, S. Luke i. 37. *For with God nothing shall be impossible*. Let them give credit to the Creed of the Apostles, which the Roman Church has always kept and preserved undefiled. Mary heard the voice of the Angel, and she who before had said Ib. 34. *How shall this be?* not asking from want of faith in the mode of generation, afterwards replied, Ib. 38. *Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to thy word*. This is the virgin who conceived, this the virgin who brought forth a Son. For thus it is written, *Behold a Virgin shall conceive and bear a Son*; declaring not only that she should conceive as a virgin, but also that she bring forth as a virgin.

6. But what is that Ezek. xliv. 1, 2. *gate of the sanctuary*, that *outward gate which looketh towards the East, which remains shut, and no man*, it is said, *shall enter in by it but the Lord, the God of Israel*. Is not Mary this gate, by whom the Saviour entered into the world? This is the gate of righteousness, as He Himself said, S. Matt. iii. 15. *Suffer us to fulfil all righteousness*. Blessed Mary is the gate, whereof it is written that Ezek. xliv. 2. *the Lord hath entered in by it, therefore it shall be shut* after birth; for as a virgin she both conceived and brought forth.

7. But why should it be incredible that Mary, contrary to the usage of natural birth, should bring forth and yet remain a virgin; when contrary to the usage of nature, Ps. cxiv. 3. the sea saw and fled, and the floods of Jordan retired to their source. It should not exceed our belief that a virgin

should bring forth, when we read that Exod. xvii. 6. a rock poured forth water, Ib. xiv. 22. and the waves of the sea were gathered up like a wall. Nor need it, again, exceed our belief that a man should be born of a virgin, Numb. xx. 11. when a running stream gushed forth from the rock, 2 Kings vi. 6. when iron swam upon the waters, S. Matt. xiv. 26. and a man walked upon them. If therefore the waves carried a man, could not a virgin bring forth a man? But what man? Him of Whom we read, Is. xix. 20, 21. *The Lord shall send them a Man Who shall deliver them; and the Lord shall be known to Egypt*. Wherefore in the old Testament Exod. xv. 20. a Hebrew virgin led the people through the sea, in the New Testament a royal virgin was elected to be a heavenly abode for our salvation.

8. But what more? let us also subjoin the praises of widowhood, since in the Gospel next after that most illustrious birth from a virgin, comes the widow Anna; she who S. Luke ii. 36, 37. *had lived with an husband seven years from her virginity; and she was a widow of about fourscore and four years, which departed not from the temple, but served with fastings and prayers night and day*.

9. And fitting it is that these men should despise widowhood, which is wont to keep fasts, for they regret that they should have been mortified by these for any time, and avenge the wrong they inflicted on themselves, and by daily banquets and habits of luxury seek to ward off the pain of abstinence. They do nothing more rightly than in thus condemning themselves out of their own mouth.

10. But they even fear lest their former fasting should be reckoned against them. Let them choose whichever they like: if they ever fasted, let them repent of their good work, if never, let them confess their own intemperance and luxury. And so they assert that Paul was a teacher of excess. But who can be a teacher of temperance if he was a teacher of excess, 1 Cor. ix. 27. *who chastised his body and brought it into subjection*,

and recorded his performance of the service he owed to Christ 2 Cor. vi. 5. by many fastings; and this not for the purpose of praising himself and his doings, but that he might teach us, what example to follow. Did he then teach excess who said, Col. ii. 20. sqq. *Why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances? Touch not, taste not, handle not, which all are to perish with the using*; who also says, *Not in indulgence of the body, not in any honour to the satisfying and love of the flesh, not in the lusts of error; but in the Spirit by Whom we are renewed*.

11. If what the Apostle has said is not enough, let them hear the Prophet saying, Ps. lxix. 10. *I chastened myself with fasting*. He therefore who fasts not is uncovered and naked and exposed to wounds. And if Adam had clothed himself with fasting Gen. iii. 7. he would not have been found to be naked. Jonah iii. 5. Nineveh delivered itself from death by fasting. And the Lord Himself says, S. Matt. xvii. 21. *This kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting*.

12. But why need we say more to our master and teacher? seeing that these persons have now paid the worthy price of their perfidy, who have on this account come even hither, that no place might remain where they were not condemned; who have proved themselves to be truly Manichees, by not believing that He came forth from a virgin. What madness is this, almost equal to that of the modern Jews? If He is not believed so to have come, neither is He believed to have taken upon Him our flesh, therefore He was seen only in figure, He was crucified only in figure. But He was crucified for us in truth, He is in truth our Redeemer.

13. He is a Manichee who denies the truth, who denies that Christ came in the flesh; and therefore the remission of sins is not their's; but it is the impiety of the Manichees which both the most merciful Emperor has abhorred[215], and all who saw them have fled from as a plague. Witnesses thereof are our brethren and fellow-presbyters, Crescens, Leopardus, and

Alexander, fervent in the Holy Spirit, by whose means they have been exposed to common execration, and driven as fugitives from the city of Milan.

14. Wherefore you are to know that Jovinian, Auxentius, Germinator, Felix, Plotinus, Genialis, Martianus, Januarius and Ingeniosus, whom your Holiness has condemned, have also, in accordance with your judgment, been condemned by ourselves.

May our Almighty God keep you in safety and prosperity, Lord and brother most beloved.

Here follows the subscription.

I Eventius[216], Bishop, salute your Holiness in the Lord, and have subscribed this Epistle.

MAXIMUS, Bishop.

FELIX, Bishop.

BASSIANUS, Bishop.

THEODORUS, Bishop.

CONSTANTIUS, Bishop.

By command of my lord Geminianus Bishop, and in his presence, I Aper, Presbyter, have subscribed.

Eustasius, Bishop, and all the Orders have subscribed.

LETTER XLIII.

THIS LETTER IS a reply to a question from Horontianus, why man, the highest work of God's creation, was made the last. S. Ambrose brings forward various analogies to shew that the last is first, and each with an enthusiastic and poetical description of man's greatness and of his dominion over the other works of creation.

AMBROSE TO HORONTIANUS.

1. You have intimated to me your surprise at finding in my Treatise on the Gen. i. 16. Six days of Creation, that, while you found both the Sacred Narrative and the tenor of my discourse assigning greater gifts to man than to any other creature in the earth, still that the land and the waters brought forth all flying and creeping things and things in the waters before him for whose sake they were all created: and you ask me the reason of this, which Moses was silent about, and I did not venture to touch upon.

2. And perhaps that spokesman of the Divine Oracles purposely kept silence, lest he should seem to render himself the judge and counsellor of the Divine ordinances; for to give utterance to that with which he was inspired by the Spirit of God is one thing, to interpret the will of God is another. I am of opinion however that we, not as speaking in God's Name, but as gathering up scattered principles of reason from human usage, may be able, from the way in which God has disposed other things for man's use, to come to the conclusion that it was fitting for man to be the last work of creation.

3. For he who sets out a banquet, S. Luke xiv. 16. like that rich man in the Gospel, (for we must compare Divine things with each other the better

to draw our conclusion,) prepares every thing first, kills his oxen and fatlings, and then bids his friends to supper. The more trivial things therefore are prepared in the first place, and then he who is worthy of honour is invited. Hence the Lord also first provided for the food of man all other animals, and then invited to the feast man himself, as His friend: and truly His friend, seeing that he was partaker of the Divine Charity and heir of His Glory. To man himself it is that He says: S. Matt. xxii. 12. *Friend, how camest thou in hither?* So then all things that precede are to minister to the need of the friend, and it is the friend who is invited last.

4. Take another instance. What is the world but a sort of arena of continual strife? Wherefore also in the Apocalypse the Lord says, Rev. ii. 10. *To him that overcometh will I give a crown of life*; and Paul says, 2 Tim. iv. 7. *I have fought a good fight*; and in another place, Ib. ii. 5. *No man is crowned except he strive lawfully*. He who institutes this combat is Almighty God. Now he who in this world offers a combat, does he not first provide all things which are necessary thereto, and prepare the chaplets of victory before he summons the athletics to contend for the prize; and all this that the conqueror may not suffer delay, but retire from the contest crowned with his reward? Now the rewards of man are the fruits of the earth and the lights of heaven; the former for the use of this present life, the latter for the hope of life eternal.

5. As a wrestler therefore he enters the lists last of all; he raises his eyes to heaven, he sees that even the heavenly Rom. viii. 20. *creation was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope*. He sees that *the whole creation groaneth in pain together, waiting for redemption*. He sees that labour awaits us all. He raises his eyes, he sees the circlets of lights, he surveys the orbs of the moon and stars: Dan. xii. 3. *For the just, who overcome, shall be as the stars in heaven*. And he chastises his body, that it may not be his enemy in the combat, he anoints it

with the oil of mercy, he exercises it with daily trials of virtue, he smears himself with dust, he *runs* to the goal of the course but 1 Cor. ix. 26. *not as uncertainly*, he aims his blows, he darts forth his arms, but not into empty space, he strikes the adversary whom he sees not, for he has respect to Him alone to Whom all enemies give way, even those who are invisible, in Whose Name the powers of the air were turned aside. It is he therefore who poises the blow, but it is Christ Who strikes, it is he who lifts up his heel, but Christ Who directs it to the ground. Lastly, although Paul saw not those whom he struck, he was not *as one that beateth the air*, because by the preaching of Christ he wounded those evil spirits which assaulted him. Rightly therefore did man, for whom a race was prepared, enter the course last, that he might be preceded by heaven which was to be, as it were, his reward.

6. But we wrestle not only Eph. vi. 12. *against spiritualities of wickedness in high places*, but also *against flesh and blood*. We wrestle with satiety, with the very fruits of the earth, with wine, Gen. ix. 21. by which even a righteous man was made drunk, and the whole people of the Jews overthrown; we wrestle with wild animals, with the fowls of the air; for our flesh, if pampered by these, cannot be brought to subjection; we wrestle 2 Cor. xi. 26. *with perils of the way, with perils of waters*, as Paul says; we wrestle with rods of the wood, Acts xvi. 22. those rods with which the Apostles were beaten. You see how severe are our combats. Thus the earth is man’s trial-ground, heaven is his crown; and fitting therefore it was that as a friend, what was to minister to his wants should precede him, as a combatant, his reward.

7. Take another illustration. In all things the beginning and the ending are most excellent. If you look upon a house, it is the foundation and the roof which are more considerable than the other parts, if you look upon a field it is the sowing and the harvest, the planting and the vintage. How sweet are

the grafts of trees, how pleasant are the fruits! In the same manner also was the heaven created first, and man last, as a kind of heavenly creature upon earth. For although in body he is compared with the beasts, in mind he is numbered among the inhabitants of heaven; for 1 Cor. xv. 49. Gen. i. 27. *as we have borne the image of the earthy; we shall also bear the image of the heavenly*. How should he not be heavenly, who is made after the image and likeness of God?

8. Rightly therefore in the creation of the world the heaven is both first and last, wherein is that which is beyond heaven, even the God of heaven. And of man is rather to be understood the text, Is. lxvi. 1. *Heaven is my throne*, for God does not sit above the element, but in the heart of man. Wherefore the Lord also says, S. John xiv. 23. *We will come unto Him, and make our abode with Him*. Heaven therefore is the first work in the creation of the world, and man the last.

9. Heaven is of the world, man above the world; for the former is a portion of the world, the latter is an inhabitant of Paradise, and the possession of Christ. Heaven is thought to be undecaying, yet it passes away; man is deemed to be incorruptible, yet he puts on incorruption; the fashion of the first perishes, the latter rises again as being immortal; yet the hands of the Lord, according to the authority of Scripture, formed them both. For as we read of the heavens, Ps. cii. 25. *And the heavens are the work of Thy hands*; so also man says, Ib. cxix. 73. *Thy hands have made me and fashioned me*; and again, Ps. xix. 1. *The heavens declare the glory of God*. And as the heaven is resplendent with stars, so are men S. Matt. v. 16. bright with the light of good works, for their works shine before their Father Which is in heaven. The former is the firmament of heaven which is on high, and the latter firmament is not unlike to it, whereof it is said, Ib. xvi. 18. *Upon this rock will I build My Church*; the one is the firmament of the elements, the other of virtues, and the last is more excellent; Deut. xxxii. 13.

they sucked honey out of the firm rock, for *the Rock* is the flesh 1 Cor. x. 4. *of Christ*, which redeemed the heaven and the whole world.

10. Why should I add further, carrying you, as it were, through the whole course, that God made man 2 S. Pet. i. 4. *partaker of the Divine nature*, as we read in the Epistle of Peter? Whence one says not improperly, *We also are His offspring*, for He made us akin to Himself, and we are of a rational nature, that we might seek for that Godhead Acts xvii. 27, 28. *Which is not far from each one of us, in Whom we live and move and have our being*.

11. Having therefore conferred on man that which is the greatest of graces, Gen. i. 28. He granted to him as to that creature who was dearest and very nearest to Him, all the things which are in this world, that he might want for nothing which is necessary either for life or for a good life, some of which things were to be supplied by the abundance of earthly plenty to minister pleasure, others again by the knowledge of heavenly secrets, to arouse man's mind by the love and desire of that discipline which should enable us to reach the summit of the Divine mysteries. Both these therefore are most excellent gifts, both to have all the riches of the world subject to him, all flying and creeping things and fishes, and, as being lord of the elements, the use of the sea, and without toil or want, after the model and likeness of his adorable Creator, to abound in all things, living in the greatest plenty, and also to open paths for himself, and make progress, so as to ascend to the royal abode of heaven.

12. You will easily discover that the traveller along this arduous path is the man, who has been so fashioned in purpose of heart and will, as to be, as far as possible, estranged from his body, as not to enter into any fellowship with vice, nor suffer himself to be smoothed down by the words of flatterers: one who does not, when riding on the chariot of prosperity, despise the humble, shun sorrow, discard and disparage the praises of the holy, nor, by desire of glory or of wealth, grasped at too prematurely,

exhaust all the ardour of hope; one whose mind is not bowed down by sadness nor broken by injury, which is not harassed by suspicion, nor excited by lust, whom the passions of the body do not overcome, whom no desire of vanities or charms of pleasure disquiet and disturb. Add to all this the virtues of chastity, soberness and temperance; let him be able easily to curb the irregular sallies of light passion, set bounds to his pleasures and desires, clear up ambiguity by an equitable judgment, by tranquillity of mind settle what is doubtful, and with all the strifes of the mind and body reconciled, so to speak, preserve in a just balance the concord of the exterior and interior man unimpaired, stilling them as they lie within his own breast, while, should he be called to it, no evil counsellor is able to turn him away from the crown of suffering, such a man surely will be adopted not only as a friend but a son by the Father, that he may obtain the riches of His glory and inheritance.

13. Rightly therefore did he come last, being, as it were, the end of nature, formed to righteousness, and the arbiter of right among other creatures. And, if we may employ the illustration, as among men Rom. x. 4. *Christ is the end of the Law for righteousness to every one that believeth*, so are we as beasts in the sight of the Lord, for thus says the Prophet, Ps. lxxiii. 21. *I became as a beast before Thee*. Yet what comparison is there between the two, when He has redeemed those who were ready to perish, and we put them to death, He calls slaves to liberty and we inflict bondage on the free? Ps. lxxxix. 9. *But who is like God?*

14. Man however came forth the last of all created things, in form comely, in mind lofty, to be admired by all creatures, having in him, after the image of the eternal God, an invisible intelligence[217] clothed in human form. This is that intelligence or power of the soul which claims to itself, as the ruling principle, authority over the soul and body. This it is that all other

living creatures dread although they see it not, just as we fear God Whom we see not, and fear Him only the more because we see Him not.

15. For, if we may presume to speak of ourselves Gen. i. 26. *after His image and likeness*, as Scripture says, in the same way as He is established in the fulness of His Majesty, and sees all things, heaven, air, earth and sea, embracing the universe and penetrating each part, so that nothing escapes Him, and there is nothing which does not consist in Him and depend on Him, and which is not full of Him, as He Himself says, Jer. xxiii. 24. *I fill heaven and earth, saith the Lord*, so likewise the mind of man sees all things and is not seen, but maintains its own essence invisible. By means of discipline forethought and perception she apprehends hidden things, dives into the secret of the deep, and those lurking-places which are spread throughout all lands, scrutinizing the nature of both elements, after the likeness of the great God Whom she imitates and follows, Whose image in minute portions is represented in each individual. She raises herself likewise into the air, and rising above the cloudy region, soars, in zeal for knowledge and thirst for wisdom, to the height of heaven, and resting there awhile, rapt in wonder at the heavenly constellations and charmed with their brightness, looks down upon the things of earth. Then she approaches also to Hesperus and Arcturus and those other stars which although Planets err not, and sees that they keep their course without stumbling, that course along which, in order the better to visit all regions, they seem to circuit and to wander. And thus with greater ardour she raises herself to the very bosom of the Father, wherein is the S. John i. 18. Only-Begotten Son of God Who declares the secrets of God, which in the time to come are to be revealed face to face. But even now He discloses them partly and in a figure to those whom He deems worthy, and at the same time sheds forth from the Spirit and from His own countenance floods of resplendent light, so that he who is illuminated thereby may say, Jer. xx. 9. *But it was as a fire blazing in my*

bones and I am melted on all sides, and cannot stay. And David says, Ps. xvii. 2. *Let my sentence come forth from Thy presence!*

16. By this vigour of mind, therefore, to return to the point from whence I have digressed, whereby she subjects to herself things external, comprehends in her view things distant and separate from each other, and subdues the more powerful animals, she has inspired the rest with such reverence for herself, that they emulously obey her as their king, and pay ready attention to her voice. Nay, although they are irrational they still acknowledge reason, and fix within themselves that discipline which nature has not given them. Furthermore wild beasts, seeing man's gentleness, grow gentle under his rule. Often have they closed their jaws, recalled by the sound of the human voice. We see hares caught without injury by the harmless fangs of dogs, and even lions, if they hear man's voice, letting their prey escape: leopards also and bears urged on and recalled by the sound of his voice: the horses stimulated by the applause of man, and slackening their speed at his silence: nay, often, untouched by the lash they outstrip others that are scourged on, so much more powerfully does the scourge of the tongue incite them.

17. But what shall I say of the creatures' services to man? In order to please him the ram nourishes his fleece, and is plunged in the stream to enhance its beauty; sheep also crop the best herbage to distend with sweeter juice of milk their teeming udders; and, that they may offer to man their gifts, suffer the pangs of travail; bulls groan all day under the plough pressed down in the furrows; camels, besides the service of bearing burthens, suffer themselves to be shorn like rams, so that each animal contributes to man, as to a king, its service, and pays its annual tribute. The horse, exulting in such a rider, prances proudly, and curving his neck when his master mounts, gives his back to afford him a seat. And if you are still at a loss why man was made last, let the same animal teach us that this is to be

deemed an honour not a slight. For he bears one who came after him, not despising but fearing him, and bearing him with pain to himself from place to place. In a moment of time man reaches far distant places and traverses long distances, transported sometimes on single horses, sometimes in triumphal chariots[218].

18. And since I have mentioned triumphal chariots it is needful that I should add thereto 2 Kings ii. 11. the chariot of Elijah which carried him through the air, and those of elephants, whereon man sits as conqueror, and governs although he be last and they precede him. And thus the steersman of a ship sits in the stern, and yet guides the whole ship. Whence I deem it not without a purpose that we are told in the Gospel S. Matt. viii. 24; S. Mark iv. 38. that the Lord Jesus was asleep in the stern of the ship; and that when awakened He commanded the wind and the sea, and laid the storm, shewing thereby that He came last because He came as the Pilot. Wherefore the Apostle says, 1 Cor. xv. 45, 46. *The first man Adam was made a living soul, the last Adam was made a quickening Spirit. Howbeit that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural, and afterwards that which is spiritual*; and then he adds, Ib. 47. *The first man is of the earth, earthy, the second man is from heaven, heavenly*.

19. Rightly therefore is man the last, being as it were the consummation of the whole work, the cause of the world, for whose sake all things were made; the habitant, as it were, of all the elements, he lives among beasts, swims with fishes, soars above birds, converses with Angels, dwells upon the earth, and has his warfare in heaven, ploughs the sea, feeds upon air, tills the soil, is a voyager over the deep, a fisher in the floods, a fowler in the air, Rom. viii. 17. in heaven an heir even joint-heir with Christ. These things he does by his diligence.

20. Hear also things above man’s natural power. Exod. xiv. 29. Moses walked along the bottom of the sea, S. John xxi. 7. the Apostles upon the surface, Bel and the Dragon 36. Habbacuc flew without wings, Elijah conquered upon earth, and triumphed in heaven.

Farewell, my son; love me for I also love you.

LETTER XLIV. A.D. 389.

S. AMBROSE HERE first dwells on the distinction between God and the Universe which is His work. He then speaks of the six days of Creation, and of the mystical meaning of the numbers seven and eight, applying various passages of Scripture in which they occur, and bringing forward analogies from nature.

AMBROSE TO HORONTIANUS.

1. YOU have done well to mark the prophet's distinction between the Creator and His works, or rather, God's own distinction; for Moses wrote not of himself, but by inspiration and revelation, particularly in what relates to the formation of the world. For the One being impassible, the other liable to suffering, he has referred that which was impassible to God the Creator, but the passible part, without life or motion of its own, but receiving life and motion and form from its Creator, he has assigned to the world; and as this world, after its creation, ought not to be left without a ruler, or unprotected by any father, he therefore plainly describes the invisible God as the Ruler and Governor of this visible world. 2 Cor. iv. 18. *For the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal.*

2. He therefore states the creation of the world to have taken place in six days, not that God required time to form it in, for He can do in a moment what He wills, for Ps. cxlviii. 5. *He spake the word, and they were created*, but because things which are made, need some certain order, and order requires both time and number. And especially for the purpose of giving us a model for our works has He observed a certain number of days and certain seasons; for we also require time wherein to do aught perfectly, so as not to

be precipitate in our counsels and works; nor to neglect their proper order. For when we read that God, as Scripture tells us, has Ps. civ. 24. *made all things in wisdom*, and by a certain counsel disposition and order, it is agreeable to reason that He should first have made the heavens which are the most beautiful; it is fitting also that we should first raise our eyes thither and conceive that it behoves us to aim at arriving thither, and that we should consider that it is to be preferred to all earthly habitations.

3. Wherefore in six days He created the world, Gen. ii. 2. on the seventh day He rested from His works. The number seven is good, and we treat it not according to the manner of Pythagoras and other philosophers, but according to the form and divisions of spiritual grace, Is. xi. 2. for the prophet Isaiah has set forth the seven principal virtues of the Holy Spirit. This sacred seven, like the venerable Trinity of the Father Son and Holy Ghost, knows neither time nor order, and is the origin of number, not bound by any of its laws. Wherefore as the heaven the earth and the sea were formed in honour of the eternal Trinity, and also the sun moon and stars, so in like manner we observe that it is according to this sevenfold circle of spiritual virtues, and this swiftly revolving orbit of Divine operation, that a certain sevenfold ministry of planets, whereby this world is illuminated, has been created. And their service is said to agree with the number of these stars, which are fixed, or, as they are called in Greek, ἀπλανεῖς[219]. The North has likewise received its Latin name (Septemtrio) from being irradiated by seven stars, upon the brightness of which as their guide pilots are said specially to fix their gaze.

4. And this peculiar property has come down from heaven to earth; for not to speak of the sevenfold fashion of the head, in the two eyes, the two ears and nostrils, and the mouth whereby we enjoy the taste of great sweetness, how wonderful is it that in the seventh month most men are conceived, and he that is afterwards born receives at that time the

commencement of his vital course. But in the eighth month we perceive that by a natural law the season of bringing forth is suspended, and if some fatal compulsion has opened the barriers of the womb, the danger both of the mother and her offspring is nigh at hand.

5. But he who is born on the seventh day, although he be born well, is born to labour, but he who on the eighth day, obtains the mysteries of regeneration, is consecrated by grace, and called to the inheritance of the celestial kingdom. Great in the virtues of the Spirit is the grace of the holy number seven, but the same grace answers to the number seven, and consecrates the number eight. In the first we have the name, but in the latter the fruit, and therefore the grace of the Spirit, conferred on the eighth day, restored to Paradise those whom their own fault had banished.

6. The Old Testament too knew this number eight which in Latin we call the Octave, for the preacher says, Eccles. xi. 2. *give a portion to seven and also to eight*. The number seven belongs to the Old Testament, the number eight to the New, for then Christ rose, and the day of new salvation shone upon all. This is the day whereof the Prophet says, Ps. cxviii. 24. *This is the day which the Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in it*: for on that day the brightness of full and perfect circumcision was infused into the hearts of men. On this account the Old Testament also gave a part to eight in the solemnity of circumcision. But this still lay in darkness: then came Mal. iv. 2. *the Sun of righteousness*, and by the consummation of His passion revealed His rays of light; these He unfolded to all, and opened the brightness of eternal life.

7. These then are that seven and eight whereof Hosea says that by that number he purchased to himself, and acquired the fulness of faith, for thus it is written, Hosea iii. 2. *So I bought her to me for fifteen pieces of silver, and for an homer of barley, and an half homer of barley, and a measure of wine*[220]. But in the former verses God had commanded him to hire to

himself an harlot, and it is manifest that he did so, in that he has mentioned the price of her hiring. Now the fifteen pieces of silver are made up of the numbers seven and eight, wherefore they represent these numbers. And by the price of the two Testaments, that is, of perfect faith, the prophecy hath received the consummation of its faith and the Church her fulness. For by the first Testament the people of Israel were gained, by the second the heathen and Gentiles. And so by a perfect faith the harlot is hired, seeking herself a consort either among the Gentiles, or from the adulterous people of the Jews, who had deserted their Lord, the Author of their virgin faith, and spread their congregations over the breadth of the whole world.

8. With regard to the words, *an homer of barley, and half an homer of barley*, in the homer we have a full measure, in the half homer the measure is but partly full; fulness in the Gospel, half-fulness in the Law, as we read in our Lord's own words, S. Matt. v. 17. *I am not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil the law*. And in another place the Lord says by the prophet Micah, Micah v. 5. *Then shall there be peace in the land of Israel, when the Assyrian shall come into his land; and there arose against him seven shepherds, and eight bites*[221] *of men*. For the faithful people will then enjoy perfect peace and be freed from all temptations and vanities, when peace and grace shall have shut out the vanity of this world from our hearts, the peace, that is, of the Old, the grace of the New Testament.

9. The *seven shepherds* are the precepts of the law, whereby the flock not yet endued with reason are led through the wilderness by the rod of Moses, and governed. The *eight bites of man* are the commandments of the Gospel, and the words of the Lord's mouth. Rom. x. 10. *For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.* Those *bites* are good whereby we have tasted the gift of eternal life, and in the Body of Christ have received the remission of sins. In the Old Testament the bite of death is bitter, wherefore it is said, Isa. xxv. 8.

Prevailing death has devoured[222]. In the New Testament sweet is the taste of life, which has swallowed up death, wherefore the Apostle says, 1 Cor. xv. 54, 55. *Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy sting, O grave, where is thy victory?*

10. Moreover, to use the testimony of the Apostles, when God made man, Heb. iv. 4. *He rested from all His works on the seventh day*. But when the Jews wilfully disobeyed the commands of their God, the Lord said, Ib. 3. *If they shall enter into My rest*. And therefore the Lord appointed another day, whereof He says, Ps. xcv. 8. *To-day if ye will hear My voice*. For in general Scripture speaks of two days, yesterday and to-day, of which it is said, Heb. xiii. 8. *Jesus Christ the same, yesterday to-day and for ever*. On the first day the promise is made, on the second it is fulfilled. But since on the former day neither Moses nor Joshua brought the people into their rest, Christ, to Whom the Father said, *This day have I begotten Thee*, has brought them in to-day, for by His Resurrection Jesus has obtained peace for His people. The Lord Jesus is our rest; Who says, S. Luke xxiii. 43. *To-day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise*. For rest is in heaven, not on earth.

11. Why then need I watch the rising and setting of the stars, at whose rising the fallows should be ploughed up and pierced by the hard ploughshares, and at whose setting the fruitful crop should be cut down by the sickle? One star suffices for me in the place of all others, Rev. xxii. 16. *the bright and morning Star*, at Whose rising was sown the seed not of corn but of martyrs; when Rachel wept for her children, and offered in the stead of Christ her children washed in her own tears. The setting of this Star raised from the tomb not the senseless relics of the funeral pile, but the triumphant bands of the re-animated dead.

12. Let then this number seven be observed by us, seeing that the life of man passes through seven stages to old age, as Hippocrates the teacher of medicine has explained in his writings. The first age is infancy, the second

boyhood, the third youth, the fourth adult age, the fifth manhood, the sixth fulness of years, the seventh old age. Thus we have the infant, the boy, the youth, the young man, the man, the elder, the aged.

13. Solon however made ten periods of life, each of seven years; so that the first period, or infancy, should extend to the growth of the teeth, to chew its food, and utter articulate words so as to seem intelligible; boyhood again extends to the time of puberty and of carnal temptation; youth to the growth of the beard; adult age lasts until virtue has attained its perfection; the fifth is the age of manhood, fitted, during its whole course, for marriage; the sixth belongs also to manhood, in that it is adapted to the combat of prudence, and is strenuous in action; the seventh and eighth period also exhibit man ripe in years, vigorous in faculties, and his discourse endowed with a grace of utterance not unpleasing; the ninth period has still some strength remaining, and in speech and wisdom are of a chastened kind; the tenth period fills up the measure, and he who has strength to reach it, will after a full period of years knock late at the gate of death.

14. Thus Hippocrates and Solon recognized either seven ages, or periods of age consisting of seven years. In this then let the number seven prevail; but the octave introduces one uninterrupted period during which we grow up into Eph. iv. 18. a perfect man, in the knowledge of God, in the fulness of faith, wherein the measure of a legitimate period of life is completed.

15. In our inward parts also the virtue of the seventh number is manifested; for it is said that we have within us seven organs, the stomach, heart, lungs, spleen, liver, and the two kidneys, and outwardly seven also, the head, the hinder parts, the belly, two hands and two feet.

16. Very excellent are these members, but subject to pain. Who then can doubt that the office of the Octave, which has renewed the whole man, so as not to be susceptible of pain, is more exalted? Wherefore the seventh age of the world being completed, the grace of the Octave has shone upon us, that

grace which has made man to be no longer of this world, but above the world. But now we live not according to our own life but to that of Christ. For to us Phil. i. 21. *to live is Christ, and to die is gain,* Gal. ii. 20. *and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God*. So says the Apostle, 1 S. John ii. 18. whence we gather that the day of the world is come to a close. Again, at the last hour the Lord Jesus came, and died for us, 2 Cor. v. 15. *and we are all dead in Him, that we may live to God*. It is not then our former selves that now live, *but Christ liveth in us*.

17. The number seven is passed away, the octave is arrived. Yesterday is gone, to-day is come, that promised day wherein we are admonished to hear and follow the word of God. That day of the Old Testament is passed away, that new day is come, wherein the New Testament is perfected, whereof it is said, Jer. xxxi. 31, 32; Heb. viii. 8, 9. *Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah; not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day when I took them by the hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt*. He adds too the reason why the Testament was changed, Ib. 9. *Because they continued not in My covenant, and I regarded them not, saith the Lord*.

18. The priests of the Law, the tribunals of the Law have passed away; let us draw nigh to Heb. iv. 14. *our new High Priest, to the throne of grace*, to the guest of our souls, to the Priest, Ib. vii. 16. *Who is not made after the law of the carnal commandment, but* elected *after the power of an endless life*[223]. For *He took not this honour to himself*, but was chosen by the Father, as the Father Himself saith, Ib. 17. Ps. cx. 4. *Thou art a Priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedech*. Other priests offered for themselves and for their people; this Man, not having sin, that He should offer for Himself, offered

Himself for the whole world, and by His own blood entered into the Sanctuary.

19. He then is the new Priest and the new Victim, not of the law but above the law, the universal Mediator, the Light of the world, Who said, Heb. x. 7. *Lo I come*, and came. To Him then let us draw near in the fulness of faith, adoring and beseeching and hoping in Him, Whom with our eyes we see not, but Whom we embrace with our hearts, to Whom be glory and honour for ever. Farewell, my son; love me, for I love you.

LETTER XLV. A.D. 385.

S. AMBROSE REPLIES to the inquiry of Sabinus whether he had written concerning Paradise, and what was his opinion concerning it. Having first touched on the historical description of the place, he proceeds to the mystical explanation of it. And having shewn that Paradise is situate in the principal region of the soul, he teaches what is signified by the several parts thereof, and what men should imitate in the serpent. Lastly, having declared the greatness of human weakness and what great love God has shewn us from the beginning, he exhorts men to fly the pleasures of the senses.

AMBROSE TO SABINUS.

1. HAVING read my work on the six days of creation, you have thought good to enquire whether I have added ought concerning Paradise, and to express your strong desire to know what opinion I hold concerning it. I have, in truth, written on this subject, though not yet a veteran priest.

2. The opinions about it I have found to be many and various. Josephus, as an historian, tells us it is a place filled with trees and thick shrubs, and that it is watered by a river which divides itself into four streams. Its waters being thus gathered into one, this region does not entirely empty and deprive itself of its feeders, but up to this day bursts out into fountains and sends forth its winding streams, nourishing by them her offspring as from the full breasts of a pious mother.

3. Others expound it differently, but all agree that in Paradise is the deep rooted Tree of life, and the Tree of Knowledge whereby good and evil are discerned, the other trees also, full of vigor, and life, endued both with breath and reason. Wherefore we conclude that the real Paradise is no

earthly one which can be seen; that it is placed in no spot of ground, but in the highest part of our own nature, which receives animation and life from the powers of the soul, and from the communication of the Spirit of God.

4. Moreover, Solomon by inspiration of the Spirit has plainly shown that Paradise is in man himself. And seeing that he declares the mysteries either of the soul and the Word, or of Christ and the Church, he says of the virgin soul, or of the Church which he wished 2 Cor. xi. 2. *to present as a chaste virgin to Christ,* Cant. iv. 12. *A garden enclosed is my sister, my spouse, a spring sealed up, a fountain closed*.

5. 'Paradisus' is the Greek, 'hortus' the Latin name. And in the Latin text we read that Susannah was in a paradise. Adam too was in a paradise. Let it not trouble you then that some Latin manuscripts have the word 'hortus,' others 'paradisus.'

6. Where the chaste wife is, there also is the virgin; the chosen virgin has indeed her barriers and enclosures, but both are in a garden, that thus by the shade of virtue they may be shielded from the heats of the body and concupiscence of the flesh.

7. Hence also Paradise is in our highest part, thick set with the growth of many opinions, and wherein chiefly God hath placed the Tree of life, that is, the root of piety, for this is the true substance of our life, that we should offer due service to our Lord and God.

8. He has likewise planted within us a seed-plot of the knowledge of good and evil; for man alone of all creatures of the earth possesses the knowledge of good and evil. Divers other plants are also there, whose fruits are virtues.

9. Now since God knew that man's affections, once endued with knowledge, would more readily incline towards craft than towards perfect prudence, (for how could the qualities of His work be concealed from His discerning eye, Who had set up certain boundaries in our soul?) He desired

to cast out craft from Paradise, and as the provident Author of our salvation, to place therein the desire of life and the discipline of piety. Gen. iii. 2, 3. Wherefore He commanded man to eat of every tree which is in Paradise, but that of the tree of knowledge of good and evil he should not eat.

10. But since all creatures are subject to passions, lust, with the stealth of a serpent, has crept over man's affections: well therefore has holy Moses represented lust under the similitude of a serpent; for it creeps upon its belly like a serpent, not walking on foot, nor raised up on legs, gliding along by the sinuous contortions, as it were, of its whole body. Its food, as that of the serpent, is earthly, for it knows not heavenly food, but feeds on carnal things, and changes itself into various kinds of desire, and bends to and fro in tortuous wreaths. It has poison in its fangs, whereby the belly of every luxurious man is ripped up, the glutton is slain, the licker up of dishes perishes. How many have been burst by wine, weakened by drunkenness, distended by gluttony.

11. Now I understand why the Lord God breathed on the face of man; for there is the seat and there are the incitements to lust, the eyes, the ears, the nose and the mouth; it was to fortify our senses against lust. Now it was this lust, which, as a serpent, inspired us with craft, for it is not lust but labour and constant meditation, which, by God's grace, gives perfect wisdom.

12. Now since the posterity of Adam are involved in the snares of the serpent, let us imitate herein the fraud of the serpent, and not run our head into danger, but be careful of its security beyond that of our other members, for 1 Cor. xi. 3. *the head of every man is Christ*. Let this remain safe, that the poison of the serpent may not harm us. For Eccles. vii. 11. *Wisdom is good with an inheritance*, that is, with faith, for there is an inheritance to them that believe in God.

13. But if that first man, who, dwelling in Paradise, conversed with God, could fall so easily, though made of that virgin clay which had lately been

formed and created by the word of God, nor as yet clotted with gore and the murder of kindred, nor polluted by iniquity and shame; nor condemned in our flesh to the curse of a guilty posterity; how much more easily afterwards did the smooth-worn path of sin lead the human race to a greater fall, when, one after another, generations more and more depraved succeeded others less wicked?

14. For if the magnet has such natural power as to attract iron to it, and transfuse itself into the character of iron, so that often when persons, wishing to try the experiment, apply iron rings to the same stone, it retains all equally firmly: whereas, if to that ring to which the stone adheres you add another, and so on in succession, although the natural power of the magnet reaches through all in succession, it binds the first with a firm, the hindermost with a slighter bond: if such be the case, how much more must the condition and nature of the human race have fallen from a pure state into one less pure, seeing that it was always attracted to a generation more wicked than itself?

15. For if the power of nature is diminished even by passing through those substances which are not capable of sin, how much more must its vigour be abated by minds and bodies polluted by the stain of crime? Wherefore, seeing that wickedness had increased, that innocence had decayed, that Ps. xiv. 3. *there was no one that did good, no, not one*; the Lord came in order to form anew, nay to augment, the grace of nature; Rom. v. 20. *that where sin had abounded, grace might much more abound*. It is plain then both that God is the Creator of man, 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6. and that there is one God not many gods; but that there is one God Who made the world, and one world, not many worlds, as the philosophers assert.

16. First therefore He created the world, and then its inhabitant, man, that the whole world might be his country. For if, up to this day, wherever the wise man goes, he finds himself a citizen, he understands his own position,

he considers himself no where as a stranger or sojourner, how much more was that first man an inhabitant of the whole world, and, as the Greeks say, a cosmopolite, he who was the recent creation of God, conversing continually with Him, the fellow-citizen of the saints, the seed-plot of virtue, set over all creatures in the earth sea and air, who considered the whole world to be his dominion; whom the Lord defended as His own work, and as a loving Father and Maker never deserted? In fine He so cherished this His creation, as to redeem him when lost, to receive him when banished, when dead to raise him to life by the passion of His Only-begotten Son. Wherefore God is the Author of man, and, as a good Creator, loves His own work, as a gracious Father, abandons not him, whom, in the character of a rich householder, He has redeemed at the cost of His own possessions.

17. Let us be on our guard therefore that this man, that is, our understanding[224] be not enervated by that woman, that is passion, who was herself deceived and beguiled by the pleasure of our senses; that she do not circumvent and draw him over to her own maxims and opinions. Let us fly pleasure as a serpent; it has many allurements, and especially as regards man. For other animals are captivated by greediness after food; man, in that the powers of his eyes and ears are more varied, is exposed to greater dangers.

Farewell; love me, as you indeed do, for I love you.

LETTER XLVI. A.D. 389.

SABINUS, WHO WAS Bishop of Placentia, had written to S. Ambrose to tell him of an Apollinarian heretic, who appears, after being condemned at Placentia, to have gone to Milan. S. Ambrose in this reply states how he had answered him from Holy Scripture, and refuted his false interpretations, especially of the passage in the Epistle to the Philippians and announces that he has baffled him, and that he is 'preparing to flee.'

AMBROSE TO SABINUS.

1. THE man of whom you have written to me as a disseminator of pernicious doctrines is a very light character, and has already received the reward of his poison. For he has been replied to publicly, and what he had sown in private he has reaped openly. I had previously esteemed him vain and envious only, but when this language of his reached my ears, I immediately answered that he was infected by the venom of Apollinaris, who will not admit that our Lord Jesus became a servant for us when He took upon Him our flesh; and this, although the Apostle declares that Phil. ii. 7. *He took on Him the form of a servant*. This is the bulwark, this is the hedge of our faith; he who destroys this shall be destroyed himself, as it is written, Eccles. x. 8. *Whoso breaketh an hedge, a serpent shall bite him*.

2. At first I gently asked him, Why do you what is in itself good with evil intent? For I esteem it a favour if any one who reads my writings will tell me of any thing which causes him surprise. And this, first, because even in things which I know I may be deceived. Many things pass by the ear unheeded, many things sound differently to others, it is well, if it be possible, to be on one's guard in all matters. Next, because it does not

become me to be disturbed, seeing that many questions are mooted concerning the words of the Apostles and those of the Gospel and our Lord Himself, if things are found in my writings also, which people consider subjects of dispute. For many indulge their own humour, like that man who compassed the whole world, that he might find some one to censure, not one whom he might deem worthy of imitation.

3. Now this man discovered a nasty means of cavilling at something in my writings, since in commenting upon the passage in which the Lord Jesus said, S. Matt. xi. 25. *I thank Thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth*, I stated that it was intended to show that He is the Father of the Son and the Lord of the creature. Nevertheless in the Psalm the Son has plainly called the Father, Lord: Ps. cix. 25, 26. *They that looked upon Me shaked their heads: help Me, O Lord My God*. For speaking in the form of a servant He called Him Lord Whom He knew to be His Father; though equal in the form of God, proclaiming Himself to be a servant according to the substance of His flesh; for slavery is of the flesh, lordship of the Godhead.

4. First then your great sagacity perceives that what is said in the Gospel has reference to the times of the Gospel, when the Lord Jesus dwelt among men in human form; but now 2 Cor. v. 16. *we know Christ according to the flesh no longer*. Be it that He was so seen and known by them of old, now 2 Cor. v. 17. *old things are passed away, all things are become new*. But all things are from God, Who has reconciled us by Christ unto Himself; for we were dead, and therefore One was made Phil. ii. 7. a servant for all. Why do I say, a servant? He was made sin, a reproach, a curse. For the Apostle has said that 2 Cor. v. 21. *He was made sin for us*, that the Lord Jesus Gal. iii. 13. *was made a curse for us*. He has said, 1 Cor. xv. 28. *when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall He also Himself be subject*. Peter also said in the Acts of the Apostles, Acts iii. 6. *In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, rise up and walk*. Then he said also, that God had Ib. 13. *glorified*

His Servant Jesus, and no one brings any charge against him concerning the time. But in the Apocalypse He is called Rev. v. 12. *a Lamb* by John, in the Psalm He is called Ps. xxii. 6. *a worm and no man*. He was made all these things that 1 Cor. xv. 55. He might blunt the sting of our death, that He might take away our slavery, that He might abolish our curses, our sins, our reproaches.

5. These things and others and many more you have written me word that you answered to one who consulted you; and, seeing that they are contained in Holy Scripture, how should any one hesitate to utter what has been thus piously written, tending as they do to the glory of Christ, not to His disparagement? For if it is said of His gift, that is, of the manna, that Exod. xvi. 18. *he that gathered little had no lack*[225]*, he that gathered much had nothing over*[226]*,* could He Himself suffer diminution or increase? For in what respect was He diminished by Is. liii. 4. taking upon Him our bondage, our infirmities? He was humbled, Phil. ii. 7. He was in the form of a servant, but He was also Ib. 11. in the glory of God the Father. He was Ps. xxii. 7. a worm upon the Cross, S. Luke xxiii. 34. but He also forgave the sins of His persecutors. He was a reproach, but He is also the glory of the Lord, as it is written, Isa. xl. 5. *The glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together*. What did He lose Who is wanting in nothing? *He had* indeed Ib. liii. 2. *no form or comeliness*, but He had the fulness of the Godhead. He was accounted weak, but He ceased not to be the Power of God. He was seen in human form, but there shone upon earth the Divine Majesty and the glory of the Father.

6. Well therefore has the Apostle repeated the same word, saying of the Lord Jesus, Phil. ii. 6, 7. *Who being in the form of God thought it not robbery to be equal with God; but made Himself of no reputation and took upon Him the form of a servant*. What is the meaning of *in the form of God* but in the fulness of the Godhead, in the expression of the Divine

perfection? Being therefore in the fulness of the Godhead, He *emptied Himself* of it, and received the fulness of human nature and perfection: as nothing was wanting to Him as God so neither was there any thing wanting to His completeness as Man, that in either *form* He might be perfect. Wherefore David also says, Ps. xlv. 2. *Thou art fairer than the children of men*.

7. The Apollinarian is confuted, he has no refuge to turn to, he is caught in his own net. For he himself had said, He took upon him the form of a servant, He was not chosen to be a servant. I ask again therefore, what is the meaning of *in the form of God*? He replies, In the nature of God. For there are those, says the Apostle, Gal. iv. 8. *which by nature are no gods*. I enquire, what is the meaning of Phil. ii. 7. *took upon Him the form of a servant*? Doubtless, as I have stated, the perfection of the nature and condition of man, that He might be in the likeness of man. And he has said well Ib. *the likeness*, not of the flesh, but *of men*, for He is in the same flesh. But since He alone was without sin, but all men are in sin, He was seen *in the form of man*. Wherefore the prophet also says, Jer. xvii. 9. *He is a man yet who can know him*[227]*?* Man according to the flesh, but beyond man according to the Divine operation. S. Matt. viii. 2, 3. When he touched the leper He was seen as man, but above man when He cleansed him. S. John xi. 33, 44. When He wept over Lazarus dead, He wept as man, but He was above men when He commanded the dead to come forth with bound feet. He was seen as man when He hung upon the cross, but above man S. Matt. xxvii. 52. when the graves were opened and He raised the dead.

8. Nor has the Apollinarian venom any cause for complaining because it is thus it written, Phil. ii. 8. *And being found in fashion*[228] *as a man*, for Jesus is not hereby denied to be man, for in another place Paul himself calls Him, 1 Tim. ii. 5. *The Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus*, but rather His manhood is established. For it is the custom and

manner of Scripture so to express itself, and we read also in the Gospel, S. John i. 14. *And we beheld His glory, the glory as of the Only-begotten of the Father*. In the same way therefore that He is called *as* the only-begotten, yet it is not denied that He is truly the only-begotten Son of God, so He is said to be *as* man, yet it is not denied that the perfection of manhood existed in Him.

9. While, then, He was Phil. ii. 7. in the form of a servant, humbled even unto death, He yet remained in the glory of God. What injury then was His state of subjection to Him? We read that He was made a servant, because we read that Gal. iv. 4. He was made of a Virgin and created in the flesh, for every creature is a servant, as the Prophet says; Ps. cxix. 91. *For all things serve Thee*. Wherefore also God the Father says, Ib. lxxxix. 20, 26, 27. *I have found David My servant, with My holy oil have I anointed him. He shall call Me, Thou art my Father, my God, and my strong salvation; and I will make him My first-born*; and in another Psalm, Ib. lxxxvi. 2. *Preserve Thou my soul for I am holy: save Thy servant*, and afterwards in the same Psalm, *Give Thy strength unto Thy servant, and help the son of Thy handmaid*. Thus I have collected the words of the Father and of the Son, that I may answer not with human arguments but by the Divine oracles.

10. In another passage He says, Ps. xxxi. 5. *Into Thy hands I commend My spirit*, and, Ib. 8. *Thou hast set My feet in a large room*, and, Ib. 11. *I became a reproof among all Mine enemies*. And in the same Psalm, Ib. 16. *Shew Thy servant the light of Thy countenance*. By the mouth of Isaiah too the Son of God Himself says, Isa. xlix. 1–3. *From my mother's womb the Lord hath called My name, and He hath made My mouth like a sharp sword, in the shadow of His hand hath He hid Me, and made Me a polished shaft; in His quiver hath He hid Me; and said unto Me, Thou art My servant, O Israel*. For the Son of God is also called Israel, as in another place, Ib. xli. 8. *But thou, Israel, My Servant Jacob, whom I have chosen*.

For He alone hath truly not only seen but also S. John i. 18. declared God the Father.

11. And it goes on, Isa. xlix. 3, 4, 5. *In whom I will be glorified. Then I said, I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength for nought, and in vain: yet surely my judgment is with the Lord, and my work with my God. And now saith the Lord that formed me from the womb to be His servant, to bring Jacob again to Him and Israel.* Who hath gathered the people of God but Christ? Who is glorified before the Lord? Who is the Power of God? He to Whom the Father hath said, Isa. xlix. 6. *It is a light thing that Thou shouldest be My servant*[229]*,* and He to Whom He says Ib. xlii. 6. xlix. 6. *Behold, I will give Thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles, that Thou mightest be My Salvation unto the end of the earth*. Of Him He has also spoken by the mouth of the prophet Ezekiel, saying, Ezek. xxxiv. 23, 24. *I will set up one Shepherd over them, and He shall feed them, even My Servant David, He shall feed them, and He shall be their Shepherd. And I the Lord will be their God, and My Servant David a Prince among them.* Now king David was already dead, and therefore the true David, the truly humble, the truly meek, the true Son of God, strong of hand, is announced by this name; he also is intended in the book of the prophet Zechariah, where God the Father says, Zech. iii. 8. *Behold I will send my servant, the Orient*[230] *is His name*. Did then His being Ib. iii. 3. *clothed in filthy garments* deprive the Sun of righteousness of the brightness of His Godhead?

12. And why need I say more? Shall we deem servitude to be a state of greater weakness than that of being made sin, of being a curse, a reproach, than the infirmities which He bore for our sakes that we might be saved from them? For He was made all of these that He might relieve the world from them. But they will not admit that He was made a servant, a reproach, a curse, because they affirm that the Word and the flesh are of one

substance, and say, Because He redeemed us He is called a servant, and ought to be called sin. And they do not perceive this to be the glory of Christ, that in His Incarnation He took upon Him the state of a servant that He might restore liberty to all; He bore our sins, that He might take away the sin of the world.

13. He was made a servant, He was made sin and a curse, that thou mightest cease to be a servant of sin, and that He might absolve thee from the curse of the Divine judgment. He therefore took upon Him thy curse, for Gal. iii. 13. *Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree*. He was made a curse upon the cross, that thou mightest be blessed in the kingdom of God. He was disgraced, He was vilified and set at nought. He said, Is. xlix. 4. *I have laboured in vain*, through Whom Paul was enabled to say, Phil. ii. 16. *I have not laboured in vain*. This He did that He might confer on His servants the fruit of good works and the glory of the preaching of the Gospel, whereby the world might be released from the burthen of its toil.

14. On hearing these things Jer. xvii. 11. *the partridge*[231] *was left in the midst of her days*, she who cried *that she might gather the things which she did not lay*, and was overcome by the voice of the Lord Jesus. And even now is she preparing for flight.

Farewell; love me, for I love you.

LETTER XLVII. A.D. 390.

THIS BRIEF LETTER was sent with a book which Sabinus had asked for. It is a friendly invitation to a regular correspondence, as bringing friends together in spirit who are severed in body.

AMBROSE TO SABINUS.

1. I HAVE transmitted the volume you asked for, written more clearly and neatly than the one which I had previously sent, in order that by the facility of its perusal your judgment of it might be unimpeded. For the original copy was written not for appearance, but for use, for I do not always employ a scribe, especially at night, at which time I am unwilling to be a trouble and a burthen to others, and further, because the words I am then dictating flow on with a kind of impetuosity, and in a rapid stream.

2. But as I am desirous to select with precision the words which my old age employs in its familiar intercourse, and to proceed with a slow step, I think the use of my own hands in writing befits me better; that I may seem rather to conceal my words than lustily give vent to them; and may not have to blush at the presence of him who is writing for me, but, having no one in the secret of my words, may weigh what I write with eye as well as with ears. For, in the words of Scripture, the tongue is swifter than the hand; Ps. xlv. 2. *My tongue is the pen of a ready writer*.

3. And though you may perhaps say that the swiftness is here attributed to the writer, the meaning will nevertheless not escape you that it is only the swiftness of a ready writer which can take down the words of the prophetic tongue. The Apostle Paul also wrote with his own hand, as he says himself,

Gal. vi. 11. *I have written unto you with mine own hand*. He did it to show honour, we do it from bashfulness.

4. But while your judgement of my book is still in suspense, let us entertain each other by letters; the advantage whereof is that although severed from each other by distance of space we may be united in affection; for by this means the absent have the image of each other's presence reflected back upon them, and conversation by writing unites the severed. By this means also we interchange thoughts with our friend, and transpose our mind into his.

5. Now if, according to your admonition, there is any savour of ancient writings in our letters, not only do our minds seem to be united by this progress in true doctrine, but also the form and fashion of a more intimate converse seems to be set forth, in that the discussion which is thus entered upon by mutual inquiry and reply appears to place in presence of each other those friends who in this manner challenge and engage one another.

6. And why need I produce the example of our ancestors, who by their letters have instilled faith into the minds of the people, and have written to whole nations together, and have shewn themselves to be present although writing from a distance, according to the words of the Apostle, that he was 1 Cor. v. 3. *absent in body, but present in spirit*, not only in writing but also in judging. Again, he condemned them while absent by epistle, and also absolved them by epistle; for the epistle of Paul was a certain image of his presence and form of his work.

7. For the epistles of the Apostles were not, like those of others, 2 Cor. x. 10. *weighty and powerful, but his bodily presence weak, and his speech contemptible*, but his letter was of that kind that such as was the substance of his work such also was the form of his precept; for Ib. 11. *such*, says he, *as we are in word by letters when absent, such will we be also in deed when*

we are present. He imprinted the image of his presence on his letters, he declared its fruit and testimony in his work.

Farewell; love me, as indeed you do, for I love you.

LETTER XLVIII.

S. AMBROSE IN this letter begs Sabinus to examine the books which he sends to him carefully, and to criticise them freely, as a proof of true friendship, and at the same time adding to the value of the works.

AMBROSE TO SABINUS.

1. YOU have sent me back my volumes, and I shall hold them in greater esteem owing to your judgment. I have therefore sent you others, not so much because I was delighted at wishing for your favourable judgment, as of that truth which I have asked and you have promised to declare to me; for should any thing strike you I would rather it had the correction of your judgment before it goes abroad beyond the power of recal, than that you should praise what is blamed by others. It is on this account that I have requested to have your opinion of those things which you asked me to write, for I have not so much desired that what I publish from time to time should be read by you, as that they should be submitted to the account which your judgment shall take of them. And this judgment, as one said of old, will not require[232] a long sitting and delay. For surely it is easy for you to judge of my writings.

2. Thus far, on your invitation, I have thought it right to proceed; it is now your part to discern clearly and examine carefully what requires correction, that you may thus escape being inculpated in those faults which may have stolen unawares upon myself. For somehow over and above that want of caution which envelops me as with a mist, every one is beguiled in what he himself writes, and its faults escape his ear. And as a man takes pleasure in his children even though deformed, so also is a writer flattered

by his own discourses however ungraceful. How frequently are words put forth uncautiously or understood less charitably than one means; or some ambiguity escapes from us; things, moreover, which are to be subjected to the judgment of others we ought to weigh not so much by our own as by another's opinion, and to separate from it every grain of malevolence.

3. Be so kind therefore as to lend an ear of keen attention, peruse the whole thoroughly, test my discourses, see whether they contain, not rhetorical charms and persuasive words, but a sound faith and a sober confession. Affix a mark on words of doubtful weight and which are deceitful in the scales, that the adversary may not make out any thing to tell in his favour. Let him meet with defeat if he enters into the contest. That book is in a bad condition, which cannot be defended without a champion; for a book which goes forth without a mediator has to speak for itself; my book however shall not go forth from me, unless it receive authority from you. When then you bid it go forth, and give your word for it, let it be left to its own keeping.

4. But, since 1 Cor. iv. 20. *the kingdom of God is not in word but in power*, if a word offend you consider the *power* of its profession. By profession I mean that decision of faith which we hold, as handed down by our fathers, against the Sabellians and Arians, that we worship God the Father and His Only-begotten Son and the Holy Spirit, that this Trinity is of one Substance Majesty and Divinity; that in this S. Matt. xxviii. 19. *Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost*, we *baptize*, as it is written; that the Son, co-eternal with the Father, took upon Him our flesh, born of the Holy Spirit and of the Virgin Mary, equal to the Father as touching His Godhead, in the form of God, that is, in all the fulness of the Godhead Which Col. ii. 9. *dwells in Him*, as the Apostle says, *bodily*; Who, in the person of man, Phil. ii. 7, 8. *took upon Him the form of a servant, and humbled Himself even unto death*.

5. Wherefore as against Photinus this is our sentence, and as against Apollinaris it is also a proper safeguard; our confession, namely, that as in the form of God He lacked nothing of the Divine nature and fulness, so in that human form there was nothing wanting in Him so as to cause Him to be judged imperfect as Man; for He came in order to save man altogether. Truly it would not have been fitting that He Who had accomplished a perfect work in others should suffer it to be imperfect in Himself; for if aught was wanting to Him as Man, then He did not redeem the whole man, and if He did not redeem the whole man, He deceived us, for He said that He had come in order to save the whole man. But since it is Heb. vi. 18. *impossible for God to lie*, He deceived us not; wherefore, seeing that He came to redeem and save the whole man, He took upon Him the whole of that which belonged to human perfection.

6. Such, as you will remember, is my belief. Should my words in any passage raise a doubt, still they will not raise any prejudice as to my faith, for if the mind continue stedfast, it extends its protection over ambiguous language, and preserves it from error.

7. This preface then I send you, and will insert it, if you please, in the books of our letters, and place it among their number; that so it may be recommended by your name, and by our letters to each other our mutual love in the Lord, may be increased: that, finally, you may so read as to give me your judgment, and to communicate to me whatever may strike you, for true love is proved by constancy. For the present we have chosen that which old men find more easy, the writing of letters in ordinary and familiar language: subjoining, should such present itself, any appropriate passage from the sacred Scriptures. Farewell, my brother, and love one who is your lover, for I greatly love you.

LETTER XLIX. A.D. 390.

S. AMBROSE SAYS that he never feels less solitary, than when by himself writing to a friend. He then dwells on the benefit of solitude; especially in that we may then have God present with us, and lay open our souls to Him.

AMBROSE TO SABINUS.

1. SINCE you also take pleasure in receiving my letters, by means of which, although separated from each other, we discourse together as if present, I will for the future more frequently converse with you by letter when I am alone. For[233] I am never less alone than when I seem to be so, nor ever less at leisure than in the intervals of labour. For then I summon at pleasure whom I will, and associate to myself those whom I love most or find most congenial; no man interrupts or intrudes upon us. Then it is that I more intimately enjoy you, that I confer with you in the Scriptures, that we converse together more at length.

2. Mary was alone when addressed by the Angel, alone when the S. Luke i. 35. *Holy Ghost came upon her, and the power of the Highest overshadowed her*. She was alone when she effected the salvation of the world, and conceived the Redemption of the universe. Acts x. 10. Peter was alone when the mystery of the sanctification of the Gentiles all over the world was made known to him. Adam was alone, and he fell not, because his mind adhered to God. But when the woman was joined to him he lost his power of abiding by the celestial precepts, and therefore Gen. iii. 8. he hid himself when God walked in Paradise.

3. And even now, while I read the sacred Scriptures, God walks in Paradise. The book of Genesis, wherein the virtues of the Patriarchs bud forth, is Paradise; Deuteronomy, wherein grow the precepts of the Law, is also Paradise, wherein the tree of life brings forth good fruit, and diffuses over all nations the precepts of eternal hope.

4. So when I hear, S. Matt. v. 44. *Love your enemies*, when I hear, Ib. xix. 21. *Sell that thou hast, and give to the poor*; when I hear, S. Luke vi. 29. *unto him that smiteth thee on the one cheek offer also the other*; when I hear these things and do not perform them, nay, when I barely love him who loves me, when I will not part with what I have, when I desire to avenge the injuries I have received, and to recover what has been wrested from me, whereas the Scripture bids me give up more than I have been asked for or deprived of, I perceive that I am acting contrary to the commands of God. Thus opening the eyes of my conscience, I perceive that God is present and walking with me; I desire to hide, I desire to clothe myself; but I am naked in His sight unto Whom Heb. iv. 13. *all things are naked and opened*! I am abashed therefore, and desire to conceal the shame of my crimes as though they were the secret members of my body; but since God sees all things, since I am manifest to Him, though covered with leaves and shaded by thickets, I think to conceal myself from Him by the covering of my body. This is that coat of skins, in which Adam was clothed when he was cast out of Paradise, neither shielded from the cold, nor protected from scorn, but exposed to misery as well as guilt.

5. From whence it appears that it is when alone that we offer ourselves to God, that we open to Him our souls, that we put off the cloak of fraud. Gen. iii. 8. Adam was alone when placed in Paradise; Ib. i. 27. alone also when made in the image of God: but when cast out of Paradise he was not alone. S. John xvi. 32. The Lord Jesus was alone when He redeemed the world; for it was no herald or messenger, but the Lord Himself alone Who redeemed

His people, although He, in Whom the Father always dwells, can never be alone. Let us also then be alone, that the Lord may be with us. Farewell: love me, for I also love you.

LETTER L.

THIS LETTER CONTAINS an interesting discussion of the question how an evil man like Balaam could be employed by God to utter true prophecies, and deals with other difficulties which arise out of Balaam's history.

AMBROSE TO CHROMATIUS.

1. DOES God lie? Truly He lies not, because it is impossible for God to lie. And further, does this impossibility arise from infirmity? No, truly, for how can He be Almighty if He cannot do all things? What then is impossible to Him? Not that which is difficult to His Power, but what is contrary to His Nature. Heb. vi. 18. *It is impossible*, it is said, *for Him to lie*. This impossibility comes not of infirmity, but of Power and Majesty, for truth admits not of falsehood, nor God's Power of the weakness of error. Wherefore Rom. iii. 4. *let God be true and every man a liar*.

2. The truth therefore is always in Him; *He remains faithful*; change or *deny Himself He cannot*. But if He deny that He is true, He lies, but to lie belongs not to power but to weakness. Nor can He change, for His nature admits not infirmity. This impossibility therefore comes of His fulness, which cannot be diminished or increased, not of infirmity, which, in that it increases itself, is weak. Whence we gather that this impossibility on the part of God is indeed most powerful. For what can be more powerful than to be ignorant of all infirmity?

3. There is however another 1 Cor. i. 25. *weakness of God* which *is stronger than men*, and a *foolishness of God* which *is wiser than men*, but this has reference to the Cross, the former to His Godhead. If then His

weakness is strength, how can that which comes of His power be weak? Let it therefore be an axiom with us that God lies not.

4. Deut. xviii. 10. But there was no diviner of auguries in Israel according to the law of God. How then was it that Balaam said that he was forbidden by the oracle of God to go and curse the people of Israel, and yet he went, and the Angel of the Lord who had forbidden his going, met him, and stood in the way of the ass that carried him, and nevertheless the Angel himself bid him go, only he must speak that which should be put into his mouth? If there was to be no deceiver in Israel, how did this oracle of God, declaring things for true, come to him who was a deceiver? If he spoke as the oracle of God, whence did he derive the grace of the Divine inspiration?

5. But you are not to wonder that the Lord should put into the mouth of a diviner what he should speak, when you read in the Gospel that it was put into the mouth even of the prince of the Synagogue, one of the persecutors of Christ, that S. John xi. 50. *it is expedient that one man should die for the people*? Herein then is no merit of prophecy, but an assertion of the truth; that by the testimony even of adversaries the truth might be declared, so that the perfidy of unbelievers might be confuted by the words even of their own diviners. Just so Abraham[234] the Chaldæan is called to belief, that the superstition of the Chaldæans might be put to silence. It is not therefore the merit of him who utters, but rather the oracle of God Who calls, the grace of God Who reveals.

6. Now what was the guilt which Balaam incurred, Numb. xxii. 12. but that he spoke one thing, and designed another? For God requires a clean vessel, not one defiled by uncleanness and pollution. Balaam therefore was tried, not approved, for he was full of deceit and treachery. Again, when he first enquired whether he should go to that vain people, and was forbidden, he excused himself: afterwards, when more honourable messages were sent, he who ought to have refused consent, seduced by ampler promises and

more abundant gifts, Ib. 19. was led again to enquire of God, as if many gifts could influence the mind of God.

7. Answer was made to him as to a covetous man, not as to one who sought the truth, that so he might rather be deceived than rightly informed. He set out, Ib. 25. an Angel met him in a narrow place, and shewed himself to the ass, but not to the diviner. To the former he revealed himself, the latter he crushed; yet, that he might at length be recognized by him, he opened his eyes also. He saw, but even yet he did not believe the manifest oracle, and though his very eyes ought to have convinced him, he answered confusedly and doubtingly.

8. Then the Lord, being angry, said to him by the Angel, Numb. xxii. 35. *Go with the men, but only the word that I shall speak unto thee, that shalt thou speak*. As an empty instrument you shall give utterance to My words. It is I Who will speak, not you; you will only echo what you hear and do not understand. You will gain no advantage by going, because you will return without either a reward of money or progress in grace. Again, these are his first words, Ib. xxiii. 8. *How shall I curse whom God hath not cursed?* in order to shew that the benediction of the Hebrew people depended not on his will but on the grace of God.

9. *From the top of the rocks*, he says, *I see him*; for I cannot embrace within my ken this people, which shall dwell alone, marking out their boundaries, not so much by the occupation of space as by the abode of virtue, and extending them into eternal ages by the distinctive peculiarity of their manners. For which of the bordering nations shall be numbered with this one, which is raised above their fellowship by its exalted righteousness? Who shall understand the nature of its generation? Their bodies we indeed perceive to have been compounded and fashioned of human seed, but their minds have sprung from higher and wondrous seed-plots.

10. Ib. 10. *Let my soul die with their souls*, die to this bodily life, that with the souls of the just it may attain to the grace of that eternal life. Herein even then was revealed the excellence of our heavenly Sacrament and of holy Baptism, by the operation whereof men die to original sin and to evil works; that being transformed by newness of life into fellowship with the just they may rise again to live as do the just. And what wonder is it that it should be so, when men die to sin in order to live to God?

11. Balak hearing this, was wroth and said, Ib. 11. 'I brought thee to curse and thou blessest.' He answered, 'I am reproved for that of which I am not conscious; for I speak nothing of my own, but utter sounds like 1 Cor. xiii. 1. *a tinkling cymbal*.' Again, being carried to a second and a third place, although he wished to curse, he blessed; Numb. xxiii. 21. *He hath not beheld iniquity in Jacob, neither hath he seen perverseness in Israel; the Lord his God is with him*. And afterwards he commands seven altars and sacrifices to be prepared. He ought, indeed, to have departed, but his weak mind and mutability of purpose led him to believe that he could turn aside the Will of God: he himself, the while, being in a trance, desired one thing but spoke another.

12. Ib. xxiv. 5, 6. *How goodly*, said he, *are thy tents*, O host of the Hebrews! *As the valleys are they spread forth, as gardens by the river's side and as cedar trees beside the waters.* A man v. 19. shall come out of Jacob, and v. 8. shall subdue many nations, and v. 7. his kingdom shall be exalted on high: in the earth also he shall extend his dominion in Egypt. v. 9. *Blessed is he that blesseth thee, and cursed is he that curseth thee.* Now to whom did he point but to the people of Christ? God blesses him into whose heart the Word of God enters, Heb. iv. 12. *even to the dividing asunder of the soul, and of the joints and marrow*; in him Balaam would have found the grace of the Lord if he had acted according to the intent and purpose of his heart. But since an evil mind is confuted by its own counsels, and the

secrets of the soul are betrayed by events, his mind was thus discovered by the treachery which followed.

13. Therefore also he met with a worthy reward of his malice. For finding while in his trance that he could not curse, he gives his advice to the king, saying, ‘Such is the utterance of what God has commanded, hear now my counsel against the oracles of God. This people is just, it has the protection of God: since it has not given itself to divinations and auguries, but to the eternal God above; and therefore its faith excels that of others. But sometimes even faithful minds fall through corporeal charms and the blandishments of beauty. Numerous are your women, and many of them not uncomely; now the male sex is in no respect more prone to fall than through the frailty with which it is captivated by female beauty, particularly if their minds are excited by frequent converse, and thus become inflamed as by a torch; if, while they drink in the hope of enjoying, their passions are kept in suspense. Let your women therefore cast their hooks by their converse, let them offer no obstacles to a first access, but roam abroad and spread themselves through the camp, exposed to view and affable of speech. Let them so artfully deal with these men as not to admit them to carnal intercourse until they shall have proved the strength of their love by becoming participators in sacrilege. For they may thus be deprived of the protection of heaven, if they shall themselves depart by sacrilege from the Lord their God.’

14. Unrighteous therefore, as the counsellor of fornication and sacrilege, was Balaam; for thus it is plainly written in the Apocalypse of John the Evangelist, when the Lord Jesus says to the Angel of the Church of Pergamos; Rev. ii. 14, 15. *Thou hast there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrified unto idols, and to commit fornication; so hast thou also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitans*. Wherefore it

appears that from hence has flowed the impiety of the Manichees, like that of Manasseh, who mingle and unite sacrilege with impurity.

15. Neither, then, was God unjust, nor His purpose mutable; for He detected Balaam's mind and the secrets of his heart, and He therefore tried him as a diviner, He did not choose him as a prophet. Surely he ought to have been converted if it were only by the grace of such great oracles and the sublimity of his revelations, but his mind, full of iniquity, brought forth words but did not yield belief, seeking to frustrate by its counsels that event which it had predicted. And since he could not defeat the prophecy, he suggested deceitful counsels whereby the fickle people of the Jews were tempted but not overcome; for Num. xxv. 11. by the righteousness of one priest all the counsel of this wicked man was overthrown, and that the host of our fathers could be delivered by one man was much more wonderful than that it could be deceived by one man.

16. This little gift I have sent to your Holiness, because you wish me to compile somewhat from the interpretations of the ancient authors. But I had undertaken to write letters in a familiar style, savouring of the tone of thought of our fathers; and should you relish their flavour I shall be emboldened to send you of the same kind hereafter. For I prefer conversing garrulously with you like an old man concerning heavenly things, which is called in Greek Gen. xxiv. 63. to meditate E.V. ἀδολεσχῆσαι: *Isaac went forth into the field*, ἀδολεσχῆσαι, seeing in his mind, on the approach of Rebecca, the mysteries of the Church which was to come: this conversing with you with the words of an old man, that I may not seem to have abandoned my art, I prefer, I say, to uttering in a more vehement style things no longer adapted to our studies or strength.

Farewell: love me, for I also love you.

LETTER LI. A.D. 390.

THIS IS THE famous Letter addressed by S. Ambrose to Theodosius after the massacre at Thessalonica. The details of that occurrence are too familiar to need repeating here. In this Letter S. Ambrose explains to the Emperor why he had avoided meeting him on his return to Milan, and urges him with respectful and most affectionate, but firm remonstrance, to follow David in penitence as he had followed him in crime, and tells him that God Himself had in a vision forbidden him to offer the Sacrifice of the Eucharist in his behalf while he remained impenitent. The Letter, far from deserving Gibbon's scornful title of 'a miserable rhapsody on a noble subject,' may rather be regarded as a model of dignified remonstrance, well befitting an eminent prelate addressing a great earthly Sovereign.

AMBROSE BISHOP, TO HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR THEODOSIUS.

1. VERY pleasant to me is the remembrance of your long friendship, and I also bear a grateful sense of those benefits which at my frequent intreaties you have most graciously extended to others. You may be sure then that it could not be from any ungrateful feeling that on your arrival, which I was wont to long for so ardently, I shunned your presence. The motives of my conduct I will now briefly explain.

2. I found that I alone in all your court was denied the natural right of hearing, in order to deprive me of the power of speaking too: for you were frequently displeased at decisions having reached me which were made in your Consistory. Thus I have been debarred from the common privilege of men, though the Lord Jesus says, S. Luke viii. 17. *Nothing is secret which*

shall not be made manifest. Wherefore I did my utmost to obey with reverence your royal will, and I provided both for you and for myself; for you, that you should have no cause of disturbance, to which end I endeavoured that no intelligence should be brought me of the Imperial decrees; and as to myself, I provided against my not seeming to hear when present, from fear of others and thus incurring the charge of connivance, and also against hearing in such manner that while my ears were open my mouth must be closed, and I must not utter what I heard, lest I should injure those who had fallen under suspicion of treachery.

3. What then was I to do? was I not to listen? But I could not close my ears with the wax of the old tales. Must I disclose what I heard? But then I had reason to fear that the same result which I apprehended from your commands would ensue from my own words; that they might become the cause of bloodshed. Was I then to be silent? But this would be the most miserable of all, for my conscience would be bound, my liberty of speech taken away. And what then of the text, Ezek. iii. 18. *if the priest warn not the wicked from his wicked way, the wicked man shall die in his iniquity*, but the priest shall be liable to punishment, because he did not warn him?

4. Suffer me, gracious Emperor. You have a zeal for the faith, I own it, you have the fear of God, I confess it; but you have a vehemence of temper, which if soothed may readily be changed into compassion, but if inflamed becomes so violent that you can scarcely restrain it. If no one will allay it, let no one at least inflame it. To yourself I would willingly trust, for you are wont to exercise self-control, and by your love of mercy to conquer this violence of your nature.

5. This vehemence of yours I have preferred secretly to commend to your consideration, rather than run the risk of rousing it publicly by my acts. And so I have preferred to be lacking somewhat in duty rather than in humility, and that others should complain of my want of priestly authority,

rather than that you should find any want of respect in me, who am so devoted to you; and this in order that you may restrain your emotions, and have full power of choosing what counsel to follow. I alleged as my reason, bodily sickness, which was in fact severe, and not to be mitigated but by more gentle treatment; still I would rather have died than not have waited two or three days for your arrival. But I could not do so.

6. An act has been committed in the city of Thessalonica, the like of which is not recorded, the perpetration of which I could not prevent, which in my frequent petitions before the court I had declared to be most atrocious, and which by your tardy revocation you have yourself pronounced to be very heinous: such an act as this I could not extenuate. Intelligence of it was first brought to a synod held on the arrival of the Gallican Bishops: all present deplored it, no one viewed it leniently; your friendship with Ambrose, so far from excusing your deed, would have even brought a heavier weight of odium on my head, had there been no one found to declare the necessity of your being reconciled to God.

7. Is your Majesty ashamed to do that which the Royal Prophet David did, the forefather of Christ according to the flesh? It was told him that a rich man, who had numerous flocks, on the arrival of a guest took a poor man's lamb and killed it, and recognizing in this act his own condemnation, he said, 2 Sam. xii. 13. *I have sinned against the Lord*. Let not your Majesty then be impatient at being told, as David was by the prophet, Ib. 7. *Thou art the man*. For if you listen thereto obediently and say, *I have sinned against the Lord*, if you will use those words of the royal Prophet, Ps. xcv. 6. *O come let us worship and fall down, and kneel before the Lord our Maker*, to you also it shall be said, Because thou repentest, 2 Sam. xii. 13. *the Lord hath put away thy sin, thou shalt not die*.

8. Another time, when David had commanded the people to be numbered, his heart smote him, and he said unto the Lord, Ib. xxiv. 10. *I*

have sinned greatly in that I have done, and now, I beseech thee O Lord, take away the iniquity of thy servant, for I have done very foolishly. And 2 Sam. xxiv. 12. Nathan the prophet was sent again to him, to offer him three things, to choose one of them, which he would; seven years famine in the land, or to flee three months before his enemies, or three days pestilence in the land. Ib. 14. *And David said, I am in a great strait, let us now fall into the hand of the Lord, for His mercies are great, and let me not fall into the hand of man.* His fault lay in wishing to know the number of all the people which were with him, a knowledge which ought to have been reserved for God.

9. And Scripture tells us that when the people were dying, on the very first day and at dinner time, David saw the Angel that smote the people, he said, Ib. 17. *Lo, I have sinned and done wickedly; but these sheep, what have they done? let Thine hand, I pray Thee, be against me, and against my father's house*. So the Lord repented, and commanded the Angel to spare the people, and that David should offer sacrifice: for there were then sacrifices for sin, but we have now the sacrifices of penitence. So by that humility he was made more acceptable to God, for it is not wonderful that man should sin, but it is indeed blameable if he do not acknowledge his error, and humble himself before God.

10. Holy Job, himself also powerful in this world, saith, Job xxxi. 33. (the sense, not the words.) *I covered not my sin, but declared it before all the people*. And to the cruel king Saul Jonathan his son said, 1 Sam. xix. 4. *Let not the king sin against his servant, against David*; and Ib. 5. *Wherefore then wilt thou sin against innocent blood to slay David without a cause?* For although he was a king he still would have sinned in slaying the innocent. Again when David was possessed of the kingdom, and heard that innocent Abner had been slain by Joab the Captain of his host, he said, 2

Sam. iii. 28. *I and my kingdom are guiltless before the Lord for ever from the blood of Abner the son of Ner*, and he fasted for sorrow.

11. This I have written, not to confound you, but that these royal examples may induce you to put away this sin from your kingdom; for this you will do by humbling your soul before God. You are a man; temptation has fallen upon you; vanquish it. Sin is not washed away but by tears and penitence. Neither Angel nor Archangel can do it. The Lord Himself, Who alone can say S. Matt. xxviii. 20. *I am with you*; even He grants no remission of sin save to the penitent.

12. I advise, I entreat, I exhort, I admonish; for I am grieved that you who were an example of singular piety, who stood so high for clemency, who would not suffer even single offenders to be put in jeopardy, should not mourn over the death of so many innocent persons. Successful as you have been in battle, and great in other respects, yet mercy was ever the crown of your actions. The devil has envied you your chief excellence: overcome him, while you still have the means. Add not sin to sin by acting in a manner which has injured so many.

13. For my part, debtor as I am to your clemency in all other things; grateful as I must ever be for this clemency, which I have found superior to that of many Emperors and equalled only by one, though I have no ground for charging you with contumacy, I have still reason for apprehension: if you purpose being present, I dare not offer the Sacrifice. That which may not be done when the blood of one innocent person has been shed, may it be done where many have been slain? I trow not.

14. Lastly, I will write with my own hand what I wish should be read by yourself only. As I hope for deliverance from all tribulation from the Lord, it has not been from man, nor by man's agency that this has been forbidden me, but by His own manifest interposition. For in the midst of my anxiety, on the very night whereon I was about to set out, I saw you in a vision

coming into the Church, but I was withheld from offering Sacrifice. Other things I pass over, which I might have avoided, but I bore them for your sake, I believe. May the Lord cause all things to turn out peacefully. Our God gives us divers admonitions, by heavenly signs, by prophetic warnings; and by visions vouchsafed even to sinners, He would have us understand that we ought to beseech Him to remove from us commotions, that He would bestow peace on you, our rulers, that the Church, for whose benefit it is that we should have pious and Christian Emperors, may be kept in faith and tranquillity.

15. Doubtless you wish to be approved by God. Eccles. iii. 1. *To every thing there is a season*, as it is written; Ps. cxix. 126. *It is time for Thee Lord*, saith the prophet, *to lay to Thine hand*, and, It is an acceptable time to God. You shall make your oblation when you have received permission to sacrifice, when your offering will be pleasing to God. Would it not be a delight to me to enjoy your Majesty's favour, and act in accordance with your will, if the case permitted it? Prayer by itself is a sacrifice; it obtains pardon while the oblation would be rejected, for the former is evidence of humility, the latter of contempt: for God Himself tells us that He prefers the performance of His commandments to sacrifice. God proclaims this, Moses announces it to the people, Paul preaches it to them. Do that which you understand is for the time better. S. Matt. ix. 13. *I will have mercy*, it is said, *and not sacrifice*. Are not those therefore rather to be called Christians who condemn their own sin than those who think to excuse it? Prov. xviii. 17. Vulg. *The just accuses himself in the beginning of his words.* He who, having sinned, accuses himself, not he who praises himself, is just.

16. I would that previously to this I had trusted rather to myself than to your accustomed habits. Remembering that you quickly pardon, and revoke your sentence, as you have often done, you have been anticipated, and I have not shunned that which I had no need to fear. But thanks to the Lord,

Who chastises His servants, that they may not be lost. This I share with the prophets, and you shall share it with the saints.

17. Shall not I value the father of Gratian at more than my own eyes? Your other sacred pledges too claim pardon for you. On those whom I regarded with impartial affection I conferred by anticipation a name that is dear to me. You have my love, my affection, my prayers. If you believe my words, I call on you to act according to them; if, I say, you believe, acknowledge it, but if not, excuse my conduct in that I prefer God to my sovereign. May your gracious Majesty, with your holy offspring, enjoy in happiness and prosperity perpetual peace.

LETTER LII. A.D. 392.

TITIANUS, OR TATIANUS, for both forms of the name are given, was a person in high position under Theodosius, and filled the office of Prætorian Prefect. He had incurred, as this Letter implies, the enmity of the Emperor's favourite minister Rufinus, who eventually procured his exile. He is here congratulated on Rufinus' removal from the position of 'Master of the offices,' and thereby from exercising an unfavorable influence on some private suit in which Tatianus was engaged.

AMBROSE TO TITIANUS.

1. YOU have obtained a harmless victory, enjoying the security of victory without the bitterness of entreaty; for Rufinus from being Master of the Offices[235], has been made in his consulate a Prætorian Præfect. By this he has acquired more power for himself, but to you he can be hurtful no longer, for he is become the Præfect of another district. I greatly rejoice both with him, as a friend, in having thus received an increase of honour, and at the same time a relief from odium, and also with you, as a son. And this, because you are delivered from him whom you deemed would be too rigid a judge to you, so that if you shall have arranged your business with your grand-daughter, it will have arisen from your affection, not from fear.

2. Exert yourself, therefore, to obtain an adjustment, both the hope and profit of which are now greater: the hope, because the father of your grand-daughter, who promised himself much from the sentence of Rufinus, has no longer anything to hope from him; for Rufinus is now concerned about other things, and neglects the past, or has laid it aside together with the office which he then held; the father now looks rather to the merits of his

cause, than to a patron of his sentiments; the fruit too of an adjustment will be sweeter, for the credit of it must be ascribed to yourself; for you might have scorned it, and have not done so, regarding the pious claims of kindred, rather than the angry suggestions of injury.

Farewell: love me as a son, for I love you as a parent.

LETTER LIII. A.D. 392.

S. AMBROSE HERE writes to Theodosius to express his grief at the death of Valentinian II, and mentions the preparations made for his burial. S. Ambrose spoke his funeral oration, which is extant, and is full of expressions of deep attachment. Valentinian had been slain by Arbogastes, who put Eugenius on the throne.

AMBROSE TO THE EMPEROR THEODOSIUS.

1. YOUR Majesty's letter has broken my silence; for I had persuaded myself that in sorrow so great I could do nothing better than withdraw into retirement. But not being able to conceal myself in any retreat, or abdicate my bishopric, I at least retired within myself by silence.

2. I am filled, I confess, with bitter grief, not only because the death of Valentinian has been premature, but also because, having been trained in the faith and moulded by your teaching, he had conceived such devotion towards our God, and was so tenderly attached to myself, as to love one whom he had before persecuted, and to esteem as his father the man whom he had before repulsed as his enemy. I have mentioned this not for the sake of recalling former wrongs, but as a proof of his conversion. For the one he learnt from others, the other was his own, and retained by him when once received from you, so firmly, as to fortify him against all the arguments of his mother. He professed that he owed his education to me, he longed for me as for a careful parent, and when some pretended to have received tidings of my arrival, he anticipated it with impatience. Moreover, on those very days of public mourning, although he had within the limits of Gaul holy and eminent bishops of the Lord, he thought proper nevertheless to

write to me to confer upon him the Sacrament of Baptism. By this request, in an unreasonable but affectionate way, he gave testimony of his love towards me.

3. Shall I not then sigh after him with my inmost spirit, shall I not embrace him in the secret recesses of my heart and soul? Shall I deem him dead to me? Yes, indeed to me he is assuredly dead. How thankful was I to the Lord, that he was so changed towards me, so improved, and had assumed a character so much more mature. How thankful also was I to your Clemency, in that you had not only restored him to his kingdom, but also, what is more, had disciplined him in your own faith and piety. Shall I not weep therefore that he, while fresh in years, and before he had obtained as he desired the grace of the Sacraments, has met with a sudden death? It has been a solace to my mind that you have yourself condescended to testify to my grief. I have your Majesty for judge of my affections and interpreter of my thoughts.

4. But hereafter we shall have time for sorrow; let us now care for his sepulture, which your Clemency has commanded to take place in this city. If he has died without Baptism, I now keep back what I know. We have here a most beautiful porphyry vessel, and well adapted for the purpose; for Maximian the colleague of Diocletian was so buried. There are also very precious tablets of porphyry, to encase the covering in which the royal remains are inclosed.

5. All this was prepared, but we waited for your Majesty's order; and its arrival has comforted your holy daughters, sisters of your son Valentinian, who greatly afflict themselves, and the more in that for a long while they received no answer. This has been no small solace to them, but so long as his remains lie unburied, they do not spare themselves, for they daily imagine that they are celebrating the funeral of their brother. And in truth they never are without many tears and heavy sorrow, and whenever they

visit his body they return almost lifeless. It will be for their good therefore, and for that of his beloved remains, that the burial should shortly take place, lest the heat of summer should wholly dissolve them, for its first fervour is scarcely past.

6. I observe your command and commend it to the Lord; may He love you, for you love the Lord’s servants.

LETTER LIV. A.D. 392.

THE EUSEBIUS TO whom this and the following letters are addressed is probably not the Bp. of Bologna who took a leading part in the Council of Aquileia, though he appears to be also connected with Bologna, (Lett. lv. 2.). S. Ambrose does not write to him in the style in which he would address an eminent Ecclesiastic. He was probably a layman, on very intimate terms with S. Ambrose, as the whole tone of the Letters implies. Both are on affairs of private life, both, especially the latter, are written in a tone of playful pleasantry and a not irreverent adaptation of sacred things, such as has often marked the familiar correspondence of a great Bishop.

Eusebius seems to have had a son Faustinus, and this son a large family, of whom another Faustinus an Ambrosius and an Ambrosia are here mentioned. It was to this Eusebius, on the occasion of Ambrosia's dedication as a professed Virgin, that S. Ambrose wrote the treatise 'De Institutione Virginis.' She is the 'sancta soror,' the 'holy sister' of Lett. liv.

AMBROSE TO EUSEBIUS.

1. THE Secretary of the Prefecture, who had got into trouble on account of the works at Portus[236] is now safe in port. He came at the right moment, for as soon as I received your letters I saw the Prefect, and interceded for him; and he immediately pardoned him, and ordered the letter which he had dictated for the sale of his goods to be recalled. Even if his arrival had been less speedy, no man would more readily have admitted the embarrassments attending that work of repairing the port than he who would have made shipwreck therein had he not had you for his pilot; and from whence he could otherwise only have escaped with his bare life.

2. The little Faustinus is suffering from a cough, and has come to his holy sister to be cured, and came willingly, for he found that the complaint of his stomach is better cared for here. He also considers me to be a physician and looks to me for his dinner. So he has his medicine here twice a day, and he had begun to get strong, but while from their too great love they keep him away, his stomach-cough has returned, worse than before, and unless he returns to his medicines he will still suffer from it.

Farewell: love me, for I also love you.

LETTER LV. A.D. 392.

AMBROSE TO EUSEBIUS.

1. THE two Faustinuses are herewith restored to you, the two little Ambroses stay with me. You have in the father what is best, in the younger son what is most agreeable; for you have at once the summit of virtue, and shew forth the grace of humility. I have what is intermediate between father and younger son. With you is the head of the whole family, and the continuous succession of a name handed down; with me remains that frugal mean which both depends upon the head, and has a common being with what follows it. You have him who is our common rest, who when he comes to me in my turn, smooths all the cares of my soul. You have him who alike by his life and works, and by his offspring has found favour with our Lord, you have him who in the storms of this world nourished Gen. viii. 11. a spiritual dove, to bring him the fruit of peace, anointed with the oil of chastity. Ib. 20. You have him who built an altar to the Lord, he whom God blessed together with his sons, and said unto them, Ib. ix. 1. *Be fruitful and multiply*; with whom He Ib. 9. established the covenant of His peace, that it might be unto Ib. 12. *him and his sons for perpetual generations*.

2. You have then one who is an heir of Divine benediction, a partner in grace, a sharer in righteousness. But take care, I beseech you, that this our husbandman Noah, Ib. 20. the good planter of the fruitful vineyard, does not become inebriated with the cup of your love and favour, as one filled with wine, and so indulge too long in rest, and then if haply he fall asleep the longing for our Shem awake him.

3. There also is Japhet the youngest of the brethren, Ib. 23. who with pious reverence may cover his father's nakedness, whom his father may see even in sleep and never dismiss from his remembrance, but keep him ever in his sight and in his bosom, and when he wakes may know Gen. ix. 24. *what his younger son has done unto him*. In Latin his name signifies 'health,' in that Ps. xlv. 3. grace is spread over his lips and over his life, wherefore God hath blessed him, because he, going backward, one may say, to Bologna, covered his father with the pious garment of charity, and shewed honour to piety; of whom also his father said, Gen. ix. 27. *God shall enlarge Japhet, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem*. Wherefore also in the Ib. x. 1. enumeration of this generation he is preferred to his elder brother, he is substituted for him in the blessing: he is preferred in regard of honour to his name, he is substituted in regard of the prerogative of elder birth and the honour due to nature.

4. Now in Latin Shem signifies a 'name.' And truly is this Ambrose of ours a good name, in whose tents Japhet may be enlarged, Prov. xxii. 1. *because a good name is rather to be chosen than great riches*. Let him therefore also be blessed, let his name be above gold and silver, let the seed of Abraham be in his portion, let all his blessing rest on his posterity, and on the whole family of the just man. But no one is cursed, all are blessed, for blessed is the fruit of Sarah.

5. The Ambroses salute you, the beloved Parthenius salute you, so does Valentinian, disposed to humility, which is in Hebrew 'Canaan', Gen. ix. 26. being as it were the servant of his brother, to whom he has also given place as regards his name. And therefore he is like Nimrod, mighty in his double name, a great hunter upon the earth, of whom it is said; Ib. x. 9. *Even as Nimrod the mighty hunter before the Lord*. For being somewhat rude in intellect, but of great bodily strength, he surpasses in strength those whose genius he cannot equal; so that he would seem to carry with him the

Comacine[237] rocks, and to resemble them in his outward appearance, being as he is somewhat like a bull, wrathful at being set aside, at being deprived of his paternal name, at being subjected, through an inhabitant of the capital, to one from Bologna, for he knows not the blandishments of infancy, and sprung without suffering injury from his nurse's bosom.

Farewell: love me for I love you.

LETTER LVI. A.D. 392.

A NOTE IN p. 71 gives a brief outline of the schism in the Church of Antioch up to the time of the Council of Aquileia, which made some efforts to bring about a settlement. Meletius was then succeeded by Flavian, so that there still remained two rival Bishops, Flavian and Paulinus. Another opportunity for closing the schism came at Paulinus' death, at the end of 388 A.D., but so far from allowing the wound to be so healed Paulinus on his death-bed consecrated Evagrius as his successor in violation of the Canons of Nicæa, (Theod. H.E. v. 23) which 'do not allow a Bishop to appoint his successor, but require all the Bishops of the province to be summoned to elect, and forbid consecration without at least three consecrating Bishops.' The western Bishops therefore continued to press Theodosius to call a Council to deal with the matter, which was accordingly assembled at Capua. Flavian, though ordered by the Emperor, did not appear, and the Council referred the question to the decision of Theophilus of Alexandria and the Bishops of Egypt who were not committed to either side, and in this letter S. Ambrose replies to Theophilus who had written to him that Flavian still refused to submit himself to their decision and again appealed to the Emperor, and urges him to summon Flavian once more, and endeavour to bring the matter to a peaceful issue, advising him to consult also Siricius, the Bishop of Rome. He points out that both parties rely rather on the weakness of their opponent's case than on the soundness of their own, and expresses a hope that an end may be put to the schism, and peace restored to the Church. Tillemont, in note 41 on the Life of S. Ambrose, discusses the date of the Synod of Capua, and fixes it at the end of A.D.

391, chiefly on the ground that Theodosius did not return to Constantinople from Milan till November of that year, while it must have been held before the disturbance in the west occasioned by the revolt of Arbogastes and the death of Valentinian, which took place in the spring of A.D. 392.

AMBROSE TO THEOPHILUS.

1. EVAGRIUS has no good ground for preferring his claim, Flavian has cause to fear, and therefore avoids the trial. Let our brethren pardon our just grief, for on account of these men the whole world is agitated, yet they do not sympathize with our grief. Let them at least patiently suffer themselves to be censured by those whom they perceive to have been for so long a time harassed by their obstinacy. For between these two who would agree upon nothing which appertains to the peace of Christ, a grievous discord has arisen and spread through the whole world.

2. To this shipwreck of pious peace the holy Council of Capua had at length opened an haven of tranquillity; that communion should be given to all throughout the East who profess the Catholic faith, and that the cause of these two men should be referred to the judgment of your Holiness, and to our brethren and fellow-bishops of Egypt, as assessors. For we deemed your judgment likely to be true, in that, having embraced the communion of neither party, it would be inclined by no favour towards either side.

3. But while we were hoping that by these most equitable decrees of the Council a remedy was now provided, and an end put to discord, your Holiness writes word that our brother Flavian has again had recourse to the aid of prayers, and to the support of Imperial Rescripts. And thus the toil of so many Bishops has been spent to no purpose; we must have recourse once more to the civil tribunals, to the Imperial Rescripts, once more must they cross the sea, once more, though weak in body, exchange their own country for a foreign soil, once more must the Holy Altars be deserted that we may travel to distant lands, once more crowds of indigent Bishops, whose

poverty was before no burthen to them, but who now need external aid, must suffer want themselves, or at any rate use for their journey what else had fed the poor.

4. Meanwhile Flavian, alone exempt, as he fancies, from the laws, does not come when all others are assembled. The money-lender and debtor meet each other, these men alone cannot meet: Flavian by his own will deprives himself of Episcopal fellowship, and will not appear in person either at the Imperial order, or when cited by his brethren.

5. Nevertheless, even this cause of offence does not induce me to consider our brother Evagrius entirely in the right, although he seems to himself the more defensible either because Flavian avoids him, or because he thinks his opponent to be in no better case than himself, each of them relying more on the defects of his opponent's ordination than on the validity[238] of his own. We however would recall them to a better course, wishing them to be aided rather by the goodness of their own cause than by the defects of others.

6. Now since you have stated in your letter that some form may be devised touching this matter, whereby the discord of our brethren may be removed; and as the holy Synod has trusted the right of cognizance to the unanimous judgment of yourself and our other fellow-bishops from Egypt, it is fitting that you should again summon our brother Flavian, so that, if he should persist in not choosing to appear, you may then without prejudice to the decrees of the Council of Nice, and also of the Synod of Capua, take such measures for the preservation of general peace as may not destroy what has been built up: Gal. ii. 18. *For if I destroy what I have built, or build again what I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor*. Let the grace of that peace which has been obtained be thus preserved by all, and the refusal of either party to appear will not have the effect of frustrating it.

7. Moreover we are of opinion that it will be well for you to refer to our holy brother the Bishop of the Roman Church; for we do not doubt that what you shall determine he also will approve. For the resolution that is come to will be useful, and our peace and quiet will be secure, if such a decree is made by your advice as shall not create discord in our communion. And thus we also, receiving the series of your decrees, and assured that the Roman Church has given its undoubting approbation to what has been done, shall with gladness participate in the result of this trial.

LETTER ON THE CASE OF BONOSUS. A.D. 392 or 393.

THIS LETTER IS certainly not written by S. Ambrose, though included among his letters. The writer of it speaks of ‘our brother Ambrose.’ Tillemont discusses the authorship in a note, (45.) and makes it probable that it was written by Siricius.

The case of Bonosus had been brought before the Synod of Capua, and they had decided that it should be referred to the Bishops of Macedonia, under the presidency of Anysius Bishop of Thessalonica, as being his nearest neighbours. These Bishops seem to have written a letter to consult Siricius, the Bishop of Rome, and this is believed to be his reply, in which he declines to interfere with their decision, only adding a few remarks upon one point. Bonosus was Bishop of Sardica[239] in Illyria, and the founder of an obscure sect. They were accused of Photinianism, and Bonosus is called a fore-runner of Nestorius, but the Helvidian doctrines of which this letter speaks are the most clearly ascertained of their errors. The sect survived at least till the vith Century.

A LETTER CONCERNING THE DECIDING OF THE CASE OF BONOSUS, ACCORDING TO THE DECREE OF THE SYNOD OF CAPUA.

1. YOU have written to us a Letter concerning Bishop Bonosus in which, either from love of truth or from modesty, you enquire our opinion. But since it has been the judgment of the Council of Capua that those who are neighbours to Bonosus and his accusers should be assigned his judges, and specially the Macedonian Bishops, who, with the Bishop of Thessalonica, should judge of his acts and writings, we have to remark that the function of

judging cannot appertain to ourselves. Otherwise, were the question of the Synod at this day still open, we might well have decided concerning these things which are included in what you have written at length. Having taken upon yourselves this judgment, it is now your part to form your decision on the whole question, to give no power of retreat or escape either to the accusers or the accused; for, being chosen by the Synod to conduct the examination, you have taken upon you its functions.

2. Again, when Bishop Bonosus, after your judgment, sent to our brother Ambrose to enquire his opinion whether he should break into and enter upon the church which was closed to him, he received for reply that he must do nothing rashly, that everything must be carried on modestly, patiently and in order, that nothing contrary to your decision must be attempted, that you, to whom the Synod had committed such authority, would appoint what appeared to you agreeable to justice. The first point therefore is that judgment should be given by those to whom the power of judging has been given; for you, as we have said, judge in place of the entire Synod; as to ourselves it does not befit us to judge as though by the authority of the Synod.

3. Assuredly we cannot deny that he is justly blamed concerning the sons of Mary, and that your Holiness deservedly repudiated the opinion that from the same Virgin womb, of which according to the flesh Christ was born, other offspring was produced. For the Lord Jesus would not have chosen to be born of a Virgin, if He had conceived she would be so wanting in continence as to suffer that birthplace of the Lord's Body, that palace of the eternal King, to be polluted by human intercourse. To propound such an opinion as this, what is it but to fortify the unbelief of the Jews who say that it was impossible He could be born of a Virgin, and who, thus confirmed by the authority of Christian Bishops, will strive with greater earnestness to overthrow the true faith?

4. What else can be the meaning of that text wherein the Lord says to His Mother of John the Evangelist, S. John xix. 26, 27. *Woman, behold thy son*, and again to John of Mary, *Behold thy mother*? With what purpose was it that while the Lord was hanging upon the cross and atoning for the sins of the world, He declared also the integrity of His Mother? Wherefore was it said but that unbelief might close its lips and be silent, nor dare to offer any insult to the Mother of the Lord? He therefore, in pronouncing upon and asserting His Mother's chastity, likewise bears witness that S. Matt. i. 18. she was only espoused to her husband Joseph; and that she was ignorant of that carnal commerce which is the accustomed right of the marriage bed; for, had it been that she was to conceive children of Joseph, He would not have chosen to separate her from the company of her husband.

5. But if this is not enough, the Evangelist has added his testimony, saying that the S. John xix. 27. *disciple took her unto his own home*. Did he then cause a divorce? Did he carry her off from her husband? How can he who reads this in the Gospel stagger and waver to and fro as one who has been shipwrecked?

6. This then is the testimony of the Son concerning His Mother's chastity, this is the rich heritage of Mary's immaculate Virginity, this is the consummation of the entire work. He spake thus, and Ib. 30. *gave up the ghost*, crowning the whole mystery with a good end of filial duty.

7. We have also read and perused the whole of the instructions, as well what relates to Senecio being joined with our brother and fellow-bishop Bassus in the government of his Church, as what relates to other matters, and we now look for the direction of your sentence.

LETTER LVII.

VALENTINIAN II. HAVING been murdered by Arbogastes, one of his Generals, the latter, not venturing to claim the empire for himself, set up Eugenius, who was really his puppet, as Emperor of the West. Theodosius temporised with him, till he should be fully prepared to attack him, and it was whilst he was thus for a time accepted as Emperor that S. Ambrose addressed this letter to him. He excuses himself in it for withdrawing from Milan when Eugenius came there, on the plea that he was bound to fear God rather than man, and reproves him for granting the restoration of their former revenues to the heathen temples, which Gratian and Valentinian had before refused, and exposes the futility of his plea that he was merely granting favour to his friends, reminding him that God sees the heart. He quotes at length the conduct of the Jews in the time of Antiochus, as recorded in the Book of Maccabees, as a precedent which Christians were bound to follow. At the same time he says that he is willing to address Eugenius in matters which do not affect his duty to God.

TO THE MOST GRACIOUS EMPEROR EUGENIUS, AMBROSE, BISHOP, SENDS GREETING.

1. I withdrew from Milan from fear of God, to Whom I am wont to refer, as far as I am able, all my acts, never turning my mind from Him nor making more account of any man’s favour than of the grace of Christ. By preferring God to every one else I wrong no man, and trusting in Him, I dare to tell your Majesties, the Emperors, my poor thoughts. Wherefore I will not refrain from saying to your most gracious Majesty what I never refrained from saying before other Emperors. And that I may preserve the

order of events, I will touch one by one the points which relate to this transaction. The illustrious Symmachus, when prefect of the city, memorialised[240] the Emperor Valentinian the younger, of august memory, begging that he would command what had been withdrawn from the temples to be restored. He performed his part in accordance with his own wishes and mode of worship. It became me also, as Bishop, to recognize the duties of my office. I presented two petitions to the Emperors wherein I declared that a Christian man could not contribute to the expenses of the sacrifices; that I had not advised the withdrawal of the payments, but that I did advise that they should not be now decreed, and lastly, that he would seem to be giving rather than restoring these expenses to the images; for what he had not withdrawn, he could not be said to restore, but of his own free-will to give it for the uses of superstition. Lastly, if he had done so, he either must not come to the Church, or if he did, he would either not find a priest, or one who would withstand him. Nor could it be offered as an excuse that he was only a catechumen, for it is not lawful for catechumens to contribute to the expense of idols.

3. My petitions were read in the Consistory; Count Bauto, a man of the highest military rank, and Rumoridus, himself too of the same dignity, and from the first year of his boyhood attached to the Gentile worship, were present. Valentinian then listened to my suggestion, and did nothing but what our faith reasonably required. And they submitted to his officer.

4. Afterwards I openly addressed myself to the most gracious Emperor Theodosius, and hesitated not to speak to him face to face. He having received the intimation of a similar message from the Senate, although it was not the whole Senate who asked it, at length gave his consent to my suggestion, and so for some days I did not come near him, nor was he displeased thereat, for I did not act for my own advantage but for his profit,

and that of my own soul also; Ps. cxix. 46. *I was not ashamed to speak in the king's presence*.

5. Once more an Embassy was sent from the senate to the Emperor Valentinian, of blessed memory, when he was in Gaul, but was able to extort nothing from him. At that time I was absent and had not written anything to him.

6. But when your Majesty assumed the reins of government it was found that this boon had been granted to men of eminence in the state but in religion heathens. And perhaps it may be said, your Majesty, that it is not a restitution to the temples on your part, but a boon to men who had deserved well of you. But the fear of God ought, you know, to lead us to act with constancy, as is done in the cause of liberty not only by priests but by those who serve in your armies or are reckoned among the provincials. Envoys petitioned you, as Emperor, for restitution to the temples, but you consented not; others again required it, but you resisted; yet subsequently you have thought fit to grant it as a boon to the petitioners themselves.

7. The Imperial power is indeed great, but let your Majesty consider the greatness of God; He sees all hearts, He scrutinizes the inmost conscience, He knows all things before they come to pass, He knows the secrets of your breast. You will not suffer yourselves to be deceived, and do you hope to hide anything from God? Has not this suggested itself to your mind? Although they urged their suit with such perseverance, ought not your Majesty from respect for the most high and true and living God, to have resisted still more perseveringly, and to have refused what was derogatory to the Divine law?

8. Who grudges your bestowing upon others whatsoever you chose? We do not pry closely into your munificence, nor are we jealous of the advantages of others; but we are the ministers of the Faith. How will you offer your gifts to Christ? your acts will be estimated by few, your wishes

by all; whatever they have done will be ascribed to you, whatever they have not done to themselves. You are indeed Emperor, but you ought all the more to submit yourself to God. Else how shall the priests of Christ dispense your gifts?

9. There was a question of this kind in former times, and then persecution itself yielded to the faith of our fathers, and heathendom gave way. For 2 Macc. iv. 18 sqq. *when the game that was used every fifth year was kept at Tyre*, and the wicked king of Antioch had come hither to see it, *Jason sent special messengers from Jerusalem, to carry three hundred silver drachms*, and give them *to the sacrifice of Hercules*. But our fathers would not give the money to the heathen, but sent trusty persons to make declaration that such money was not to be devoted to sacrifices to the gods, *for this was not convenient*, but was to be applied to other expenses. And it was decreed that, forasmuch as Jason had said that the silver was sent for the sacrifice of Hercules, that which was sent ought to be so applied. And yet seeing that they who brought it pleaded in opposition, in their zeal and devotion, that it should not be employed for sacrifice but for other exigencies, the money was applied to build ships. They sent the money, that is, because they were compelled, but it was not applied to sacrifices, but to other public expenses.

10. Again, they who brought the money might have been silent, but they were led to violate secrecy because they knew whither it was being carried, and so they sent men who feared God, and who were to do their endeavour that the money might be applied to the equipment of ships, and not to the temple. Thus they entrusted the money to men who were to plead the cause of the Divine law, and He who cleanses the conscience was made Judge of the matter. If those who were in the power of others took these precautions, it cannot be doubted what it was your Majesty's duty to do. You, whom no

man constrained, who were in no man's power, ought certainly to have referred for advice to the priest.

11. For my own part, although I was alone in the resistance I then made, still others both willed and advised it. Being thus bound by my own words both before God and before all men, I have felt that I had no other choice or duty but to consult for myself, for I could not properly trust to you. For a long time I stifled and concealed my grief, I gave no hint to any one, but now I am no longer at liberty to dissemble, or to be silent. And this was why, at the beginning of your reign, I made no reply to your letters, because I foresaw that what you have done would happen. Afterwards, when you found I did not answer, and sent to demand a reply, I said, 'The reason why I do not write is that I think it will be wrung from him[241].'

12. But when a just occasion for the exercise of my office arose, I both wrote and petitioned for those who were anxious on their own account, with a view of shewing that in the cause of God a due fear of Him affected me, and that I did not set a higher value on flattery than on my own soul; but that in the matters wherein petition is proper to be made to you, I paid just deference to your authority, as indeed it is written, Rom. xiii. 7. *honour to whom honour, tribute to whom tribute*. For seeing that I cordially deferred to a private person, how should I not defer to the Emperor? But as you desire deference to be shewn to yourselves, suffer us to defer to Him from Whom you would fain prove your authority to be derived.

LETTER LVIII. A.D. 393.

IN THIS LETTER S. Ambrose informs Sabinus that Paulinus and Therasia had resolved to give up all their wealth to the poor, and retire to Nola, and complains of the objections raised against such self-denial, ending with a mystical interpretation of David dancing before the ark.

AMBROSE TO SABINUS, BISHOP.

1. CREDIBLE information has reached me that Paulinus, the lustre of whose birth was inferior to none in the region of Aquitania, has sold both his own possessions and those of his wife, and entered upon a course of life which enables him to bestow upon the poor the property which has been converted into money; while he himself having become poor instead of rich, as one relieved of a heavy burden, has bid farewell to his home his country and his kindred, in order to serve God more diligently; and he is reported to have chosen a retreat in the city of Nola, to pass the rest of his days in avoiding the turmoil of life.

2. The lady Therasia too approaches closely to his zeal and virtue, and objects not to the resolve he has taken. Having transferred her own property to other owners, she follows her husband, and contented with his little plat of ground will console herself with the riches of religion and charity. Offspring they have none, and therefore desire to leave behind them good deeds.

3. When the great of the world hear this, what will they say? That a man of his family, his ancestry, his genius, gifted with such eloquence, should have seceded from the senate, that the succession of a noble family should become extinct, such things, they will say, are not to be borne. And though

they, when they perform the rites of Isis, shave their heads and eyebrows, they nevertheless call it an unworthy deed should a Christian man out of zeal for holy religion change his habit.

4. Truly I grieve that, while falsehood is so respected, there should be such negligence as regards the Truth, that many are ashamed of seeming too devoted to our holy religion, not considering His words Who says, S. Matt. x. 33. S. Mark viii. 38. *Whosoever shall be ashamed of*[242] *Me before men, of him will I also be ashamed*[243] *before My Father Which is in heaven*. But Moses was not thus ashamed, for though invited into the royal palace he Heb. xi. 26. *esteemed the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt*. David was not thus ashamed when he 2 Sam. vi. 20. danced before the Ark of the testimony in the sight of all the people. Isaiah was not thus ashamed, Isa. xx. 4. when he walked naked and bare-foot through the people, proclaiming the heavenly oracles.

5. Viewed by the outward eye what can be a more unseemly spectacle than an imitation of the gestures of players, and a wreathing of the limbs after the manner of women? Lascivious dances are the companions of luxury and the pastime of wantonness. What did David himself mean by singing, Ps. xlvii. 1. *O clap your hands together, all ye people*? If we regard the bodily action we must suppose that he clapped his hands as if mingling with female dancers, and shouted with unseemly noise. Of Ezekiel too it is said, Ezek. vi. 11. *Smite with thine hand, and stamp with thy foot*.

6. But the things which viewed corporeally are unseemly, when viewed in regard to holy religion become venerable, so that they who blame such things will involve their own souls in the net of blame. Thus Michal reproves David for his dancing and says to him, 2 Sam. vi. 20. *How glorious was the king of Israel to day, who uncovered himself to day in the eyes of his handmaids*! And David answered her, Ib. 21, 22. *It was before*

the Lord, which chose me before thy father, and before all his house to appoint me ruler over the people of the Lord, over Israel: therefore will I play before the Lord, and I will be yet more vile thus, and will be base in mine own sight, and of the maid-servants which thou hast spoken of, of them shall I be had in honour.

7. David therefore did not shrink from female censure, nor was he ashamed to hear their reproaches for his religious service. For he played before the Lord as being his servant, and was the more pleasing to Him in that he so humbled himself before God, as to lay aside his royal dignity and to offer to God the very lowest ministry, as though he were a servant. She also who censured such dancing was condemned to barrenness and had no children by the king, that she might not bring forth a proud offspring; and so, as it turned out, she obtained no continuance of descendants or of good deeds.

8. If any one is still doubtful, let him hear the testimony of the Gospel, for the Son of God said, S. Matt. xi. 17. *We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced*. Therefore were the Jews abandoned, because they danced not, nor clapped their hands, and the Gentiles were called in, who gave to God spiritual applause. Eccles. iv. 5. *The fool foldeth his hands together and devoureth his own flesh*, that is, he entangles himself in corporeal matters, and devours his own flesh, like prevailing death[244], and so he shall not find eternal life. But the wise man, who so holds up his works that they may S. Matt. v. 16. shine before his Father Which is in heaven, has not consumed his flesh but has raised it to the grace of the resurrection. This is that glorious dance of the wise man which David danced, and thus by the loftiness of his spiritual dancing he ascended even to the throne of Christ, that he might see and hear Ps. cx. 1. *the Lord saying to his Lord, Sit Thou on My right hand*!

9. Now if you are of opinion that this interpretation of the dancing has not been made unreasonably, do not spare yourself the trouble of reading a little further, in order that we may consider together the case of Isaiah, how, as is well known to you, Isa. xx. 4. he was uncovered, not in mockery but gloriously, in the sight of the assembled people, as one who reported with his own mouth the oracles of God.

10. But perhaps it may be said, Was it not then disgraceful for a man to walk wholly uncovered through the people, seeing that he must be met both by men and women? Must not the sight itself have shocked the eyes of all, especially of women? Do not we ourselves generally shrink from looking upon naked men? And are not men's persons concealed by garments that they may not offend the eyes of beholders by an unseemly spectacle?

11. In this I also acquiesce; but consider what it was this act represented, and what was set forth under this outward show; it was, that the young men and maidens of the Jews should be led away prisoners, and walk naked, Isa. xx. 3. *like as My servant Isaiah*, it is said, *hath walked naked and barefoot*. This might also have been impressed in words, but God chose to render it more expressive by example, that the sight itself might thus strike greater terror, and what they shrunk from in the person of the prophet, that they might dread for themselves. In which of the two then does the baseness most shock us; in the person of the prophet, or in the sins of those unbelievers which deserved to fall into this great misery of captivity?

12. But what if there was nothing worthy of reproach in the prophet's body? He indeed alluded not to corporeal but to spiritual things; for in his ecstasy of mind he says, not Ps. lxxxv. 8. *I will hearken what* I shall say, but, *what the Lord God shall say in me*. Nor does he consider whether he is naked or clothed. Again, Gen. ii. 25. Adam before his sin was naked, but knew not he was naked, because he was endued with virtue; Ib. iii. 7. after he had committed sin he saw that he was naked, and covered himself. Noah

was uncovered, but he blushed not, because he was full of gladness and spiritual joy, while he who derided him for being naked, himself remained subject to the disgrace of perpetual baseness. Joseph too, that he might not be basely uncovered, Ib. xxxix. 12. left his garment, and fled away naked; now which of the two was base in this instance, she who kept another's garment, or he who put off his own?

13. But that it may be more fully evident that the prophets regard not themselves nor what lies at their feet, but heavenly things, when Stephen was stoned he saw Acts vii. 56. *the heavens opened, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God*; and therefore he felt not the blows of the stones, he regarded not his bodily wounds, but his eyes were fastened on Christ, he clung closely to him. So also Isaiah Isa. xx. 2. looked not on his own nakedness, but offered himself to be the organ of the Divine voice, that he might utter what God spake within him.

14. But be it supposed that he saw himself, could he not do that which he was commanded? Could he believe that to be base which God enjoined? Sarah, Gen. xviii. 12. because she laughed, was convicted of unbelief; Abraham was praised, Ib. xv. 6. because he doubted not the word of God; yea, he received a very great reward, because he believed that at God's command, Ib. xx. 3. even parricide might be piously committed.

15. What cause for shame then had the prophet here, when one thing was enacted, but that of which it was a figure was quite different? The Jews, being deserted by God for their wickedness, began to be vanquished by their enemies, and were fain to betake themselves to the Egyptians, to be a protection to them against the Assyrians, whereas had they consulted for good, they ought rather to have returned to the faith. The Lord, being angry, shews that their hope was vain in thinking that the offence against Him could be removed by a greater sin, for that very people in whom the Jews

were trusting, were themselves to be vanquished. This was the meaning as regards the actual history.

16. But this history itself is a figure, signifying that he trusts in the Egyptians who is given up to impurity, and enslaved to wantonness. For no man abandons himself to excess but he who departs from the precepts of the true God. But as soon as a man waxes wanton, he begins to fall off from the true faith. And then he commits two grievous crimes, lassitude as regards the flesh, and sacrilege as regards the mind. He then who follows not the Lord his God ingulfs himself in impurity and lust, those pestilential passions of the body. But he who has engulfed and plunged himself in such wallowing places, falls also into the snare of unbelief; for Exod. xxxii. 6. *the people sat down to eat and to drink*, and required that gods should be made for them. Hereby the Lord teaches us that he who gives up his soul to these two kinds of vices, is stript of the garment, not of a woollen vest, but of living virtue; that clothing which is not temporal but eternal.

Farewell, love me, for I also love you.

LETTER LIX. A.D. 393.

S. AMBROSE HERE writes to Severus, Bishop of Naples, to tell him of one James, a presbyter of Persia, who was seeking a retreat from the world in Campania. This leads him to dwell on the contrast of the many troubles with which he is surrounded at Milan.

AMBROSE TO SEVERUS, BISHOP.

1. JAMES, our brother and fellow-presbyter, has come from the depths of Persia, and chosen the coast of Campania and your pleasant abodes for his resting-place. You see in what spot he has anticipated for himself the enjoyment of a haven sheltered, as it were, from the storms of this world, where, after his long toils, he may spend the remainder of his life.

2. For your coast, removed not only from danger, but from all tumult, fills the senses with tranquillity, and transports the mind from the fearful and raging billows of care to an honourable rest. So that those words of David concerning the holy Church, which belong in common to all, appear to be especially fitting and appropriate to yourselves; Ps. xxiv. 2. *For He hath founded it upon the seas, and prepared it upon the floods*. For a mind undisturbed by inroads of barbarians and the evils of war, has leisure for prayer, devotes itself to the service of God, cares for the things of the Lord, cherishes those things which belong to peace and tranquillity.

3. We meanwhile, exposed to the outbreaks of the barbarians and the storms of war, are tossing in the midst of troubles, and from these toils and dangers can only gather that those of our future life will be still more grievous. Wherefore that saying of the Prophet seems to accord with our condition, Hab. iii. 7. *I saw the tents of Cushan in affliction*.

4. For since I have now lived in the body fifty and three years, among the shadows of this world, whereby the truth of future perfection is obscured, and have already endured such heavy afflictions, am I not camping in the tents of Cushan, Ps. cxx. 5. and having my habitation among the dwellers of Midian? For these, owing to their consciousness of their darksome works, dread being judged even by mortal men, 1 Cor. ii. 15. *but he that is spiritual judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man*.

Farewell, my brother; love me, as indeed you do, for I also love you.

LETTER LX. A.D. 393.

IN THIS LETTER S. Ambrose urges Paternus not to break the laws both of God and man by promoting a marriage between his son and his daughter's daughter, who were within the forbidden degree of relationship, and shews him what confusion would arise from such an union.

AMBROSE TO PATERNUS.

1. I HAVE read your greeting, my like-minded friend Paternus, but the question on which you ask my advice, wishing to marry your son to your grand-daughter by your daughter, is by no means paternal, but unworthy of you both as grand-father and as father. Consider therefore what it is you ask about, for in all that we wish to do, we ought first to investigate the nature of the deed, and then we shall be able to estimate whether it is worthy of praise or blame. For instance, carnal intercourse with women is a pleasure to some, physicians even say it is healthful to the body; but we must consider whether it be with a wife or a stranger, with a married or an unmarried woman. If a man have commerce with one who is espoused and given to him he calls it marriage; he who assails the chastity of one who belongs to another commits adultery, by the very name of which the temerity of the attempt is generally repressed. To slay an enemy is accounted a victory, to slay a criminal is justice, to slay an innocent man murder, and if a man is conscious of this he withholds his hand. Wherefore I beg that you also will consider what it is you propose.

2. You wish to arrange a marriage between our children. But I would ask whether you would have equals or those who are unequal joined together? if I mistake not, they are wont to be called 'pairs[245].' He who yokes oxen to

the plough, or horses to the chariot, chooses pairs, that both their age and their form may harmonize, that there be no natural difference, nor blemish of diversity. You are proposing to unite your son and your grand-daughter by your daughter, that is, that he should marry his sister's daughter, true though it is that he was born of a different mother from his professed mother in law. Consider what restraint is implied in the very names; he is called her uncle, she is called his niece. Does not the very sound of the names[246] recal you, when the one has in it the sound of grand-father, and the other refers alike to uncle and to grand-father? How great again is the confusion of the other terms? You will be called both grand-father and father in law, she too will receive the different names of niece and daughter in law. The brother and sister also will exchange different names, she will be the mother in law of her brother, he the son in law of his sister. The niece will marry her uncle, and the affection of these your unstained offspring be exchanged for an irregular love.

3. On this point you tell me that the holy man your Bishop is looking for my sentiments. I cannot think or believe this. For if this were so, he would himself have chosen to write, but by not doing so he has intimated that he considers there is no ground for doubt upon the point. For how can there be any such doubt, when the prohibition of marriage between first cousins extends, according to the Divine law, to those who are related in the fourth degree. But this is the third degree, which even by the civil law seems to be excepted from the fellowship of marriage.

4. But let us first inquire what are the decrees of the Divine law, for you allege in your letters that an union between such persons must be considered as allowed by that Law, in that it is not forbidden. I however assert that it is actually forbidden; for seeing that first cousins are forbidden slighter familiarities, much more must I deem this forbidden which contains

within it the bond of a much closer union. For he who affixes censure to lighter offences does not acquit but rather condemn heavier ones.

5. But if you consider it to be permitted because it is not specially forbidden, neither will you find it forbidden by the words of the Law that the father should take his daughter to wife. But is this lawful, merely because it is not forbidden? By no means; it has been interdicted by the law of nature, by that law which is in the hearts of each of us, by the inviolable rule of piety, on the ground of nearness of kin. How many things of this kind will you find which are not forbidden in the law promulgated by Moses, but which are yet forbidden by the voice of nature.

6. There are many things which are lawful, but which are not expedient, for 1 Cor. x. 23. *all things are lawful, but all things are not expedient, all things are lawful, but all things edify not*. If then the Apostle recalls us even from those things which edify not, how can we imagine that may be done which is not permitted by the oracle of the Law, and which edifies not, because it differs from the rule of piety? Yet those very things in the old Law which were more severe were mitigated by the Gospel of the Lord Jesus. 2 Cor. v. 17. *Old things are passed away, behold, all things are become new.*

7. What is so usual as a kiss between an uncle and a niece, which he owes to her as a daughter, she to him as a parent? Will you therefore cast suspicion on this kiss of unoffending piety by proposing such a union, will you deprive your beloved offspring of a sacrament so venerable?

8. But if the Divine law pass by you unheeded, at least the laws of Emperors, from whom you have received such ample honours, ought not to have been so disregarded. Now the Emperor Theodosius forbad even cousins by either the fathers' or mothers' side to be united under the name of marriage, and affixed a severe penalty upon any rash union of brothers' children. And yet these are equal as regards each other, but, as they are

bound together by the ties of mankind and brotherly union, he would have them owe their birth to piety.

9. But you will say this rule has been relaxed in favour of some. The law however is not prejudiced thereby, for that which is [not][247] enacted for general use is only profitable to him in whose favour the relaxation takes place, and so the odium is much less. Now although we read in the Old Testament of one calling his wife his sister, it is unheard of that any man should marry his niece and call her his wife.

10. It is indeed a curious plea which leads you to assert that your grand-daughter is not connected with your son, her uncle, by any close bond, merely because they have no relationship by the father's side[248]. As if an uterine brother and sister, born that is, of the same mother but by a different father, would be united together when of a different sex, for as much as they have no relationship by the father's side[249], but are only united to each other by the mother's side[250].

11. You ought therefore to relinquish your intention, which, even were it lawful, would not tend to propagate your family, for your son owes to us grand-children, your dear grand-daughter owes to us great-grand-children.

Farewell to you and all yours.

LETTER LXI. A.D. 394.

THIS LETTER WAS addressed to Theodosius after his victory over Eugenius. S. Ambrose in it explains his absence from Milan, and after expressing his gratitude to God for His blessing on the arms of Theodosius, urges the Emperor to a merciful use of his victory.

AMBROSE TO THE EMPEROR THEODOSIUS.

1. YOU seem to have supposed, most blessed Emperor, as I understood from your Majesty's letters, that I had removed to a distance from Milan because I believed your cause was forsaken by God. But in my absence I was not so foolish, nor so unmindful of your virtues and good deeds, as not to feel sure that the assistance of heaven would aid your piety, and assist you to rescue the Roman Empire from the cruelty of a barbarian robber, and the rule of an unworthy usurper.

2. Wherefore I made immediate haste to return, as soon as ever I was aware that he whom I thought it right to avoid was gone, for I had not deserted the Church of Milan, which the judgment of God had committed to me, but I shunned the presence of one who had involved himself in sacrilege. So I returned about the first of August, and from that day I have been in residence here, and here your Majesty's letter[251] has found me.

3. Thanks be to our Lord God, Who has responded to your faith and piety, and revived among us the pattern of ancient sanctity, giving to us to see in our own times what we marvel at in the Lessons of Holy Scripture, so effectual a presence, I mean, of Divine aid in battle[252], that no mountain tops delayed your passage, no hostile arms presented any impediment.

4. For this you think I ought to give thanks to the Lord our God; and this I will willingly do, conscious of your good deeds. That victim is certainly pleasing to God, which is offered in your name; and how great faith and devotion does this evince! Other Emperors, as soon as ever they gain a victory, order triumphal arches or other badges of triumph to be erected, but your Clemency provides a victim for God, and desires that oblations and thanksgivings should be offered to the Lord by the priests.

5. I therefore, though unworthy and unequal to such an office, and to the offering of such prayers, will yet tell you how I have acted. I carried with me your Majesty's letter to the altar, and laid it thereon, bearing it in my hand, when I offered the Sacrifice; that so your faith might speak with my voice, and the Imperial letter itself might perform the functions of the priestly oblation.

6. Truly the Lord is merciful to the Roman Empire, seeing that He hath chosen such a prince and parent of princes, whose virtue and power, raised on so great and triumphant an eminence of dominion, is supported by such humility as to vanquish Emperors in valour and priests in humility. What shall I wish for, or what shall I desire? You possess everything; from your stores therefore I will obtain the sum of my wishes; your Majesty is pitiful, and has great clemency.

7. But I desire for you again and again an increase of mercy, than which the Lord hath given nothing more excellent; that by your clemency, the Church of God, as it rejoices in the peace and tranquillity of the innocent, so it may also rejoice in the absolution of the guilty. I would chiefly ask you to pardon those who have sinned for the first time. May the Lord preserve your Clemency. Amen.

LETTER LXII. A.D. 394.

IN THIS LETTER also S. Ambrose urges on Theodosius a merciful use of his victory, and appeals to him specially for some of the defeated party who had sought the protection of the Church. He acknowledges the greatness of the request, but pleads for it on the score of the divine favour which had been miraculously displayed in his behalf.

AMBROSE TO THE EMPEROR THEODOSIUS.

1. ALTHOUGH I lately wrote to your Clemency even a second time, still I was not satisfied to fulfil my duty of corresponding with you letter by letter; for your gracious benefits have so often laid me under obligation that by no services can I pay my debt to your Majesty, most blessed Emperor.

2. The very first occasion ought not therefore to have been omitted, but through your chamberlain I ought to have offered to you my thanks, and laid before you the expression of my duty; and this that my omitting to write previously might not seem to arise from sloth rather than necessity: I had also to inquire for some mode whereby I might offer to your Goodness my proper and dutiful greeting.

3. Rightly then do I send my son Felix the Deacon, to convey to you my letter, and to offer to you in my name both my dutiful respects, and also a memorial in behalf of those who, suing for mercy, have fled to the Church, the Mother of your piety. Their tears have constrained me to anticipate your Clemency's mind by my petition.

4. Our request is indeed a great one, but it is addressed to one on whom the Lord has bestowed unheard-of and wonderful things, to one whose mercifulness we have experienced, and whose piety we have as a hostage.

We confess then that we look for even more, for as you have surpassed yourself in valour, so also you must surpass yourself in pity. For your victory is considered to have been bestowed on you in the primitive manner, and miraculously, as it was on Moses, on holy Joshua the son of Nun, on Samuel and on David, not by human respect but by the outpouring of celestial grace. Wherefore we look for a measure of pity corresponding to that by means of which such a victory has been earned.

LETTER LXIII. A.D. 396.

THIS, THE LONGEST and latest, and certainly not the least interesting, of S. Ambrose's Letters, is addressed to the Church of Vercellæ, which, owing to intestine divisions, had been for some time without a Bishop. S. Ambrose first urges them to remember Christ's Presence among them, and to proceed to Election with that thought especially in their minds. He then speaks of two follows of Jovinian, Sarmatio and Barbatianus, who had introduced their evil doctrines among them, and so fostered divisions. This leads him to dwell at length on the evils of sensuality and the benefits of self-denial, on the profit of fasting, and the excellence of a virgin life, and bids them 'stand fast,' and not be led astray by false teachers. Then he recurs to the subject of the election of a Bishop, and bids them lay aside all evil feelings, and choose one worthy of so high an office, setting before them the examples of our Lord Himself, of Moses and Aaron. He then speaks of the qualities to be looked for in a true Bishop, and urges them to choose one worthy to succeed to the see of the holy martyr Eusebius, and, recurring to the examples of the old Testament, dwells on the history of Elijah. He ends by a general exhortation to all the Church of Vercellæ to the chief Christian virtues, after the model of S. Paul's Epistles, to which the outline of this letter bears a general resemblance. Some questions as to its genuineness have been alluded to in the notes. There seems no sufficient reason for doubting that it is a genuine letter of S. Ambrose. It is thoroughly Ambrosian in style and method, and in its treatment of Scripture, especially of the history of the old Testament and of the lives of the great saints of the

old dispensation. It was written not more than a year before S. Ambrose's death.

AMBROSE, SERVANT OF CHRIST, CALLED TO BE BISHOP, TO THE CHURCH OF VERCELLÆ, AND TO THEM WHO CALL ON THE NAME OF THE LORD JESUS CHRIST, GRACE UNTO YOU FROM GOD THE FATHER AND HIS ONLY-BEGOTTEN SON BE FULFILLED IN THE HOLY SPIRIT.

1. I AM overcome by grief that the Church of the Lord, which is among you, has still no Bishop, and alone in all the regions of Liguria and Æmilia, of Venetia[253] and the adjacent parts of Italy, stands in need of those ministrations which other Churches were wont to ask at her hands, and, what causes me still more shame, the contention[254] which causes this delay is ascribed to me. For as long as there are dissensions among you, how can either we determine anything, or you make your election, or any man accept the election, so as to undertake among men who are at variance an office difficult to bear the weight of, even among those that agree?

2. Are you the scholars of a confessor, are you the offspring of those righteous fathers, who as soon as they saw holy Eusebius[255], though before he was unknown to them, put aside their own countrymen, and forthwith approved of him; and required no more than the sight of him for their approval? Rightly did he who was chosen unanimously by the Church, turn out so eminent a man, rightly was it believed that he whom all demanded was chosen by the judgment of God. It is fitting therefore that you follow the example of your fathers, especially since it behoves you, who have been trained by so holy a Confessor, to be better than your fathers, forasmuch as you have been trained and taught by a better preceptor; and to show forth a visible sign of your moderation and concord, by unanimously agreeing to the choice of a Bishop.

3. If the Lord has said, S. Matt. xviii. 19, 20. *If two of you shall agree as touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of My Father which is in heaven: For where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them*; how much less, when many are assembled in the name of the Lord, where all agree together in their petitions, how much less ought we in any wise to doubt that there the Lord Jesus will be present to inspire their will and grant their petition, to preside over the ordination and confer the grace?

4. Make yourselves therefore worthy that Christ should stand in the midst of you; for wheresoever is peace there is Christ, for Christ is Eph. ii. 14. *Peace*; wheresoever is righteousness there is Christ, for Christ is 1 Cor. i. 30. *Righteousness*. Let Him stand in the midst of you, that you may see Him, that it be not said to you also, S. John i. 26. *There standeth One among you, Whom ye know not*. The Jews saw Him not, for they believed not on Him; we behold Him by devotion, and Him by faith.

5. Let Him therefore stand in the midst of you, that you may have the Ps. xix. 1. *heavens* which *declare the glory of God*, opened to you; that you may do His will and work His works. The heavens are opened to him who sees Jesus, as they were opened to Stephen, when he said, Acts vii. 56. *Behold I see the heavens opened, and Jesus standing at the right hand of God*. Jesus stood as an intercessor, He stood, as being eager to assist His soldier Stephen in his combat; He stood as being prepared to crown His martyr.

6. Let Him therefore stand in the midst of you, that you may not fear Him when seated on His throne, for seated thereon He will judge, according to the saying of Daniel, Dan. vii. 9, 10. *I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the books were opened, and the Ancient of days did sit*. And in the 82nd Psalm it is written, Ps. lxxxii. 1. *God standeth in the congregation of princes, He decideth among gods*. So then being seated He judges,

standing He decides. He judges concerning them that are not perfected, He decides among the gods. Let Him stand for you as a Defender, as the good Shepherd, that cruel wolves may not attack you.

7. Nor is it without reason that my admonition directs itself to this point; for I hear that Sarmatio and Barbatianus[256] have come among you, vain boasters, who assert that there is no merit in abstinence, no grace in a strict life, none in virginity, that all are to be rated at one price, that they who chastise their flesh, in order to bring it into subjection to the body, are beside themselves. But had the Apostle Paul thought it a madness, he never would have practised it himself, nor written it for the instruction of others. Yet he thus glories, saying, 1 Cor. ix. 27. *But I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection, lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself be found a reprobate*[257]. So that they who chastise not their own bodies, yet would fain preach to others, are themselves accounted reprobates.

8. For is there aught so reprobate[258] as that which excites us to impurity, to corruption, to wantonness? as the fuel of lust, the enticer to pleasure, the nurse of incontinence, the incentive of desire? What new school has sent forth these Epicureans? No school of philosophers, as they affirm, but of ignorant men who are setters forth of pleasure, who persuade to luxury, who hold chastity to be useless. 1 S. John ii. 19. *They were with us, but they were not of us*, for we blush not to say what the Apostle John said. It was when placed here that they first fasted, within the monastery they were under restraint; there was no room for licence, all opportunity of jesting and altercation was cut off.

9. This these men of delicacy could not bear. They departed, and when they desired to return were not received, for I had heard many things concerning them against which it behoved me to be on my guard; I admonished them, but in vain. Thus they began to boil over and spread

abroad what might prove the miserable incentives of all kinds of vice. Thus they lost the fruits of their fasting, they lost the fruits of having contained themselves a little while. And now with Satanic malice they envy others those good works, the fruits of which they have themselves lost.

10. What virgin can hear without grieving that her chastity will have no reward? Far be it from her readily to give credence to this, still less let her lay aside her earnestness, or change the intention of her mind. What widow, were she to find her widowhood profitless, would choose to preserve inviolate her first marriage-vow, and live in sorrow, instead of allowing herself to be comforted? What wife is there who hearing that no honour is due to chastity, might not be tempted by unwatchful heedlessness of mind or body? And that is why the Church, in her sacred Lessons, in the discourses of her priests, daily sends forth the praises of chastity, the glory of virginity.

11. Vainly then has the Apostle said, 1 Cor. v. 9. *I wrote to you in an Epistle not to company with fornicators*: and lest perhaps they should say, 'We speak not of the fornicators of this world, but we say that he who has been baptized into Christ ought not to be deemed a fornicator, but whatever his life may be, it will be accepted by God,' the Apostle has added; 1 Cor. v. 10. *Yet not altogether with the fornicators of this world*, and below, Ib. 11, 12. *If any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; with such an one no not to eat. For what have I to do to judge them also that are without?* And to the Ephesians, Eph. v. 3. *But fornication, and all uncleanness or covetousness, let it not once be named among you, as becometh saints*, adding straightway, Ib. 5. *For this ye know, that no whoremonger, nor unclean person, nor covetous man, who is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God*. This, it is plain, is said of the baptized, for they receive an inheritance who are baptized into the death of Christ,

and are Rom. vi. 3. *buried together with Him, that they may rise together with Him*. Wherefore they are Ib. viii. 17. *heirs of God*, and *joint-heirs with Christ*, heirs of God because the Grace of God is conveyed to them, and coheirs of Christ because they are renewed according to His life; heirs also of Christ because by His Death He grants to them as Testator His inheritance.

12. Now such as these, who have somewhat to lose, ought more to take heed to themselves than they who have nothing. These ought to act with greater caution, to avoid the snares of vice and the incentives to sin, which chiefly arise out of meat and drink. 1 Cor. x. 7. Exod. xxxii. 6. *The people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play.*

13. Even Epicurus himself, whose example these men prefer to that of the Apostles, he, the champion of pleasure, while he denies that it produces evil, denies not that certain consequences flow from it, from which evils are generated: he maintains too that not even the life of the licentious, which is filled with pleasures of this kind, can be said to be objectionable, unless it be assailed by the fear of pain or death. How far removed he is from the truth, may be discovered even from this, that he declares pleasure to be the work of God in man as its originator, as his follower Philomarus[259] maintains in his Epitomes, Gen. iii. 1–4. referring this opinion to the Stoics as its authors.

14. But this is refuted by holy Scripture, which teaches us that pleasure was instilled into Adam and Eve by the snares and enticements of the Serpent. For the Serpent itself is pleasure, and, in accordance with this, the passions of pleasure are various and slippery, and infected by the poison, so to speak, of corrupt enticement. Hence it is plain that Adam, deceived by the sensual appetite, fell from his obedience to God, and the reward of

grace. How then can pleasure recal us to Paradise, when it alone cast us out of Paradise?

15. Wherefore the Lord Jesus, willing to strengthen us against the S. Matt. iv. 2. temptations of the Devil, fasted before His combat, to teach us that otherwise we cannot conquer the snares of evil. Moreover, the Devil himself employed the force of pleasure in launching the first dart of his temptations, saying, Ib. 3. *If Thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread*. To which the Lord replies, Ib. 4. *Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word of God*; nor would He do it, although within His power, that He might teach us by this wholesome precept to attend rather to love of reading, than to pleasure. Now seeing they deny that we ought to fast, let them be prepared with some reason why Christ fasted, unless it were that His fast might be an example to us. Lastly in a subsequent instance He has taught us that except by fasting evil cannot easily be conquered. These are His words, Ib. xvii. 21. *This kind of evil spirits goeth not out but by prayer and fasting*.

16. Or what can be the meaning of Scripture which teaches that Acts x. 10. Peter fasted, and that it was while he was fasting and praying that the mystery of the baptism of the Gentiles was revealed to him? what but to convince us that the Saints themselves by fasting are advanced in virtue? Exod. xxxiv. 28. It was while fasting that Moses received the Law, and in like manner, Peter, while fasting, was taught the grace of the New Testament. To Daniel also it was vouchsafed through fasting to Dan. vi. 22. stop the mouths of the lions, and Ib. ix. 2. to behold the events of times to come. Lastly, what hope of salvation can there be for us, unless by fasting we wash away our sins, since Scripture says, Tobit xii. 8, 9. *Fasting and alms purge away sin*?

17. Who then are these new teachers who deny the merit of fasting? Are they not heathen words which say, *Let us eat and drink*? And well does the

Apostle tell them, saying, 1 Cor. xv. 32. *If after the manner of men I have fought with the beasts at Ephesus, what advantageth it me, if the dead rise not? let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die*. That is to say, What did it profit me to contend even unto death, save that I might redeem my body? For in vain is it redeemed if there is no hope of the resurrection. If therefore all hope of this is to be abandoned, let us eat and drink, let us not lose the fruit of things present, seeing that future things are not within our grasp. It is for those then to indulge in meat and drink, who have nothing to hope for after death.

18. Lastly, the Epicureans, the champions of pleasure, assert that death is nothing to us: what is dissolved, they say, is insensible, and what is insensible is nothing to us. By this they show plainly that they live by the body only and not by the mind, and do not perform the functions of the soul but of the body only, in that by separation of soul and body they deem all their vital functions to be dissolved, the merits of their virtues and all vigor of their souls to perish, that with his bodily senses the whole man fails, and that, though the body itself is not immediately dissolved, the mind leaves not a relic behind it. Then they would have the soul perish sooner than the body, whereas even according to their own opinion they ought to remember that the flesh and bones remain after death; and, would they abide by the truth, they ought not to deny the grace of the resurrection.

19. Well therefore does the Apostle, confuting these persons, admonish us not to be overthrown by such opinions, saying, Ib. 33, 34. *Be not deceived, evil communications corrupt good manners. Be sober*[260] *unto righteousness and sin not; for some are ignorant of God.* To be sober then is good, for drunkenness is sin.

20. But to Epicurus, this advocate of pleasure, him of whom we make such frequent mention, in order to prove that these men are disciples of the heathens, and follow either the sect of the Epicureans or the man himself

who was excluded even by philosphers from their company as the pattern of luxury, what if we can prove even him to be more tolerable than these men? Now he asserts, as Demarchus[261] tells us, that it is not drinking-bouts, nor banquettings, nor the birth of sons, nor the embraces of women, nor a large supply of fish and such delicacies provided for sumptuous feasts, it is not these which make life sweet, but sober discourse. He added also that they who are not excessive in seeking the dainties of the table, are moderate in the use of them. The man who cheerfully limits himself to the juices of plants and to bread and water, despises delicate feasts, for from these arise many evils. Elsewhere too they say that it is not excessive banquets and revels which make pleasure sweet, but a temperate life.

21. Seeing then that philosphy has renounced these men, shall not the Church exclude them? They themselves too, as is usual in a bad cause, often attack themselves by their own arguments. For although it be their main opinion, that there is no sweetness of pleasure but that which arises from eating and drinking; yet, perceiving that they cannot lay down so shameful a definition without the utmost disgrace, and that none stand by them, they have sought to disguise it under the gloss of colourable arguments, and thus one of them has said, In seeking pleasure by means of feasting and song, we have lost that which is derived from hearing that Word whereby alone we can be saved.

22. Do we not then perceive in this complicated discussion how inconsistent and variable these men are? Scripture condemns them, for it has not passed over those whom the Apostles confuted, as Luke records in the Acts of the Apostles, which he has written in narrative style, Acts xvii. 18. *Then certain philosophers of the Epicureans[262], and of the Stoics encountered him. And some said, What will this babbler say? other some, He seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods.*

23. Yet not even from this number did the Apostle part devoid of success. For Dionysius the Areopagite, and Damaris his wife, with many others, believed. And thus by their acts this assembly of the learned and eloquent proved themselves vanquished by the simple discourse of the faithful. What then do these men mean by attempting to pervert those whom the Apostle has won, and Christ redeemed with His own blood, insisting that the baptized have no need to apply themselves to the exercise of virtue; that they are not injured by revellings, by excess of pleasure; that they who deprive themselves of such things are foolish; that virgins ought to marry and bear children; widows also ought to renew that carnal commerce which they had better never have known; and that although they might be able to contain themselves they are mistaken in refusing again to enter into the bond of marriage?

24. What then? Shall we put off the man and put on the beast? shall we strip off Christ, and be clothed over and over with the garments of Satan? The very heathen sages held that pleasure was not to be esteemed honourable, lest they should seem to couple men with brutes, and can we instil the habits of animals into the human breast, and engrave on the rational mind the irrational instincts of wild beasts?

25. Yet there are many kinds of animals, who when they have lost their mate, will no longer copulate, but lead, as it were, a solitary life. Many also feed on simple herbs and only quench their thirst in the pure stream; you may also often see dogs refuse food which they have been forbidden, and, if bid to refrain, close up their hungry jaws. Do men then require to be recalled from that in which even mute animals have learnt from man's teaching not to transgress[263]?

26. But what is more excellent than abstinence, which makes even the years of youth to be old, and produces an old age of conduct? For as by excess of food and drunkenness even old age is inflamed, so on the other

hand, the insolence of youth is restrained by sparing food and by the flowing stream. Fire without us is quenched by the pouring on of water, no wonder then if even internal heat is allayed by draughts from the brook; for the flame is nourished or fails, according as it is fed or not. As hay, stubble, wood, oil, and the like are the fuel of fire, and feed it, and if you withdraw or do not supply them the fire is quenched, so also the warmth of the body is nourished or diminished by food; by food it is excited and by food allayed. Gluttony therefore is the mother of lust.

27. And shall we not say that temperance is accordant with nature, and with that Divine law, which in the very origin of all things, gave us to drink of the fountains and to eat of the fruit of trees? Gen. ix. 20. After the flood the just man found himself tempted by wine. Wherefore let us use the natural drink of temperance, and would that we all could do so. But since we are not all strong, the Apostle says, 1 Tim. v. 23. *Use a little wine for thine often infirmities*. It is to be drunk then because of infirmity not for pleasure, and therefore as a remedy, sparingly, not as a luxury, profusely.

28. Again, Elijah, when the Lord God was training him to the perfection of virtue, found 1 Kings xix. 6. *a cake baken on the coals, and a cruse of water at his head;* Ib. 8. *and in the strength of that meat he fasted forty days*. Our fathers, when they passed over the sea on foot, Exod. xvii. 6. drank water, not wine. It was Dan. i. 8; xiv. 30; iii. 40. when fed on their homely food and drinking water, that Daniel repressed the rage of the lions, and the Hebrew children saw the fiery furnace playing round their limbs with harmless flames.

29. And why should I speak of men only? Judith xiii. 16. Judith, in no wise moved by the luxurious banquet of Holofernes, won a triumph which men's arms had found desperate, by the sole merit of her temperance, delivering her country from invasion, and slaying with her own hand the captain of the host: a manifest example both that this warrior dreaded by the

people had become enervated by his luxury, and that temperance in food had made this woman stronger than men. It was not in her sex that she surpassed nature, but by her spare diet she conquered. Esther iv. 16; v. 2. Esther obtained favour from the proud king by her fasts. Anna, S. Luke ii. 37. *a widow of about fourscore and four years*, serving in the temple *with fastings and prayers night and day*, came to the knowledge of Christ, and S. Matt. iii. 4. John the Teacher of abstinence, and, as it were, a new Angel upon earth, was His herald.

30. O foolish Elisha! 2 Kings iv. 39. to feed the prophets with wild and bitter gourds; O Ezra[264] Ezra viii.2. Neh. viii. 2. unmindful of Scripture though from memory thou dost restore Scripture! O senseless Paul, 2 Cor. xi. 27. to glory in fasting, if fasting avails nothing!

31. But how can that not profit whereby our vices are purged? And if you offer it together with humility and mercy, then, as Isaiah has said by the Divine Spirit, Is. lviii. 11. *thy bones shall be made fat, and thou shalt be like a watered garden*! Thy soul then is fattened, and its virtues are enriched by the spiritual fat of fasting, and thy fruits are multiplied by the richness of thy mind, that thou mayest be made drunk, as it were, with soberness[265], as is that cup whereof the Prophet speaks, Ps. xxiii. 5. Vulg. *And my cup which inebriateth me, how goodly is it*!

32. But not only is that temperance praiseworthy which is sparing in food, but that also which restrains desires. For it is written, Ecclus. xviii. 30, 31. *Go not after thy lusts, but refrain thyself from thine appetites. If thou givest thy soul the desires that please her, she will make thee a laughing stock to thine enemies*! and again, Ib. xix. 2. *Wine and women will make men of understanding to fall away*! 1 Cor. vii. 4. Hence Paul teaches temperance even in marriage; for he who commits excess therein is, as it were, an adulterer, and violates the Apostolical law.

33. But how can I express the greatness of the grace of virginity, which was counted worthy to be chosen by Christ, to be the bodily temple of God, wherein dwelt, as we read, Col. ii. 9. *the fulness of the Godhead bodily*! A virgin conceived the Saviour of the world, a virgin brought forth the Life of the universe. Ought not then virginity to be above all other states[266] which was profitable to all in Christ? A virgin bore Him Whom this world cannot contain or support. He, born of the womb of Mary, preserved inviolate her chastity, and the seal of her virginity. Therefore Christ found in the Virgin what He would take for His own, what the Lord of all would assume to Himself. By the woman and the man our flesh was cast out of Paradise, by the Virgin it was re-united to God.

34. And what shall I say of the other Mary[267], Exod. xv. 20. the sister of Moses, who, leading the female band, passed on foot over the straights of the sea? By the same grace Thecla was reverenced even by lions, so that the unfed beasts, lying at the feet of their prey, underwent a holy fast, neither with wanton look nor sharp claw venturing to harm the virgin, for even by a look the sanctity of virginity is profaned.

35. Again, with what reverence has the holy Apostle spoken, 1 Cor. vii. 25. *Now concerning virgins I have no commandment of the Lord, yet I give my judgement as one that hath obtained mercy of the Lord*. Commandment he has not, but counsel; for that which is above the Law is not commanded, but counselled and advised. Nor is any authority assumed, but grace is shewn, and that not by any chance person, but by him who *hath obtained mercy of the Lord*. Are then the counsels of these men better than those of the Apostles? The Apostle says, *I give my counsel*, but they dissuade all from leading a virgin's life.

36. And we ought to wonder at the greatness of the commendation of it which the Prophet, or rather Christ in the person of the Prophet, has expressed in one short verse. Cant. iv. 12. *A garden inclosed is my sister, my*

spouse, a spring shut up, a fountain sealed. Christ says this to the Church, whom He would have Eph. v. 27. *a virgin without spot or wrinkle*. Virginity is a fertile *garden*, which bears many fruits of a good odour; *a garden inclosed* because it is surrounded on all sides with the wall of chastity; *a fountain sealed*, in that virginity is the fountain and source of modesty, and that which keeps unbroken the seal of purity; that fountain wherein is reflected the image of God, since with chastity of body accords likewise holy simplicity.

37. Nor can any one doubt that the Church herself is a virgin, whom even at Corinth the Apostle Paul espoused, that he 2 Cor. xi. 2. *might present her a chaste virgin to Christ*. Thus in his 1 Cor. vii. first Epistle he gives counsel and sets a high value on the gift of virginity, for that it is not disquieted by the needs of this present world, nor defiled by its corruptions, nor agitated by its storms. In the latter he espouses the Corinthians to Christ, that so, in the purity of that people, he may ratify the virginity of the Church.

38. Answer me now, O Paul, in what way Ib. 26. *for the present distress* dost thou give counsel? Ib. 32. *He that is unmarried*, thou sayest, *careth for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please the Lord*, adding further, Ib. 34. *the unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord*, that she may be holy both in body and spirit. She has therefore a bulwark against the storms of this world, and thus shielded and fortified by the Divine protection she is disquieted by none of the blasts of this world. Ib. 35. Counsel then is good, because therein lies profit, but in commandment is a bond[268]. Counsel leads forward the willing, commandment binds the reluctant. So that if any follow this counsel, and repent not, she hath profited; on the other hand, if she change her purpose, she hath no ground to accuse the Apostle, for she ought to have judged better of her own

weakness, and thus she is responsible to herself for her own choice, for she has bound herself by a bond and knot heavier than she can bear.

39. Wherefore, as a good physician, who desires both to preserve for the strong the stability of their virtue, and to restore health to the weak, he gives to the one counsel, to the other a remedy; Rom. xiv. 2. *Whoso is weak, let him eat herbs*; let him take a wife; he that is stronger, let him use the strong meat of continence. And he well adds; 1 Cor. vii. 37–40. *He that standeth stedfast in his heart, having no necessity, but hath power over his own will, and hath so decreed in his heart that he will keep his virgin, doeth well. So then he that giveth her in marriage doeth well, but he that giveth her not in marriage doeth better. The wife is bound by the law as long as her husband liveth; but if her husband be dead she is at liberty to be married to whom she will; only in the Lord. But she is happier if she so abide, after my judgment, and I think also that I have the Spirit of God.* Now having the counsel of God consists in examining all things diligently, in urging what is best, and pointing out what is safest.

40. A careful guide points out many ways, that each person may walk on which he will, and which he finds suitable for himself: provided only he lights on one which will lead him into the camp. Good is the way of virginity, but, being lofty and steep, it requires the stronger sort. Good too is the way of widowhood, not so difficult as the former, but, being rocky and rough, it requires the more cautious sort. Good too is the way of matrimony, but, being smooth and direct, it arrives by a longer circuit at the camp of the faithful, and this way is trodden by the larger number. We have therefore the rewards of virginity, the merits of widowhood, there is also a place for conjugal chastity. They are the degrees and advances of several virtues.

41. Stand stedfast therefore in your hearts, that no man may unsettle or overthrow you. The Apostle has taught us what ‘to stand’ signifies, that is, what was said to Moses, Exod. iii. 5. *For the place whereon thou standest is*

holy ground; for no one stands but he who stands by faith, who stands firm in the resolution of his heart. In another place too we read, *But as for thee, stand thou here by Me*. Both are addressed to Moses by the Lord, both Deut. v. 31. *the place whereon thou standest is holy ground*, and *stand thou here by Me*, that is to say, 'thou standest with Me, if thou standest in the Church. For the place itself is holy, the land itself bears the fruit of holiness, and is rich with the haunts of virtue.'

42. 'Stand therefore in the Church, stand where I appeared to thee, there I am with thee. For where the Church is, there is the most secure resting-place for thy soul; there is the support of thy mind, when I appeared to thee out of the bush. Thou art the bush, I am the fire: the fire in the bush, and I in the flesh. And therefore am I the fire, that I may give thee light, that I may burn up thy thorns, that is, thy sins, and discover to thee My grace.'

43. Stand firm therefore in your hearts, and drive away from the Church those wolves which seek to carry off prey. Let there be no sloth in you, nor an evil mouth or bitter tongue. Sit not with vain persons, for it is written, Ps. xxvi. 4. *I have not dwelt with vain persons*. Listen not to those who detract from their neighbours, lest, hearing others, ye be yourselves excited to do likewise, and it be said to each of you, Ib. l. 20. *Thou satest and spakest against thy brother*.

44. Sitting we speak against others, but standing up we praise the Lord, as it is said; Ps. cxxxiv. 1, 2. *Behold now, praise the Lord, all ye servants of the Lord; ye that stand in the house of the Lord*. He who sits, to speak of the habit of the body, is, as it were, dissolved by ease, and relaxes the energy of his mind. But the careful watchman, the unwearied scout, the wakeful sentinel who keeps the outposts of the camp, these stand. The brave warrior also, who would prevent the designs of his enemy, stands[269] ready in his rank ere he is looked for.

45. 1 Cor. x. 12. *Let him that standeth take heed lest he fall.* He who stands is free from detraction, for it is by the talk of the idle that slander is disseminated and rancour displayed. Wherefore the Prophet says, Ps. xxvi. 5. *I have hated the congregation of the wicked, and will not sit among the ungodly*. And in the 37th Psalm, which is full of moral precepts, he has placed in the very outset, Ib. xxxvii. 1. *Be not malignant among them that are malignant, neither be thou envious against the evil-doers*. Malignity does more harm than malice, for its property is neither pure simplicity nor open malice; but a hidden malevolence, and it is more difficult to guard against what is concealed than against what is known; and so our Saviour bids us beware of evil spirits, for they captivate us by the outward show of charming pleasures, and the false show of other things, holding forth honour as a lure to ambition, wealth to riches, power to pride.

46. Wherefore in every act, but especially in the search after a Bishop, by whose model the life of all is formed, malignity ought to be absent, that by a composed and peaceful exercise of judgment he may he preferred to all who is to be chosen from all and who may heal all. For Prov. xiv. 30. LXX. *a gentle-minded man is the physician of the heart*, of that whereof our Lord also in the Gospel has professed Himself a Physician, S. Matt. ix. 12. *They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick*.

47. He is the good Physician, Who has taken upon Him our infirmities, Who has healed our sicknesses, and yet He, as it is written, Heb. v. 5. *glorified not Himself to be made an High Priest*, but *He that said unto Him*, even the Father, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten Thee, as He saith also in another place, Thou art a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedeck*. And as He was to be the type of all priests, He took upon Him our flesh, that Ib. 7. *in the days of His flesh, He might offer up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto* God the Father, *and though He were the Son* of God, might even *learn obedience from the things*

He suffered, in order to teach us, that He might become to us the Author of salvation. Finally, having accomplished His sufferings, and being Himself made perfect, He gave health to all, He bore the sin of all.

48. Thus He Himself chose Numb. xvii. 8. Aaron the High Priest, that human ambition might not sway the choice, but the grace of God; no voluntary offering, nor taking upon himself, but a heavenly call, that he might offer gifts for sins, who could have compassion on sinners Heb. v. 2. *for that he himself also*, it is written, *is compassed with infirmity*. A man should not Ib. 4. *take this honour to himself, but he that is called of God as was Aaron*; so also Christ did not assume but received His priesthood.

49. And further, since the succession derived by descent from Aaron produced heirs of his race rather than partakers of his righteousness, therefore there came the antitype of that Ib. vii. 2, 3. Melchisedeck whom we read of in the Old Testament, the true Melchisedeck, the true King of Peace, the true King of Righteousness, for this is the interpretation of his name; being *without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life*, which also has reference to the Son of God, for in His Divine generation, He had no mother, and in His birth from the Virgin Mary He knew no father; Who, born of the Father alone before the world, and from the Virgin alone in the world, could have no beginning of days, for He *was in the beginning*. And how could He have any end to His life, Who is the Author of life to all? He is Rev. i. 8. *the Beginning and the Ending*. But this is referred to also by way of example, that a Bishop ought to be without father and without mother, in that it is not nobility of birth, but holiness of life and preeminence in virtue that is chosen in him.

50. Let him possess faith and ripeness of conduct, not one without the other, but let both continue in one, with good works and deeds. Wherefore the Apostle Paul wishes us to be imitators of those who Heb. xi. 9. *by faith and patience possess the promises* of Abraham, of him who by patience was

counted worthy to receive and possess the grace of the blessing promised to him. The prophet David has admonished us that we ought to be imitators of holy Aaron, for he has proposed him to us, among the saints of the Lord, as an example for our imitation, saying, Ps. xcix. 6. *Moses and Aaron among his priests, and Samuel among such as call upon His Name*.

51. An example worthy to be followed by all truly was he, seeing that when death, owing to the rebels, was spreading among the people, Numb. xvi. 48. he placed himself between the living and the dead, thereby to arrest death so that no more might perish. Of a priestly mind and temper truly was he, who thus with pious zeal offered himself, as a good Shepherd, for the Lord's flock. Thus he broke the sting of death, checked its violence, refused to let it pass. Thus piety aided his services, because he offered himself for those who resisted.

52. Wherefore let those also who separate themselves learn to fear the anger of the Lord, and to appease His priests. What? Ib. 32. did not the earth open and swallow up Dathan Korah and Abiram on account of their schism? For when Korah Dathan and Abiram stirred up two hundred and fifty men Ib. 3. against Moses and Aaron to separate themselves from them, they rose up against them, saying, *Let it suffice for you that all the congregation are holy, every one of them, and the Lord is among them*.

53. Wherefore the Lord was angry and spake to the whole congregation. 2 Tim. ii. 19. *The Lord knoweth them that are His*, and hath drawn His saints to Himself; and those whom He hath not chosen, He has not so drawn to Himself. And the Lord commanded that Korah and all those who together with him had rebelled against Moses and Aaron, the priests of the Lord, should take censers, and put incense therein, that he who was chosen of the Lord, might be declared to be holy among the ministers of the Lord.

54. And Moses said unto Korah, Numb. xvi. 8, 9. *Hear, I pray you, ye sons of Levi, seemeth it but a small thing unto you that the God of Israel*

hath separated you from the congregation of Israel, to bring you near to Himself to do the service of the tabernacle of the Lord? and below, Ib. 10, 11. *Seek ye the priesthood also? for which cause both thou and all thy company are gathered together against the Lord: and what is Aaron that ye murmur against him?*

55. The whole people therefore, weighing the cause of offence, that these men, though unworthy, wished to fill the office of the priesthood, and therefore separated themselves, murmuring against the Lord, and censuring His judgment in the choice of their priests, were seized with great fear, and oppressed with apprehension of punishment. But at the general entreaty that all may not be involved in destruction through the insolence of a few, the guilty are marked out, and two hundred and fifty men with their leaders are separated from the rest, the earth quakes and is rent asunder in the midst of the people, a deep gulf is opened and swallows up the offenders, and thus they are removed from the pure elements of creation, so as neither to pollute the air by breathing it, nor the heavens by looking on them, nor the sea by their touch, nor the earth by their burial.

56. The punishment ceased, the wickedness ceased not; for owing to this very act a murmuring arose among the people that by means of the priests the people had perished. Indignant at this the Lord would have destroyed all, had He not first been moved by the prayers of Moses and Aaron, and afterwards, at the intercession of Aaron His priest, (in order to render their pardon more humiliating,) consented to spare their life at the prayer of those, whose prerogative they had denied.

57. Miriam the prophetess herself, she who with her brethren had crossed the straights of the sea dryshod, because, Numb. xii. 1. being still ignorant of the mystery of the Ethiopian woman, she had murmured against her brother Moses, Ib. 10. became leprous white as snow, and even at the prayer of Moses was scarcely healed of this great plague. This her murmuring

however is to be considered as a type of the Synagogue, which, uninstructed in the mystery of this Ethiopian woman, that is, of the Gentile Church, utters daily reproaches, and envies that people by whose faith she herself will also be relieved from the leprosy of her unbelief, according as we read, Rom. xi. 25. *that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in*.

58. And that we may observe that it is Divine rather than human grace which operates in priests, of all those rods which Moses received from the tribes and laid by, the rod of Aaron alone budded, and thus the people perceived that the Divine commission is a gift which is to be looked for in a priest, and though they before thought that a similar prerogative belonged to themselves, they now ceased to claim the same privilege for a merely human election. But this rod, what else does it indicate, but that priestly grace never decays, and in the utmost lowliness has in the exercise of its functions the flower of strength committed to it, or because this also has reference to a mystery? Nor is it without a meaning that we deem this to have taken place near the end of the life of Aaron the priest. It appears to be intimated that the ancient Jewish people, decaying and worn away by the long-continued infidelity of their priesthood, will in the latter times be reclaimed to zealous faith and devotion by the example of the Church, and by the aid of reviving grace will again put forth the blossoms which have so long been dead.

59. But what is signified by the fact Numb. xx. 26. that on the death of Aaron it was not to all the people, but to Moses alone, who is among the priests of the Lord, that God gave the command to invest with the garments of Aaron the priest Eleazar his son, what but to teach us that a priest ought to be consecrated by a priest, and clothed with his proper garments, that is, with priestly virtues; and then, when it appears that he lacks no part of his priestly array, but is complete in all things, that he should be brought near to

the holy altars. For being about to Heb. v. 1. offer for the people, he ought to be chosen by the Lord, and approved by the people; and this lest some grave cause of offence should be found in him whose duty it is to intercede for the sins of others. No ordinary degree of virtue befits a priest, for he ought sedulously to shun not only more heinous sins, but even the smallest; he ought to be open to compassion, not to revoke his promise, to raise the fallen, to sympathise with sorrow, to preserve meekness, to love piety, to drive away or stifle wrath, to be a trumpet to rouse the people to devotion, or to soothe them into tranquillity.

60. It is an old saying; Accustom yourself to be single-minded that your life may be as a picture, and ever preserve the same stamp which it has received. How can he be one and the same, who at one time is inflamed with anger, at another, boils with bitter indignation, whose countenance burns and then changes to paleness, varying and changing colour every moment. But suppose that it is natural to be angry, or that for the most part there is cause to be so; it also is the part of a man to moderate his wrath, and to resist being carried away by brutal fury, so as not to know how to be appeased; it is his duty not to embitter family discord, for it is written, Prov. xv. 18. *A wrathful man diggeth up sin*. He is not one with himself who is double-minded, nor he who cannot restrain his wrath, of whom David says well, Ps. iv. 4. Vulg. LXX. *Be ye angry, and sin not*. Such a one does not command his anger, but rather indulges his natural passions, which cannot indeed be prevented but may be moderated. Although then we are angry, let our passion admit only such emotion as is according to nature, not sin which is contrary to nature. For it is intolerable that he who undertakes to govern others should be unable to govern himself.

61. And so the Apostle has given us a model, that it behoves a 1 Tim. iii. 2. Tit. i. 7. *Bishop* to be *blameless*, as he also says elsewhere, *For a Bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God, not self-willed, not soon angry,*

not given to wine, no striker, not given to filthy lucre. For how can the compassion of the almsgiver and the avarice of the coveter agree together?

62. I have set down those things which I have learnt are to be avoided; it is the Apostle who teaches what virtues are needed, and he tells us that the Ib. 9. *gainsayers* are to be *convinced* with patience, and commands a Bishop to be Ib. 6. *the husband of one wife*, and this not in order to exclude him from marriage, (for this is beyond the bounds of the precept,) but that by conjugal chastity he may preserve the grace of his Washing; nor again, that he may feel that he has the sanction of Apostolical authority for begetting children after he is a priest, for he speaks of one having children, not of one begetting them or marrying again.

63. And I have thought it better to touch upon this, because many persons argue as if the being *husband of one wife* had reference to a man marrying once after Baptism, seeing that by Baptism all the sin which would interpose any obstacle is removed. True indeed it is that in Baptism all sins and offences are washed away, so that even to one who has polluted his body with many women not united to him by wedlock, all is remitted. But Baptism does not dissolve marriage, if a man has married again, for it is sin, not the Law, which is destroyed by the Bath, and in marriage there is no sin but a law. Being therefore a law it is not dissolved as if it were a fault, but retained, in that it is a law. Now the Apostle has laid down a rule saying, *If any be blameless, the husband of one wife*. So that if any man be blameless, the husband of one wife, he comes under the forms of the rule for undertaking the priestly office, but he who marries again incurs not indeed the sin of pollution, but loses the prerogative of a priest.

64. We have declared what the law prescribes, let us speak also of what is prescribed by reason. But in the first place we are to understand that the Apostle has not ordained this with reference to Bishops and Presbyters only, but that the Fathers of the Nicene Council[270] have also decreed that no man

should be a cleric at all who has contracted a second marriage. For how can he give consolation or honour to a widow; how can he exhort her to continue a widow, or to preserve that faith to her husband which he has not preserved to his own first marriage? Or what difference would there be between the people and the priest, if they were bound by the same laws? The life of the priest ought to be pre-eminent as well as his graces, for he who obliges others by his precepts ought himself to observe the precepts of the law.

65. How vehemently I resisted ordination! and when I was at last constrained to consent, how I strove that it might be postponed! but the popular impulse[271] prevailed over prescribed[272] rules. And yet it was approved by the judgement of the Bishops of the West, and its example followed by those of the East[273]; and this notwithstanding the prohibition to ordain a 1 Tim. iii. 6. *novice, lest he be lifted up with pride*. If my ordination was not postponed, it was owing to a constraining force, and if proper humility be not wanting to the priest, where the fault does not lie with him no blame will be imputed.

66. But if even in other Churches such deliberation is used in ordination, how much care is required in that of Vercellæ, where two duties seem equally required of the Bishop, monastic severity and ecclesiastical discipline. For Eusebius of blessed memory was the first to bring together in the West these two differing requisites, and though living in the city observed the monastic institute, and with the government of his Church united the sobriety of an ascetic life. Great increase accrues to the grace of the priesthood when young men are thus obliged to practise abstinence and to obey the laws of chastity, and, though living within the city, to renounce its customs and ways.

67. Hence sprung those famous men Elijah, Elisha, and John the son of Elizabeth, who clothed Heb. xi. 37. *in sheepskins, being destitute, afflicted,*

tormented, wandered about in deserts, in mountains thickets and precipices, among pathless rocks, in horrid caves, through marshy fords, Ib. 38. *of whom the world was not worthy*. Hence Daniel, Ananias, Azarias and Misael, who were brought up in the royal palace, Dan. i. 16. were fed sparingly as though they had been in the desert, with coarse food and water to drink. Rightly then did the king's servants prevail over kingdoms, shake off the yoke and set at nought captivity, Heb. xi. 33, 34. *subdue kingdoms*, conquer the elements, *quench the violence of fire, escape the edge of the sword, stop the mouths of lions, out of weakness were made strong*, shrank not from the *mockings* of men, seeing that they hoped for heavenly rewards, nor dreaded the darkness of the prison, since on them had shone the brightness of eternal light.

68. Following their example, holy Eusebius[274] left his country and kindred, and preferred foreign sojourn to the enjoyment of home. For the faith's sake he also chose and desired the hardships of exile, having for his companion Dionysius of blessed memory, who chose a voluntary banishment in preference to the Emperor's friendship. Thus when these illustrious men, beset by arms, hemmed round by soldiers, were being carried off from the greater church, they triumphed over the imperial power. Troops of soldiers and the din of arms could not rob them of their faith, but they subdued the fierceness of the brutal mind, depriving it of power to hurt the Saints. *For*, as it is written in Proverbs, Prov. xix. 12. *the king's wrath is as the roaring of a lion*.

69. He confessed himself vanquished, by requesting them to relinquish their purpose, but they deemed their pen of reeds more powerful than his iron swords. Thus it was unbelief, not the faith of the Saints, which was wounded and fell: they for whom a heavenly abode was prepared needed not a sepulchre in their own country. They wandered through the world 2 Cor. vi. 10. *as having nothing, yet possessing all things*. Every place

whither they were sent appeared full of delights, nor could they feel any want who always abounded in faith. They were tempted but not overcome, in fastings, in labours, in watchings, in prisons; Heb. xi. 34. *out of weakness they were made strong*. Fed to the full by fasting they looked not for the charms of pleasure; refreshed by the hope of eternal grace, the burning summer parched them not, nor did the cold of icy regions break them down; for the warm breath of devotion invigorated them; they feared not the bonds of men, for Jesus had loosed them; they desired not to be redeemed from death, for they looked forward to be raised again by Christ.

70. Holy Dionysius again prayed that his life might close in exile, fearing that, if he returned, he should find the minds of the clergy or people perplexed by the doctrines and customs of the unbelieving, and he won this grace and carried with him with calm mind the peace of the Lord. Thus as holy Eusebius first lifted up the standard of confession, so blessed Dionysius, dying in his exile, won a higher title even than martyrdom.

71. Now this endurance in holy Eusebius throve under the monastic discipline, and by being accustomed to a stricter rule, he imbibed a power of bearing hardships. For it is certain that in the higher kinds of Christian devotion these two things are the most excellent, the Clerical function and the Monastic rule. The first is trained to be obliging and courteous in its behaviour, the second is accustomed to abstinence and endurance; the one lives as on a theatre, the other in secret; the one is seen, the other hidden. It is the saying of one who was a noble combatant, 1 Cor. iv. 9. *We are made a spectacle unto the world, and to Angels*. Worthy truly was he to have Angels as his spectators, when he wrestled that he might attain the prize of Christ, when he contended that he might lead on earth an Angel's life, that he might overcome the wickedness of spirits in heaven, for Eph. vi. 12. *he wrestled with spiritual wickedness*. Rightly was the world a spectator of him whom it was called on to imitate.

72. Thus one of these lives is on the stage, the other in the cell; the one contends with the distractions of the world, the other with the lusts of the flesh; the one subdues, the other flees from corporal pleasures; the one regulates, the other refrains itself, for to the perfect it is said, S. Matt. xvi. 24. *If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow Me*. Now he follows Christ who can say, Gal. ii. 20. *Nevertheless I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me*.

73. Paul denied himself, when, knowing that *chains, bonds and tribulations awaited him* in Jerusalem, he voluntarily exposed himself to these dangers, saying, Acts xx. 24. *Neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry, which I have received of the Lord Jesus*. And though many stood round him, weeping and beseeching, they did not affect his resolution, so strict a censor over itself is a ready faith.

74. Thus the one kind of life fights, the other retires into seclusion; the world is triumphed over by the one, and placed at a distance by the other; Gal. vi. 14. *to the one the world is crucified, and to it the world*, to the other the world is unknown; the one has more temptations and therefore a more signal victory; the other falls less frequently and more easily keeps guard over itself.

75. So also Elijah himself, that the word of his mouth might be confirmed, 1 Kings xvii. 3. was sent by the Lord to the brook Cherith. Both Ahab and Jezebel threatened him, Elijah feared and rose up, Ib. xix. 8. *and went in the strength of that* spiritual *meat forty days and forty nights unto Horeb the mount of God*; and he came thither unto a cave, and lodged there, and afterwards was sent from thence to anoint kings. Thus he was inured to endurance by dwelling in the desert, and as though fed by coarse viands unto the fatness of virtue, went forth increased in strength.

76. S. Luke iii. 2. John also grew up in the desert, and baptized the Lord, and there first exercised himself in constancy, Ib. 19. that afterwards he might reprove kings.

77. And now, seeing that we have cursorily passed over, in treating of holy Elijah's dwelling in the desert, the names of places which are not without meaning, let us return to consider this. 1 Kings xvii. 3–6. Elijah was sent to the brook Cherith, there the ravens fed him, in the morning they brought him bread, in the evening flesh. And with reason did they bring him bread in the morning, for Ps. civ. 15. *bread strengthens man's heart*, and it was with mystical food that the prophet was fed. In the evening he was supplied with flesh. Understand what thou readest; for Cherith is understanding, 1 Kings xix. 8. Horeb signifies, 'heart' or 'as heart;' of Ib. 3. Beersheba the signification is the 'well of the seventh,' or 'of the oath.'

78. Elijah first went to Beersheba, to the mysteries and sacraments of the Divine and holy Law, afterwards he was sent to the Brook, to the stream of that Ps. xlvi. 4. *river* which *makes glad the city of God*. Here you perceive the two Testaments, and their single Author; the ancient Scriptures as a deep and dark well whence you have to draw water with difficulty, for He Who was to fill it full was not yet come, as He said in after times, S. Matt. v. 17. *I am not come to destroy the Law, but to fulfil it*. Therefore the Saint is commanded by the Lord to pass over the brook, for he who shall drink of the New Testament is not only a river, but S. John vii. 38. *out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water*, rivers of understanding, rivers of meditation, spiritual streams, which yet are dried up in time of unbelief, lest the profane and faithless should drink of them.

79. And there the ravens acknowleged the Lord's prophet whom the Jews acknowleged not. They fed him whom that royal and noble nation persecuted. Who is Jezebel who persecuted him, but the Synagogue, vainly flowing, vainly abounding in the Scriptures, which it neither keeps nor

understands? Who are the ravens that fed him, but they whose young ones call upon Him, to whose cattle He Ps. cxlvii. 9. *giveth fodder*, as we read, *and feedeth the young ravens that call upon Him*. These ravens knew whom they were feeding; for they had a spiritual intelligence, and brought food to that stream of sacred knowledge.

80. He too feeds the prophet who understands and keeps what is written. Our faith supports him, our advance gives him nourishment; he feeds on our minds and senses, his discourse is sustained by our understanding of it. We give him bread in the morning, in that, placed in the light of the Gospel, we bring to him the stablishing of our hearts. By these things is he nourished and strengthened and fills the mouths of them that fast, to whom the unbelief of the Jews administered no food of faith. All prophetic words are fasting diet to them, for they cannot discern its interior richness, to them it is food weak and thin, such as cannot make fat their bones.

81. Perhaps the reason why they brought him flesh in the evening was that it is, as it were, stronger food, such as the Corinthians, who were weak, could not bear, and were therefore 1 Cor. iii. 2. fed with milk by the Apostle; and thus in the evening of the world stronger meat was brought, in the morning of the world bread. And so since it was the Lord Who commanded this food to be administered to him, we may suitably address Him in this place with these prophetic words, Ps. lxv. 8, 9. *Thou makest the outgoings of the morning and evening to praise Thee*, and below, *Thou preparest their corn, for so Thou providest for the earth*.

82. But now I think we have said enough of the teacher, let us now follow up the lives of his disciples, who have given themselves to praise the Divine Name, and celebrate it with hymns night and day. For this is the service of Angels, always to be praising God, and with frequent prayers to propitiate and beseech the Lord. They give themselves to reading, and occupy their minds with continual labours, separated from all female

society, they mutually protect each other. What a life this is, wherein there is nothing you need to fear, but much for you to imitate! The pain of fasting is repaid by tranquillity of mind, alleviated by custom, made supportable by rest, or beguiled by occupation; worldly solicitude does not burthen nor outward troubles engross it, nor do the distractions of the city draw down upon it any difficulty.

83. For the maintenance or teaching of this gift an instructor is to be sought: what kind of one he ought to be you perceive, and by your unanimous aid we shall be able to obtain him, Eph. iv. 32. if you mutually forgive one another, if any of you consider himself injured by the other. For it is not the sole condition of virtue not to hurt him who has not hurt you, but it consists also in forgiving him who has injured you. We are generally injured by the fraud of others, by the guile of our neighbour, but we must not deem it to be the part of justice to repay guile with guile, and fraud with fraud. For if justice be a virtue, it must be free from the imputation of crime, and not return evil for evil. For what kind of virtue is it for you to do yourself what you punish in another? This is merely to propagate iniquity, not to punish it; and the character of the person whom you injure, whether he be just or unjust, makes no difference, for you ought not to have done evil. Nor does the mode of your transgression signify, whether it proceed from the desire of avenging yourself, or of injuring others, for in neither kind are you free from blame. There is no difference between being ungodly and unjust, and therefore it is said, Ps. xxxvii. 1. *Fret not thyself because of the ungodly, neither be thou envious against the evil-doers*, and above, Ib. xxvi. 5. *I have hated the congregation of the wicked*. Thus he comprehends all, without exception; he points to their wickedness without enquiring for the cause.

84. And what can be a better model than the Divine justice? For the Son of God says, S. Matt. v. 44. *Love your enemies*. And again He says, *Pray for*

them which despitefully use you and persecute you. So far does He remove the love of revenge from the perfect, that he enjoins upon them charity towards their persecutors. And as in the Old Testament He said, Deut. xxxii. 35. *To Me belongeth vengeance, I will repay*, so in the Gospel He commands us to pray for them that injure us, that He Who has threatened to punish them may not do so. For He desires you to pardon of your own free-will, with which He agrees according to His promise. And if you call for vengeance, you know that the unrighteous is more severely punished by his own thoughts, than by judicial severity.

85. And as no man's life can be free from adversities, let us take care that they do not befal us by our own fault. For no man is condemned more severely by another's judgment than the foolish man, who is the author of his own misery, is by his own. Wherefore let us avoid such occupations as are troublesome and contentious, which bear no fruit, but only bring obstacles. But we ought to see that we have no cause to be ashamed either of our choice or of our act; for it is the part of a prudent man, to guard against having to feel frequent sorrow for his acts, since it is the prerogative of God alone never to repent. For what is the fruit of justice but calmness of mind, or what does living justly bring with it, but a life of tranquillity? According to the model of the master will be the condition of the whole house. But if this is required in a family, how much more in the Church, Col. iii. 11. where both rich and poor, bond and free, Greek and Scythian, noble and plebeian, are all one in Christ Jesus.

86. Let no man suppose that because he is rich more deference ought to be shewn him. In the Church he is rich, who is rich in faith, for the faithful have a whole world of riches. What wonder is it that the faithful should possess the world, seeing he possesses the heritage of Christ, which is more precious than the world? 1 S. Pet. i. 19. *Ye were redeemed with precious blood*, is said to all, and not to the rich only. But if ye would be rich, follow

him who says, Ib. 15. *Be ye holy in all manner of conversation*. This is said not to the rich only but to all, for He judges without respect of persons, according to the faithful testimony of His Apostle. Wherefore, says he, Ib. 17. *pass the time of your sojourning here* not in indulgence, nor pride, nor elation of heart, but *in fear*. Upon this earth ye have received what is temporal, not what is eternal, use therefore those temporal things as knowing that you must shortly depart hence.

87. Trust not therefore in riches, for all these things must be left behind, and faith alone will accompany you; justice indeed, if faith precede, will also be your companion. Why do riches entice you? Not with Ib. 18, 19. *silver and gold*, not with silken vests and riches *were ye redeemed from your vain conversation; but with the precious blood of Christ*. He therefore is rich who is an Rom. viii. 17. *heir of God, and co-heir of Christ*. Despise not then a poor man, it is He Who hath made thee rich. Scorn not a needy man; Ps. xxxiv. 6. *lo! the poor crieth, and the Lord heareth him*. Reject not a needy man; for Christ, when He was 2 Cor. viii. 9. *rich became poor*, and this for thy sake, *that by His poverty He might make thee rich*. Exalt not thyself therefore, as though thou wert rich, for He sent forth His disciples without money.

88. And the chief of these said, Acts iii. 6. *Silver and gold have I none*. He glories in his poverty as if he shunned contamination. *Silver and gold* he says, *have I none*, he does not say, gold and silver, for he who knows not the use of these things knows not the relative value of them. *Silver and gold have I none*, but faith I have. I am rich enough in the name of the Lord Jesus, Phil. ii. 9. which is above every name. Silver I have none, nor do I ask for it, gold I have not, nor do I desire it, but I have that which ye that are rich are without, which even ye esteem of more value, and this I give to the poor, namely, to say in the name of Jesus, Isa. xxxv. 3. *Strengthen ye the weak hands and lift up the feeble knees*.

89. But if ye would be rich, become poor. For ye shall in all things be made rich, if ye become poor in spirit. It is not money but the disposition which makes a man rich.

90. There are those who humble themselves when riches abound, and this is well and prudently done, for the law of nature is enough for all, and what suffices to her is easily found, but where lust is, there, in the abundance of riches, is still poverty. And no man is born poor, but becomes so. Thus poverty lies not in nature but in our notions of it, and therefore to find riches is easy to nature, but difficult for lust. In proportion to man's gains this thirst for gain increases, and he is, as it were, inflamed by the intoxication of his lusts.

91. Why do ye seek to accumulate riches as though they were necessary? Nothing is so necessary as to know what is not necessary. Why do ye cast the blame upon the flesh? it is not the lust of the belly, but the desires of the mind which make a man insatiable. Is it the flesh which blots out the hope of the future; is it the flesh which takes away the sweetness of spiritual grace; is it the flesh which obstructs faith; is it the flesh which in every way defers to the frantic domination of vain opinions? The flesh loves rather that frugal temperance, which relieves it of its burthen, which endues it with health, for so it rids itself of keen anxiety, and obtains for itself tranquillity.

92. But riches in themselves are not blameable. For Prov. xiii. 8. *the ransom of a man's life are his riches*, for he who gives to the poor, redeems his soul. There is therefore scope for virtue even in these material riches. Ye are as it were pilots, in a great sea. If any man steers well his ship, he quickly passes over the sea, and reaches his haven, but he who cannot manage his property is sunk together with his burthen. Wherefore it is written, Prov. x. 15. *The rich man's strength is his strong city*.

93. And what is this city but Jerusalem, which is in heaven, in which is the kingdom of God? Good is this possession, which brings perpetual fruit.

Good is this possession, which we do not leave behind us, but possess in heaven. He who finds himself in this possession says, Ps. cxix. 94. *The Lord is my portion*. He says not, My portion stretches and extends itself to such and such limits. He says not, My portion is among such and such neighbours, unless haply with reference to the Apostles, the prophets and the saints of the Lord, for these are the portion of the just. He says not, My portion is in the meadows, or in the woods, or in the fields, less perchance in the fields of the wood, wherein the Church is found, of which it is written, Ib. cxxxii. 6. *We found it in the wood*. He says not, Troops of horses are my portion, for Ib. xxxiii. 16. *a horse is counted but a vain thing to save a man*. He says not, Herds of oxen asses or sheep are my portion, except so far as he numbers himself among those herds which Isa. i. 3. *know their owner*, and with that ass which shuns not the *crib* of Christ; that lamb too is his portion which was Ib. liii. 7. *brought to the slaughter*, and *that sheep which before her shearers was dumb, which opened not his mouth; by whose humility judgment has been exalted*. And it is rightly said, *before her shearers* because, on that Cross He put off what was but accidental, not part of His essence, for He put off His body, but lost not His Divinity.

94. It is not every one therefore who can say *the Lord is my portion*. Not the covetous man, for avarice comes and says; Thou art my portion, I have thee in subjection, thou art my slave, thou hast sold thyself to me with that gold, thou hast adjudged thyself to be mine with these goods. The sensual man says not, Christ is my portion, because luxury comes and says, Thou art my portion, I have brought thee into subjection to myself by that banquet, I have caught thee by the snare of those feasts, I keep thee in my bondage by the constraints of thy gluttony. Wilt thou not acknowledge that thou didst set a higher value on the indulgence of thy appetite than on thy life? I condemn thee by thine own judgment; deny it if thou canst; but thou canst not. Again, thou hast reserved nothing for thy subsistence, thou hast

spent it all on thy table. The adulterer cannot say, *The Lord is my portion*, for lust comes and says, I am thy portion, thou hast enslaved thyself to me by the love of that damsel, by a night spent with that harlot thou hast committed thyself to my dominion. The traitor cannot say, *Christ is my portion*, because his wickedness immediately seizes upon him and says, He is deceiving thee, O Lord Jesus, this man is mine.

95. We have an example of this, for, S. John xiii. 2. when Judas had received the sop from Christ, the devil entered into his heart, as claiming him for his own possession, retaining his right to his own portion, and saying, This man is not Thine but mine; my servant, Thy betrayer; to me, then, he manifestly belongs. With Thee he sits at table, but it is I who feed him, from Thee he has received bread, from me money; with Thee he drinks, but to me he has sold Thy Blood. And the event proved how truly he spoke. Then Christ departed from him, and Judas also left Jesus, and followed the devil.

96. How many masters has he, who deserts that one Master! But let us not desert Him. Who would fly from Him Whom Paul and Timothy follow, bound with chains, but voluntary ones, chains which do not bind but loose, chains in which they glory, saying, Philem. i. 1. *Paul, a prisoner of Jesus Christ, and Timothy*. Bondage under Him is more honourable than freedom and release from others. Who then would fly from peace, who would fly from salvation, who would fly from pity, who would fly from redemption?

97. Ye see, my sons, what they have become who have followed this course, how they, though dead, still work. Now we join in praising their virtue, let us also study to attain to their diligence, and silently recognize in ourselves that which we speak of with approval in others. Nothing effeminate, nothing frail can deserve praise, S. Matt. xi. 12. *The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force*. Our fathers ate the Paschal lamb in haste. Faith makes good speed, devotion is lively, hope

unwearied; it loves not perturbations of the soul, but it loves to pass from profitless inactivity to fruitful labour. Why put off till to-morrow? you may still gain to-day; beware lest you fail to attain the one, and lose the other also. The loss even of one hour is not unimportant; one hour forms part of our whole life.

98. There are some young persons who wish straightway to arrive at old age, that they may no longer be subject to the will of their elders, and there are old men who would return if they could to youth. Now I can approve of neither of these desires; the young men, disdaining things present, desire that their life may be changed, the old men that it may be prolonged. But it is in the power of the young to become old by gravity of mind, and of the old to grow young by vigorous actions. For it is not age so much as discipline which brings with it correction of life. How much more therefore ought we to lift up our hopes to the kingdom of God, where our life will be renewed, and where there will be a change not of age but of grace.

99. It is not by indolence or sleep that we obtain for ourselves a reward. The sleeper cannot work, there comes no fruit from indolence, but rather loss. Esau, being slothful, lost the first-fruits of blessing, choosing to receive rather than to seek for food. The industrious Jacob found grace at the hands of both his parents.

100. But Jacob, although superior in virtue and grace, gave way to his brother's anger, who was indignant that his younger brother should be preferred to him. Wherefore it is written, Rom. xii. 19. *Give place unto wrath*, to the intent that displeasure against another may not draw you also into sin, while wishing to resist and to be avenged. If you will consent to yield you may remove the blame both from yourself and from him. Imitate the patriarch, who by his mother's advice Gen. xxvii. 43. went into a far country. And who was this mother? Rebecca, that is, patience. For who could give this counsel but patience? The mother loved her son, and chose

that he should be separated from herself rather than from God. And thus as a good mother she gave benefits to both her sons, but on her younger son she conferred a blessing which he had power to keep. For she did not prefer one son to the other, but she preferred diligence to sloth, faith to unbelief. And even on her elder son she conferred no little favour, for she sent away the younger, to save him from unworthy fratricide.

101. His piety not his fault having thus banished him from his parents, he conversed with God, he increased in his estate, in his children, in grace. Nor was he elated by these things on meeting with his brother, but he humbled himself and did obeisance, not to his brother, implacable as he was, but to God Whom in his person he honoured. Therefore he bowed down to him seven times, being the number which signifies remission, for it was not a man that he adored, but Him of Whom He foresaw in spirit that He should come in the flesh, S. John i. 29. *to take away the sins of the world*. And this mystery is unfolded to you in the reply of Peter, who says, S. Matt. xviii. 21. *How oft shall my brother sin against me and I forgive him, till seven times?* Thus you see this forgiveness of sins is a type of that great sabbath, of that perpetual rest of grace; and therefore it receives the gift of contemplation.

102. But what is the meaning of his Gen. xxxiii. 6. setting in array his wives, and sons, and all his servants, and commanding them to bow themselves to the earth? It was not to the earth, as an element, which is often filled with blood, which is the receptacle of crimes, and which is made hideous by desolate rocks, or by precipices, or by a barren and hungry soil, but as that Flesh Which was to be our salvation. And perhaps this is that mystery which the Lord has taught thee in the words, S. Matt. xviii. 22. *I say not unto thee, until seven times, but, until seventy times seven*.

103. Do ye therefore Col. iii. 13. forgive the wrongs done to you, that ye may be the sons of Jacob. Be not provoked as was Esau. Imitate holy

David, who as a good teacher, has left us an example in the words, Ps. cix. 4. *For the love that I had unto them, lo! they take now the contrary part, but I give myself unto prayer*, and so when men reviled him, he prayed. Prayer is a good shield, a shield which wards off contumely, which repels curses, and throws them back on the heads of those who utter them, so that they are wounded by their own weapons: Ps. cix. 28. *Let them curse*, it is said, *but bless Thou*. That curse of men is to be courted, for it obtains for us a blessing from the Lord.

104. For the rest, my most dearly beloved, remembering that Heb. xiii. 12. *Jesus suffered without the gate*, do ye go forth from this earthly city, for your city is Jerusalem, which is above. Do ye dwell there that ye may say, Phil. iii. 20. *For our conversation is in heaven*. Jesus went forth from the city, that ye, going forth from the world, may be above the world. Moses alone, who saw God, Exod. xxxiii. 7. had his tabernacle without the camp when he talked with God; and when sacrifices were offered for sin, the blood indeed was carried to the altar, Ib. xxix. 12, 13. but the bodies were burned without the camp; for no man living among the temptations of this world can lay aside sin, nor can his blood be accepted by God until he has put off the defilement of this body.

105. Love hospitality, for thereby holy Abraham Gen. xviii. 3. found favour in God's sight, received Christ as his guest, and Sarah, already worn with age, obtained grace to bear a son; Ib. xix. 24. Lot also escaped the flames which destroyed Sodom. And thou also mayest receive Angels, if thou wilt offer hospitality to strangers. And what shall I say of Josh. ii. 14. Rahab, who, by performing this office, escaped destruction?

106. Compassionate those who are kept in bondage, as though ye also were bondsmen. Console those who are under sorrow; Eccles. vii. 2. *It is better to go to the house of mourning than to the house of feasting*. From the one we win the merit of discharging a duty, from the other the stain of a

transgression. And again in the one case the reward is yet hoped for, in the other it is received. Sympathise with those who suffer as if ye suffered together with them.

107. Let a woman be obedient not servile to her husband, let her offer herself to be ruled not coerced. Let the husband also direct his wife as her governour, honour her as the companion of his life, share with her as his fellow-heir in grace.

108. Mothers, wean your own children, love them, and pray for them, but pray that their life[275] may be prolonged above this earth, rather than in it, for there is nothing longlived in this earth, and that which seems permanent is at the best short and fragile. Admonish them rather to take up the Cross of Christ than to love this life.

109. Mary, the mother of the Lord S. John xix. 25. stood by the cross of her Son; it is no other than the holy Evangelist John who teaches me this. Others have told us that S. Matt. xxvii. 45. in the Lord's passion the earth was shaken, the heaven covered with darkness, the sun withdrew its light, the thief, after a faithful confession, was received into paradise. John has taught what the others have not, how when nailed to the Cross He spoke to His mother, esteeming rather this exhibition of pious offices to His mother than that gift of a heavenly kingdom, which, after triumphing over His pains, He conferred. For if it be pious to grant pardon to the thief, much more pious is it that the Son should shew such solicitous honour to His Mother: S. John xix. 27. *Behold*, He says, *thy son, Behold thy mother*. Christ testified from the Cross, and distributed the offices of piety between the mother and the disciple. The Lord made not only a public but also a private Testament, and John signed this His Testament, a witness worthy of so great a Testator, a good Testament, not of money but of eternal life, written not with ink, but by the Spirit of the living God, Who says, Ps. xlv. 1. *My tongue is the pen of a ready writer*.

110. Nor did Mary fall below what became the Mother of Christ. When the Apostles fled she stood before the Cross, and with pious eyes looked upon the wounds of her Son, for she expected to see not the death of her Offspring, but the salvation of the world. Or perhaps because she who was the Palace[276] of the King had learnt that the redemption of the world would ensue from the death of her Son, she thought that by her own death she might add something to the general good. But Jesus needed no helper for the redemption of all, Who without any helper saved all. Wherefore He says, Ib. lxxxviii. 4, 5. *I am become like a man without help; free among the dead*. He received the affection of His Mother, but He sought not aid from others.

111. Imitate her, ye holy mothers, who in her only and beloved Son exhibited such an example of maternal virtue, for your children cannot be dearer to you than hers was, nor did the Virgin seek consolation in the bearing of another son.

112. Masters, command your servants not as your inferiors in rank, but as remembering that they are partakers of the same nature as yourselves. 1 S. Pet. ii. 18. Servants also, serve your masters cheerfully, for every one ought cheerfully to endure that state whereunto he is born; and obey not only the good, but also the froward. For what merit has your service, if ye serve the good diligently; but if ye serve the froward also ye have merit, for neither do the free obtain any reward, if, having transgressed, they are punished by the judges, but herein lies their merit if they suffer wrongfully. Thus if ye, considering Jesus Christ, serve even austere masters with patience, ye will have your reward. For the Lord Himself suffered, the just from the unjust, and with admirable patience nailed our sins to His Cross, that he who shall imitate Him may wash away his sins in His blood.

113. In short, turn all of you to the Lord Jesus. Take pleasure in this life so that it be with a good conscience; let the hope of immortality make you

patient of death, let your assurance of the resurrection be confirmed by the grace of Christ; let there be truth and simplicity, faith and confidence, abstinence and holiness, industry and sobriety, modest conversation, learning without vanity, sobriety of doctrine, faith not intoxicated by heresy. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all, Amen.

LETTER LXIV[277]

S. AMBROSE REPLIES to Irenæus, who had asked why the manna, which was given to the children of Israel, was not given now, that the Body of Christ, Which is given to Christians, is the true Manna, of which the other was a type; as it was also of Divine Wisdom, which is the food of souls.

AMBROSE TO IRENÆUS, GREETING.

1. You ask me why the Lord God does not now rain manna as He did on our fathers. If you consider, He does rain manna from heaven on those who serve Him, and that day by day. The earthly manna indeed is to this very day found in many places, but it is not now an event so miraculous because 1 Cor. xiii. 10. *that which is perfect is come*. Now *that which is perfect* is the Bread from heaven, the Body born of the Virgin, as to which the Gospel sufficiently instructs us. O how greatly does this excel what went before it! For they who eat that manna or bread, are dead, S. John vi. 58. *but he that eateth of this bread shall live for ever*.

2. But there is also a spiritual manna, the dew that is of spiritual Wisdom, which descends from heaven upon those who sincerely seek for it, and which waters the souls of the righteous, and puts sweetness into their mouths. Wherefore he who comprehends this out-pouring of divine wisdom receives pleasure from it, nor requires any other food, S. Matt. iv. 4. *nor lives by bread alone, but by every word of God*. He who is more curious, will ask what that is which is sweeter than honey. The servant of God answers him, Exod. xvi. 15, 16. *This is the bread which the Lord hath given you to eat*. And hear further what this bread is, *the word*, he says, *which the*

Lord hath commanded. Now this food so commanded by God nourishes the soul of the wise, imparting light and sweetness, brightened by the beams of truth, and communicating to it the soothing sweetness of divers virtues and the word of wisdom like that of an honey-comb; for *pleasant words*, it is written in the Proverbs, Prov. xvi. 24. *are as an honey-comb*.

3. And now hear the reason why it was small; it was because S. Luke xiii. 19. a grain of mustard-seed which is compared to the kingdom of heaven is also small, and because faith, which is as a grain of mustard-seed, Ib. xvii. 6. can remove mountains and cast them into the sea. Again, Ib. xiii. 21. *the kingdom of heaven is like leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened*. Again, Exod. xxxii. 20. Moses ground the head of the golden calf to powder, and cast it into water, and made the people drink of it; for their heart was hardened by the greatness of their perfidy, and he did thus that it might be softened and made refined by faith. Lastly, that woman who S. Matt. xxiv. 41. grinds meal well and fine shall be taken, but she who grinds ill shall be left.

4. Follow then these examples as regards thy faith, that thou mayest be like that soul which excites in itself the love of Christ, and which, as it ascends aloft, is admired by the host of heaven; that it may rise without impediment, that it may soar above this world with joy and gladness, lifting itself on high like the vine stock and like the smoke, sending forth the fragrance of a holy resurrection, and the sweetness of faith, as it is written, Cant. iii. 6. *Who is this that cometh out of the wilderness like the stock of vine burned with smoke, perfumed with myrrh and frankincense, with all powders of ointment?*

5. The refined nature of this faith is well expressed by being compared with powder or by the Exod. xxx. 8. mention of perfume; for we read in Exodus of that prophetic incense which is the prayer of the Saints, as being a subtile perfume and compounded of many things, that it may be set forth

in the sight of the Lord, as David also says, Ps. cxli. 2. *Let my prayer be set forth in Thy sight as the incense*. And so it is in the Greek also, κατευθυνθήτω ἡ προσευχή μου ὡς θυμίαμα ἐνώπιον σου. And in the Revelation of John we read that Rev. viii. 3, 4. *an Angel stood at the Altar, having a golden censer; and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne. And the smoke of the incense*, it is said, *with the prayers of the Saints, ascended up before God out of the Angel's hand*.

6. Small too is the navel and the belly of that soul which ascends up to Christ, and therefore it is praised by the words of the spouse saying, Cant. vii. 2. *Thy navel is like a round goblet, which wanteth not liquor, thy belly is like an heap of wheat set about with lilies*. For it is rounded and polished with all kinds of learning, and is a spiritual drink not failing in fulness, and in the knowledge of heavenly secrets. The belly of the soul is also like the navel, mystical, and not only strong food whereby the heart is strengthened, but also sweet and flowery food whereby it is delighted, is received therein. And perhaps this is what Moses meant, that by many and pious prayers the sacrilege was to be atoned for.

7. In the book of Kings also, when the Lord revealed Himself to holy Elijah, a small still voice was first heard, and then the Lord revealed Himself to him; thereby to teach us that bodily things are solid and gross, but such as are spiritual tender and so fine as not to be perceptible to the eye. In the same way we read in the book of Wisdom that the Spirit of Wisdom is subtile and lively Wisd. vii. 22. *for in her is an understanding spirit, holy, one only, manifold, subtile and lively*; and she grinds her words before she speaks, that neither her mode of speech nor her meaning may give offence. Lastly, it shall be said to Babylon herself, when about to be destroyed, Rev. xviii. 22. *And the sound of a millstone shall be heard no more at all in thee*.

8. The manna then was fine, and was gathered each day, not reserved for the day following; because the extemporaneous inventions of Wisdom please the most; when made at leisure they excite not the same admiration as when struck out at the moment by the spark of genius. Or it may be that future mysteries are revealed herein: the manna kept till the rising of the sun was unfit to be eaten, in other words, after the coming of Christ, it lost its grace. For when the Sun of Righteousness arose, and the more illustrious Sacraments of the Body and Blood of Christ appeared, lower things were to cease, and the people were to take in their stead what was more perfect.

Farewell; love me, for I also love you.

LETTER LXV.

THIS LETTER CONTAINS a mystical explanation of the statement in Exodus xxiv. 6. that Moses put half the blood of the sacrifices into basons and poured half on the altar.

AMBROSE TO SIMPLICIANUS, GREETING.

1. YOU were perplexed, you tell me, when reading that Moses, after offering sacrifice and the immolation of salutary victims to the Lord, Exod. xxiv. 6. put half of the blood in basons, and sprinkled half on the altar, to know what could be the purport of this. But why need you doubt and inquire of me, when for the sake of the faith, and of acquiring Divine knowledge, you have traversed the whole world, and night and day have devoted the whole time of your life to constant reading? Thus with your keen intellect you have embraced all the objects of the understanding, and are wont to prove as concerns even the books of philosophy, how far they deviate from the truth, many of them being so futile that the words of their writers perished sooner than their life.

2. But since gathering words, like money, is of great profit, and great increase is thereby obtained for the general good of trade, I cannot refrain from mentioning how wonderful is that division of the blood. For part of it seems to signify the moral, and part the mystical discipline of wisdom. That part which is put into basons is moral, that which is sprinkled on the altar is mystical; in that by the Divine gift and a certain inspiration it is instilled into men’s minds, that the sentiments they conceive of God may be suitable and full of faith.

3. Moreover, they who have spoken of His majesty, and of heavenly things, whether apostles or holy prophets, have only dared to speak of such things as were shewn them by revelation. Hence Paul has testified in his Epistle that he was 2 Cor. xii. 4. *caught up into Paradise, and heard words which it is not lawful for a man to utter*; Stephen also Acts vii. 55. *saw the heavens opened, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God*, and the Prophet David saw Him Ps. cx. 1. sitting on His right hand. And what shall I say of Moses, of whom the Scripture says that Deut. xxxiv. 10, 11. *there arose not such a prophet since in Israel, who knew the Lord face to face, in all the signs and the wonders which he did in the land of Egypt*.

4. The mystical part therefore is offered to God, Who by the brightness of the Divine Wisdom, Whose Father and Parent He is, quickens the vigour of the soul, and enlightens the mind. But the Wisdom of God is Christ, on Whose breast John lay, that from that secret source of wisdom he might be known to have imbibed Divine mysteries. He himself, conscious of his gift, has recorded this, for he dreaded to claim for himself, and to ascribe to his own genius that which he had received. The Lord also said to the Apostles, opening their mouths, S. John xx. 22. *Receive ye the Holy Ghost*, whereby He declared that He is the same Who said to Moses, Exod. iv. 12. *I will open thy mouth, and teach thee what thou shalt say*. Wherefore this wisdom, divine, unspeakable, unadulterated and incorruptible, pours her grace into the minds of her saints, and discloses to them knowledge that they may behold her glory.

5. But that is the discipline of moral wisdom which is poured into basons, and is taken and drank from them. The basons therefore are the organs of the senses. The basons are the two eyes, the ears, the nose, the mouth and other parts suitable to this function; for the eyes are the recipients and ministers of sight, the ears of hearing, the nose of smell, the mouth of taste, and so with the rest. Into these basons that Word in Whom is

the Headship of the priestly and prophetic office poured the half of His blood; that He might quicken and animate the irrational parts of our nature, and endow them with reason.

6. Again, having rehearsed and proclaimed the precepts of the Law to the people, and being about to explain the meaning of that mystical ark of the testimony, and of the candlestick, and of the censers, he slew victims, and offered sacrifice, sprinkling half of the blood on the sacred altar, and putting half in basons.

7. A division therefore is made between that mystical or divine and moral wisdom. For the Λόγος is a divider of souls and of virtues: the Λόγος is the Heb. iv. 12. *Word of God, quick and powerful*, which pierces and penetrates even to the dividing asunder of the soul, and which also distinguishes and divides virtues, whose minister, Moses, by the division of the blood, distinguished the kinds of virtue.

8. And forasmuch as nothing is so emphatically declared in the Law as Christ's Advent, or prefigured as His Passion, consider whether this be not the saving victim which God the Word offered by Himself, and sacrificed in His own body. For first both in the Gospel and also in the Law He taught us moral discipline, and manifested it in His own patience and in very act and deed, transfusing into our lives and senses, as if into basons, the very substance and marrow as it were of wisdom, and quickening thereby men's minds to be a seed-plot of virtue, and instructed in piety, and then, drawing near the altar, He poured out the blood of His offering.

9. Should you choose then to understand it thus, the sense is pious; the interpretation also which follows that of Solomon is, if you prefer it, equally concordant, namely, that whereas the prophet Moses put the blood into basons, this is the same blood whereof it is written that Prov. ix. 2. *Wisdom hath mingled her wine*, bidding men to forsake foolishness, and seek after understanding. From the bason then we drink wisdom, discipline,

understanding, correction, amendment of life, regulation of habits and counsels, the grace of piety, increase of virtue, a fountain of plenty.

10. But by this sprinkling the blood on the Altar you may understand the cleansing of the world, the remission of all sins. For He sprinkles that blood on the Altar as a Victim to atone for the sins of many. For the Victim is a Lamb, but a Lamb not of irrational nature but of divine power, of Which it is said, S. John i. 29. *Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world*. For not only has He cleansed with His blood the sins of all men, but has also gifted them with divine power. Does not He seem to you to have indeed shed his blood, Ib. xix. 34. from Whose side blood and water flowed over the very altar of his Passion?

Farewell; love me as you do, with the affection of a parent.

LETTER LXVI.

HERE IS A mystical exposition of Aaron's taking the earrings of the women to make the golden calf, and of other details connected with it.

AMBROSE TO ROMULUS.

1. THERE is no doubt that letter-writing was invented that we might hold a sort of converse with the absent, but this becomes more excellent in use and example when frequent and pleasant colloquies pass between a parent and his sons, whereby is really produced a sort of image of actual presence, even though they are separate in body; for by such offices love attains its growth, just as it is augmented by our mutual letters between ourselves. All this I begin to experience much more abundantly in these last addresses of your affection, wherein you have thought fit to ask me with what intent Exod. xxxii. 2. Aaron took the gold from the people when they required gods to be made them, and why the head of a calf was fashioned with that gold, and why Moses was so deeply incensed that he commanded every man to rise upon his neighbour and slay him with the sword. For it is a great thing that the absent should suffer no loss either of kindness or of the liberal communication of mutual knowledge. My sentiments on this point, therefore, as you require it, I will offer for the purpose rather of comparison than of instruction.

2. While Moses was receiving the Law on Mount Sinai the people were with Aaron the Priest. Prone as they were to transgress, we do not find that they committed sacrilege so long as the Law was being delivered, but when the Divine Voice ceased, sin overtook them, so that they required gods to be made them. Aaron, thus constrained, asked for their rings and the women's

earrings, which, when given to him, he cast into the fire, and the head of a calf was molten of them.

3. We can neither excuse this great priest, nor dare we condemn him. It was not however unadvisedly that he deprived the Jews of their rings and earrings; for they who designed sacrilege could have neither the seal of faith nor ornaments of their ears. Gen. xxxv. 2. The patriarch Jacob too hid the earrings along with the images of the strange gods, when he hid them in Shechem, that no one might come to know of the superstitions of the Gentiles. And he said well, Exod. xxxii. 2. *Break off the golden earrings which are in the ears of your wives*; not as leaving the men their earrings, but in order to shew that they had them not. Fitly also are the earrings taken from the women, that Eve may not again hear the voice of the serpent.

4. Because they had listened to sacrilegious counsel, an image of sacrilege was formed by the melting of their earrings; for he who hears amiss is wont to perpetrate sacrilege. Why the head of a calf came forth, the sequel shews, for it was signified thereby, either that in time to come Jeroboam would introduce this kind of sacrilege, 1 Kings xii. 30. and that the people of the Hebrews should worship golden calves; or else that all unbelief bears the semblance of brutal and savage folly.

5. Moses, incensed by this unworthy act, broke the tables, and ground the head of the calf to powder, that he might abolish all traces of their impiety. The first Tables were broken in order to the restoration of the second, whereby, through the preaching of the Gospel, unbelief was broken to pieces, and done away. And thus Moses brought down this Egyptian pride, and repressed this self-exalting arrogance, by the authority of the eternal Law. Wherefore David also says, Ps. xxix. 5, 6. *The Lord shall break the cedars of Libanus, and shall reduce them to pieces, as a calf of Libanus*.

6. The people drank up all their perfidy and pride, that impiety and arrogance might not drink them up. For it is better that every one should

prevail over the flesh and its vices, that it may not be said that Isa. xxv. 8. *prevailing*[278] *death hath swallowed him up*, but rather, 1 Cor. xv. 54, 55. *Death is swallowed up in victory; O death, where is thy sting, O grave, where is thy victory?* And of the Lord it is said, Ps. cx. 7. *He shall drink of the brook in the way*; for S. John xix. 30. He received the vinegar, that He might drink up the temptations of all men.

7. But in his causing every man to slay his neighbour, the parents their children, the brother his brother, we find an evident precept that religion is to be preferred to friendship, piety to kindred. For that is true piety which prefers divine things to human, eternal to temporal. Wherefore also Moses himself said to the sons of Levi, Exod. xxxii. 26, 27. *Who is on the Lord's side, let him come to me. And he said unto them, Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Put every man his sword by his side, and go throughout the camp*, that thus, by the contemplation and love of the Divine Majesty all human ties and affections might be destroyed. It is written that three thousand men were slain, nor need we feel any jealousy of the number being so great, for it is better that by the punishment of a few the body should be exonerated, than that vengeance should be taken on all; nor indeed does any punishment of wrong against God appear too severe.

8. Again, the ministry of the Levites, Num. xviii. 6. whose portion is God, was chosen for this work, as being more holy than the others: for they know not how to spare their own who know nothing of their own, for to the holy God is everything. Now he is the true Levite and punisher and avenger, who kills the flesh that he may preserve the spirit, such as he was who says, 1 Cor. ix. 27. *I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection*. And who are such close neighbours as the flesh and the soul? What is so akin to us as the passions of the body? These the good Levite slays within himself with that spiritual Heb. iv. 12. *sword* which is *the word of God, sharp and powerful*.

9. There is also a sword of the Spirit, which pierces the soul, as was said to Mary, S. Luke ii. 35. *A sword shall pierce through thy own soul also, that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed*. Is not the flesh united with the soul by a kind of fraternal bond? Is not discourse also related and akin to our mind? When therefore we check our discourse, that we may not incur the sin of much speaking, we put aside the rights of blood, and loose the bonds of this fraternal connexion. Thus by the force of reason the soul severs from itself its irrational and, as it were, cognate part.

10. And so Moses taught the people to rise against their neighbours, by whom faith was in danger of being mocked, and virtue hindered, that whatever in us was straying from virtue, perplexed by error, or entangled in vice might be cut off. By this direction to the people he obtained not only a mitigation of the Divine wrath and a turning away of offence, but even conciliated for them grace.

11. Thus, according to our apprehension, we have explained, since you asked it, our sentiments. And do you, if you have aught preferable, impart it to us, that from you and from ourselves we may learn which to choose and follow.

Farewell: love me as a son, for I also love you.

LETTER LXVII.

S. AMBROSE BEGINS by pointing out that Moses deferred to Aaron in matters connected with the Priesthood, and then goes on to dwell on the rarity and the blessing of true penitence.

AMBROSE TO SIMPLICIANUS, GREETING.

1. THE greatness of each person as regards his own functions is taught us in that Scripture lesson by which your attention has been justly attracted, that Moses, Num. xii. 8. than whom no man saw God more intimately, Deut. xxxiv. 10. *neither arose there a prophet since in Israel whom the Lord knew face to face*; he who was constantly Exod. xxxiv. 28. with the Lord forty days and nights, when he received the law in the Mount, he, I say, Ib. iv. 12. to whom the Lord gave the words which he should speak, is found to have approved the counsel of his brother Aaron more than his own. Was there then any man more prudent and learned than Moses? Nay, of Aaron himself we afterwards read that Num. xii. 1. together with Miriam he transgressed concerning the Ethiopian woman.

2. But I would have you carefully consider this very thing, how Moses excelled in knowledge, Aaron in counsel. Moses was the greatest prophet, who said of Christ, Deut. xviii. 15. *Like unto me, unto Him shall ye hearken*. And the Lord Himself says of him, S. Luke xvi. 31. *if they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead*. In the matter of prophecy therefore Moses is preferred as a prophet; but where the subject and function and office relates to the Priesthood, Aaron is preferred as being a Priest. Let us now treat the passage itself.

3. A he-goat was slain for sin; offered for an whole burnt-offering. Moses afterwards sought for it, and it was burnt. Lev. x. 16–18. *And he was angry with Eleazar and Ithamar, the sons of Aaron which were left alive, saying, Wherefore have ye not eaten the sin-offering in the holy place, seeing it is most holy, and God hath given it you to bear the iniquity of the congregation? Ye should indeed have eaten it in the holy place as I commanded.* Now when Aaron saw that Moses was angry he replied to him meekly, *Behold, this day have they offered their sin-offering and their burnt-offering before the Lord, and such things have befallen me, and if I had eaten the sin-offering to-day, should it have been accepted in the sight of the Lord? And when Moses heard that, he was content.* Let us consider what these things mean.

4. Not to sin is an attribute of God alone: to amend and correct one's error and to do penance for one's sin is the part of a wise man. But this is very difficult in this human life. For what is so rare as to find a man who will convict himself, and condemn his own act? Rare is the confession of sin, rare is penitence, rare among men is the admission of that word. Nature and shame both recoil from it; nature, because all are under sin, and he who wears flesh is subject to transgression. Thus the nature of the flesh, and the allurements of the world are repugnant to innocence and integrity. Shame recoils also, because every man blushes to confess his own fault, thinking more of the present than of the future.

5. Now Moses desired to find a soul free from sin, that it might lay aside the slough of error, and depart, relieved from transgression, without any cause of shame within itself. But such a soul he found not, because an irrational impulse comes quickly on, and a certain flame, whose motions are very swift, feeds upon the soul, and burns up its innocence. For the future is outweighed by the present, moderation by violence, worth by numbers, soberness by pleasure, hardness by luxury, sadness by joy, austerity by

blandishments, slowness by too great precipitance. And iniquity, which suggests occasions of doing evil, is a thing swift in its nature, for its Ps. xiv. 6. *feet are swift to shed blood*; but all virtue uses gentle and long delays, judging beforehand and looking narrowly into what is to be undertaken. And thus the good mind scrutinizes its own counsels, and examines beforehand what is becoming and excellent; but in iniquity the act outstrips consideration. Penitence therefore is tardy and abashed, because it is oppressed and drawn back by present shame; having, in itself, regard only to things future, the hope whereof is late, the fruit tardy, and so the desire of them is tardy also.

6. During these strivings of hope and virtue shamelessness runs onward, and by the glare of things present, penitence is excluded, its affections are, as it were, burnt up, and all that has respect to it is lost. The Law seeks and finds it not, for it is scorched by the heat and smoke of iniquity, and the anger, as it were, of the Law is roused. Moses says that the sin-offering ought to have been eaten in the holy place, and rebukes the priests as remiss; Aaron replies that the priestly judgment ought to be cautious; that such a function must not be lightly entrusted to an unsound conscience, lest this error be worse than the first. For by a filthy vessel wine or oil is easily tainted and spoilt.

7. But how could sin be burnt out when the fire was strange fire; and this in the sight of the Lord to Whom even hidden things are known? Can it please the Lord, if a man, while he is yet engaged in sin, and keeps unrighteousness in his heart, professes that he is doing penance? It is the same thing as if one who is sick should feign himself well, he will only become worse; for the pretence of health can avail him nothing; since it is but shadowed forth by words, not sustained by any support of virtue.

8. This strange fire then is lust, this strange fire is every incentive of cupidity, this strange fire is all burning avarice. By this fire man is not

cleansed but rather burned up. For where this strange fire is, if any man offer himself in the sight of the Lord, the celestial fire consumes him as it did Nadab and Abihu who were burned together with those sacrifices which had been offered for sin on the sacred Altars. He therefore who would cleanse his sin let him remove from him strange fire. Let him offer himself to that fire only which burns up the fault not the man.

9. And who this fire is, let us learn from the words, that Jesus S. Matt. iii. 11. *shall baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire*. This is that fire which dried up Ib. ix. 20. her issue of blood who had suffered it for twelve years; that fire, which took away the sin of S. Luke xix. 8. Zacchæus when he said that he would give half of his goods to the poor, and if he had taken any thing from any man would restore fourfold. This is that fire, which wiped away the thief's crime, for He is Heb. xii. 29. *a consuming fire* Who said, S. Luke xxiii. 43. *To-day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise*. Thus He healed those in whom He found a simple and pure confession; no malice, no fraud.

10. Judas moreover could not obtain a remedy, although he said, S. Matt. xxvii. 4. *I have sinned, in that I have betrayed the innocent blood*, for he cherished within his breast strange fire, which urged him on to destroy himself. He was not worthy to be healed, for he wept not through conversion of his inmost mind, nor did he diligently do penance; for such is the love of the Lord Jesus that He would have granted pardon even to him, had he waited for the mercy of Christ.

11. This fault therefore the priests cannot remove, nor the sin of him who offers himself in guile, and still harbours a desire of transgressing. For they cannot eat of that which is full of fraud, and has the serpent's scar within; for the food of the priest lies in the remission of sins. Wherefore Christ the chief of Priests says, S. John iv. 34. *My meat is to do the will of My Father which is in heaven*. What is the will of God but this, Isa. xxx. 15. *In returning and rest shall ye be saved*? In the guileful man therefore there is

no food. Neither again can he taste the sweetness of a feast whose conscience is not sincere and pure; for the bitterness of fraud takes away the sweetness of the viands; and an evil conscience will not permit penitence to refresh and feed the guilty soul.

12. Such affections therefore, such petitions, such penitence are neither useful nor a pleasure to the priests. And that Lev. xvi. 27. he-goat offered as an whole burnt offering for sin was deservedly burnt, because strange fire was found in the sacrifice. On that account it was not a pleasing and acceptable sacrifice to God; for that is not accepted which has not been approved among the riches of sincerity and truth.

13. And so elsewhere also you read of Ib. xvi. 8. two he-goats, one whereon was the lot of the Lord, the other that of the scape-goat, and that that whereon was the lot of the Lord was offered and sacrificed, while the one whereon was the lot of the scape-goat was sent into the wilderness to take away the iniquities of the people, or of any sinner. For as there are S. Matt. xxiv. 40 *two men in the field, and one of them shall be taken and the other left*, so are there two he-goats, one of which is used for sacrifice, and the other sent into the wilderness. The one is of no use, neither to be eaten nor fed upon by the sons of the priests. For as in matters of food, what is good is eaten, what is useless or bad is thrown away, in the same way we call good works festive, as fit for eating.

14. It will not therefore be pleasing to the Lord if the priest eat of a sacrifice which presents a deceptive offering, not the sincerity of a diligent confession. And therefore that goat is to be sent into the wilderness, where our fathers wandered, where they wandered and could not attain to the land of the resurrection, but the memory of them passed from the land. Hear again what are festive works. Lev. xxv. 6. *And the sabbath of the land shall be meat for you.* For rest in God, which causes tranquillity of mind, is festive and refreshing. And now let us also rest from discoursing.

Farewell; love me as you do, for I also love you.

LETTER LXVIII.

AN EXPLANATION OF the text, *Thy heaven shall be brass and thy earth iron*.

AMBROSE TO ROMULUS.

1. BEING yourself in the country I am surprised at your having been led to inquire of me the reason why God should have said, Deut. xxviii. 23. *And thy heaven shall be brass, and thy earth iron*. For the very appearance of the country and its present fertility might teach us how great is the mildness of the air, and how genial is the climate, when God vouchsafes to give plenty, but when sterility, how all things are closed up, how dense the air, so as to seem hardened into the very substance of brass. Elsewhere also you read that in the days of Elijah 1 Kings xvii. 1. S. Luke iv. 25. *the heaven was shut up three years and six months*.

2. By the heaven then being brass is signified its being shut up, and refusing its use to the earth. The earth also is iron, for it withholds its produce, and with hostile rigour excludes from its fructifying soil the seeds thrown upon it, which its wont is to cherish as in the bosom of a tender mother. For when does iron bring forth fruit, when does brass melt into showers?

3. Those impious men therefore He threatens with miserable famine, that they who know not how to shew filial piety to the common Lord and Father of all, may be deprived of the support of His paternal clemency, that the heaven may be to them as brass, and the air condensed into the substance of metal; that the earth may be to them as iron, deprived of its natural

productions, and as is usually the case with poverty, a sower of strife. For they who are in want of food commit robberies, that at the expense of others they may relieve their own hunger.

4. If further the offence of the inhabitants be so great that God stirs up and brings war upon them, then their land is truly iron, bristling with crops of spears, and stripped of its own fruit, fruitful as regards punishment, barren as regards nourishment. But where is abundance? Exod. xvi. 4. *Behold I will rain bread for you, saith the Lord.*

Farewell; love me, for I also love you.

LETTER LXIX.

IN THIS LETTER S. Ambrose answers a question propounded to him as to the ground of the severity of the Mosaic Law against those who disguised their sex.

AMBROSE TO IRENÆUS, GREETING.

1. YOU have referred to me, as to a father, the inquiry which has been made of you, why the Law was so severe in pronouncing those unclean who used the garments of the other sex, whether they were men or women, for it is written, Deut. xxii. 5. *The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment; for all that do so are an abomination unto the Lord*.

2. Now, if you will consider it well, that which nature herself abhors must be incongruous. For why do you not wish to be thought a man, seeing that you are born such? why do you assume an appearance which is foreign to you? why do you play the woman, or you, O woman, the man? Nature clothes each sex in their proper raiment. Moreover in men and women, habits, complexion, gestures, gait, strength and voice are all different.

3. So also in the rest of the animal creation; the form, the strength, the roar of the lion and lioness, of the bull and heifer are different. Deer also differ as much in form as they do in sex, so that you may distinguish the stag from the hind even at a distance. But in the case of birds the similitude between them and men, as regards covering, is still closer; for in them Nature distinguishes their sex by their very plumage. The peacock is beautiful, but the feathers of its consort are not variegated with equal beauty. Pheasants also have different colours to mark the difference of the

sexes. And so with poultry. How sonorous is the cock's voice, night by night performing his natural office of calling us from sleep by crowing. They do not change their form; why then do we desire to change ours?

4. A Greek custom has indeed prevailed for women to wear men's tunics as being shorter. Be it allowed however that they should imitate the nature of the more worthy sex; but why should men choose to assume the appearance of the inferior? A falsehood is base even in word, much more in dress. So in the heathen temples, where there is a false faith, there also is a false nature. It is there considered holy for men to assume women's garments, and female gestures. And therefore the Law says that every man who puts on a woman's garment is an abomination unto the Lord.

5. I conceive however that it is spoken not so much of garments as of manners, and of our habits and actions, in that one kind of act becomes a man, the other a woman. Wherefore the Apostle also says, as the interpreter of the Law, 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35. *Let your women keep silence in the Churches; for it is not permitted unto them to speak, but* Gen. iii. 16. *they are to be under obedience, as also saith the Law. And if they will learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home.* And to Timothy: 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12. *Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection; but I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man*.

6. But how unseemly is it for a man to do the works of a woman! As for those who curl their hair, like women, let them conceive also, let them bring forth. Yet the one sex wears veils, the other wages war. Let them however be excused who follow their national usages, barbarous though they be, the Persians and Goths and Armenians. Nature is superior to country.

7. And what shall we say of others who think it belongs to luxury to have in their service slaves wearing curls and ornaments of the neck? It is but just that chastity should be lost where the distinction of sexes is not preserved, a point wherein the teaching of nature is unambiguous, according to the

Apostle's words; 1 Cor. xi. 13–15. *Is it comely that a woman pray unto God uncovered? Doth not even nature itself teach you that if a man have long hair it is a shame unto him: but if a woman hath long hair, it is a glory unto her; for her hair is given her for a covering.* Such is the answer which you may make to those who have referred to you.

Farewell; love me as a son, for I love you as a father.

LETTER LXX.

S. AMBROSE IN this Letter considers a part of the prophecy of Micah as describing the recovery of a fallen soul.

AMBROSE TO HORONTIANUS.

1. THE Prophets indeed announced the gathering together of the Gentiles, and the future establishment of the Church; but as the Church sees not only the continuous progress of strong souls, but likewise the relapse of weak ones, and their subsequent conversion, we are able to gather from the Prophetical books both how the gracious and strong soul advances without stumbling, and also how the weak soul falls, and how she repairs her falls and recovers her steps.

2. Accordingly as in the Song of Songs we read of this continuous progress of blessed souls, so let us now consider, as set forth in the prophet Micah, concerning whom we have begun to speak, the conversion of a fallen soul. For it is not without good reason that the prophet's words, Mic. v. 2. *But thou Bethlehem Ephratah*, excited your attention. For how can that house where Christ was born be the house of wrath? Such is, indeed, what the name of the place signifies, but certain mysterious operations are declared thereby.

3. Let us first consider what Micah signifies in Latin. It means 'Who is from God,' or as we find elsewhere 'who is this man,' the son of the Ib. i. 1. Morasthite, that is, the heir? Now, who is this heir, but the Son of God, Who says, S. Matt. xi. 27. *All things are given unto Me of My Father*; and Who, being Himself the Heir, would have us His co-heirs. And well may we say 'Who is that man?' not one of the people, but chosen to receive the grace of

God, in whom the Holy Spirit speaks, who began to prophesy Mic. i. 1. *in the days of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah kings of Judah*. By which order is signified the course of the vision, for the progress is from the times of evil kings to that of a good king.

4. Thus as the afflicted soul was first oppressed under evil kings, let us consider what was the progress of her conversion. Being weak she was overthrown, and all her fences were made as a way for the passers-by, or for the inroads of passion; dissolved in luxury and pleasure, she was trodden down and removed from the presence of the Lord. Her Ib. iv. 8. *tower was decayed*, that tower which, as we read in the song of Isaiah, Isa. v. 2. was placed in the midst of a choice vineyard. Now this is the case with the tower, when the vine is withered, and her flock wanders; but when the verdure of the vine comes back, or the sheep returns, it grows bright again, for nothing is so decayed as iniquity, or so bright as righteousness.

5. To this tower the sheep is recalled, when the soul is recalled from her relapse, and in that sheep that reign of Christ returns, which was in the beginning, for He is Rev. i. 8. *the Beginning and the Ending*, even the beginning of our salvation. Still the soul is first severely rebuked, in that she has grievously transgressed, and she is asked, Mic. iv. 9. *Why hast thou learnt evil? was there no king in thee?* that is, thou hadst a king to govern and protect thee, thou oughtest not to have strayed from the path of righteousness, nor to have left the ways of the Lord, Who imparted to thee sense and reason. Where were thy thoughts and counsels, whereby by innate vigour thou mightest have guarded against unrighteousness and warded off transgression? Why have Ib. *pangs taken thee, as a woman in travail*; that thou shouldest be in labour of iniquity, and bring forth unrighteousness? For there is no greater grief than for a man to wound his conscience with the sword of sin; nor is there any heavier burden than the weight of sin and the load of transgression. It bows down the soul, it bends

it even to the earth, so that it cannot raise itself. Heavy, my son, heavy indeed is the weight of sin. S. Luke xiii. 11. Thus that woman in the Gospel, who was bowed together, and thus bore the semblance of a heavy-laden soul, could be made straight by Christ alone.

6. To such a soul it is said, Mic. iv. 10. *Be in pain and labour to bring forth, O daughter of Sion*. For the pains of child-birth work tribulation, and Rom. v. 3–5. *tribulation patience, and patience experience, and experience hope, and hope maketh not ashamed*. At the same time all that is opposed to virtue is plucked up and cast forth, lest its seeds should remain behind and revive, and put out new buds and fruit.

7. Nor is it without a meaning that Mic. iv. 13. horns and hoofs were given to her, that she might bruise all the sheaves of the floor, like the calf of Mount Lebanon. For unless the sheaves were bruised, and the straw winnowed, the corn that is within cannot be found and separated. Wherefore let the soul that would advance in virtue first bruise and thrash out its superfluous passions, that so, when the harvest is come, it may shew forth its fruits. How many are the weeds which choke the good seed! These must first be rooted out, that they may not destroy the fertile crop of the soul.

8. Then the provident guide of the soul has regard to this, that he may circumscribe her pleasures and cut off her desires, that she may not delight herself in them. That father's corrections are profitable, Prov. xiii. 24. who spares not the rod, that he may render his son's soul obedient to salutary precepts. For he visits with a rod, as we read, Ps. lxxxix. 32. *I will visit their offences with the rod*. And so he who smites the soul of the Israelites with a rod on the cheek, by this Divine punishment instructs her in the discipline of patience. But no man need despair who is chastised and corrected, for Ecclus. xxx. 1. he who loveth his son chastiseth him. Let no man therefore despair of a remedy.

9. Behold therefore, that house which was to thee ‘the house of one seeing wrath,’ is become ‘the house of bread;’ where rage was, there is now piety; where the slaughter of the Innocents, there now the redemption of all mankind, as it is written, Mic. v. 2. *But thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall He come forth that is Ruler in Israel*. Bethlehem is the house of bread; Ephratah the house of one seeing wrath. This is the interpretation of these names. S. Luke ii. 4. In Bethlehem Christ was born of Mary, but Bethlehem is the same as Ephratah. Thus Christ was born in the house of wrath, and therefore it is no longer a house of wrath, but the house of bread, for it received that S. John vi. 50. *bread which came down from heaven*. But Ephratah is the house of one that was wrath, because while Herod searches there for Christ, he commands the Innocents to be slain, wherefore S. Matt. ii. 18. *In Rama was there a voice heard, Rachel weeping for her children*.

10. But let no man fear any longer; for that rest which David sought after Ps. cxxxii. 6. *is heard of at Ephrata*, and *found in the fields of the wood*. A wood, as yet, was the assembly of the Gentiles, but after it believed in Christ it became fruitful, receiving S. Luke i. 42. the fruit of the blessed womb. And Gen. xxxv. 19. Rachel died in childbirth, because even then, as the patriarch’s wife, she saw the wrath of Herod, which spared not the tenderest age. Or again, because in Ephratah she gave birth to that Benjamin who excelling in beauty came last in the order of the mystery, I mean Paul, who before his birth caused no small grief to his Mother, by persecuting her sons. And she died, and was buried there, that we, dying and being buried together with Christ, may rise again in His Church. Therefore according to another interpretation, Ephratah signifies ‘enriched or filled with fruit.’

11. Now here, that is, in the book of the Prophet, we find the expression, Mic. v. 2. thou art ὀλιγοστός, that is, one of few. But in Matthew we find, S. Matt. ii. 6. *And thou, Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, art not among the*

few. In one the expression is house of Ephratah, in the other house of Juda; but this is a difference of words not of meaning. For inwardly Judæa saw this exhibition of wrath, outwardly she suffered it. And she is among the few, because they are few who enter the house of bread by the narrow way. But he is not among the few, that is among those that make progress, who knows not Christ. Nor is she the least, who is the house of blessing, and the receptacle of Divine grace; yet in this she is the least, for any thing which is offered to Christ seems to be offered to her. And he who seeks for the Church seeks for Christ; and He is either honoured or despised in every little one, wherefore He says Himself, S. Matt. xxv. 40. *Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these, ye have done it unto Me*.

12. Now that Bethlehem is the very same place as Ephratah we learn from the passage in Genesis, which says, Gen. xxxv. 19. *And Rachel died, and was buried in the way to Ephrath, which is Bethlehem*. Holy Rachel, being a type of the Church, was buried in the way, that they who go by might say, Ps. cxxix. 8. *The Lord prosper you*, and Ib. cxxvi. 7. *they shall come again with joy*.

13. Wherefore every soul which receives that bread which comes down from heaven is the house of bread, that is, the Bread of Christ, being nourished and supported and having its heart strengthened by that heavenly bread which dwells within it. Hence Paul also says, 1 Cor. x. 17. *For we being many are one bread*. Every faithful soul is Bethlehem, as Jerusalem also is said to be, which has the peace and tranquillity of that Jerusalem which is above, in heaven. That is the true Bread which, when broken into pieces, fed all men.

14. The fifth version[279] has the words, ‘the house of Bread.’ For ‘Beth’ signifies a house, and ‘lehem’ signifies bread. From the other versions I imagine that the unbelief of the Jews, who feared to convict themselves, either led the writers to omit it or others to erase it.

15. And that Bethlehem is of the tribe of Judah we learn from that passage in the book of Judges, Jud. xix. 2. where the Levite took to him a concubine out of Bethlehem-judah, and his concubine was incensed against him, and returned to her father's house in Bethlehem-judah.

16. Now Christ's Mic. v. 2. *goings forth were from everlasting*[280], because our life[281] then commenced, when He Ps. xix. 5. *went forth to run His course*, and gave to Israel the day of salvation. Mic. v. 3. *Until the time that she which travaileth hath brought forth.* To that soul to which Christ hath come fruitfulness or bringing forth hath come also; so it was with the Church, who has Is. liv. 1. *brought more than she that had children*; who has brought forth seven, that is, a lawful peaceful and tranquil progeny. Now that soul begins to conceive, and Christ to be formed in her, which welcomes Him on His arrival and is so fed by His plenty that she is in want of nothing, and other souls by seeing her return unto the way of salvation.

17. Mic. v. 5. *And there shall be peace to him*, but it is by temptations that he must be tried; then, when he has shut out or repulsed vain thoughts, when he has subdued all the motions of his rising passions, when distress and persecution and hunger and peril and the sword press hard upon him, will the value of his peace and tranquillity be tested. Then, it is said, *shall be peace*; because in all these things Rom. viii. 37. *we are conquerors through Him that loved us*, because we trust in Him that neither death nor the power of temptations shall cast off or separate us from His love. He will send temptations, that the just may be proved. The Lord sends temptations, not that He wishes any man to be beguiled, but because the weak are for the most part vanquished by temptation, whilst the strong are proved by them.

18. Then there shall be to them Mic. v. 7. *dew from the Lord*, and rest; then the soul of the just shall be Ib. 8. *as a young lion among the flocks of sheep*. I cannot doubt but that this similitude should, after the manner of the Gospel, be referred to Christ, for He has said, S. Matt. xiii. 43. *Then shall*

the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father. For Mic. v. 10. *his chariots shall be broken*; that is to say, the senseless impulses and motions of the body shall be appeased; that condition shall cease wherein 2 Cor. vii. 5. *Without are fightings, within are fears*, and over all, that is, within and without, tranquillity shall prevail; nor shall there be any resistance or repugnance to this good will, because the obedience of the flesh, when Eph. ii. 14. *the middle wall of partition is broken down*, and both are made one, shall abolish all discord.

19. But if any weak soul, like Israel according to the flesh have stumbled, and, shaken by persecutions, have separated herself in some degree from the love of Christ, she is checked and reproved as faithless, and ungrateful, and unbelieving, as one who, after being freed from the vanities of the world, has looked behind her and so relapsed into them again; as one from whom no gifts, no sacrifice of bulls, but only to know what is good and to do justly, has been required. Mic. vi. 8. *He hath showed thee, o man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to have mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?* But since the weaker soul has not kept this commandment, the Lord says to her, Ib. vii. 1. *Woe is me, for I am as when they have gathered the summer fruits, as the grape-gleanings of the vintage*. And the prophet, in whom the Lord spoke, says to that soul, Ib. 2. *Woe is me, the good man is perished out of the earth*. This is as though the Lord Himself spoke, in compassion for the future punishment of sin, and as weeping over our transgressions.

20. Then the soul, learning that she will gather no fruit from what she has sown; that in the loss of her harvest nothing will remain to strengthen her, that she will press her olives, but will find no oil of gladness, nor will drink the wine of pleasantness; finding also in the works of the flesh all things full of blood, full of circumvention, of fraud and deceit, hollow shows of affection, and pre-concerted guile; nay, those of her own

household adverse to her; and therefore that the motions of her companion the body, which are grievous enemies of the soul, must be guarded against; turns to God, and begins to hope in Him, and knowing that the flesh is truly an enemy to her, says to it, Ib. 8. *Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy, when I fall I shall arise, when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me*.

21. Finding moreover that she is mocked by some power which opposes her following a better path, and domineers over her, so that she has been delivered 1 Cor. v. 5. *for the destruction of the flesh*, to be afflicted with various evils, assigned to her either by the Lord to satisfy for her sins, or by the Evil One who is envious of her conversion, and desires to harass and regain her to himself, finding this, she says, Mic. vii. 9. *I will bear the indignation of the Lord*, Who either chastens me in my fall, or has given thee power to persecute me, *because I have sinned against Him*, but I will endure *until He plead my cause*. For unless I shall confess, and pay the price of my iniquities, I cannot be justified. But being justified and having paid double for my sins, He shall Mic. vii. 9. *execute judgment for me*, laying aside His wrath, since the sentence against me is satisfied. Ib. *He will bring me forth to the light, and I shall behold His righteousness* and gaze on His delights. Then she that is mine enemy, that is, the malice of the devil, shall see the light of my reconciliation and *shame shall cover her which saith to me, Where is the Lord thy God?* She shall behold in me His pity and His love.

22. Wherefore let us not listen to him when we are in any of the troubles of this world, be it bodily pain, or the loss of our children, or of other necessaries, let us not listen to his words, *Where is the Lord thy God?* It is under severe pain that his temptations are to be feared, it is then that he seeks to turn the sick soul astray.

23. Wherefore the soul which has not listened to his allurements, seeing afterwards the wonderful works of God, seeing herself in heaven, and the devil creeping upon the earth, will congratulate herself saying, Ib. 18. *Who is a God like unto Thee, that pardoneth iniquity and passeth by transgression?* Thou hast not been mindful of Thy indignation, but hast cast all our iniquities into the sea as the lead of Egypt, and hast graciously returned to have pity upon us, both forgiving and hiding our offences, as it is written, Ps. xxxii. 1. *Blessed is he whose unrighteousness is forgiven, and whose sin is covered*. For some sins Thou dost wash away in the blood of Thy Son, others Thou dost remit unto us, that by good works and confession we may cover our errors. The expression therefore *that pardoneth iniquities*, appertains to remission; because He takes them away altogether, so that the things which He remembers not are as though they did not exist. But the words *passeth by transgression*, signify that inasmuch as we confess our failings, and cover them with the fruit of our good works, they are referred to the author of our fault, and the instigator of our sin. For what else does he who confesses his fault do but prove himself to have been beguiled by the craft and malice of that spiritual wickedness which is his adversary?

24. For this therefore this soul gives thanks, that the Lord both *pardoneth iniquities and passeth by transgressions*, and *casts them into the deep of the sea*. Which may also be referred to Baptism, wherein the Egyptian is drowned, the Hebrew rises again; and whereby by the depths of His wisdom, and the multitude of her good works her former sins are covered, through the riches of the mercy of our God, Who is mindful of the promise which He gave to Abraham, and suffers not that soul which is heir of Abraham to perish.

25. It is by these means that such a soul is recovered. But do you, my son, who from the first flower of boyhood have been an heir of the Church

which bore and which sustains you, persevere in your purpose, mindful of the grace of God, and of the gift which you have received by the imposition of my hands, that in this degree[282] also, as in the holy office of deacon, you may shew faith and industry, and expect a recompense from the Lord Jesus.

Farewell; love me as a son, for I also love you.

LETTER LXXI.

S. AMBROSE IN this letter continues the subject of the last, and, having described in that the steps by which the fallen soul recovers herself, here considers how the faithful soul is taken in charge, taught and conducted to perfection by Christ: and shews that the stages in the progress of such a soul are typified by the journies of Christ.

AMBROSE TO HORONTIANUS.

1. IN my last letter I spoke of the soul that has made in its progress certain devious circuits, wavering, as Israel according to the flesh did of old, to and fro. For Israel herself also, when Rom. xi. 25. *the fulness of the Gentiles shall be come in*, shall be delivered by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ: the Gentile soul meanwhile, whose transgression has been lighter, having by her conversion worked her own recovery. In my present letter I will treat of the daughter of the Church; and consider how the Lord Jesus first took her under His care, taught her, and, in His Gospel, led her on to perfection.

2. Now it was as she lay in misery and confusion that He first took her under His care, — for how else but miserably can that soul live, which is exiled from Paradise? — and brought her to Bethlehem. The progress then, of this soul is at once signified in that it goes up to the "house of bread[283]," where it can know no death or barrenness of faith. Observe, I am now speaking of souls in general, those souls by which we live and move, not of any soul in particular; for it is not of the individual or species, but of souls in general that I purpose to discourse.

3. Christ went down into Egypt, as Protector and Guide of our soul, from thence He returned into Judæa. He was in the wilderness, in Capernaum; near the borders of Zabulon; by the sea coast; He passed through the corn fields; He was in Bethphage; in Ephraim; in Bethany; then He passed over into the garden, where He gave Himself up; on Calvary, where He suffered.

4. All these are the progresses of our soul, and exercised thereby she receives the graces of a holy life[284]. For the human race, when excluded from Paradise in Adam and Eve, and banished to the village[285], began to roam up and down and to wander about with careless steps: but in His own good time the Lord Jesus Phil. ii. 8. *emptied Himself* that He might receive this exile into himself, and re-form her again to her previous state of grace. And thus, when found, she retraced, as the Gospel lesson teaches us, her devious course of error, and was recalled to Paradise.

5. He led her through the cornfields that He might satisfy her hunger, first in the desert, then to Capernaum, making her abode to be not in the city but in the field: next He brought her to the borders of Zabulon, near unto the floods of night, that is, the darker riddles of the prophets; that she might learn thereby to reach to the borders of the Gentiles, that common centre, and not to fear the storms and billows of this world. Why should she, seeing that Christ has 1 Kings x. 22. ships of Tarshish, mystical ships I mean, which traverse the sea, and bring pious offerings for the building of the Temple? In such ships as these Christ sails, and like a good pilot rests in the stern while the sea is calm; when it is disturbed He awakes, and rebukes the winds, that He may anew shew peace on His disciples. Furthermore, by passing over to the Gentiles, He delivers the soul which was bound by the chains of the Law, that she may not pass over and keep company with the heathen.

6. He came to Bethany to the “place of obedience;” therefore was the dead there raised; for when the flesh is subdued to the spirit, human nature

no longer lies as if dead in the tomb, but is raised again by the grace of Christ; there also she professes to offer herself to 'suffering'[286] for the Name of God. From the place of obedience, as John tells us, S. John xi. 54. He is led to Ephraim, that is, to the "fecundity of good fruits." Hence Ib. xii. 1. He returns to Bethany, that is, to "obedience;" for she who has once tasted the fruit of holy obedience is for the most part ready to preserve it and to be proved thereby.

7. And now, having been proved, she comes to Jerusalem, being made worthy to become the temple of God wherein Christ may dwell. Here it is that the Lord Jesus, sitting upon the foal of an ass, is received with the joy and congratulation of the age of innocence.

8. Afterwards are taught in the garden the words of eternal life; in that place where the Lord permitted Himself to be taken, Ib. xviii. 8. as John the Evangelist writes, signifying that our soul, or rather human nature, released from the bonds of error, is restored by Christ to that abode from whence in Adam she was cast. Wherefore to the thief who confessed Him it is said, S. Luke xxiii. 43. *Verily I say unto thee, To-day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise*. The thief had said, Ib. 42. *Lord, remember me when Thou comest into Thy kingdom*. Christ answered not concerning His kingdom, but yet to the purpose, *To-day thou shalt be with Me in Paradise*, that is, What has been lost must first be restored, then the increase bestowed; that thus the progress may be through Paradise to the kingdom, not through the kingdom to Paradise.

9. For the disciples it is reserved that they may receive an ample reward for their labours; and therefore to the thief He promised a sojourn, but deferred the kingdom. So that to him who is converted under the stroke of death, and confesses the Lord Jesus, to him let an abode in Paradise be vouchsafed, but for him who has undergone long travail, who has fought for Christ, who has won over souls and offered himself for Christ, for his

wages let the kingdom of God be prepared; and let him rejoice in the fruition of this reward. To Peter it is said, S. Matt. xvi. 19. *I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven*; and thus, while the convert from robbery obtains rest, on him who has been proved in the Apostolate authority is bestowed.

10. This is the Evangelical soul, the soul of the Gentiles, the daughter of the Church, far better than the soul cast out of Judæa; raising herself from her earthly course to the Lord Jesus and to higher things by good counsels and works; received by Christ upon Golgotha. Upon Golgotha was the sepulchre of Adam; that Christ by His Cross might raise him from death. Thus where 1 Cor. xv. 22. in Adam was the death of all, there in Christ was the resurrection of all.

Farewell, my son; love me, for I also love you.

LETTER LXXII.

IN THIS LETTER S. Ambrose deals with the question of the rite of circumcision, and explains to Constantius why it was established in the Old Testament and yet done away in the New. He speaks also of the true and spiritual circumcision which belongs to Christians.

AMBROSE TO CONSTANTIUS.

1. MANY persons have raised an important question why circumcision should be enjoined as profitable by the authority of the Old Testament, Acts xv. 10. and rejected as useless by the teaching of the New; especially since it was Abraham, who S. John viii. 56. *saw the day* of the Lord Jesus *and was glad*, Gen. xvii. 10. who first received the command to observe the rite of circumcision. For it is manifest that he directed his mind not to the literal but to the spiritual sense of the Divine Law, and so in the sacrifice of the lamb saw the true passion of the Lord's Body.

2. What then shall we consider to have been the aim of our father Abraham, in first instituting that which his posterity were not to follow? or for what reason are the bodies of infants circumcised, and in their very birth subjected to dangers, and this at the Divine command, so that peril of their life ensues from a mystery of religion. What is the meaning of this? For the ground of the truth is hidden, and either something should have been signified by an intelligible mystery, or else it should have been indicated by a mystery which was not so full of danger.

3. And why was the sign of the Divine Testament attached to that member which is considered as less comely to sight; or with what purpose did the Creator of our body Himself, in the very beginning of our race,

choose that His work should be wounded and stained with blood, and a portion of it cut off, which He, Who has disposed all things in order, deemed proper to form together with the other members, as though it were necessary? For this portion of our bodies is either contrary to nature, and then no man ought to have that which is contrary to nature, or it is according to nature, and that ought not to be cut off which was created according to the perfection of nature; especially since aliens from the portion of the Lord our God are wont to make this a chief subject of ridicule. Again as it is God's purpose, as He has frequently declared, to induce as many persons as possible to the observance of holy religion, how much more would they be invited, were not some deterred either by the danger or reproach of this very circumcision.

4. To return therefore to my first purpose and follow the order I have proposed, it seems good to speak of the nature itself of circumcision. The defence of this ought to be twofold, for so is the accusation, the one brought by the Gentiles, the other by those who are considered as belonging to the people of God, more vigorously on the part of the Gentiles, for they deem men marked with circumcision to be worthy even of scorn and disgrace. Yet their own wisest men approve of circumcision, so as to think it right to circumcise those whom they select to know and celebrate their mysteries[287].

5. The Egyptians too, who apply themselves to geometry and observing the courses of the stars, consider a priest who does not bear the mark of circumcision impious. For they believe that neither the wisdom of incantation, nor geometry, nor astronomy can attain their due power without the seal of circumcision. And therefore, in order to render their operations efficacious they choose to solemnize a certain purification of their own by means of the secret rite of circumcision.

6. And we find in ancient history that not only the Egyptians but also some of the Æthiopians Arabs and Phœnicians used circumcision. And in

maintaining this custom they think that they are maintaining one still to approved, for being thus initiated by means of the first fruits of their own body and blood, they conceive that by the consecration of this small portion, the snares which demons lay for our kind will be defeated; and that those who attempt to injure the well-being of the whole man, may find their power baffled either by the law or the semblance of sacred circumcision. For I am of opinion that heretofore the Prince of devils has deemed that his arts would lose their baneful efficacy if he were to attempt to injure one whom he found initiated by the seal of sacred circumcision, or one who seemed at least in this respect to obey the Divine law.

7. Now he who diligently considers the functions of our several members will be able to judge that it was for no unmeaning purpose that as regards this little portion of this member the child was not only circumcised but Gen. xvii. 12. circumcised also on the eighth day; when the mother of the child begins to be in pure blood, having before the eighth day been considered as sitting in unclean blood. Let so much have been said in reply to those who are not joined with us in unity of faith; on which account discussion with them, as differing from us, becomes more difficult.

8. But to those who believe in the Lord Jesus Christ we have to offer the following reply, which, when we were disputing against the opinions of Gentiles, we were unwilling to disclose. For if we were 1 S. Pet. i. 18, 19. *redeemed not with corruptible silver and gold, but with the precious blood of our Lord Jesus Christ*, and purchased from no one but him who had purchased with money, and was owner of, the services of our now sinful race, beyond a doubt he demanded a price for releasing from his service those whom he kept in bondage. But the price of our freedom was the Blood of the Lord Jesus, which of necessity was to be paid to him to whom we were sold by our sins.

9. Until, therefore, this price should have been paid for all men which by the shedding of the Lord's Blood had to be so paid for the absolution of all, the blood of every man, who, by the Law and solemn custom were to follow the precepts of holy religion, was required. But, since one Lord Christ suffered, seeing that the ransom is now paid for all, there is now no longer any need that the blood of every man one by one should be shed by circumcision, for in the Blood of Christ the circumcision of all has been solemnized, and in His Cross we are all crucified together with Him, and buried in His sepulchre, and Rom. vi. 5 sq. *planted together in the likeness of His death, that henceforth we should not serve sin: for he that is dead, is free from sin*.

10. But if any one, such as Marcion and Manichæus, deem the judgment of God to be worthy of blame, either because He thought fit to give command concerning the observance of circumcision, or because He published a law directing the effusion of blood; he must needs consider the Lord Jesus also worthy of blame, Who shed not a little but much blood for the redemption of the world, and up to this hour commands us also to shed our blood for the great contest of Religion, saying, S. Matt. xvi. 24. *If any man will follow Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow Me*. But if in the case of a man offering his whole self out of piety, and cleansing himself by the effusion of much blood, such an accusation is not just, how can we blame the Law, for exacting a little drop of blood, when we proclaim the command of the Lord Jesus for the shedding of much blood, and the death of the whole body?

11. Nor was the very symbol and semblance of circumcision useless, for the people of God, signed thereby as by a certain bodily seal, was distinguished from the other nations. But the name of Christ being now bestowed upon them they have no need of a bodily sign, for they have obtained the honour of a Divine appellation. But what was there absurd in

somewhat of pain or labour seeming to be imposed for piety's sake, to the intent that by such contests devotion might be better tried? It is becoming also that from the very cradle of life the symbol of religion should grow with our growth, and that all of a maturer age should be ashamed to yield either to labour or pain when their tender infancy had conquered both.

12. But now Christians have no need of the light pain of circumcision, for bearing about with them the Lord's Death, they at every act engrave on their foreheads contempt of their own death, as knowing that without the cross of the Lord they can have no salvation. For who would use a needle to fight with when armed with stronger weapons?

13. And now any one may easily perceive how easily the suggestion may be refuted, that more persons might be incited to the observance of holy religion unless they were withheld by the fear of pain or the appearance of labour. For could this terrify an older person, when many infants endured it without danger? Granting however that some Jewish children unable to bear the pain of circumcision and of so keen a stroke may have died, still this did not deter those of a robuster and more advanced age, and one who thus obeyed the celestial precepts it only made more praiseworthy.

14. But if they imagine that this light pain was such an obstacle to confession, what will they say of martyrdom? For if they choose to blame the pain of circumcision, they must blame also the death of martyrs, by whom religion so far from being impaired has received its perfection. But the pain of circumcision is so much removed from being hurtful to faith, that faith is approved by pain, for greater is the grace of faith if any one for religion's sake despise pain; and such a one has a greater reward than he who was only willing to endure the pain of circumcision that he might glory in the Law, and win praise of men rather than of God.

15. It was fitting therefore that this partial circumcision should take place before His advent Who was to circumcise the whole man, and that the

human race should receive a partial preparation for believing in that which is perfect. But if circumcision must take place, in what region of the body ought it rather to fall than on that which seems to some less comely? 1 Cor. xii. 23. *And those members of the body, which we think to be less honourable, upon those we bestow more abundant power; and our uncomely parts have abundant comeliness.* For in what member ought men to be rather reminded of his blood than in that which is wont to minister to transgression?

16. And now is the fitting time to reply to those also who say, If this part of our body is according to nature it ought not to be cut off, but if contrary to nature, then it ought not to have been born together with it. Let these men, being so subtle, themselves answer me, whether the succession of the human race, which arises by generation is according to nature or contrary to nature? If according to nature, it ought never to be interrupted, and then how can we praise the chastity of men, the virginity of maids, the abstinence of widows, the continence of wives? No effort then to promote this succession should be suffered to lie idle. But the Author of nature Himself did not pay this regard to generation, for He gave us, when living in the body, His own example, and exhorted His disciples to chastity, saying, S. Matt. xix. 12. *There be eunuchs, which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.*

17. Man being made up of body and soul, (for at present it will suffice to speak of these and not to mention the spirit,) he is not naturally the same in both, but what is according to the nature of the body is contrary to the nature of the soul, and what is according to the nature of the soul is contrary to the nature of the body; so that were I to speak that which is according to nature in that which is seen, it will be contrary to nature as regards the unseen, and what is according to nature in the unseen is contrary to nature

as regards the seen. It is no incongruity therefore in the man of God, if there should be things contrary to the nature of the body which are according to the nature of the soul.

18. With regard to those who say that more would have believed if circumcision had not been instituted, let them receive this answer, that more would have believed if there had been no martyrdom, but the constancy of a few is to be preferred to the remissness of a larger number. For as many kinds of washings preceded, because that one true Sacrament of Baptism with water and the Spirit, whereby the whole man is redeemed, was to follow, so also the circumcision of many was to precede, because the circumcision of the Lord's Passion, which Jesus suffered as the Lamb of God, that He might S. John i. 29. *take away the sins of the world*, was to follow.

19. My object in writing this has been to shew that it was fitting that circumcision, which is outward, should precede, that now after the Lord's Advent it might seem to be justly excluded. But now that circumcision is necessary which is in secret, *in spirit not in the letter*, seeing that there are two men in one, of whom it is said, 2 Cor. iv. 16. *Though our outward man perish* according to the desires of error, *yet the inward man is renewed day by day*, and in another passage, Rom. vii. 22. *For I delight in the law of God after the inward man*; that is, our inward man which is made according to the image and likeness of God, our outward is that which is formed of clay. So again in Genesis two creations of man are declared to us, and it is signified that by the second man was truly made.

20. As therefore there are two men, so also is his conversation two-fold; one of the inward the other of the outward man. And indeed many acts of the inward man reach to the outward man, in the same way that the chastity of the inward man passes into bodily chastity. He who is free from adultery of the heart is free from adultery of the body, but it does not also follow that

he who has not sinned in body should not have sinned even in heart, for it is written, S. Matt. v. 28. *Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath already committed adultery with her in his heart*. For although he be not yet an adulterer in body, still in affection he is one. So that there is a circumcision of the inward man, for he who is circumcised has put off, like a foreskin, all the allurements of the flesh, that so he may be in the spirit, not in the flesh, and *by the spirit may mortify the deeds of the flesh*.

21. And this is that circumcision which is in secret, Rom. iv. 11. as Abraham was first in the uncircumcision and afterwards came to be in the circumcision. Thus our inward man, while it is in the flesh, is as it were in uncircumcision, but when he is now no longer in the flesh but in the spirit, he begins to be in the circumcision not in the uncircumcision. And as he who is circumcised does not put off the whole flesh but his foreskin only, where corruption more frequently lies, so he who is circumcised in secret, puts off that flesh of which it is written, Isa. xi. 6, 7. *All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field; the grass withereth, the flower fadeth, but the word of our God shall stand for ever*; and there remains the flesh which will see the salvation of God, as it is written, S. Luke iii. 6. *And all flesh shall see the salvation of God*. What this flesh is cleanse your ears that you may understand.

22. Now that circumcision which is secret ought to be of such a kind as to bear no comparison with that which is outward. He therefore who is a Jew in secret, is he who excels, he who is from Judah, whose Gen. xlix. 8, 9. *hand is in the neck of his enemies*, who *stooped down and couched as a lion, and as a lion's whelp, whom his brethren praise*. From this Judah the prince departs not, because his word makes princes, such as are not overcome by worldly allurements and ensnared by the pleasures of this world. And since Judah himself was born into this generation, many of those who were born afterwards are preferred, that they may enjoy a pre-

eminence of virtue. Let us have therefore the circumcision which is in secret, and the Jew that is in secret, that is, the spiritual: but he that is *spiritual*, as being a prince, 1 Cor. ii. 15. *judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man*. It was fitting therefore, that the circumcision commanded by the prescript of the Law, which was partial, should cease after His coming Who was to circumcise the whole man, and fulfil the circumcision of the Law. And who is this but He Who said S. Matt. v. 17. *I am not come to destroy the Law, but to fulfil it*?

24. That the fulness of the Gentiles is come in is another reason, if you will attend to it carefully, why the circumcision of the foreskin ought to cease. For it was not upon the Gentiles but upon the seed of Abraham that circumcision was enjoined, for this is the first Divine promise, Gen. xvii. 9. sqq. *And God said unto Abraham, Thou shalt keep My covenant therefore, thou and thy seed after in their generations. This is My covenant, which ye shall keep, between Me and you and thy seed after thee; Every man child among you shall be circumcised, and ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin; and it shall be a token of the covenant betwixt Me and you. And he that is eight days old shall be circumcised among you, every man child in your generations. He that is born in thy house, or bought with money of any stranger, which is not of thy seed, must needs be circumcised; and My covenant shall be in your flesh, for an everlasting covenant. And the uncircumcised man child whose flesh of his foreskin is not circumcised* on the eighth day, *shall be cut off from the people; he hath broken My Covenant*. It is affirmed indeed that the Hebrew text, as Aquila intimates, does not contain the words ‘on the eighth day;’ but all authority does not rest with Aquila, who being a Jew has passed it by in the letter, and not inserted, ‘on the eighth day.’

25. Meanwhile you have heard that both the eighth day and circumcision were given for a sign; now a sign is an indication of a greater matter, a

symbol of a future verity; and a covenant was given to Abraham and his seed, to whom it was said, Ib. xxi. 12. *In Isaac shall thy seed be*. The circumcision of the Jews therefore, or of one born in his house, or bought with his money was permitted. But we cannot extend this to a foreigner or proselyte, unless they were born in the house of Abraham, or bought with his money, or of his seed. Again, nothing is said of proselytes; when it is wished to speak of them they are expressly mentioned, as it is written: Lev. xvii. 1, 8. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto Aaron, and unto his sons, and unto all the children of Israel, and say unto them: ... Whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel, or of the strangers which sojourn among you, that offereth a burnt-sacrifice*. When therefore they are intended to be included the Law touches them; when the Divine word does not point to them, how can they seem to be bound? Again, it is written, *Speak unto the sons of Aaron*, when the priests are intended; and so as regards the Levites also.

26. Thus it is abundantly manifest that even according to the letter of the Law, although the Law be spiritual, yet that according to the very letter of the Law the Gentiles could not be obliged to observe circumcision, but that circumcision itself was a sign, until *the fulness of the Gentiles should be come in, and so all Israel be saved* by circumcision, not of a small portion of one member, but of the heart. And both the excuse on our parts is sufficient, and the continuance of circumcision among the Jews up to this day is excluded.

27. But as to its being imputed it as a cause of blame, now or in past time, by the Gentiles, I would say, first, it is not competent to them to blame or deride what others who are their fellows do. Suppose however that there were cause for their ridicule, why ought this to move us, when the very cross of the Lord is 1 Cor. i. 23, 24. *a stumbling-block to the Jews, and foolishness to the Greeks, but to us the power of God and the wisdom of*

God. And the Lord Himself has said, S. Matt. x. 33. S. Luke ix. 26. *Whosoever shall be ashamed*[288] *of Me before men, of him will I also be ashamed before My Father Which is in heaven*; teaching us not to be disturbed by those things which are laughed at by men, if we observe them in the service of religion.

LETTER LXXIII.

IRENÆUS HAVING ENQUIRED why the Law was ever given, seeing that Paul declares it to be injurious: S. Ambrose replies that it would have been useless, had we kept that natural law which is written on our hearts, and is found even in infants; but that, this being broken, the former became necessary, that it might take away all excuse by its manifestation of that sin which was afterwards removed by the grace of Christ.

AMBROSE TO IRENÆUS.

1. GREATLY, it would seem, have you been moved by the lesson from the Apostle, having heard read to-day, Rom. iv. 15. *Because the Law worketh wrath; for where no law is, there is no transgression*. And therefore you have thought fit to ask why the Law was promulgated, if it profited nothing, nay rather, by working wrath and bringing in transgression, was injurious.

2. And indeed, according to the tenor of your question, it is certain that the Law, which was given by Moses, was not necessary. For had men been able to keep the natural Law, which our God and Maker implanted in the breast of each, there would have been no need of the Law, which, *written on tables of stone*, tended rather to entangle and fetter the infirmity of human nature, than to set at large and liberate it. Now that there is Ib. ii. 14. *a natural Law written in our hearts* the Apostle also teaches us, when he writes, that for the most part *the Gentiles, which have not the Law, do by nature the things contained in the Law, and, though they have not read the Law, have yet the works of the Law written in their hearts*.

3. This law therefore is not written but innate; not acquired by reading, but flowing as from a natural fountain, it springs up in each breast, and

men’s minds drink it in. This Law we ought to have kept even from fear of a future judgment, a witness whereof we have in our conscience, which shews itself in those silent thoughts we have towards God, and whereby either our sin is reproved or our innocence justified. And thus that which has ever been manifest to the Lord, Rom. ii. 15. will be clearly revealed in the day of judgment, when those secrets of the heart, which were thought to be concealed, will be called into account. Now the discovery of these things, these secrets, I mean, would do no harm, if the natural Law still remained in the human breast; for it is holy, free from craft or guile, the companion of justice, free from iniquity.

4. Moreover let us interrogate the age of childhood, let us consider whether any crime can be found therein, avarice, ambition, guile, rage, or insolence. It claims nothing for its own, assumes no honours to itself, never prefers itself to others, neither wishes or knows how to avenge itself. Its pure and simple mind cannot even comprehend the meaning of insolence.

5. Gen. iii. 6. Adam broke this Law, seeking to assume to himself that which he had not received, that thus he might become as it were his own maker and creator, and arrogate to himself divine honour. Thus by his disobedience he incurred guilt, and through arrogance fell into transgression. Had he not thus violated his allegiance, but been obedient to the commands of heaven, he would have preserved to his posterity the prerogative of nature and the innocence which he possessed at his birth. Wherefore as by disobedience the authority of the Law of Nature was corrupted and blotted out, the written law was found necessary; in order that man, having lost all, might at least regain a part; attaining by instruction to the knowledge of that which he had received at his birth, but had subsequently lost. Moreover, since the cause of his fall was pride, and pride arose from the dignity of innocence, it was needful that some law should be passed which should subdue and subject him to God. Rom. vii. 8. For

without the Law he was ignorant of sin, and thus his guilt was less because he knew it not. Wherefore also the Lord says, S. John xv. 22. *If I had not come and spoken to them they had not had sin, but now they have no excuse for their sin*.

6. The Law then was published, Rom. iii. 19. first to take away all excuse lest man should say, I knew not sin, because I received no rule what to avoid. And next that *all the world might become guilty*[289] *before God* by the confession of sin. For it made all subject; in that it was not only given to the Jews but also called the Gentiles; for proselytes from the Gentiles were associated with them. Nor can he seem to be excepted, who after being called was found wanting, for the Law also bound those whom she called. And thus the fault of all worked subjection, subjection humility, humility obedience. And thus as pride had drawn after it transgression, so on the other hand, transgression produced obedience. And thus the written Law, which seemed superfluous, was rendered necessary, redeeming sin by sin.

7. But again, lest anyone should be deterred, and say that an increase of sin was caused by the Law, and that the Law not only did not profit but was even injurious, he has a consolation for his solicitude, because although Rom. v. 20. *by the Law sin abounded, grace did much more abound*. And now let us consider the meaning of this.

8. Sin abounded by the Law because Ib. vii. 7. *by the Law is the knowledge of sin*, and thus it began to be injurious to me to know that which through infirmity I could not avoid; it is good to foreknow in order to avoid, but if I cannot avoid, to have known was injurious. Thus the effect of the Law was changed to me into its opposite, yet by the very increase of sin it became useful to me, because I was humbled. Wherefore David also said, Ps. cxix. 71. *It is good for me that I have been humbled*. For by my humiliation I have broken those bonds of that ancient transgression, whereby Adam and Eve had bound the whole line of their posterity. Hence

too the Lord came in obedience that He might loose the knot of disobedience and of man's transgression. And so, as by disobedience sin entered, so by obedience sin was remitted. Wherefore the Apostle also says, Rom. v. 19. *For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous*.

9. Here is one reason the Law on the one hand was superfluous and yet became necessary. It was superfluous herein, that it would not have been needed could we have kept the natural Law, but as we kept it not, the law of Moses became needful for us, to the intent that it might teach us obedience and loose that knot of Adam's transgression which has fettered his whole posterity. Guilt indeed was increased by the Law, but pride, the author of this guilt, was overthrown by it, and this was profitable to me, for pride discovered the guilt, and this guilt brought grace.

10. Hear another reason. At first Moses' Law was not needed; it was introduced subsequently, and this appears to intimate that this introduction was in a sense clandestine and not of an ordinary kind, seeing that it succeeded in the place of the natural Law. Had this maintained its place, the written Law would never have entered in; but the natural Law being excluded by transgression and almost blotted out of the human breast, pride reigned, and disobedience spread itself; and then this Law succeeded, that by its written precepts it might cite us before it, and Rom. iii. 19. *every mouth be stopped, and all the world become guilty before God*. Now the world becomes guilty before God by the Law, in that all are made amenable to its prescripts, but no man is justified by its works. And since by the Law comes the knowledge of sin, but not the remission of guilt, the Law, which has made all sinners, would seem to have been injurious.

11. But when the Lord Jesus came, He forgave all men that sin which none could escape, and Col. ii. 14. *blotted out the handwriting against us* by the shedding of His own Blood. This then is the Apostle's meaning; Rom. v.

20. sin abounded by the Law, but grace abounded by Jesus; for after that the whole world became guilty, He took away the sin of the whole world, as John bore witness, saying: S. John i. 29. *Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world*. Wherefore let no man glory in works, for by his works no man shall be justified, for he that is just hath a free gift, for he is justified by the Bath. It is faith then which delivers by the blood of Christ, for Rom. iv. 7. *Blessed is the man to whom sin is remitted, and pardon granted*.

Farewell, my son; love me, for I also love you.

LETTER LXXIV.

IN THIS LETTER S. Ambrose explains the meaning of S. Paul's expression, that 'the Law was our schoolmaster,' and shews how, while the letter of the precepts fitted the Jews, the spiritual sense which lay under the letter applies to Christians.

AMBROSE TO IRENÆUS.

1. YOU have heard, my son, the lesson of to-day in the Apostle, that Gal. iii. 24. *the Law was our schoolmaster in Christ*, that we might be justified by faith. And by this one text I believe that those questions are resolved, which are wont to perplex many. For there are those who say, 'Since God gave the Law to Moses, what is the reason that there are many things in the Law which now seem abrogated by the Gospel?' And how can the Author of the two Testaments be one and the same, when that which was permitted in the Law, when the Gospel came, was permitted no longer? as for instance there is a circumcision of the body, which was even then only given for a sign, that the verity of spiritual circumcision might be preserved, yet why was it even given as a sign? Why was there such diversity, that then it was esteemed piety to be circumcised, but now it is judged to be impiety? Again it was ordered by the Law that the Sabbath day ought to be a holiday, Num. xv. 35. so that if any one carried a bundle of sticks, he became guilty of death; but now we perceive that the same day is devoted to bearing burthens and to transacting business without any punishment. And there are many precepts of the Law which at the present time would seem to have ceased.

2. Let us consider then what is the cause of this; for it was not without a purpose that the Apostle said, *the Law was our schoolmaster in Christ*[290]. To

whom does a schoolmaster belong, to one of riper years or to a youth? Doubtless to a youth or boy, that is, to one of infirm age. For a pædagogus, as the word is rendered in the Latin, is the teacher of a boy; and he cannot apply perfect precepts to an imperfect age, because it cannot bear them. Again, the God of the Law says by the Prophet, Ezek. xx. 25. *I gave them also statutes that were not good*, that is, not perfect. But the same God has preserved more perfect things for the Gospel, as He says, S. Matt. v. 17. *I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil the Law*.

3. What then was the cause of this difference, but human diversity? Exod. xxxiv. 9. He knew the Jews to be a stiff-necked people, prone to fall, base, inclined to unbelief, that heard with the ear but understood not, that saw with their eyes but perceived not, fickle with the instability of infancy, and heedless of commands; and therefore He applied the Law, as a Schoolmaster, to the unstable temper and impious mind of the people, and moderating the very precepts of the Law, He chose that one thing should be read, another understood; that thus the foolish man might at least keep what he was reading, and depart not from the prescript of the letter; while the wise should understand the sentiments of the Divine mind, which the letter did not alter; that the unwise man might keep the command of the Law, the prudent might observe the mystery. The Law therefore has the severity of the sword, as the schoolmaster holds the rod, that at any rate by the denunciation of punishment it may keep in awe the weakness of the imperfect people; but the Gospel has indulgence whereby sins are forgiven.

4. Rightly therefore does Paul say that 2 Cor. iii. 6. *the letter killeth but the spirit giveth life*. For the letter circumcises a small portion of the body; the understanding spirit keeps the circumcision of the whole soul and body; that the superfluous parts being cut off, (for nothing is so superfluous as the vices of avarice, the sins of lust, which nature had not, but sin caused,) chastity might be observed, and frugality loved. The sign therefore is bodily

circumcision, but the truth is spiritual circumcision, the one cuts off the member, the other cuts off sin. Nature has created nothing imperfect in man, nor has she commanded it to be taken away as if it were superfluous, but that they who cut off a part of their body might perceive that sins were much more to be cut off, and those members which led to offences were to be retrenched, even though they were joined together by a certain unity of body, as it is written, S. Matt. v. 30. *If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee, for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell*. To the Jews then, as to children, are enjoined not complete precepts but partial ones, and, seeing that they were unable to keep the whole of their bodies clean, they were commanded to keep clean, as it were, one portion of it.

5. They were also commanded to keep the holiday of Exod. xxxi. 13. the Sabbath one day in the week, so as to be subjected to no burthen, and I would that being thus released from earthly works they had escaped, carrying with them to that perpetual sabbath of future ages the burthen of heavy crimes. But as God knew how prone to fall the people were, He enjoined a part upon the weaker by the observance of one day, He reserved the fulness for the stronger: the Synagogue observes the day, the Church immortality. In the Law therefore is a part, in the Gospel is perfection.

6. Num. xv. 33. The people of the Jews are forbidden to carry sticks, that is, such things as are consumed by fire. He keeps in the shade, who flies from the sun. But to you the Sun of Righteousness suffers not the shade to be an hindrance, but pouring forth the full light of His grace says to you, S. John viii. 11. *Go, and sin no more*. The follower of that eternal Sun says to you, 1 Cor. iii. 12, 13. *Now if any man build upon this foundation gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble; every man's work shall be made manifest, for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire; and the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is*. Wherefore let us

build upon Christ, for Christ is our foundation, that which may not be burnt but purified. Gold is purified by fire, and so is silver.

7. You hear me speak of gold and silver, you think it to be the material substance, you desire to gather it, but you are losing your labour. This gold and silver brings burthen but no fruit. The toil of him who seeks it turns to the profit of his heir. This gold is burned like wood, not preserved; this silver will bring detriment not profit to your life in that day. Another kind of gold and silver is required of you, that is, a good meaning, a word fitly spoken, of which God says that He gives vessels of gold and silver. These are the gifts of God. Ps. xii. 6. *The words of the Lord are pure words; even as the silver which from the earth is tried and purified seven times in the fire.* The grace of your understanding, the beauty of chaste discourse is required of you; the brightness of faith not the tinkling of silver. The one remains, the other perishes; the one has reward, and we carry it away with us, the other, which we leave behind, brings loss.

8. If any rich man thinks that the gold and silver which he has hoarded and stored up can avail him for life, let him know that he carries an empty burthen, which the fire of judgment will consume. Leave here your burthens, ye rich men, that your burthen may not add fuel to the fire which is to come. If you will bestow some of these goods, your burthen will be diminished, and what remains will be no burthen. Lay not up wealth, O miser; lest you should become in mere name only a Christian, in work a Jew, perceiving that your burthens are a punishment to you. For it has been said to you, not in the shade but in the sun, 1 Cor. iii. 14, 15. *If any man's work abide, he shall receive a reward, if any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss*.

9. And therefore, as a perfect man, taught in the Law, confirmed in the Gospel, receive the faith of both Testaments. For Isa. xxxii. 20. *Blessed is he that sows beside all waters, that sends forth thither the feet of the ox and*

the ass, as we read to-day, that is, who sows upon the people who follow the doctrine of both Testaments; this is that ox of the plough, carrying the yoke of the Law, of which the Law says, Deut. xxv. 4. *Thou shalt not muzzle the ox, when he treadeth out the corn*; that ox which has the horns of the Divine Scriptures. S. Luke xix. 33. But the foal of the ass the Lord rides upon, in the Gospel, representing the people of the Gentiles.

10. But I think that since the word of God is rich in meanings, we ought also to understand that the ox has horns full of terror, the bull is fierce, the ass mild, and that this is fitly applied to our present purpose, for happy is he who observes both severity and mildness; that so by the one discipline may be maintained, while by the other innocence may be cherished; for too great severity is wont by means of terror to tempt to falsehood. God prefers being loved to being feared; for the Lord exacts love, the servant fear, for terror cannot be perpetual in man, for it is written as we read to-day *Behold, in your fear, they whom ye feared, shall fear*.

Farewell, my son; love me, for I too love you.

LETTER LXXV.

THIS LETTER IS a sequel to the preceding, and deals with the context of the passage of S. Paul which that letter discussed. S. Ambrose ends by maintaining that the Jews were ‘heirs’ only of the letter of the Old Testament promises, the Christian being the heir of the Spirit.

AMBROSE TO CLEMENTIANUS[291].

1. I AM indeed aware that nothing is more difficult than to treat properly concerning the Apostle’s meaning, for even Origen’s expositions of the New Testament are far inferior to his expositions of the Old. Yet since in my previous letter you think that I have not explained amiss the reason of the Law being called a Schoolmaster; in what I say to-day too I purpose to unfold to you the actual force of the Apostle’s statement.

2. Now the former part of his discourse declares that no man shall be justified by the works of the Law, but by faith, Gal. iii. 10. *For as many as are of the works of the Law are under the curse*; but Ib. 13. *Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the Law, being made a curse for us*. The inheritance therefore is not given by the Law but by promise. Ib. 16. *Now to Abraham were the promises made, and to his seed which is Christ.* Thus the Law Ib. 19. *was added because of transgressions, till the seed should come to whom the promise was made*; and therefore Gal. iii. 22. *all are concluded under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe.* Ib. 25. *But after that faith is come, we are no longer under the Law, that is, under a schoolmaster*; and this because we are *all the sons of God*, and are all in Christ Jesus. Now if we are all in Christ Jesus, then are

we Ib. 29. *Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise*. And this is the conclusion at which the Apostle arrives.

3. Still however he is met with this objection, that even the Jew might say, I also, being under the Law, have an heirship, for the Law is also called the Old Testament, and where is a Testament there also is an inheritance. And although the Apostle himself told the Hebrews Heb. ix. 17. that a testament is of no force, until the death of the testator happen, that is to say, a testament is of no strength while the testator liveth, but is established by his death, yet as in Jeremiah the Lord, speaking of the Jews, has said, Jer. xii. 8. *Mine heritage is unto Me as a lion*, he would not deny that they were heirs. But there are heirs without possessions, there are heirs also with them; and while the testator lives those whose names are written in the will are called heirs, though without possessions.

4. Little children are also heirs, but they Gal. iv. 1. *differ in nothing from a servant, in that they are still under tutors and governors.* Ib. 3. *Even so we were in bondage under the elements of the world. But, when the fulness of the time was come*, Christ also came, and now we are no longer servants but sons, if we believe in Christ. Thus He gave them the semblance of an inheritance, but withheld from them the possession of it. Thus they have the name but not the benefit of being heirs, for like children they possess the bare name of heirship without its privileges, and have no right either to command or to use, waiting for the fulness of their age that they may be delivered from their governors.

5. As then young children, so the Jews also, are under a schoolmaster. *The Law is our schoolmaster*, the schoolmaster brings us to our Master; and our One Master is Christ: S. Matt. xxiii. 10. *Neither be ye called masters, for one is your Master, even Christ*. The schoolmaster is feared, the Master shews the way of salvation. Thus fear brings us to liberty, liberty to faith, faith to love; love obtains adoption, adoption the inheritance. Where then

faith is there is liberty; for the servant acts from fear, the free-man by faith; the one by the letter, the other by grace; the one in slavery the other by the Spirit; but 2 Cor. iii. 17. *where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty*. If then where faith is, there is liberty; where liberty there grace, where grace there inheritance; and he that is a Jew in the letter not in spirit is in bondage, he who hath not faith hath not the liberty of the spirit. Now where there is no liberty there is no grace, where no grace no adoption, where no adoption there no succession.

6. Thus, the tablets being, as it were, closed, he beholds[292] his inheritance but possesses it not, he has no permission to read it. For how can he say 'Our Father' who denies the true Son of God, Him by Whom our adoptive sonship is obtained for us? How can he rehearse the will who denies the death of the testator? How can he obtain liberty, who denies the Blood whereby he has been redeemed? For this is the price of our liberty, as Peter says, 1 S. Pet. i. 18, 19. *ye were redeemed with the precious Blood*, not indeed of a lamb, but of Him Who came as a lamb, in meekness and humility, and redeemed the whole world with the one offering of His Body, as He himself says, Isa. liii. 7. *I was brought as a lamb to the slaughter*. Wherefore John also says, S. John i. 29. *Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world*.

7. Hence the Jew, being heir in the letter not in the spirit is as a child under tutors and governours; but the Christian, who recognizes that fulness of time wherein Christ came, Gal. iv. 4. *made of a woman, made under the Law, that He might redeem all who were under the Law*; the Christian, I say, Eph. iv. 13. *by unity of faith and knowledge of the Son of God grows up unto a perfect man: unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ*.

Farewell, my son; love me, for I also love you.

LETTER LXXVI.

AT IRENÆUS' REQUEST S. Ambrose points out the scope of the Epistle to the Ephesians. Therein is proposed to us a heavenly inheritance, a seat in heavenly places together with Christ, Who has obtained freedom for us. It sets forth to us charity, whereby we are united to Christ, as the end of faith. He adds that no other Epistle contains the mention of so many blessings, and he briefly recounts these one by one.

AMBROSE TO IRENÆUS, GREETING.

1. YOU have asked me to set forth to you the scope and substance of the Epistle to the Ephesians, an Epistle which seems somewhat obscure, unless by analyzing it we can gather what those motives are by which the Apostle would persuade us not to despair of the kingdom of God.

2. In the first place then he points out that the hope of reward and the inheritance of those heavenly promises which have been brought within our reach by the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, are wont to be a great encouragement to the good in the pursuit of virtue.

3. To this he has added that not only has a mode of return to Paradise been opened to us by Christ, but that even the honour of sitting in heavenly places has been imparted to this flesh of our body by its fellowship with the Body of Christ; so that you need no longer doubt the possibility of your own ascension, now that you know that your fellowship with the flesh of Christ subsists even in the kingdom of heaven, knowing also that by His Blood reconciliation has been made for all things, both on earth and in heaven, for He descended that He might fill all things: and, further, that by His Apostles, prophets, and priests, the whole world has been established,

and the Gentiles gathered in; and that the end of our hope is the love of Him, that we may Eph. iv. 15. *grow up into Him in all things*; for He is the Head of all things, and unto Him according to the measure of His working we are all raised and built up by charity into one body.

4. We ought not therefore to despair of the members adhering to their Head; especially since from the beginning we have Eph. i. 5. *been predestinated by Jesus Christ to adoption as children of God in Himself*: which predestination He has ratified, instructing us that the prediction made from the first, that Gen. ii. 24. *a man shall leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh*, is *a sacrament of Christ and the Church*. If therefore the union of Adam and Eve is Eph. v. 31, 32. *a great sacrament which relates to Christ and the Church*, it is certain that as Eve was bone of the bones of her husband, and flesh of his flesh, so we are members of the Body of Christ, bone of His Bones and flesh of His Flesh.

5. No other Epistle has pronounced so many blessings over the people of God as this. For herein the pregnant witness of Divine grace has declared that we are Ib. i. 3, 5, 9. *blessed with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places*, and *predestinated unto the adoption of children*, richly endowed also with grace in the Son of God, *which things have abounded unto the knowledge of the mystery of His eternal will*. Especially now, in the fulness of time, when Ib. 10. *all things are reconciled in Christ, both in heaven and on earth*, have we attained an inheritance in Him, to the intent that both what is of the Law and what is of Grace might be fulfilled in us. For even according to the Law we seemed to be elected in that season of youth, by which is signified a holy life, without either the wantonness of childhood or the infirmity of age. We have been taught also how we must vigorously Ib. vi. 12. *wage war not only against flesh and blood, but also against spiritual wickedness in high places*.

6. Wherefore as the possession of lands taken from the enemy fell to their lot, so to us has fallen the lot of grace, that we may become the heritage of God, Who possesses our reins, the seat of chastity and temperance. Do you seek to know this lot? Remember that lot Acts i. 26. which fell upon Matthias, that he might be chosen into the number of the twelve Apostles. The Prophet David also says, Ps. lxviii. 13. *If ye sleep in the midst of the lots*, because he who is placed in the middle, between the lot of the Old and New Testament, resting upon both, arrives at the peace of the heavenly kingdom. This lot of their paternal inheritance Num. xxvii. 1. the daughters of Zelophehad sought for, and their petition was admitted by God's judgment. But they sought for it in the shade, for Zelophehad means 'the shade of the mouth;' they sought it then in dark sayings, they spoke not what was revealed. Hence the supplication for their inheritance by the daughters of Zelophehad was couched in dark sayings, but in our case it stands in the light of the Gospel and in the revelation of grace.

7. Let us therefore be the possession of God, and let Him be our portion, for in Him are the riches of His glory and inheritance. For who is rich but God alone, Who created all things? Especially however is He Eph. ii. 4. *rich in mercy*, in that He redeemed all mankind, and, as being the author of nature, changed us, who according to our fleshly nature were the children of wrath, and exposed to trouble, that we might become the children of peace and charity. For who can change nature but He Who created nature? Wherefore He raised the dead, and those that were Ib. 6. *quickened in Christ He hath made to sit in heavenly places in the Lord Jesus*.

8. Not that any man has been thought worthy of the privilege of sitting in that seat of God, for to the Son alone hath the Father said, Ps. cx. 1. *Sit thou on my right hand*; but because in that Flesh of Christ the flesh of the whole human race has been honoured, because it partakes of the same nature. For as He was subjected in our flesh by His unity therewith, and by the

obedience of the body, wherein He was made obedient even unto death, so we, in His Flesh, are *sat down together with Him in heavenly places*. We therefore are not set down by ourselves but in the Person of Christ, Who alone, as the Son of man, sitteth at the right Hand of God; as He said Himself, S. Matt. xxvi. 64. *Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of God*. To this end has His Grace and Goodness been formed upon us in Christ Jesus, that being dead according to works, redeemed through faith and saved by grace, we might receive the gift of this great deliverance. Our very nature, raised, as it were, in Him, has been made partaker of the Grace of a new creation, that being new created in Christ, we, who had before fallen away through the corruption of our guilty lineage, might walk in good works.

9. For the strife which before existed in the flesh being removed, Eph. ii. 14. an universal peace has been made in heaven; that men might be like Angels upon earth, that the Gentiles and Jews might be made one, that both the new and old man might be united, the middle wall of partition, which, as a hostile barrier, had once divided them, being broken down. For the nature of our flesh having stirred up anger discord and dissension, and the law having bound us with the chains of condemnation, Christ Jesus subdued by mortification the wantonness and intemperance of the flesh, and made void Ib. 15. *the law of commandment contained in ordinances*, declaring thereby that the decrees of the spiritual Law are not to be interpreted according to the letter; putting an end to the slothful rest of the Sabbath and to the superfluous rite of outward circumcision, and opening to all Ib. 18. *access by one Spirit unto the Father*. For how can there be any discord, where there is one calling, one body and one spirit?

10. For what else did the Lord Jesus effect by His descent but our deliverance from captivity into liberty, and the subjection to Himself of that captivity which the bonds of unbelief had fettered, but which is now

restrained by the fetters of wisdom, every wise man putting his feet into its bonds? For it is written that when He had descended He ascended also, Ib. iv. 10. *that He might fill all things*, and that we might all receive of His fulness.

11. Wherefore Ib. 11. *He gave first Apostles* in the Church, filling them with the Holy Spirit, others *prophets, others evangelists, others pastors and teachers*, that by their exhortations the progress of believers might be accomplished, and the work of the ministry of faith might receive increase. Every one by the growth of virtue is built up unto the measure of the inward life, which Ib. 13. *measure*, being that more perfect one of a holy life, that is, *of a perfect man*, taking of the fulness of Christ, has received the fulness of grace.

12. But who is a perfect man, but he who, being delivered from the weakness of a childish mind, from the unstable and slippery ways of youth, and from the unbridled passions of adult age, has attained to the strength of full manhood, and has grown up unto such maturity of character as not to be easily turned aside by the address of a wily disputer, nor cast, as it were, upon the rocks by the turbid violence of foolish doctrine? Who but he that betakes himself to the remedies of error, who follows truth not only in his words but also in his works, and, takes upon him the edifying of himself in love, that he may be united with others in the unity of faith and knowledge, and, as a member, not fall off from his Head, that is, from Christ, Who is the Head of all, Eph. iv. 16. *from whom the whole body* of the faithful and prudent *fitted and compacted and joined together by the rational harmony of the Word* (for this is the meaning of συναρμολογούμενον, ἁρμονίᾳ τοῦ Λόγου δεδεμένον[293],) *by that which every joint supplieth, according to the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying itself in love*; that so it may rise as one temple of God in all, and one habitation of the heavenly mansion in the spirit of all.

13. Herein I conceive we are to understand that not only holy men but all believers, and all the heavenly and reasonable hosts and powers are united in faith and spirit; that by a certain concord of powers and offices one body, composed of all spirits of a reasonable nature, may adhere to Christ their Head, being so united to the framework of the building, that in no single point of juncture the several members may seem to be severed from each other. For this is the meaning of the Greek ἁφὴν τῆς χορηγίας κατ᾽ ἐνέργειαν ἐν μέτρῳ. And to unite each one to Himself according to the due measure of his merits and faith will not be difficult: for the edifice of love closes and blocks up every crevice through which offences may enter. We ought not then to doubt that in the building up of this temple the company of the heavenly hosts will be united with us; for it is unreasonable to suppose that while the Temple of God can be so built up by human love as that we shall become *an habitation of God in the Spirit*, He should not dwell within the heavenly Host.

14. On this account, that the building may be raised within us more rapidly, the Apostle exhorts us Eph. i. 18. *to open the eyes of our understanding*, to lift them to things above, diligently to follow after the knowledge of God, to unravel the truth, to hide in our hearts the commandments of God, Ib. iv. 22. *to put off deceitful lusts* and hidden deeds of shame, to seek to be renewed by the graces of the Sacraments, Ib. 26. to moderate anger, to calm all disturbance of spirit before the sun goes down, to beware lest the adversary gain the upper hand of us, S. John xiii. 27. that mighty spirit who entered into the heart of Judas, and broke through the gates of his soul, overpowering his resistance, to shut out theft, to eschew falsehood, to rise from the dead, to put on sobriety. He tells us likewise that Eph. v. 24. wives should be subject to their husbands, as the Church is to Christ, and that husbands should offer up their own lives for their wives, Ib. 25. *as Christ gave Himself for the Church*. And lastly, that, as good soldiers,

we should Ib. vi. 13. *put on the armour of God*, and continually fight, not only against Ib. 12. *flesh and blood, but also against spiritual wickedness*; that we may neither be corrupted by friends nor vanquished by enemies.

This summary account of the Epistle I offer you as the best which I have in my power to give.

Farewell, my son; love me, for I also love you.

LETTER LXXVII.

THIS LETTER DWELLS on the Gospel, as the true Inheritance, and on the contrast between the Jew, who by rejecting Christ made Moses in whom he believed his accuser, and the Christian, who received true liberty in Christ, while the Jew remained a slave.

AMBROSE TO HORONTIANUS.

1. NOT without reason have you thought fit to enquire into the nature of the Divine inheritance; and why it should be so highly esteemed that for its sake many should even offer up their lives. But if you will consider that even in human affairs the advantage of inheriting worldly goods gives an additional sanction to the laws of natural affection, and that even on this account greater respect is shown to parents, for fear, namely, lest the slighted love of a father may avenge itself by disinheriting or renouncing the rebellious offspring, you will cease to wonder why men so greatly desire a Divine inheritance.

2. Now there is an inheritance offered to all Christians; for Isaiah thus speaks, Isa. liv. 17. *There is an heritage for them that believe on the Lord*, and this inheritance is hoped for by the promise, not by the Law. This the history of the Old Testament proves, in the words of Sarah, Gen. xxi. 10. *Cast out this bond-woman and her son, for the son of the bond-woman shall not be heir with my son, even with Isaac*. The son of Sarah was Isaac, the son of the bond-woman was Ishmael; and these were before the Law, wherefore the promise was older than the Law. We are after Isaac sons by the promise, the Jews are the sons of the bond-woman after the flesh. We have a free mother, which bore not, but afterwards, according to the

promise, brought forth and produced a child; they have Agar for their mother, Gal. iv. 24. *gendering to bondage*. He is free, to whom grace is promised, he is a slave on whom the yoke of the Law is imposed, wherefore the promise came to us before the Law came to them, and in the course of nature liberty is more ancient than bondage. Liberty therefore comes of the promise, bondage of the Law. But although the promise itself, as we have said, is before the Law, and by the promise comes liberty, and in liberty is love, still love is according to the Law, and love is greater than liberty.

3. Are we not then servants? and is it not written, Ps. cxxxiv. 1. *praise the Lord, all ye servants*, or how does the Apostle say, Eph. vi. 6. *But as the servants of God, doing the will of God from his heart*? But there is also a free and voluntary service, whereof the Apostle says, 1 Cor. vii. 22. *He that is called, being free, is Christ's servant*. And this service is from the heart, not of necessity. Wherefore we are the servants of our Creator; but we have a liberty which we have received through the grace of Christ, born of the promise according to faith. Wherefore, being born of the freedwoman, let us, signed in the forehead, offer the sacrifice of liberty as becomes freemen; that we may rejoice and not be confounded, being signed in the spirit and not in the flesh. For to us it is rightly said, Gal. v. 1. *Stand fast, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage*. He does not say, Be not slaves, but *Be not entangled with the yoke of bondage*, for the yoke of bondage is heavier than the bondage itself.

4. Isaac also says to his son Esau, when he sought his blessing, Gen. xxvii. 39, 40. *Behold thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above; and by thy sword shalt thou live, and shalt serve thy brother. But the time shall come when thou shalt have the dominion and shalt break his yoke from off thy neck.* How then is this to be reconciled, that although he shall break his brother's yoke from off his neck he shall still serve, unless we recognize the difference that there is in

servitude? Now in what this difference consists, let the Scripture itself explain to us. Isaac signifies good, and he is good to us, for after him we are born into liberty, and he is a good father to both his sons. His love for them both he proved, in the one case by affection, in the other by blessing, for he commanded his elder son to bring him food, that he might receive his blessing; but while he makes delay and seeks for wild venison from a distance, the younger brother brings him home-food, from the sheep of the flock.

5. Good food for all is Christ, good food too is faith, sweet food is mercy, pleasant food is faith. These are the meats whereon are fed the people of holy Church. Good food too is the Spirit of God, good food is the remission of sins. But very hard food is the rigour of the Law, and the terror of punishment; and very coarse food is that observance of the letter which is preferred to the grace of pardon. Gal. iii. 10. The Jews again are under a curse, we included in a blessing. A ready food too is faith: Deut. xxx. 14. Rom. x. 8. *The word is nigh thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart*: the food of the Law is more tardy. For while waiting for the Law the people fell into transgression.

6. Thus it was on the son who was diligent and faithful that the father bestowed his blessing, but he reserved one, for he was a good father, for his elder son also, in that he made him servant to his brother. For he did this, not as wishing to subject his family to any unworthy bondage, but because he who cannot rule and govern himself ought to serve and be subject to one more prudent; that so he may be governed by his counsel, and not fall through his own folly, nor stumble from walking rashly. It is as a blessing then that such a state of service is given. Moreover it is numbered among blessings, together with the gift of the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above. Having said, Gen. xxvii. 40. *By thy sword thou shalt*

live, lest he should be harmed by the confidence arising from strength or power, he added, Ib. *and thou shalt serve thy brother*: that thou mayest thus obtain both the rich fruits of the flesh, and the dew of Divine grace, and mayest follow him who is able to direct and govern thee.

7. Ib. *But it shall come to pass, when thou shalt have broken his yoke from off thy neck*, that thou shalt have the reward of thy willing servitude, and not undergo the evils of a compulsory bondage. For that kind of bondage is dishonourable which is the result of necessity, that is honourable which is offered by piety. Hence the Apostle says, 1 Cor. ix. 17. *For if I do this thing willingly, I have a reward, but if against my will, a dispensation is committed unto me*. Better then is it to reap a reward, than to obey a dispensation. Wherefore let us not be restrained by the yoke of bondage, but let us serve in the spirit of charity, for the Apostle says, Gal. v. 13. *By love serve one another*. The fear of the Law becomes the love of the Gospel. Again, Ecclus. i. 14. *To fear the Lord is the beginning of wisdom*, but the fulness of the Law is charity. And the Law itself says, Gal. v. 14. Rom. xiii. 8. *For all the Law is fulfilled in one word, even in this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself*.

8. This therefore is what we asserted, for although bondage is by the Law, liberty is by the Law also, for charity belongs to liberty, fear to bondage. There is therefore both a charity of the Law, and a service of charity, but the Law is the forerunner of charity, the charity of the Gospel is the free giver of a pious service.

9. The Law then is not superfluous; Gal. iii. 24. for like a schoolmaster, it attends upon the weak; and by weakness I mean weakness of character not of body; for they are infants who know not how to declare the word of God, who receive not His works. For if Wisd. iv. 9. *an unspotted life is old age*, a life full of stains is the time of youth. The Law then, that is, Νόμος, was our

schoolmaster, until faith came. Gal. iii. 23. *We were kept*, it is said, *under the Law, as being weak, shut up unto the faith which should afterwards be revealed*. But afterwards faith came; he does not say the Gospel, but faith, for that only is faith which is in the Gospel. For although the Rom. i. 17. *righteousness of God is revealed therein* which is *from faith to faith*, still this of the Law is faith indeed when it attains to the fulness thereof. Rightly therefore is this faith spoken of as single and alone; because without it the former is not faith, and in it alone it has its confirmation. Finally, when this faith came, fulness and the adoption of sons came with it, infirmity ceased, infancy was at an end, we grew into a perfect man, we put on Christ. How then can any one be weak or childish, in whom Christ is the power of God? Thus we have arrived at perfection, and have been instructed in its precepts.

10. You heard read to-day, S. John v. 30. *Of Mine own Self I can do nothing, as I hear, I judge*. You heard read, *I accuse you not, I judge not*. I accuse you not, Ib. 45. *it is Moses that accuseth you, in whom ye trust*. You heard read, Ib. 31. *If I bear witness of Myself, My witness is not true*. Thus I have learnt what kind of judge, what kind of witness I ought to be. For it is not as being weak that He says, *Of Mine own self I can do nothing*, he rather is weak who so understands it. The Father does nothing without the Son, for between them there is a community of operation and an unity of power; but in this place He speaks as Judge, that we men may learn that, when we judge, we ought to form our sentence equitably and not according to our mere will and power.

11. When a criminal is set before him proved guilty and convicted of crime, who does not frame for himself pleas of defence, but prays for pardon, and prostrates himself at the knees of his judge, the judge answers him, Of myself I can do nothing, it is my justice not my power which I exercise in judgment. It is not I but your own deeds that judge you, they accuse, and they condemn you. The Laws are your tribunal, and I as judge

do not alter but keep the Laws. Of myself I originate nothing, but the judicial sentence against you proceeds from yourself. I judge as I hear, not as I will, and my judgment is true because I consult what is agreeable to equity not to my own will.

12. Let us next consider what is the Divine rule of judgment. The Lord of heaven and earth and the Judge of all says, S. John v. 30. *of Mine own self I can do nothing, as I hear I judge*; and man says to his Lord, Ib. xix. 10. *Knowest Thou not that I have power to crucify Thee, and have power to release Thee?* But why is not the Lord able? Because, He says, Ib. v. 30. *My judgment is just, because I seek not Mine own will, but the will of the Father Who hath sent Me*, that is, not the will of man, whom ye see, not the will of man, whom ye only judge as man, not the will of the flesh, (for *the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak*,) but the Divine will, which is the Origin of law, and the Rule of judgment. So likewise that witness is true, who bears witness not to himself but to another, for it is written, Prov. xxvii. 2. *Let another man praise thee, and not thine own mouth*.

13. In a mystical sense it is well said to the Jews: I judge you not, that is, I, the universal Saviour, I, who am the Remission of sins, judge you not, for ye have not received Me. I judge you not, I freely pardon you. I, who by My Blood redeem sinners, judge you not. I judge you not, Ezek. xviii. 23. for I would not the death but the life of a sinner. I judge you not, for I condemn not but justify those who confess their sins. Moses accuses you, he in whom you trust convicts you. He can accuse you, he cannot judge you, this is reserved to his Creator. He then in whom ye trust accuses you, He in Whom ye would not trust absolves you.

14. O great folly of the Jews! Rightly are they accused of their crimes, for they have chosen one who accuses them, and have rejected a merciful Judge; and therefore they are without absolution, but not without punishment.

15. Well therefore, my son, have you begun by the Law, and been confirmed in the Gospel, Hab. ii. 4. Rom. i. 17. *from faith to faith, as it is written, The just shall live by faith*.

Farewell; love me for I also love you.

LETTER LXXVIII.

IN THIS LETTER S. Ambrose shews, that we, like Abraham, are justified by faith, through which we are sons of the freewoman; that circumcision derived all its efficacy from Christ, and was abolished, after He had undergone it in His own person, by Him. Righteousness is therefore only to be looked for from faith, which if it be perfect, is never destitute of charity.

AMBROSE TO HORONTIANUS.

1. IF Gal. iii. 6. *Abraham believed God, and it was accounted unto him for righteousness*, and that which is accounted for righteousness passes from unbelief to faith, then are we justified by faith, not by the works of the Law. Ib. iv. 22. Now Abraham himself had two sons, Ishmael and Isaac, one of the bondwoman, the other of the freewoman; and it was told him that he should cast out the bondwoman and the son of the bondwoman, for that the son of the bondwoman should not be his heir. We therefore are children not of the bondwoman but of the free woman, in that liberty wherewith Christ has made us free. Hence it follows that they are specially Abraham's sons, who are so by faith, for the heirs of faith excel heirs by natural birth. Ib. iii. 24. The Law is our schoolmaster, faith is free; let us therefore cast away the works of bondage, let us preserve the grace of liberty, let us leave the shade, and follow the Sun, let us desert Jewish rites.

2. The circumcision of one member is of no avail. For the Apostle says, Ib. v. 2. *Behold I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised Christ shall profit you nothing*, not because He cannot, but because He judges those unworthy of His benefits who desert His ways.

3. Exod. iv. 25. And Zipporah of old had circumcised her child, and driven off the danger which hung over him; but then Christ profited while perfection was still deferred. While the people of believers were small, the Lord Jesus came, not as small, but as perfect in all things. He was circumcised first, according to the Law, that He might not break the Law, afterwards by the Cross, that He might fulfil the Law. Thus that which is in part has ceased, because 1 Cor. xiii. 10. *that which is perfect has come*; for in Christ the Cross has circumcised not one member only, but the superfluous pleasures of the whole body.

4. But perhaps it may still be asked why He Who had come to declare to us perfect circumcision should choose to be circumcised in part. Concerning this however we need not deliberate long. For if 2 Cor. v. 21. He was made sin that He might expiate our sins, if Gal. iii. 13. He was made a curse for us that He might annul the curses of the Law, for the same reason He was also circumcised for us, that being about to bestow salvation by the Cross, He might abolish the circumcision of the Law.

5. The Apostle therefore declares that it is from faith that our hope of righteousness in the spirit is to be derived, and that though called to liberty we are not Ib. v. 13. *to use our liberty for an occasion to the flesh.* Ib. 6. *For neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision; but faith which worketh by love.* And therefore it is written, Deut. vi. 5. *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God*. Now he who loves also believes, and in believing each man begins to love. Abraham believed, and so began to love, and he believed not in part, but entirely. For otherwise he would not have perfect charity, for it is written, 1 Cor. xiii. 7. *Charity believeth all things*. If it believe not all things, charity does not seem to be perfect. Perfect charity then has all faith.

6. But I would not lightly assert that all faith has immediately perfect charity, for the Apostle says, Ib. 2. *Though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing*. A Christian man has

three principal virtues, Ib. 13. *faith hope and charity, but the greatest of these is charity*.

7. On the other hand I conceive the Apostle was led to say this by the tenor of his argument, for I cannot see how *he who has all faith, so that he could remove mountains*, can be destitute of charity; nor how such can be the case with that man who Ib. 2. *understands all mysteries and all knowledge*; especially as John says, 1 S. John v. 1. *Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born of God*, and the same Apostle had said before, 1 S. John iii. 9. *Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin*. Whence we infer that if he who believes that Jesus is the Christ is born of God, and he who is born of God sins not, then he who believes that Jesus is the Christ sins not. But if any man sin, he believes not, and he that believes not loves not, and he that loves not is subject to sin. So then he who sins loves not, 1 S. Pet. iv. 8. *for charity shall cover the multitude of sins*. But if charity exclude the desire of sin, it excludes also fear, charity then is full of perfect faith.

8. The Apostles too, who came to be His friends, said, S. Luke xvii. 5. *Increase our faith*, begging the good Physician to strengthen their failing faith. Their faith must indeed still have been weak, when even to Peter it could be said, S. Matt. xiv. 31. *O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?* Thus faith as the herald of charity preoccupies the mind, and prepares the ways of coming love. Thus where is the perfection of charity there is also all faith.

9. For this reason I conceive it is said that 1 Cor. xiii. 7. *charity believeth all things*, that is, leads faith to believe them all, and that a soul of this kind possesses all faith; and hence wherever is perfect charity there is all faith. Moreover, as it believes all things so also it is said to *hope all things*. And it is on this account the greatest, because it includes the other two.

10. He that has this charity fears nothing, for charity 1 S. John iv. 18. *casteth out fear*; and fear being thus banished and thrown aside, charity 1 Cor. xiii. 7. *beareth all things, endureth all things*. He who by charity endures all things, cannot fear martyrdom; and so in another place he speaks as a conqueror at the end of his course, Gal. vi. 14. *The world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world*.

Farewell, my son; love me for I also love you.

LETTER LXXIX.

S. AMBROSE HERE assures Bellicius, whose recovery from sickness had occurred just at the time when he professed himself a believer in Christ, that both his sickness and recovery were to be ascribed to his so doing, and exhorts him to endeavour to keep Christ near him, and to prepare himself with all diligence for the other Sacraments.

AMBROSE TO BELLICIUS, GREETING.

1. YOU have sent me word that while you were lying afflicted by a severe sickness you believed in the Lord Jesus, and straightway began to recover. This sickness therefore was unto salvation, bringing greater pain than danger, for you had long deferred your promise. This is the meaning of the text, Deut. xxxii. 39. *I wound, and I heal*. He wounded by sickness, He healed by faith. For He saw that the inward affection of your mind was not without pious desires, but that they were shaken and unsettled by delays, and so He thought fit to admonish you, in a way which while it did not injure your health, excited your devotion.

2. For how should He do an injury to health Who is wont to say, as we read in the Gospel, S. Matt. viii. 7. *I will come and heal him*. Being invited by your friends to visit your house He doubtless said, *I will come and heal him*; Although you heard Him not, He, as God, spoke to you imperceptibly, and although you saw Him not, still beyond doubt He visited you in spirit.

3. But in truth you have seen Him, for you have believed in Him, you have seen Him, for you have received Him into the dwelling of your mind, you have seen Him in the Spirit, you have seen Him with your inward eyes. Take care then not to let this new Guest depart, long expected, late received,

even Him Acts xvii. 28. *in Whom we live and move and have our being*. You have tasted the first beginnings of faith, let not the word be hidden in your heart. Herein lies all grace and every gift. For no man judges of the secret recesses of a house by its entrance, since all the fruit is within; nor is it the part of a wise man to look from the window into the house, and it is folly for a man to listen at the door.

4. The mysteries of the more perfect Sacraments are of one kind; for the Scripture says, 1 Cor. ii. 9. *Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him*. Of another kind are the things which the prophets have announced concerning future glory, 1 S. Pet. i. 12. *unto whom it was revealed*, and to whom the saints have preached the Gospel *with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven, which things the Angels desired to look into*. Of another kind again are those mysteries wherein is the redemption of the world, the remission of sins, the distribution of graces, the participation of the Sacraments: when you receive these you will wonder that a gift so transcendent should have been bestowed on man, Exod. xvi. 15, 16. as to make the manna which we wonder should have been rained down from heaven on the Jews seem to you to have possessed neither so much grace nor so much efficacy towards salvation. For all who received this manna in the wilderness died, Numb. xxvii. 12. save Joshua the son of Nun, and Caleb, whereas he who tastes this Sacrament shall never die.

May the Lord Jesus send you restoration. Farewell.

LETTER LXXX.

S. AMBROSE HERE shews that the case of the man who was blind from his birth was the work of Divine power, and censures the question which the disciples asked about him; and dwells on some of the details of the miracle.

AMBROSE TO BELLICIUS.

1. YOU have heard, my brother, the lesson of the Gospel, wherein it is narrated that as S. John ix. 1. *the Lord Jesus passed by He saw a man which was blind from his birth*. Now if the Lord saw him He did not pass him by, neither ought we to pass him by whom the Lord overlooked not; especially since he was blind from his birth, which is not mentioned without reason.

2. Now there is a blindness in which by the operation of illness the sight of the eyes is obscured, and this by the help of time is mitigated; there is a blindness also which is caused by the entrance of humours, and this, when the defect is removed, is cured by the aid of medicine; and this I say that you may know that it was not by skill but by Divine Power that he who was blind from his birth was healed. For the Lord gave him health as a free gift, not by any medicinal skill, for they whom the Lord Jesus healed were they whom no one could cure.

3. But how foolish was the inquiry of the Jews, S. John ix. 2. *Who did sin this man or his parents?* ascribing bodily diseases to the score of sin. Wherefore the Lord said, Ib. 3. *Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents, but that the works of God should be made manifest in him*. That which nature created, the Creator, being the Author of nature, was capable of remedying. He added therefore, Ib. 5. *As long as I am in the world I am*

the light of the world, that is, all who are blind may see whether they need Me Who am the Light. Ps. xxxiv. 5. *Approach ye, and be enlightened, that ye may see.*

4. In the next place why did He Who restored life at command, Who gave health by His word, saying to the dead, S. John xi. 43. *Come forth*, and Lazarus came forth from the grave, saying also to the sick of the palsy, S. Mark ii. 11. *Arise and take up thy bed*, and the sick of the palsy rose and himself began to carry his bed, whereon, when all his limbs were paralyzed, he had been wont to be carried; why, I say, did He S. John ix. 6, 7. *spit on the ground and make clay, and anoint the eyes of the blind man, and say to him, Go, wash in the pool of Siloam, which is by interpretation, Sent. He went his way therefore, and washed, and came seeing* — What is the reason of this? Great indeed is the reason, if I mistake not, for he who is taught by Jesus comes to see more clearly.

5. Observe at the same time both His Divinity and His sanctity; as being Himself Light He touched and so communicated light to others; as being a Priest He fulfilled by the figure of Baptism the mysteries of spiritual grace. He spat, that you might learn that the inner parts of Christ are light; and clearly indeed does he see who receives cleansing thereby. His spittle cleanses, and so does His discourse, as it is written, S. John xv. 3. *Now ye are clean through the word which I have spoken unto you*.

6. But His making clay and anointing the eyes of the blind was intended to signify to us that the Same Who Gen. ii. 7. made man of clay, restored him to health by anointing with clay, and to signify also that this flesh of our clay must receive the light of eternal life by the Sacrament of Baptism. Do you also draw near to Siloam, that is, to Him Who was sent from the Father, as it is written, S. John vii. 16. *My doctrine is not Mine, but His that sent Me*. Let Christ wash you that you may see. Come to Baptism, the time itself is at hand, make haste and come that you may say, Ib. ix. 11. *I went,*

and washed, and I received sight; that you may also say, Ib. 25. *whereas I was blind, now I see*, that you may say, as that man on whom light was poured said, Rom. xiii. 12. *the night is far spent, the day is at hand*.

7. The night was blindness. It was night S. John xiii. 27. when Judas received the sop from Jesus, and Satan entered into him. To Judas, in whom the Devil was, it was night; to John, who lay on the breast of Christ, it was day. To Peter also it was day, S. Matt. xvii. 2. when he saw the light of Christ on the mount. To others it was night, but to Peter it was day. To Peter himself however it was night Ib. xxvi. 70. when he denied Christ. But the cock crowed, and he began to weep, that he might correct his error, for now the day was at hand.

8. The Jews enquired of the blind man, S. John ix. 10. *How were thine eyes opened?* What signal folly! They enquired concerning what they saw; they enquired into the cause, seeing the effect.

9. Ib. 28. *Then they reviled him, and said, thou art His disciple.* Their curse is a blessing, for their blessing is a curse. *Thou*, they say, *art His disciple*. They confer a benefit, while they think they are doing an injury.

Farewell, my son; love me as you do, for I also love you.

LETTER LXXXI.

IN THIS LETTER S. Ambrose seeks to comfort some of his clergy, who were in despondency on account of their labours and difficulties, and sets before their eyes both the reward they may expect, and also the ready aid they will receive from Christ. He then presses upon them passages of Scripture applicable to their case, and exhorts them not to suffer themselves to be separated from Jesus their Saviour.

AMBROSE TO CERTAIN OF THE CLERGY.

1. IT is a fault which frequently besets the human mind, that, if things do not at once fall out according to their wishes, they lightly take offence, and desist from their duty. In other classes of men this is tolerable, but in those who are devoted to the Divine service it is a frequent cause of sorrow.

2. There are certain persons in the clerical function, into whose minds the Enemy, if he cannot otherwise deceive them, thus seeks to creep, that he may instil evil thoughts of the following kind; ‘What does it avail me to remain among the clergy, to suffer injuries, to bear toil, as if my own farm could not support me, or, if I have no farm, as if I could not otherwise obtain support?’ It is by such thoughts as these that even good dispositions are withdrawn from their duty, as if provision for his own sustenance was the only function of a cleric, and not rather to purchase for himself the Divine assistance after death. Whereas he only shall be rich after death, who on earth has had strength to contend unharmed against the wiles of his numerous adversaries.

3. It is said therefore in Ecclesiastes, Eccles. iv. 9. *Two are better than one, because they have a good reward for their labour, For if they fall, the*

one will lift up his fellow. Where are the two that are better than one, but where Christ is, and he whom Christ defends? For if he who is with the Lord Jesus falls, Jesus raises him up.

4. But in what sense is it said, *for their labour*? Is Christ then weary[294]? Yes truly, for He says, Ps. lxix. 3. *I am weary of crying*. He labours, but it is on us. Moreover after His toil S. John iv. 6. He sat down wearied on the well; but what is the mode of His labours? The Apostle by his own humbler example has taught us in the words, 2 Cor. xi. 29. *Who is weak, and I am not weak?* Our Lord Himself has also taught us in the words, S. Matt. xxv. 43. *I was sick, and ye visited Me not, naked and ye clothed Me not*. He labours, in order to raise me in my falls.

5. Hence in Elisha also our Lord is prefigured, 2 Kings iv. 34. for he stretched himself upon the dead child that he might raise him to life, and in this we have a symbol that Christ died with us, that He might rise for us. Thus Christ placed Himself on the level even of our frailty, that He might raise us again. He did not fall, but of His own will cast Himself down, and in rising raised up His fellow. For He has taken us into fellowship with Himself, being anointed, as it is written, Ps. xlv. 8. *with the oil of gladness above His fellows*.

6. Well says the Preacher, *If they fall, the One*, not being Himself lifted up, *will lift up his fellow*; for Christ needed not the assistance and aid of another to raise Him, but rose by His own power. Again, S. John ii. 19. *Destroy*, He says, *this temple, and in three days I will raise it up. But this He said of the Temple of His Body.* And it is well that he who has not fallen should not be raised by another, for he who has been so raised must have fallen, and he who has fallen needs assistance that he may be raised. This is taught also by the words of Scripture which follows, Eccles. iv. 10, 11. *Woe to him that is alone when he falleth, for he hath not another to lift him up*. Again, *if two lie together, then they have heat*. For Rom. vi. 8. *we are dead*

with Christ, and therefore we also live with Him. And Christ has thus died that He might give us warmth, as He has said, S. Luke xii. 49. *I am come to send fire upon the earth*.

7. I was dead, but because in Baptism I died together with Christ, I received the light of life from Christ. And he who dies in Christ, being warmed by Christ, receives the breath of life and resurrection. The boy was cold, Elisha warmed him with his breath, and imparted to him the warmth of life. He slept together with him that being thus buried with him in a figure the warmth of his rest might raise him up. He is cold then who dies not in Christ; he cannot be warmed to whom no burning fire is applied; he who has not Christ with him cannot grow warm by being near another.

8. And that you may understand it to be said as a mystery and not in reference to the bare number that *two are better than one*, he adds a mystical saying, Eccles. iv. 12. *A threefold cord is not quickly broken*. For that which is threefold and uncompounded cannot be broken. Thus the Trinity, being of an uncompounded nature, cannot be dissolved; for God is, whatever He is, one and simple and uncompounded; and what He is that He continues to be, and is not brought into subjection.

9. It is a good thing therefore to adhere closely to that other One, and to put your neck into His chain, and to bow down your shoulder and bear Him, and be not grieved with His bonds; because He went forth from the house of bondmen to assume His kingdom, that Ib. 13. *Child who is better than an older and foolish king*. Wherefore they who follow Him are also bound with chains. Paul too is Eph. iii. 1. *the prisoner of Jesus Christ*. And Jesus Himself Ps. lxviii. 18. Eph. iv. 8. *led captivity captive*. He thought it not enough to destroy that captivity which the devil had imposed, so that he might not again assault those who were wandering at large. But to dwell in subjection to Christ, putting your feet into the fetters of wisdom, and

becoming His captive that you may be free from the adversary, this is what He accounted perfect liberty.

10. Rightly is He called a *Child*, for Is. ix. 6. *unto us a Child is born*, and truly a good Child to Whom it has been said by God the Father, Ib. xlix. 6. puer, Vulg. *It is a light thing that Thou shouldst be My Servant*; wise also, as the gospel teaches us, for He S. Luke ii. 52. *increased in wisdom and stature*; and properly called poor, for, 2 Cor. viii. 9. *though He was rich, for our sakes He became poor, that we through His poverty might be rich*. Wherefore in His kingdom He does not despise the poor man, but listens to him and frees him from all straits and troubles.

11. Let us then live in obedience to Him, that that *old and foolish king* may have no power over us. For he, desiring to reign and be supreme after his own will, and not to be under subjection to the Lord Jesus, grows old in sin, and falls into the deformity of folly. For what can be more foolish than for a man to relinquish heavenly and apply himself to earthly things, for him to neglect what is eternal, and to choose the frail and perishing?

12. Let no one then say, 1 Kings xii. 16. *We have no portion in Jacob nor inheritance in Israel*. Let no one say, I am not among the Clergy, for it is written, Deut. xxxiii. 8. *Give unto Levi his lots*[295]*;* and again David says that he who Ps. lxviii. 13. Vulg. *lieth in the midst among the lots* ascends to heaven with spiritual wings. Say not of your God, Wisd. ii. 15. *He is grievous to us*, nor of your place, it Ib. v. 12. *is not for our turn*, since Scripture says, Eccles. x. 4. *Leave not thy place*: For the adversary would fain deprive thee of it, he would fain drive thee away, for he envies thee thy hopes and thy function.

13. But thou that art in the lot of the Lord, His portion and possession, depart not therefrom, that thou mayest say to Him, Ps. cxxxix. 13. *For Thou hast possessed my reins, Thou hast covered me in my mother's womb*; and

that He may say to thee, as to a good servant, S. Luke xvii. 7. *Go, and sit down to meat*.

Farewell, my sons: serve the Lord, for the Lord is good.

LETTER LXXXII.

S. AMBROSE TELLS Marcellus that he has been appointed to decide the case in which he and his brother Lætus and their sister were concerned, and why he undertook rather to act as arbiter than as judge in it. He urges Marcellus to submit willingly to his loss, praising him at the same time for having himself offered so equitable an adjustment of the matter, and tells him why he has nevertheless made some change in the settlement, and ends by shewing how the success gained by the several parties has been without general detriment to the Church.

AMBROSE TO MARCELLUS.

1. THE law suit which you did not indeed institute of your own accord, but took up when begun by others, the obligations of piety and a desire of approving your bounty towards the poor leading you thereto, has in the course of its adjudication devolved into my hands. I took cognisance of it by the tenor of the Imperial enactment, and both the authority committed to me by the blessed Apostle and the form and character of your own life and conduct have laid this upon me. Having myself censured the keeping alive amongst you your ancient animosity, I found myself obliged by the parties to hear their cause.

2. I blushed to refuse, I must confess, particularly since the advocates of either party recriminated on each other, asserting that my investigation would make manifest to whose side the suffrages of right and justice would incline. Why need I say more? When the days were almost concluded, and only a few hours remained, in which the Prefect was hearing other business; the advocates in the suit requested that it should be adjourned for a few

days, that I might preside as judge. So much zeal was shewn by Christians to prevent the Prefect from interfering with the jurisdiction of the Bishop. They stated moreover that certain matters had been conducted in an unseemly manner, and each party, according to his own inclination, brought forward points as proper to be heard by the Bishop rather than the Prefect.

3. Overcome by these reasons, reminded also of the Apostolical precept, which reproves Christians, saying, 1 Cor. v. 12. *Do not ye judge them that are within?* and again, Ib. vi. 4–6. *If then ye have judgments of things pertaining to this life, set them to judge who are least esteemed in the Church. I speak to your shame. Is it so that there is not a wise man among you, no, not one that shall be able to judge between his brethren? But brother goeth to law with his brother, and that before unbelievers*, I accepted the hearing of the cause, on condition however that I should settle the terms of the compromise. For I saw that, if I decreed in your favour, the other party might not acquiesce; while, if the sentence were given for him, you and your holy sister would abandon your defence. And thus there would have been an unequal rule of decision. Suspicion might also have attached in their eyes to the influence which the sacerdotal relation would exercise over my mind. For when does the defeated party consider the others to have greater equity than himself? And truly, the expenses of this old-standing contest would have been intolerable to both parties, had its termination been without fruit, or without, at least, the solace of munificence.

4. Since, therefore, I perceived that the issue was doubtful, the law disputed, the pleas on both sides numerous, and that petitions to the emperor of an invidious character were being prepared[296] which contained charges of tampering with his decrees, perceiving also that in case of his being victorious he would rigorously sue for double the mesne profits, and for the costs of this protracted suit; while it was unbecoming your office to

demand the expenses of the cause, and not competent for you to claim any of those profits which as possessor you had received, I preferred settling the dispute by a compromise to any aggravation of it by a decree. For there were other disputes liable to be raised, and what was still more grievous, although these disputes might be removed, hatreds would remain which are detrimental to feelings of good will.

5. Involved in these difficulties, and feeling that the office of the priest, the sex of the woman and the gravity of her widowed state, and regard for my friend appealed to me with a threefold and weighty claim, I thought that my course of conduct should be to desire no one's defeat, but the success of all. Nor was my intention baffled; you have all overcome, as regards kindred, as regards nature, as regards Scripture which says, 1 Cor. vi. 7. *Why do ye not rather take wrong, why do ye not rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded?*

6. But perhaps you deem yourself aggrieved by the unfavourable issue of the suit, and by your pecuniary losses. Better surely for priests are the losses than the gains of the world; For Acts xx. 35. *it is more blessed to give than to receive*. But perhaps you will say, I ought not to have been exposed to fraud, to have suffered injury, to undergo loss. What then? Would you have inflicted these things? But although you did not do so, he would have complained of suffering them. Consider therefore what the Apostle says, 1 Cor. vi. 7. *Why do ye not rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded?* So one may almost say that he who suffers not a wrong, inflicts it, for he who is the stronger ought to be the one to bear it.

7. But why do I treat with you as if this was my concern rather than your own? For in order to compound the quarrel you offered that for the time of her life your sister should possess part of the farm, but that after her death all the property should be ceded to your brother, and that no one should sue him either in your name or in that of the Church; but that, if he chose, he

should hold it without being called on to dispense any portion to the Church. When I had declared this, and extolled the great grace of munificence which had thus been implanted in your mind, your brother replied that such an arrangement would be pleasing to him if all fear of injury to the property were removed. For how, he asked, could a woman, who was a widow besides, manage a property liable to tribute? How could it profit him, your yielding up to him your right of possession, if he supposed that greater losses would accrue to him from the bad cultivation of the land?

8. The advocates on either side were influenced by these considerations. Wherefore, with the consent of all, it was determined that the honourable[297] Lætus should undertake the farm, and should pay yearly to your sister a certain quantity of corn wine and oil. By this means your holy sister was relieved from anxiety, not deprived of her rights; she relinquished, not the fruits but the labour, not the revenues, but the hazard as it is often called of an uncertain return of them. If violent storms of wind should destroy the harvest, your sister will still retain undiminished the fruits of the seed-time. Lætus will ascribe to himself the unfavourable conditions of the arrangment, and should the pressure of necessity from time to time and of extraordinary imposts become severe, your sister will stand clear both of Lætus' loss and of receiving benefits from you; while Lætus will console himself with the proprietorship of the estate.

9. Thus all have gained their point: Lætus, because he obtained the right over the property, which he had not before; your sister, because she will now enjoy the annual profits without dispute or strife; no one, however, will have gained so complete and glorious a victory as yourself, for together with the fulfilment of your bountiful dispositions towards your sister, you have rendered her partner of your fraternal union. For you have conceded, to your brother the property, to your sister the usufruct. But as regards the

Church, nothing is lost to her which is gained to piety; for charity is no loss but a gain to Christ, charity also is the fruit of the Holy Spirit. And thus the cause has been concluded according to the Apostolic model. We used to grieve that you were at strife, but your strife has been profitable, because it has led you to put on the form of the Apostolical life and discipline. Your strife was unbecoming the priesthood, but this transaction befits even the Apostolic rule.

10. And fear not that the Church should be placed out of the range of your bounty. She also partakes of your fruits, fruits even more plentiful, for she enjoys the fruit of your teaching, the service of your life, she has that fertility which you have watered by your discipline. Rich in these profits she seeks not temporal things, for she is in possession of what is eternal. But you have added not only Apostolical but also Evangelical fruits, for the Lord has said, S. Luke xvi. 9. *Make to yourselves friends of the Mammon of unrighteousness*. You also have made to yourself friends, and, what is remarkable, from those who were at variance with you. You have made brethren return under the laws of kindred, you have assured then by this charity and this grace that they shall be received into eternal habitations.

11. Thus, under the guidance of Christ, and the directions of two priests, yourself, that is, who gave the first outline, and myself who gave the sentence, the peace which we have made will not fail; for there have been so many concurrent voices in favour of fidelity, that perfidy cannot be without punishment.

12. Lætus will now plough for his sister, whereas before he grudged her the services of others; Lætus will now gather the harvest for his sister, though he could not before endure the gifts of others; he will bear the fruits to the granaries of his sister, and this he shall do gladly[298], in renewed accordance with the proper signification of his name.

13. You meanwhile, being conformed to the image of the Apostle of Christ, and assuming the prophetic authority, shall say unto the Lord, Ps. cxxxix. 13. *Thou hast possessed my reins*. This possession better becomes Christ, that He may possess the virtues of His priest, that He may receive those fruits which belong to integrity and continence, and what is more, to charity and tranquillity.

Farewell; love me, for I also love you.

LETTER LXXXIII.

IN THIS LETTER S. Ambrose praises Sisinnius for forgiving his son, who had married without his leave, and compares him with some of the Saints of the Old Testament, and with the father in the parable of the prodigal son.

AMBROSE TO SISINNIUS.

1. YOUR forgiving our son at my request for having married a wife without your knowledge I attribute to your natural affection rather than to your regard for me; for it is better that natural affection should have gained this from you than any one's request. Assuredly it is in the triumph of virtue that the priest's petition has its chief success, for he then obtains most when virtue is powerful, his petition must always coincide with the dictates of natural affection. And nature and your son obtained the more fully their request, in that the consideration of requests is usually a brief matter, whereas the habit of virtue is lasting and natural affection permanent.

2. It was indeed worthily done to recognize yourself to be a father, particularly since your cause for indignation was a just one; for I prefer to admit the fault, so that your fatherly indulgence may gain higher praise; for it was as a father that you were offended; since you had a claim to exercise the choice of your judgment as to one to whom you were to become a father, and who was to be to you in the place of a daughter. For we obtain children either by nature or adoption; in nature it is a matter of chance; in adoption, of judgment; and we are more liable to blame in the case of our adopted than of our natural offspring; because it is ascribed to nature if our children by birth should happen to be degenerate, but that those who become ours by adoption or other such tie should prove unworthy of it is

ascribed to our own mistake. You had therefore cause of displeasure against your son in this his choice of a wife to himself; you have also reason for forgiving him. For you have obtained a daughter for yourself without the danger of making a selection for yourself; if he has married well, he has obtained for you this advantage; if he has been deceived, you will make them better by receiving them into favour, but worse by disowning them.

3. It is with riper judgment that a father chooses a bride for his son, but when she is brought by the son to his father, when she enters her father-in-law's roof as the chosen of her husband, their purpose of obedience is stronger, the son fearing lest his election should be disapproved, the daughter-in-law that her attentions may not be acceptable. While the distinction of the paternal choice elevates the one, the other is humbled by the fear of giving offence and bowed down by modesty. The son will not be able to throw blame on the wife, as if he himself were not answerable for any of those causes of offence which are wont to occur; on the contrary he will strive more diligently to obtain approbation of his judgment in regard of his wife, of his obedience in regard of himself.

4. You have therefore acted the part of a good parent and pardoned readily, but still upon supplication; before this was made, you would have been not pardoning but sanctioning. When this was done, to defer pardon any longer would have been unprofitable to them and very painful to yourself, for your paternal affection could no longer have held out.

5. Determined by motives of high devotion, Abraham, obeying the oracle of God, Gen. xxii. 6. offered his son for a whole burnt sacrifice; and, as if destitute of natural affection, drew his sword, that no delay might obscure the brightness of the offering. But when he was commanded to spare his son he willingly sheathed his sword, and he who with this faithful intention was hastening to offer up his only son with still more zealous piety hastened to substitute a ram as a sacrifice.

7. Joseph also, in order to get his younger brother to him, Ib. xliv. 15. feigned anger against his brethren on the plea that they had concerted an act of fraud. But when Judah, one of his brethren, fell at his feet, while the others wept, he was moved and overcome by fraternal affection and was no longer able to maintain his assumed severity, but sending away all witnesses he told them they were his brethren, and he that very Joseph whom they had sold. He added that he remembered not his own wrong, making brotherly excuses for the malice of their betrayal of him, and referring what was so blameworthy to higher and deeper causes; forasmuch as by the providence of God it must needs so have been, to the end that by passing over into Egypt he might supply his kindred's need of provisions from another country, and in the time of dearth assist in supporting his father and his father's sons.

8. And what shall I say of holy David, 2 Sam. xiv. 22. who at the petition of one woman suffered his mind to be softened, and with paternal compassion received into his house his degenerate son, stained with his brother's blood?

9. S. Luke xv. 22. So that father in the Gospel, when the younger son had spent all the substance he had received from his father by riotous living, yet when he returned confessing that he had sinned against him, moved by the humility of a single sentence, gave him an affectionate greeting, fell upon his neck, commanded the best robe and a ring and shoes to be brought forth, and having thus honoured him with a kiss, and loaded him with gifts, entertained him with a sumptuous banquet.

10. You have become an imitator of these by that parental affection whereby we approach nearest to the Divine likeness, and therefore I have exhorted our daughter that, though it be winter, she should undertake the toil of the journey, for that she will pass the winter more commodiously not only in the mansion, but also in the bosom of her father, now that wrath has

given place to pardon. Moreover, that you may fully assimilate yourself to the likeness and pattern of the saints, you have accused those who by concocted falsehoods endeavoured to excite your mind against your son.

Farewell; love me, for I also love you.

LETTER LXXXIV.

A BRIEF LETTER of assent and approval.

AMBROSE TO CYNEGIUS.

1. HOW ingenuous is the modesty with which you have commended yourself, in that you have consulted me concerning a matter which you did not approve, out of deference to your father that you might not injure piety, feeling safe that no reply could be made by me which was unbeseeming holy relationships.

2. But I have willingly taken upon me your burdens, and have reconciled, I hope, the niece to her uncle. Truly I am ignorant with what view he desired that she should become his daughter-in-law, changing his own character of uncle for that of father-in-law. I need not add more, lest this also should be a cause of confusion.

Farewell my son, and love us, for we also love you.

LETTER LXXXV.

S. AMBROSE THANKS Siricius for sending him letters by the Presbyter Syrus, whose speedy return he promises.

AMBROSE TO SIRICIUS.

1. I AM always pleased to receive a letter from you, but when you also send to me some of our fellow servants, as you have now given our brother and co-presbyter Syrus a letter to me, my joy is doubled. I would however that this pleasure had been more lasting; for as soon as he had arrived he thought he must return, and this diminished my regret and added greatly to my estimation of him.

2. For I love those presbyters and deacons who when they have performed their mission will not allow themselves to remain absent any longer from their duties. For the prophet says, Jer. xvii. 16. *I have not been weary in following thee*. And who can be weary in following Jesus, when He Himself says, S. Matt. xi. 28. *Come unto Me all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest*. Let us therefore never cease from following Jesus, which if we do we shall never fail, for He gives strength to them that follow Him. The more nearly you approach to the Source of power the stronger you will be.

3. Often, while we are thus following Him, the adversaries say to us, Jer. xvii. 15. *Where is the word of the Lord? let it come now*. But let us not grow weary in following Him, let us not be turned aside by meeting with this crafty question. It was said to the prophet, when he was thrown into prison, when he was cast into the pit of mire, *Where is the word of the Lord? let it come now*. But he followed him so much the more, and therefore attained

the prize, and received the crown; for following Jesus he was not weary; for Numb. xxiii. 21. *there is no weariness in Jacob, neither shall sorrow be in Israel*.

Farewell; love me, for I love one who loves me, and whom I regard as a father.

LETTER LXXXVI.

S. AMBROSE SPEAKS briefly in praise of Priscus.

AMBROSE TO SIRICIUS.

1. WHEN Priscus, my friend and co-equal in age, was coming here, you gave him a letter to me, and now that he is returning I give him the reply which I send both to duty and affection. By this service he has recompensed us both, for he has given me yours, and you mine, and therefore ought to reap the reward of this his service by an increase of favour.

Farewell, my brother; love me, for I love you.

LETTER LXXXVII.

A LETTER OF commendation.

AMBROSE TO BISHOPS SEGATIUS AND DELPHINUS.

1. MY son Polybius, on his return from Africa, where he discharged the duties of the proconsulship with credit, passed some days with us, and inspired my heart with singular affection towards him.

2. Then, when he wished to go from hence, he requested me to write to both of you. I promised to do so, and having dictated a letter delivered it to him superscribed with both your names. He asked for another; but I said that I had directed this to both of you according to our custom and usage, forasmuch as your holy minds are gratified not by the number of letters but by the association of names, and that, united as you were in feeling, you would not allow yourselves to be separated in name; farther, that to employ this compendious form of love was a prescribed part of my duty.

3. Why need I say more? He asked for another, and I gave it, but so as neither to deny him what he asked, nor to change my accustomed mode of action. Thus he has a letter to deliver to each of you, for this was all he put forward, his having nothing for one, when he had delivered his letter to the other. And this office of undivided affection I may render to you without any danger of offence, or thought of division; especially since this form of writing is Apostolical, so that either one may write to many as Paul to the Galatians, or two to one, as we read, Philem. i. 1. *Paul a prisoner of Jesus Christ, and Timothy our brother, unto Philemon*.

Health to you; love me and pray for me, for I love you.

LETTER LXXXVIII.

A FRIENDLY LETTER of commendation of Priscus.

AMBROSE TO ATTICUS.

1. YOU entrusted my friend Priscus with a letter, which he delivered to me, and I now give mine in turn to Priscus. Continue to love Priscus, as you do, and even more than before; this I advise, because I also value my Priscus highly. For I feel towards him that ancient love, which from our childhood upwards has grown together with our years; but it is long since I saw him before, so that not only in name but from so long an interval of time he came to me as truly Priscus.

Farewell: love me your lover, for I also love you.

LETTER LXXXIX.

A BRIEF ACKNOWLEDGEMENT of letters.

AMBROSE TO ALYPIUS.

1. ANTIOCHUS, a man of consular rank, delivered to me your Excellency's letter; nor did I neglect to reply to it; for I sent you a letter by my own messenger, and another occasion having offered, I sent, if I mistake not, a second. But since the offices of friendship are rather, I think, to be added to than balanced; it became my duty, especially on his return who had laid upon me such a debt of obligation by your letters, to make some return in the way of my own correspondence, that so I might stand clear with both of you, and he with you, bound as he was to bring you back what he had brought from you.

Farewell; love me, who love you.

LETTER XC.

S. AMBROSE DWELLS on the mutual love of himself and Antonius.

AMBROSE TO ANTONIUS.

1. YOU never are silent in regard of me, nor ought I ever to complain of being neglected by your silence, knowing that I am not absent from your thoughts. For since you bestow that which is the most precious, how can you withhold that which many others receive, not so much from any habitual affection as from an interchange of civility.

2. And even from my own feelings I can judge in turn of yours, and these lead me to believe that I am never absent from you, nor you from me, so closely are our souls united. Nor do I feel as if we ever required each others' letters, for I daily converse with you as if present in body, turning towards you my eyes, my affections, and all my regards.

3. In such things as these I delight to cope with you; for, to speak openly with one who is inseparable from my heart, your letters make me ashamed. I beg therefore that you will cease to be always returning me thanks, for my services to you have their highest reward, if I may believe I have not been wanting in my duty towards you.

Farewell; love me, for I also love you.

LETTER XCI.

A GRACEFUL LETTER of affection.

AMBROSE TO HIS BROTHER CANDIDIANUS.

1. GREAT is the beauty of your language, but that of your love is still more apparent, for your letters manifest to me the bright colours of your mind, blessed and most dear brother. The Lord give you His Grace and Blessing, for in your letters I recognize your good wishes rather than my good deserts. For what merits of mine can equal such commendations as yours?

Love me, my brother, for I love you.

EPISTOLA V. A.D. 380.

(SEE PAGE 19.)

SENTENTIAM abs se in causa Indiciæ latam defendens, Syagrii judicium arguit, quod legitima in eo forma non servata sit. Maximum tragœdiæ auctorem apud se non comparuisse: Syagrium inspectionem virgini contumeliosissimam decrevisse, cum alia, unde judicari virgo debeat, suppetant: inspectionem incertam atque inutilem; aliud enim obstetricum officium esse; non ergo hac ratione causam decidendam; præsertim cum peperisse diceretur Indicia. In quibus inspectio sit toleranda. Syagrium vanam afferre excusationem: Maximum vere accusatorem esse. Postremo accusatione ac testibus rursus vituperatis, refertur Marcellinæ aliarumque pro Indicia testimonium, post quod judicium Ambrosianum subjicitur.

AMBROSIUS SYAGRIO.

1. PROSPICIENDUM esse ne de nostro obloquantur judicio carissimi nostri Veronenses, propriis texuisti litteris. Non arbitror fore, certe non solent. Aut si obloquantur, de quo obloqui soleant haud dubie liquet: cum exasperati huc veniant, pacifici ad te revertantur; præsertim cum hoc judicium nostrum cum fratribus et consacerdotibus nostris participatum processerit: tu autem sine alicujus fratris consilio hoc judicium tibi solus vindicandum putaris; in quo tamen ante judicium præjudicium feceris, ut puellam Zenonis sanctæ memoriæ judicio probatam, ejusque sanctificatam benedictione, post tot annos, sine auctore criminationis, sine accusatore, sine professore delationis, in periculum reatus deducendam arbitrare: cui invidia esset a vanis, ab hæreticis, ut ipsi volunt, a turpibus personis

conflata per scelus, per avaritiam, per intemperantiam, quærentibus proprii libertatem flagitii; ab iis postremo qui domo ejus ejecti atque eliminati forent, quod discolora opera subtexerent, quam prima fronte suæ professionis prætenderant.

2. Hujusmodi accusatores, hujusmodi testes in tuo constituebas judicio, qui neque accusare audebant, neque delationis se nexu obligare; atque ita inspectioni adjudicandam constituebas virginem, quam nullus argueret, nullus deferret. Ubi hæc cognitionis solemnitas? Ubi talis judicandi formula? Si leges publicas interrogamus, accusatorem exigunt: si Ecclesiæ; S. Matt. xviii. 16. *Duobus*, inquit, *et tribus testibus stat omne verbum*: sed illis testibus qui ante hesternum et nudiustertius non fuerint inimici; ne irati nocere cupiant, ne læsi ulcisci sese velint.

3. Inoffensus igitur affectus testium quæritur; ita tamen ut accusator prius in medium procedat. Hist. of Sus. 34 sqq. Ipsi illi presbyteri Judæorum manus suas prius supra caput imposuerunt Susannæ, et accusationem professi sunt, et pariter addiderunt testimonii auctoritatem, quam imprudenter populus sub errore positus acceperat: sed divino judicio per prophetam retexit et redarguit omnipotens Deus; ut liqueret omnibus eos velle invidiam præseminare adversum innocentis periculum, qui deficerent accusationis argumento, et firmamento probationis, conjicientes videlicet quod si præoccupatis vulgi auribus invidia mentem incesseret, præjudicium examinandæ veritatis inferret. Etenim cum audita præveniunt, aurem obstruunt, animum occupant; ne probatio desideretur, ut rumor pro convicto teneatur crimine.

4. Nos igitur accusatorem exegimus, et auctorem totius scenæ Maximum perurgendum arbitrati sumus. Verum ille accusationem, quam studio informaverat, verbo detulerat, deseruit professione; et tamen affectu urgebat, arte exsequebatur, sed fugiebat nomine, quod diffideret probationi. Denique sparsis rumoribus, sed etiam epistolis compositis et destinatis,

quæsivit acerbare invidiam delationis: sed nequaquam opprimi potuit integritas et circumveniri. Nam si habuisset probationes, numquam inspectionem tua sententia flagitavisset.

5. Quid igitur sibi velit, et quo spectet quod obstetricem adhibendam credideris, non possum advertere. Itane ergo liberum erit accusare omnibus, et, cum probatione destiterint, patebit ut genitalium secretorum petant inspectionem, et addicentur semper sacræ virgines ad hujusmodi ludibria, quæ et visu et auditu horrori et pudori sunt? Denique non minima etiam in tuis litteris tentatæ expressionis verecundia est. Quæ ergo sine damno pudoris in alienis auribus resonare non queunt, ea possunt in virgine sine ejus tentari verecundia?

6. Invenisti tibi vile mancipium, procacem vernulam, cur non abutaris pudibundo ministerio, et exponas ejus modestiam; cum præsertim nihil sanctius in virgine sit, quam verecundia? Non enim sacra virgo ut corpore tantummodo integra sit quæritur, et non ut in omnibus ejus inoffensus maneat pudor. Virgo Domini suis est nixa fulcris ad sui probationem, nec alienis dotibus eget; ut se virginem probet: et nec abditorum occultorumque inspectio, sed obvia omnibus modestia adstipulatur integritati. Non placet Deo, quam non suorum gravitas morum probat: non probatur Domino, quæ unius obstetricis indiget testimonio, quod plerumque quæritur pretio. Ea ergo tibi locuples videtur ad fidem, quæ et redimi et falli potest; ut excuset ream, et crimen tegat, aut nesciat, et non possit flagitium deprehendere?

7. Neque vero illud justum arbitror, quod tuis comprehendisti litteris, quia nisi inspecta fuerit, integritas periclitetur, et incerto sui fluctuet. Ergo omnes quæ inspectæ non sunt, periculum subierunt pudoris? Ergo et quæ nupturæ sunt, prius inspiciantur, ut nubant probatiores? Ergo et quæ velandæ sunt, prius subjiciendæ sunt hujusmodi adtrectationi; non enim visitantur, sed adtrectantur: et rectius secundum tuam sententiam inspicitur non probata, quam consecrata.

8. Quid, quod etiam ipsi archiatri dicunt non satis liquido comprehendi inspectionis fidem, et ipsis medicinæ vetustis doctoribus id sententiæ fuisse? Nos quoque usu hoc cognovimus, sæpe inter obstetrices obortam varietatem, et quæstionem excitatam; ut plus dubitatum sit de ea, quæ inspiciendam se præbuerit, quam de ea quæ non fuerit inspecta. Siquidem et proximo id comperimus exemplo: nam quædam conditionis servilis Altini inspecta et refutata, postea Mediolani non meo quidem jussu, sed Nicenti ex tribuno et notario domini vel patroni sui voluntate visitata est a peritissima et locupleti femina hujusmodi artis; et cum simul ista suppeterent, ut neque paupertas obstetricis suspectam faceret fidem, neque indocilitas imperitiam, tamen adhuc manet quæstio.

9. Quid profuit igitur eam inspici, cum damnatio maneat? Nam ut quisque voluerit, aut imperitam medicam, aut redemptam asseret; ita sine effectu ullo injuria inspectionis est. Quid deinde fiet? Quotiescumque emerserit, qui non credat, toties virgo adtrectabitur? Nam si umquam se visitandam abnuerit, secundum adsertionem tuam de crimine confitebitur. Et facilius est ut refutet, quod numquam fecerit, quam quod fecerit. Variabuntur igitur obstetrices, ne suspectæ aliqua repetatur gratiæ. Erit itaque inter plures, quamquam paucarum etiam in magnis urbibus hic usus medendi sit, erit, inquam, vel malevola, vel imperita, quam pudoris claustra prætereant, et per imperitiam integro notam affigat pudori. Vides in quod periculum inducas virginalem professionem, dum obstetricem adhibendam putas; ut jam non solum verecundiæ suæ dispendio, sed etiam obstetricis incerto periclitetur.

10. Nunc consideremus quod obstetricis officium sit. Legimus etiam in veteri Testamento obstetrices, sed non inspectrices; denique ad parturientes ingrediebantur, non ad virgines; ut partus susciperent, non ut pudorem examinarent. Unde et obstetrices dictæ, eo quod obsistant dolori, vel certe pignori, ne laxatis uteri genitalibus claustris, in terram defluat. Secundo et

tertio loco in Scripturis invenimus obstetrices adhibitas: sed ubique partui, nusquam inspectioni. Gen. xxxv. 17. Primo ubi Rachel parturit, deinde ubi Thamar parit, Ib. xxxviii. 27. tertio ubi necandos mares Pharao mandat Hebræorum obstetricibus; quando responderunt illæ, Ex. i. 15 sqq. non eo more Hebræas feminas parere, quo pariunt Ægyptiæ: sed Hebræas prius parere, quam introeant obstetrices ad eas. Qui locus ut superiori utilis ad Hebræorum salutem; ita reliquo confragosus ad obstetricum fidem, quæ didicerunt mentiri pro salute, et fallere pro excusatione.

11. Quid igitur suspecta et dubia captamus; cum majora sint alia examinandæ veritatis documenta et testimonia, in quibus expressiora insignia vel temerati pudoris sint? Quid enim est quod magis publicum sit, quam offensa pudoris, et defloratio virginitatis? Nihil profecto quod magis se prodat, quam castitatis dispendium. Tumescit alvus, et incedentem fœtus sui onera gravant; ut prætermittamus alia, quibus se vel tacita prodit conscientia.

12. At forte sterilitatis obtentu abscondi in aliquibus possit flagitium. Hic vero cum editus partus et expositus, vel necatus, (dum invidiæ magis, quam probationi consulitur,) dissipatus sit per aures universorum, strangulata est libertas calumniarum, si peperit. Nempe Veronæ fuit, visebatur frequenter a virginibus et mulieribus; in honore enim semper erat. Visebatur et a sacerdotibus propter pudicitiæ reverentiam, et gravitatis speculum. Quomodo ergo potuit occulere crimen, quod se vel specie sui proderet? Quomodo texit uterum? Quomodo non refugit adspectum mulierum, oculos salutantium? Quomodo parturiens vocem repressit? Sed hoc non patitur dolor: Gen. iii. 16. denique Scriptura hos maximos dicit dolores, qui sunt parturientis. Sic enim inquit, Isa. xiii. 8, 9. Dies Domini subito venit, et improvisus adest, ut dolor partus, qui intercludit omnia effugia delitescendi.

13. Hæc est verior documentorum fides, quam erubescunt et mulieres. S. Luke i. 24. Denique Elizabeth occultabat se mensibus quinque; eo quod

sterilis conceperat in senectute. His signis et ipsa Mariæ virginitas apud ignaros mysterii probri suspectabatur. S. Matt. i. 18. Unde et Joseph, cui desponsata erat Virgo, suspectum habebat vitium, dum adhuc nesciret Dominicæ incarnationis sacramentum.

14. Quid ergo, negamus inspiciendas virgines? Interim quod nusquam legerim, non adstruo, nec verum arbitror. Sed quia pleraque ad speciem facimus, non ad veritatem; et erroris gratia complura frequenter prætendimus, (sunt enim qui nesciant recte facere, nisi metu pœnæ,) relinquamus hoc illis, quas non verecundia revocat a lapsu, sed solus injuriæ deterret metus: apud quas nulla cura pudoris et castitatis gratia, sed pœnæ timor est. Relinquamus vernaculis, quibus formido est deprehendi magis, quam peccasse. Absit a virgine sacra, ut obstetricem noverit: partus putatur, et remedium doloris ducitur, non examen pudoris. Relinquamus etiam illis, si quæ gravibus appetitæ calumniis, oppressæ testimoniis, strangulatæ argumentis, ad id confugiant, ut se offerant inspectioni, quo vel corporis probetur custodia; si tamen deprehendi potest, in quibus nutat pudoris gratia, et disciplina integritatis. Male tamen se habet causa, ubi potior est carnis quam mentis prærogativa. Malo morum signaculo, quam corporis claustro virginitatem exprimi.

15. Jam illud præclarum, quod scripsisti insinuatum tibi a quibusdam quod nequaquam tibi communicarent, si eam sine visitatione suscipiendam crederes. Ergo judicandi accepisti formulam. Quales illi, qui volunt præscribere sacerdotibus quid sequi debeamus? Liberavimus itaque te a cognitionis gravissimæ necessitate, ne necesse haberes formulam mandatam exsequi. Quid nobis futurum est, qui eorum studiis non obtemperavimus?

16. Sed tamen scio illic plerosque esse, qui timeant Dominum. Nam et hic vidimus dudum, et illic esse comperimus, qui compositam hanc querantur calumniam: quos aiunt eo offensos favisse Maximo, quod ista virgo non circumeat domos, nec eorum matronas salutet atque ambiat. Quid

igitur fiet, quomodo tanto eam exuemus crimine? quomodo persuadebimus ut cultus adsumat novos, suos exuat? Grave flagitium virginem intra secreta domus degere, claudi penetralibus suis! Sic certe lectio docet Mariam domi repertam, S. Luke i. 28. cum ad eam Gabriel Archangelus venisset. Hist. of Sus. 15 sqq. Susanna fugiens turbarum inducitur. Denique cum se lavaret, paradisum claudi jubebat. Quid autem præstantius, (præsertim in virgine, cujus præcipuum opus verecundia,) quam secretum? quid tutius secreto, et ad omnes actus expeditius? Munia enim pudoris induit, non concursationis. Sed de aliis videro, tuæ nunc mihi respondendum epistolæ est.

17. Te miror, frater, qui tantopere defendas Maximum non fuisse accusatorem, sed parentis dolore doluisse invidiam sparsi rumoris; cum ille se inimicum et adversarium litigatorem, proposito jam jurgio, negare non potuerit adversus sacram virginem judicia adtentavisse: muroque interjecto, discretas ædes uxoris suæ ac virginis, divisam germanitatis inter sorores societatem; aliaque, quibus doleret quod virgo in agro affinitatis suæ refugisset consortium. Quomodo ergo non accusator, qui affectum accusatoris jamdudum exercuit, qui sermone suo accusationem detulit, aures tuas implevit clamore, et testes auditionis deduxit, cognitionem poposcit?

18. Quamlibet argumentatus, negare non potuisti quod ad Indiciam scripseris, quoniam Maximus seu impulsu aliorum, seu dolore proprio crimen grave detulerit. Sola hæc epistola satis est ad accusationis testimonium; neque enim te ego tuis ad me datis litteris urgendum putavi, sed iis lectis quas ad virginem dederas, adverti diversum esse, quod ad me scripseras: et tamen cum epistola tuæ sibi non convenirent, consulendum te, non arguendum putavi. Quid igitur sibi vult illa argumentatio, quia illud detulerit, quod ad me scripseras, delatam videlicet eam in turpi crimine; ita ut editum et obrutum partum dici adserat? Quasi vero istud ad Indiciam, non ad me scripseris. Illa ubi audivit litteris tuis Maximum subduci

accusationi, litteras tuas protulit, quibus eum criminis delatorem probavit: ad me datas non legerat, nec quid haberent, sciebat.

19. Ego autem exhorrui a primo calumniam, quia advertebam non crimen intendi, sed injuriam virginis desiderari, cujus inspectio et visitatio postulabatur, non aliquod flagitium deferebatur. Quis enim istud a principio fraude compositum nequaquam sibi congruere et convenire non arbitraretur? Cucurrisse mulieres viles ad monasterium, jactasse partum virginis, et necem pignoris, de monasterio rumorem per populos sparsum, eumque affluxisse in aures novi affinis Maximi, ab ipso interpellatum episcopum, dimissas eas quæ dixisse ferebantur, atque in fugam coactas, ut apud nos patuit: eos qui audisse se dicerent, ad Ecclesiam vocatos prodisse Renatum et Leontium, 1 Kings xxi. 10. Hist. of Sus. 15 sqq. S. Matt. xxvi. 59, 60. duos illos iniquitatis viros, quos apposuit Jezabel, redarguit Daniel, subornavit Judæorum populus; ut auctorem vitæ suæ falso appeterent testimonio. Qui tamen cum simul composuissent flagitium, simul ingressi essent viam, et ne quid prætream a juncti Maximo, comitantibus, ut dixit Leontius, iis qui illum rumorem sparserant; tamen ubi in meo adstiterunt judicio, cum primo de origine causæ quærerem, diversa et distantia prompsere, non locorum separati, sed mendaciorum divortio.

20. Cum igitur sibi ipsi non convenirent, Mercurium et Leam vilissimæ conditionis et detestabilioris nequitiæ personas amandavissent, aufugisset Theudule, non ignara objiciendi sibi facinoris, quod ante lectum Renati sola cubitavisset, ancilla præesto esset alia, quæ stupro ejusdem Renati se diceret coinquinatam; die ipso, qui dictus erat cognitioni, subtraxerunt se episcoporum conventui; licet etiam pridie subito se profecturos idem Renatus clamaverit.

21. Unde ego judicio præscripsi diem, et tamen nullo accusante, nullis testimoniis perurgentibus, insinuavi sanctæ sorori quod peteres coram ipsa

inspici et visitari memoratam virginem. At illa sancte inspectionem quidem recusavit, sed testimonium non declinavit, dicens nihil se in Indicia comprehendisse, nisi quod esset virginalis pudoris et sanctitatis: habitasse eam Romæ in domo nostra, nobis absentibus, nulli eam se vitiorum familiaritati dedisse, optare cum ea sibi a Domino Jesu partem reservari in regno Dei.

22. Paternam quoque filiam nostram interrogavi, quod ab ea numquam soleat discedere, cujus caritas vitæ hujus testimonium est. Itaque etsi quod injurata diceret, fidei sacramento conferendum foret; sub obstestatione tamen professa est alienam criminis quo appetebatur, nec quidquam in ea scire se bonæ vacuum conversationis.

23. Nutricem quoque liberæ conditionis interrogavimus, cui et status haudquaquam degeneri servitio obnoxius libertatem vera fatendi daret, et fides atque ætas ad veritatem adstipularetur, et officium nutricis ad cognitionem secreti. Ea quoque nihil se indecorum vidisse, nihil sibi quasi parenti commissum a virgine aliqua dignum reprehensione.

24. His moti, Indiciam inoffensi virginem muneris pronuntiavimus: Maximum autem et Renatum et Leontium ita involvit sententia, ut Maximo, si errorem emendaret, spes reditus reservaretur; Renatus autem et Leontius excommunicati manerent, nisi forte probata sui pœnitentia, et hujus facti diuturna deploratione, dignos se præberent misericordia. Vale, frater, et nos dilige; quia nos te diligimus.

EPISTOLA VI. A.D. 380.

CUM SYAGRIO QUOD Indiciam contumeliosæ inspectioni sententia sua addixisset, Ambrosius amice expostulat; eique atrocissimam ultionem, quam Israelitæ ob violatam in levitæ uxore castitatem repetiverunt, ante oculos ponens, totam rei seriem eleganter describit.

AMBROSIUS SYAGRIO.

1. QUÆ sint in nostro judicio decursa, comperta retines; et ideo nunc quasi animæ portionem convenio meæ, habens apud te pro castitatis contumelia familiarem et dolentem querelam. Itane oportuit inoratam atque inauditam virginitatis causam adjudicari, ut non possit absolvi? Hoc est, nisi sua injuria, nisi ab honesto pudore traducatur ad indecoram sui corporis oblationem, grande videlicet relatura sui testimonium, ut exponatur ludibrio, et procacitatis notetur. Hanc igitur prærogativam detulisti integritati, hujusmodi honorificentiam, qua se lacessiri aut invitari gaudeant, quæ hoc munus recipiendum putant; ut amittant libertatem communis adsertionis, nec se jure tueantur vel sanctæ legis, vel publico, ut non accusatorem exigat, non arcersitorem urgeat: sed impudentiam solam induat, ac sese projiciat ad injuriam?

2. Non ita majores nostri despicabilem habebant castimoniam, cui tantum deferebant reverentiæ, ut bellum adversum temeratores pudicitiæ suscipiendum putarent. Judg. xx. 1 sqq. Denique tantum fuit ultionis studium; ut omnes tribules de Benjamin tribu extinguerentur, Ib. 47. nisi sexcentos qui bello reliqui forent natura editioris loci defendisset; sic enim lectionis divinæ serie expressum tenetur, cujus tenorem recensere congruit.

3. Ib. xix. 1 sqq. Levites vir animo major quam opibus, habitabat in partibus montis Ephræm; ei quippe tribui sortito obtigerat locus in possessionem terræ datus pro funiculo hereditatis. Is sibi accepit jugalem de Juda Bethleem. Et ut se habent prima copularum exordia, ardebat juvenculam immodica animi cupiditate: simul quia similibus ejus non fungebatur, exardescebat magis magisque possessione, atque immane quantum exæstuabat. Unde quia nihil referebatur ex parte adolescentulæ, vel levitate amoris, vel vi doloris, quod haud quaquam mercede pari secum decerneret, cum eadem expostulabat. Hinc frequens jurgium: quo mulier offensa, claves remisit, domum revertit.

4. Judg. xix. 3 sqq. At ille amore victus, qui quod speraret non habebat aliud; cum quartum jam mensem fluere cerneret, eo contendit, fretus quod consilio parentum emolliretur animus adolescentulæ. Occurrit pro foribus socer, generum introduxit, filiam reconciliavit; et ut lætiores dimitteret, triduo tenuit, quasi repararet nuptias: ac volenti abire, quartum quoque diem comperendinavit, prætenta humanitatis specie, moras innectendo. Pari modo cum etiam quintum diem vellet adjungere superioribus, et jam novæ deessent causæ morandi, paterno tamen affectu retinendæ filiæ desiderium non deforet, promissam profectionis copiam distulit in meridiem ut viam cibo curati adorirentur. Post epulas quoque volens dilationem adtexere, eo quod jam vesper appropinquaret, generi precibus, ægre licet, tamen adquievit.

5. Ib. 10 sqq. Ille iter suum perrexit lætus animi, quod dilectam sibi recuperavisset. Qui uno comitati servulo, cum jam declinaret dies, festino viam celerabant gradu. Mulier vehebatur jumento, viro nullus sensus laboris, qui fructu desiderii, simul et vario mulieris ac vernaculi sermone viam levaret. Denique ubi Hierosolymam appropinquarunt, quæ triginta stadiis aberat, quam tunc temporis Jebusæi tenebant; suggessit puer deflectendum in civitatem, quia sub noctem suspecta essent etiam illa, quæ

tutiora sunt, cavendaque tenebrarum ambigua; maxime quia locorum incolæ non essent de filiis Israel. Et ideo prævertendum ne quid adversa studia gerentes insidiarum inferrent, obscuro noctis dolum quærentibus ad perpetrandum facinus satis opportuno. Sed domino ejus haudquaquam placuit sententia, ut inter alienigenas hospitio succederent; cum Gaba et Rama non longe abessent civitates Benjamin. Itaque prævalens sententia, posthabuit servuli suggestionem; quasi ex conditione consilium æstimaretur, et non consilio quamvis infima conditio allevaretur. Et jam sol in occasu erat: denique vix occurrit, cum jam urgeretur vespere in civitatem succedere.

6. Judg. xix. 15 sqq. Gabaonitæ incolebant locum, inhospitales, immites, intolerabiles; omnia tamen tolerabiliores, quam si aliquem hospitio recepissent. Denique commodius huic viro levitæ cesserat, si in Gabaa hospitium non reperisset. Verum ne quid deesset offensionis, primo ingressu diversorium non reperit: et cum in publico situs, alienam misericordiam imploraret, offendit advenientem ex agro senem, quem vesper ex opere agresti compulit nocte decedere. Et cum esset ei conspicuus, rogatus quo iret, et unde adventaret, respondit: De Bethleem Juda revertor, contendo ad montem Ephræm, et mulier est mecum: sed ecce huc diverti, et nemo est qui hospitio recipiat, et requiescendi usum ministret. Non quo cibi aut potus sibi, aut pecori pabulorum esset indigentia, sed tecti hospitio prohiberentur: præsto esse illa, nudum tecti hospitium desiderari. Ad ea senior benigne satis et placide: Pax, inquit, tibi: et succede hospes pariter et civis; nam et mihi origo de montis Ephræm partibus, et hic hospitalis habitatio: sed tempore diuturno incolatus sedes fundavit. Itaque receptos domicilio ministerio sui et subsidiis hospitalibus juxta fovit.

7. Ib. 22. Hortabatur ad lætitiam senior, et frequentioribus provocabat poculis, ut vino aboleret curarum oblivia; cum subito circumsistunt eos Gabaonitæ, juvenes ad omnem projecti libidinem, nihil pensum ac

moderatum habentes: quos forma mulieris illexerat, et in omnem amentiam præcipitabat; capti enim ejus decore, et per senectutem hospitis, atque infirmitatem subsidii, accepta spe potiundi, poscunt mulierem, et pulsant januam.

8. Ib. 23, 24. Itaque egressus senior rogabat eos, ne hospitales mensas turpi flagitio fœdarent, et reverendum jus etiam indomitis barbararum gentium nationibus violandum arbitrarentur: contribulem illum sibi, Israelitem virum legitimi thori subnixum copula non sine indignatione cælestis arbitri tanta affici contumelia. Quod ubi parum procedere advertit, esse sibi filiam virginem adjecit, illam se offerre majore parentis dolore, sed minore gratiæ hospitalis dispendio: publicum flagitium privato dedecore tolerabilius habere. At illi exagitati æstu furoris, et inflammati incentivo libidinis, eo amplius ardebant formam juvenculæ, quo magis negabatur. Et justitiæ exsortes ridebant verba æquitatis, filiam senis, quia minore invidia sceleris offerebatur, despectui habentes.

9. Judg. xix. 25 sqq. Itaque cum piæ nihil proficerent preces, et seniles frustra hospes manus tenderet, desperato præsidio, rapitur mulier, et per totam noctem injuriæ impletur. At ubi lux finem intemperantiæ dedit, januam hospitalem repetit, non quo viri conspectum exposceret, quem magis declinandum putaret, contumeliæ pudore miserabilis: sed ut affectum viro referret, quæ castitatem amiserat, et contumeliæ suæ funus lamentabili specie ante januam hospitalem exponeret. Egressus itaque levita, cum jacentem invenisset, arbitratus quod verecundia vultum nequaquam adtollere auderet, consolari cœpit: quia non voluntate, sed invita tantæ injuriæ succubuisset: hortari adsurgere, et secum repetere domum. Sed ubi nullum responsum referebatur, quasi quiescentem majore voce e somno excitare.

10. Ib. 28. Verum ubi mortis supremæ patuit fides, impositas jumento reliquias domum pertulit, et divisos artus mulieris in partes duodecim misit

per singulas tribus Israel. Ib. 20 sqq. Quo commotus universus populus convenit in Massephat, atque ibi querela per levitam cognita, omnes in bellum exarsere, statuentes neminem virorum fas esse in tabernaculum succedere, priusquam de tanti sceleris auctoribus ultio capesseretur. Animis itaque ruebant in prælium; sed consilium prudentiorum prævertit sententiam, non temere confligendum bello cum civibus, sed prius verbis experiendum de flagitio, et decernendum conditionibus pro delictis: neque justum videri, ut paucorum sceleris pretium ad omnes perveniret, et privata adolescentium peccata statum salutis publicæ labefactarent. Itaque miserunt viros, qui denuntiarent Gabaonitis, ut tanti reos flagitii offerrent: sin autem, cognoscerent non minoris esse criminis tantum facinus defendisse, quam exercuisse.

11. Judg. xix. 15 sqq. Verum illis superba referentibus, consilia pacis bello mutata. Neque primo aut secundo conflictu cum plurimi a paucis afflictarentur, cedendum Israelitæ adversis præliis æstimarunt; quadringenta enim millia virorum bellantium adversum vigintiquinque millia Benjamin tribus, et septingentos Gabaonitas expertos belli juvenes decertabant. Et cum sinistra sorte duo sibi jam cecidissent prælia; animi tamen promtus haudquaquam deposuit Israel vincendi fiduciam, et ulciscendi præsumtam spem.

12. Ib. 26 sqq. Sed quia causa numeroque præstantiores, inferiores pugnæ eventu pedem retulerant, divinam offensam rati, jejunio et fletu maximo reconciliationem gratiæ cœlestis affectavere. Itaque orata Domini pace, acriores in bellum revertuntur; ut pote quibus oraculum animos dederat, spem accumulaverat. Et simulato a fronte quod cederetur, ac dispositis per noctem insidiis a tergo urbis, in qua locata erat manus hostium; dum hi cedunt, et illi sectantur, invadendi urbem vacuam facta copia, et mox admoto statimque adulto incendio, flammarum fragor atque æstus furens captæ urbis speciem manifestarunt. Quo et suis fracti animi, et

erecti hostium. Nam et Benjamin viri clausos se et circumventos rati, priusquam a tergo invaderentur, dispergere sese, atque in desertum fugere cœperunt; et contra Israel gemino agmine urgere eos, ac palantes persequi.

13. Ib. 35 sqq. Cæsa itaque vigintiquinque millia, id est, omnes fere de viris Benjamin, præter sexcentos, qui arrepto scrupeæ rupis munimento, partim loci ingenio et subsidio naturæ, partim desperatione victoribus terrori fuere. Nam secundæ res cautionis admonent: in adversis ultio pro victoria habetur. Nec feminarum numerus tanti discriminis exsors fuit: sed omnis tribus Benjamin muliebris sexus cum pueris et puellis, omnique ætate gladio aut igne extinctus; sacramentumque additum, ne quis tribus illius viro filiam suam in uxorem daret, quo reparandi nominis omnis aboleretur successio.

14. Ib. xxi. 2, 3. Belli finis simul atque iræ factus, et furor in pœnitentiam vertit: armisque positis, in unum convenientes viri Israel fleverunt fletum magnum, et celebrarunt jejunium, dolentes unam tribum perisse ex fratribus, atque extinctam populi sui validam manum: jure quidem pro delicti pretio bellatum adversum propugnatores flagitiorum, sed misere in sua populum conversum viscera, et bello civili utrumque afflictum. Lacrymarum effusio movit passionem animi, et affectum perpulit, sævitiæ ratio successit: missique legati ad sexcentos illos Benjamin viros, qui per quatuor menses edito se præruptarum tuebantur rupium, aut deserti indigentia, quæ multitudini obsidentium periculo foret, deploraverunt communem illam ærumnam, quod illi contribules, isti cognatos et socios amisissent; sed tamen non penitus interceptam reparandæ tribus successionem, consulere se in medium quomodo et sacramenti fides sibi constet, et tribus una nequaquam a corpore avulsa intercidat.

15. Judg. xxi. 4 sqq. Altari itaque posito, reconciliationis et pacis oblatum sacrificium. Et quia Jabis Galaad populus erat pœnæ et maledicto obnoxius, (obstrinxerat enim se omnis Israel magno sacramento, ut si quis

non ascendisset cum eo ad puniendum flagitium, morte moreretur,) duodecim millia bellatorum directa: ut et viri omnes et mulieres ferro extinguerentur, solas virilis thori exsortes reservarent adolescentulas. Interfectis itaque omnibus Jabis Galaad, solæ virgines quadringentæ exitio ceterorum superfuerunt. Quas accipiens Israel, statuit viros Benjamin belli metum deponere, et in conjugium sibi sumere integras ævi juxta ac pudoris puellas: quibus et causa esset apud viros integra, quod nemo suorum adversum eos bellum susceperat: et caritatis gratia, quia propter eos supremo supplicio ereptæ forent. Hoc igitur modo quadringentis juvenibus quæsita copularum consortia sunt.

16. Ib. 16 sqq. Sed quia ducenti numero supererant, quibus jugales deerant, iis quoque sine fraude sacramentorum consultum accepimus. Die festus in Silo quotannis celebrabatur. Ibi exsultare solitæ virgines, et choreas ducere in honorem religionis: aliæ præire matribus, et totum iter agmine viantum repleri. Dixit unus ex senioribus: Si ducenti illi tribus Benjamin viri intra vineas siti excubias tenderent, donec se omnis feminea turba effunderet, et surgentes ex vineis unusquisque quam occursus dederit, uxorem sibi vindicaret, fraudi id nequaquam futurum; populum etenim favere reparandæ tribus successioni, propter sacramentum impertire non posse filiarum suarum societatem: neque tamen contra sacramentum videri, si prohibendum non putaret; quia sacramento neque cogendi, neque prohibendi necessitas imposita videretur: illos sibi sine metu consulere oportere. Sane si puellarum parentes vindictam efflagitarent, partim prece, partim etiam retorquendo in ipsos invitæ culpam custodiæ, sese revocaturos; quia cum scirent Benjamin viros exsortes esse jugalium, cum filiabus processerint: dignam sane tribum jam non pœna, sed misericordia: satis dure sævitum in eos, et debellatam corporis sui partem: immoderatius exarsisse plebem, ut successionem domesticam extingueret, atque ex suis

necaret: placere Deo non perire populo tribum, neque pro una muliere tam acerbe consuli.

17. Judg. xxi. 23. Probaverunt consilium Israelitæ: exsequuti sunt viri Benjamin, et dispositi in vineis loco opportuno et tempore, plenas feminei agminis vias occupaverunt. Præbuit illis festum nuptiarum religionis solemnitas. Avulsæ de complexu patrum filiæ, tanquam in manum ab ipsis parentibus tradebantur, et velut pactam e gremio matris non abduci, sed prodire arbitrareris. Ita tribus Benjamin pene intercepta atque extincta brevi floruit, documentum exhibens, quod magno exitio sit insolentibus vindicta pudicitiæ, et læsæ castitatis ultio.

18. Nec hoc solo loco, sed plerisque Scriptura hoc docet. Gen. xii. 17. Nam et in Genesi legimus exercitum quæstionibus regem Ægypti Pharao, quod Saram adtentavisset; et tamen alienam esse uxorem nesciebat.

19. Est igitur Domino castitatis tuendæ voluntas, quanto magis est defensandæ integritatis? Unde nulla debet virginibus sacris irrogari injuria; quæ enim non nubunt, et qui uxores non ducunt, S. Luke xx. 36. habentur sicut Angeli Dei in cælo. Et ideo cœlesti gratiæ non inferamus corporalem contumeliam; quoniam potens est Deus, quem nec prævaricatio prætereat, et moveat accepti sibi muneris et consecratæ virginitatis acerba et gravis contumelia. Vale, frater, et nos dilige: quia nos te diligimus.

ENDNOTES.

1

The word in the original is Sacerdos. It is constantly used by S. Ambrose and other writers of his time for Bishops, though they sometimes add a qualifying epithet, ‘Summus Sacerdos.’ But even alone it is used where the writer is clearly speaking of Bishops, and of Bishops quâ Bishops. Thus it occurs frequently in the Proceedings of the Council of Aquileia, which is itself styled ‘Sacerdotale Concilium.’ See the Article ‘Bishop’ by Mr. Haddan in Dict. of Chr. Ant. Vol. 1 p. 210 b., who refers also to Bp. Taylor, Episc. Assert. § 27. It has therefore been rendered ‘Bishop’ throughout this volume, wherever it is plain that the reference is to Bishops, and ‘Priest’ wherever it is used in a more general way.

2

This forms the two first books of the ‘De Fide’ still extant among the works of S. Ambrose. The other three books were added afterwards, as S. Ambrose explains at the beginning of Bk. iii, to maintain his statements against the attacks of heretical teachers. The Treatise, ‘De Spiritu Sancto,’ in 3 books, was sent afterwards in 381 A.D.

3

Nivei. This is the reading all MSS. Ed. Rom. has ‘vivi,’ which would agree better with the text of S. John.

4

The Benedictine reference for the first of these texts is Prov. xiv. 3. *The lips of the wise shall preserve them*, with which the Sept. and Vulg. agree. In the second the English Vers. has *The lips of the wise disperse knowledge*. Here S. Ambr. agrees with the Sept.

5

Forum Cornelii was on the Via Æmilia, about 23 miles S.E. of Bononia. It was at this time in the Province Æmilia. The modern name is Imola.

6

The Benedictine Editors refer this to the ravages of the Goths after Valens' defeat at Hadrianople A.D. 375. It is on this that they found the date of the letter, but the reference is somewhat vague.

7

tubera

8

Amentata illa non manipularis sententia. Ed. Ben. refers to Junius, Adagiorum Centuriae 3, 10, who says 'Amentatam sententiam dixit D. Ambrosius pro validâ et haud vulgari firmisque argumentis roboratâ. Est autem amentum lori genus quo hasta praeligata validius certiusque libratur evibraturque: hinc amentata sententia ea est quæ neutiquam trivialis est et pedanea, cujusmodi manipularis vocatur, velut a gregario milite profecta, sed eximia et artificio vallata.' He quotes two passages from Cicero, De Orat. 1 57, 242. Brut. 78. 271, in both which places he uses 'amentatæ hastæ' of arguments, and also Tertull. adv. Marc. iv. 33 where he says that our Lord amentavit [Phariseis] hanc sententiam, non potestis Deo servire et mammonæ, where it plainly means, 'gave them this home-thrust.'

9

puleium, lit. the herb penny royal.

10

Bassianus is mentioned among the Bishops who took in the Council of Aquileia, as Bishop of Laus Pompeia, now Lodi Vecchio, S.E. of Milan. The modern town of Lodi is about 5 miles from the site of the ancient one.

11

He means the day of his consecration as Bishop. So S. Ambr. speaks of his own consecration day as his birthday, Comm. in Luc. vii. 78.

12

Comum is the modern Como, at the southern extremity of the Lake which takes its name from it.

13

These words are added by S. Ambrose.

14

statera.

15

denarius.

16

ὅροι.

17

There is no text in Holy Scripture exactly corresponding to this. Lev. xxv. 11 which is referred to by Ed. Ben. is hardly to the point.

18

There can be little doubt that the true date is iii. Non. Sept. i. e. the 3rd of Sept., and not Nonis, the 5th. For in 381 A.D. the 5th of Sept. was on a Sunday, and it is hardly likely that a Council would have sat from daybreak till one o'clock (Ep. 10. 5) in the Church on such a day, and moreover it would not have been natural for Palladius to say, as he does in § 47. Non respondebo nisi auditores veniant post Dominicam diem, if he were speaking on a Sunday.

19

The reading of Ed. Rom. has been adopted, which omits the preposition 'cum.' If this were correct, it would imply that the consuls were themselves taking a leading part in the Council; whereas it is clear that they are mentioned solely as the ordinary way of fixing the year; nor had the consuls at this time any other than such ornamental functions. See Gibbon's description, ch. xvii. vol. ii. ed. Smith p. 206–208.

20

By 'acta' here are meant formal and official records taken down and published by authority. Thus Jul. Cæsar ordered the 'Acta' of the Senate to be regularly published. Suet. Cæs. 20.

21

It is to be remembered that ‘diocese’ was then a civil and not an Ecclesiastical term. A ‘diœcesis’ was an aggregate of provinces, under the charge of a Vicarius, who was subordinate to one of the four Præfecti Prætorio, each Præfectus having under him a number of dioceses. Thus the Vicarius Italiæ, who was subordinate to the Præfectus Prætorio Italiæ, had in his diocese fourteen provinces, including both Liguria of which Milan was the capital, and Venetia in which Aquileia was situated. It is to be remembered also that Italia at this time meant only the north of Italy, the rest of Italy being now included in the Diocese of Rome, and under the Vicarius Urbis Romae. See the table given in Smith’s Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 315. taken from Marquardt. When the word diocese came into Ecclesiastical use, it was applied, first to “an aggregate not merely of several districts, governed each by its own bishop, but of several provinces (ἐπαρχίαι) each presided over by a metropolitan. The diocese itself was under an Exarch or Patriarch.” Dict. of Chr. Ant. sub voc. ‘Creditâ’ is here read for ‘creditam,’ as required by the order of the words.

22

It is not certain to whom the Emperor’s letter was addressed. Some have thought that it was addressed to the Pretorian Prefect of Italy. Tillemont maintained that it was addressed to Valerian, Bishop of Aquileia, in whose see the Council was held. The language, though not decisive, seems in favour of the former supposition. In § 7. the Prefect of Italy is spoken of as issuing letters in pursuance of it.

23

i. e. a copy of S. Paul’s Epistles.

24

i. e. the Emperor’s letter.

25

The text here seems defective, nor is there any thing to guide us to supply the lacuna. What is given in the translation is no more than a guess at the meaning of the sentence. The general connection is however clear enough even if it be omitted.

26

The reading of Ed. Rom. is here adopted, as alone furnishing a reasonable sense. The Benedictine text is unintelligible.

27

By Illyricum is here meant Illyricum Occidentale, which at this time was under the jurisdiction of the Vicarius Italiæ. (See the Table in Smith's Gibbon, referred to in note[299]299 p. 33.) Sirmium, which in the following Century was entirely destroyed by the Goths under Attila, was at this time a place of great importance both civil and ecclesiastical. It is spoken of by Justinian as capital of Illyricum both in civil and episcopal matters (Tillemont, note xv on the Life of S. Ambrose vol. x. p. 739). Its ecclesiastical importance is shewn by the contest in which S. Ambrose engaged with Justina, two years before the Council, 379 A.D. to bring about the election of Anemius as Bishop, when the Empress was using all her influence to cause an Arian Bishop to be appointed. Arianism had been rife there for some time, and Germinus a previous Bishop had been one of the leaders of that party. (Tillemont, S. Ambr. ch. xx.) Illyricum had been finally separated into two divisions, Orientale and Occidentale, by Gratian, in 379 A.D. who transferred the Eastern Division to Theodosius when he made him Emperor of the East, from which time it formed part of the Eastern Empire. (Tillemont, Hist. des Emp. vol. v. p. 716.)

28

The context requires the reading 'bonus' for 'omnibus,' which is that of one MS. The same MS. also inserts 'Deum' in Eusebius' next speech, which is required by the argument.

29

made Himself of no reputation E.T.

30

But now ye seek to kill me, a man &c. E.V.

31

By 'tractatus concilii Nicæni' is meant simply the Nicene Creed. This is established by S. Ambr. De Fide iii. 15. 125 (518 Ed. Ben.) where, speaking of the letter of Eusebius of Nicomedia read at the Council, in reference to the word ὁμοούσιος, he says, Hæc cum lecta esset epistola in Concilio Nicæno, hoc verbum *in tractatu fidei* posuerunt Patres, etc.

32

The reading in Ed. Ben. is 'carendum.' If it is genuine, the word must have acquired a sort of transitive sense and have come to mean 'to be deprived.' No traces of such an use is to be found in Facciolati or in Ducange. Ed. Ben. quotes a parallel use of 'abstinendus' but without any instances.

Rom. reads ‘privandum,’ Chifflet ‘curandum,’ either of which give the required sense, but seem corrections without MS. authority.

33

The text in this passage is defective and confused: but the general sense, as given here, may fairly be made out of it as it stands.

34

It is to be noticed that the sentence of only twenty-five Bishops are here given out of thirty two or thirty three. It is probable therefore that the Record is defective, and that the sentences of the rest have been lost.

35

Ed. Ben. here reads, Et cum Secundianus subripuisset. As subripuisset by itself could have no sense, the reading of Ed. Rom. has been adopted, Et cum Secundianus se paullulum subripuisset et postea convenisset. This is adopted in Tillemont’s narrative, Il sortit mesme de l’assemblée, mais il revint quelque temps après.

36

This is according to the text of Ed. Rom.

37

The abrupt termination of the discussion with Secundianus, without any account of a decision in his case, seems to point to the same conclusion as the incomplete list of Bishops who give sentence on Palladius, that the Record is defective. Moreover the unusual number of various readings is generally a sign of a defective text. The force and cleverness of the evasions of Secundianus seem sometimes to be lost thereby.

38

With regard to the names of the sees, those of which the modern name is as familiar or more familiar than the ancient have been rendered by the modern name, those of which the modern name would be unfamiliar to general readers have been left in their ancient form. It would be affectation to call S. Ambrose Bishop of Mediolanum: on the other hand nothing would be gained by calling Felix Bishop of Jadera, Bishop of Zara.

39

This name is omitted in the list at the beginning, so that there are thirty three in this list, only thirty two in the other. The two presbyters were probably representatives of Bishops, but it is not stated of whom.

40

It is probable that similar letters were addressed to the Bishops of the other Provinces of Gaul, who had sent Justus as their deputy, and to Africa and Illyricum, though no record of them remains. Possibly they were identical, except the address. Gaul had at this time been so subdivided, that the Vicariate or civil Diocese consisted of no less than seventeen provinces. See Marquardt's Table, as quoted above.

41

There is no mention of the condemnation of Attalus in the Records, another proof that they are not complete.

42

Julianus Valens was Bishop of Petavio or Pettau on the Drave, into which See he had apparently been introduced in the place of the orthodox Bishop Marcus: for this is, according to Tillemont, the meaning of the word 'superpositus.' When Pannonia and Illyricum were overrun by the Goths after Valens' defeat at Hadrianople, (378 A.D.) he deserted his charge. The ravages of the Barbarians are described by S. Jerome ad cap i. Zephan. vol. iii. p. 1645. See Gibbon ch. 26. (from a note in Newman's Fleury, vol. 1 p. 38.)

43

The reading here is uncertain. Ed. Rom. has 'prout jam et sacerdotum concilio sententia in eos lata est.' Nor is it certain to what laws allusion is made. A long note in Ed. Ben. does not seem to clear up the matter.

44

Dacia Ripensis. The original Province of Dacia was beyond the Danube. It was conquered and included in the Empire by Trajan. In the time of Aurelian it was abandoned again, and the Danube re-established as the frontier. Then the Roman colonists were removed to the South of the Danube, into the central district of Mœsia, which was then called Dacia Aureliani. This was afterwards divided

into two Provinces, called Dacia Ripensis and Dacia Mediterranea, Ripensis being the northern part, extending along the bank of the Danube, whence the name.

45

"Damasus was made Pope on the death of Liberius A.D. 366. Ursinus, called by some Ursicinus, was, as Damasus had been, Deacon at Rome, and could not endure the exaltation of his former colleague who is suspected of having taken part with Felix, the successor to the power of Liberius, when exiled by the Arians. Ursinus was factiously consecrated by one Bishop, and a contest ensued in which even much blood was shed. Ursinus was banished, and being recalled the next year, was banished again after two months. In 371 he was allowed to leave his place of exile, and only excluded from Rome and the suburbicarian provinces. In 378 he held the factious meetings mentioned in the letter, and was exiled to Cologne. He continued to petition Gratian to restore him, and hence the request of the Bishops at Aquileia." Note in Newman's Fleury vol. 1, p. 38.

46

i. e. Julianus Valens, Bp. of Petavio, mentioned in the preceding letter.

47

after the first and second admonition E.V.

48

This Lucius the person who, after the death of S. Athanasius, was forced upon the Church of Alexandria as Bishop, in the place of Peter who had been duly elected, by the Governor of the Province. His crimes and cruelties are recorded at length by Eccl. Hist. iv. 21, 22. He was eventually expelled from the see he had usurped, and is mentioned by Socrates, Hist. Eccl. v. 7, as afterwards dwelling at Constantinople and sharing the fate of Demophilus.

49

Demophilus was originally Bishop of Beroea, (probably Beroea in Thrace,) and was deposed from his office for Arianism. In A.D. 370, on the death of Eudoxius, he was elected by the Arian party Bishop of Constantinople, in opposition to Evagrius. He was supported by Valens who was then Emperor, and Evagrius banished. In 380 A.D. after the accession of Theodosius, matters were changed. Theodosius offered to maintain him in his see, if he subscribed the Nicene Confession, but he refused, and withdrew, and maintained, in conjunction with Lucius and others, Arian worship

outside the walls of Constantinople. He died A.D. 386. He is mentioned by S. Ambrose (De Fide 1. 6. 45.) as a leader of one of the various forms of Arianism.

50

This refers to the long schism which had existed in the Church at Antioch, ever since 331 A.D. when Eustathius was deposed by the Arian party: in 361 A.D. Meletius was elected as successor to Eudoxius, having previously subscribed the Creed of Acacius (Socr. ii. 44.); but on his accepting the Nicene Creed, and acknowledging the Homoousion, he was deposed, and banished by the Emperor Constantius, and Euzoius, an Arian, appointed in his stead, who was afterwards succeeded by Dorotheus, (who was afterwards transferred to Constantinople, 385 A.D.) Meanwhile Meletius had returned from exile, but the extreme orthodox party refused to recognise him, because he had at first been appointed as a Semi-Arian, and elected Paulinus, though the Council of Alexandria had urged them to submit to Meletius, so that, as Socrates says, when recounting the Bishops of the chief sees in the year 379, the Church at Antioch τριχῆ διῄρητο. Paulinus was supported by the Church of Alexandria and by the Bishops of the West, and, as appears from the statements of this letter, a compromise had been proposed, that when either Meletius or Paulinus died, both parties would acknowledge the survivor. The Bishops at Aquileia urge the Emperor to enforce this, not aware that Flavian had already been elected as Meletius' successor at the Council of Constantinople. The schism was thus perpetuated, and continued till 415 A.D.

What the difficulty about Timotheus was, is not certain. He had been consecrated Bishop of Alexandria that same year, after the death of Peter, the successor of S. Athanasius. Tillemont (vol. x. p. 139) suggests that it was probably connected with the question of the succession at Antioch.

51

The enemy are the Goths under Fritigern. See Gibbon ch. 26.

52

The reading 'pactum' which is suggested by Valerius is here adopted instead of 'factum', which seems to give no satisfactory sense.

53

Fleury remarks on this 'This letter plainly shews that the Bishops who were there present (i. e. at the Council of Aquileia) either did not acknowledge the Council which had been lately held at Constantinople to be an Œcumenical Council, or that they were not yet informed of what had been transacted in it.

54

In the regard of the question between Nectarius and Maximus, the Western Bishops had been deceived by the latter. Maximus, called the Cynic because he retained the outward garb of a Cynic philosopher after he professed to have become a Christian, was irregularly consecrated at Constantinople, but was never recognised, and was formally pronounced by the Council not to be a true Bishop. He then went about trying to stir up other Churches in his favour. See Prof. Bright's Hist. of the Church, pp. 160–166.

Nectarius was elected after the resignation of Gregory Nazianzen, during the Council of Constantinople. He, like S. Ambrose, was unbaptized and held a high civil office at the time of his election.

55

This is translated from an ingenious and probable conjecture of Valesius.

56

The text through this long sentence is confused and ungrammatical, but it conveys the general sense expressed in the translation with tolerable clearness.

57

i. e. Gratian.

58

The sense is here to be elicited probably by repeating the word 'quod,' so that the sentence should run, 'dogma nescio quod, quod Apollinaris asseritur.'

59

There seems to be something corrupt in the text. Perhaps we should read 'moventur,' 'the dangerous parts of Illyricum are in commotion;' or 'suspecta' has taken the place of some word, such as 'superiora,' which would stand in antithesis to 'maritima.'

60

It may complete the subject of this series of letters to remind the reader that about the same time that the Council of the Italian Bishops was held, Theodosius convened a second Council at

Constantinople to deal with the questions raised by the Westerns, where most of the Bishops who had formed the previous General Council re-assembled. They replied to the invitation to another General Council at Rome by a Synodical letter, which is given at full length by Theodoret (Eccles. Hist. v. 9.). In it they excuse themselves from attending, on the ground of their presence being required in their own Dioceses, especially after the long exile of many of them, and the prevalence of Arian usurpation, wishing that they 'had the wings of a dove,' to fly to their Western brethren. They then give a summary of the doctrinal decisions of the two Councils, and announce that they have sent three Bishops as deputies to explain all things more fully to them, and, with reference to the disputed successions at Constantinople and Antioch, give their assurance to their brethren that both Nectarius and Flavian were canonically elected, and the elections ratified both by the clergy and the faithful of each diocese, and by the Council, reminding them of the ancient Canon re-affirmed at Nicæa that each province should settle all such questions for themselves.

61

Acholius, or Ascholius, as he is called by Socrates, was the Bishop who baptised Theodosius, during an illness which seized him on a campaign against the Goths. He was present at the Council of Constantinople, and afterwards at that of Rome, not as one of the deputies from the East, but probably because his see had been so recently transferred to the Eastern Empire, that he might seem to belong to both East and West. (Tillemont Ambr. ch. xxxi.) It was there that he met S. Ambrose, who had gone to Rome to attend the Council, and had fallen ill. His death must have occurred in A.D. 383, for his successor Anysius was Bishop before the death of Damasus, Bishop of Rome, who died in A.D. 384. Theodoret therefore (B. v. ch. 18.) must be wrong in making him the Bishop who wrote to S. Ambrose an account of the massacre at Thessalonica, which occurred in A.D. 390. But the passage of Theodoret occurs in only one MS., and is perhaps not genuine.

62

The Goths had been settled within the boundaries of the Empire by Valens in A.D. 376, when they implored his protection against the Huns. He established them in Moesia, where they soon revolted, and ravaged Thrace, uniting with their former enemies, the Huns, and other barbarians. Valens was defeated and slain by them in A.D. 378, and then they overran all the neighbouring provinces. There is a graphic account in Gibbon, ch. xxvi.

63

The Benedictine text here reads 'claudebatur.' Several MSS., as the editors mention in a note, have 'claudebat.' They themselves suggest 'claudicabat.' But 'claudebat' really gives the same meaning, and there seems little doubt that it is the true reading. It comes from claudeo or claudo, (for both forms are to be found,) meaning 'to be lame,' 'to halt.' It occurs three times in Cicero.

64

‘fisco vel arcæ.’ The ‘fiscus,’ or imperial treasury, received whatever was assigned to the Emperor individually, as distinguished from the ‘aerarium,’ which received what belonged to the senate, as representing the old republica: ‘arca’ is sometimes used in late writers as equivalent to ‘fiscus,’ sometimes, when distinguished from it, as here, it signifies the city funds, which were distinct from both.

65

Julian’s edict, forbidding the Christians to teach in the schools of grammar and rhetoric, is mentioned with disapproval by Gibbon ch. xxiii.

66

i. e. his half brother Gratian.

67

i. e. Maximus.

68

Valentinian the 1st.

69

This is sometimes represented as an exaggerated piece of rhetoric on S. Ambrose’s part, not to be regarded as representing a real truth: but it may very well do so, for Valentinian was almost constantly occupied with wars on the frontiers of the empire, and it does not appear from his life that he was ever at Rome during his reign. Milan, not Rome, was the chief seat of the Western Emperors at this time, when they were not with their armies.

70

The Præfectus Urbi at this time ‘was regarded as the direct representative of the Emperor,’ and, among other duties, ‘he had every month to make a report to the Emperor of the transactions of the Senate,’ and also was ‘the medium through which the Emperors received the petitions and presents from their capital.’ Dict. of Ant. sub voc.

71

By the ‘late emperor’ is meant Julian; ‘his successor’ is Valentinian the 1st, and ‘last Emperors’ are Valentinian the 1st and Valens.

72

There is a play here on the words ‘nomen’ and ‘numen.’

73

Symmachus is thinking of Virgil’s invocation,

Di patrii, Indigetes, et Romule, Vestaque Mater, &c.

Georg. i. 498.

The Di patrii are explained as being those brought by Æneas into Italy, Indigetes those native to the soil of Italy.

74

In strict law a slave’s peculium was the property of his owner, but custom had allowed it to be regarded his own property.

75

Another trace of Virgil:

Cum jam glandes atque arbuta sacræ
Deficerent silvæ et victum Dodona negaret.

Georg. i. 158.

76

Valentinian the 1st, as Symmachus mentions above, had tolerated the heathen rites, and this he here represents as having availed to win the special favour of the gods.

77

This an official title of honour. There were three ranks among those who held office under the Emperors, 1 Illustres, 2 Spectabiles, 3 Clarissimi, which is the one here applied to Symmachus. The

latter was applied to all senators: the other two were reserved for the higher offices of state. See Gibbon, ch. xvii.

78

He is referring apparently to Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, but somewhat exaggerates the brevity of their reigns. Galba reigned nearly seven months, Otho three months, Vitellius nearly eight months.

79

The captive Emperor is Valerian, who, A.D. 260, was taken prisoner by Sapor king of Persia, and treated with the utmost indignity. The other is his son Gallienus, and S. Ambrose's expression with regard to him may be explained by a sentence of Gibbon, (ch. xi. init.) 'Under the deplorable reigns of Valerian and Gallienus, the empire was oppressed and almost destroyed by the soldiers, the tyrants, and the barbarians.'

80

S. Ambrose refers here to a law of Valentinian's, forbidding the Clergy from receiving bequests from widows and unmarried females. It was addressed to Damasus, Bishop of Rome. S. Ambrose's caution in de Off. Min. 1, 20, 87, shews that control was needed. S. Jerome, speaking of this law says, 'I do not complain of the law, but grieve that we have deserved it.'

81

In the provincial towns the political power in the times of the Emperors had passed into the hands of the curia or provincial Senate; and, with the power, many burdensome and extensive duties, were laid upon the curiales or decurions, as they were called. (See § 15.) Exemption from these had been granted first by Constantine; afterwards, as it was found that persons sought Holy Orders in order to evade civil duties, the privilege was restrained: and various changes were introduced by different Emperors. A full outline of the various laws is given in a learned note in Newman's Fleury, vol. i. p. 162. where the text is speaking of S. Ambrose's Letter to Theodosius, (infr. Lett. xl.) where he again complains of the same hardship. The subject is also more fully dealt with by Bingham Antiq. B. V. ch. iii. § 14–16.

82

'Conferte' is here adopted as a manifest emendation of 'conferet.' The transfer of two letters is a common mistake of copyists.

83

This was the case in Julian's reign, as may be seen in Theod. iii. 12.

84

The reading of all the other Edd. 'sacri nemoris' for 'agri nemorum' is here adopted, as yielding a clearer sense.

85

Pannonia was at this time divided into three provinces, viz. Pannonia Prima and Secunda, and Valeria Ripensis.

86

Rhaetia Secunda was the name given to Vindelicia when separated again from Rhaetia proper, shortly before the time of Constantine: it had been united to it about the end of the first century.

87

The Reading 'nuda gignentium' is adopted from Ed. Rom. The phrase occurs in Sallust Jug. 79, 6. 'Gignentia' is used for plants, trees &c. The clause 'quae nos' &c. is strange, but probably refers to the torpidity of winter, which is felt by man as well as by the lower creation.

88

This passage seems suggested by reminiscences of Virgil, the phrase 'absconditam pretio humum' possibly from Aen. iv, 211. urbem Exiguam pretio posuit, while in the latter part S. Ambrose perhaps had in his mind the description of Evander's town in Aen. viii. See especially ll. 347–366.

89

The story of Cybele being brought to Rome, and landing outside the city, where the little stream of the Almo joins the Tiber, is told at length by Ovid, Fast. iv. 250–348. In commemoration of the washing of the Statue and sacred implements at the landing, an annual ceremony was maintained, which seems to have been popular, from the numerous allusions to it in later writers. See Lucan 1. 600, Martial iii. 47. 2, Stat. Silv. v. 1. 222, Sil. Ital. viii. 365, all quoted in Dict. of Geogr. When the rites were performed away from Rome, the nearest river was conventionally made the Almo for the time. It is remarkable that Ammianus Marcellinus xxiii, 3, 7. mentions as one of the Emperor Julian's lasts acts, his keeping the day of this rite, when on his last campaign against the Persians, and performing all the ceremonies at Callinicum or Nicephorium on the Euphrates.

90

Venus Cælestis is a Latin equivalent of Ἀφροδίτη οὐρανία, and this name was transferred, according to Herodotus (Bk. i. ch. 105.) to the Phœnician goddess Astarte, or Ashtaroth. The same author also (B. i. ch. 131.) identifies Aphrodite with the Persian goddess Mitra, which however is shewn by Prof. Rawlinson, ad loc., to be an error, as Mithras is the sun-god of the Persians. The Temple of Venus Cælestis, or Astarte, at Carthage was very shortly after this time converted into a Christian Church, as recorded by Gibbon on the authority of Prosper Aquitan. (ch. xxviii).

91

S. Ambrose's repeated assertions, that the Christians formed a majority in the Senate, are characterised by writers unfavourable to Christianity as unfounded, but they produce no proof. Gibbon (ch. xxviii. note 12.) simply says that it is an assertion 'in contradiction to common sense.' But as a large majority of the Senate voted for the abolition of the worship of Jupiter about the same time, as Gibbon himself records, common sense would seem rather to agree with S. Ambrose.

92

Referring to the unhappy end of Gratian who in the previous year (A.D. 383.) had been overpowered by Maximus, who revolted in Britain, and attacked him in Gaul. His troops deserted him and he was put to death by Maximus' orders.

93

Pompeius was murdered, as he landed in Egypt, after escaping from Pharsalia, by Achillas an Eunuch and one of the guardians of king Ptolemy.

94

Tomyris queen of the Massagetæ. See the story in Herod. i. 214.

95

This is the first of the famous Hamilcars, the one who led the great invasion of Sicily in B.C. 480, and was totally defeated by Gelon. Herodotus, B. vii. ch. 167, tells the story to which S. Ambrose alludes as the account given by the Carthaginians of his end.

96

S. Ambrose is alluding to the famous story of Julian burning his fleet, after crossing the Tigris to attack Sapor, king of Persia, in his dominions. This was regarded afterwards by the Christians as an act of judicial blindness. See Augustine de Civ. Dei iv. 29, v. 21. Ammianus, xxiv. 7. asserts that he repented of the order as soon as it was issued, but was too late to stop the flames. Gibbon endeavours to justify the act, and says, 'had he been victorious we should now admire his conduct.' See his narrative in ch. xxiv. The author of his life in the Dict. of Ant. styles it 'the best thing he could have done, if his march into the interior of Persia, had been dictated by absolute necessity.' Setting these hypotheses aside, and looking only at the actual result, we may fairly think that the Christian interpretation of the facts, even if over-strongly expressed, is the truer.

97

He here refers to Josephus Antiq. v. ch. iv.

98

The name given in the Hebrew is Ramath Lehi, which means, 'the hill or lifting up of the jaw-bone.' S. Ambrose interprets it below 'maxillae interfectionem.' He would seem to be here suggesting a Greek etymology. The Benedictine note suggests that the name Agon is a confusion on his part from the word σιαγὼν in Josephus.

99

The words 'quasi in cubitum intexti' are probably from the Old Latin Version of the Bible. Field, on Origen's Hexapla in loc. (Judg. xvi. 13.) mentions that some MSS of LXX read ἐὰν ὑφάνης ὡςει πῆχυν or ὡς ἐπὶ πῆχυν, which may very well have been translated by some such words as the above, in the Old Latin Version which S. Ambrose used.

100

The expression 'principes virtutum' seems to be a phrase from the Old Testament. In the Vulgate we find 'rex virtutum' Ps. lxvii, (lxviii. E.V.) 13, where the E.V. has 'kings of armies,' and in Judith xiv. 17 (19 E.V.) 'Quod quum audissent principes virtutis Assyriorum,' and in 1 Macc. v. 56. 'Azarias princeps virtutis.' The 'comites consistoriani' formed a sort of cabinet (consistorium) or privy council to the Emperor. The Benedictine Editors take 'principes virtutum' as meaning the Magistri militum, but the absence of any conjunction is against this.

101

This must mean the Præfectus prætorio Italiæ, one of the four great Viceroys, under whom the Dioceses of the Empire were placed. He was supreme over all Italy, and the countries north of it to the Danube, and the western part of the north of Africa. He had under him three Dioceses, containing thirty Provinces.

102

The title given them is ‘Decani.’ They seem to have been something like the lictors of the great officers of state under the republic.

103

These ‘vela’ or hangings were a token that the building was claimed for the ‘fiscus,’ or private property of the Emperor. Gibbon in his grand way says, ‘the splendid canopy and hangings of the royal seat were arranged in the customary manner,’ but, as is noticed by the writer of the Life of S. Ambrose in Dict. of Christian Biog. it is clear from the sequel of the narrative (see § 20) that they were outside, not inside the Church.

104

The words in the original are ‘missam facere.’ Prof. Bright in his History notes that this is ‘the earliest instance, apparently, of this term being used for the Eucharistic service.’

105

‘The introduction of barbarians into the Roman armies became every day more universal, more necessary, and more fatal. The most daring of the Scythians, of the Goths, and of the Germans, were enrolled not only in the auxiliaries of their respective nations, but in the legions themselves, and among the most distinguished of the Palatine troops.’ (Gibbon, ch. xvii.) The Goths were Arians. It was much about this time that Ulfilas, the apostle of the Goths, made his famous translation of the Bible into Gothic. See Bright’s Hist. of the Church p. 157.

106

This is the Vulgate rendering of ‘*At Salem is His Tabernacle*.’

107

On the high rank and great influence of the Præpositus cubiculi, or Grand Chamberlain, see Gibbon ch. xvii. They ranked with the Præfecti prætorio and other highest officers of state as Illustres. See note on Lett. xvii. § 1.

108

A reply of Valentinian the 1st to some Bishops of the Hellespont and Bithynia, who demanded permission to meet ‘to amend the doctrine of the faith,’ is given by Sozomen. (vi. 7.) His words are, ‘It is not lawful for me, as a layman, to busy myself about such matters as these: let the Bishops, whose business it is, meet by themselves wherever they will.’ To the same effect are the words of his which Theodoret reports, (iv. 6.) when bidding the Bishops of the province elect a successor to Auxentius. He bids them choose a fit person, ‘that we also, who rule the empire, may sincerely bow our heads to him, and welcome his reproofs, (for, being men, we cannot but stumble,) as a remedial discipline.’ What law is referred to is uncertain. The Benedictine Editors, after mentioning some which had been suggested ‘think it more probable that the law referred to is not extant.’

109

Gibbon (ch. xxv.) in his character of Valentinian says, ‘In the time of Julian he provoked the danger of disgrace by the contempt which he publicly expressed for the reigning religion.’ The story is told by Theod. Eccles. Hist. iii. 16. Valentinian was in official attendance on the Emperor Julian on one occasion when he went to the temple of Fortune to perform rites. ‘On either side of the door were stationed attendants, who sprinkled all who came in with lustral water to purify them, as they believed. When some of the drops fell on his cloak, Valentinian struck the attendants with his fist, saying that he was defiled not purified by them.’ For this he was dismissed from the court, and sent to a solitary garrison. The same story is told with slight variations by Sozomen. Hist. vi. 6.

110

He is alluding to his own election.

111

This is true of the first decision of the Council, but as S. Ambrose says, ‘it ended badly,’ for the Bishops were inveigled into accepting a less orthodox formula. See Prof. Bright’s Hist. p. 94, 98.

112

S. Ambrose here delicately alludes to the service he had rendered to Valentinian in going on his behalf to the court of the usurper Maximus after the death of Gratian, which is referred to in Letter xxiv.

113

‘This was not so great an inconvenience to them as might appear at first sight, for the early Basilicas were not unlike the heathen temples, or our own collegiate chapels, that is, part of a range of buildings, which contained the lodgings of the ecclesiastics, and formed a fortress in themselves, which could easily be blockaded either from within or without.’ Newman. Ch. of the Fathers. p. 22.

114

The words ‘custodiam’ and ‘amisit,’ are repeated by S. Ambrose from the former part of the sentence. ‘Amisit’ as applied here recalls the Psalmist’s expression, ‘Hath God forgotten to be gracious?’ Ps. lxxvii. 9.

115

This refers to a story thus recounted in Paulinus’ Life of S. Ambrose ch. 12, ‘Among many who tried to force S. Ambrose into exile, but through God’s protection failed of their purpose, one Euthymius more hapless than the rest, was stirred to such a pitch of frenzy that he hired a house close to the Church, and there kept a carriage, that he might the more readily carry off Ambrose into exile, by seizing him and putting him in the carriage. But *his wickedness fell upon his own pate*, (Ps. vii. 7.) for that very day year, he was himself put into the carriage and from the same house was carried into exile, confessing that it was by the just judgment of God that his wickedness had recoiled on himself, and he was carried into exile in the very chariot which he had prepared for the Bishop. And the Bishop did much to comfort him, by giving him money, and other necessaries.’

116

The word is ‘curiales.’ See Footnote 81 on Lett. xviii. To the authorities there referred to add Bingh. Antiq. iv, 4, 4, where Gothofred’s enumeration of their duties is given in full in the notes.

117

Zech. v. 1 [E.V. a flying roll. Vulg. volumen volans.]

118

i. e. by causing them to commit sacrilege.

119

There is a play here on the word ‘aerarios,’ as connected with ‘aerarium’ the treasury. The aerarii were the lowest class of people at Rome, and so S. Ambrose calls the ‘pauperes Christi’ his aerarii, while at the same time they are the treasures of the Church.

120

S. Augustine mentions in his Confessions (ix. 7.) S. Ambrose's introduction both of Hymns and chanting during this period of trial. 'Then was it first instituted that, after the manner of the Eastern Churches, Hymns and Psalms should be sung, lest the people should wax faint through the tediousness of sorrow; and from that day to this the custom is retained, divers, yea, almost all Thy Congregations throughout other parts of the world following herein.' Oxf. Transl. He speaks in the same passage of the behaviour of the people: 'The devout people kept watch in the Church, ready to die with their Bishop Thy servant.' He also dwells on the effect produced on himself, these events happening shortly before his conversion. 'How did I weep in Thy Hymns and Canticles, touched to the quick by the voice of Thy sweet-attuned Church! The voices flowed into mine ears, and the Truth distilled into mine heart, whence the affections of my devotion overflowed, and tears ran down, and happy was I therein.' Ib. ix. 6. It is quite possible that some of the twelve Hymns, acknowledged by the Benedictine Editors as genuine, were then first sung. Among them are the well-known 'Aeterna Christi munera,' 'Aeterne rerum Conditor,' 'Deus Creator omnium,' and others, whose strains are now familiar in English versions.

121

This is said to be the Church now called 'S. Ambrose the greater.' The Roman Church is the one called in the previous letter the 'New Basilica,' and also the Church of the Apostles. It was probably called 'Romana' from being near the Porta Romana.

122

S. Augustine says that it was revealed to him in a dream.

123

These were ἐνεργούμενοι, or persons possessed by evil spirits. On them see Bingh. Antiq. iii. 4, 6. The laying on of hands was part of the rite of exorcism.

124

The text stands 'arriperetur urna,' nor is there any variation of MSS. noted. But it seems absolutely necessary to read 'una.' An 'urna' could have nothing to do with the matter. It might hold ashes, but surely not the bones of two men of marvellous size. The histories founded on the letter all tacitly adopt the emendation, and speak of 'a woman among the possessed.' See Fleury. B. xviii. 46. Tillemont in Vit.

125

now of S. Vitalis and S. Agricola Fleury p. 104. Eng. Tr.

126

This is distinctly asserted by S. Augustine in all the three passages referred to in the Introduction.

127

The word is ‘Enneacaidecateris.’ Mr. Hensley remarks in his article on Easter, ‘It has been often stated that the Council established a particular cycle, that of nineteen years, but this is a mistake.’

128

‘Nam incipit esse contrarium.’ According to Ducange ‘incipio’ is used in late Latin in the sense of the Greek verb μέλλω, and here, as it would seem, with the force with which that verb is so often used as equivalent to ‘it is likely’ or ‘it is sure’ that such and such is the case: see Lidd. and Scott. μέλλω, ii. 3, 4.

129

An allusion to Virg. Georg., 1, 276.

Ipsa dies alios alio dedit ordine luna Felices operum; quintam fuge, etc.

130

Days immediately following the Kalends, Nones or Ides, considered unlucky by the Romans. See A. Gellius, v. 17. What the ‘Egyptian days’ were is not ascertained.

131

This is the ordinary phrase for the day of the lunar month. See Bright Early Engl. Ch. Hist. p. 195.

132

S. Ambrose’s Latin is ‘mensis novorum.’ The LXX has ἐν μηνὶ τῶν νέων. The Vulgate ‘in mense novarum frugum.’

133

bitter herbs E.T. Ex. xii. 8.

134

The Era of Diocletian was the prevalent one at this time, and till the general adoption of the Christian Era, which did not become established until the 8th Century. See Mr. Hensley's article 'Era' in Dict. of Christ. Antiq. He gives there the rule for reducing the Era of Diocletian, the epoch of which is Aug. 29th A.D. 284, to the Christian Era, viz. to add 283 years and 240 days to the given date of Diocletian's Era. According to this the Easter of the 89th year of Diocletian would be A.D. 373, and that of the 93rd would be A.D. 377. The 'times lately past' would probably refer to A.D. 383, when, as may be seen by the Table, the 'fourteenth moon' fell on a Sunday.

135

There is a slight error here. The interval is 32 days, not 31.

136

There is some uncertainty about the reading here. The original reading in the text was 'biennium,' and, as this clearly did not agree with the facts the Benedictine Editors adopted a suggestion that 'biennium' was a mistaken rendering of a MS. which had 'vi-ennium.' But the period of 6 years would not be precise, as the year referred to must be A.D. 379, (see table,) which would be seven years before.

137

The precise words are not found in either of these passages.

138

in haste E.T.

139

against all the gods of Egypt E.T.

140

This would seem to be not quite correct. Mr. Hensley remarks that in A.D. 360. Easter day was on April 23rd but that the 'fourteenth moon' of that year was a Monday and not on a Sunday. The question is discussed in Ideler Chronol. vol. II. p. 254–257.

141

i. e. as Bishop.

142

The Juthungi were a German tribe settled on the north bank of the Danube, in what is now Austria Proper and Moravia. It is uncertain whether they were, as Ammianus Marcellinus describes them, a sept of the Alemanni, or whether they were Goths. It has been suggested that the name is only another form of Gothi or Gothones, (Dict. of Antiq.) The want of a detailed and accurate history of these times, which are just beyond the range of Ammianus, makes it difficult to make out clearly the allusions which S. Ambrose here makes. Tillemont explains them thus, 'Bauton seeing the Juthungan Alemanni ravaging Rhaetia, while the Roman soldiers were engaged in guarding the passes of the Alps against Maximus, summoned the Huns and Alans to make war on them. These tribes accordingly pillaged the territories of the Alemanni up to the frontiers of Gaul. But on Maximus complaining that they had been brought against him, Valentinian, to deprive him of any pretext for breaking off the peace, induced them to retire in the midst of their victories by presents of money.' He also considers that the reason why the Juthungi came to pillage Rhaetia that year was the extraordinary fertility, and that it is this invasion to which allusion is made in Letter xxiv, 21, where S. Ambrose says that Rhaetia Secunda 'drew down an enemy on herself by her abundance.'

143

S. Ambrose means Maximus' brother.

144

He seems to mean that pity for the dead should move him to less harsh treatment. But perhaps the word 'tuam' may have dropped out, and we should read 'tu tuam causam considera,' 'do you consider your own case.'

145

It seems necessary here to read 'allegabis' for 'allegabas,' as the past tense would be unmeaning.

146

Cabillonum is the ancient name of Châlons-sur-Saône.

147

He refers to the Bishops Idacius and Ithacius, who had induced Maximus to put Priscillian and others of his party to death, in spite of the remonstrances of S. Martin, who urged Maximus to be content

with their having been condemned by ecclesiastical sentence. Priscillian ‘had adopted a strange compound of various errors,’ (Prof. Bright Hist. p. 160.) chiefly Manichean. There is a full account of Maximus’ dealings with them in Fleury, xviii. 29, 30. Newman’s Transl. vol. 1, p. 66–69. S. Ambrose in Letter xxvi. condemns the conduct of these Bishops, and the appeal to the civil sword in Ecclesiastical cases, in still stronger terms.

148

The Benedictine Editors consider him to be referring to the Novatians.

149

S. Ambrose’s Latin is ‘scribe hoc viros abdicatos.’ The Vulg. has ‘scribe virum istum sterilem.’ The LXX. γράψον τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐκκήρυκτον.

150

abdicati.

151

Fleury remarks on this, ‘We must remember that the canonical penances inflicted for great crimes were at that time so very severe, that they were equal to a rigorous punishment.’

152

See Footnote 147 on Letter xxiv.

153

S. Ambrose makes the same statement again, De Spirit. iii. 17. ‘It is important then to notice *where* the Lord maintained this argument, for oft-times His oracles derive their value from the quality of the place where He was.’

154

nevel.

155

These words are not in the Heb. In LXX they take the place of the half-homer of barley, γομὸρ κριθῶν καὶ νέβελ οἴνου. S. Ambrose combines both.

156

It was said just afterwards, if the story of the woman taken in adultery be in its right place, which is doubtful.

157

Leah means ‘wearied,’ and the name is supposed to refer to her ‘tenderness’ or weakness of eyes. (Gen. xxix. 16). S. Ambrose gives a mistaken meaning to the name Rachel, which really means ‘ewe.’

158

S. Ambrose often gives this exposition of the name ‘Shechem.’

159

Isaac means ‘laughter.’ Gen. xxi. 6.

160

He is here referring to Virg. Ecl. 5, 77. Dumque thymo pascuntur apes, dum rore cicadae.

161

Here again he is thinking of Virg. Georg. 3, 328. Et cantu querulae rumpent arbusta cicadae.

162

Here again S. Ambrose is thinking of Virg. Georg. 2, 154. Squameus in spiram tractu se colligit anguis.

163

Perhaps quoted from memory from S. John iv. 26.

164

‘Veri vana.’ This is simply one of the Virgilian expressions of which S. Ambrose is so full. It is taken from Aen. x. 630, Nunc manet insontem gravis exitus, aut ego veri Vana feror.

165

The Engl. Vers. is ‘Prepare war, wake up the mighty men.’ The Vulg. ‘Sanctificate bellum, suscitate robustos.’

166

This refers to Ps. xix. 5. where the sun, that *rejoiceth as a giant to run his course*, is usually interpreted by the Fathers of the Messiah. It was a very favourite thought with S. Ambrose. In his Hymn ‘De Adventu Domini’ he adapts the language of the Psalm to it in words of beautiful simplicity,

Procedit e thalamo suo,

Pudoris aulâ regiâ

Geminæ Gigas substantiæ

Alacris ut currat viam.

Egressus Ejus a Patre,

Regressus Ejus ad Patrem,

Excursus usque ad Inferos,

Recursus ad sedem Dei.

In the De Incarn. ch. v. he gives a fuller explanation. ‘Him the Prophet Daniel describes as a Giant, because being of a twofold nature, He partaketh in one Person both of the Godhead and of a human Body, and exulted in going forth as a Bridegroom from His chamber, like a Giant, to run His course. He is Bridegroom of the soul as being the Word, He is a Giant of earth because He fulfilled all the duties of our daily life, and, though He was ever the eternal God, took upon Him the Mystery of the Incarnation.’

167

The English Version has ‘*The partridge sitteth on eggs and hatcheth them not*.’ S. Ambrose is referring to § 11 of the preceding Letter, where he applies the text to Satan. He makes the same application of it in Letter xlvi. 14.

168

perdendo.

169

contrarius.

170

judicio.

171

judicio.

172

judicium.

173

‘Cornici oculum effodere’ was a familiar Latin proverb for overcoming craft with craft. See Cic. pro Mur. 11, pro Flacco, 20.

174

primitivus.

175

primogenitus.

176

Horontianus appears to have been, like Irenæus, a pupil of S. Ambrose, and to have been ordained by him, and to have been, as the Benedictine Editors say, ‘In clericorum contubernio educatus ab infantia.’ Nothing more is known of him. See Letter lxx. 25.

177

ἐντελέχεια.

178

propria corporis.

179

Sun, E. V. Sol, Vulg.

180

primitias.

181

primogenita.

182

The difference in the original is only the punctuation; in the first case, ‘Nam quod videt quis quid, et sperat:’ in the second, ‘Nam quod videt quis, quid et sperat?’

183

S. Ambrose is evidently referring to his mission to Maximus, and the persecution of Justina.

184

There is another reading of several MSS., ‘et ille profecto gemitus,’ which seems to offer a better sense, ‘and that groaning is indeed truly unutterable, etc.’

185

Canaan. E.V.

186

The Vulgate has, ‘Trahitur autem sapientia de occultis.’ The E.V. is, ‘The price of wisdom is above rubies.’

187

This is referred by the Benedictine Editors to Prov. xxii. 7. but it does not agree with either the Sept. or Vulgate.

188

τοῦ πνεύματος is inserted in a few MSS, and Spiritus is in the Vulgate.

189

The story of Calanus and Alexander is related in Arian vii. 2. It is also more briefly alluded to by Plutarch. Alex. 65. Neither writer mentions this letter.

190

vibulamina. Gr. μοσχεύματα.

191

i. e. the three children in the furnace.

192

S. Ambrose is here imitating the consolation offered by Ser. Sulpicius to Cicero on the death of his daughter. See Ep. ad Div. iv, 5, 4.

193

distinxisti ei.

194

‘Oriens’ or ‘the East’ was the title of the great civil ‘diocese’ which included Syria, Palestine, Cilicia, Cyprus, Mesopotamia, and some adjacent districts, and corresponded to the Patriarchate of Antioch in the ecclesiastical division. It was originally under one chief called ‘Comes orientis,’ but it would appear from this passage, as is asserted by Gothofred, that the civil and military functions had been divided, and there were now two officers, ‘Comes orientis militarium partium,’ and ‘Comes orientis civilium partium.’ The subject is somewhat obscure.

195

Callinicum was in Osrhoene, a name given to the north-western part of Mesopotamia.

196

Socrates, B. v. ch. 13., mentions that Nectarius' house was burnt by the Arian party in the same year in which this letter was written.

197

See a note in Newman's Fleury, p. 160.

198

Andragathius, who commanded a fleet in Maximus' interest expecting Theodosius to come to Italy by sea.

199

The Benedictine editors say 'tota hæc pericope in uno Cod. Reg. desideratur: forte non male.' It is difficult to elicit any sense from it.

200

Siscia, now Sissek, was a large town in upper Pannonia, on the south bank of the Save. Petavio, now Pettau, was on the Drave. It seems likely that 'in Sicilia' should be omitted, as being only a false meaning for 'Sciscia.' There is no mention of Sicily being in any way connected with the war. But see Tillemont, Theod. art. xlv.

201

S. Ambrose is quoting from memory and slightly varies the facts from the narrative in book of Judges.

202

See a learned note in Newman's Fleury vol. 1 p. 162, on the exemption of the Clergy from municipal offices, compare also Letter xviii. 14, and the note there.

203

i. e. the Count of the East.

204

This refers to the famous sedition at Antioch, when the mob, enraged at the imposition of new taxes, overthrew the Emperor's statues, and dragged them through the city. After a period of suspense, during which S. Chrysostom preached the Homilies on the Statues, Theodosius, who had at first been violently enraged, sent them a free pardon. This was in the previous year.

205

i. e. of Maximus.

206

spiritum.

207

sacramentum.

208

refrigerat.

209

The Latin title is 'Magister equitum et peditum.' When the Præfecti Prætorio became civil rather than military officers, the chief command of the armies was transferred to two high officers, called, one 'Magister equitum,' and the other 'Magister peditum.' When the empire was divided these became four, and eventually the number was increased to eight, who were all called 'Magistri equitum et peditum.' See Gibbon ch. xvii. 3.

210

i. e. the 'Comes Orientis,' under whose jurisdiction the matter was, and who had sent the report to the Emperor. See Lett. xl. 6.

211

sospitatis indicio.

212

This sentence as it stands in the text is incomplete, the ‘quia’ having no correlative. The ‘at vero quia’ seems like ‘at enim’ in Classical Latin, or perhaps the ‘quia’ should be omitted.

213

See Letter xix, 7. S. Ambrose in De Abraham B. 1. c. 9, 93 alludes to the use of the veil in Christian marriages.

214

This name appears in the reply of the Milan Synod as Plotinus, which is probably the true form.

215

There are three laws in the code of Theodosius directed against the Manichees, one of the year 372 A.D. which forbade them to hold assemblies, one of 389 A.D. and one of 391 A.D. ordering their banishment. It is probably the second of these that is referred to, though Gothofred refers it to the third, in which case the date of the Letter must be altered.

216

All these names except Geminianus occur in the list of Bishops present at the Council of Aquileia. See p. 60.

217

νοῦς.

218

This whole passage is full of expressions borrowed from Virgil.

219

This title seems here to be applied especially to the constellations of the Pleiades and Hyades, each of which consisted of seven stars.

220

See note on Letter xxvi. 9.

221

morsus hominum. E. V. ‘principal men.’

222

Devoravit mors praevalens. The E. V. is, ‘He will swallow up death in victory.’ The Vulg. has, ‘Praecipitabit mortem in sempiternum.’

223

The word ‘vitae’ is here inserted as necessary to the sense, and to the accuracy of the quotation.

224

νοῦς.

225

diminuit.

226

ampliavit.

227

This agrees with the LXX, καὶ ἄνθρωπός ἐστι καὶ τίς γνώσεται αὐτόν;

228

specie.

229

puerum.

230

‘Ecce ego mittam servum meum, Oriens nomen Ejus.’ Vulg. has ‘Ecce ego adducam servum meum Orientem.’ ‘Oriens nomen Ejus’ comes in v. 12. ‘Behold I will bring forth my servant the Branch.’ The same word in the original is used also in Is. iv. 2. Jerem. xxiii. 5. xxiii. 15. and in all those passages the Vulg. renders it by ‘Germen.’ In the passages of Zech. and Jerem. the LXX. have the word ἀνατολή. The word in the original means ‘a sprout’ or ‘shoot.’

231

See Letter xxxii. 1.

232

He is quoting from a letter of Cicero's. Ep. ix. 3. Longi subsellii, ut noster Pompeius appellat, judicatio et mora.

233

He is here quoting from Cicero De off. iii. 1, where Cicero gives as a saying of Scipio Africanus, on the authority of Cato, 'numquam se minus otiosum esse quam quum otiosus, nec minus solum quam quum solus esset.' It is quoted again by S. Ambrose in De off. Min. iii. 1, 107.

234

This is the reading of most MSS, according to the Benedictine Editors. And, though the connection of ideas is somewhat abrupt, they explain it to be, that, as the gift of faith was bestowed on Abraham the Chaldean, so the gift of prophecy was bestowed on Balaam. All the other Editions have 'Balaam' instead of 'Abraham'. This makes the connection easier, but then 'adscitur ad fidem' is strangely applied to him, and it could only mean, 'is employed to utter the truth.' He might be called a Chaldean as the common name among the Romans for Eastern diviners generally.

235

The Magister officiorum was a sort of Chief Secretary of state, both for home and foreign affairs. A summary of his duties may be seen in Gibbon ch. xvii, iv, 2. It was the influence which this post gave him over Theodosius which enabled Rufinus to stir the Emperor's passionateness to the crime of Thessalonica.

236

The adjective Portuensis generally refers to the town called Portus, which grew up in the times of the Emperors on the harbour of Ostia. It is probable therefore that the reference is to some work of which the person spoken of had the superintendence.

237

As Lake Larius was sometimes called Lacus Comacinus in the times of the Emperors, (Dict. of Geogr. voc. Comum.) it is probable that the 'Comacinæ rupes' were some familiar rocks on its

margin. The comparison to a bull is simply an adaptation of Virgil's 'Et faciem tauro propior,' Georg. iii. 58.

238

The word 'bonis' must certainly here be inserted in the text, 'uterque alienae magis ordinationis vitiis quam suis bonis fretus,' as suggested by the Benedictine Editors. It occurs just below in the corresponding sentence, 'suis potius bonis quam alieno vitio defendi.'

239

He is sometimes spoken of as Bishop of Nairsus in Dacia Mediterranea (see Note in p. 67.) but Tillemont (note 43 in Life of S. Ambrose) has made it probable that there were two Bishops of the name of Bonosus, one of Nairsus, and the other of Sardica, the latter of whom is the one dealt with by the Synod of Capua.

240

He is referring to the 'Memorial of Symmachus.' p. 94. The 'two petitions,' libellos duos, are Letters 17 and 18.

241

He means that the reason why he declines all communication with Eugenius, who wished to secure his great political influence on his side, was, that he felt sure that Eugenius, though at present temporising with both parties, would in the end yield to the pressure of the pagan party, and restore the revenues to the heathen temples. 'Extorquendum' is, in accordance with late Latin idiom, a mere future passive.

242

confusus fuerit.

243

confundar.

244

See Letter xliv. 9, and note c there.

245

compares.

246

The argument here turns on the Latin words. ‘Avunculus,’ uncle, is a mere diminutive of ‘avus,’ grand-father; and the one word ‘neptis’ is used both for niece and grand-daughter without any distinction.

247

The ‘not’ is inserted according to the suggestion of the Benedictine Editors. There seems a contradiction in terms without it.

248

agnatio.

249

agnatio.

250

cognatio.

251

‘Apices’ here and in § 5 undoubtedly means ‘a letter.’ ‘Apex,’ in late Latin, is used for a single letter written, and ‘apices’ like ‘literae,’ for a continuous writing. Aulus Gellius (xiii. 30, 10. xvii. 9, 12.) quoted in White’s Dictionary, uses the phrase ‘literarum apices,’ and in Cod. Just. ii. 8, 6. we find ‘Augusti apices’ for ‘the Emperor’s rescripts.’

252

Theodoret, v. 24. gives a detailed account of the ways in which the special intervention of heaven was displayed in Theodosius’ campaign against Eugenius. S. Aug. De Civ. Dei, v. 26. says that Theodosius ‘contra robustissimum Eugenii exercitum magis orando quam feriendo pugnavit,’ and, after mentioning stories told by eye-witnesses of the manifest intervention of God on his behalf, quotes the well-known lines of Claudian,

O nimium dilecte Deo cui fundit ab antris

Æolus armatas hyemes, cui militat æther,

Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti.

253

The word here used is plural, Venetiarum. From this it has been argued that this letter must be of later date than S. Ambrose's time, as Venetiæ is the usual name for the city, which was not founded till the time of Attila. (Gibbon ch. xxxv. vol. iv. p. 242 ed. Smith.) But he certainly uses the plural form in Letter xviii. 21, which is undoubtedly his, and therefore, as Tillemont has pointed out, no argument can be founded on this against the present letter. It is possible that under the plural form he intends to include Venetia and Histria, which are reckoned together as one consular province in the civil division of the empire, (see Marquardt's Table, in Smith's Gibbon vol. ii. p. 315.) and also as one ecclesiastical province in the Exarchate of Milan, (see Bingham ix. 1, 6.) By 'finitimis Italiæ partibus' he probably means Flaminia and Picenum Annonarium, which were also included in the 'Diocese' of Italy and Exarchate of Milan.

254

intentio.

255

It is to be noted that Eusebius, who died in A.D. 371, was not the last Bishop of Vercellæ, but Limenius, whose name occurs among the Bishops who took part in the Council of Aquileia. This has also been made an argument against S. Ambrose's authorship, but there does not seem much weight in it. Eusebius was much the more famous man of the two, and his teaching and example and the memory of his labours and martyrdom are naturally appealed to by S. Ambrose.

256

These were, it appears, followers of Jovinian. See above, Introd. to Letter of Siricius, p. 280.

257

reprobus.

258

reprobum.

259

Nothing is known of this man, nor is even the name certain, as there are many various readings. The Benedictines suggest that it may mean Philodemus, who is mentioned by Diog. Laert. x. 3. as a follower of Epicurus, and is also spoken of by Cicero, De fin. 11, 35. and by Horace, Sat. 1, 2, 21.

260

sobrii estote. Vulg.

261

Nothing is known of Demarchus, whom S. Ambrose here quotes. The Benedictines suggest that it may be a mistake for Hermarchus, who was Epicurus' successor as head of his school, and who wrote books in defence of the Epicurean philosophy. He is mentioned several times by Cicero.

262

Though the so-called Epicureans of later days perverted his theory to what is generally known as Epicureanism, Epicurus himself certainly did not mean by pleasure sensual pleasure. 'Pleasure was not with him a momentary and transitory sensation, but he conceived it as something lasting and imperishable, consisting in pure and noble mental enjoyments.' 'He was a man of pure simple and temperate habits.' Dict. of Biog. in voc. Vol. ii. p. 34, 35.

263

This must be the sense if we retain the interrogation. If it is omitted the passage would mean, 'Men then are recalled from that, in which' &c., i. e., it is plainly unfitting for men to do that, in which &c.

264

S. Ambrose is alluding apparently to Ezra proclaiming and keeping a fast to remove God's anger against his people. Should we not read 'memoriae' for 'memoriâ?' Ezra did restore the Scriptures *to* the memory of the people, but it does not appear that he restored them *from* memory?

265

Sobrietatis inebrietas.

266

Sola.

267

Mary and Miriam are really the same name, the former having come through the Greek form Μαρία.

268

laqueus.

269

A reminiscence of Virgil's,

Ante expectatum positis stat in agmine castris.

Georg. iii. 348.

270

The reading here varies. Ben. has 'in Concilio Nicaeni tractatus,' which may mean 'the Council which made the Nicene Creed,' (for the phrase 'Nicaenus tractatus' as applied to the Creed see note 1 on Acts of Council of Aquileia.) Another reading is 'in Concilii Nicaeni tractatu,' and another 'in Concilio Nicaeno tractatus.'

There is a difficulty about S. Ambrose's statement, as there is nothing on the subject in the Canons of Nicaea. The Benedictine editors, after discussing other explanations, suggest that S. Ambrose may have had an inaccurate copy of the Canons, with the one he here quotes inserted from some other Council. Some unauthentic documents professing to give Nicene regulations on the subject are quoted in Dict. of Christian Antiq. Art. Digamy.

271

impressio.

272

praescriptio.

273

The most conspicuous instance was Nectarius. See note 54, on Letter xiii.

274

Eusebius and Dionysius Bishop of Milan were driven into exile by the Emperor Valens, because they refused at the third Council of Milan, A.D. 355, to subscribe the condemnation of Athanasius. There is a brief but graphic account of the circumstances in Bright's History of the Church, pages 70–73.

275

longaevi super terram.

276

The expression 'aula regalis,' applied to the Mother of our Lord, may be illustrated from De Instit. Virg. ch. xii. § 79. Ipse ergo Rex Israel transivit hanc portam, ipse Dux sedit in ea, quando Verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis, quasi Rex sedens in aula regali uteri virginalis. Compare also the expression in S. Ambrose's Hymn on the Nativity, Procedit e thalamo suo, Pudoris aula regia, &c.

277

With this Letter begins what the Benedictines have called a second division of the Letters, containing those which furnish no internal evidence of their date sufficient to justify their being assigned a place in chronological order. They are arranged according to their matter, 1st, those which contain expositions of passages of Holy Scripture, (lxi–lxxv.), 2nd, those which discuss as important, and mostly doctrinal subjects, (lxxvi–lxxxiii.), 3rd, a few brief letters of ordinary friendly intercourse, (lxxxiv–xci.)

278

See note 222 on Letter xliv. 10.

279

Whether the true reading here be 'traditio' as Ben. has, or 'editio' as Rom., the reference must be to the ἐκδόσεις or versions which Origen brought together in his Hexapla, of which the fifth, the sixth, and the seventh, (for there was a seventh,) were only known by their numbers. See Art. by Tregelles on 'Ancient Versions,' in Smith's Dict. of the Bible, vol. iii. p. 1623.

280

a diebus saeculi.

281

Saeculum.

282

i. e. the priesthood. cf. 1 Tim. iii. 13.

283

Bethlehem.

284

institutis.

285

castellum.

286

עֳנִי signifying affliction; עָנִי one humbled by affliction and so, it was inferred, brought to obedience.

287

Baehr on Herod. ii. 37. quotes with apparent approval Wesseling's opinion that in fact, though Herodotus does not expressly state it, among the Egyptians only the priests and those initiated in the mysteries received circumcision. It is to this perhaps that S. Ambrose is here alluding. See also the art. on 'Circumcision' in Smith's Dict. of the Bible.

288

confusus fuerit.

289

subditus fiat. Vulg.

290

in Christo. εἰς χριστόν.

291

Why this letter, which plainly declares itself in the first section to be a sequel of the previous one, is addressed to a different name, it is difficult to say. There is a similar difficulty about Letter xxvi, and possibly the same solution may apply here as is suggested by the Ben. Edd. there. See Introd. to Lett. xxvi.

292

The phrase ‘cernere hereditatem’ is a well-known law-term, meaning literally ‘to decide to accept an inheritance,’ and then ‘to enter upon it.’ But as this sense will not agree with the context, it seems necessary to take ‘cernere,’ as the Benedictine note does, in its common sense of ‘to see.’

293

The words ἁρμονίᾳ τοῦ Λόγου δεδεμένον seem to be a gloss on S. Paul’s compound συναρμολογούμενον. They are not part of his text, though S. Ambrose seems here to be quoting them as if they were.

294

laborat.

295

cleros.

296

It seems necessary to the sense here to insert ‘quae’ before ‘obtexerent.’

297

v. c. here is an abbreviation for vir clarissimus, a title of official rank. See note in p. 101.

298

lætus.

Concerning the Sacraments (Pseudo Ambrose)

Translated by T. Thompson, 1919

CONTENTS

CHARACTER, AUTHORSHIP, AND DATE OF THE TREATISE "ON THE SACRAMENTS"

BOOK I

CHAPTER I
CHAPTER II
CHAPTER III
CHAPTER IV
CHAPTER V
CHAPTER VI

BOOK II

CHAPTER I
CHAPTER II
CHAPTER III
CHAPTER IV
CHAPTER V
CHAPTER VI
CHAPTER VII

BOOK III

CHAPTER I
CHAPTER II

BOOK IV

CHAPTER I
CHAPTER II
CHAPTER III
CHAPTER IV
CHAPTER V
CHAPTER VI

BOOK V

CHAPTER I
CHAPTER II
CHAPTER III
CHAPTER IV

BOOK VI

CHAPTER I
CHAPTER II
CHAPTER III
CHAPTER IV
CHAPTER V

CHARACTER, AUTHORSHIP, AND DATE OF THE TREATISE "ON THE SACRAMENTS"

THE TREATISE ON the Sacraments consists of six sermons delivered to the newly-baptized in Easter week. They deal with Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, the Lord's Prayer, and Prayer. The work is nearly related to de Mysteriis, which it closely follows, embodying and expanding most of its contents. Its description of the rites of baptism is at times more exact than that of de Mysteriis, and it quotes several of the actual formularies employed, where they are either merely referred to, or passed over, in the earlier work. The author supplements the account of the "feet-washing" contained in his source by a statement that it is not practised at Rome, and while expressing his desire to follow in all respects the pattern of the Roman Church, he vindicates in this respect the custom of his own Church (iii. 1. 5-6). On the Eucharist he gives much fuller information than Ambrose. Not only does he refer to the prayers preceding the Canon (iv. 4. 14), but he quotes a considerable portion of the Canon itself, as well as the doxology at the close of the Lord's Prayer (iv. 5. 21-23; iv. 6. 26-27; vi. 5. 24). The exposition of the Lord's Prayer in Book V. is not found in de Mysteriis, nor is the description of the parts of prayer (vi. 5. 22 f.), which is modelled on Ambrose, de Inst. Virg. ii. 8-10. With these exceptions the treatise for the most part reproduces the contents of de Myst. But though the author has made free use of the materials of the earlier work, his style is different from that of Ambrose. He frequently introduces his point by a short question, a rhetorical device very sparingly used by Ambrose. He nowhere rises to the spiritual fervour exhibited by Ambrose in de Myst. vi.

29 (with its personal address to our Lord). Moreover, he shows occasionally his independence of the earlier work, rearranging its material, omitting or expanding particular points, and sometimes developing the ideas suggested by a passage of Scripture quoted in his source (cp. e.g. the application of Eccl. ii. 14 in de Myst. vi. 30 and de Sacram. iii. 1. 1). In the treatment of the doctrinal significance of the "feet-washing" he silently corrects the conclusions of Ambrose (de Myst. vi. 32; de Sacram. iii. 1. 7). In his eucharistic teaching he follows Ambrose in his assertion of the operative power of the word of Christ in changing the elements into the body and blood of Christ. But he goes further than Ambrose in his recoil from the materialistic conclusions that might be drawn from this doctrine, and in so doing he falls back on the earlier language which speaks of receiving "the likeness of the death" and "drinking the likeness of the blood," and comes very near to conceiving of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist as a presence of grace and power only (iv. 4. 20; vi. 1. 3. See further, p. xxxvii below). In the passage iii. 2. 13 f. he may possibly have in view the Pelagian denial of original sin, in which case we have an indication that the author is later than Ambrose. If, further, the reference to the Greek custom of communicating once a year (v. 4. 25) is due to acquaintance with Chrysostom's homilies (see note, l.c.), we have a further indication of late date. Lastly, it is improbable that Ambrose would have so closely copied an earlier work of his own.

Like de Myst., this treatise came prominently into notice in connexion with the controversies between Catholics and Protestants at the time of the Reformation. Its authenticity was attacked by Bullinger, by Aubertin (whose verdict was "He is the ape of Ambrose"), and by Daillé. Aubertin assigned it to the seventh century, Daillé to the eighth. Doubts were also expressed on the opposite side by Cardinal Bona and the Benedictine editors. Various theories have been propounded as to the authorship.

Tillemont's suggestion of Maximus of Turin has gained little credence. It has been revived in recent times by Schermann (Röm. Quartalschrift, xvii. (1903), 254 f.), who points out that in the oldest MS. of de Sacram. the book follows immediately the Homilies of Maximus. Another theory, advanced by Probst (Lit. des viert. Jahrh.,) and Dom Morin (Revue bénéd. (1894) xi. 343 f.), is that the book was compiled from notes taken by those who had heard the sermons of Ambrose. But this theory fails to explain the peculiar characteristics which distinguish it from the genuine works of Ambrose. The question of authorship therefore remains open.

As to date, the presence of the treatise in the St. Gall MS. 188 of the seventh century, shows that it must be earlier than that period. Other indications are supplied by the fact that the treatise presupposes a condition of Church life in which adult baptism was still the rule, and in which baptism was normally celebrated at Easter (see iv. 1. 2, note), while other passages imply that heathenism still flourished (vi. 4. 18; vi. 5. 21). The prayers quoted in iv. 5. 21-23; iv. 6. 26-27 are of an earlier type than the Roman Canon in the Gelasian Sacramentary (see below, pp. xxxii ff.). The writer refers to Arianism (vi. 2. 10; cp. v. 1. 1, note), and possibly to Pelagianism (iii. 2. 13 f.), though the indirect character of this latter reference suggests a date at which the controversy had not yet been fought out. A less certain indication of date is afforded by the character of the Scripture quotations, which present in the Old Testament a form of the Latin Version earlier than the Vulgate (see below, p. xlii). The writer shows respect for the Church of Rome, whose pattern and rule he expresses a desire to follow (iii. 1. 5), though he claims a certain degree of independence in the matter of the usages of his own Church. His attitude in fact suggests a position of affairs like that revealed in the letter of Pope Innocent I to Decentius (416 a.d.), in which the see of Rome was advancing its claims over other churches in the matter of liturgical conformity, no less

than in matters of discipline. These indications suggest a date in one of the earlier decades of the fifth century. The affinity of the rites of baptism with those of Milan, the resemblance of the Canon of the Mass to that of the Roman rite, and the author's attitude to Rome, suggest that he lived in some North Italian district closely associated with Milan on the one hand and Rome on the other. Duchesne (Christian Worship, Eng. tr.,) suggests Ravenna.

The author is acquainted with other works of Ambrose, besides de Mysteriis. He makes use of the language of de Officiis in describing the sevenfold gifts of the Spirit (iii. 2. 9), and his discussion of the parts of prayer is, as we have seen, based on de Institutione Virginis. His treatment of prayer and the Lord's Prayer suggests that he was acquainted with Origen's treatise de Oratione. Elsewhere (ii. 6. 17, 19) his teaching echoes that of Greek Church writers (see notes).

The addresses, six in number, appear to have been begun on Tuesday in Easter week and concluded on the following Sunday. At the close of the fourth address (iv. 6. 29) the author expresses his intention to continue his discourses "to-morrow, Saturday, and on Sunday" (crastina die, sabbato, et dominica), where "Saturday" is in apposition to "to-morrow." But a misunderstanding of the words led to the idea that there were three more sermons to follow. Hence the St. Gall MS. divides the last book into two parts, beginning a new book with vi. 5. 25, obviously an unnatural division. Similarly, some MSS. of de Mysteriis describe that work as Book I. of de Sacramentis, and rearrange the numbering of the books of the latter treatise accordingly; while in one MS., after the present six books of the treatise, there appears, under the heading "Book VII.," a sermon found in the Appendix of Augustine's works (Serm. 247; Migne, P. L. xxxviii. 2200), which is attributed to Ivo of Chartres.

BOOK I

CHAPTER I

WHY INSTRUCTION ON the sacraments was deferred. The "opening of the ears."

The sacraments which you have received are the theme of my discourse. To have given a reasoned account of these earlier would not have been right; for in a Christian man faith is first. Therefore, at Rome the title of "faithful" is given to those who have been baptized; and also our father Abraham was justified by faith, not by works. So you received baptism, you believed. For it is wrong for me to think otherwise; for thou wouldst not have been called to grace, had not Christ thought thee worthy of his grace.

Therefore, what did we do on the Saturday? What but "the opening"? Which mysteries of "opening" were performed, when the priest touched thine ears and nostrils. It is this which our Lord Jesus Christ indicates in the Gospel, when a deaf and dumb man was brought to him, and he touched his ears and his mouth: the ears, because he was deaf; the mouth, because he was dumb: and said, Ephpheta. It is a Hebrew word, which rendered into Latin is adaperire, that is, Be opened. The reason, therefore, that the priest touched thine ears was that thine ears might be opened to the discourse and the address of the priest.

But thou sayest to me, "Why the nostrils?" In that case, because he was dumb, he touched his mouth; that, since he could not speak heavenly mysteries, he might receive utterance from Christ. Also, in that case because it was a man; in our case, because women are baptized, and there is not the same purity in the servant as in the Lord (for what comparison can

there be, when the latter forgives sins, the former has his sins remitted?), therefore, on account of the grace bestowed by his act and office, the bishop touches not the mouth but the nostrils; that thou mayest receive a sweet savour of eternal godliness, and that thou mayest say, For we are a sweet savour of Christ unto God, as the holy Apostle said; and there may be in thee the full fragrance of faith and devotion.

CHAPTER II

THE UNCTION BEFORE baptism. Of the renunciations, and the dignity of the office of priests, who were witnesses of their baptismal promises.

We came to the font, thou didst enter. Consider whom thou sawest; consider what thou saidst, recall it carefully. A levite met thee, a presbyter met thee. Thou wast anointed as Christ's athlete; as about to wrestle in the fight of this world, thou didst profess the objects of thy wrestling. He who wrestles, has something to hope for; where the contest is, there is the crown. Thou wrestlest in the world, but thou art crowned by Christ, and thou art crowned for contests in the world; for, though the reward is in heaven, yet the earning of the reward is placed here.

When he asked thee, "Dost thou renounce the devil and his works," what didst thou reply? "I renounce." "Dost thou renounce the world and its pleasures," what didst thou reply? "I renounce." Be mindful of thy words, and never let the contents of thy bond pass from thy memory. If thou givest a man thy note of hand, thou art held to be under acknowledgment of receiving his money; thou art held bound, and the lender keeps thee to it, however unwilling thou mayest be. If thou deniest, thou goest before the judge, and there thou art convicted by thy bond.

Consider where thou didst promise, or to whom thou didst promise. Thou sawest a levite. But he is the minister of Christ; thou hast seen him ministering at the altar. Therefore, thy note of hand is kept, not on earth, but in heaven. Consider where thou receivest the heavenly mysteries. If the body of Christ is here, the angels are stationed here also. Where the body is, there also are the eagles, hast thou read in the Gospel. Where the body of

Christ is, there also the eagles are wont to fly, that they may shun earthly things, pursue heavenly.

Why do I say this? Because men also are angels, whosoever proclaim Christ, and seem to be admitted into the place of angels. How? Take the case of the Baptist. John was born of a man and a woman. Yet hear how even he is an angel: Behold, I send my angel before thy face, and he shall prepare thy way before thee. Take another passage of the prophet Malachi: For the priest's lips keep knowledge, and they seek the law at his mouth: for he is the angel of God Almighty. These things are said to extol the dignity of the priest, not to claim anything for personal merits.

Therefore, thou hast renounced the world, thou hast renounced this life. Be careful. A man who owes money is always considering his bond. And thou who owest faith to Christ, keep faith, which is much more precious than money; for faith is an eternal possession, money a temporal. And, therefore, always remember what thou hast promised, and thou wilt be more cautious. If thou keepest thy promise, thou wilt keep also thy bond.

CHAPTER III

IN THE BAPTISMAL rite there was more than appeared to the outward eye.

Then thou drewest near; thou sawest the font, thou sawest also the priest above the font. Nor can I doubt, that this may have occurred to your mind, which occurred to the Syrian Naaman; for, although he was cleansed, yet he doubted previously. Why? I will tell; listen.

Thou didst enter, thou sawest the water, thou sawest the priest, thou sawest a levite. Let not some one haply say, “Is this all?” Yes, it is all. It is truly all, where all is innocency, all is godliness, all is grace, all is sanctification. Thou hast seen all that thou couldst see with the eyes of thy body and with human vision. Thou hast not seen the things which are effected, because they cannot be seen. The things which are not seen are far greater than those which are seen; since the things which are seen are temporal, the things which are not seen are eternal.

CHAPTER IV

THE SACRAMENTS OF Christians are more divine, and earlier, than those of the Jews. The meaning of the Passover.

Therefore, let us say this first (hold my words as a pledge, and exact full payment). We marvel at the mysteries of the Jews, which were given to our fathers, pre-eminent first in the antiquity of their sacraments, then in their holiness. This I promise, that the sacraments of Christians are more divine and older than those of the Jews.

What stands out so much as the fact that the people of the Jews passed through the sea? — to speak for the present of baptism. Yet the Jews who passed through all died in the wilderness. But he who passes through this font, that is from earthly to heavenly things — for this is the "passing over,"3 therefore, pascha, that is, his passover, a passing over from sin to life, from guilt to grace, from defilement to sanctification — he who passes through this font, dies not, but rises again.

CHAPTER V

THE STORY OF Naaman, and the baptism of Christ.

To resume, Naaman was a leper. A certain maid said to his wife, "If my lord wishes to be cleansed, let him go into the land of Israel, and there he will find him who can take the leprosy from him." She spoke to her mistress, the wife spoke to her husband, Naaman spoke to the king of Syria, who sent him as his favourite to the king of Israel. The king of Israel heard that a man had been sent to him to be cured of his leprosy, and he rent his garment. Then Elisha the prophet charges him: "Wherefore hast thou rent thy garment, as if God were not able to cleanse a leper? Send him to me." He sent him, and, when he came, the prophet said, "Go to Jordan, dip, and thou shalt be healed."

He began to reflect and to say: "Is this all? I have come from Syria into the land of Judah, and I am told, Go and descend into Jordan, dip, and thou shalt be healed, as if there were not better rivers in my native land." So his servants said to him, "My lord, why dost thou not carry out the word of the prophet? Do it rather, and make trial." Then he went to Jordan, dipped, and arose whole.

What, then, does it mean? Thou sawest water. But it is not all water that heals, but that water heals which has the grace of Christ. The element is one thing, the consecration is another; the work is one thing, the working another. The water is the work, the working is of the Holy Spirit. Water does not heal, unless the Spirit has descended and consecrated that water; as thou hast read that, when our Lord Jesus Christ was giving the pattern of baptism, he came to John; and John said to him, "I have need to be baptized

of thee, and comest thou to me?" Christ answered him, "Suffer it now: for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness."2 See how all righteousness is based on baptism.

Why, then, did Christ descend, unless that that flesh might be cleansed, the flesh which he took of our nature? For the washing away of his sins was not necessary for Christ, who did no sin; but it was necessary for us who remain subject to sin. Therefore, if baptism is for our sake, a pattern has been established for us, the pattern of our faith has been set forth.

Christ descended, John stood by baptizing, and, lo, the Holy Ghost descended as a dove. It was not a dove that descended, but as a dove. Remember what I said, Christ took flesh, not as it were flesh; but it was the reality of that flesh, real flesh, which Christ took. The Holy Spirit, however, descended from heaven, not in the reality of a dove, but in the likeness of a dove. Therefore, John saw and believed.

Christ descended, the Holy Spirit also descended. Why did Christ descend first, the Holy Spirit afterwards, since the form and practice of baptism provides that the font should be consecrated first, and then the person to be baptized should descend? For as soon as the priest enters, he makes an exorcism over the element of water, afterwards he offers an invocation and a prayer, that the font may be consecrated, and the presence of the eternal Trinity may come down. But Christ descended first, the Spirit followed. For what reason? That the Lord Jesus might not seem himself as it were to need the mystery of sanctification; but that he might sanctify, and the Spirit also sanctify.

Therefore Christ descended into the water, and the Holy Spirit descended as a dove. Also God the Father spake from heaven. Thou hast the presence of the Trinity.

CHAPTER VI

BAPTISM PREFIGURED IN the crossing of the Red Sea and in the story of the Flood.

Again, that there was a figure of our baptism in the Red Sea is asserted by the Apostle, when he says that our fathers were all baptized in the cloud and in the sea. And he added, Now all these things happened unto them by way of figure; to them in a figure, but to us in reality. Then Moses held his rod: the people of the Jews had been shut in; on one side the Egyptian pressed on with arms, and on the other side the Hebrews were shut in by the sea. They could neither cross the seas, nor return to the enemy. They began to murmur.

See that it tempt thee not, that they were heard. Although the Lord heard, yet they are not without fault who murmured. It is thy duty, when thou art in a strait, to believe that thou wilt escape, not to murmur; to appeal, to entreat, not to utter complaint.

Moses held his rod, and led the people of the Hebrews at night in a pillar of light, and in the day in a pillar of cloud. What is the light but truth, since it sheds a full and open brightness? What is the pillar of light but Christ the Lord, who scattered the shadows of unbelief, and poured the light of truth and spiritual grace on human hearts? The pillar of cloud, on the other hand, is the Holy Spirit. The people was in the sea, and the pillar of light went on before; then the pillar of cloud followed, as if the shadowing of the Holy Spirit. Thou seest that by the Holy Spirit and by the water he has shown a type of baptism.

As early as the flood there was also a figure of baptism, and, certainly, the mysteries of the Jews did not as yet exist. Therefore, if the figure of our baptism preceded, thou seest that the mysteries of the Christians are earlier than were those of the Jews.

But meanwhile, in view of the weakness of our voice and the consideration of the time at our disposal, let us content ourselves to-day with just having touched the mysteries concerning the holy font. To-morrow, if the Lord shall grant strength and ability to speak, I will declare them more fully. It behoves your holiness to have your ears prepared, your mind the more ready, that you may be able to retain what we may gather from the course of the Scriptures, and shall declare unto you, that you may have the grace of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, to which Trinity belongs an everlasting kingdom, from all ages, both now, and always, and for ever and ever.

BOOK II

CHAPTER I

FURTHER ILLUSTRATION FROM the story of the Flooa. Of the baptisms of heathen and Jews.

Yesterday we began to expound how in the flood also there was a prefiguring of baptism. What is the flood, but that in which the righteous is saved to be a seed-plot of righteousness, while sin dies? Therefore, when the Lord saw that the transgressions of mankind were multiplied, he saved the righteous one alone with his offspring, but he bade the water rise even above the mountains. And therefore, in that flood all corruption of the flesh perished, only the family and pattern of the righteous survived. Is not the flood the same thing as baptism, whereby all sins are washed away, only the mind and grace of the righteous is revived?

There are many kinds of baptisms: but the Apostle cries, one baptism. Why? There are baptisms of the Gentiles, but they are no baptisms. They are baths, baptisms they cannot be. The flesh is washed, but guilt is not washed away; nay, it is contracted in that bath. There were, however, baptisms of the Jews, some superfluous, others figurative. And the mere figure helps us, since it is the herald of reality.

CHAPTER II

THE HEALING OF the paralytic at the pool of Bethesda.

What was read yesterday? An angel, it says, went down at a certain season into the pool, and, so often as the angel descended, the water was troubled: and whosoever first descended, was made whole of every disease whatsoever he had. Which signifies a figure of our Lord Jesus Christ who was to come.

Why an angel? Because he himself is the Angel of Great Counsel. At a certain season, because he was kept till the last hour, that he might catch the day at its setting, and delay its setting. Therefore, as often as the angel descended, the water was troubled. Thou sayest perchance: "Why is it not troubled now?" Learn why. Signs for the unbelieving, faith for believers

Whosoever first descended, was made whole of every sickness. What is the meaning of first? Does it mean in time, or in honour? Understand in both ways. If it means he who descended first in time was made whole first, it signifies the people of the Jews, as opposed to the people of the Gentiles. If it means he who descended first in honour, that signifies that he who had the fear of God, the love of righteousness, the grace of charity, and the desire of purity, he rather was made whole. Yet at that time one only was made whole; at that time, I say, by way of figure he who first descended was alone healed. How much greater is the grace of the Church, wherein all are saved, whosoever descend!

But observe the mystical sense. Our Lord Jesus Christ came to the pool; many sick were lying there. And, naturally, there were many sick lying there, where only one was healed. Then he saith to the sick of the palsy,

“Descend.” He saith, “I have no man.”1 Consider where thou art baptized. What source can there be for baptism, save the cross of Christ, the death of Christ? Herein is the whole mystery, in that he suffered for thee. In him thou art redeemed, in him thou wilt be saved.

“I have no man,” he said: that is, since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead. He could not descend, he could not be saved, who did not believe that our Lord Jesus had taken flesh of the Virgin. But this man who was looking for the mediator between God and men, the man Jesus Christ, waiting for him of whom it was said, And the Lord shall send a man who shall save them, — he said, “I have no man”; and therefore he deserved to attain to health, because he believed in one who was to come. Yet he would have been better and more perfect, if he had believed that he whose coming he hoped for had already come.

CHAPTER III

THE INTERPRETATION OF the "captive maid" in the story of Naaman. Summary of types already indicated.

Now look at the types one by one. We said that baptism was prefigured in the Jordan, when Naaman the leper was cleansed. Who is that captive maid, but one who had the likeness of the Church, and exhibited a figure of it? For the people of the nations was captive. It was captive: I do not mean a captivity under some hostile people; but I mean that captivity which is worse, when the devil and his minions rule with cruel sway, and subject to themselves the captive necks of sinners.

Therefore thou hast one baptism here, another in the flood; thou hast a third kind when the fathers were baptized in the Red Sea; thou hast a fourth kind in the pool, when the water was troubled. Now I ask thee whether thou oughtest not to believe that thou hast the presence of the Trinity in this baptism which is administered in the Church.

CHAPTER IV

OUR LORD'S COMMAND to baptize. Further O.T. types of baptism.

It is, then, the same baptism which our Lord Jesus Christ speaks of in his Gospel to the Apostles: Go, baptize all nations in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. This is the word of the Saviour.

Tell me, O man. Elijah called fire from heaven, and fire came down from heaven. Elisha called on the name of the Lord, and the axe-head which had sunk came up out of the water. Here is another kind of baptism. Why? Because every man before baptism is weighed down like iron, and sinks: when he has been baptized he is no longer like iron, but now rises like the fruit-bearing wood, which is a lighter kind of thing. Therefore in this instance there is also another figure. The axe was that with which wood was cut down. The haft fell from the axe, that is, the iron sank. The son of the prophet knew not what to do; but this alone he knew, to ask the prophet Elisha and to demand help. Then he cast in wood, and the iron was raised. Dost thou see, therefore, how the weakness of all men is raised on the cross of Christ?

Another example — though we are not keeping to our order, for who can recount all the deeds of Christ, as the Apostles said? When Moses came into the desert and the people thirsted, and came to the spring of Marah, and wished to drink water (because, as soon as they drew, they tasted the bitterness, and began to be unable to drink), therefore Moses cast wood into the spring, and the water which previously was bitter began to be sweet.

What does it mean, but that every creature is subject to corruption, that water is bitter to all. Although it is sweet for a time, although it is pleasant

for a time, yet it is bitter, since it cannot take away sin. When thou hast drunk, thou wilt thirst; when thou hast imbibed the sweetness of the draught, thou wilt taste its bitterness. Water, therefore, is bitter. But when thou hast received the cross of Christ, and the heavenly sacrament, it begins to be sweet and pleasant; and rightly sweet, because guilt is thereby cancelled. Therefore, if baptisms by way of figure could do so much, how much more can baptism in reality do?

CHAPTER V

THE PRESENCE OF the Holy Trinity in baptism is vindicated. The Spirit at the Baptism of Christ and on the day of Pentecost manifested by outward signs to convince unbelievers.

Now, then, let us consider. The priest comes; he says a prayer at the font; he invokes the name of the Father, the presence of the Son and of the Holy Ghost; he uses heavenly words. What heavenly words? They are those of Christ, that we should baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. If, therefore, at the word of men, at the invocation of a saint, the presence of the Trinity came down, how much more does it come where the eternal word is acting? Do you wish to know that the Spirit descends? Thou hast heard that he descended as a dove. Why as a dove? That unbelievers might be called to belief. In the begining there had to be a sign, later there ought to be the fulfilment.

Take another example. After the death of our Lord Jesus Christ the Apostles were in one place, and they were praying on the day of Pentecost. And suddenly there came a great sound as if the Spirit were carried along with great violence, and there appeared divided tongues as of fire. What does this mean, but the descent of the Holy Spirit, who wished to show himself to unbelievers in bodily form also; that is in bodily form by a sign, spiritually by a sacrament? Therefore, there was given an evident proof of his coming. But to us is now offered the privilege of faith. For in the beginning signs were shown for unbelievers; now in the fulness of the Church we must gather truth not by a sign, but by faith.

CHAPTER VI

THE FALL AND its consequences. The redemptive grace of baptism.

Now let us examine what it is which is called baptism. Thou camest to the font, thou wentest down in it; thou didst watch the high priest, thou didst see the levites and the presbyter in the font. What is baptism?

In the beginning our God made man, so that, if he did not taste sin, he would not surely die. He committed sin, he became subject to death, he was driven out of Paradise. But the Lord, who wished his benefits to endure, who wished to destroy all the wiles of the serpent, and also to root out everything harmful, first gave sentence upon the man, Earth thou art, and unto earth thou shalt go; and he made man subject to death. It was a Divine sentence; it could not be paid by human means. A remedy was granted that man should die, and rise again. Why? In order that the thing which had been previously counted as a condemnation, might be counted as a benefit. What is that thing but death? Thou askest how. Because death intervening makes an end of sin. For when we die, we certainly cease to sin. Therefore, the sentence seemed satisfied, because man who had been made to live, on condition that he did not sin, was beginning to die. But, in order that the continual goodness of God might endure, man died, but Christ found the resurrection, that is, a way to restore the heavenly benefit which had been lost by the serpent's guile. Each, therefore, is for our good, since death is the end of sins, and the resurrection is the refashioning of our nature.

Nevertheless, that the craft or guile of the devil might not prevail in this world, baptism was devised. Concerning which baptism hear what the

Scripture saith, nay, the Son of God, that the Pharisees who would not be baptized with the baptism of John, rejected the counsel of God. Therefore, baptism is the counsel of God. How great is the grace, where there is the counsel of God.

Hear, therefore. In order that the bands of the devil might be loosed in this world also, a means was found that man might die while living, and while living rise again. What is "living"? It is the living life of the body, when it came to the font, and was dipped into the font. What is water, but from the earth? Therefore, the heavenly sentence is satisfied without the insensibility which death brings. Thy dipping paid that sentence, Earth thou art, and unto earth thou shalt go; the sentence fulfilled, there is room for the heavenly benefit and remedy. So then, water is from the earth; Moreover the conditions of our life did not allow that we should be covered with earth, and rise from the earth; further, it is not earth, but water, that washes. Therefore the font is, as it were, a burial.

CHAPTER VII

THE THREEFOLD CONFESSION of faith and the threefold immersion in baptism described and explained. The unction after baptism.

Thou wast asked, “Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty?” Thou saidst, “I believe,” and didst dip, that is, thou wast buried. Again thou wast asked, “Dost thou believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and in his Cross?” Thou saidst, “I believe,” and didst dip; therefore, thou wast also buried with Christ; for he who is buried with Christ, rises again with Christ. A third time thou was asked, “Dost thou believe also in the Holy Ghost?” Thou saidst, “I believe,” and didst dip a third time, that the triple confession might absolve the manifold fall of thy former life.

Thus (that we may give you an example), after the holy Apostle Peter seemed to have fallen during the Lord’s passion by the weakness of human nature, he who had previously denied was afterwards thrice asked by Christ if he loved Christ, that he might cancel and annul that fall. Then he said, “Thou knowest, Lord, that I love Thee.”3 He said it thrice, that he might be thrice absolved.

Therefore, the Father forgives sin, just as the Son forgives; likewise also the Holy Ghost. But he bade us be baptized in one name, that is, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Wonder not that he spoke of one name, when there is one Substance, one Divinity, one Majesty. This is the name of which it was said, Wherein all must be saved. In this name ye have all been saved, ye have been restored to the grace of life.

Therefore the Apostle cries, as you have heard in the lesson just read, that whosoever is baptized, is baptized in the death of Jesus. What is in the death? It is that, as Christ died, so thou also shouldst taste of death; that, as Christ died unto sin, and liveth unto God, so thou also shouldst be dead unto the former allurements of sins through the sacrament of baptism, and shouldst rise again through the grace of Christ. It is a death, therefore; but not a death in the reality of bodily death, but in the likeness. For when thou dippest thou takest on the likeness of death and burial, thou receivest the sacrament of that cross, because Christ hung on the cross, and his body was pierced with nails. Therefore, when thou art crucified, thou cleavest to Christ; thou cleavest to the nails of our Lord Jesus Christ; let not the devil be able to tear thee away. Let the nail of Christ hold thee fast, seeing that the weakness of human nature is seeking to call thee back.

Therefore thou didst dip, thou camest to the priest. What did he say to thee? “God the Father Almighty,” he saith, “who hath regenerated thee by water and the Holy Ghost, and hath forgiven thee thy sins, himself anoint thee unto eternal life.”6 See whereunto thou art anointed; “unto eternal life,” he saith. Do not set this life before that life. For example, if any foe arise, if he wishes to take away thy faith, if he threatens death to make some one transgress, see what thou choosest. Do not choose that wherein thou wast not anointed, but choose that wherein thou wast anointed, so as to prefer eternal life to temporal life, through Christ our Lord. — Amen.

BOOK III

CHAPTER I

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF the unction upon the head, and the meaning of "regeneration." The washing of the feet of the newly-baptized is defended and explained.

Yesterday we discoursed on the font, whose appearance is somewhat like that of a tomb in shape; into which, believing in the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, we are received, and plunged, and emerge, that is, we are raised up. Moreover, thou receivest myron, that is, ointment upon the head. Why upon the head? Because the senses of a wise man are in his head, says Solomon. For wisdom is lifeless without grace; but when wisdom has received grace, then its work begins to be perfect. This is called regeneration.

What is regeneration? Thou readest in the Acts of the Apostles that the verse which is found in the second Psalm, Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee, appears to refer to the resurrection. For the holy Apostle Peter in the Acts of the Apostles interpreted it thus, that at the time that the Son rose from the dead, the Father's voice rang out, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee. Whence he is also called the firstborn from the dead. Therefore, what is resurrection, but when we rise from death to life? So, therefore, in baptism also, since there is a likeness of death, without doubt when thou dost dip and rise again, there is a likeness of the resurrection. Rightly, therefore, according to the interpretation of the Apostle Peter, as that resurrection was a regeneration, so also is this resurrection a regeneration.

But what dost thou mean by this dipping in the water? Is it for this reason that thou art perplexed, that hesitation possesses thee? Certainly, we read, Let the earth bring forth from herself fruit that springs up. Likewise also thou hast read of the waters, Let the waters bring forth living creatures, and living creatures were born. And those, indeed, were in the beginning of creation; but for thee it has been reserved that water should regenerate thee to grace, as it generated those others to life. Imitate the fish, which, though it has obtained less grace, yet should fill thee with wonder. It is in the sea, and above the waves; it is in the sea, and swims over the billows. In the sea the storm rages, the winds howl; but the fish swims, it does not sink, because it is wont to swim. Therefore this world is a sea to thee also. It has divers billows, heavy waves, fierce storms. And do thou be a fish, that the wave of the world sink thee not. Well, however, does the Father say to the Son, This day have I begotten thee; that is, when thou didst redeem the people, when thou didst call them to the kingdom of heaven, when thou didst fulfil my will, thou didst prove thyself to be my son.

Thou camest up out of the font. What followed? Thou hast heard the lesson. The high priest was girt up (for though presbyters also carried it out, yet the ministry is begun by the high priest), the high priest, I say, was girt up, and washed thy feet. What is this sacrament? Doubtless thou hast heard that when the Lord had washed the feet of the other disciples, He cometh to Peter; and Peter saith to him, Dost thou wash my feet? That is, Dost thou, the Lord, wash the feet of the servant? Dost thou, the spotless, wash my feet? Dost thou, the maker of the heavens, wash my feet? Thou hast this in another place also. He cometh to John, and John saith to him, “I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?”4 I am a sinner, and dost thou come to me a sinner, that thou mayest as it were lay down thy sins who hast done no sin? See all righteousness, see the humility, see the grace, see

the sanctification: Unless I wash thy feet, he saith, thou wilt have no part with me.

We are not ignorant that the Roman Church has not this custom. Her type and form we follow in all things; however she has not this custom of washing the feet. See then, perhaps she has declined it on account of the numbers. There are, however, some who say and try to urge that this ought to be done, not as a sacrament, not at baptism, not at the regeneration; but only as we should wash the feet of a guest. The latter is an act of humility, the former a work of sanctification. Accordingly, learn how it is a sacrament and a means of sanctification: Unless I wash thy feet, thou wilt have no part with me. This I say, not to find fault with others, but to recommend my own usage. In all things I desire to follow the Roman Church. Yet we too are not without discernment; and what other places have done well to retain, we too do well to maintain.

It is the Apostle Peter himself that we follow, to his devotion we cling. What does the Roman Church answer to this? Certainly the Apostle Peter himself supports us in this claim, he who was priest of the Roman Church. Peter himself says, Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head. Look at the faith. His demurring at first showed his humility; his offer afterwards showed his devotion and faith.

Because he had said my hands and my head, the Lord answered him, He that hath washed needeth not to wash again, save to wash his feet only. Why is this? Because in baptism all guilt is washed away. Guilt, therefore, vanishes. But, because Adam was tripped up by the devil, and poison was poured over his feet, therefore thou washest thy feet; that at that point where the serpent made his treacherous attack a stronger reinforcement of sanctification may be applied, that he may not be able to trip thee up afterwards. Therefore, thou washest thy feet, to wash off the poison of the

serpent. It is a help towards humility also, that in a sacrament we should not shrink from that which we scorn in an act of service.

CHAPTER II

THE "SPIRITUAL SEAL" and the sevenfold gifts of the Spirit. The effect of baptism illustrated from the healing of the blind man in John ix. Those who deny the need of baptism are refuted.

There follows the spiritual seal, which you have heard mentioned in the lesson to-day. For after the font it remains for the "perfecting"2 to take place, when, at the invocation of the priest, the Holy Spirit is bestowed, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and strength, the spirit of knowledge and godliness, the spirit of holy fear, as it were seven virtues of the Spirit.

And, indeed, all virtues belong to the Spirit; but these are as it were cardinal, as it were principal. For what is so principal, as godliness? What is so principal, as the knowledge of God? What is so principal, as strength? What is so principal, as the counsel of God? What is so principal, as the fear of God? As the fear of the world is weakness, so the fear of God is great power.

These are the seven virtues, when thou art sealed; for, as the holy Apostle saith, The wisdom of our God is manifold. And, as the wisdom of God is manifold, so is the Holy Ghost manifold, who hath divers and various virtues. Whence also we speak of the God of hosts; which can be applied to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. But that belongs to another discourse, another time.

After this what follows? Thou hast to come to the altar, whither thou hast not come before; thou hast to see the things which thou didst not see before, that is, the mystery which thou hast read in the Gospel; if, however, thou

hast not read it, thou hast certainly heard it. A blind man presented himself to the Saviour to be healed. And he, who healed others merely by a word and utterance, and brought back the light of the eyes by a command, yet in the book of the Gospel which is entitled “according to John,” — who truly beyond the others saw great mysteries, and described, and declared them: — he wished to prefigure this mystery in that miracle. All the Evangelists, indeed, were holy, all the Apostles, except the traitor — all were holy; yet Saint John, who wrote his Gospel last, having been sought and chosen by Christ to be in a sense his kinsman, uttered eternal mysteries with a louder trumpet. Whatever he spoke is a mystery. Another Evangelist told of the cure of a blind man; Matthew did, Luke did, Mark did. What does John alone say? — He took clay, and anointed his eyes, and said unto him, “Go to Siloam.” And rising he went, and washed, and came seeing.

Consider thou also the eyes of thine heart. Formerly thou sawest only the things that are bodily, with bodily eyes; but the things which pertain to the sacraments thou wast not yet able to see with the eyes of the heart. Therefore, when thou gavest thy name, he took clay, and anointed thine eyes. What does it mean? It means that thou shouldst confess thy sin, recognize thy guilt, repent of thy trespasses, that is, acknowledge the lot of human birth. For although he who comes to baptism does not confess his sin, yet he makes a complete confession of all sins by the very fact that he asks to be baptized, that he may be justified, that is, pass from guilt to grace.

Do not think it superfluous. There are some — I know for certain there was one who said so; when we said to him, “At thy time of life thou shouldest certainly be baptized,” he objected, “Why should I be baptized? I have no sin. Have I contracted sin?” He had no clay, because Christ had not washed, that is, had not opened, his eyes; for no man is without sin.

Therefore, he who takes refuge in the baptism of Christ acknowledges himself a man. So on thee also he has put clay, that is, modesty, prudence, reflection upon thy weakness, and he has said to thee, “Go to Siloam.” What is Siloam? Which is, it says, by interpretation, Sent. That is, Go to that fount wherein the Cross of the Lord is proclaimed; go to that fount wherein Christ redeemed the faults of all men.

Thou didst go, thou didst wash, thou camest to the altar. Thou didst begin to see what thou hadst not seen before; that is, through the font of the Lord and the preaching of the Lord’s passion thine eyes were then opened. Thou who seemedst before to be blinded in heart, didst begin to see the light of the sacraments. Therefore, dearly beloved brethren, we have arrived at the altar, to a richer theme. And for the reason that the time is advanced, we cannot begin a fresh subject; since it is a lengthier theme, let what has been said to-day suffice; and to-morrow, if it please the Lord, we will treat of those sacraments.

BOOK IV

CHAPTER I

THE SYMBOLISM OF the Tabernacle applied to Christian baptism.

Under the old covenant the priests used to enter continually into the first tabernacle; into the second tabernacle the high priest entered once in the year. Which the Apostle Paul clearly recalling in the Epistle to the Hebrews, explains the tenor of the Old Testament. Now there was in the second tabernacle the manna; there was also the rod of Aaron which withered and afterwards blossomed again; there was likewise the censer.

What is the purpose of this? It is that you may understand what is the second tabernacle, into which the priest introduced you, into which the high priest was accustomed to enter once in the year, that is, to the baptistery, where the rod of Aaron blossomed; it was withered before, afterwards it blossomed again. Thou too wast withered, and dost begin to blossom again in the streaming font. Thour hadst withered through sins, thou hadst withered through faults and trespasses; but now thou beginnest to bear fruit, planted by the rivers of water.

But perhaps thou sayest, “What has this to do with the people, if the priest’s rod had withered and blossomed again?” What is the people itself but priestly? To whom it was said, But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, as saith the Apostle Peter. Every one is anointed to the priesthood, is anointed to the kingdom also; but it is a spiritual kingdom and a spiritual priesthood.

In the second tabernacle is the censer also, which is wont to diffuse a sweet savour. So you also are now a sweet savour of Christ; no longer is there in you any share of sins, any savour of ranker error.

CHAPTER II

THE GRACE OF innocence and "renewal of youth" resulting from baptism.

It follows that you come to the altar. You began to come; the angels watched, they saw you approaching, and that human nature, which before was stained with the murky filth of sin, suddenly shone bright in their sight. And accordingly they said, Who is this that cometh up from the wilderness made white? The angels then also wonder. Wilt thou know that they wonder? Hear then the Apostle Paul saying that those things have been bestowed on us which even angels long to see; and again, What eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him.

Then recall what thou hast received. Holy David the prophet saw this grace in a figure, and desired it. Wilt thou know that he desired it? Again hear him saying, Thou shalt sprinkle me with hyssop, and I shall be clean; thou shalt wash me, and I shall be made whiter than snow. Why? Because snow, although it is white, quickly turns black with any dirt, and is spoilt; this grace which thou hast received, if thou hold fast that which thou hast received, will be lasting and eternal.

Thou camest thus with desire to the altar, since thou hadst seen such grace. Thou camest with desire to the altar, to receive the sacrament; let thy soul say, And I will go unto the altar of my God, unto God who maketh glad my youth. Thou hast put off the old age of sins, thou hast taken the youth of grace; this the heavenly sacraments bestowed on thee. Therefore, again hear David saying, Thy youth shall be renewed as the eagle's. Thou beginnest to be a good eagle, seeking heaven, scorning earthly things. Good

eagles are about the altar; for where the body is, there also are the eagles. The altar is a type of the body, and the body of Christ is on the altar; ye are eagles, renewed by the washing away of sin.

CHAPTER III

COMPARISON OF THE Jewish and Christian sacraments. Melchizedek a type of Christ.

Thou camest to the altar, thou sawest the sacraments laid upon the altar, and thou didst wonder at those creatures; yet they are ordinary and familiar.

Perhaps some one will say: "To the Jews God granted such grace, he rained down manna upon them from heaven; what more has he given to his faithful, what more has he bestowed on those to whom he promised more?"

Hear what things I say, namely, that the mysteries of the Christians are older than those of the Jews, and the sacraments of the Christians are more divine than those of the Jews. How? Hear. When did the Jews begin? At the earliest, with Judah, the great-grandson of Abraham; or, if thou preferrest to take this view, with the Law, that is, when the Jews were deemed worthy to receive the Law. Therefore, they were called Jews from the great-grandson of Abraham, or since the time of holy Moses. And if God rained down manna from heaven then upon the murmuring Jews, still there was for thee a yet earlier figure of these sacraments, when Abraham was alive, when he gathered the men born in his house, three hundred and eighteen, and then pursued the adversaries, delivering his nephew out of captivity; then he came in triumph; Melchizedek the priest met him, and offered him bread and wine. Who had the bread and wine? Abraham had not. But who had? Melchizedek. He, then, is the author of the sacraments. Who is Melchizedek? He who is indicated as King of righteousness, King of peace. Who is the King of righteousness? Can any man be King of righteousness? Who then is the King of righteousness, but the Righteousness of God, he

who is the Peace of God, the Wisdom of God? He who could say, My peace I give unto you, my peace I leave with you.

Therefore, first understand that these sacraments which thou receivest are older than are the sacraments of Moses, whatever they are that the Jews say they have; and that the Christian people began before the people of the Jews — we, however, as predetermined, while they actually bore the name.

Melchizedek, therefore, offered bread and wine. Who is Melchizedek? Without father, it says, without mother, without order of generation, having neither beginning of days nor end of life; this is in the Epistle to the Hebrews. He is without father, it says, and without mother. Like unto whom? The Son of God. The Son of God was born without mother in his heavenly generation, because he was born of God the Father only. And again, he was born without father, when he was born of the Virgin; for he was not generated of the seed of a man, but born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary, brought forth from a virgin womb, in all things like to the Son of God. Melchizedek was also a priest; since Christ too is a priest to whom it is said, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek.

CHAPTER IV

THE BREAD AND wine of the Eucharist become Christ's body and blood in virtue of the words of consecration, which are Christ's own words. Illustrations from the Virgin birth and miracles of O.T.

Who then is the author of the sacraments but the Lord Jesus? From heaven those sacraments came; for all counsel is from heaven. But it was truly a great and divine miracle that God rained down manna from heaven, and the people ate without toiling.

Thou sayest perhaps, "My bread is of the usual kind." But that bread is bread before the words of the sacraments; when consecration has been added, from bread it becomes the flesh of Christ. Let us therefore prove this. How can that which is bread be the body of Christ? By consecration. But in what words and in whose language is the consecration? Those of the Lord Jesus. For all the other things which are said in the earlier parts of the service are said by the priest — praises are offered to God, prayer is asked for the people, for kings, and the rest; when it comes to the consecration of the venerable sacrament, the priest no longer uses his own language, but he uses the language of Christ. Therefore, the word of Christ consecrates this sacrament.

What is the word of Christ? That, to be sure, whereby all things are made. The Lord commanded, and the heaven was made; the Lord commanded, and the earth was made; the Lord commanded, and the seas were made; the Lord commanded, and every creature was produced. Thou seest, therefore, how effective is the word of Christ. If, therefore, there is such power in the word of the Lord Jesus, that the things which were not

began to be, how much more is it effective, that things previously existing should, without ceasing to exist, be changed into something else? The heaven was not, the sea was not, the earth was not; but hear David saying, He spake, and they were made: he commanded, and they were created.

Therefore, that I may answer thee, it was not the body of Christ before consecration; but after consecration, I tell thee, it is now the body of Christ. He spake, and it was made: he commanded, and it was created. Thou thyself didst formerly exist, but thou wast an old creature; after thou wast consecrated, thou didst begin to be a new creature. Wilt thou know how thou art a new creature? Everyone, it says, in Christ is a new creature.

Hear, then, how the word of Christ is wont to change every creature, and changes, at will, the ordinances of nature. In what way? thou askest. Hear; and, first of all, let us take an example from his generation. It is usual that a man is not generated save from a man and a woman and the use of marriage; but because the Lord willed it, because he chose this mystery, Christ was born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin, that is, the mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus. Thou seest, then, that he was born contrary to the ordinances and course of nature, he was born as man from a virgin.

Hear another example. The people of the Jews were hard pressed by the Egyptians; they were shut in by the sea. At the divine command Moses touched the waters with his rod, and the wave divided, certainly not according to the use of its own nature, but according to the grace of the heavenly command. Hear another. The people thirsted, they came to the spring. The spring was bitter; holy Moses cast wood into the spring, and the spring which had been bitter was made sweet, that is, it changed the use of its nature, it received the sweetness of grace. Hear also a fourth example. The axe head had fallen into the waters; as iron it sank by its own use. Elisha cast wood; straightway the iron rose, and swam upon the waters,

certainly contrary to the use of iron, for the matter of iron is heavier than the element of water.

From all these examples, then, dost thou not understand how effectual is the heavenly word? If the heavenly word was effectual in the earthly spring, if it was effectual in other things, is it not effectual in the heavenly sacraments? Therefore thou hast learnt that what was bread becomes the body of Christ, and that wine and water are put into the chalice, but become blood by the consecration of the heavenly word.

But perhaps thou sayest, “I do not see the appearance of blood.” But it has the likeness; for as thou hast taken the likeness of the death, so also thou drinkest the likeness of the precious blood, that there may be no shrinking from actual blood, and yet the price of redemption may effect its work. Thou hast learnt, therefore, that what thou receivest is the body of Christ.

CHAPTER V

THE WORDS WITH which the priest consecrates the sacrament are quoted, and the sacrament is shown to be a greater gift than that of the manna.

Wilt thou know that it is consecrated by heavenly words? Hear what the words are. The priest speaks. "Make for us," he says, "this oblation approved, ratified, reasonable, acceptable, seeing that it is the figure of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, who the day before he suffered took bread in his holy hands, and looked up to heaven to thee, holy Father, almighty, everlasting God, and giving thanks, he blessed, brake, and having broken, delivered it to his apostles and to his disciples, saying, Take, and eat ye all of this; for this is my body, which shall be broken for many.

Likewise also after supper, the day before he suffered, he took the cup, looked up to heaven to thee, holy Father, almighty, everlasting God, and giving thanks, blessed it and delivered it to his apostles and to his disciples, saying, Take, and drink ye all of this; for this is my blood." Observe all those expressions. Those words are the Evangelists' up to Take, whether the body or the blood. After that they are the words of Christ; Take, and drink ye all of this; for this is my blood. And observe them in detail.

Who the day before he suffered, he says, in his holy hands took bread. Before it is consecrated, it is bread, but when the words of Christ have been added, it is the body of Christ. Therefore hear him saying: Take and eat ye all of this; for this is my body. And before the words of Christ it is a cup full of wine and water. When the words of Christ have operated then and there it is made to be the blood of Christ which redeemed the people. Therefore, see in how many ways the word of Christ is mighty to change all things. There

the Lord Jesus himself testifies to us that we receive his body and blood. Ought we to doubt of his trustworthiness and testimony?

Now come back with me to the point which I set out to prove. It is a great and awful thing that he rained manna on the Jews from heaven. But distinguish. What is greater, manna from heaven or the body of Christ? Certainly the body of Christ who is the maker of heaven. Then he who ate manna died. Whosoever eats this body shall have remission of sins and shall never die.

Therefore [when thou receivest] it is not superfluous that thou sayest Amen, already in spirit confessing that thou receivest the body of Christ. The priest says to thee, The body of Christ. And thou sayest, Amen, that is, True. What the tongue confesses let the heart hold fast.

CHAPTER VI

THE SACRAMENT A memorial of Christ's death and a proclamation of the forgiveness of sins.

But that thou mayest know that this is a sacrament, it was prefigured beforehand. Then learn how great is the sacrament. See what he says: As often as ye do this, so often will ye make a memorial of me until I come again.

And the priest says: Therefore having in remembrance his most glorious passion and resurrection from the dead and ascension into heaven, we offer to thee this spotless offering, reasonable offering, unbloody offering, this holy bread and cup of eternal life: and we ask and pray that thou wouldst receive this oblation on thy altar on high by the hands of thy angels, as thou didst vouchsafe to receive the presents of thy righteous servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and that which the high priest, Melchizedek offered to thee."

Therefore as often as thou receivest — what saith the Apostle to thee? — as often as we receive, we show the Lord's death; if we show his death, we show remission of sins. If, as often as blood is poured forth, it is poured for remission of sins, I ought always to receive it, that my sins may always be forgiven me. I, who am always sinning, ought always to have a remedy.

Meanwhile, we have explained to you to-day, also, as much as we could. But to-morrow, Saturday, and on Sunday we will speak of the order of prayer as we are able. May the Lord our God preserve to you the grace which he has given and may he deign to illuminate more fully the eyes which he has opened for you, through his only begotten Son, our Lord God,

king and saviour, through whom and with whom to him is praise, honour, glory, majesty, power with the Holy Spirit from all ages, both now and ever, and world without end. — Amen.

BOOK V

CHAPTER I

THE WRITER RETURNS to the story of Melchizedek, and gives two reasons why water is mixed with wine in the chalice.

Yesterday our sermon and discourse was carried as far as the sacraments of the holy altar. And we learn that those sacraments were prefigured in the times of Abraham, when holy Melchizedek offered sacrifice, having neither beginning nor end of days. Hear, O man, what the Apostle Paul says to the Hebrews. Where are those who say that the Son of God is of time? Of Melchizedek it was said that he had neither beginning nor end of days. If Melchizedek had not a beginning of days, could Christ have it? But the figure is not greater than the reality. Thou seest therefore that he himself is the first and last. First, because he is the author of all things; last, not because he comes to an end, but because he concludes all things.

We said, therefore, that the cup and the bread are set on the altar. What is poured into the cup? Wine. And what else? Water. But thou sayest to me: "How then did Melchizedek offer bread and wine? What means the mixture of water? Hear the reason.

First of all, what does the type which was prefigured in the time of Moses tell us? That when the people of the Jews thirsted and murmured because they could not find water, God bade Moses touch the rock with his rod. He touched the rock and the rock poured forth a flood of water, as the Apostle says, But they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them; and that Rock was Christ. It was not an immovable Rock which followed the people. Drink thou also, that Christ may follow thee. Behold the mystery. Moses, that is to say, a prophet; the rod, that is the word of God. The priest

touches the rock with the word of God, and the water flows and the people of God drink. Therefore the priest touches the cup, the water streams in the cup, springs up into eternal life, and the people of God drink, who have obtained the grace of God. This then thou hast learned.

Hear also another reason. At the time of the Lord's passion, when a great sabbath was nigh, because our Lord Jesus Christ was alive, or the robbers, men were sent to smite him; coming they found the Lord Jesus Christ dead; then one of the soldiers touched his side with his lance, and from his side water flowed and blood. Why water? why blood? Water to cleanse, blood to redeem. Why from his side? Because whence the guilt, thence the grace; guilt through woman, grace through the Lord Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER II

THE BLESSINGS OF the sacrament illustrated from Canticles.

Thou hast come to the altar, the Lord Jesus calls thee or thy soul or the church and says, Let her kiss me with the kisses of her mouth. Wouldst thou apply it to Christ? Nothing sweeter. Wouldst thou apply it to thy soul? Nothing pleasanter.

Let her kiss me. He sees that thou art clean from all sin because thy sins are purged away. Therefore he judges thee worthy of the heavenly sacrament and therefore he invites thee to a heavenly banquet. Let her kiss me with the kisses of her mouth.

Yet on account of what follows it is thy soul or human nature or the Church which, seeing itself cleansed from all sins, and worthy to be able to approach the altar of Christ (for what is the altar but the type of the body of Christ?), has seen the wondrous sacraments and says, Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth, that is, let Christ imprint a kiss on me.

Why? Because thy breasts are better than wine. That is, the sensations which thou suppliest are better — thy sacraments are better than wine: — than that wine which, though it hath sweetness, joy, agreeableness, yet therein is worldly joy, while in thee is spiritual pleasure. Even in those days Solomon represents the marriage of Christ and the Church or of the spirit and flesh and soul.

And we have further: Thy name is an ointment poured forth, therefore do the virgins love thee. Who are those virgins but the souls of individuals which have put off the old age of this body, being renewed through the Holy Spirit?

Draw us; we will run after the fragrance of thy ointments. See what he says. Thou canst not follow Christ unless he himself draws thee. Therefore, that thou mayest know this: When I am lifted up, he says, I will draw all unto me.

The king hath brought me into his chamber. The Greek text has “into his storehouse and into his cellar,” where are good draughts, pleasant savours, sweet honey, divers fruits, varied foods, that thy banquets may be seasoned with numerous dishes.

CHAPTER III

FURTHER ILLUSTRATIONS OF the blessings of Communion from Psalm xxiii. and from Canticles.

Therefore thou hast come to the altar, thou has received the body of Christ. Hear again what sacraments thou hast obtained. Hear holy David speaking. He too foresaw these mysteries in the spirit and rejoiced and said that he lacked nothing. Why? Because he that hath received the body of Christ shall never hunger.

How often hast thou heard the twenty-second Psalm and not understood? See how it is suited to the heavenly sacraments. The Lord is my shepherd; and I shall not want. In a green pasture, there hath he made me to lie down. He hath tended me by the water of comfort, he converteth my soul. He hath led me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake. Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for thou art with me. Thy rod and thy staff, they have comforted me. Rod is rule, staff is passion; that is the eternal Divinity of Christ, but also his passion in the body. The one created, the other redeemed. Thou hast prepared a table before me against them that trouble me. Thou hast anointed my head with oil, and my inebriating cup how glorious it is.

Therefore thou hast come to the altar, thou hast received the grace of Christ, thou hast obtained the heavenly sacraments. The Church rejoices in the redemption of many and is glad with spiritual exultation that her white-robed household stand at her side. Thou hast this in the Song of Songs. In joy she calls Christ, having ready a feast which can seem worthy of heavenly banqueting. Therefore she says: Let my brother come down into

his garden and take the fruit of his fruit-trees. What are his fruit-trees? Thou becamest a dry tree in Adam; but now through the grace of Christ thou hast budded into a fruitful tree.

The Lord Jesus willingly accepts and with heavenly condescension answers to his church. I am come down, he says, into my garden; I have gathered the vintage of myrrh with my ointments. I have eaten my bread with my honey and I have drunk my wine with my milk. Eat, he says, my brethren, and be drunk.

I have gathered the vintage of myrrh with my ointments. What is that vintage? Learn the vine and you shall recognize the vintage. Thou hast brought, he says, a vine out of Egypt, that is the people of God. Ye are the vine, ye are the vintage; planted as a vine, as a vintage have ye given fruit. I have gathered the vintage of myrrh with my unguents, that is for the sweet savour which you have received.

I have eaten my bread with my honey. Dost thou see that in this bread there is no bitterness, but all is sweetness? I have drunk my wine with my milk. Dost thou see that the joy is of that kind which is not defiled with the stains of any sin? For as often as thou drinkest thou receivest remission of sins and art inebriated with the spirit. Whence also the Apostle says: Be not drunk with wine, but be filled with the Holy Spirit. For he who is drunk with wine staggers and reels: he who is inebriated with the Spirit is rooted in Christ. And therefore it is a glorious inebriation, which works sobriety of mind. This is what we briefly mention with respect to the sacraments.

CHAPTER IV

EXPOSITION OF THE Lord's Prayer.

Now, what remains save prayer? And think not that it is a matter of little worth, to know how to pray. The holy Apostles said to the Lord Jesus: Lord teach us to pray, as John taught his disciples. Then the Lord says a prayer, Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name; thy kingdom come; thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors. And let us not be led into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Thou seest how short the prayer is and full of all excellencies! What grace in the first word!

O man, thou didst not dare to raise thy face to heaven, thou didst direct thine eyes to the earth, and suddenly thou didst receive the grace of Christ; all thy sins were forgiven. From a bad servant thou becamest a good son. Therefore be bold, not because of thy own action, but because of the grace of Christ. For by grace are ye saved, says the Apostle. Therefore there is no arrogance here, but faith; to proclaim what thou hast received is not pride, but devotion. Therefore raise thy eyes to the Father who has begotten thee through the laver, to the Father who has redeemed thee through the Son, and say Our Father. A good boldness that, but modest. Thou calledst him "Father" as a son; but do not claim anything specifically for thyself. He is the Father of Christ alone specially, he is Father of us all in common, because he begot him alone, us he created. Therefore say thou also through grace, Our Father, that thou mayest deserve to be a son. Commend thyself by fixing thy looks and regards on the Church.

Our Father, which art in heaven. What is in heaven? Hear the scripture saying: The Lord is high above all heavens. And everywhere thou findest it written that the Lord is above the heaven of heavens, as if there were not in heaven angels too, as if there were not in heaven dominations too, but in those heavens of which it was said: The heavens declare the glory of God. Heaven is there where guilt hath ceased, where crimes keep holiday. Heaven is where there is no stroke of death.

Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. What is hallowed? Is it as if we desired that he should be hallowed who says: Ye shall be holy, for I am holy, as if any hallowing could accrue to him from our prayer? Not at all. But may it be hallowed in us, that its hallowing may reach us.

Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come. As if the kingdom of God were not eternal. Jesus himself says: To this end was I born, and dost thou say to the Father, Thy kingdom come, as if it had not come? But the kingdom of God then comes, when you have obtained his grace. For he himself says: The kingdom of God is within you.

Thy kingdom come; thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth. Give us this day our daily bread. By the blood of Christ all things are set at peace, whether in heaven or on earth. Heaven is hallowed, the devil is cast down. The place of his resort is that place, where is also the man whom he has deceived. Thy will be done, etc., i. e. let there be peace on earth as in heaven.

Give us this day our daily bread. I remember my sermon when I was dealing with the Sacraments. I said to you that before the words of Christ that which is offered is called bread: when the words of Christ have been uttered, it is no longer called bread, but is named body. Why then in the Lord's Prayer, which follows afterwards, does he say: Our bread? He called it bread indeed, but he called it ἐπιούσιον, that is supersubstantial. It is not

the bread which passes into the body, but that bread of eternal life, which supports the substance of our soul. Therefore in Greek it is called ἐπιούσιον. The Latin, however, calls this bread "daily" which the Greeks call "coming." For the Greeks call the coming day τὴν ἐπιονˆσαν ἡμέραν. Therefore what the Latin and what the Greek text said seem both useful. The Greek indicated both in one expression, the Latin said "daily."

If it is daily bread, why dost thou take it once a year, as the Greeks in the East are accustomed to do? Take daily what is to profit thee daily. So live that thou mayest deserve to receive it daily. He who does not deserve to receive it daily, does not deserve to receive it once a year; as holy Job offered sacrifice daily for his sons, lest perchance they should have done any sin in heart or word. Therefore dost thou hear that as often as sacrifice is offered, the Lord's death, the Lord's resurrection, the Lord's ascension and the remission of sins is signified, and dost thou not take this bread of life daily? He who has a wound needs a medicine. The wound is that we are under sin; the medicine is the heavenly and venerable sacrament.

Give us this day our daily bread. If thou receivest daily, "this day" is "daily" to thee. If Christ is for thee "this day," he rises again for thee "daily." How? Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee. Therefore "this day" is when Christ rises again. Yesterday and to-day he himself is, says the Apostle Paul. But in another place he says, The night is far spent, the day is at hand. Yesternight is far spent, the present day is at hand.

There follows: Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors. What is the debt but sin? Therefore if thou hadst not borrowed money at interest, thou wouldst not now be in want; therefore sin is imputed to thee. Thou hast had money, wherewith thou wast born rich. Thou wast rich, being made in the image and likeness of God. Thou hast lost what thou hadst, that is humility; whilst thou desirest to indicate thy pride, thou hast lost money, thou hast become naked as Adam, thou hast accepted from the devil

a debt which was not necessary. And therefore thou who wast free in Christ hast become a debtor to the devil. The enemy held thy bond, but the Lord crucified it, and blotted it out with his blood. He took away thy debt, he restored thy liberty.

Well, therefore, does he say: And forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors. Mark what thou sayest. As I forgive so do thou also forgive me. If thou hast forgiven, thou doest well in suing that it be forgiven thee. If thou dost not forgive, how canst thou sue him, that it may be forgiven thee?

And let us not be led into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Mark what he says: And let us not be led into temptation which we cannot endure. He doth not say: "Lead us not into temptation," but as an athlete he wishes such a trial as human nature can bear: that each may be delivered from evil, that is from the foe, from sin.

But the Lord who has taken away your sin, and pardoned your faults, is mighty to defend and guard you against the wiles of the devil your adversary, that the foe who is wont to beget guilt may not creep upon you. But he who commits himself to God fears not the devil. For if God is for us, who is against us? To him, therefore, be praise and glory from the ages and now, always, and for ever and ever. — Amen.

BOOK VI

CHAPTER I

THE REALITY OF the gift of Christ's flesh and blood in the sacrament is shown and illustrated from John vi.

As our Lord Jesus Christ is the true Son of God, not after the manner of men, through grace, but as a son of the essence of his father, so it is true flesh, as he himself said, which we receive, and his true blood is our drink.

But perchance thou mayest say, what the disciples of Christ also said then when they heard him saying: Unless a man eat my flesh and drink my blood, he shall not dwell in me, nor shall he have eternal life — perchance thou mayest say: "How are these things real? I who see the likeness, do not see the reality of blood."

First of all, I told thee of the word of Christ, which acts so that it can change and alter the appointed forms of nature. Then when the disciples of Christ endured not his saying, but hearing that he gave his flesh to eat and gave his blood to drink, they turned back; but Peter alone said: Thou hast the words of eternal life, and how shall I withdraw from thee? Accordingly, lest others should say this, feeling a shrinking from actual blood, and that yet the grace of redemption might remain, therefore thou receivest the sacrament in a similitude, but truly obtainest the grace and virtue of the nature.

I am, says he, the living bread which came down from heaven. But flesh did not come down from heaven, that is to say, he took flesh of the Virgin on earth. How then did bread come down from heaven, and that, too, living bread? Because our Lord Jesus Christ is alike a sharer both in divinity and

body. And thou who receivest his flesh partakest of his divine essence in that food.

CHAPTER II

THE SACRAMENTS SHOW the operation of the Trinity and the equality of the Three Persons. Refutation of Arian teaching.

Therefore thou hast been taught about the sacraments, thou hast learnt all things most fully, because thou hast been baptized in the name of the Trinity. In all that we have done the mystery of the Trinity has been preserved. Everywhere Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one operation, one sanctification, though certain things seem to be as it were special.

How? It is God who anointed thee, and the Lord signed thee, and put the Holy Spirit in thy heart. Thou hast therefore received the Holy Spirit in thy heart. Hear another truth, that as the Holy Spirit is in the heart, so also is Christ in the heart. How? Thou hast Christ saying this to his Church in the Song of Songs: Set me as a seal in thy heart, as a seal upon thy arms.

Therefore God anointed thee, Christ signed thee. How? Because thou wast signed with the image of the cross itself unto his passion, thou receivedst a seal unto his likeness, that thou mayest rise unto his image, and live after His pattern, who was crucified to sin and liveth to God. And thy old man plunged into the font was crucified to sin, but rose again unto God.

Then thou hast elsewhere a special work that, while God called thee, in baptism thou art as it were specially crucified with Christ. Then (as an instance of special operation) when thou receivest the spiritual seal, note that there is a distinction of persons, but that the whole mystery of the Trinity is bound up together.

Then what said the Apostle to thee, as was read the day before yesterday? Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. There are

diversities of ministries, but the same Lord. There are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all. All, says he, God worketh. These words, too, were read of the Spirit of God: one and the same Spirit dividing to each as He wills. Hearken to the Scripture saying that the Spirit divides according to His own will, not in obedience to others. So then the Spirit divides to you grace as He wills, not as He is bidden, and chiefly so because He is the Spirit of God, the Spirit of Christ. And hold fast this, that He is the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of God, the Spirit of Christ, the Spirit the Paraclete.

The Arians think that they derogate from the Holy Spirit, if they speak of Him as the Spirit the Paraclete. What does Paraclete mean but consoler? As though we did not read of the Father that He himself is the God of consolation. Thou seest then that they think that an attribute, which pious affection proclaims, as showing the power of the eternal Father, must be derogatory to the Holy Spirit.

CHAPTER III

HOW AND WHERE Christians ought to pray.

Now learn how we should pray. Many are the excellences of prayer. Where we should pray is no small matter, no small subject of inquiry. The Apostle says: I desire that men should pray in every place, lifting up pure hands without wrath and disputing. And the Lord says in the Gospel: But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy chamber, and when thou hast shut the door, pray to thy father. Does not there seem to be a contradiction between the words of the Apostle, Pray in every place, and those of the Lord, Enter into thy chamber and pray? But there is no contradiction. Let us then clear up this point. Then, how thou shouldst begin prayer, under what system order its various parts, what subjoin, what state as petition, how close the prayer, then for whom thou shouldst pray — all these we may discuss.

First, where thou shouldst pray. Paul seems to say one thing and the Lord another. Was it possible that Paul could teach anything contrary to the precepts of Christ? Surely not. Why? Because he is not the opponent, but the interpreter of Christ. Be ye imitators, he says, of me, as I also of Christ. What then? Thou canst pray everywhere, and yet always pray in thy chamber. Everywhere thou hast thy chamber. Though thou be amidst the nations, amidst the Jews, thou hast everywhere thy secret place. Thy mind is thy chamber. Though thou be set in a multitude, yet in the inner man thou possessest thy place of secrecy and retirement.

But thou when thou prayest enter into thy chamber. Well does he say enter; that thou mayest not pray like the Jew, to whom it is said: This people

honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. Let not then thy prayer proceed only from thy lips. Let the whole intention of thy mind be fixed, enter into the recess of thy heart, enter it with thy whole self. Let not him, whom thou wishest to please, see thee to be careless. Let him see that thou prayest from the heart, that when thou prayest from the heart he may deign to hear thee.

But thou when thou prayest, enter into thy chamber. In another place thou hast this too: Go, my people, enter into thy secret places, shut thy door, hide thyself for a little, until the anger of the Lord be overpast. This the Lord spake by the prophet, but in the Gospel he said: But thou when thou prayest, enter into thy chamber, and, when thou hast shut the door, pray to thy Father.

What is meant by "shutting the door"? Hear what door thou hast, which thou shouldest shut, when thou prayest. Would that the women would listen to this!1 Thou hast heard it already. Holy David taught thee when he said: Lord, set a guard upon my mouth and a door round about my lips. Elsewhere there is the door, which the Apostle Paul speaks of, when he says: That the door of the word may be opened for me, to speak the mystery of Christ. That is, when thou prayest, do not shout aloud, nor let thy prayer go forth abroad, nor noise it among the people. In thy privacy pray, sure that he can hear thee in private, who sees all things, hears all things. And pray in secrecy to thy Father, who hears thy secret prayers.

CHAPTER IV

ON PRAYER IN secret. Exposition of 1 Tim. ii. 8.

But let us ask why this is profitable, why we should rather pray in secrecy, than with loud calling. Hearken. Let us take an example from the usage of men. If thou art asking of a man, who hears quickly, thou dost not think that there is need of loud shouting. Thou askest softly in moderate tones. If thou askest of some deaf person, dost not thou begin to call aloud, that he may be able to hear thee? So then he who clamours thinks that God cannot hear him, unless he clamours. And in asking Him thus he derogates from His power. But he who prays in silence shows his faith, and confesses that God is the searcher of the heart and reins, and hears thy prayer before it is uttered by thy lips.

Let us then consider this — I would that men should pray in every place. Why did he say "men"? Surely prayer is common both to men and women. I find no reason for this, unless indeed the holy Apostle said "men," lest the women should be too forward and wrongly understand the words in every place and begin to clamour everywhere. Such women we cannot endure in the Church.

I would that men, that is those who can observe the precept, should pray in every place, lifting up pure hands. What is meant by lifting up pure hands? Oughtest thou in thy prayer to show forth the cross of the Lord to all and sundry? That indeed is a proof of thy piety, not of thy modesty. But it is possible for thee to pray, without displaying any outward figure, but lifting up thy actions. If thou wouldst have thy prayer effective, lift pure hands by

thy innocence. Lift them not every day. Thou hast lifted them once for all; there is no need to lift them again.

I would that men should pray in every place, lifting up pure hands without wrath and disputing. Nothing can be truer. Wrath, it says, destroys even the wise. Therefore at all times, as far as is possible, a Christian man should control his anger, and especially when he comes to prayer. Let not the fierceness of wrath disturb thy mind, let not a kind of fury hinder thy prayer. But rather come with tranquil mind. For why wilt thou be angry? Has thy servant committed a fault? Thou comest to pray that thy faults may be forgiven thee, and thou art indignant with another! That is what is meant by “without wrath.”

CHAPTER V

ON THE MODESTY which women ought to show in prayer. The parts of prayer are illustrated from 1 Tim. ii. 1. Application to the Lord's Prayer and Psalm viii. Conclusion.

Now as to "disputing." Often a man of business comes to prayer, or a covetous man. One thinks of money, the other of gain, one of honour to be won, the other of avarice; and yet he thinks that God can hear him. And therefore when thou prayest, it is right that thou shouldest put divine things before human things.

Likewise too I would that the women pray, not flaunting themselves in ornaments or in pearls, says the Apostle Paul. The Apostle Peter also says: "The influence of a woman availeth much to turn the affections of her husband by the good conversation of his wife, and to convert the unbeliever to the grace of Christ." Such power has the grave demeanour and chastity of a wife and her good conversation to summon her husband to faith and devotion, and the same is often effected by the words of a wise man. Therefore let a woman's adornment, he says, not be in decking of the hair or braided locks, but in prayer from a pure heart, where is the hidden man of the heart, which is always rich in the sight of God. Thou hast, therefore, wherein thou mayest be rich. In Christ are thy riches, the badges of chastity and purity, faith, devotion, and mercy. These are the treasures of righteousness, as the prophet said.

Next comes the question, what should be the beginning of prayer? Tell me, if you wished to make a request of a man and were to begin thus: "Come, grant me what I seek of thee," does not this seem an arrogant form

of prayer? Prayer, therefore, should begin with the praise of God, that thou mayest ask of the almighty God, to whom all things are possible, who has the will to grant. Then follows the supplication, as the Apostle taught us when he said, I beseech, therefore, that first of all prayers, supplications, petitions, giving of thanks be made. The first part of the prayer, therefore, ought to contain the praise of God, the second the supplication, the third the petition, the fourth the giving of thanks. Thou shouldest not, like a starveling for food, begin with food, but with the praises of God.

Thus it is that your prudent public speakers have this rule that they court the favour of the judge. They begin with his praises, that they may have the goodwill of him who tries the case. Then he gradually begins to beg the judge to deign to listen to him patiently. Thirdly, he dares to put forward his petition, to set forth what he seeks. Fourthly, as he began with the praises of God, so he should end with praise.

Thou findest this in the Lord's prayer, Our Father, which art in heaven. It is an act of praise to God to declare Him a Father. Therein lies the glory that belongs to fatherly goodness. It is the praise of God, that he dwells in heaven, not on earth. Our Father, which art in Heaven, hallowed be thy name. That is, that he should hallow his servants. For his name is hallowed in us, when men are declared to be Christians. So then Hallowed be thy name shows a wish. Thy kingdom come — a petition that the kingdom of Christ be in us. If God reigns in us, the adversary cannot find a place. Guilt does not reign, sin does not reign. But virtue reigns, chastity reigns, devotion reigns. Then: Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. This petition is the chief of those things which are asked. And forgive us, he says, our debts, as we also forgive our debtors. Therefore daily receive, that daily thou mayest ask forgiveness for thy debt. And suffer us not to be led into temptation, but deliver us from evil. What follows? Hearken what the priest says: "Through our Lord Jesus Christ, in

whom, with whom, there is to thee honour, praise, glory, majesty, power, with the Holy Spirit, from all ages, both now and always and for ever and ever. — Amen."3

Another example. Though the Psalms of David are one book, possessing the excellences of prayer, which we have mentioned above, yet often too in a single psalm we find represented all these parts of prayer, as we see in the eighth psalm. Thus he begins as follows: O Lord, our Lord, how wonderful is thy name in all the earth. So then we have the first part of the prayer. Then the supplication. For I shall behold thy heavens, the works of thy fingers, that is, I shall behold the heavens, the moon and the stars which thou hast founded. He surely does not mean, I shall see the sky, but I shall see the heavens, in which celestial grace and splendour begin to shine. These heavens then the prophet promised should be given to him, since he deserved celestial grace from the Lord. The moon and the stars which thou hast founded. He calls the Church the moon, and the saints shining with celestial grace he calls the stars. Then observe his petition: What is man that thou are mindful of him, or the son of man that thou visitest him? Thou madest him a little lower than the angels, thou hast crowned him with glory and honour, and hast set him over the works of thy hands. Then there is another thanksgiving: Thou hast put all things under his feet, all sheep and oxen, yea, and the beasts of the field.

We have taught, so far as we could grasp them, truths which perhaps we have not learned, and we have set them forth as far as we were able. May your holiness, informed by priestly training, labour to hold fast what it has received from God. And may that oblation, like a pure victim, always find in you its seal, that you yourselves may be able to attain to grace and the rewards of virtue by our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom is glory, honour, praise, everlastingness, from the ages, and now, and always, and for ever and ever. — Amen.

The Latin Texts

The Forum at Rome — in AD 354 Ambrosius, Ambrose's father, died and the family moved to Rome, where he studied literature, law and rhetoric. He then followed in his father's footsteps and entered public service.

List of Latin Texts

In this section of the eBook, readers can view the original Latin texts of Ambrose's works. You may wish to Bookmark this page for future reference.

CONTENTS

De officiis ministrorum
De spiritu sancto
De excessu fratris sui Satyri
De fide ad Gratianum Augustum
De mysteriis
De paenitentia
De virginibus
Sermo contra Auxentium de basilicis tradendis
Hymni
De sacramentis (Pseudo Ambrose)

De officiis ministrorum

CONTENTS

LIBER PRIMUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.
CAPUT VII.
CAPUT VIII.
CAPUT IX.
CAPUT X.
CAPUT XI.
CAPUT XII.
CAPUT XIII.
CAPUT XIV.
CAPUT XV.
CAPUT XVI.
CAPUT XVII.
CAPUT XVIII.
CAPUT XIX.
CAPUT XX.
CAPUT XXI.
CAPUT XXII.
CAPUT XXIII.
CAPUT XXIV.
CAPUT XXV.

CAPUT XXVI.
CAPUT XXVII.
CAPUT XXVIII.
CAPUT XXIX.
CAPUT XXX.
CAPUT XXXI.
CAPUT XXXII.
CAPUT XXXIII.
CAPUT XXXIV.
CAPUT XXXV.
CAPUT XXXVI.
CAPUT XXXVII.
CAPUT XXXVIII.
CAPUT XXXIX.
CAPUT XL.
CAPUT XLI.
CAPUT XLII.
CAPUT XLIII.
CAPUT XLIV.
CAPUT XLV.
CAPUT XLVI.
CAPUT XLVII.
CAPUT XLVIII.
CAPUT XLIX.
CAPUT L.

LIBER SECUNDUS

CAPUT I.
CAPUT II.

CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.
CAPUT VII.
CAPUT VIII.
CAPUT IX.
CAPUT X.
CAPUT XI.
CAPUT XII.
CAPUT XIII.
CAPUT XIV.
CAPUT XV.
CAPUT XVI.
CAPUT XVII.
CAPUT XVIII.
CAPUT XIX.
CAPUT XX.
CAPUT XXI.
CAPUT XXII.
CAPUT XXIII.
CAPUT XXIV.
CAPUT XXV.
CAPUT XXVI.
CAPUT XXVII.
CAPUT XXVIII.
CAPUT XXIX.
CAPUT XXX.

LIBER TERTIUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.
CAPUT VII.
CAPUT VIII.
CAPUT IX.
CAPUT X.
CAPUT XI.
CAPUT XII.
CAPUT XIII.
CAPUT XIV.
CAPUT XV.
CAPUT XVI.
CAPUT XVII.
CAPUT XVIII.
CAPUT XIX.
CAPUT XX.
CAPUT XXI.
CAPUT XXII.

LIBER PRIMUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

EPISCOPI PROPRIUM MUNUS, docere: sibi autem discendum esse, ut doceat; immo etiam docendum quod non didicerit, aut saltem et discendum simul, et docendum. 1. Non arrogans videri arbitror, si inter filios suscipiam affectum docendi; cum ipse humilitatis magister dixerit: Venite, filii, audite me; timorem Domini docebo vos (Psal. XXXIII, 12). In quo licet et humilitatem verecundiae ejus spectare et gratiam. Dicendo enim, timorem Domini, qui 2 communis videtur esse omnibus, expressit insigne verecundiae. Et tamen cum ipse timor initium sapientiae sit, et effector beatitudinis (quoniam timentes Deum beati sunt), praeceptorem se sapientiae edocendae, et demonstratorem beatitudinis adipiscendae, evidenter significavit.

2. Et nos ergo ad imitandam verecundiam seduli, ad conferendam gratiam non usurpatores, quae illi Spiritus infudit sapientiae, ea per illum nobis manifestata, et visu comperta atque exemplo, vobis quasi liberis tradimus; cum jam effugere non possimus officium docendi, quod nobis refugientibus imposuit sacerdotii necessitudo: Dedit enim Deus quosdam quidem apostolos, quosdam autem prophetas, alios vero evangelistas, alios autem pastores et doctores (Ephes. IV, 11).

3. Non igitur mihi apostolorum gloriam vindico. 3 Quis enim hoc, nisi quos ipse Filius elegit Dei? Non prophetarum gratiam, non virtutem evangelistarum, non pastorum circumspectionem: sed tantummodo intentionem et diligentiam circa Scripturas divinas opto assequi, quam ultimam posuit Apostolus inter officia sanctorum, et hanc ipsam ut docendi studio possim discere. Unus enim verus magister est, qui solus non didicit

quod omnes doceret: homines autem discunt prius quod doceant, et ab illo accipiunt quod aliis tradant.

4. Quod ne ipsum quidem mihi accidit. Ego enim raptus de tribunalibus atque administrationis infulis ad sacerdotium, docere vos coepi, quod ipse non didici. Itaque factum est ut prius docere inciperem, quam discere. Discendum igitur mihi simul et docendum est; quoniam non vacavit ante discere.

CAPUT II.

MULTIPLEX LOQUENDO INCURRI periculum, cujus remedium Scriptura in silentio demonstrat esse positum.

5. Quid autem prae caeteris debemus discere, quam tacere, ut possimus loqui: ne prius me vox condemnet mea, quam absolvat aliena; scriptum est enim: Ex verbis tuis condemnaberis (Matth. XII, 37). Quid opus est igitur ut properes periculum suscipere condemnationis, loquendo; cum tacendo possis esse tutior? Quamplures vidi loquendo peccatum incidisse, vix quemquam tacendo: ideoque tacere nosse quam loqui difficilius est. Scio loqui plerosque, cum tacere nesciant. Rarum est tacere quemquam, cum sibi loqui nihil prosit. Sapiens est ergo qui novit tacere. Denique Sapientia Dei dixit: Dominus dedit mihi linguam eruditionis, quando oporteat sermonem dicere (Esai. L, 4). Merito ergo sapiens qui a Domino accipit, quo tempore sibi loquendum sit. Unde bene ait Scriptura: Homo sapiens tacebit usque ad tempus (Eccli. XX, 7).

6. Ideo sancti Domini, qui scirent quia vox hominis plerumque peccati annuntiatio est, et initium erroris humani, sermo est hominis, amabant tacere. Denique sanctus Domini ait: Dixi custodiam vias meas, ut non delinquam in lingua mea (Psal. XXXVIII, 2). Sciebat enim et legerat divinae esse protectionis, ut homo a linguae suae flagello absconderetur, et a conscientiae suae testimonio (Job V, 21). Verberamur enim tacito cogitationis nostrae opprobrio; et judicio conscientiae: verberamur etiam vocis nostrae verbere, cum loquimur ea quorum sono caeditur animus noster, et mens consauciatur. Quis autem est qui mundum cor a peccatorum habeat colluvione, aut non delinquat in lingua sua? Et ideo quia neminem

videbat sanctum os servare posse ab immunditia sermonis, ipse sibi silentio legem imposuit innocentiae; 4 ut tacendo culpam declinaret, quam vix effugere posset loquendo. 7. Audiamus ergo cautionis magistrum: Dixi, custodiam vias meas, hoc est, dixi mihi, tacito cogitationis praecepto indixi mihi, ut custodirem vias meas. Aliae sunt viae quas debemus sequi, aliae quas custodire: sequi vias Domini, custodire nostras; ne in culpam dirigant. Potes autem custodire, si non cito loquaris. Lex dicit: Audi, Israel, Dominum Deum tuum (Deut. VI, 3). Non dixit, loquere, sed audi. Ideo Eva lapsa est, quia locuta est viro, quod non audierat a Domino Deo suo. Prima vox Dei dicit tibi: Audi. Si audias, custodis vias tuas: et si lapsus es, cito corrigis. In quo enim corrigit juvenior viam suam, nisi in custodiendo verba Domini (Psal. CXVIII, 9)? Tace ergo prius, et audi, ut non delinquas in lingua tua. 8. Grave malum ut aliquis ore suo condemnetur. Etenim si pro otioso verbo reddet unusquisque rationem (Matth. XII, 36), quanto magis pro verbo impuritatis et turpitudinis! Graviora enim sunt verba praecipitationis quam otiosa. Ergo, si pro otioso verbo ratio poscitur, quanto magis pro sermone impietatis poena exsolvitur!

CAPUT III.

NON PERPETUUM NEC otiosum esse debere silentium: et quo pacto custodia cordi ac ori contra inordinatos affectus adhibenda sit.

9. Quid igitur? Mutos nos esse oportet? Minime. Est enim tempus tacendi, et est tempus loquendi (Eccles. III, 7). Deinde si pro otioso verbo reddimus rationem, videamus ne reddamus et pro otioso silentio. Est enim et negotiosum silentium; ut erat Susannae, quae plus egit tacendo, quam si esset locuta (Dan. XIII, 3). Tacendo enim apud homines, locuta est Deo: nec ullum majus indicium suae castitatis invenit, quam silentium. Conscientia loquebatur, ubi vox non audiebatur: nec quaerebat pro se hominum judicium, quae habebat Domini testimonium. Ab illo igitur volebat absolvi, quem sciebat nullo modo posse falli. Ipse Dominus in Evangelio (Matth. XXVI, 63) tacens operabatur salutem hominum. Recte ergo David non silentium sibi indixit perpetuum, sed custodiam. 10. Custodiamus ergo cor nostrum, custodiamus os nostrum; utrumque enim scriptum est: hic, ut os custodiamus, alibi tibi dicitur: Omni custodia serva cor tuum (Prov. IV, 23). Si custodiebat David, tu non custodies? Si immunda labia habebat Esaias, qui dixit: O miser ego, quoniam compunctus sum, quia cum sim homo, et immunda labia habeam (Esai. VI, 5): si propheta Domini immunda habebat labia, quomodo nos munda habemus? 11. Et cui, nisi unicuique nostrum scriptum est: Sepi possessionem tuam spinis . . . et argentum 5 et aurum tuum alliga, et ori tuo fac ostium et vectem, et verbis tuis jugum et stateram (Eccli. XXVIII, 28, 29)? Possessio tua mens tua est: aurum tuum cor tuum est: argentum tuum eloquium tuum est: Eloquia Domini, eloquia casta, argentum igne examinatum (Psal. XI, 7). Bona etiam possessio mens bona.

Denique possessio pretiosa homo mundus. Sepi ergo hanc possessionem, et circumvallato cogitationibus, munito spinis, sollicitudinibus; ne in eam irruant, et captivam ducant irrationabiles corporis passiones, ne incursent motus graves, ne diripiant vindemiam ejus, transeuntes viam. Custodi interiorem hominem tuum. Noli eum quasi vilem negligere ac fastidire, quia pretiosa possessio est. Et merito pretiosa, cujus fructus non caducus et temporalis, sed stabilis atque aeternae salutis est. Cole ergo possessionem tuam, ut sint tibi agri.

12. Alliga sermonem tuum, ne luxuriet, ne lasciviat, et multiloquio peccata sibi colligat. Sit restrictior, et ripis suis coerceatur. Cito lutum colligit amnis exundans. Alliga sensum tuum, non sit remissus ac defluus, ne dicatur de te: Non est malagma apponere, neque oleum, neque alligaturam (Esai. I, 6). Habet suas habenas mentis sobrietas, quibus regitur et gubernatur. 13. Sit ori tuo ostium, ut claudatur ubi oportet: et obseretur diligentius; ne quis in iracundiam excitet vocem tuam, et contumeliam rependas contumeliae. Audisti hodie lectum: Irascimini et nolite peccare (Psal. IV, 5). Ergo etsi irascimur, quia affectus naturae est, non potestatis; malum sermonem non proferamus de ore nostro, ne in culpam ruamus: sed jugum sit verbis tuis et statera, hoc est, humilitas atque mensura; ut lingua tua menti subdita sit. Restringatur habenae vinculis, frenos habeat suos, quibus revocari possit ad mensuram: sermones proferat libra examinatos justitiae: ut sit gravitas in sensu, in sermone pondus, atque in verbis modus.

CAPUT IV.

EADEM CUSTODIA PROSPICITUR, ne a pravis motibus, sed a recta ratione prodeat oratio: in qua potissimum nobis diabolus insidiatur.

14. Haec si custodiat aliquis, fit mitis, mansuetus, modestus. Custodiendo enim os suum, et retinendo linguam suam, nec prius loquendo quam interroget, et expendat atque examinet verba sua, si dicendum hoc, si dicendum adversus hunc, si tempus sermonis hujus est: is profecto exercet modestiam, ac mansuetudinem, et patientiam; ut non ex indignatione et ira in sermonem erumpat, non alicujus passionis indicium det in verbis suis, non ardorem libidinis flammare in sermone suo indicet, 6 et inesse dictis suis stimulos iracundiae: ne sermo postremo qui commendare interiora debet, vitium aliquod esse in moribus, aperiat et prodat. 15. Tunc enim maxime insidiatur adversarius, quando videt nobis passiones aliquas generari: tunc fomites movet, laqueos parat. Unde non immerito, sicut audisti hodie legi, Propheta dicit: Quia ipse liberavit me de laqueo venantium et a verbo aspero (Psal. XC, 3). Symmachus irritationis verbum dixit, alii perturbationis. Laqueus adversarii est sermo noster: sed etiam ipse non minus adversarius nobis. Loquimur plerumque quod excipiat inimicus, et quasi nostro gladio nos vulneret. Quanto tolerabilius est alieno gladio, quam nostro perire! 16. Explorat ergo adversarius nostra arma, et concutit sua tela. Si viderit moveri me, inserit aculeos suos, ut seminaria jurgiorum excitet. Si emisero verbum indecorum, laqueum suum stringit. Interdum mihi quasi escam proponit vindictae possibilitatem; ut dum vindicari cupio, ipse me inseram laqueo, et nodum mortis astringam mihi. Si quis ergo hunc

adversarium sentit praesentem esse, tunc magis custodiam adhibere debet ori suo, ne det locum adversario: sed non multi hunc vident.

CAPUT V.

CONTRA VISIBILEM ETIAM adversarium, cum nos instigat, utendum silentio, cujus unius ope superiores evadimus, et humilitatem quae exhibenda adversus omnes, conservamus.

17. Sed etiam ille cavendus est, qui videri potest, quicumque irritat, quicumque incitat, quicumque exasperat, quicumque incentiva luxuriae aut libidinis suggerit. Quando ergo aliquis nobis conviciatur, lacessit, ad violentiam provocat, ad jurgium vocat: tunc silentium exerceamus, tunc muti fieri non erubescamus. Peccator est enim qui nos provocat, qui injuriam facit, et nos similes sui fieri desiderat. 18. Denique si taceas, si dissimules, solet dicere: Quid taces? Loquere, si audes. Sed non audes: mutus es, elinguem te feci. Si ergo taceas, plus rumpitur: victum sese putat, irrisum, posthabitum atque illusum. Si respondeas, superiorem se factum arbitratur, quia parem invenit. Si enim taceas, dicetur: Ille conviciatus est, hunc contempsit iste. Si referas contumeliam, dicetur: Ambo conviciati sunt. Uterque condemnatur, nemo absolvitur. Ergo illius est studium, ut irritet, ut similia illi loquar, similia agam: justi est autem dissimulare, nihil loqui, tenere bonae fructum conscientiae, plus committere bonorum judicio, quam criminantis insolentiae, 7 contentum esse gravitate morum suorum. Hoc est enim silere a bonis; quia bene sibi conscius, falsis non debet moveri: nec aestimare plus ponderis in alieno esse convicio, quam in suo testimonio. 19. Ita fit ut etiam humilitatem custodiat. Si autem nolit humilior videri, talia tractat, et dicit ipse secum: Hic ergo ut me contemnat, et in conspectu meo loquatur talia adversum me, quasi non possim ego ei aperire os meum? Cur non etiam ergo dicam, in quibus eum moestificare

possim? Hic ergo ut mihi injurias faciat, quasi vir non sim, quasi vindicare me non possim? Hic ut me criminetur, quasi ego non possim graviora in eum componere? 20. Qui talia dicit, non est mitis atque humilis, non est sine tentatione. Tentator eum exagitat, ipse ei tales opiniones inserit. Plerumque adhibet hominem, atque apponit nequam spiritus, qui haec illi dicat: sed tu in petra fixum vestigium tene. Etsi servus convicium dicat, justus tacet; etsi infirmus contumeliam faciat, justus tacet: etsi pauper criminetur, justus non respondet. Haec sunt arma justi, ut cedendo vincat. Sicut periti jaculandi cedentes solent vincere, et fugientes gravioribus sequentem vulnerare ictibus.

CAPUT VI.

HAC IN RE silentium atque humilitatem David imitanda esse, ne digni videamur injuria.

21. Quid enim opus est moveri, cum audimus convicia? Cur non imitamur dicentem: Obmutui, et humiliatus sum, et silui a bonis (Psal. XXXVIII, 3)? An hoc dixit tantummodo, non etiam fecit David? Immo et fecit (II Reg. XVI, 6 et seq.). Nam cum ei conviciaretur Semei filius Jemini, tacebat David: et quamvis septus armatis, non retorquebat convicium, non ultionem quaerebat, eousque ut dicenti sibi Sarviae filio quod vindicare in eum vellet, non permiserit. Ibat ergo tamquam mutus et humiliatus, ibat tacens, nec movebatur, cum vir appellaretur sanguinis, qui erat conscius propriae mansuetudinis. Non ergo movebatur conviciis, cui abundabat bonorum operum conscientia.

22. Itaque is qui cito injuria movetur, facit se dignum videri contumelia, dum vult ea indignus probari. Melior est itaque qui contemnit injuriam, quam qui dolet; qui enim contemnit, quasi non sentiat, ita despicit: qui autem dolet, quasi senserit, torquetur. 8

CAPUT VII.

QUAM PULCHRE PROOEMII loco usurpatus fuerit psalmus XXXVIII, quo inductus Vir sanctus de Officiis scribere constituit: idque potiori jure quam olim Cicero ad filium, et quam ob causam.

23. Neque improvide ad vos filios meos scribens, hujus psalmi prooemio (Psal. XXXVIII, 1) usus sum. Quem psalmum propheta David sancto Idithum canendum dedit, ego vobis tenendum suadeo, delectatus ejus sensu profundo et virtute sententiarum. Advertimus enim ex his quae breviter libavimus, et silendi patientiam, et opportunitatem loquendi, et in posterioribus (Ibid., 8) contemptum divitiarum, quae maxima virtutum fundamenta sunt, hoc psalmo doceri. Dum igitur hunc psalmum considero, successit animo de Officiis scribere. 24. De quibus etiamsi quidam Philosophiae studentes scripserint, ut Panaetius, et filius ejus apud Graecos, Tullius apud Latinos; non alienum duxi a nostro munere, ut etiam ipse scriberem. Et sicut Tullius ad erudiendum filium, ita ego quoque ad vos informandos filios meos; neque enim minus vos diligo quos in Evangelio genui, quam si conjugio suscepissem. Non enim vehementior est natura ad diligendum, quam gratia. Plus certe diligere debemus quos perpetuo nobiscum putamus futuros, quam quos in hoc tantum saeculo. Illi degeneres nascuntur frequenter, qui dedeceant patrem: vos ante elegimus, ut diligamus. Itaque illi necessitate diliguntur, quae non satis idonea atque diuturna est ad perpetuitatem diligendi magistra: vos judicio, quo magnum charitatis pondus ad vim diligendi adjungitur, probare quos diligas, et diligere quos elegeris.

CAPUT VIII.

NOMEN OFFICII, NON solum philosophis, sed etiam scriptoribus sacris usitatum esse; et unde hoc deductum?

25. Ergo quoniam personae conveniunt, videamus utrum res ipsa conveniat scribere de Officiis: et utrum hoc nomen philosophorum tantummodo scholae aptum sit, an etiam in Scripturis reperiatur divinis. Pulchre itaque dum legimus hodie Evangelium (quasi adhortaretur ad scribendum) Spiritus sanctus obtulit nobis lectionem, qua confirmaremur etiam in nobis Officium dici posse. Nam cum Zacharias sacerdos obmutuisset in templo, et loqui non posset: Factum est, inquit, ut impleti sunt dies Officii ejus, abiit in domum suam (Luc. I, 23). Legimus igitur Officium dici a nobis posse. 9 26. Nec ratio ipsa abhorret, quandoquidem Officium ab efficiendo dictum putamus, quasi efficium: sed propter decorem sermonis una immutata littera, officium nuncupari: vel certe, ut ea agas, quae nulli officiant, prosint omnibus.

CAPUT IX.

OFFICIUM AB HONESTO et utili, nec non ab amborum inter se comparatione desumi: sed a Christianis nihil quod ad futuram vitam non conferat, honestum aut utile agnosci; atque adeo non supervacaneum fore hunc de Officio tractatum.

27. Officia autem ab honesto et utili duci existimaverunt, et de iis duobus eligere quid praestet: deinde incidere ut duo concurrant honesta, et duo utilia; et quaeratur quid honestius, et quid utilius. Primum igitur in tres partes Officium dividitur: honestum, et utile, et quid praestantius. Deinde haec tria in quinque genera diviserunt, in duo honesta, et duo utilia, et eligendi judicium. Prima pertinere dicunt ad decus honestatemque vitae, secunda ad vitae commoda, copias, opes, facultates: de iis eligendis subesse judicium. Haec illi. 28. Nos autem nihil omnino nisi quod deceat et honestum sit, futurorum magis quam praesentium metimur formula: nihilque utile nisi quod ad vitae illius aeternae prosit gratiam definimus, non quod ad delectationem praesentis. Neque aliqua commoda in facultatibus et copiis opum constituimus: sed incommoda haec putamus, si non rejiciantur; eaque oneri cum sint aestimari magis, quam dispendio cum erogantur.

29. Non superfluum igitur scriptionis nostrae est opus, quia Officium diversa aestimamus regula atque illi aestimaverunt. Illi saeculi commoda in bonis ducunt, nos haec etiam in detrimentis; quoniam qui hic recipit bona, ut ille dives, illic cruciatur: et Lazarus qui mala hic pertulit, illic consolationem invenit (Luc. XVI, 25). Deinde qui illa non legunt, nostra legent si volent: qui non sermonum supellectilem, neque artem dicendi; sed simplicem rerum exquirunt gratiam.

CAPUT X.

PRIUS SACRIS LITTERIS decorum quam in philosophorum libris frequentatum esse: Pythagoram silentii sui legem mutuatum a Davide: sed hujus tamen praestare disciplinam; cum primum officium sit loquendi modus.

30. Decorum autem in nostris Scripturis primo constitui loco (quod Graece πρέπον 10 dicitur) instruimur et docemur, legentes: Te decet hymnus, Deus, in Sion (Psal. LXIV, 2): vel Graece, Σοὶ πρέπει ὑμνὸς ὦ Θεὸς, ἐν Σίων. Et Apostolus ait: Loquere quae decent sanam doctrinam (Tit. II, 1). Et alibi: Decebat autem eum per quem omnia, et propter quem omnia, multis filiis in gloriam adductis, ducem salutis eorum per passionem consummari (Hebr. II, 10). 31. Numquid prior Panaetius, numquid Aristoteles, qui et ipse disputavit de Officio, quam David; cum et ipse Pythagoras, qui legitur Socrate antiquior, prophetam secutus David (Psal. XXXVIII, 2 et seq.), legem silentii dederit suis? Sed ille ut per quinquennium discipulis usum inhiberet loquendi: David autem non ut naturae munus imminueret; sed ut custodiam proferendi sermonis doceret. Et Pythagoras quidem ut non loquendo loqui doceret, David ut loquendo magis disceremus loqui. Quomodo enim sine exercitio doctrina, aut sine usu profectus?

32. Qui disciplinam bellicam vult assequi, quotidie exercetur armis, et tamquam in procinctu positus praeludit praelium, et velut coram posito praetendit hoste: atque ad peritiam viresque jaculandi, vel suos explorat lacertos, vel adversariorum declinat ictus, et vigilanti exit obtutu. Qui navim in mari regere gubernaculis studet, vel remis ducere, prius in fluvio

praeludit. Qui canendi suavitatem et vocis affectant praestantiam, prius sensim canendo vocem excitant. Et qui viribus corporis, legitimoque luctandi certamine coronam petunt, quotidiano usu palaestrae durantes membra, nutrientes patientiam, laborem assuescunt. 33. Haec ipsa natura nos in parvulis docet, quod prius sonos meditantur loquendi, ut loqui discant. Itaque sonus exercitatio quaedam et palaestra vocis est. Ita ergo et qui volunt discere cautionem loquendi, quod naturae est, non negent: quod custodiae est, exerceant; ut qui in specula sunt, speculando intendant, non dormiendo. Omnis enim res propriis ac domesticis exercitiis augetur. 34. Ergo David tacebat non semper, sed pro tempore: non jugiter, neque omnibus; sed irritanti adversario, provocanti peccatori non respondebat. Et, sicut alibi ait (Psal. XXXVII, 13, 14), loquentes vanitatem, et cogitantes dolum, non audiebat quasi surdus, et quasi mutus non aperiebat illis os suum; quia et alibi habes: Noli respondere imprudenti ad imprudentiam ejus, ne similis illi fias (Prov. XXVI, 4).

35. Primum igitur officium est loquendi modus. Hoc sacrificium laudis Deo dependitur, 11 hoc reverentia exhibetur, cum Scripturae divinae leguntur, hoc honorantur parentes. Scio loqui plerosque, cum tacere nesciant. Rarum est tacere quemquam, cum sibi non prosit loqui. Sapiens ut loquatur, multa prius considerat, quid dicat, aut cui dicat, quo in loco, et tempore. Est ergo et tacendi et loquendi modus: est etiam facti modus. Pulchrum igitur tenere mensuram officii.

CAPUT XI.

OFFICIUM OMNE, AUT medium, aut perfectum esse Scripturae testimoniis ostenditur: cui subjungitur misericordiae laus, atque ad eam exhortatio.

36. Officium autem omne aut medium, aut perfectum est, quod aeque Scripturarum auctoritate probare possumus. Habemus etenim in Evangelio dixisse Dominum: Si vis in vitam aeternam venire, serva mandata. Dixit ille? Quae? Jesus autem dixit illi: Non homicidium facies, non adulterabis, non facies furtum, non falsum testimonium dices: honora patrem et matrem: et, Diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum (Matth. XIX, 17 et seq.). Haec sunt media officia, quibus aliquid deest. 37.

Denique dicit illi adolescens: Omnia haec custodivi a juventute mea, quid adhuc mihi deest? Ait illi Jesus: Si vis perfectus esse, vade, vende omnia bona tua, et da pauperibus, et habebis thesaurum in coelo, et veni, sequere me (Ibid., XX, 21). Et supra (Matth. V, 44, 45) ita est scriptum, ubi diligendos inimicos, et orandum dicit pro calumniantibus et persequentibus nos, et benedicere maledicentes; hoc nos facere debemus, si volumus perfecti esse, sicut Pater noster qui in coelo est, qui super bonos et malos solem jubet radios suos fundere, et pluvia et rore terras universorum sine ulla discretione pinguescere. Hoc est igitur perfectum officium, quod κατόρθωμα dixerunt Graeci, quo corriguntur omnia, quae aliquos potuerunt lapsus habere. 38. Bona etiam misericordia, quae et ipsa perfectos facit, quia imitatur perfectum Patrem. Nihil tam commendat Christianam animam quam misericordia. Primum in pauperes, ut communes judices partus naturae, quae omnibus ad usum generat fructus terrarum; ut quod habes, largiaris pauperi, et consortem et conformem tuum adjuves. Tu nummum

largiris, ille vitam accipit: tu pecuniam das, ille substantiam suam aestimat. Tuus denarius, census illius est.

39. Ad haec plus ille tibi confert, cum sit debitor salutis. Si nudum vestias, te ipsum induis justitiam. Si peregrinum sub tectum inducas tuum, si suscipias egentem: ille tibi acquirit sanctorum amicitias et aeterna tabernacula. Non mediocris ista gratia. Corporalia seminas, et recipis spiritalia. Miraris judicium Domini de sancto Job? Mirare virtutem ejus, qui poterat dicere: 12 Oculus eram caecorum, pes claudorum. Ego eram infirmorum pater, velleribus agnorum meorum calefacti sunt humeri eorum. Foris non habitabat peregrinus: ostium autem meum omni venienti patebat (Job XXIX, 15, 16). Beatus plane, de cujus domo numquam vacuo sinu pauper exivit; neque enim quisquam magis beatus, quam qui intelligit super pauperis necessitatem et infirmi atque inopis aerumnam. In die judicii habebit salutem a Domino, quem habebit suae debitorem misericordiae.

CAPUT XII.

NE QUIS AB exercenda misericordia revocetur, ostenditur Deum curare actus hominum, et quemlibet improbum in ipsa opum affluentia miserum esse Jobi auctoritate demonstratur.

40. Sed plerique revocantur ab officio dispensatricis misericordiae, dum putant hominis actus non curare Dominum, aut nescire eum quid in occultis geramus, quid teneat nostra conscientia: aut judicium ejus nequaquam justum videri, quando peccatores divitiis abundare vident, gaudere honoribus, sanitate, liberis: contra autem, justos inopes degere, inhonoros, sine liberis, infirmos corpore, luctu frequenti. 41. Nec mediocris ea quaestio, quando quidem tres illi reges amici Job, propterea eum peccatorem pronuntiabant, quia inopem factum ex divite, orbatum liberis ex fecundo parente, perfusum ulceribus, inhorrentemque vibicibus, exaratum vulneribus a capite usque ad pedes videbant (Job. IV, 3, 11, 14 et seq.). Quibus hanc sanctus Job proponit assertionem: Si ego propter peccata mea haec patior, Cur impii vivunt? Inveteraverunt autem, et in divitiis semen eorum secundum voluntatem, filii eorum in oculis, domus ipsorum abundant, timor autem nusquam: Flagellum autem a Domino non est in ipsis (Job XXI, 7 et seq.).

42. Haec videns infirmus corde exagitatur, et studium avertit suum. Cujus dicturus sermones, ante sanctus praemisit Job, dicens: Portate me, ego autem loquar, deinde videte me. Nam et si arguor, quasi homo arguor. Portate ergo onus sermonum meorum (Ibid., 1 et seq.). Dicturus enim sum quod non probo: sed ad vos redarguendos proferam sermonis iniquos. Aut certe; quia ita est versus. Quid autem? Numquid ab homine arguor? hoc est,

homo me non potest redarguere quia peccavi, etsi argui dignus sum; quia non ex evidenti culpa me arguitis, sed ex injuriis aestimatis merita delictorum. Videns ergo infirmus abundare injustos successibus prosperis, se autem alteri, dicit Domino: Discede a me, vias tuas scire nolo (Ibid., 14). Quid prodest, quia servivimus ipsi: aut quae utilitas, quia occurrimus ipsi? In manibus ipsorum omnia bona, opera autem impiorum non videt. 43. Laudatur in Platone, quod in Politia sua 13 posuit eum qui contra justitiam disputandi partes recepisset, postulare veniam dictorum quae non probaret, et veri inveniendi atque examinandae disputationis gratia, illam sibi impositam personam dicere. Quod eousque Tullius probavit, ut ipse in libris quos scripsit de Republica, in eam sententiam dicendum putaverit.

44. Quanto antiquior illis Job, qui haec primus reperit, nec eloquentiae phalerandae gratia, sed veritatis probandae, praemittenda aestimavit? Statimque ipse quaestionem enodem reddidit, subjiciens quod exstinguatur lucerna impiorum, et futura sit eorum eversio (Job. XXI, 17): non falli Deum doctorem sapientiae et disciplinae, sed esse veritatis judicem (Ibidem, 22): et ideo non secundum forensem abundantiam aestimandam beatitudinem singulorum; sed secundum interiorem conscientiam, quae innocentium et flagitiosorum merita discernit, vera atque incorrupta poenarum praemiorumque arbitra. Moritur innocens in potestate simplicitatis suae, in abundantia propriae voluntatis, sicut adipe repletam animam gerens (Ibid., 23 et seq.). At vero peccator quamvis foris abundet, deliciis diffluat, et odoribus fragret, in amaritudine animae suae vitam exigit, et ultimum diem claudit, nihil secum eorum quae epulatus fuerit, boni referens: nihil secum auferens, nisi scelerum suorum pretia.

45. Haec cogitans nega, si potes, divini esse judicii remunerationem. Ille suo affectu beatus, hic miser: ille suo judicio absolutus, hic reus: ille in exitu laetus, hic moerens. Cui absolvi potest, qui nec sibi innocens est? Dicite, inquit, mihi, ubi est protectio tabernaculorum ejus (Job XXI, 28)?

Signum ejus non invenietur. Vita etenim facinorosi, ut somnium. Aperuit oculos, transivit requies ejus, evanuit delectatio: licet ipsa quae videtur, etiam dum vivunt, impiorum requies in inferno sit: viventes enim in inferna descendunt. 46. Vides convivium peccatoris, interroga conscientiam ejus. Nonne gravius omnibus fetet sepulcris? Intueris laetitiam ejus, et salubritatem miraris corporis filiorum atque opum abundantiam: introspice ulcera et vibices animae ejus, et cordis moestitudinem. Nam de opibus quid loquar, cum legeris: Quia non in abundantia est vita ejus (Luc. XII, 15): cum scias quia etsi tibi videatur dives, sibi pauper est, et tuum judicium 14 suo refellat? De multitudine quoque filiorum, et de indolentia quid loquar; cum se ipse lugeat, et sine haerede futurum judicet, cum imitatores sui successores suos esse nolit? Nulla enim haereditas peccatoris. Ergo impius ipse sibi poena est: justus autem ipse sibi gratia; et utrique aut bonorum aut malorum operum merces ex se ipso solvitur.

CAPUT XIII.

REFELLUNTUR PHILOSOPHORUM OPINIONES qui Deo vel mundi totius, vel alicujus ex ejus partibus curam abjudicant.

47. Sed revertamur ad propositum, ne divisionem factam praeteriisse videamur, quia occurrimus opinioni eorum qui videntes sceleratos quosque divites, laetos, honoratos, potentes, cum plerique justorum egeant, atque infirmi sint, putant vel nihil Deum curare de nobis, ut Epicurei dicunt: vel nescire actus hominum, ut flagitiosi putant: vel si scit omnia, iniquum esse judicem; ut bonos egere patiatur, abundare improbos. Nec superfluus velut quidam excursus fuit, ut opinioni hujusmodi ipsorum affectus responderet, quos beatos judicant, cum ipsi se miseros putent. Arbitratus enim sum quod ipsi sibi facilius quam nobis crederent. 48. Quo decurso, proclive aestimo, ut refellam caetera. Et primo eorum assertionem, qui Deum putant curam mundi nequaquam habere, sicut Aristoteles asserit usque ad lunam ejus descendere providentiam. Et quis operator negligat operis sui curam? Quis deserat et destituat quod ipse condendum putavit? Si injuria est regere, nonne est major injuria fecisse; cum aliquid non fecisse nulla injustitia sit, non curare quod feceris, summa inclementia?

49. Quod si aut Deum creatorem suum abnegant, aut ferarum et bestiarum se haberi numero censent: quid de illis dicamus, qui hac se condemnant injuria? Per omnia Deum ire ipsi asserunt, et omnia in virtute ejus consistere, vim et majestatem ejus per omnia elementa penetrare, terras, coelum, maria: et putant injuriam ejus, si mentem hominis qua nihil nobis ipse praestantius dedit, penetret, et divinae majestatis ingrediatur scientia? 50. Sed horum magistrum velut ebrium, et 15 voluptatis patronum,

ipsi qui putantur sobrii, irrident philosophi? Nam de Aristotelis opinione quid loquar, qui putat Deum suis contentum esse finibus, et praescripto regni modo degere, ut poetarum loquuntur fabulae, qui mundum inter tres ferunt esse divisum; ut alii coelum, alii mare, alii inferna coercenda imperio, sorte obvenerint: eosque cavere ne usurpata alienarum partium sollicitudine, inter se bellum excitent. Similiter ergo asserit quod terrarum curam non habeat, sicut maris vel inferni non habet. Et quomodo ipsi excludunt quos sequuntur, poetas?

CAPUT XIV.

DEI COGNITIONEM NIHIL fugere et Scripturarum testimoniis, et solis comprobatur exemplo, qui licet creatura sit, tamen vel lumine, vel calore cuncta penetrat.

51. Sequitur illa responsio, utrum Deum, si operis sui cura non praeterierit, praetereat scientia. Ergo qui plantavit aurem, non audit: qui finxit oculum, non videt, non considerat?

52. Non praeteriit haec vana opinio sanctos prophetas. Denique David inducit eos loquentes, quos superbia inflatos asserit. Quid enim tam superbum, quam cum ipsi sub peccato sint, alios indigne ferant peccatores vivere, dicentes: Usquequo peccatores, Domine, usquequo peccatores gloriabuntur (Psal. XCIII, 3)? Et infra: Et dixerunt. Non videbit Dominus, neque intelliget Deus Jacob. Quibus respondet propheta dicens: Intelligite nunc insipientes in populo, et stulti aliquando sapite. Qui plantavit aurem, non audit: et qui finxit oculum, non considerat? Qui corripit gentes, non arguit, qui docet hominem scientiam? Dominus scit cogitationes hominum, quoniam vanae sunt (Ibid. 7 et seq.). Qui ea quaecumque vana sunt deprehendit, ea quae sancta sunt, nescit, et ignorat quod ipse fecit? Potest opus suum ignorare artifex? Homo est, et in opere suo latentia deprehendit; et Deus opus suum nescit? Altius ergo profundum in opere, quam in auctore. Et fecit aliquid quod supra se esset, cujus meritum ignoraret auctor, cujus affectum nesciret arbiter? Haec illis.

53. Caeterum nobis satis est ipsius testimonium, qui ait: Ego sum scrutans corda et renes (Jerem. XVII, 10). Et in Evangelio ait Dominus Jesus: Quid cogitatis mala in cordibus vestris (Luc. V, 22)? Sciebat enim

quod cogitarent mala. Denique Evangelista testatur dicens: Sciebat enim Jesus cogitationes eorum (Luc. VI, 8). 54. Quorum non poterit satis movere opinio, si facta eorum consideremus. Nolunt supra se esse judicem, quem nihil fallat: nolunt ei dare occultorum scientiam, qui metuunt occulta sua prodi. Sed etiam Dominus sciens opera eorum, tradidit eos in tenebras. In nocte, inquit, erit fur. Et oculus adulteri servabit tenebras, dicens: Non considerabit me oculus: et latibulum personae posuit suae (Job XXIV, 14, 15). 16 Omnis enim qui lucem fugit, diligit tenebras, studens latere, cum Deum latere non possit, qui intra profundum abyssi, et intra hominum mentes non solum tractata, sed etiam volvenda cognoscit. Denique et ille qui dicit in Ecclesiastico: Quis videt me? Et tenebrae cooperiunt me, et parietes, quem vereor (Eccli. XXIII, 25, 26)? quamvis in lecto suo positus haec cogitet, ubi non putaverit, comprehenditur. Et erit, inquit, dedecus, quod non intellexerit timorem Dei (Ibid., 31).

55. Quid autem tam stolidum, quam putare quod Deum quidquam praetereat; cum sol qui minister luminis est, etiam abdita penetret, et in fundamenta domus vel secreta conclavia vis caloris ejus irrumpat? Quis neget verna temperie tepefieri interiora terrarum, quas glacies hiberna constrinxerit? Norunt ergo arborum occultam vim caloris vel frigoris, adeo ut radices arborum aut urantur frigore, aut fotu solis virescant. Denique ubi clementia coeli arriserit, varios terra se fundit in fructus.

56. Si igitur radius solis fundit lumen suum super omnem terram, et in ea quae clausa sunt, se inserit, nec vectibus ferreis aut gravium valvarum obicibus, quominus penetret, impeditur; quomodo non potest intelligibilis Dei splendor in cogitationes hominum et corda semet quae ipse creavit, inserere: sed ea quae ipse fecit, non videt, et fecit ut meliora sint quae facta sunt, et potentiora, quam ipse est qui ea fecit, ut possint quando volunt, cognitionem sui operatoris latere? Tantam ergo virtutem et potestatem inseruit mentibus nostris; ut eam comprehendere cum velit, ipse non possit?

CAPUT XV.

QUIBUS DISPLICET QUOD bonis male, et malis bene sit, eis Lazari exemplo et Pauli auctoritate ostenditur post vitam poenas ac praemia reservari.

57. Duo absolvimus et, ut arbitramur, non incongrue nobis hujusmodi cecidit disputatio. Tertium genus quaestionis residet hujusmodi: cur peccatores abundent opibus et divitiis, epulentur jugiter, sine moerore, sine luctu; justi autem egeant, et afficiantur aut conjugum amissione, aut liberorum? Quibus satisfacere debuit illa Evangelii parabola, quod dives bysso et purpura induebatur, et epulas copiosas exhibebat quotidie: pauper autem plenus ulcerum de mensa ejus colligebat reliquias. Post obitum vero utriusque, pauper erat in sinu Abrahae requiem habens, dives in suppliciis (Luc. XVI, 25). Nonne evidens est meritorum aut praemia aut supplicia post mortem manere? 58. Et recte, quia in certamine labor est, post certamen aliis victoria, aliis ignominia. Numquid priusquam cursus conficiatur, palma cuiquam datur, aut defertur corona? Merito Paulus: Certamen, inquit, bonum certavi, cursum consummavi, fidem servavi: quod reliquum est, reposita est mihi corona justitiae, quam reddet mihi Dominus 17 in illa die, justus judex: non solum autem mihi, sed etiam his qui diligunt adventum ejus (II Tim. IV, 7, 8). In illa, inquit, die reddet, non hic. Hic autem in laboribus, in periculis, in naufragiis, quasi athleta bonus decertabat; quia sciebat quoniam per multas tribulationes oportet nos introire in regnum Dei. Ergo non potest quis praemium accipere, nisi legitime certaverit; nec est gloriosa victoria, nisi ubi fuerint laboriosa certamina.

CAPUT XVI.

CONFIRMATO QUOD SUPRA de praemiis et poenis dictum fuerat, subjungitur non mirum esse si quibus merces in futuro non destinatur, hic illi non laborent neque confligant: additurque ideo temporalia bona ipsis concedi, ne qua relinquatur excusatio.

59. Nonne injustus est, qui ante dat praemium, quam certamen fuerit absolutum? Ideoque Dominus in Evangelio ait: Beati pauperes spiritu, quoniam ipsorum est regnum coelorum (Matth. V, 3). Non dixit: Beati divites, sed pauperes. Inde incipit beatitudo judicio divino, ubi aerumna aestimatur humana. Beati qui esuriunt, quia ipsi saturabuntur. Beati qui lugent, quoniam ipsi consolationem habebunt. Beati misericordes, quoniam ipsis miserebitur Deus. Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt. Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam, quoniam ipsorum est regnum coelorum. Beati estis, cum vobis maledicent, et persequentur, et dicent omne malum adversum vos, propter justitiam. Gaudete et exsultate quoniam merces vestra copiosa est in coelo (Ibid., 5 et seq.). Futuram, non praesentem: in coelo, non in terra mercedem promisit esse reddendam. Quid alibi poscis, quod alibi debetur? quid praepropere coronam exigis, antequam vincas? quid detergere pulverem? quid requiescere cupis? quid epulari gestis, antequam stadium solvatur? Adhuc populus spectat, adhuc athletae in scammate sunt, et tu jam otium petis.

60. Sed forte dicas: Cur impii laetantur? cur luxuriantur? cur etiam ipsi non mecum laborant? Quoniam qui non subscripserint ad coronam, non tenentur ad laborem certaminis: qui in stadium non descenderint, non se perfundunt oleo, non oblinunt pulvere. Quos manet gloria, exspectat injuria.

Unguentati spectare solent, non decertare: non solem, aestus, pulverem, imbresque perpeti. Dicant ergo et ipsis athletae: Venite, nobiscum laborate. Sed respondebunt spectatores: Nos hic interim de vobis judicamus: vos autem sine nobis coronae, si viceritis, gloriam vindicabitis. 61. Isti igitur qui in deliciis, qui in luxuria, rapinis, quaestibus, honoribus, studia posuerunt sua, spectatores magis sunt quam praeliatores. Habent lucrum laboris, fructum virtutis 18 non habent. Fovent otium, astutia et improbitate aggerant divitiarum acervos: sed exsolvent, seram licet, nequitiae suae poenam. Horum requies in infernis, tua vero in coelo: horum domus in sepulcro, tua in paradiso. Unde pulchre vigilare eos in tumulo Job dixit (Job. XXI, 32); quia soporem quietis habere non possunt, quem ille dormivit, qui resurrexit.

62. Noli igitur ut parvulus sapere, ut parvulus loqui, ut parvulus cogitare, ut parvulus vindicare ea quae sunt posterioris aetatis. Perfectorum est corona. Exspecta, ut veniat quod perfectum est, quando non per speciem in aenigmate, sed facie ad faciem formam ipsam redopertae veritatis possis agnoscere. Tunc qua causa ille dives fuerit, qui erat improbus et raptor alieni, qua causa potens alius, qua causa ille abundaverit liberis, ille fultus honoribus, revelabitur. 63. Fortasse ut dicatur raptori: Dives eras, qua causa aliena rapiebas? Egestas non compulit, inopia non coegit. Nonne ideo te divitem feci, ut excusationem habere non possis? Dicatur etiam potenti: Cur non adfuisti viduae, orphanis quoque injuriam patientibus? Numquid tu infirmus eras? Numquid non poteras subvenire? Ideo te feci potentem, ut non inferres violentiam, sed repelleres. Non tibi scriptum est: Eripe injuriam accipientem (Eccli. IV, 9)? Non tibi scriptum est: Pauperem, et egenum de manu peccatoris liberate (Psal. LXXXI, 4)? Dicatur etiam abundanti: Liberis, et honoribus cumulavi te, salubritatem corporis concessi tibi; cur non secutus es praecepta mea? Famule meus, quid feci tibi, aut quid contristavi te? Nonne ego tibi liberos dedi, honores contuli, salutem donavi;

cur me negabas? Cur aestimabas quod ad scientiam meam quae gereres non pervenirent: cur tenebas dona mea, despiciebas mandata mea (Mich. VI, 3 et seq.). 64. Denique de Juda proditore haec colligere licet, qui et apostolus inter duodecim electus est, et loculos pecuniarum quas pauperibus erogaret, commissos habebat, ne videretur aut quasi inhonorus, aut quasi egenus Dominum prodidisse. Et ideo ut justificaretur in eo Dominus, haec ei contulit; ut non quasi injuria exasperatus, sed quasi praevaricatus gratiam, majori esset offensae obnoxius.

CAPUT XVII.

ADOLESCENTIS OFFICIA, ET exempla eidem aetati accommoda proponuntur.

65. Quoniam igitur et poenam improbitati, et virtuti fore praemium satis claruit, de Officiis aggrediamur dicere; quae nobis ab adolescentia spectanda sunt, ut cum aetate accrescant simul. Est igitur bonorum adolescentium timorem Dei habere, deferre parentibus, honorem habere senioribus, castitatem tueri, 19 non aspernari humilitatem, diligere clementiam ac verecundiam, quae ornamento sunt minori aetati. Ut enim in senibus gravitas, in juvenibus alacritas; ita in adolescentibus verecundia, velut quadam dote commendatur naturae. 66. Erat Isaac Dominum timens, utpote Abrahae indoles, deferens patri usque adeo, ut adversus paternam voluntatem nec mortem recusaret (Gen. XXII, 9 et seq.). Joseph quoque cum somniasset quod sol et luna et stellae adorarent eum, sedulo tamen obsequio deferebat patri (Gen. XXXVII, 6 et seq.): castus ita ut ne sermonem quidem audire vellet nisi pudicum: humilis usque ad servitutem, verecundus usque ad fugam, patiens usque ad carcerem, remissor injuriae usque ad remunerationem. Cujus tanta verecundia fuit, ut comprehensus a muliere, vestem in manibus ejus fugiens mallet relinquere, quam verecundiam deponere (Gen. XXXIX, 8 et seq.). Moyses quoque et Hieremias electi a Domino, ut oracula Dei praedicarent populo, quod poterant per gratiam, excusabant per verecundiam (Exod. IV, 10; Jerem. I, 6).

CAPUT XVIII.

De partibus verecundiae: quemadmodum sermonem ac silentium temperet, pudicitiam comitetur, preces nostras Deo commendet, motibus corporeis moderetur; ubi refertur historia de duobus clericis observatu minime indigna: tum subnectitur qua ratione componendus ex eadem virtute incessus, quantave cautio ne quid inverecundum ore proferatur, aut detegatur in corpore, adhibenda sit: et haec omnia exemplis appositissimis illustrantur.

67. Pulchra igitur virtus est verecundiae, et suavis gratia, quae non solum in factis, sed etiam in ipsis spectatur sermonibus; ne modum progrediaris loquendi, ne quid indecorum sermo resonet tuus. Speculum enim mentis plerumque in verbis refulget. Ipsum vocis sonum librat modestia, ne cujusquam offendat aurem vox fortior. Denique in ipso canendi genere prima disciplina verecundia est: immo etiam in omni usu loquendi; ut sensim quis aut psallere, aut canere, aut postremo loqui incipiat; ut verecunda principia commendent processum.

68. Silentium quoque ipsum, in quo est reliquarum virtutum otium, maximus actus verecundiae est. Denique si aut infantiae putatur aut superbiae, probro datur: si verecundiae, laudi ducitur. Tacebat in periculis Suzanna, et gravius verecundiae, quam vitae damnum putabat, nec arbitrabatur periculo pudoris tuendam salutem. Deo soli loquebatur (Dan. XIII, 35), cui poterat casta verecundia eloqui: refugiebat ora intueri virorum; est enim et in oculis verecundia, ut nec videre viros femina, nec videri velit. 69. Neque vero quisquam solius hanc laudem 20 castitatis putet. Est enim verecundia pudicitiae comes, cujus societate castitas ipsa tutior

est. Bonus enim regendae castitatis pudor est comes: qui si se praetendat ad ea quae prima pericula sunt, pudicitiam temerari non sinat. Hic primus in ipso cognitionis ingressu, Domini matrem commendat legentibus, et tamquam testis locuples, dignam quae ad tale munus eligeretur, astruit: quod in cubiculo, quod sola, quod salutata ab angelo tacet, et mota est in introitu ejus, quod ad virilis sexus speciem peregrinam turbatur aspectus Virginis (Luc. I, 20 et seq.). Itaque quamvis esset humilis, prae verecundia tamen salutantem non resalutavit, nec ullum responsum retulit, nisi ubi de suscipienda Domini generatione cognovit; ut qualitatem effectus disceret, non ut sermonem referret.

70. In ipsa oratione nostra multum verecundia placet, multum conciliat gratiae apud Deum nostrum. Nonne haec praetulit Publicanum, et commendavit enim qui nec oculos suos audebat ad coelum levare? Ideo justificatur magis Domini judicio, quam ille Pharisaeus, quem deformavit praesumptio (Luc. XVIII, 13, 14). Ideoque oremus in incorruptione quieti et modesti spiritus, qui est ante Deum locuples, ut ait Petrus (I Petr. III, 4). Magna igitur modestia, quae cum sit etiam sui juris remissior, nihil sibi usurpans, nihil vindicans, et quodammodo intra vires suas contractior, dives est apud Deum, apud quem nemo dives. Dives est modestia, quia portio Dei est. Paulus quoque orationem deferri praecepit cum verecundia et sobrietate. Primam hanc et quasi praeviam vult esse orationis futurae, ut non glorietur peccatoris oratio: sed quasi colore pudoris obducta, quo plus defert verecundiae de recordatione delicti, hoc uberiorem mereatur gratiam (Tim. II, 9). 71. Est etiam in ipso motu, gestu, incessu tenenda verecundia. Habitus enim mentis in corporis statu cernitur. Hinc homo cordis nostri absconditus, aut levior, aut jactantior, aut turbidior: aut contra gravior, et constantior, et purior, et maturior aestimatur. Itaque vox quaedam est animi, corporis motus.

72. Meministis, filii, quemdam amicum, cum sedulis se videretur commendare officiis; hoc solo tamen in clerum a me non receptum, quod gestus ejus plurimum dedeceret: alterum quoque cum in clero reperissem, jussisse me ne umquam praeiret mihi; quia velut quodam insolentis incessus verbere oculos feriret meos. Idque dixi, cum redderetur post offensam muneri. Hoc solum excepi, nec fefellit sententia; uterque enim ab Ecclesia recessit, ut qualis incessu prodebatur, talis perfidia animi demonstraretur. Namque alter Arianae infestationis tempore, fidem deseruit: alter pecuniae studio, ne judicium subiret sacerdotale, se nostrum negavit. 21 Lucebat in illorum incessu imago levitatis, species quaedam scurrarum percursantium.

73. Sunt etiam qui sensim ambulando imitantur histrionicos gestus, et quasi quaedam fercula pomparum, et statuarum motus nutantium, ut quotiescumque gradum transferunt, modulos quosdam servare videantur. 74. Nec cursim ambulare honestum arbitror, nisi cum causa exigit alicujus periculi, vel justa necessitas. Nam plerumque festinantes anbelos videmus torquere ora, quibus si causa desit festinationis necessariae, naevus est justae offensionis. Sed non de his dico, quibus rara properatio ex causa nascitur: sed quibus jugis et continua in naturam vertitur. Nec in illis ego tamquam simulacrorum effigies probo, nec in istis tamquam excussorum ruinas.

75. Est etiam gressus probabilis, in quo sit species auctoritatis, gravitatisque pondus, tranquillitatis vestigium; ita tamen si studium desit atque affectatio, sed motus sit purus ac simplex; nihil enim fucatum placet. Motum natura informet. Si quid sane in natura vitii est, industria emendet; ut ars desit, non desit correctio. 76. Quod si etiam ista spectantur altius, quanto magis cavendum est ne quid turpe ore exeat; hoc enim graviter coinquinat hominem. Non enim cibus coinquinat, sed injusta obtrectatio, sed verborum obscoenitas. Haec etiam vulgo pudori sunt. In nostro vero officio nullum verbum quod inhoneste cadat, non incutiat verecundiam. Et

non solum nihil ipsi indecorum loqui, sed ne aurem quidem debemus hujusmodi praebere dictis: sicut Joseph ne incongrua suae audiret verecundiae, veste fugit relicta (Gen. XXXIX, 12); quoniam quem delectat audire, alterum loqui provocat.

77. Intelligere quoque quod turpe sit, pudori maximo est. Spectare vero si quid hujusmodi fortuitu accidat, quanti horroris est! Quod ergo in aliis displicet, numquid potest in se ipso placere? nec ipsa natura nos docet? quae perfecte quidem omnes partes nostri corporis explicavit; ut et necessitati consuleret, et gratiam venustaret. Sed tamen eas quae decorae ad aspectum forent, in quibus formae apex quasi in arce quadam locatus, et figurae suavitas, et 22 vultus specie semineret, operandique usus esset paratior, obvias atque apertas reliquit: eas vero in quibus esset naturalis obsequium necessitatis, ne deforme sui praeberent spectaculum, partim tamquam in ipso amandavit atque abscondit corpore, partim docuit et suasit tegendas.

78. Nonne igitur ipsa natura est magistra verecundiae? Cujus exemplo modestia hominum (quam a modo scientiae quid deceret appellatam arbitror) id quod in hac nostri corporis fabrica abditum reperit, operuit et texit; ut ostium illud quod ex transverso faciendum in arca illa Noe justo dictum est (Gen. 6, 16); in qua vel Ecclesiae, vel nostri figura est corporis: per quod ostium egeruntur reliquiae ciborum. Ergo naturae opifex sic nostrae studuit verecundiae, sic decorum illud et honestum in nostro custodivit corpore, ut ductus quosdam atque exitus cuniculorum nostrorum post tergum relegaret, atque ab aspectu nostro averteret, ne purgatio ventris visum oculorum offenderet. De quo pulchre Apostolus ait: Quae videntur, inquit, membra corporis infirmiora, necessariora sunt: et quae putamus ignobiliora esse membra corporis, his abundantiorem honorem circumdamus: et quae inhonesta sunt nostra, honestatem abundantiorem habent (I Cor. XII, 23). Etenim imitatione naturae industria auxit gratiam.

Quod alio loco etiam altius interpretati sumus (Lib. I de Noe et Arca, ca), ut non solum abscondamus ab oculis, verum etiam quae abscondenda accepimus, eorum indicia ususque membrorum suis appellationibus nuncupare indecorum putemus.

79. Denique si casu aperiantur hae partes, confunditur verecundia: si studio, impudentia aestimatur. Unde et filius Noe Cham offensam retulit, quia nudatum videns patrem risit: qui autem operuerunt patrem, acceperunt benedictionis gratiam (Gen. IX, 22 et seq.). Ex quo mos vetus et in urbe Roma, et in plerisque civitatibus fuit, ut filii puberes cum parentibus, vel generi cum soceris non lavarent, ne paternae reverentiae auctoritas minueretur: licet plerique se et in lavacro quantum possunt tegant; ne vel illic ubi nudum totum est corpus, hujusmodi intecta sit portio. 80. Sacerdotes quoque veteri more, sicut in Exodo legimus, brachas accipiebant, sicut ad 23 Mosen dictum est a Domino: Et facies illis brachas lineas, ut tegatur turpitudo pudoris. A lumbis usque ad femora erunt, et habebit eas Aaron et filii ejus, cum intrabunt in tabernaculum Testimonii: et cum accedent sacrificare ad aram Sanctuarii, et non inducent super se peccatum, ne moriantur (Exod. XVIII, 42, 43). Quod nonnulli nostrorum servare adhuc feruntur: plerique spiritali interpretatione ad cautionem verecundiae et custodiam castitatis, dictum arbitrantur.

CAPUT XIX.

DECORUM QUOMODO DESCRIBATUR ab Oratore: an et quantum ad virtutem conferat formositas: postremo qua cura ne quid affectatum aut effeminatum in nobis appareat, efficiendum?

81. Delectavit me diutius in partibus demorari verecundiae; quia ad vos loquebar, qui aut bona ejus ex vobis recognoscitis, aut damna ignoratis. Quae cum sit omnibus aetatibus, personis, temporibus et locis apta, tamen adolescentes, juvenilesque annos maxime decet. 82. In omni autem servandum aetate, ut deceat quod agas et conveniat, et quadret sibi ordo vitae tuae. Unde Tullius etiam ordinem putat in illo decore servari oportere: idque positum dicit in formositate, ordine, ornatu ad actionem apto: quae difficile ait loquendo explicari posse, et ideo satis esse intelligi.

83. Formositatem autem cur posuerit, non satis intelligo; quamvis ille etiam vires corporis laudet. Nos certe in pulchritudine corporis locum virtutis non ponimus, gratiam tamen non excludimus; quia verecundia et vultus ipsos solet pudore obfundere, gratioresque reddere. Ut enim artifex in materia commodiore melius operari solet, sic verecundia in ipso quoque corporis decore plus eminet; ita tamen ut etiam ipse non sit affectatus decor corporis: sed naturalis, simplex, neglectus magis quam expetitus, non pretiosis et albentibus adjutus vestimentis sed communibus; ut honestati vel necessitati nihil desit, nihil accedat nitori. 24 84. Vox ipsa non remissa, non fracta, nihil femineum sonans, qualem multi gravitatis specie simulare consuerunt, sed formam quamdam et regulam ac succum virilem reservans. Hoc est enim pulchritudinem vivendi tenere, convenientia cuique sexui et personae reddere. Hic ordo gestorum optimus, hic ornatus ad omnem

actionem accommodus. Sed ut molliculum et infractum aut vocis sonum, aut gestum corporis non probo; ita neque agrestem ac rusticum. Naturam imitemur: ejus effigies, formula disciplinae, forma honestatis est.

CAPUT XX.

AD CONSERVANDAM VERECUNDIAM intemperantium hominum consortia, convivia extraneorum, ac mulierum commercia vitanda: sed otium nostrum domi in piis honestisque studiis insumendum.

85. Habet sane suos scopulos verecundia, non quos ipsa invehit, sed quos saepe incurrit; si intemperantium incidamus consortia, qui sub specie jucunditatis venenum infundunt bonis. Hi si assidui sunt, et maxime in convivio, ludo ac joco, enervant gravitatem illam virilem. Caveamus itaque ne dum relaxare animum volumus, solvamus omnem harmoniam, quasi concentum quemdam bonorum operum; usus enim cito inflectit naturam. 86. Unde quam prudenter factis convenire ecclesiasticis, et maxime ministrorum officiis arbitror, declinare extraneorum convivia: vel ut ipsi hospitales sitis peregrinantibus, vel ut ea cautione nullus sit opprobrio locus. Convivia quippe extraneorum occupationes habent, tum etiam epulandi produnt cupiditatem. Subrepunt etiam fabulae frequenter de saeculo ac voluptatibus: claudere aures non potes, prohibere, putatur superbiae. Subrepunt etiam praeter voluntatem pocula. Melius est tuae domui semel excuses, quam alienae frequenter: et ut ipse sobrius surgas, tamen ex aliena insolentia condemnari non debet praesentia tua.

87. Viduarum ac virginum domos, nisi visitandi gratia, 25 juniores adire non est opus: et hoc cum senioribus, hoc est, vel cum episcopo, vel si gravior est causa, cum presbyteris. Quid necesse est ut demus saecularibus obtrectandi locum? Quid opus est ut illae quoque visitationes crebrae accipiant auctoritatem? Quid si aliqua illarum forte labatur? cur alieni lapsus subeas invidiam? Quam multos etiam fortes illecebra decepit! Quanti

non dederunt errori locum, et dederunt suspicioni! 88. Cur non illa tempora, quibus ab Ecclesia vacas, lectioni impendas? Cur non Christum revisas, Christum alloquaris, Christum audias? Illum alloquimur cum oramus, illum audimus cum divina legimus oracula. Quid nobis cum alienis domibus? Una est domus, quae omnes capit. Illi potius ad nos veniant, qui nos requirunt. Quid nobis cum fabulis? Ministerium altaribus Christi, non obsequium hominibus deferendum recepimus. 89. Humiles nos esse decet, mites, mansuetos, graves, patientes, modum tenere in omnibus; ut nullum vitium esse in moribus vel tacitus vultus, vel sermo annuntiet.

CAPUT XXI.

IRACUNDIAM PRIUSQUAM ORIATUR, praecavendam; si oborta fuerit, reprimendam ac mitigandam: si nec id assequi valuerimus linguam saltem a conviciis coercendam; ut sint motus nostri puerilium commotionum similes. Dictum Architae memoratur, ostenditurque Davidem ipsi hac in re factis et scriptis praeivisse.

90. Caveatur iracundia, aut si praecaveri non potest, cohibeatur; mala enim illex peccati indignatio est: quae ita animum perturbat, ut rationi non relinquat locum. Primum est igitur, si fieri potest, ut morum tranquillitas usu quodam, affectione, proposito, in naturam vertatur. Deinde quoniam ita plerumque motus infixus est naturae ac moribus, ut evelli atque evitari non queat: si praevideri potuerit, ratione reprimatur. Aut si prius occupatus fuerit animus ab indignatione, quam consilio prospici ac provideri potuerit, ne occuparetur: meditare quomodo motum animi tui vincas, iracundiam temperes. Resiste irae, si potes: cede, si non potes; quia scriptum est: Date locum irae (Rom. XII, 19).

91. Jacob fratri indignanti pie cessit (Gen. XXVII, 42 et seq.), et Rebeccae, id est, patientiae instructus consilio, abesse maluit et peregrinari, quam excitare fratris indignationem; et tunc redire, cum fratrem mitigatum putaret. Et ideo tantam apud Deum invenit gratiam. Quibus deinde obsequiis, quantis muneribus fratrem ipsum reconciliavit sibi; ut ille praereptae benedictionis non meminisset, meminisset delatae satisfactionis (Gen. XXXII, 3 et seq.)!

92. Ergo si praevenerit et praeoccupaverit mentem tuam iracundia, et ascenderit in te, non relinquas locum tuum. Locus tuus patientia est, 26

locus tuus sapientia est, locus tuus ratio est, locus tuus sedatio indignationis est. Aut si te contumacia respondentis moverit, et perversitas impulerit ad indignationem: si non potueris mitigare mentem, reprime linguam tuam. Sic enim scriptum est: Cohibe linguam tuam a malo, et labia tua ne loquantur dolum. Deinde inquire pacem, et sequere eam (Psal. XXXIII, 14, 15). Pacem illam sancti Jacob vide, qua tu primum sedato animum: si non praevalueris, frenos linguae impone tuae: deinde reconciliationis studium non praetermittas. Haec oratores saeculi de nostris usurpata in suis posuere libris: sed ille sensus hujus habet gratiam, qui prior dixit.

93. Vitemus ergo, aut temperemus iracundiam; ne sit ejus aut in laudibus exceptio, aut in vitiis exaggeratio. Non mediocre est mitigare iracundiam: non inferius quam omnino non commoveri. Hoc nostrum est, naturae illud. Denique commotiones in pueris innoxiae sunt, quae plus habent gratiae, quam amaritudinis. Et si cito pueri inter se moventur, facile sedantur, et majori suavitate in se recurrunt. Nesciunt se subdole artificioseque tractare. Nolite hos contemnere pueros, de quibus Dominus ait: Nisi conversi fueritis, et efficiamini sicut puer iste, non intrabitis in regnum coelorum (Matth. XVIII, 3). Itaque et ipse Dominus, hoc est, Dei virtus, sicut puer, cum malediceretur, non remaledixit: cum percuteretur non repercussit (I Petr. II, 23). Ita ergo te compara, ut quasi puer injuriam non teneas, malitiam non exerceas: omnia a te innocenter proficiscantur. Non consideres quid ab aliis in te revertatur. Locum tuum serva, simplicitatem et puritatem tui pectoris custodi. Noli respondere irato ad iracundiam ejus, sive imprudenti ad imprudentiam. Cito culpa culpam excutit. Si lapides teras, nonne ignis erumpit?

94. Ferunt gentiles, ut in majus omnia verbis extollere solent Architae Tarentini dictum philosophi, quod ad villicum suum dixerit: O te infelicem, quem afflictarem, nisi iratus essem! Sed jam David et armatam dexteram in indignatione compresserat (I Reg. XXV, 32). Et quanto plus est non

remaledicere, quam non vindicare? Et bellatores adversus Nabal ad ultionem paratos, Abigail deprecatione revocaverat. Unde advertimus tempestivis quoque intercessionibus non solum cedere nos, sed etiam delectari oportere. Eo usque autem delectatus est, ut benediceret intervenientem, quod ab studio vindictae revocatus foret. 95. Jam dixerat de inimicis suis: Quoniam declinaverunt in me iniquitatem, et in ira molesti erant mihi (Psal. LIV, 4). Audiamus turbatus in ira quid dixerit: Quis dabit mihi pennas sicut columbae, et volabo, et requiescam (Ibid., 7)? Illi ad iracundiam provocabant, hic tranquillitatem eligebat.

96. Jam dixerat: Irascimini, et nolite peccare (Psal. IV, 5). Moralis magister, qui naturalem affectum inflectendum magis ratione doctrinae, quam extirpandum 27 noverat, moralia docet; hoc est, Irascimini ubi culpa est, cui irasci debeatis. Non potest enim fieri, ut non rerum indignitate moveamur: alioquin non virtus, sed lentitudo et remissio judicatur. Irascimini ergo ita, ut a culpa abstineatis. Vel sic: Si irascimini, nolite peccare, sed vincite ratione iracundiam. Vel certe sic: Si irascimini, vobis irascamini, quia commoti estis, et non peccabitis. Qui enim sibi irascitur, quia cito commotus est, desinit irasci alteri: qui autem vult iram suam justam probare, plus inflammatur, et cito in culpam cadit. Melior est autem secundum Salomonem (Prov. XVI, 32), qui iracundiam continet, quam qui urbem capit; quia ira etiam fortes decipit.

97. Cavere igitur debemus, ne in perturbationes prius incidamus, quam animos nostros ratio componat; exanimat enim mentem plerumque aut ira, aut dolor, aut formido mortis, et improviso percellit ictu. Ideo praevenire pulchrum est cogitatione, quae volvendo mentem exerceat; ne repentinis excitetur commotionibus, sed jugo quodam rationis et habenis astricta mitescat.

CAPUT XXII.

De cogitationibus, et appetitu: deque decoro sermonis in confabulatione, ac disceptatione servando.

98. Sunt autem gemini motus, hoc est, cogitationum et appetitus: alteri cogitationum, alteri appetitus: non confusi, sed discreti et dispares. Cogitationes verum exquirere, et quasi emolere muneris habent: appetitus ad aliquid impellit agendum atque excitat. Itaque ipso genere naturae suae et cogitationes tranquillitatem sedationis infundunt, et appetitus motum agendi excutit. Ita ergo informati simus, ut bonarum rerum subeat animum cogitatio: appetitus rationi obtemperet (si vere ut illud decorum custodiamus, animum volumus intendere) ne rationem excludat rei alicujus affectus: sed ratio quid honestati conveniat, examinet. 99. Et quoniam ad conservationem decori 28 spectare diximus, ut sciamus in factis dictisve quis modus: prior autem ordo loquendi quam faciendi est; sermo in duo dividitur, in colloquium familiare, et in tractatum, disceptationemque fidei atque justitiae. In utroque servandum, ne sit aliqua perturbatio: sed tamquam mitis et placidus, et benevolentiae plenus et gratiae, sine ulla sermo ducatur contumelia. Absit pertinax in familiari sermone contentio; quaestiones enim magis excitare inanes, quam utilitatis aliquid afferre solet. Disceptatio sine ira, suavitas sine amaritudine sit, monitio sine asperitate, hortatio sine offensione. Et sicut in omni actu vitae id cavere debemus, ne rationem nimius animi motus excludat, sed teneamus consilii locum: ita etiam in sermone formulam eam teneri convenit, ne aut ira excitetur, aut odium, aut cupiditatis nostrae, aut ignaviae aliqua exprimamus indicia.

100. Sit igitur sermo hujusmodi de Scripturis maxime. Quid enim magis nos oportet loqui, quam de conversatione optima, adhortatione observationis, disciplinae custodia. Habeat caput ejus rationem et finis modum. Sermo enim taediosus iram excitat. Quam vero indecorum, ut cum omnis confabulatio habere soleat incrementum gratiae, habeat naevum offensionis? 101. Tractatus quoque de doctrina fidei, de magisterio continentiae, de disceptatione justitiae, adhortatione diligentiae, non unus semper, sed ut se dederit lectio, nobis et arripiendus est, et prout possumus, prosequendus: neque nimium prolixus, neque cito interruptus; ne vel fastidium derelinquat, vel desidiam prodat atque incuriam. Oratio pura, simplex, dilucida, atque manifesta, plena gravitatis et ponderis: non affectata elegantia, sed non intermissa gratia.

CAPUT XXIII.

JOCOS ETSI NONNUMQUAM honesti sint, tamen in ecclesiasticis viris omnino proscribendos: vocem autem puram ac simplicem esse oportere.

102. Multa praeterea de ratione dicendi dant praecepta saeculares viri, quae nobis praetereunda arbitror, ut de jocandi disciplina. 29 Nam licet interdum honesta joca ac suavia sint, tamen ab ecclesiastica abhorrent regula; quoniam quae in Scripturis sanctis non reperimus, ea quemadmodum usurpare possumus? 103. Cavenda enim etiam in fabulis, ne inflectant gravitatem severioris propositi. Vae vobis, qui ridetis, quia flebitis (Luc. VI, 21)! ait Dominus: et nos ridendi materiam requirimus, ut hic ridentes, illic fleamus? Non solum profusos, sed omnes etiam jocos declinandos arbitror; nisi forte plenum suavitatis et gratiae sermonem esse, non indecorum est. 104. Nam de voce quid loquar, quam simplicem et puram esse satis arbitror: canoram autem esse naturae est, non industriae. Sit sane distincta pronuntiationis modo, et plena succi virilis; ut agrestem ac subrusticum fugiat sonum, non ut rythmum affectet scenicum, sed mysticum servet.

CAPUT XXIV.

TRIA IN VITAE actibus observanda, nimirum ut rationi appetitus subjiciatur, ut in studiis justa servetur moderatio, denique ut suo quaeque tempore atque ordine gerantur. Quae omnia in sanctis veteris Testamenti viris adeo praefulserunt, ut manisfestum sit eos cardinalibus, quas vocant, virtutibus egregie instructos fuisse.

105. De ratione dicendi satis dictum puto, nunc de actione vitae quid congruat, consideremus. Tria autem in hoc genere spectanda cernimus: unum, ut rationi appetitus non reluctetur; hoc enim solummodo possunt officia nostra illi decoro convenire. Si enim appetitus rationi obediat, facile id quod deceat in omnibus officiis conservari potest. Deinde ne majore studio quam res ipsa est quae suscipitur, vel minore: aut parvam magno ambitu suscepisse, aut magnam inferiore destituisse videamur. Tertium de moderatione studiorum, operumque nostrorum: de ordine quoque rerum et de opportunitate temporum, non dissimulandum puto. 106. Sed primum illud quasi fundamentum est omnium, ut appetitus rationi pareat: secundum et tertium idem est, hoc est, in utroque moderatio. Vacat enim apud nos speciei liberalis, quae pulchritudo habetur, et dignitatis contemplatio. Sequitur de ordine rerum, et de opportunitate temporum. Ac per hoc tria sunt, quae videamus utrum in aliquo sanctorum consummata possimus docere.

107. Primum ipse pater Abraham, qui ad magisterium futurae successionis informatus et instructus est, jussus, exire de terra sua, et de cognatione sua, et de domo patris sui (Gen. XII, 1 et seq.); nonne multiplicatae necessitudinis praestrictus affectu, tamen appetitum rationi

obedientem praebuit? Quem enim terrae suae, cognationis, domus quoque propriae gratia non delectaret? Et hunc ergo mulcebat suorum suavitas, sed imperii coelestis 30 et remunerationis aeternae consideratio movebat amplius. Nonne considerabat uxorem imbecillem ad labores, teneram ad injurias, decoram ad incentiva insolentium, sine summo non posse duci periculo? Et tamen subire omnia, quam excusare consultius dijudicavit. Deinde cum descenderet in Aegyptum, monuit ut diceret se sororem esse, non uxorem ipsius.

108. Adverte, quanti appetitus. Timebat uxoris pudori, timebat propriae saluti, suspectas habebat Aegyptiorum libidines; et tamen praevaluit apud eum ratio exsequendae devotionis. Consideravit enim quod Dei favore ubique tutus esse posset, offenso autem Domino, etiam domi non posset illaesus manere. Vicit igitur appetitum ratio, et obedientem sibi praestitit. 109. Capto nepote, non perterritus neque tot regum turbatus populis, bellum repetit: victoria potitus, praedae partem cujus ipse fuit auctor, recusavit (Gen. XIV, 14 et seq.). Promisso quoque sibi filio, cum consideraret emortui corporis sui vires depositas, sterilitatem conjugis, et supremam senectutem, etiam contra usum naturae Deo credidit (Gen. XV, 6).

110. Adverte convenire omnia. Appetitus non defuit, sed repressus est: animus aequalis gerendis, qui nec magna pro vilibus, nec minora pro magnis duceret, moderatio pro negotiis, ordo rerum, opportunitas temporum, mensura verborum. Fide primus, justitia praecipuus, in praelio strenuus, in victoria non avarus, domi hospitalis, uxori sedulus. 111. Sanctum quoque ejus nepotem Jacob delectabat domi securum degere: sed mater voluit peregrinari, ut daret fraternae iracundiae locum (Gen. XXVII, 24 et seq.). Vicit appetitum consilii salubritas. Exsul domo, profugus a parentibus, ubique tamen convenientem mensuram negotiis tenuit, et temporibus opportunitatem reservavit. Acceptus domi parentibus, ut alter maturitate provocatus obsequii benedictionem daret, alter amore pio

propenderet (Gen. XXV, 34). Fraterno quoque judicio praelatus, cum cibum suum fratri cedendum putasset: delectabatur utique alimento secundum naturam, sed secundum pietatem cessit petito. Pastor domino gregis fidus, socero gener sedulus, impiger in labore, in convivio parcus, in satisfactione praevius, in remuneratione largus (Gen. XXXI, 6 et seq.). Denique sic fraternam mitigavit iracundiam; ut cujus verebatur inimicitias, adipisceretur gratiam (Gen. XXXIII, 1).

112. Quid de Joseph loquar, qui utique habebat cupiditatem libertatis, et suscepit servitii necessitatem? Quam subditus in servitute, quam in virtute constans, quam benignus in carcere, sapiens in interpretatione, in potestate moderatus, in ubertate providus, in fame justus, ordinem laudis rebus adjungens, et opportunitatem temporibus, aequitatem populis officii sui moderatione dispensans (Gen. XXXIX, 1 et seq.) ? 113. Job quoque juxta secundis, atque adversis rebus irreprehensibilis, patiens, gratus Deo atque acceptus, vexabatur doloribus, sed se consolabatur (Job. II, 3 et seq.). 31 114. David etiam fortis in bello, patiens in adversis, in Hierusalem pacificus, in victoria mansuetus, in peccato dolens, in senectute providus, rerum modos, vices temporum per singularum sonos servavit aetatum; ut mihi videatur non minus vivendi genere, quam canendi suavitate praedulcis immortalem Deo sui fudisse meriti cantilenam (I Reg. XVII). 115. Quod his viris principalium virtutum officium defuit? Quarum primo loco constituerunt prudentiam, quae in veri investigatione versatur, et scientiae plenioris infundit cupiditatem: secundo justitiam, quae suum cuique tribuit, alienum non vindicat, utilitatem propriam negligit, ut communem aequitatem custodiat: tertio fortitudinem, quae et in rebus bellicis excelsi animi magnitudine, et domi eminet, corporisque praestat viribus: quarto temperantiam, quae modum, ordinemque servat omnium, quae vel agenda, vel dicenda arbitramur.

CAPUT XXV.

EXPOSITO CUR DUCTUM non fuerit a memoratis virtutibus exordium, easdem in veteribus Patribus exstitisse pressius demonstratur.

116. Haec forsitan aliquis dicat primo loco poni oportuisse, quoniam ab his quatuor virtutibus nascuntur officiorum genera. Sed hoc artis est, ut primo officium definiatur, postea certa in genera dividatur. Nos autem artem fugimus, exempla majorum proponimus: quae neque obscuritatem afferunt ad intelligendum, neque ad tractandum versutias. Sit igitur nobis vita majorum disciplinae speculum, non calliditatis commentarium: imitandi reverentia, non disputandi astutia.

117. Fuit igitur in sancto Abraham primo loco prudentia, de quo dicit Scriptura: Credidit Abraham Deo, et reputatum est illi ad justitiam (Gen. XV, 6). Nemo enim prudens, qui Deum nescit. Denique insipiens dixit quia non est Deus (Psal. XIII, 1); nam sapiens non diceret. Quomodo enim sapiens qui non requirit auctorem suum, qui dicit lapidi: Pater meus es tu (Jerem II, 27): qui dicit diabolo, ut Manichaeus: Auctor meus es tu? Quomodo sapiens Arianus, qui mavult imperfectum auctorem habere atque degenerem, quam verum atque perfectum? Quomodo sapiens Marcion atque Eunomius, qui malunt Deum malum quam bonum habere? Quomodo sapiens, qui Deum suum non timet? Initium enim sapientiae timor Domini (Psal. CX, 9). Et alibi habes: Sapientes non declinant de ore Domini, sed tractant 32 in confessionibus suis (Prov. XXIV, 7). Simul quoque dicente Scriptura: Reputatum est ei ad justitiam; alterius virtutis ei gratiam detulit.

118. Primi igitur nostri definierunt prudentiam in veri consistere cognitione. Quis enim illorum ante Abraham, David, Salomonem? Deinde justitiam

spectare ad societatem generis humani. Denique David ait: Dispersit, dedit pauperibus, justitia ejus manet in aeternum. Justus miseretur, justus commodat (Psal. CXI, 9). Sapienti et justo totus mundus divitiarum est. Justus communia pro suis habet, sua pro communibus. Justus se ipsum, priusquam alios, accusat. Ille enim justus, qui nec sibi parcit, et occulta sua latere non patitur. Vide quam justus Abraham. In senectute susceperat filium per repromissionem (Gen. XXII, 3 et seq.), reposcenti Domino negandum ad sacrificium, quamvis unicum, non putavit.

119. Adverte hic omnes virtutes quatuor in uno facto. Fuit sapientiae, Deo credere, nec filii gratiam anteferre auctoris praecepto: fuit justitiae, acceptum reddere: fuit fortitudinis, appetitum ratione cohibere. Ducebat hostiam pater, interrogabat filius, tentabatur affectus patrius, sed non vincebatur. Repetebat filius appellationem paternam, compungebat paterna viscera, sed non minuebat devotionem. Accedit et quarta virtus, temperantia. Tenebat justus et pietatis modum, et exsecutionis ordinem. Denique dum sacrificio necessaria vehit, dum ignem adolet, dum filium ligat, dum gladium educit, hoc immolandi ordine meruit, ut filium reservaret. 120. Quid sapientius sancto Jacob, qui Deum vidit facie ad faciem, et meruit benedictionem (Gen. XXXII, 1 et seq.)? Quid justius, qui ea quae acquisierat, oblatis muneribus cum fratre divisit? Quid fortius, qui cum Deo luctatus est? Quid modestius eo qui modestiam ita et locis et temporibus deferebat, ut filiae injuriam mallet praetexere conjugio, quam vindicare; eo quod inter alienos positus amori potius consulendum, quam odia colligenda censebat?

121. Noe quam sapiens, qui tantam fabricavit arcam (Gen. VI, 14 et seq.)! Quam justus, qui ad semen omnium reservatus, solus ex omnibus et praeteritae generationis superstes est factus, et auctor futurae, mundo potius et universis magis quam sibi natus! Quam fortis, ut diluvium vinceret! Quam temperans, ut diluvium toleraret! quando introiret, qua moderatione

degeret, quando corvum, quando columbam dimitteret, quando 33 reciperet revertentes, quando exeundi opportunitatem captaret, agnosceret?

CAPUT XXVI.

IN INQUIRENDA VERITATE contra sua praecepta peccasse philosophos: Moysen vero illis sapientiorem se praebuisse. Eo majori studio enitendum ad comparandam sapientiam, quo major est ipsius dignitas, ad quam omnes ipsa natura impelluntur.

122. Itaque tractant in veri investigatione tenendum illud decorum, ut summo studio requiramus quid verum sit, non falsa pro veris ducere, non obscuris vera involvere, non superfluis vel implexis atque ambiguis occupare animum. Quid tam indecorum, quam venerari ligna, quod ipsi faciunt? Quid tam obscurum, quam de astronomia et geometria tractare, quod probant; et profundi aeris spatia metiri, coelum quoque et mare numeris includere: relinquere causas salutis, errores quaerere. 123. At non ille eruditus in omni sapientia Aegyptiorum Moyses probavit ista: sed illam sapientiam detrimentum et stultitiam judicavit, et aversus ab ea, intimo Deum quaesivit affectu; ideoque vidit, interrogavit, audivit loquentem. Quis magis sapiens quam ille quem docuit Deus, qui omnem sapientiam Aegyptiorum, omnesque artium potentias operis sui virtute evacuavit (Exod. III, 1 et seq.)? Non hic incognita pro cognitis habebat, hisque temere assentiebatur: quae duo in hoc maxime naturali atque honesto loco vitanda discant, qui sibi nec contra naturam esse, nec turpe judicant saxa adorare, et a simulacris auxilium petere, quae nihil sentiant.

124. Quanto igitur excelsior virtus est sapientia, tanto magis enitendum arbitror, ut assequi eam possimus. Itaque ne quid contra naturam, ne quid turpe atque indecorum sentiamus, duo haec, id est, et tempus et diligentiam ad considerationem rerum examinandi gratia referre debemus. Nihil est

enim quo magis homo caeteris animantibus praestet, quam quod rationis est particeps, causas rerum requirit, generis sui auctorem investigandum putat, in cujus potestate vitae necisque nostrae potestas sit, qui mundum hunc suo nutu regat, cui sciamus rationem esse reddendam nostrorum actuum. Nihil est enim quod magis proficiat ad vitam honestam, quam ut credamus eum jadicem futurum, quem et occulta non fallant, et indecora offendant, et honesta delectent. 125. Omnibus igitur hominibus inest secundum naturam humanam verum investigare, quae 34 nos ad studium cognitionis et scientiae trahit, et inquirendi infundit cupiditatem. In quo excellere universis pulchrum videtur, sed pancorum est assequi: qui volvendo cogitationes, consilia examinando, non mediocrem impendunt laborem; ut ad illud beate honesteque vivendum pervenire possint, atque operibus appropinquare. Non enim qui dixerit, inquit, mihi: Domine, Domine, intrabit in regnum coelorum, sed qui fecerit ea quae dico (Matth. VII, 21). Nam studia scientiae sine factis, haud scio an etiam involvant magis.

CAPUT XXVII.

PRIMUM OFFICII FONTEM esse prudentiam, ex qua derivatae tres aliae virtutes, ita cum ea atque inter se connexae sunt, ut ab invicem divelli ac separari nequeant.

126. Primus igitur Officii fons prudentia est. Quid enim tam plenum officii, quam deferre Auctori studium atque reverentiam? Qui tamen fons et in virtutes derivatur caeteras; neque enim potest justitia sine prudentia esse, cum examinare quid justum, quidve injustum sit, non mediocris prudentiae sit; summus in utroque error. Qui enim justum judicat injustum, injustum vero justum, exsecrabilis apud Deum. Ut quid abundant justitiae imprudenti? Salomon ait (Prov. XVII, 15, 16). Neque iterum prudentia sine justitia est; pietas enim in Deum initium intellectus. Quo advertimus illud ab hujus saeculi translatum magis quam inventum sapientibus; quia pietas fundamentum est omnium virtutum.

127. Justitiae autem pietas est prima in Deum, secunda in patriam, tertia in parentes, item in omnes: quae et ipsa secundum naturae est magisterium. Siquidem ab ineunte aetate ubi primum sensus infundi coeperit, vitam amamus tamquam Dei munus, patriam, parentesque diligimus, deinde aequales quibus sociari cupimus. Hinc charitas nascitur, quae alios sibi praefert, non quaerens quae sua sunt, in quibus est principatus justitiae. 128. Omnibus quoque animantibus innascitur, primum salutem tueri, cavere quae noceant, expetere quae prosint, ut pastum, ut latibula quibus se a periculo, imbribus, sole defendant, quod est prudentiae. Succedit quoque ut omnium genera animantium congregabilia natura sint: primo generis sui ac formae consortibus, tum etiam caeteris; ut videmus boves armentis, equos gregibus,

et maxime pares paribus delectari: cervos quoque cervis, et plerumque 35 hominibus adjungi. Jam de procreandi studio et sobole, vel etiam generantium amore, quid loquar, in quo est forma justitiae praecipua?

129. Liquet igitur et has, et reliquas cognatas sibi esse virtutes. Siquidem et fortitudo (23, quaest. 3, c. Fortitudo) quae vel in bello tuetur a barbaris patriam, vel domi defendit infirmos, vel a latronibus socios, plena sit justitiae: et scire quo consilio defendat atque adjuvet, captare etiam temporum et locorum opportunitates, prudentiae ac modestiae sit: et temperantia ipsa sine prudentia modum scire non possit: opportunitatem noscere, et secundum mensuram reddere, sit justitiae: et in omnibus istis magnanimitas necessaria sit, et quaedam fortitudo mentis, plerumque et corporis; ut quis quod velit, possit implere.

CAPUT XXVIII.

SOCIETATEM CONSTARE JUSTITIA et beneficentia: illius partes duas ultionem et privatam possessionem a Christianis non agnosci: quod vero de rerum communitate ac mutuo auxilio tradunt Stoici, hoc eos e Scripturis sacris mutuatos esse. Quantus justitiae splendor, et quinam scopuli accessum ad illam praepediant.

130. Justitia igitur ad societatem generis humani, et ad communitatem refertur. Societatis enim ratio dividitur in duas partes, justitiam et beneficentiam, quam eamdem liberalitatem et benignitatem vocant: justitia mihi excelsior videtur, liberalitas gratior: illa censuram tenet, ista bonitatem. 131. Sed primum ipsum quod putant philosophi justitiae munus, apud nos excluditur. Dicunt enim illi eam primam esse justitiae formam, ut nemini quis noceat, nisi lacessitus injuria: quod Evangelii auctoritate vacuatur (Luc. IX, 56); vult enim Scriptura, ut sit in nobis spiritus Filii hominis, qui venit conferre gratiam, non inferre injuriam.

132. Deinde formam justitiae putaverunt, ut quis communia, id est, publica pro publicis habeat, privata pro suis. Ne hoc quidem secundum naturam, natura enim omnia omnibus in commune profudit. Sic enim Deus generari jussit omnia ut pastus omnibus communis esset, et terra foret omnium quaedam communis possessio. Natura igitur jus commune generavit, usurpatio jus fecit privatum. Quo in loco aiunt placuisse Stoicis, quae in terris gignantur, omnia ad usus hominum creari: homines autem hominum causa esse generatos; ut ipsi inter se aliis alii prodesse possint. 133. Unde hoc, nisi de nostris Scripturis dicendum assumpserunt? Moyses enim scripsit, quia dixit Deus: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem nostram et

secundum similitudinem, et habeat potestatem piscium maris, et volatilium coeli, et pecorum, 36 et omnium repentium super terram (Gen. I, 26). Et David ait: Omnia subjecisti sub pedibus ejus, oves et boves universas, insuper et pecora campi: volucres coeli, et pisces maris (Psal. VIII, 8, 9). Ergo omnia subjecta esse homini de nostris didicerunt, et ideo censent propter hominem esse generata.

134. Hominem quoque hominis causa generatum esse in libris Moysi reperimus, dicente Domino: Non est bonum esse hominem solum, faciamus ei adjutorium simile sibi (Gen II, 18). Ad adjumentum ergo mulier data est viro, quae generaret; ut homo homini adjumento foret. Denique antequam mulier formaretur, dictum est de Adam: Non est inventus adjutor similis illi (Ibid., 20); adjumentum enim homo nisi de homine habere non poterat. Ex omnibus igitur animantibus nullum animal simile, et ut absolute dicamus, nullus adjutor hominis inventus est: muliebris igitur sexus adjutor exspectabatur.

135. Ergo secundum Dei voluntatem, vel naturae copulam, invicem nobis esse auxilio debemus, certare officiis, velut in medio omnes utilitates ponere, et ut verbo Scripturae utar, adjumentum ferre alter alteri, vel studio, vel officio, vel pecunia, vel operibus, vel quolibet modo; ut inter nos societatis augeatur gratia. Nec quisquam ab officio vel periculi terrore revocetur: sed omnia sua ducat, vel adversa vel prospera. Denique sanctus Moyses pro populo patriae bella suscipere gravia non reformidavit, nec regis potentissimi trepidavit arma, nec barbaricae immanitatis expavit ferociam: sed abjecit salutem suam, ut plebi redderet libertatem. 136. Magnus itaque justitiae splendor, quae aliis potius nata quam sibi, communitatem et societatem nostrane adjuvat: excelsitatem tenet; ut suo judicio omnia subjecta habeat, opem aliis ferat, pecuniam conferat, officia non abnuat, pericula suscipiat aliena.

137. Quis non cuperet hanc virtutis arcem tenere, nisi prima avaritia infirmaret atque inflecteret tantae virtutis vigorem? Etenim dum augere opes, aggregare pecunias, occupare terras possessionibus cupimus, praestare divitiis; justitiae formam exuimus, beneficentiam communem amisimus. Quomodo enim potest justus esse, qui studet eripere alteri, quod sibi quaerat? 138. Potentiae quoque cupiditas, formam justitiae virilem effeminat? Quomodo enim potest pro aliis intervenire, qui alios sibi subjicere conatur: et infirmo adversus potentes opem ferre, qui ipse gravem libertati affectat potentiam? 37

CAPUT XXIX.

JUSTITIAM IN BELLO etiam atque ipsis hostibus servari oportere Moysis ac Elisaei exemplis ostenditur: ab Hebraeis mutuo veteres accepisse, ut hostes appellarent nomine molliori: denique justitiae fundamentum in fide esse, ac formam in Ecclesia.

139. Quanta autem justitia sit ex hoc intelligi potest, quod nec locis, nec personis, nec temporibus excipitur, quae etiam hostibus reservatur; ut si constitutus sit cum hoste aut locus aut dies praelio, adversus justitiam putetur aut loco praevenire, aut tempore. Interest enim utrum aliquis pugna aliqua et conflictu gravi capiatur, an superiore gratia, vel aliquo eventu. Siquidem vehementioribus hostibus et infidis, et his qui amplius laeserint, vehementior refertur ultio; ut de Madianitis qui per mulieres suas plerosque peccare fecerant ex plebe Judaeorum, unde et Dei in populum patrum iracundia effusa est. Et ideo factum est ut nullum Moyses victor superesse pateretur (Num. XXXI, 3 et seq.): Gabaonitas autem qui fraude magis quam bello tentaverant plebem patrum, non expugnaret Jesus; sed conditionis impositae afficeret injuria (Josue IX, 20 et seq.). Syros vero Elisaeus, quos obsidentes in civitatem induxerat, momentanea caecitate percussos, ut quo ingrederentur videre non possent, volenti regi Israel percutere non acquiesceret dicens: Non percuties quos non captivasti in lancea et in gladio tuo: pone eis panem et aquam, ut manducent et bibant, et remittantur et eant ad dominum suum (IV Reg. VI, 14 et seq.); ut humanitate provocati gratiam repraesentarent. Denique postea in terram Israel venire piratae Syriae destiterunt.

140. Si ergo etiam in bello justitia valet, quanto magis in pace servanda est? Et hanc gratiam propheta his detulit, qui ad eum corripiendum venerant. Sic enim legimus, quod in obsidionem ejus miserat rex Syriae exercitum suum, cognito quod Elisaeus esset, qui consiliis et argumentationibus ejus obviaret omnibus. Quem videns exercitum Giezi servus prophetae, de salutis periculo trepidare coepit. Cui dixit propheta: Noli timere, quoniam plures nobiscum sunt, quam cum illis. Et rogante propheta ut aperirentur oculi servo suo, aperti sunt. Et vidit itaque Giezi totum montem equis repletum et curribus in circuitu Elisaei. Quibus descendentibus ait propheta: Percute, Deus, caecitate exercitum Syriae. Quo impetrato, dixit ad Syros: Venite post me, et ducam vos ad hominem quem quaeritis. Et viderunt Elisaeum, quem corripere gestiebant: et videntes, tenere non poterant. Liquet 38 igitur etiam in bello fidem et justitiam servari oportere, nec illud decorum esse posse, si violetur fides.

141. Denique etiam adversarios molli veteres appellatione nominabant, ut peregrinos vocarent; hostes enim antiquo ritu peregrini dicebantur. Quod aeque etiam ipsum de nostris assumptum dicere possumus; adversarios enim suos Hebraei Allophylos, hoc est, alienigenas Latino appellabant vocabulo. Denique in libro Regnorum primo sic legimus: Et factum est in diebus illis, convenerunt alienigenae in pugnam ad Israel (I Reg. IV, 1). 142. Fundamentum ergo est justitiae fides; justorum enim corda meditantur fidem: et qui se justus accusat, justitiam supra fidem collocat; nam tunc justitia ejus apparet, si vera fateatur. Denique et Dominus per Esaiam: Ecce, inquit, mitto lapidem in fundamentum Sion (Esai. XXVIII, 18), id est, Christum in fundamenta Ecclesiae. Fides enim omnium, Christus: Ecclesia autem quaedam forma justitiae est. Commune jus omnium: in commune orat, in commune operatur, in commune tentatur. Denique qui se ipsum sibi abnegat; ipse justus, ipse dignus Christo est. Ideo et Paulus fundamentum posuit Christum (I Cor. III, 11), ut supra eum opera justitiae locaremus; quia

fides fundamentum est: in operibus autem aut malis iniquitas, aut bonis justitia est.

CAPUT XXX.

De beneficentia et ejus partibus benevolentia et liberalitate: quomodo illae simul jungendae sint; quaenamve adjuncta, ut liberalitatem cum laude ac merito quis exerceat, requirantur?

143. Sed jam de beneficentia loquamur, quae dividitur etiam ipsa in benevolentiam et liberalitatem. Ex his igitur duobus constat beneficentia, ut sit perfecta. Non enim satis est bene velle (Dist. 86, c. Non satis), sed etiam bene facere: nec satis est iterum bene facere, nisi id ex bono fonte, hoc est, bona voluntate proficiscatur: Hilarem enim datorem diligit Deus (II Cor. IX, 7). Nam si invitus facias, quae tibi merces est? Unde Apostolus generaliter: Si volens hoc ago, mercedem habeo: si invitus, dispensatio mihi credita est (I Cor. IX, 17). In Evangelio quoque multas disciplinas accepimus justae liberalitatis. 144. Pulchrum est igitur bene velle, et eo largiri consilio, ut prosis, non ut noceas. Nam si luxurioso ad luxuriae effusionem, adultero ad mercedem adulterii largiendum putes; non est beneficentia ista, ubi nulla est benevolentia. Officere enim istud est, non prodesse alteri, si 39 largiaris ei qui conspiret adversus patriam, qui congregare cupiat tuo sumptu perditos, qui impugnent Ecclesiam. Non est haec probabilis liberalitas, si adjuves eum qui adversus viduam et pupillos gravi decernit jurgio, aut vi aliqua possessiones eorum eripere conatur.

145. Non probatur largitas, si quod alteri largitur, alteri quis extorqueat: si injuste quaerat, et juste dispensandum putet; nisi forte ut ille Zacchaeus (Luc. XIX, 8), reddas prius quadruplum ei quem fraudaveris: et gentilitatis vitia fidei studio et credentis operatione compenses. Fundamentum igitur habeat liberalitas tua. 146. Hoc primum quaeritur, ut cum fide conferas,

fraudem non facias oblatis; ne dicas te plus conferre, et minus conferas. Quid enim opus est dicere? Fraus promissi est: in tua potestate est largiri quod velis. Fraus fundamentum solvit, et opus corruit. Numquid Petrus ita indignatione efferbuit, ut Ananiam exstingui vellet, vel uxorem ejus (Act. V, 3 et seq.)? Sed exemplo eorum noluit perire caeteros.

147. Nec illa perfecta est liberalitas, si jactantiae causa magis quam misericordiae largiaris. Affectus tuus nomen imponit operi tuo: quomodo a te proficiscitur, sic aestimatur. Vides quam moralem judicem habeas. Te consulit, quomodo opus tuum suscipiat, mentem tuam prius interrogat. Nesciat, inquit, sinistra tua, quid faciat dextera tua (Matth. VI, 3). Non de corpore loquitur, sed etiam unanimus tuus, frater tuus quod facis nesciat; ne dum hic mercedem quaeris jactantiae, illic remunerationis fructum amittas. Perfecta autem est liberalitas, ubi silentio quis tegit opus suum, et necessitatibus singulorum occulte subvenit: quem laudat os pauperis, et non labia sua. 148. Deinde perfecta liberalitas (Dist. 86, c. Non satis, § Perfecta liberalitas) fide, causa, loco, tempore commendatur; ut primum opereris circa domesticos fidei. Grandis culpa si, sciente te, fidelis egeat: si scias eum sine sumptu esse, famem tolerare, aerumnam perpeti, qui praesertim egere erubescat: si in causam ceciderit aut captivitatis suorum, aut calumniae, et non adjuves: si sit in carcere, et poenis, et suppliciis propter debitum aliquod justus excrucietur (nam etsi omnibus debetur misericordia, tamen justo amplius) si tempore afflictionis suae nihil a te impetret: si tempore periculi quo rapitur ad mortem, plus apud te pecunia tua valeat, quam vita morituri. De quo pulchre Job dixit: Benedictio perituri in me veniat (Job. XXIX, 13).

149. Personarum quidem Deus acceptor non est, quia novit omnia. Nos autem omnibus quidem debemus misericordiam: sed quia plerique fraude eam quaerunt, et affingunt aerumnam; 40 ideo ubi causa manifestatur, persona cognoscitur, tempus urget, largius se debet profundere misericordia.

Non enim avarus Dominus est, ut plurimum quaerat. Beatus quidem qui dimittit omnia, et sequitur eum: sed et ille beatus est, qui quod habet, ex affectu facit. Denique duo aera viduae illius divitum muneribus praetulit (Luc. XXI, 3); quia totum illa quod habuit, contulit: illi autem ex abundantia partem exiguam contulerunt. Affectus igitur divitem collationem aut pauperem facit, et pretium rebus imponit. Caeterum Dominus non vult simul effundi opes, sed dispensari (Dist. 86, c. Dominus non vult): nisi forte ut Elisaeus boves suos occidit, et pavit pauperes ex eo quod habuit (III Reg. XIX, 21); ut nulla cura teneretur domestica, sed relictis omnibus, in disciplinam se propheticam daret.

150. Est etiam illa probanda liberalitas (Dist. 86, c. Est probanda), ut proximos seminis tui non despicias, si egere cognoscas. Melius est enim ut ipse subvenias tuis, quibus pudor est ab aliis sumptum deposcere, aut alicui postulare subsidium necessitati: non tamen ut illi ditiores eo fieri velint, quod tu potes conferre inopibus; causa enim praestat, non gratia. Neque enim propterea te Domino dicasti, ut tuos divites facias: sed ut vitam tibi perpetuam fructu boni operis acquiras, et pretio miserationis peccata redimas tua. Putant se parum poscere? Pretium tuum quaerunt, vitae tuae fructum adimere contendunt, et se juste facere putant. Et accusat quod eum divitem non feceris, cum te ille velit aeternae vitae fraudare mercede. 151. Consilium prompsimus, auctoritatem petamus. Primum neminem debet pudere, si ex divite pauper fiat, dum largitur pauperi; quia Christus pauper factus est, cum dives esset, ut omnes sua inopia ditaret. Dedit regulam quam sequamur, ut bona ratio sit exinaniti patrimonii; si quis pauperum famem repulit, inopiam sublevavit. Unde et consilium in hoc do, Apostolus dicit: Hoc enim vobis utile est, ut Christum imitemini (II Cor. VIII, 10). Consilium bonis datur, correptio errantes coercet. Denique quasi bonis dicit: Quia non tantum facere, sed et velle coepistis ab anno praeterito (Ibid.). Perfectorum utrumque est, non pars. Itaque docet et liberalitatem sine

benevolentia, et benevolentiam sine liberalitate non esse perfectam. Unde ad perfectum hortatur, dicens: Nunc ergo et facere consummate, ut quemadmodum prompta est in vobis voluntas faciendi, ita sit et perficiendi ex eo quod habetis. Si enim voluntas prompta est, secundum id quod habet, acceptum est, non secundum quod non habet. Non enim ut aliis refectio sit, vobis autem angustia: sed ex aequalitate in hoc tempore, vestra abundantia ad illorum inopiam, ut illorum abundantia sit ad 41 vestram inopiam; ut fiat aequalitas, sicut scriptum est: Qui multum, non abundavit: et qui modicum, non minoravit (Ibid., 11 et seq.).

152. Advertimus quemadmodum et benevolentiam, et liberalitatem, et modum comprehendit, et fructum, atque personas. Ideo modum quia imperfectis dabat consilium, non enim patiuntur angustias, nisi imperfecti. Sed et si quis Ecclesiam nolens gravare in sacerdotio aliquo constitutus aut ministerio, non totum quod habet, conferat; sed operetur cum honestate quantum officio sat est, non mihi imperfectus videtur. Et puto quod hic augustiam non animi, sed rei familiaris dixerit. 153. De personis autem puto dictum: Ut vestra abundantia sit ad illorum inopiam, et illorum abundantia ad vestram inopiam; id est, ut populi abundantia sit bonae operationis ad illorum sublevandam alendi inopiam: et illorum abundantia spiritalis adjuvet in plebe inopiam meriti spiritalis, et conferat ei gratiam. 154. Unde exemplum optimum posuit: Qui multum, non abundavit: et qui modicum, non minuit. bene hortatur ad officium misericordiae omnes homines istud exemplum; quoniam et qui plurimum auri possidet, non abundat; quia nihil est quidquid in hoc saeculo est: et qui exiguum habet, non minuit; quia nihil est, quod amittit. Res sine dispendio est, quae tota dispendium est.

155. Est etiam sic intellectus bonus: Qui plurimum habet, et si non donat, non abundat; quia quantumvis acquirat, eget semper, qui plus concupiscit: et qui exiguum habet, non minuit; quia non multum est quod pauperem pascit. Similiter ergo et ille pauper qui confert spiritalia pro pecuniariis, et si

plurimum habeat gratiae, non abundat; non enim onerat gratia, sed allevat mentem. 156. Sed etiam sic potest intelligi: Non abundas, o homo. Quantum est enim quod accepisti, etsi tibi multum est? Joannes quo nemo major est inter natos mulierum, inferior tamen erat eo, qui minor est in regno coelorum.

157. Potest et sic: Non abundat Dei gratia corporaliter, quia spiritalis est. Quis potest ejus aut magnitudinem aut latitudinem comprehendere, quam non videt? Fides si fuerit sicut granum sinapis, montes transferre potest, et non tibi datur ultra granum sinapis. Si abundet in te gratia, non est verendum ne mens tua tanto munere incipiat extolli; quia multi sunt qui ab altitudine cordis sui gravius corruerunt, quam si nullam habuissent Domini gratiam? Et qui parum habet, non minuit; quia non est corporeum ut dividatur: et quod parum videtur habenti, plurimum est cui nihil deest. 42 158. Consideranda etiam in largiendo (Dist. 86, c. Consideranda) aetas atque debilitas, nonnumquam etiam verecundia, quae ingenuos prodit natales; ut senibus plus largiaris, qui sibi labore jam non queunt victum quaerere. Similiter et debilitas corporis, et haec juvanda promptius. Tum si quis ex divitiis cecidit in egestatem: et maxime si non vitio suo, sed aut latrociniis, aut proscriptione, aut calumniis, quae habebat, amisit. 159. Sed forte dicat aliquis: Caecus uno loco sedet et praeteritur, et juvenis validus frequenter accipit. Et verum est, quia obrepit per importunitatem. Non est illud judicii, sed taedii. Nam et Dominus ait in Evangelio (Luc, XI, 8) de eo qui jam clauserat ostium suum, si quis ostium ejus procacius pulset, quia surgit et dat illi propter importunitatem.

CAPUT XXXI.

ACCEPTUM BENEFICIUM LARGIORI manu remetiendum terrae praecipitur exemplo: nec non adductus ad eamdem rem Salomonis de convivio locus, postea spiritali sensu exponitur.

160. Pulchrum quoque est propensiorem ejus haberi rationem, qui tibi aut beneficium aliquod, aut munus contulit, si ipse in necessitatem incidit. Quid enim tam contra officium, quam non reddere quod acceperis? Nec mensura pari, sed uberiore reddendum arbitror, et usum pensare beneficii; ut et tu subvenias, quantum ejus aerumnam repellas. Etenim superiorem non esse in referendo quam in conferendo beneficio, hoc est minorem esse, quoniam qui prior contulit, tempore superior est, humanitate prior. 161. Unde imitanda nobis est in hoc quoque natura terrarum, quae susceptum semen multiplicatiori solet numero reddere quam acceperit. Ideo tibi scriptum est: Sicut agricultura est homo insipiens, et tamquam vinea homo egens sensu. Si reliqueris eum, desolabitur (Prov. XXIV, 30, 31). Sicut agricultura ergo etiam sapiens, ut tamquam fenerata sibi majore mensura semina suscepta restituat. Terra ergo aut spontaneos fructus germinat, aut creditos uberiore cumulo refundit ac reddit. Utrumque debes quodam haereditario usu parentis, ne relinquaris sicut in foecundus ager. Esto tamen ut aliquis excusare possit quod non dederit, quomodo excusare potest quod non reddiderit? Non dare cuiquam vix licet, non reddere vero non licet.

162. Ideo pulchre Salomon ait: Si sederis coenare ad mensam potentis, sapienter intellige ea quae apponuntur tibi: et mitte manum tuam sciens quod oportet te talia praeparare. Si autem insatiabilis es, 43 noli concupiscere escas ejus; haec enim obtinent vitam fallacem (Prov. XXIII, 1

et seq.). Quas nos imitari cupientes sententias, scripsimus. Conferre gratiam bonum est: at qui referre nescit, durissimus. Humanitatis exemplum ipsa terra suggerit. Spontane os fructus ministrat quos non severis, multiplicatum quoque reddit quod acceperit. Negare tibi pecuniam numeratam non licet, quomodo licet acceptam non referre gratiam? In proverbiis quoque habes, quod ita plurimum redhibitio ista gratiae apud Deum consuevit valere, ut etiam in die ruinae inveniat gratiam quando possunt praeponderare peccata. Et quid aliis utar exemplis, cum Dominus ipse remunerationem uberiorem sanctorum meritis in Evangelio polliceatur, atque exhortetur ut operemur bonum opus, dicens: Dimittite et dimittetur vobis; date et dabitur vobis; mensuram bonam, commotam, supereffluentem dabunt in sinum vestrum (Luc. VI, 37, 38)?

163. Itaque et illud convivium Salomonis non de cibis, sed de operibus est bonis. Quo enim melius epulantur animi, quam bonis factis? Aut quid aliud tam facile potest justorum explere mentes, quam boni operis conscientia? Qui autem jucundior cibus, quam facere voluntatem Dei? Quem cibum sibi solum Dominus abundare memoravit, sicut scriptum est in Evangelio: Meus cibus est, ut faciam voluntatem Patris mei qui est in coelo (Joan. IV. 34). 164. Hoc cibo delectemur, de quo ait Propheta: Delectare in Domino (Psal. XXXVI, 4). Hoc cibo delectantur; qui superiores delectationes mirabili ingenio comprehenderunt, qui possunt scire qualis sit illa munda et intelligibilis mentis delectatio. Edamus ergo panes sapientiae; et saturemur in verbo Dei; quia non in solo pane, sed in omni verbo Dei vita est hominis facti ad imaginem Dei. De poculo vero satis expresse dicit sanctus Job: Sicut terra exspectans pluviam, sic et isti sermones meos (Job. XXIX, 23).

CAPUT XXXII.

PRAEMISSO QUID GRATIAE ob memorati convivii fercula sit referendum, variae reddendi beneficii rationes recensetur; ubi et de benevolentiae laude, effectis atque ordine disseritur.

165. Pulchrum est ergo ut divinarum Scripturarum humescamus alloquio, et quasi ros sic in nos Dei verba descendant. Cum igitur sederis ad illam mensam potentis, intellige quis sit iste potens: et in paradiso delectationis positus, atque in convivio sapientiae locatus, considera quae apponuntur tibi. Scripura divina convivium sapientiae est: singuli libri singula sunt fercula. 44 Intellige prius quae habeant ferculorum dapes, et tunc mitte manum; ut ea quae legis vel quae accipis a Domino Deo tuo, operibus exsequaris, et collatam in te gratiam officiis repraesentes: ut Petrus et Paulus, qui evangelizando vicem quamdam largitori muneris reddiderunt, ut possent singuli dicere: Gratia autem Dei sum quod sum, et gratia ejus egena in me non fuit: sed abundantius illis omnibus laboravi (I Cor. XV, 10).

166. Alius ergo fructum accepti beneficii, ut aurum auro, argentum argento rependit: alius laborem, alius, haud scio an etiam locupletius, solum restituit affectum. Quid enim si reddendi nulla facultas suppetit? In beneficio referendo plus animus quam census operatur: magisque praeponderat benevolentia, quam possibilitas referendi muneris. Gratia enim in eo ipso quod habetur, refertur. Magna igitur benevolentia, quae etiam si nihil conferat, plus exhibet: et cum in patrimonio nihil habeat, largitur pluribus; idque facit sine ullo sui dispendio, et lucro omnium. Et ideo praestat benevolentia supra ipsam liberalitatem. Ditior haec moribus,

quam illa muneribus; plures enim sunt qui indigent beneficio, quam qui abundant.

167. Est autem benevolentia etiam conjuncta liberalitati, a qua ipsa liberalitas proficiscitur, cum largitatis affectum sequitur largiendi usus: et separata atque discreta. Ubi enim deest liberalitas, benevolentia manet, communis quaedam parens omnium, quae amicitiam connectit et copulat: in consiliis fidelis, in prosperis laeta, in tristibus moesta; ut unusquisque benevolentis se magis quam sapientis credat consilio: ut David cum esset prudentior, Jonathae tamen junioris consiliis acquiescebat. Tolle ex usu hominum benevolentiam, tamquam solem e mundo tuleris, ita erit; quia sine ea usus hominum esse non potest ut peregrinanti monstrare viam, revocare errantem, deferre hospitium, (non igitur mediocris virtus, de qua sibi plaudebat Job dicens (Job. XXXI, 32): Foris autem non habitabat hospes, janua mea omni venienti patebat) aquam de aqua profluenti dare, lumen de lumine accendere. Benevolentia itaque in his est omnibus, tamquam fons aquae reficiens sitient em, et tamquam lumen quod etiam in aliis luceat, nec illis desit, qui de suo lumine aliis lumen accenderint.

168. Est etiam illa benevolentiae liberalitas, ut si quod habes debitoris chirographum, scindens restituas, nihil a debitore consecutus debiti. Quod exemplo sui facere nos debere Job sanctus admonet (Ibid., 35 et seq.). Nam qui habet, non mutuatur: qui non habet, non liberat syngrapham. Quid igitur etiam si ipse non exigas, avaris haeredibus reservas, quam potes cum benevolentiae laude sine damno pecuniae repraesentare? 45 169. Atque ut plenius discutiamus; benevolentia a domesticis primum profecta personis, id est, a filiis, parentibus, fratribus, per conjunctionum gradus in civitatum pervenit ambitum, et de paradiso egressa mundum replevit. Denique cum in viro et femina benevolentem Deus posuisset affectum, dixit: Erunt ambo in una carne (Gen. II, 24), et in uno spiritu. Unde se Eva serpenti credidit;

quoniam quae benevolentiam acceperat, esse malevolentiam non opinabatur.

CAPUT XXXIII.

BENEVOLENTIAM IN ECCLESIA maxime, et earumdem aut affinium virtutum hominibus perseverare.

170. Augetur benevolentia coetu Ecclesiae, fidei consortio, initiandi societate, percipiendae gratiae necessitudine, mysteriorum communione. Haec enim etiam appellationes necessitudinum, reverentiam filiorum, auctoritatem et pietatem patrum, germanitatem fratrum sibi vindicant. Multum igitur ad cumulandam spectat benevolentiam necessitudo gratiae. 171. Adjuvant etiam parium studia virtutum. Siquidem benevolentia etiam morum facit similitudinem. Denique Jonathas filius regis imitabatur sancti David mansuetudinem, propter quod diligebat eum (I. Reg. XIX, 2 et seq.). Unde et illud: Cum sancto sanctus eris (Psal. XVII, 26), non solum ad conversationem, sed etiam ad benevolentiam derivandum videtur. Nam utique et filii Noe simul habitabant, et non erat in his morum concordia (Gen. IX, 22 et seq.). Habitabant etiam in domo patria Esau et Jacob, sed discrepabant (Gen. XXV, 27). Non enim erat benevolentia inter eos, quae sibi praeferret alterum: sed magis contentio, quae praeriperet benedictionem (Gen. XXVII, 14 et seq.). Nam cum alter praedurus, alter mansuetus esset, inter dispares mores, et studia compugnantia, benevolentia esse non poterat. Adde quia sanctus Jacob paternae degenerem domus virtuti praeferre non poterat. 172. Nihil autem tam consociabile, quam cum aequitate justitia: quae velut compar et socia 46 benevolentiae, facit ut eos quos pares nobis credimus, diligamus. Habet autem in se benevolentia, etiam fortitudinem; nam cum amicitia ex benevolentiae fonte procedat, non dubitat pro amico

gravia vitae sustinere pericula: Et si mala mihi, inquit, evenerint per illum, sustineo (Eccli. XXII, 31).

CAPUT XXXIV.

ALIA NONNULLA BENEVOLENTIAE commoda memorantur.

173. Benevolentia etiam gladium iracundiae extorquere consuevit. Benevolentia facit ut amici vulnera utilia quam voluntaria inimici oscula sint (Prov. XXVII, 6). Benevolentia facit, ut unus fiat ex pluribus; quoniam si plures amici sint, unus fiunt, in quibus unus spiritus et una sententia est. Simul advertimus etiam correptiones in amicitia gratas esse, quae aculeos habent, dolorem non habent. Compungimur enim censoriis sermonibus, sed benevolentiae delectamur sedulitate. 174. Ad summam, non omnibus eadem semper officia debentur, nec personarum semper, sed plerumque causarum et temporum praelationes sunt, ut vicinum quis interdum magis quam fratrem adjuverit. Quoniam et Salomon dicit: Melior vicinus in proximo, quam frater longe habitans (Ibid., 10). Et ideo plerumque amici se benevolentiae quisque committit, quam fratris necessitudini. Tantum valet benevolentia, ut plerumque pignora vincat naturae.

CAPUT XXXV.

De fortitudine quae dividitur in bellicam atque domesticam: primam sine justitia et prudentia virtutem non esse: alteram maxime in tolerantia esse positam.

175. Satis copiose justitiae loco honesti naturam et vim tractavimus. Nunc de fortitudine tractemus, quae velut excelsior caeteris, dividitur in res bellicas et domesticas. Sed bellicarum rerum studium a nostro officio jam alienum 47 videtur, quia animi magis quam corporis officio intendimus: nec ad arma jam spectat usus noster, sed ad pacis negotia. Majores autem nostri, ut Jesus Nave, Hierobaal, Samson, David summam rebus quoque bellicis retulere gloriam. 176. Est itaque fortitudo velut excelsior caeteris, sed numquam incomitata virtus; non enim seipsam committit sibi: alioquin fortitudo sine justitia iniquitatis materia est. Quo enim validior est, eo promptior ut inferiorem opprimat; cum in ipsis rebus bellicis justa bella an injusta sint, spectandum putetur. 177. Numquam David nisi lacessitus bellum intulit. Itaque prudentiam fortitudinis comitem habuit in praelio. Nam et adversus Goliam immani mole corporis virum singulari certamine dimicaturus, arma quibus oneraretur, respuit (I Reg. XVII, 40); virtus enim suis lacertis magis quam alienis integumentis nititur. Deinde eminus, quo gravius feriret, ictu lapidis hostem interemit. Postea numquam nisi consulto Domino (II Reg. V, 19 et seq.), bellum adorsus. Ideo in omnibus victor praeliis, usque ad summam senectutem manu promptus, bello adversum Titanas suscepto, ferocibus bellator miscebatur agminibus (II Reg. XXI, 15 et seq.) gloriae cupidus, incuriosus salutis.

178. Sed non haec sola praeclara fortitudo est; sed etiam illorum gloriosam fortitudinem accipimus, qui per fidem magnitudine animi obstruxerunt leonum ora, exstinxerunt virtutem ignis, effugerunt aciem gladii, convaluerunt de infirmitate fortes (Hebr. XI, 33, 34): qui non comitatu et legionibus succincti communem cum multis victoriam, sed nuda virtute animi singularem de perfidis retulerunt triumphum. Quam insuperabilis Daniel, qui circa latera sua rugientes non expavit leones! Fremebant bestiae, et ille epulabatur (Dan. XIV, 38).

CAPUT XXXVI.

FORTITUDINIS OFFICIUM ALIUD esse, ut injuriam a debiliori depellamus: aliud ut non rectos animi motus coerceamus: aliud demum tum ut aspernemur humilia, tum ut honesta infracto animo prosequamur. Quae ab universis quidem Christianis, sed potissimum ab Ecclesiasticis viris praestanda demonstrantur.

178*.

Non igitur in viribus corporis et lacertis tantummodo fortitudinis gloria est, sed magis in virtute animi: neque in inferenda (23, q. 2, c. Non in inferenda), sed in depellenda injuria lex virtutis est. Qui enim non repellit a socio injuriam, si potest, tam est in vitio, quam ille qui facit. Unde (Exod. II, 11 et seq.) sanctus Moyses hinc prius orsus est tentamenta bellicae fortitudinis. Nam cum vidisset Hebraeum ab Aegyptio injuriam accipientem, defendit; ita ut Aegyptium sterneret, atque in arena absconderet. Salomon quoque ait: Eripe eum qui ducitur ad mortem (Prov. XXIV, 10). 48 179. Unde igitur hoc vel Tullius, vel etiam Panaetius, aut ipse Aristoteles transtulerint, apertum est satis. Quamquam etiam his duobus antiquior dixerit Job: Salvum feci pauperem de manu potentis, et pupillum cui adjutor non erat, adjuvi. Benedictio perituri in me veniat (Job XXIX, 12, 13). Nonne hic fortissimus, qui tam fortiter pertulit impetus diaboli, et vicit eum virtute mentis suae? Neque vero de ejus dubitandum fortitudine, cui dicit Dominus: Accinge sicut vir lumbos tuos, suscipe altitudinem et virtutem: omnem autem injuriosum humiliato (Job. XL, 2). Apostolus quoque ait: Habetis fortissimam consolationem (Hebr. VI, 18). Est ergo fortis qui se in dolore aliquo consolatur.

180. Et re vera jure ea fortitudo vocatur, quando unusquisque se ipsum vincit, iram continet, nullis illecebris emollitur atque inflectitur, non adversis perturbatur, non extollitur secundis, et quasi vento quodam, variarum rerum circumfertur mutatione. Quid autem excelsius et magnificentius, quam exercere mentem, afficere carnem et in servitudinem redigere; ut obediat imperio, consiliis obtemperet, ut in adeundis laboribus impigre exsequatur propositum animi ac voluntatem?

181. Haec igitur prima vis fortitudinis, quoniam in duobus generibus fortitudo spectatur animi. Primo, ut externa corporis pro minimis habeat, et quasi superflua despicienda magis quam expetenda ducat. Secundo, ut ea quae summa sunt, omnes quae res in quibus honestas et illud πρέπον cernitur, praeclara animi intentione usque ad affectum persequatur. Quid enim tam praeclarum, quam ut ita animum informes tuum ut, neque divitias, neque voluptates, neque honores in maximis constituas, neque in his studium omne conteras? Quod cum ita affectus animo fueris, necesse est illud honestum ac decorum praeponendum putes, illique mentem ita intendas tuam, ut quidquid acciderit quo frangi animi solent, aut patrimonii amissio, aut honoris immunitio, aut obtrectatio infidelium, quasi superior non sentias. Deinde ut te salutis ipsius pericula pro justitia suscepta non moveant.

182. Haec vera fortitudo est, quam habet Christi athleta, qui, nisi legitimo certamine, non coronatur. An mediocre tibi videtur praeceptum fortitudinis: Tribulatio patientiam operatur, patientia probationem, probatio autem spem (II Cor VII, 5)? Vide quot certamina, et una corona. Quod praeceptum non dat, nisi qui est confortatus in Christo Jesu, cujus caro requiem non habebat. Afflictio undique: foris pugnae, intus timores. Et quamvis in periculis, in laboribus plurimis, in carceribus, in mortibus positus; animo tamen non frangebatur, sed praeliabatur, adeo ut potentior suis fieret infirmitatibus. 183. Itaque considera quemadmodum eos qui ad

officia Ecclesiae accedunt, despicientiam rerum humanarum habere debere doceat. Si ergo 49 mortui estis cum Christo ab elementis hujus mundi, quid adhuc velut viventes de hoc mundo decernitis? Ne tetigeritis, ne attaminaveritis, ne gustaveritis, quae sunt omnia ad corruptelam ipso usu (Coloss. II, 20 et seq.). Et infra: Si ergo consurrexistis cum Christo, quae sursum sunt quaerite, non quae super terram (Coloss. III. 1). Et iterum: Mortificate ergo membra vestra, quae sunt super terram (Ibid., 5). Et haec quidem adhuc omnibus fidelibus: tibi autem, fili, contemptum divitiarum, profanarum quoque et anilium fabularum, suadet declinationem, nihil permittens nisi quod te exerceat ad pietatem; quia corporalis exercitatio nulli rei usui est: pietas autem ad omnia utilis.

184. Exerceat ergo te pietas ad justitiam, continentiam, mansuetudinem; ut fugias juvenilia opera, confirmatus et radicatus in gratia bonum fidei subeas certamen: non te implices negotiis saecularibus, quoniam Deo militas. Etenim si is qui imperatori militat, a susceptionibus litium, actu negotiorum forensium, venditione mercium prohibetur humanis legibus; quanto magis qui fidei exercet militiam, ab omni usu negotiationis abstinere debet, agelluli sui contentus fructibus, si habet: si non habet, stipendiorum suorum fructu! Siquidem bonus testis est qui dicit: Juvenis fui, et senui, et non vidi justum derelictum, nec semen ejus quaerens panem (Psal. XXXVI, 25). Ea est enim tranquillitas animi et temperantia, quae neque studio quaerendi afficitur, neque egestatis metu angitur.

CAPUT XXXVII.

SERVANDAM UT IN prosperis, ita et in adversis mentis aequalitatem: mala tamen interdum declinanda.

185. Ea est etiam quae dicitur vacuitas animi ab angoribus; ut neque in doloribus molliores simus, neque in prosperis elatiores. Quod si hi qui ad capescendam rempublicam adhortantur aliquos, haec praecepta dant, quanto magis nos qui ad officium Ecclesiae vocamur, talia debemus agere quae placeant Deo; ut 50 praetendat in nobis virtus Christi, et ita simus nostro probati imperatori, ut membra nostra arma justitiae sint, arma non carnalia in quibus peccatum regnet, sed arma fortia Deo quibus peccatum destruatur: moriatur caro nostra, ut in ea omnis culpa moriatur; et quasi ex mortuis viventes, novis resurgamus operibus ac moribus! 186. Haec sunt plena honesti et decori officii stipendia fortitudinis. Sed quia in omnibus quae agimus, non solum quid honestum, sed etiam quid possibile sit quaerimus, ne forte aggrediamur aliquid quod non possimus exsequi. Unde nos tempore persecutionis de civitate in civitatem concedere, immo ut verbo ipso utar, fugere (Matth. X, 23) vult Dominus; ne temere aliquis dum martyrii desiderat gloriam, offerat se periculis, quae fortasse caro infirmior, aut remissior animus ferre ac tolerare non queat.

CAPUT XXXVIII.

ADVERSUS FUTURA INCOMMODA mentem exercitatione roborandam, nec non confirmandam praevidentia: et quae hic incurrant difficultates?

187. Nec rursus propter ignaviam cedere quis ac deserere fidem debet metu periculi. Qua gratia praeparandus est animus, exercenda mens, stabilienda ad constantiam, ut nullis perturbari animus possit terroribus, nullis frangi molestiis, nullis suppliciis cedere. Quae difficile quidem sustinentur: sed quia omnia supplicia graviorum suppliciorum vincuntur formidine, ideo si consilio firmes animum tuum, nec a ratione discedendum putes, et proponas divini judicii metum, perpetui supplicii tormenta, potes animi subire tolerantiam. 188. Hoc igitur diligentiae est, ut quis ita se comparet: illud ingenii, si quis potest vigore mentis praevidere quae futura sunt, et tamquam ante oculos locare quid possit accidere, et quid agere debeat, si ita acciderit, definire; interdum 51 duo et tria simul volvere animo, quae conjiciat aut singula aut conjuncta accidere posse, et aut singulis aut conjunctis disponere actus quos intelligat profuturos.

189. Fortis ergo est viri non dissimulare cum aliquid immineat, sed praetendere, et tamquam explorare de specula quadam mentis, et obviare cogitatione provida rebus futuris, ne forte dicat postea: Ideo ista incidi, quia non arbitrabar posse evenire. Denique nisi explorentur adversa, cito occupant. Ut in bello improvisus hostis vix sustinetur, et si imparatos inveniat, facile opprimit: ita animum mala inexplorata plus frangunt. 190. In his igitur duobus illa est animi excellentia, ut primum animus tuus bonis exercitus cogitationibus, mundo corde quod verum et honestum est videat: Beati enim mundo corde, quia ipsi etiam Deum videbunt (Matth. V, 8):

atque id quod honestum est solum bonum judicet: deinde nullis perturbetur occupationibus, nullis cupiditatibus fluctuet. 191. Neque vero id facile quisquam facit. Quid enim tam difficile quam dispicere tamquam ex arce aliqua sapientiae opes, aliaque omnia quae plerisque videntur magna et praecelsa? Deinde ut judicium tuum stabili ratione confirmes, et quae judicaveris levia, tamquam nihil profutura contemnas? Deinde ut si quid acciderit adversi, idque grave et acerbum putetur, ita feras, ut nihil praeter naturam accidisse putes, cum legeris: Nudus sum natus, nudus exibo. Quae Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit (Job I, 21); utique et filios amiserat et facultates. Servesque in omnibus personam sapientis et justi, sicut ille servavit qui ait: Sicut Domino placuit, ita factum est: sit nomen Domini benedictum (Ibid.). Et infra: Sicut una insipientium mulierum locuta es. Si bona suscepimus de manu Domini, quae mala sunt non sustinebimus (Job II, 10) ?

CAPUT XXXIX.

FORTITUDINEM ADVERSUS OMNIA vitia dimicare debere, praecipue adversus avaritiam: quod in sancto Job docetur factum.

192. Non est igitur mediocris nec discreta a caeteris animi fortitudo, quae bellum cum virtutibus gerat: sed quae sola defendat ornamenta virtutum omnium, et judicia custodiat; et quae inexpiabili praelio adversus omnia vitia decernat, invicta ad labores, fortis ad pericula, rigidior adversus voluptates, dura adversus illecebras, quibus aurem deferre nesciat, nec (ut dicitur) ave dicat; pecuniam negligat, avaritiam fugiat tamquam labem quamdam, quae 52 virtutem effeminet. Nihil enim tam contrarium fortitudini, quam lucro vinci. Frequenter pulsis hostibus, et inclinata in fugam adversariorum acie, dum exuviis caesorum capitur praeliator, inter ipsos quos stravit, miserandus occubuit: et triumphis suis dejectae legiones dum spoliis occupantur, hostem in se revocaverunt, qui fugerat.

193. Fortitudo igitur tam immanem pestem repellat et proterat, nec tentetur cupiditatibus, nec frangatur metu; quia virtus sibi constat, ut fortiter omnia persequatur vitia, tamquam virtutis venena: iracundiam velut quibusdam propulset armis, quae tollat consilium, et tamquam aegritudinem vitet. Gloriae quoque caveat appetentiam, quae frequenter nocuit immoderatius expetita, semper autem usurpata. 194. Quid horum sancto Job vel in virtute defuit, vel in vitio obrepsit? Quomodo laborem aegritudinis, frigoris, famis pertulit? Quomodo despexit salutis periculum? Numquid rapinis divitiae coacervatae, de quibus tanta inopibus affluebant? Numquid avaritiam census, aut voluptatis studia cupiditatesque excitavit? Numquid trium regum injuriosa contentio, vel servorum contumelia in iram excussit?

Numquid gloria sicut levem extulit, qui imprecabatur gravia sibi, si umquam vel non voluntariam celavisset culpam, vel reveritus esset multitudinem plebis, quominus annuntiaret eam in conspectu omnium? Neque enim consentaneae sunt vitiis virtutes, sed sibi constant. Quis igitur tam fortis quam sanctus Job: cui secundus adjudicari potest, qui parem vix reperit?

CAPUT XL.

VIRTUTEM BELLICAM NOSTRIS etiam non defuisse, veterum exemplis, maximeque praeclaro Eleazari facto demonstratur.

195. Sed fortasse aliquos bellica defixos gloria tenet, ut putent solam esse praeliarem fortitudinem; et ideo me ad haec deflexisse, quia illa nostris deforet. Quam fortis Jesus Nave, ut uno praelio quinque reges captos sterneret cum populis suis (Josue X, 5 et seq.)! Deinde cum adversum Gabaonitas urgeret praelium, et vereretur ne nox impediret victoriam, magnitudine mentis et fidei clamavit: Stet sol; et stetit, donec victoria consummaretur. Gedeon in trecentis viris de ingenti populo et acerbo hoste revexit triumphum (Judic. VII, 8 et seq.). Jonathas adolescens virtutem fecit in magno praelio (I Reg. XIV, 1 et seq.). Quid de Machabaeis loquar (I Mach. II, 35 et seq.) ? 196. Sed prius de populo dicam Patrum, qui cum essent parati ad repugnandum pro templo 53 Dei, et pro legitimis suis, dolo hostium die lacessiti sabbati, maluerunt vulneribus offerre nuda corpora, quam repugnare, ne violarent sabbatum. Itaque omnes laeti se obtulerunt morti. Sed Machabaei considerantes quod hoc exemplo gens omnis posset perire, sabbato etiam, cum ipsi in bellum provocarentur, ulti sunt innocentium necem fratrum suorum. Unde postea stimulatus rex Antiochus, cum bellum accenderet per duces suos Lysiam, Nicanorem, Gorgiam, ita cum Orientalibus suis et Assyriis attritus est copiis, ut quadraginta et octo millia in medio campi a tribus millibus prosternerentur.

197. Virtutem ducis Judae Machabaei de uno ejus milite considerate (I Machab. VI, 43 et seq.). Namque Eleazarus cum supereminentem caeteris elephantum, lorica vestitum regia, adverteret, arbitratus quod in eo esset

rex, cursu concitus in medium legionis se proripuit, et abjecto clypeo, utraque manu interficiebat, donec pervenit ad bestiam, atque intravit sub eam, et subjecto gladio interemit eam. Itaque cadens bestia oppressit Eleazarum, atque ita mortuus est. Quanta igitur virtus animi! Primo, ut mortem non timeret: deinde, ut circumfusus legionibus inimicorum, in confertos raperetur hostes, medium penetraret agmen, et contempta morte ferocior, abjecto clypeo, utraque manu vulneratae molem bestiae subiret ac sustineret: post infra ipsam succederet, quo pleniori feriret ictu; cujus ruina inclusus magis quam oppressus, suo est sepultus triumpho.

198. Nec fefellit opinio virum, quamvis regius fefellerit habitus; tanto enim virtutis spectaculo defixi hostes inermem, occupatum incursare non ausi, post casum ruentis bestiae sic trepidaverunt, ut impares se omnes unius virtuti arbitrarentur. Denique rex Antiochus Lysiae filius, qui cum centum vinginti millibus hominum armatis venerat et cum triginta duobus elephantis; ita ut ab ortu solis per singulas bestias velut montes quidam splendor armorum corusco, tamquam lampadibus ardentibus refulgeret, unius territus fortitudine, pacem rogaret. Itaque Eleazarus haeredem virtutis suae pacem reliquit. Sed haec triumphorum sint.

CAPUT XLI.

LAUDATA JUDAE AC Jonathae magnitudine animi, martyrum in tolerando constantia, quae pars non minima fortitudinis, ob oculos ponitur.

199. Verum quia fortitudo non solum secundis rebus, sed etiam adversis probatur: spectemus nunc Judae Machabaei exitum (I Marc. IX, 8 et seq.). 54 Is enim post victum Nicanorem regis Demetrii ducem, securior adversus viginti millia exercitus regis, cum nongentis viris bellum adorsus, volentibus his cedere, ne multitudine opprimerentur, gloriosam magis mortem, quam turpem fugam suasit: Ne crimen, inquit, nostrae relinquamus gloriae. Itaque commisso praelio, cum a primo ortu diei in vesperam dimicaretur, dextrum cornu, in quo validissimam manum advertit hostium, aggressus facile avertit. Sed dum fugientes sequitur, a tergo vulneri locum praebuit: ita gloriosiorem triumphis locum mortis invenit.

200. Quid Jonatham fratrem ejus attexam; qui cum parva manu adversus exercitus regios pugnans, desertus a suis, et cum duobus tantum relictus reparavit bellum, avertit hostem, fugitantes suos ad societatem revocavit triumphi? 201. Habes fortitudinem bellicam, in qua non mediocris honesti ac decori forma est; quod mortem servituti praeferat ac turpitudini. Quid autem de martyrum dicam passionibus? Et ne longius evagemur, non minores de superbo rege Antiocho Machabaei pueri revexerunt triumphos, quam parentes proprii. Siquidem illi armati, isti sine armis vicerunt (II Machab. VII, 1 et seq.). Stetit invicta septem puerorum cohors, regiis cincta legionibus: defecerunt supplicia, cesserunt tortores, non defecerunt martyres. Alius corium capitis exutus, speciem mutaverat, virtutem auxerat. Alius linguam jussus amputandam promere, respondit: Non solum Dominus

audit loquentes, qui audiebat Moysen tacentem. (Exod. XIV, 15). Plus audit tacitas cogitationes suorum, quam voces omnium. Linguae flagellum times, flagellum sanguinis non times? Habet et sanguis vocem suam, qua clamat ad Deum, sicut clamavit in Abel (Gen. IV, 10). 202. Quid de matre loquar, quae spectabat laeta filiorum quot funera tot trophaea, et morientium vocibus tamquam psallentium cantibus delectabatur, pulcherrimam ventris sui citharam in filiis cernens, et pietatis harmoniam omni lyrae numero dulciorem (II Machab. VII, 20 et seq.) ?

203. Quid de bimulis loquar, qui ante palmam victoriae acceperunt, quam sensum naturae? Quid de sancta Agne, quae in duarum maximarum rerum posita periculo, castitatis et salutis, castitatem protexit, salutem cum immortalitate commutavit? 204. Non praetereamus etiam sanctum Laurentium, qui cum videret Xystum episcopum suum ad martyrium duci, flere coepit, non passionem illius, sed suam remansionem. Itaque his verbis appellare coepit: Quo progrederis sine filio, pater: quo, sacerdos sancte, sine diacono properas 55 tuo? Numquam sacrificium sine ministro offerre consueveras. quid in me ergo displicuit, pater? Num degenerem probasti? Experire certe utrum idoneum ministrum elegeris. Cui commisisti Dominici sanguinis consecrationem, cui consummandorum consortium sacramentorum, huic sanguinis tui consortium negas? Vide ne periclitetur judicium tuum, dum fortitudo laudatur. Abjectio discipuli detrimentum est magisterii. Quid! quod illustres et praestantes viri discipulorum certaminibus quam suis vincunt. Denique Abraham filium obtulit (Gen. XXII, 9), Petrus Stephanum praemisit (Act. VII, 57). Et tu, pater, ostende in filio virtutem tuam, offer quem erudisti, ut securus judicii tui comitatu nobili pervenias ad coronam. 205. Tunc Xystus ait: Non ego te, fili, relinquo ac desero: sed majora tibi debentur certamina. Nos quasi senes levioris pugnae cursum recipimus: te quasi juvenem manet gloriosior de tyranno triumphus. Mox venies, flere desiste, post triduum me sequeris.

Sacerdotem et levitam hic medius numerus decet. Non erat tuum sub magistro vincere, quasi adjutorem quaereres. Quid consortium passionis meae expetis? Totam tibi haereditatem ejus dimitto. Quid praesentiam meam requiris? Infirmi discipuli magistrum praecedant, fortes sequantur, ut vincant sine magistro, qui jam non indigent magisterio. Sic et Elias Elisaeum reliquit. Tibi ergo mando nostrae virtutis successionem.

206. Talis erat contentio, digna sane de qua certarent sacerdos et minister, quis prior pateretur pro Christi nomine. In fabulis ferunt tragicis excitatos theatri magnos esse plausus, cum se Pylades Orestem diceret; Orestes, ut erat, Orestem se esse asseveraret: ille ut pro Oreste necaretur, Orestes ne Pyladem pro se pateretur necari. Sed illis non licebat vivere, quod uterque 56 esset parricidii reus: alter qui fecisset, alter qui adjuvisset. Hic Laurentium sanctum ad hoc nullus urgebat, nisi amor devotionis; tamen et ipse post triduum, cum illuso tyranno, impositus super craticulam exureretur: Assum est, inquit, versa et manduca. Ita animi virtute vincebat ignis naturam.

CAPUT XLII.

POTESTATES NON IRRITANDAS, neque adulationi praebendas aures.

207. Cavendum etiam reor, ne dum aliqui nimia gloriae ducuntur cupiditate, insolentius abutantur potestatibus, et plerumque aversos a nobis animos gentilium in studia persecutionis excitent, atque inflamment ad iracundiam. Itaque ut illi perseverare possint, et supplicia vincere, quantos perire faciunt? 208. Prospiciendum etiam ne adulantibus aperiamus aurem; emolliri enim adulatione, non solum fortitudinis non esse, sed etiam ignaviae videtur.

CAPUT XLIII.

De temperantia et praecipuis ejus partibus, nimirum animi tranquillitate ac moderatione, honestatis cura, et decoris consideratione.

209. Quoniam de tribus virtutibus diximus, restat ut de quarta virtute dicamus, quae temperantia ac modestia vocatur: in qua maxime tranquillitas animi, studium mansuetudinis, moderationis gratia, honesti cura, decoris consideratio spectatur et quaeritur. 210. Ordo igitur quidam vitae nobis tenendus est, ut a verecundia prima quaedam fundamenta ducantur: quae socia ac familiaris est mentis 57 placiditati, proterviae fugitans, ab omni aliena luxu, sobrietatem diligit, honestatem fovet, decorum illud requirit. 211. Sequatur conversationis electio, ut adjungamur probatissimis quibusque senioribus. Namque ut aequalium usus dulcior, ita senum tutior est, qui magisterio quodam et ductu vitae colorat mores adolescentium, et velut murice probitatis inficit. Namque si hi qui sunt ignari locorum, cum solertibus viarum iter adoriri gestiunt; quanto magis adolescentes cum senibus debent novum sibi iter vitae aggredi, quo minus errare possint, et a vero tramite virtutis deflectere! Nihil enim pulchrius quam eosdem et magistros vitae et testes habere. 212. Quaerendum etiam in omni actu quid personis, quid temporibus conveniat atque aetatibus, quid etiam singulorum ingeniis sit accommodum. Saepe enim quod alterum decet, alterum non decet. Aliud juveni aptum, aliud seni: aliud in periculis, aliud in rebus secundis.

213. Saltavit ante arcam Domini David (II Reg. VI, 14): non saltavit Samuel; nec ideo ille reprehensus, sed magis iste laudatus. Mutavit vultum contra regem, cui nomen Achis (I Reg. XXI, 13): at hoc si fecisset remota

formidine quo minus cognosceretur, nequaquam levitatis reprehensione carere potuisset. Saul quoque vallatus choro prophetarum, etiam ipse prophetavit; et de solo quasi indigno memoratum est: Et Saul inter prophetas (I Reg. XIX, 24).

CAPUT XLIV.

OFFICIO SIBI CONGRUO quemque studere oportere: sed multos impediri paternorum imitatione studiorum; contra quam Ecclesiastici viri faciunt.

214. Unusquisque igitur suum ingenium noverit, et ad id se applicet, quod sibi aptum elegerit. Itaque quid sequatur, prius consideret. Noverit bona sua, sed etiam vitia cognoscat: aequalemque se judicem sui praebeat, ut bonis intendat, vitia declinet. 215. Alius distinguendae lectioni aptior, alius psalmo gratior, alius exorcizandis qui malo laborant spiritu, sollicitior, alius sacrario oportunior habetur. Haec omnia spectet sacerdos, et quid cuique congruat, id officii deputet. Quo etenim unumquemque suum ducit ingenium, aut quod officium decet, id majore impletur gratia. 216. Sed id cum in omni vita difficile, tum in 58 nostro actu difficillimum est. Amat enim unusquisque sequi vitam parentum. Denique plerique ad militiam feruntur, quorum militaverunt parentes, alii ad actiones diversas. 217. In ecclesiastico vero officio nihil rarius invenias quam eum qui sequatur institutum patris: vel quia gravis deterret actus, vel quia in lubrica aetate difficilior abstinentia, vel quia alacri adolescentiae videtur vita obscurior; et ideo ad ea convertuntur studia, quae plausibiliora arbitrantur. Praesentia quippe plures quam futura praeferunt. Illi autem praesentibus, nos futuris militamus. Unde quo praestantior causa, eo debet esse cura attentior.

CAPUT XLV.

De pulchro et honesto: quid sit inter illa discriminis tam apud profanos auctores, quam sacros.

218. Teneamus igitur verecundiam, et eam quae totius vitae ornatum attollit modestiam. Non enim mediocre est rebus singulis modum servare, atque impartiri ordinem, in quo vere praelucet illud quod decorum dicitur: quod ita cum honesto jungitur, ut separari non queat. Siquidem et quod decet, honestum est, et quod honestum est, decet; ut magis in sermone distinctio sit, quam in virtute discretio. Differre enim ea inter se intelligi potest, explicari non potest. 219. Et ut conemur aliquid eruere distinctionis, honestas velut bona valetudo est, et quaedam salubritas corporis: decus autem tamquam venustas et pulchritudo. Sicut ergo pulchritudo super salubritatem ac valetudinem videtur excellere, et tamen sine his esse non potest, neque ullo separari modo; quoniam nisi bona valetudo sit, pulchritudo esse ac venustas non potest: sic honestas decorum illud in se continet, ut ab ea profectum videatur, et sine ea esse non possit. Velut salubritas igitur totius operis actusque nostri honestas est, et sicut species est decorum, quod cum honestate confusum, opinione distinguitur. Nam etsi in aliquo videatur excellere, tamen in radice est honestatis, sed flore praecipuo, ut sine ea decidat, in ea floreat. Quid enim est honestas, nisi quae turpitudinem quasi mortem fugiat? Quid vero inhonestum, nisi quod ariditatem ac mortem afferat? Virente igitur substantia virtutis, decorum illud tamquam flos emicat, quia radix salva est: at vero propositi nostri radice vitiosa, nihil germinat. 59

220. Habes hoc in nostris aliquanto expressius. Dicit enim David: Dominus regnavit, decorem induit (Psal. XCII, 1). Et Apostolus ait: Sicut in die, honeste ambulate (Rom. XIII, 13). Quod Graeci dicunt εὐσχημόνως, hoc autem proprie significat, bono habitu, bona specie. Deus ergo primum hominem cum conderet, bona habitudine, bona membrorum compositione formavit, et optimam ei speciem dedit. Remissionem non dederat peccatorum: sed posteaquam renovavit eum spiritu, et infudit ei gratiam, qui venerat in servi forma, et in hominis specie assumpsit decorem redemptionis humanae. Et ideo dixit Propheta: Dominus regnavit, decorem induit. Deinde alibi dicit: Te decet hymnus, Deus, in Sion (Psal. LXIV, 2); hoc est dicere: Honestum est ut te timeamus, te diligamus, te precemur, te honorificemus; scriptum est enim: Omnia vestra honeste fiant (I Cor. XIV, 40). Sed possumus et hominem timere, diligere, rogare, honorare: hymnus specialiter Deo dicitur. Hoc tamquam excellentius caeteris credere est decorum, quod deferimus Deo. Mulierem quoque in habitu ornato orare convenit: sed specialiter eam decet orare velatam, et orare promittentem castitatem cum bona conversatione (I Tim. II, 9, 10).

CAPUT XLVI.

PROPONITUR BIFIDA DECORI divisio: tum postquam ostensum est quod secundum naturam sit, honestum: quod secus, turpe censendum; exemplis illustratur haec ipsa divisio.

221. Est igitur decorum quod praeeminet, cujus divisio gemina est. Nam est decorum quasi generale, quod per universitatem funditur honestatis, et quasi in toto spectatur corpore: est etiam speciale, quod in parte aliqua enitet. Illud generale ita est, ac si aequabilem formam atque universitatem honestatis in omni actu suo habeat concinentem; cum omnis sibi ejus vita consentit, nec in ulla aliqua re discrepat: hoc speciale, cum aliquem actum in suis habet virtutibus praeeminentem. 222. Simul illud adverte quod et decorum est secundum naturam vivere, secundum naturam degere, et turpe est quod sit contra naturam. Ait enim Apostolus quasi interrogans: Decet mulierem non velatam orare Deum? Nec ipsa natura docet vos quod vir quidem si comam habeat, ignominia est illi; quoniam contra naturam est (I Cor. XI, 13)? Et iterum dicit: Mulier vero si capillos habeat, gloria est illi (Ibid. 15). Est enim secundum naturam, quoniam quidem capilli pro velamine sunt; hoc est enim naturale velamen. Personam igitur nobis et speciem natura ipsa dispensat, quam servare debemus: 60 utinamque et innocentiam ejus custodire possimus, nec acceptam nostra malitia mutaret!

223. Habes hoc decorum generale, quia fecit Deus mundi istius pulchritudinem. Habes et per partes, quia cum faceret Deus lucem, et diem noctemque distingueret (Genes. I, 3 et seq.), cum conderet coelum, cum terras et maria separaret, cum solem et lunam et stellas constitueret lucere super terram, probavit singula. Ergo decorum hoc, quod in singulis mundi

partibus elucebat, in universitate resplenduit, sicut probat Sapientia, dicens: Ego eram cui applaudebat . . . . . cum laetaretur orbe perfecto (Prov. VIII, 30, 31). Similiter ergo et in fabrica humani corporis grata est uniuscujusque membri portio: sed plus in commune compositio membrorum apta delectat, quod ita sibi quadrare et convenire videantur.

CAPUT XLVII.

UT IN VITA nostra eluceat decorum illud, quid praestare nos oporteat, quosve appetitus refraenare?

224. Si quis igitur aequabilitatem universae vitae, et singularum actionum modos servet, ordinem quoque, et constantiam dictorum atque operum, moderationemque custodiat, in ejus vita decorum illud excellit, et quasi in quodam speculo elucet.

235. Accedat tamen suavis sermo, ut conciliet sibi affectum audientium, gratumque se vel familiaribus, vel civibus, vel, si fieri potest, omnibus praebeat. Neque adulantem se, neque adulandum cuiquam exibeat; alterum enim calliditatis est, vanitatis alterum. 226. Non despiciat quid de se unusquisque et maxime vir optimus sentiat; hoc enim modo discit bonis deferre reverentiam. Nam negligere bonorum judicia vel arrogantiae, vel dissolutionis est: quorum alterum superbiae ascribitur, alterum negligentiae.

227. Caveat etiam motus animi sui; ipse enim sibi et observandus et circumspiciendus est: et ut adversum se cavendus, ita etiam de se tuendus. Sunt enim motus, in quibus est appetitus ille, qui quasi quodam prorumpit impetu; unde Graece ὁρμὴ dicitur quod vi quadam se repente proripiat. Non mediocris in his vis quaedam animi atque naturae est. Quae tamen vis gemina est, una in appetitu, altera in ratione posita, quae appetitum refrenet, et sibi obedientem praestet, et ducat quo velit: et tamquam sedulo magisterio edoceat quid fieri, quid evitari oporteat, ut bonae domitrici obtemperet. 228. Solliciti enim debemus esse, ne quid timere aut incuriose geramus, aut quidquam 61 omnino cujus probabilem non possimus rationem reddere. Actus enim nostri causa, etsi non omnibus redditur, tamen

ab omnibus examinatur. Nec vero habemus, in quo nos possimus excusare Nam etsi vis quaedam naturae in omni appetitu sit; tamen idem appetitus rationis subjectus est lege naturae ipsius, et obedit ei. Unde boni speculatoris est ita praetendere animo, ut appetitus neque praecurrat rationem, neque deserat; ne praecurrendo perturbet atque excludat, eamque deserendo destituat. Perturbatio tollit constantiam, destitutio prodit ignaviam, accusat pigritiam. Perturbata enim mente latius se ac longius fundit appetitus, et tamquam efferato impetu frenos rationis non suscipit, nec ulla sentit aurigae moderamina, quibus possit reflecti. Unde plerumque non solum animus exagitatur, amittitur ratio; sed etiam inflammatur vultus, vel iracundia, vel libidine: pallescit timore, voluptate se non capit, et nimia gestit laetitia.

229. Haec cum fiunt, abjicitur illa naturalis quaedam censura, gravitasque morum: nec teneri potest illa quae in rebus gerendis atque consiliis sola potest auctoritatem suam, atque illud quod deceat tenere, constantia. 230. Gravior autem appetitus ex indignatione nimia nascitur, quam acceptae plerumque accendit injuriae dolor. De quo satis nos psalmi quem in praefatione posuimus (Cap. II. 6, 7), praecepta instruunt. Pulchre autem et hoc accidit, ut scripturi de Officiis, ea praefationis nostrae assertione uteremur quae et ipsa ad officii magisterium pertineret. 231. Sed quia supra, ut oportebat, perstrinximus quemadmodum unusquisque cavere possit, ne excitetur accepta injuria, verentes ne praefatio prolixior fieret, nunc de eo uberius disputandum arbitror. Locus enim opportunus est, ut in partibus temperantiae dicamus quemadmodum reprimatur iracundia.

CAPUT XLVIII.

REPETITO COMPESCENDAE IRACUNDIAE argumento, tres eorum qui lacessuntur injuriis, ordines explicantur: ad quorum perfectissimum Apostolus ac David dicuntur pervenisse: ubi ex occasione quaedam hujus ac futurae vitae traduntur discrimina.

232. Tria itaque genera esse hominum injuriam accipientium in Scripturis divinis demonstrare volumus, si possumus. Unum est eorum quibus peccator insultat, conviciatur, inequitat. Iis quia deest justitia, pudor crescit, augetur dolor. Horum similes plurimi de meo ordine, de meo numero. Nam mihi infirmo si quis injuriam faciat, forsitan, licet infirmus, donem injuriam meam. Si crimen objiciat, 62 non sum tantus, ut sim contentus conscientia mea, etiamsi me ejus objecti alienum noverim: sed cupio abluere ingenui pudoris notam, tamquam infirmus. Ergo oculum pro oculo, et dentem pro dente exigo, et convicium convicio rependo.

233. Si vero is sum qui proficiam, etsi nondum perfectus, non retorqueo contumeliam: etsi influat ille convicium, et inundet aures meas contumeliis, ego taceo, et nihil respondeo. 234. Si vero perfectus sim (verbi gratia loquor, nam veritate infirmus sum) si ergo perfectus sim, benedico maledicentem, sicut benedicebat et Paulus; qui ait: Maledicimur, et benedicimus (I Cor. IV, 12). Audierat enim dicentem: Diligite inimicos vestros, orate pro calumniantibus et persequentibus vos (Matth. V, 44). Ideo ergo Paulus persecutionem patiebatur, et sustinebat, quia vincebat et mitigabat humanum affectum propositae mercedis gratia; ut filius Dei fieret, si dilexisset inimicum. 235. Tamen et sanctum David in hoc quoque genere virtutis imparem Paulo non fuisse edocere possumus. Qui primo quidem

cum malediceret ei filius Semei (II Reg. XVI, 7 et seq.) et crimina objiceret, tacebat et humiliabatur, et silebat a bonis suis (Psal. XXXVIII, 3), hoc est bonorum operum conscientia: deinde expetebat maledici sibi, quia maledicto illo divinam acquirebat misericordiam.

236. Vide autem quomodo et humilitatem et justitiam et prudentiam emerendae a Domino gratiae reservaverit. Primo dixit: Ideo maledicit mihi, quia Dominus dixit illi ut maledicat (II Reg. XVI, 10). Habes humilitatem; quia ea quae divinitus imperantur, aequanimiter quasi servulus ferenda arbitrabatur. Iterum dixit: Ecce filius meus qui exivit de ventre meo, quaerit animam meam (Ibid., 11). Habes justitiam; si enim a nostris graviora patimur, cur indigne ferimus quae inferuntur ab alienis? Tertio ait: Dimitte illum ut maledicat; quoniam dixit illi Dominus, ut videat humiliationem meam, et retribuat mihi Dominus pro maledicto hoc (Ibid., 12). Nec solum conviciantem pertulit, sed etiam lapidantem et sequentem illaesum reliquit (II Reg. XIX, 22), quin etiam post victoriam petenti veniam libenter ignovit.

237. Quod ideo inserui, ut Evangelico spiritu sanctum David non solum inoffensum, sed etiam gratum fuisse convicianti docerem, et delectatum potius quam exasperatum injuriis, pro quibus mercedem sibi reddendam arbitrabatur. Sed tamen quamvis perfectus, adhuc perfectiora quaerebat. Incalescebat injuriae dolore, quasi homo: sed vincebat quasi bonus miles; tolerabat quasi athleta fortis. Patientiae autem finis, promissorum exspectatio, et ideo dicebat: Notum fac mihi, Domine, finem meum, et numerum dierum meorum, quis est, ut sciam quid desit mihi (Psal. XXXVIII, 5). 63 Finem illum quaerit promissorum coelestium, vel illum, quando unusquique surget in suo ordine: Primitiae Christus, deinde hi qui sunt Christi, qui in adventum ejus crediderunt, deinde finis (I Cor. XV, 23). Tradito enim regno Deo et Patri, et evacuatis omnibus potestatibus, ut Apostolus dixit, perfectio incipit. Hic ergo impedimentum, hic infirmitas etiam perfectorum, illic plena perfectio. Ideo et dies illos requirit vitae

aeternae, qui sunt, non qui praetereunt; ut cognoscat quid sibi desit, quae terra sit repromissionis perpetuos fructus ferens, quae prima apud patrem mansio, quae secunda, quae tertia, in quibus pro ratione meritorum unusquisque requiescet.

238. Illa igitur nobis expetenda, in quibus perfectio, in quibus veritas est. Hic umbra, hic imago, illic veritas. Umbra in Lege, imago in Evangelio, veritas in coelestibus (Hebr. X. 1, et seq.). Ante agnus offerebatur, offerebatur et vitulus, nunc Christus offertur: sed offertur quasi homo, quasi recipiens passionem; et offert se ipse quasi sacerdos, ut peccata nostra dimittat: hic in imagine, ibi in veritate, ubi apud patrem pro nobis quasi advocatus intervenit. Hic ergo in imagine ambulamus, in imagine videmus: illic facie ad faciem, ubi plena perfectio; quia perfectio omnis in veritate est.

CAPUT XLIX.

HIC SERVANDAM IN nobis virtutum imaginem, diaboli vero et vitiorum eradendam, ac in primis avaritiae: quae libertatem nobis adimit, variisque turbatos vanitatibus imagine Dei spoliat.

239. Ergo dum hic sumus, servemus imaginem, ut ibi perveniamus ad veritatem. Sit in nobis imago justitiae, sit imago sapientiae; quia venietur ad illum diem. et secundum imaginem aestimabimur. 240. Non inveniat in te adversarius imaginem suam, non rabiem, non furorem; in his enim imago nequitiae est. Adversarius enim diabolus sicut leo rugiens quaerit quem occidat, quem devoret. Non inveniat auri cupiditatem, non argenti acervos, non vitiorum simulacra; ne auferat tibi vocem libertatis. Vox enim libertatis illa est, ut dicas: Veniet hujus mundi princeps, et in me inveniet nihil (Joan. XIV, 30). Itaque si securus es quod nihil in te inveniat, cum venerit 64 perscrutari, dices illud quod dixit ad Laban Jacob patriarcha: Cognosce si quid tuorum apud me est (Gen. XXXI, 32). Merito beatus Jacob, apud quem nihil Laban suum potuit reperire! Absconderat enim Rachel simulacra deorum ejus aurea et argentea. 241. Itaque si sapientia, si fides, si contemptus saeculi, si gratia tua abscondat omnem perfidiam, beatus eris; quia non respicis in vanitates et insanias falsas (Psal. XXXIX, 5). An mediocre est tollere vocem adversario, ut arguendi te non possit habere auctoritatem? Itaque qui non respicit in vanitates, non conturbatur; qui enim respicit conturbatur, et vanissime quidem. Quid est enim congregare opes, nisi vanum; quia caduca quaerere vanum est satis? Cum autem congregaveris, qui scias an possidere liceat tibi?

242. Nonne vanum est ut mercator noctibus ac diebus conficiat iter, quo aggregare possit thesauri acervos, merces congreget, conturbetur ad pretium, ne forte minoris vendat quam emerit, aucupetur locorum pretia, et subito aut latrones in se invidia famosae negotiationis excitet, aut non exspectatis serenioribus flatibus, dum lucrum quaerit, naufragium impatiens morae incidat? 243. Annon conturbatur etiam ille vane, qui summo labore coacervat, quod nesciat cui haeredi relinquat? Saepe quod avarus summa congesserit sollicitudine, praecipiti effusione dilacerat haeres luxuriosus: et diu quaesita turpis helluo, praesentium caecus, futuri improvidus, quadam absorbet voragine. Saepe etiam speratus successor invidiam partae acquirit haereditatis, et celeri obitu extraneis aditae successionis transcribit compendia.

244. Quid ergo vane araneam texis, quae inanis et sine fructu est, et tamquam casses suspendis inutiles divitiarum copias: quae etsi fluant, nihil prosunt; immo exuunt te imaginem Dei, et induunt terreni imaginem? Si tyranni aliquis imaginem habeat, nonne obnoxius est damnationi? Tu deponis imaginem aeterni imperatoris, et erigis in te imagiginem mortis. Ejice magis de civitate animae tuae imaginem diaboli, et attolle imaginem Christi. Haec in te fulgeat, in tua civitate, hoc est, anima resplendeat, quae oblitterat vitiorum imagines. De quibus ait David: Domine, in civitatetua, 65 ad nihilum deduces imagines eorum (Psal. LXXII, 20). Cum enim depinxerit Hierusalem Dominus ad imaginem suam, tunc adversariorum omnis imago deletur.

CAPUT L.

LEVITAS A TERRENIS cupiditatibus maxime alienos esse debere. Quae sint illorum virtutes ex Apostolo, quantave in ipsis castimonia requiratur: item quae dignitas eorum atque officium, ad quod primariae virtutes sunt necessariae. Hasce ignotas non fuisse philosophis, sed in ordine illos peccavisse: nonnulla esse natura secundum officium, quae ob adjuncta fiant contra officium; unde colligitur quantas dotes postulet dignitas levitarum: quae sequitur verborum Moysis tribui leviticae benedicentis expositio.

245. Quod si Evangelio Domini etiam populus ipse ad despicientiam opum informatus atque institutus est; quanto magis vos levitas oportet terrenis non teneri cupiditatibus, quorum Deus portio est? Nam cum divideretur a Moyse possessio terrena populo parum, excepit levitas Dominus a terrenae possessionis consortio, quod ipse illis esset funiculus haereditatis (Num. XVIII, 23). Unde ait David: Dominus pars haereditatis meae, et calicis mei (Psal. XV, 5). Denique sic appellatur levita ipse meus, vel ipse pro me. Magnum ergo munus ejus, ut de eo Dominus dicat: Ipse meus; vel quemadmodum Petro dixit de statere in ore piscis reperto: Dabis eis pro me et pro te (Matth. XVII, 26). Unde et Apostolus cum episcopum dixisset debere esse sobrium, pudicum, ornatum, hospitalem, docibilem, non avarum, non litigiosum, domui suae bene praepositum, addidit: Diaconos similiter oportet esse graves, non bilingues, non multo vino deditos, non turpe lucrum sectantes, habentes mysterium fidei in conscientia pura (I Tim. III, 8). Et hi autem probentur primum, et sic ministrent, nullum crimen habentes. 66

246. Advertimus quanta in nobis requirantur: ut abstinens sit a vino minister Domini, ut testimonio bono fulciatur non solum fidelium, sed etiam ab his qui foris sunt. Decet enim actuum operumque nostrorum testem esse publicam existimationem, ne derogetur muneri; ut qui videt ministrum altaris congruis ornatum virtutibus, auctorem praedicet, et Dominum veneretur, qui tales servulos habeat. Laus enim Domini, ubi munda possessio, et innocens familiae disciplina. 247. De castimonia autem quid loquar, quando una tantum (Dist. 26, Una tantum), nec repetita permittitur copula? Et in ipso ergo conjugio lex est non iterare conjugium, nec secundae conjugis sortiri conjunctionem. Quod plerisque mirum videtur, cur etiam ante baptismum iterati conjugii ad electionem muneris et ordinationis praerogativam impedimenta generentur; cum etiam delicta obesse non soleant, si lavacri remissa fuerint sacramento. Sed intelligere debemus quia baptismo culpa dimitti potest, lex aboleri non potest. In conjugio non culpa, sed lex est. Quod culpae est igitur in baptismate relaxatur: quod legis est in conjugio non solvitur. Quomodo autem potest hortator esse viduitatis qui ipse conjugia frequentaverit?

248. Inoffensum autem exhibendum et immaculatum ministerium, nec ullo conjugali coitu violandum cognoscitis, qui integri corpore, incorrupto pudore, alieni etiam ab ipso consortio conjugali, sacri ministerii gratiam recepistis? Quod eo non praeterii, quia in plerisque abditioribus locis cum ministerium gererent, vel etiam sacerdotium, filios susceperunt: et id tamquam usu veteri defendunt, quando per intervalla dierum sacrificium deferebatur; et tamen castificabatur etiam populus per biduum aut triduum, ut ad sacrificium purus accederet, ut in veteri Testamento legimus (Exod. XIX, 10); et lavabant vestimenta sua. Si in figura tanta observantia, quanta 67 in veritate? Disce, sacerdos atque levita, quid sit lavare vestimenta tua, ut mundum corpus celebrandis exhibeas sacramentis. Si populus sine ablutione vestimentorum suorum prohibebatur accedere ad hostiam suam,

tu illotus mente pariter et corpore audes pro aliis supplicare, audes aliis ministrare? 249. Non mediocre officium levitarum, de quibus dicit Dominus: Ecce eligo levitas de medio filiorum Israel pro omni primogenito aperiente vulvam filiis Israel: redemptiones eorum erunt isti, et erunt mihi levitae. Mihi enim sanctificavi primogenitum in terra Aegypti (Num. III, 12 et 13). Cognovimus quia non inter caeteros levitae computantur, sed omnibus praeferuntur, qui eliguntur ex omnibus, et sanctificantur; ut primogenita fructuum atque primitiae quae Domino deputantur, in quibus est votorum solutio, et redemptio peccatorum. Non accipies, inquit, eos inter filios Israel: sed constitues levitas super tabernaculum testimonii, et super omnia vasa ejus astare, et super quaecumque sunt in ipso. Ipsi tollant tabernaculam et omnia vasa ejus, et ipsi ministrent in eo, et in circuitu tabernaculi castra ipsi constituant, et promovendo, tabernaculum ipsi deponant levitae: et constituendo castra, rursum ipsum tabernaculum ipsi statuant. Alienigena quicumque accesserit, morte moriatur (Num. I, 49 et seq.).

250. Tu ergo electus es ex omni numero filiorum Israel, inter sacros fructus quasi primogenitus aestimatus, praepositus tabernaculo, ut praetendas in castris sanctitatis et fidei, ad quae si alienigena accesserit, morte morietur, positus ut operias arcam Testamenti. Non enim omnes vident alta mysteriorum, quia operiuntur a levitis; ne videant qui videre non debent, et sumant qui servare non possunt. Moyses denique circumcisionem vidit spiritualem: sed operuit eam, ut in signo circumcisionem praescriberet. Vidit azyma veritatis et sinceritatis, vidit passionem Domini: operuit azymis corporalibus azyma veritatis, operuit passionem Domini, agni vel vituli immolatione. Et boni levitae servaverunt mysterium, fidei suae tegmine; et tu mediocre putas quod commissum est tibi? Primum ut alta Dei videas, quod est sapientiae: deinde ut excubias pro populo deferas, quod est justitiae: castra defendas, tabernaculumque 68 tuearis, quod est fortitudinis:

te ipsum continentem ac sobrium praestes, quod est temperantiae. 251. Haec virtutum genera principalia constituerunt etiam hi qui foris sunt: sed communitatis superiorem ordinem quam sapientiae judicaverunt; cum sapientia fundamentum sit, justitia opus sit, quod manere non potest, nisi fundamentum habeat. Fundamentum autem Christus est (I Cor. III, 11).

252. Prima ergo fides, quae est sapientiae, ut Salomon dicit, secutus patrem: Initium sapientiae timor Domini (Prov. IX, 10). Et lex dicit: Diliges Dominum Deum tuum, diliges proximum tuum (Deut. VI, 5). Pulchrum est enim ut gratiam tuam atque officia in societatem humani generis conferas. Sed primum illud decorum est, ut quod habes pretiosissimum, hoc est, mentem tuam, qua nihil habes praestantius, Deo deputes. Cum solveris auctori debitum, licet ut opera tua in beneficentiam et adjumenta hominum conferas, atque opem feras necessitatibus, aut pecunia, aut officio, aut etiam quocumque munere; quod late patet in vestro ministerio: pecunia, ut subvenias: debito, ut obligatum liberes: officio, ut servanda suscipias, quae metuat amittere, qui deponenda credidit. 253. Officium est igitur depositum servare ac reddere. Sed interdum commutatio fit, aut tempore, aut necessitate, ut non sit officium reddere quod acceperis; ut si quis contra patriam, opem Barbaris ferens, pecuniam apertus hostis reposcat: aut si cui reddas, cum adsit qui extorqueat: si furenti restituas, cum servare non queat: si insanienti gladium depositum non neges, quo se ille interimat, nonne solvisse contra officium est? Si furto quaesita sciens suscipias, ut fraudetur qui amiserat, nonne contra officium est? 254. Est etiam contra officium (22, quaest. 4, c. Est etiam) nonnumquam solvere promissum, sacramentum custodire: ut Herodes qui juravit quoniam quidquid petitus esset, daret filiae Herodiadis, et necem Joannis praestitit, ne promissum negaret (Matth. XIV, 7 et seq.). Nam de Jephthe quid dicam, qui immolavit filiam, quae sibi victori prima occurrerat, quo votum impleret, quod spoponderat, ut

quidquid sibi primum occurrisset, offerret Deo (Judic. XI, 39)? Melius fuerat 69 nihil tale promittere, quam promissum solvere parricidio.

255. Haec quanti consilii sit prospicere, non ignoratis. Et ideo eligitur levita, qui sacrarium custodiat, ne fallatur consilio, ne fidem deserat, ne mortem timeat, ne quid intemperantius gerat, ut specie ipsa gravitatem praeferat: nec solum animum, sed etiam oculos continentes habere quem deceat; ne vel ipse frontem sobrietatis fortuitus violet occursus; quoniam: Qui viderit mulierem ad concupiscendam eam, adulteravit eam in corde suo (Matth. V, 28). Ita adulterium non solum facti colluvione, sed etiam aspectus intentione committititur. 256. Magna haec videntur, ac nimis severa, sed in magno munere non superflua; quando tanta est levitarum gratia, ut de his Moyses in benedictionibus diceret: Date Levi viros ejus, date Levi manifestos ejus, date Levi sortem suffragii sui, et veritatem ejus viro sancto, quem tentaverunt in tentationibus, maledixerunt super 70 aquam contradictionis. Qui dicit patri suo et matri: Non novi te; et fratres suos non cognovit, et filios suos abdicavit: hic custodit verba tua, et testamentum tuum observavit (Deut. XXXIII, 8 et seq.). 257. Illi ergo viri ejus, et manifesti ejus, qui nihil in corde doli habeant, nihil fraudis occultent, sed verba ejus custodiant, et in corde suo conferant, sicut conferebat et Maria (Luc. II, 19): qui suos parentes officio suo non noverint praeferendos, qui violatores oderint castitatis, pudicitiae ulciscantur injuriam, noverint officiorum tempora; quod majus, quod minus sit, quod cui aptum tempori est, et ut id solum sequantur quod honestum est; sane ubi duo honesta, id quod honestius est, praeponendum putent; hi jure benedicti. 28. Si quis ergo manifestet justitias Dei, incensum imponat: Benedic, Domine, virtutem ipsius, opera manuum ejus suscipe (Deut. XXXIII, 10); ut gratiam prophaeticae benedictionis inveniat apud eum qui vivit et regnat in saecula saeculorum, Amen.

LIBER SECUNDUS

CAPUT I.

VITAE BEATITUDINEM ACQUIRI honestate, quippe qua Christianus gloriam et favores hominum spernens, opera sua Deo soli placere in votis habet. 1. Superiore libro de officiis tractavimus, quae convenire honestati arbitraremur, in qua vitam beatam positam esse nulli dubitaverunt, quam Scriptura appellat vitam aeternam. Tantus enim splendor honestatus est, ut vitam beatam efficiant tranquillitas conscientiae, et securitas innocentiae. Et ideo sicut exortus sol lunae globum et caetera stellarum abscondit lumina, ita fulgor honestatis, ubi vero et incorrupto vibrat decore, caetera quae putantur bona secundum voluptatem corporis, 70 aut secundum saeculum clara et illustria, obumbrat.

2. Beata plane, quae non alienis aestimatur judiciis, sed domesticis percipitur sensibus, tamquam sui judex. Neque enim populares opiniones pro mercede aliqua requirit, neque pro supplicio pavet. Itaque quo minus sequitur gloriam, eo magis super eam eminet. Nam qui gloriam requirunt, his ea merces praesentium, umbra futurorum est, quae impediat vitam aeternam; quod in Evangelio scriptum est: Amen dico vobis, perceperunt mercedem suam (Matth. VI, 2); de his scilicet qui velut tuba canente, vulgare liberalitatem suam quam faciunt circa pauperes, gestiunt. Similiter et de jejunio quod ostentationis causa faciunt: Habent, inquit, mercedem suam.

3. Honestatis igitur est vel misericordiam facere, 71 vel jejunium deferre in abscondito; ut mercedem videaris a solo Deo tuo quaerere, non etiam ab hominibus. Nam qui ab hominibus quaerit, habet mercedem suam: qui autem a Deo, habet vitam aeternam: quam praestare non potest nisi auctor

aeternitatis, sicut illud est: Amen, dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in paradiso (Luc. XXIII, 43). Unde expressius Scriptura vitam aeternam appellavit eam quae sit beata; ut non hominum opinionibus aestimandum relinqueretur, sed divino judicio committeretur.

CAPUT II.

VARIAE PHILOSOPHORUM DE beatitudine opiniones: eam in Dei cognitione ac bonorum operum studio consistere primum probatur ex Evangelio: tum ne a philosophis videatur hoc sumptum, prophetarum testimoniis confirmatur.

4. Itaque philosophi vitam beatam, alii in non dolendo posuerunt, ut Hieronymus: alii in rerum scientia, ut Herillus, qui audiens ab Aristotele et Theophrasto mirabiliter laudatam esse rerum scientiam, solam eam quasi summum bonum posuit; cum illi eam quasi bonum, non quasi solum bonum laudaverint. Alii voluptatem dixerunt, ut Epicurus: alii, ut Callipho, et post eum Diodorus, ita interpretati sunt, ut alter ad voluptatem, alter ad vacuitatem doloris, consortium honestatis adjungerent, quod sine ea non possit esse beata vita. Zenon Stoicus solum et summum bonum quod honestum est: Aristoteles autem vel Theophrastus et caeteri peripatetici in virtute quidem, hoc est honestate vitam beatam esse, sed compleri ejus beatitudinem etiam corporis atque externis bonis asseruerunt. 5. Scriptura autem divina vitam aeternam in cognitione posuit divinitatis, et fructu bonae operationis. Denique utriusque assertionis Evangelicum suppetit testimonium. Nam et de scientia ita dixit Dominus Jesus: Haec est autem vita aeterna, ut cognoscant te solum verum Deum, et quem misisti Jesum Christum (Joan. XVII, 3). Et de operibus ita respondit: Omnis qui reliquerit domum, vel fratres, aut sorores, aut patrem, aut matrem, aut uxorem, aut filios, aut agros propter nomen meum, centuplum accipiet, et vitam aeternam possidebit (Matth. XIX, 29). 6. Sed ne aestimetur hoc recens esse, et prius tractatum a philosophis, quam in Evangelio praedicatum (anteriores

enim Evangelio philosophi, id est, Aristoteles et Theophrastus, vel Zenon atque Hieronymus, sed posteriores prophetis), 72 accipiant quam longe antequam philosophorum nomen audiretur, per os sancti David utrumque aperte videatur expressum. Scriptum est enim: Beatus quem tu erudieris, Domine; et de lege tua docueris eum (Psal. XCIII, 12). Habemus et alibi: Beatus vir qui timet Dominum, in mandatis ejus cupiet nimis (Ps. CXI, 1). Docuimus de cognitione, cujus praemium aeternitatis fructum esse memoravit, adjiciens Propheta, quia in domo hujus timentis Dominum, vel eruditi in Lege, et cupientis in mandatis divinis: Gloria et divitiae, et justitia ejus manet in saeculum saeculi (Ibid. 3). De operibus quoque in eodem psalmo subjunxit vitae aeternae suppetere praemium viro justo. Denique ait: Beatus vir qui miseretur et commodat, disponet sermones suos in judicio; quia in saeculum non commovebitur. In memoria aeterna erit justus (Ibid., 5, 6). Et infra: Dispersit, dedit pauperibus, justitia ejus manet in aeternum (Ibid., 9). 7. Habet ergo vitam aeternam fides, quia fundamentum est bonum: habent et bona facta, quia vir justus et dictis et rebus probatur. Nam si exercitatus sit in sermonibus, et desidiosus in operibus, prudentiam suam factis refellit: et gravius est scire quid facias, nec fecisse quod faciendum cognoveris. Contra quoque strenuum esse in operibus, affectu infidum, ita est ac si vitioso fundamento pulchra culminum velis elevare fastigia: quo plus exstruxeris, plus corruit; quia sine munimento fidei bona opera non possunt manere. Infida statio in portu navem perforat, et arenosum solum cito cedit, nec potest impositae aedificationis sustinere onera. Ibi ergo plenitudo praemii, ubi virtutum perfectio, et quaedam in factis atque dictis aequalitas sobrietatis.

CAPUT III.

PETITA E SCRIPTURIS beatitudinis definitio expenditur, demonstraturque nihil ipsi vel propter externa bona accedere, vel decedere propter incommoda.

8. Et quoniam sola rerum scientia explosa est, vel quasi inanis secundum Philosophiae disputationes superfluas, vel quasi semiperfecta sententia; consideremus quam enodem de eo divina scriptura absolvat sententiam, de quo tam multiplices et implicatas atque confusas videmus esse quaestiones Philosophiae. Nihil enim bonum Scriptura nisi quod honestum asserit, virtutemque in omni rerum statu beatam judicat, quae neque augeatur bonis corporis, vel externis, neque minuatur adversis: nihilque tam beatum, nisi quod a peccato alienum sit, 73 plenum innocentiae, repletum gratiae Dei. Scriptum est enim: Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum, et in via peccatorum non stetit, et in cathedra pestilentiae non sedit: sed in lege Domini fuit voluntas ejus (Ps. I, 1, 2). Et alibi: Beati immaculati in via, qui ambulant in lege Domini (Ps. CXVIII, 1). 9. Innocentia igitur et scientia beatum faciunt. Bonae quoque operationis mercedem esse beatitudinem vitae aeternae superius advertimus (Sup., ca). Restat igitur ut spreto patrocinio voluptatis, aut doloris metu (quorum alterum quasi infractum et molliculum, alterum quasi eviratum et infirmum despuit), in ipsis doloribus vitam beatam eminere demonstret. Quod facile doceri potest, cum legerimus: Beati estis, cum vobis maledicent, et persequentur, et dicent omne malum adversus vos propter justitiam. Gaudete et exsultate, quoniam merces vestra copiosa est in coelo. Sic enim persecuti sunt et prophetas, qui

erant ante vos (Matth. V, 11, 12). Et alibi Qui vult venire post me, tollat crucem suam, et sequatur me (Matth. XVI, 24).

CAPUT IV.

IDEM ARGUMENTUM, SCILICET rebus externis non minui neque augeri beatitudinem, veterum exemplis illustratur.

10. Est ergo beatitudo et in doloribus, quos plena suavitatis virtus comprimit et coercet, ipsa sibi domesticis opibus abundans, vel ad conscientiam, vel ad gratiam. Neque enim parum beatus Moyses, cum Aegyptiorum vallatus populis, et mari clausus, per fluctus sibi et populo patrum pedestrem viam piis meritis invenisset (Exod. XIV, 13). Quando autem fortior, quam tunc cum extremis circumventus periculis non desperabat salutem, sed exigebat triumphum? 11. Quid Aaron, quando se beatiorem credidit, quam tunc quando medius stetit inter vivos ac mortuos, et objectu sui statuit mortem, ne ad vivorum transiret agmina a cadaveribus mortuorum (Num. XVI, 48)? Quid de puero Daniele loquar, qui tam sapiens erat, ut inter leones fame exasperatos, nulla bestialis saevitiae formidine frangeretur: ita alienus a metu, ut posset epulari, nec vereretur, ne ad pastum exemplo sui feras provocaret (Dan. XIV)? 12. Est ergo et in dolore virtus, quae sibi bonae suavitatem exhibeat conscientiae; et ideo indicio est, quod non minuat dolor virtutis voluptatem. Sicut ergo nulla virtuti decessio beatitudinis per dolorem, ita etiam nulla accessio per voluptatem corporis aut commodorum gratiam. De quibus pulchre Apostolus ait: Quae mihi lucra fuerunt, haec duxi propter Christum detrimenta esse (Phil. III, 7, 8). Et addidit: Propter quem omnia damna duxi, et aestimo ut stercora, ut Christum lucrifaciam (Hebr. XI, 26). 13. Denique Moyses damnum suum credidit thesauros esse Aegyptiorum, et opprobrium Dominicae crucis praetulit: nec tunc dives cum abundaret pecunia, nec postea pauper cum

egeret alimento; nisi forte tunc alicui minus beatus 74 videretur fuisse, cum in deserto quotidiana alimonia sibi et populo suo deforet. Sed quod summi boni ac beatitudinis nemo negare audeat, manna ei, hoc est, panis Angelorum ministrabatur e coelo: carnis quoque quotidiana pluvia totius plebis epulis redundabat (Exod. XVI, 13 et seq.). 14. Eliae quoque sancto panis ad victum deerat, si quaereretur (III Reg. XVII, 6): sed non videbatur deesse, quia non quaerebatur. Itaque diurno corvorum obsequio mane panis, caro ad vesperam deferebatur. Numquid ideo minus beatus, quia pauper erat sibi? Minime. Immo eo magis beatus, quia erat Deo dives. Aliis enim quam sibi divitem esse praestat, ut iste erat, qui tempore famis cibum a vidua petebat, largiturus ut hydria farinae per triennium et sex menses non deficeret, et quotidianos usus olei vas viduae inopi sufficeret ac ministraret (Ibid., 14). Merito ibi volebat Petrus esse, ubi istos videbat (Matth. XVII, 4). Merito in monte cum Christo in gloria apparuerunt; quia et ipse pauper factus est, cum dives esset. 15. Nullum ergo adminiculum praestant divitiae ad vitam beatam. Quod evidenter Dominus in Evangelio demonstravit dicens: Beati pauperes, quoniam vestrum est regnum Dei. Beati qui nunc esuriunt et sitiunt, quia saturabuntur. Beati qui nunc fletis, quia ridebitis (Luc. VI, 20 et seq.). Itaque paupertatem, famem, dolorem, quae putantur mala, non solum impedimento non esse ad vitam beatam, sed etiam adjumento evidentissime pronuntiatum est.

CAPUT V.

QUAE PUTANTUR BONA, plerumque impedimento esse ad beatam vitam: et quae mala, materiam esse virtutum: quod beatitudinis ac aliis exemplis confirmatur.

16. Sed et illa quae videntur bona, divitias, satietatem, laetitiam expertem doloris, detrimento esse ad fructum beatitudinis, Dominico declaratum judicio liquet, cum dicitur: Vae vobis divitibus, quia habetis consolationem vestram! Vae vobis qui saturati estis, quia esurietis (Ibid., 24 et seq.)! Et illis qui rident, quia lugebunt. Sic ergo non solum adminiculo non sunt ad vitam beatam corporis, aut externa bona, sed etiam dispendio sunt. 17. Inde enim beatus Nabuthe etiam cum lapidaretur a divite (III Reg. XXI, 13), quia pauper et infirmus adversus opes regias, solo erat affectu et religione dives, ut pecunia regali non commutaret paternae vineae haereditatem: eoque perfectus, quia sanguine proprio defenderet jura majorum suorum. Inde quoque miser Achab etiam suo judicio, quia pauperem necari fecerat; ut ejus possideret vineam. 18. Certum est solum et summum bonum esse virtutem, eamque abundare solam ad vitae fructum beatae: nec externis aut corporis bonis, sed virtute sola vitam praestari beatam, per quam vita aeterna acquiritur. Vita enim beata fructus praesentium: vita autem aeterna spes futurorum est. 75 19. Sunt tamen qui in hoc corpore tam infirmo, tam fragili, impossibilem vitam beatam putent, in quo necesse est angi, dolere, deplorare, aegrescere: quasi vero ego in corporis exsultatione dicam vitam beatam consistere, et non in altitudine sapientiae, suavitate conscientiae, virtutis sublimitate. Non enim in passione esse, sed victorem esse passionis beatum est, nec frangi temporalis motu doloris. 20. Pone accidere haec quae

gravia ad vim doloris feruntur, caecitatem, exsilium, famem, stuprum filiae, amissionem liberorum. Quis neget beatum Isaac, qui non videbat in senectute, et beatitudines suis benedictionibus conferebat (Gen. XVII, 1 et seq.)? Annon beatus Jacob qui profugus patria domo, mercenarius pastor exsilium sustinuit, filiae pudicitiam ingemuit esse temeratam, famem pertulit (Gen. XXXI, 1, et seq.)? Non ergo beati quorum fide Deus accipit testimonium, cum dicitur: Deus Ahrabam, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob (Gen. XXXIV, 1 et seq.)? Misera est servitus, sed non miser Joseph; immo plane beatus, cum dominae libidines in servitute positus coerceret (Gen. XXXIV, 8 et seq.) Quid de sancto David loquar, qui trium filiorum deploravit obitum (II Reg. XIII, 3), et quod his durius, incestum filiae (II Reg. XVIII, 33)? Quomodo non beatus, de cujus successionne beatitudinis auctor exortus est, qui plurimos fecit beatos? Beati enim qui non viderunt et crediderunt (Joan. XX, 29). Fuerunt et ipsi in sensu infirmitatis, sed evaluerunt de infirmitate fortes. Quid laboriosius autem sancto Job vel in domus incendio, vel filiorum decem interitu momentaneo, doloribus corporeis? Numquid minus beatus, quam si illa non pertulisset, in quibus magis probatus est (Job I, 14 seq.; II, 7 seq.)? 21. Esto tamen fuisse in illis aliquid acerbitatis, quem virtus animi non abscondit dolorem. Neque enim profundum mare negaverim, quia vadosa sunt littora; neque coelum lucidum, quia interdum obtexitur nubibus: neque terram fecundam, quia aliquibus locis jejuna glarea est: aut laetas segetes, quia intermixtam solent habere sterilem avenam. Similiter puta beatae messem conscientiae interpellari aliquo acerbo doloris. Nonne totius manipulis vitae beatae, si quid forte accidit adversi atque amaritudinis, tamquam sterilis avena absconditur, aut tamquam lolii amaritudo frumenti suavitate obducitur? Sed jam ad proposita pergamus. 76

CAPUT VI.

De utili non quaestuoso illo, sed justo et honesto, quod etiam damnis quaeritur: ac dividitur in utile corporeum et pietatis.

22. Superiore libro ita divisionem fecimus, ut primo loco esset honestum ac decorum, a quo officia ducerentur, secundo loco quid utile. Et quemadmodum in primo diximus quia inter honestum et decorum est quaedam distinctio, quae magis intelligi quam explicari possit: sic et cum utile tractamus, considerandum videtur quid utilius. 23. Utilitatem autem non pecuniarii lucri aestimatione subducimus, sed acquisitione pietatis; sicut Apostolus ait: Pietas autem ad omnia utilis est, promissionem habens vitae praesentis et futurae (I Tim. IV, 8). Itaque in scripturis divinis, si diligenter quaeramus, saepe invenimus quod honestum est, utile vocari: Omnia mihi licent, sed non omnia utilia sunt (I Cor., VI, 12). Supra de vitiis loquebatur. Hoc ergo dicit: Licet peccare, sed non decet. In potestate sunt peccata, sed non sunt honesta. Luxuriari promptum, sed non justum. Non enim Deo esca, sed ventri colligitur. 24. Ergo quia quod utile, id etiam justum: justum est ut serviamus Christo qui nos redemit; ideo justi, qui pro ejus nomine morti se obtulerunt: injusti qui declinaverunt, de quibus dicit: Quae utilitas insanguine meo (Psal. XXIX, 10); id est, qui justitiae meae profectus? Unde et illi: Alligemus justum, quia inutilis est nobis Esai. III, 10), id est, injustus qui nos arguit, condemnat, corripit. Licet hoc possit etiam ad avaritiam hominum impiorum derivari, quae perfidiae vicina est; sicut in Juda proditore legimus, qui avaritiae studio et pecuniae cupiditate, laqueum proditionis incurrit atque incidit. 25. De hac igitur tractandum est utilitate, quae sit plena honestatis, sicut ipsis verbis definivit Apostolus

dicens: Hoc autem ad utilitatem vestram dico, non ut laqueum injiciam vobis, sed ad id quod honestum est (I Cor. VII, 35). Liquet igitur quod honestum est, utile esse; et quod utile, honestum: et quod utile justum; et quod justum, utile. Neque enim mihi ad mercatores lucri cupidine avaros, sed ad filios sermo est, et sermo de Officiis, quae vobis quos elegi in ministerium Domini, inculcare gestio atque infundere; ut ea quae mentibus ac moribus vestris usu atque institutione inolita atque 77 impressa sunt, etiam sermone ac disciplina aperiantur. 26. Itaque de utilitate dicturus, utar illo versiculo prophetico: Declina cor meum in testimonia tua, et non in avaritiam (Psal., 118, 36); ne utilitatis sonus excitet pecuniae cupiditatem. Denique aliqui habent: Declina cor meum in testimonia tua, et non ad utilitatem; hoc est, illam quaestuum nundinas aucupantem utilitatem, illam usu hominum ad pecuniae studia inflexam ac derivatam. Vulgo enim hoc solum dicunt utile, quod quaestuosum: nos autem de ea tractamus utilitate, quae damnis quaeritur; ut Christum lucremur, cujus quaestus est pietas cum sufficientia (I Tim. VI, 6). Magnus profecto quaestus, quo pietatem acquirimus, quae apud Deum dives est, non caducis facultatibus, sed muneribus aeternis; in quibus non tentatio lubrica, sed constans et perpetua sit gratia. 27. Est igitur utilitas alia corporalis, alia pietatis, sicut divisit Apostolus: Corporalis enim exercitatio ad modicum, inquit, utilis est: pietas autem ad omnia utilis est (I Tim. IV, 8). Quid autem tam honestum, quam integritas? Quid tam decorum, quam immaculatum servare corpus, et inviolatum atque intaminatum pudorem? Quid etiam tam decorum, quam ut vidua uxor defuncto conjugi fidem servet? Quid etiam hoc utilius, quo regnum coeleste acquiritur? Sunt enim qui se castraverunt propter regnum coelorum (Matth., XIX, 12).

CAPUT VII.

UTILITATEM IDEM ESSE ac honestatem; nihil autem utilius dilectione, quae mansuetudine, affabilitate, beneficentia, justitia aliisque virtutibus comparatur; quemadmodum ex Moysis atque Davidis historia datur intelligi: postremo et e dilectione fidem nasci, et rursus e fide dilectionem.

28. Est igitur non solum familiare contubernium honestatis et utilitatis, sed eadem quoque utilitas, quae honestas. Ideo et ille qui regnum coelorum volebat omnibus aperire, non quod sibi utile quaerebat, sed quod omnibus. Unde ordo quidam nobis et gradus faciendus est, etiam ab his usitatis et communibus ad ea quae sunt praecellentia; ut ex pluribus utilitatis colligamus profectum. 29. Ac primum noverimus nihil tam utile, quam diligi: nihil tam inutile, quam non amari; nam odio haberi exitiale ac nimis capitale arbitror. Itaque id agamus, ut omni sedulitate commendemus existimationem opinionemque nostram, ac primum placiditate mentis et animi benignitate influamus in affectum hominum. Popularis enim et grata est omnibus bonitas, nihilque quod tam facile illabatur humanis sensibus. Ea si mansuetudine morum ac facilitate, tum moderatione praecepti, et affabilitate sermonis, verborum honore, patienti quoque sermonum vice, modestiaeque adjuvetur gratia, incredibile quantum procedit ad cumulum dilectionis. 78. 30. Legimus enim non solum in privatis; sed etiam in ipsis regibus, quantum facilitas blandae affabilitatis profecerit, aut superbia verborumque obfuerit tumor; ut regna ipsa labefactaret, et potestatem solveret. Jam si quis consilio, usu, ministerio, officiis popularem comprehendat gratiam: aut si quis periculum suum pro universa plebe

offerat; non est dubium quod tantum charitatis a plebe in eum refundatur, ut populus salutem ejus et gratiam sibi praeferat.

31. Quantas Moyses a populo illatas absorbebat contumelias (Exod. XXXII, 11 et seq.): et cum Dominus in insolentes vindicare vellet; se tamen pro populo offerebat frequenter, ut indignationi divinae plebem subduceret! Quam miti sermone post injurias appellabat populum, consolabatur in laboribus, delinibat oraculis, fovebat operibus: et cum Deo constanter loqueretur (Gen., XXXIII, 8 et seq.); homines tamen humili et grata appellatione affari solebat! Merito aestimatus est supra homines, ut et vultum ejus non possent intendere (Gen., XXXIV, 29 et seq.), et sepulturam ejus non repertam crederent (Deut., XXXIV, 6); quia sic sibi totius plebis mentes devinxerat, ut plus eum pro mansuetudine diligerent, quam pro factis admirarentur (I Reg. X, 12, et alibi). 32. Quid ejus imitator sanctus David, electus ex omnibus ad plebem regendam, quam mitis et blandus, humilis spiritu, sedulus corde, facilis affectu! Ante regnum se pro omnibus offerebat: rex cum omnibus aequabat suam militiam, et partiebatur laborem: fortis in praelio, mansuetus in imperio, patiens in convicio, ferre magis promptus quam referre injurias. Ideo tam charus erat omnibus, ut juvenis ad regnum etiam invitus peteretur, resistens cogeretur, senex ne praelio interesset a suis rogaretur; quod mallent omnes pro ipso periclitari, quam illum pro omnibus.

33. Ita sibi gratis officiis plebem obligaverat (II Reg., II, 2, et seq.), primum, ut in discordiis populi exsulare in Hebron mallet, quam in Hierusalem regnare: deinde, ut etiam in hoste positam virtutem diligeret: justitiam etiam his qui arma contra se tulerant aeque ac suis praestandam putaret: denique (II Reg., III, 32 et seq.) fortissimum adversae partis propugnatorem Abner ducem et inferentem praelia miratus est, et orantem pacis gratiam non aspernatus, honoravit convivio: interemptum insidiis doluit et flevit, prosecutus exsequias honestavit; mortem ultus, conscientiae

fidem praestitit, quam filio inter haereditaria jura transcripsit, magis sollicitus, ne innocentis mortem inultam relinqueret, quam quo suam mortem doleret. 34. Non mediocre istud, praesertim in rege, sic obire humilitatis munia, ut communem se exhiberet etiam infimis, alieno periculo cibum non quaerere, potum recusare (II Reg. XXIII, 13 et seq.), peccatum fateri, seque ipsum pro populo offerre morti, ut in se divina indignatio converteretur, cum ferienti angelo offerens se diceret: Ecce sum, ego peccavi, 79 et ego pastor malum feci, et iste grex quid fecit? Fiat manus tua in me. 35. Nam quid alia dicam, quod dolum meditantibus os suum non aperiebat, et, tamquam non audiens, nullum sermonem referendum putabat: non respondebat conviciis: cum sibi derogaretur, orabat: cum malediceretur, benedicebat? Ambulans in simplicitate, et superborum fugitans, sectator immaculatorum, qui cinerem miscebat alimentis suis, cum peccata propria deploraret, et potum suum temperabat fletibus (Psal. XXXVII, 14, et alibi). Merito sic expetitus est ab universo populo, ut venirent ad eum omnes tribus Israel dicentes: Ecce nos ossa tua et caro tua sumus: heri et nudiustertius cum esset Saul, et regnaret super nos; tu eras qui producebas et inducebas Israel. Et dixit tibi Dominus: Tu pasces populum meum (II Reg. V, 1 et seq.). Et quid plura de eo dicam, de quo hujusmodi Dei processit sententia, ut de eo diceret: inveni David secundum cor meum (Psal. LXXXVIII, 21)? Quis enim in sanctitate cordis et justitia sicut iste ambulavit, ut impleret voluntatem Dei: propter quem et delinquentibus posteris ejus venia data, et praerogativa est reservata haeredibus (III Reg. XI, 12, 13)?

36. Quis igitur non diligeret eum, quem videbat ita charum amicis; ut quia ipse sincere amicos diligebat, aeque diligi se a suis amicis arbitraretur? Denique parentes eum filiis suis, filii praeferebant parentibus. Unde graviter indignatus Saul, percutere Jonathan filium hasta voluit; quia pluris apud eum valere David amicitiam judicabat, quam vel pietatem, vel auctoritatem

paternam (I Reg. XX, 30 et seq.). 37. Etenim ad incentivum charitatis communis plurimum proficit, si quis vicem amantibus reddat, nec minus redamare se probet, quam ipse amatur, idque amicitiae fidelis pateat exemplis. Quid enim tam populare, quam gratia? Quid tam insitum naturae, quam ut diligentem diligas? Quid tam inolitum atque impressum affectibus humanis, quam ut eum amare inducas in animum, a quo te amari velis? Merito sapiens dicit: Perde pecuniam propter fratrem et amicum (Eccli. XXIX, 13). Et alibi: Amicum salutare non erubescam, et a facie illius non me abscondam (Eccli. XXII, 31). Siquidem vitae et immortalitatis medicamentum in amico esse Ecclesiasticus sermo testatur (Eccli. VI, 16): et summum in charitate praesidium nemo dubitaverit, cum Apostolus dicat: Omnia suffert, omnia credit, omnia sperat, omnia sustinet, charitas numquam cadit (I Cor. XIII, 7 et seq.). 38. Ideo David non cecidit, quia charus fuit omnibus, et diligi a subjectis quam timeri maluit. Timor enim temporalis tutaminis servat excubias, nescit diuturnitatis custodiam. Itaque ubi timor decesserit, audacia obrepit; quoniam fidem non timor cogit, sed affectus exhibet. 39. Prima ergo ad commendationem nostri est charitas. Bonum est ergo testimonium habere de plurimorum dilectione. Hinc nascitur 80 fides, ut committere se tuo affectui non vereantur etiam alieni, quem pluribus charum adverterint. Similiter etiam per fidem ad charitatem pervenitur; ut qui uni aut duobus praestiterit fidem, tamquam influat in animos universorum, et omnium acquirat gratiam.

CAPUT VIII.

NIHIL AD CONCILIANDAM gratiam magis valere quam consilia: sed eis confidere posse neminem, nisi justitia nitantur ac prudentia: quantum autem hae duae virtutes eluxerint in Salomone, ex ipsius celeberrimo judicio palam fieri.

40. Duo igitur haec ad commendationem nostri plurimum operantur, charitas et fides; et tertium hoc, si habeas quod in te admiratione dignum plerique existiment, et jure honorandum putent. 41. Et quia consiliorum usus maxime conciliat homines, ideo prudentia et justitia in unoquoque desideratur, et ea exspectantur a pluribus; ut in quo ea sint, illi deferatur fides, quod possit utile consilium ac fidele desideranti dare. Quis enim ei se committat, quem non putet plus sapere, quam ipse sapiat qui quaerit consilium? Necesse est igitur ut praestantior sit a quo consilium petitur, quam ille est qui petit. Quid enim consulas hominem, quem non arbitreris posse melius aliquid reperire, quam ipse intelligis? 42. Quod si eum inveneris qui vivacitate ingenii, mentis vigore atque auctoritate praestet, et accedat eo ut exemplo et usu paratior sit, praesentia solvat pericula, prospiciat futura, denuntiet imminentia, argumentum expediat, remedium ferat in tempore, paratus sit non solum ad consulendum, sed etiam ad subveniendum; huic ita fides habetur, ut dicat qui consilium petit: Et si mala mihi evenerint per illum, sustineo (Eccli. XXII, 31).

43. Hujusmodi igitur viro salutem nostram et existimationem committimus, qui sit, ut supra diximus, justus et prudens. Facit enim justitia, ut nullus sit fraudis metus: facit etiam prudentia, ut nulla sit erroris suspicio. Promptius tamen nos justo viro quam prudenti committimus, ut

secundum usum vulgi loquar. Caeterum sapientum definitione, in quo una virtus est, concurrunt caeterae, nec potest sine justitia esse prudentia. Quod etiam in nostris invenimus; dicit enim David: Justus miseretur et fenerat (Psal. XXXVI, 21). Quid feneret justus, alibi dicit: Jucundus vir qui miseretur et fenerat, disponet sermones suos in judicio (Psal. CXI, 5). 44. Ipsum illud nobile Salomonis judicium nonne sapientiae plenum ac justitiae est? Itaque spectemus illud si ita est. Duae, inquit mulieres in conspectu regis Salomonis steterunt, et dixit una ad eum: Audi me, domine. Ego et 81 haec mulier in uno habitantes cubiculo, ante diem tertium partu edito, singulos filios suscepimus, et erramus una, arbiter nullus domi, nec ulla alia nobiscum femina, nisi nos solae: et mortuus est filius ejus hac nocte, ut obdormivit super eum: et surrexit media nocte, et accepit filium meum de sinu meo, et collocavit eum in gremio suo, et filium suum mortuum posuit in sinu meo. Et surrexi mane, ut lactarem parvulum, et inveni mortuum. Et consideravi illum diluculo, et non erat filius meus. Et respondit altera: Non, sed filius meus est, qui vivit: filius autem tuus, qui mortuus est (III Reg. III, 16 et seq.). 45. Et haec erat contentio, cum utraque filium sibi vindicarent superstitem: defunctum autem suum negarent. Tunc rex jussit afferri machaeram, et infantem dividi, ac singulas partes dari singulis: dimidiam uni, et dimidiam alteri. Exclamabat mulier quae vero erat affectu percita: Nequaquam, domine, infantem dividas: detur potius illi, et vivat, et non interficias eum. At illa respondit altera: Neque meus, neque hujus sit infans, dividite eum. Et statuit rex dari infantem ei mulieri quae dixerat: Nolite interficere eum, sed date eum illi mulieri; quia mota sunt, inquit, viscera ejus in filio suo.

46. Itaque non immerito aestimatus est intellectus Dei in eo esse; quoniam quae occulta sunt Deo? Quid autem occultius internorum viscerum testimonio, in quae sapientis intellectus velut quidam pietatis descendit arbiter, et velut quamdam genitalis alvi vocem eruit; quia maternus patuit

affectus, qui eligeret filium suum vel apud alienam vivere, quam in conspectu matris necari. 47. Sapientiae igitur fuit latentes distinguere conscientias, ex occultis eruere veritatem; et velut quadam machaera, ita spiritus gladio penetrare non solum uteri, sed etiam animae et mentis viscera: justitiae quoque, ut quae suum necaverat, alienum non tolleret; sed vera mater reciperet suum. Denique etiam Scriptura hoc pronuntiavit: Audivit, inquit, omnis Israel hoc judicium, quod judicavit rex: et timuerunt a facie regis, eo quod intellectus Dei in eo esset, ut faceret justitiam (III Reg. III, 28). Denique et ipse Salomon ita poposcit sapientiam, ut daretur sibi cor prudens audire et judicare cum justitia (Ibid., 9).

CAPUT IX.

QUAMVIS INDIVIDUAE SINT justitia atque prudentia, vulgi tamen cardinales virtutes distinguentis ingenio serviendum esse.

48. Liquet igitur etiam secundum scripturam divinam, quae antiquior est, sapientiam sine justitia esse non posse; quia ubi una earum virtutum, ibi utraque est. Daniel quoque 82 quam sapienter alta interrogatione fraudulentae accusationis deprehendit mendacium, ut calumniatorum sibi responsio non conveniret! Prudentiae igitur fuit vocis suae testimonio reos prodere: justitiae quoque, nocentes supplicio dare, innocentem subducere (Dan. XIII, 54 et seq.). 49. Est ergo individuum sapientiae atque justitiae conturbernium: sed vulgi usu dividitur una quaedam forma virtutum, ut temperantia sit in despiciendis voluptatibus: fortitudo spectetur in laboribus et periculis: prudentia in delectu bonorum, sciens commoda et adversa distinguere: justitia quae sit bona custos juris alieni, et vindex proprietatis, suum cuique conservans. Sit ergo nobis communis opinionis gratia quadripartita haec facta divisio, ut ab illa subtili disputatione philosophicae sapientiae, quae limandae veritatis causa quasi ex adyto quodam eruitur, retrahentes pedem, forensem usum ac popularem sensum sequamur. Hac igitur divisione servata, revertamur ad propositum.

CAPUT X.

SALUTEM JUSTI VIRI quam prudentis consilio magis committi: eum autem qui justitiam ac prudentiam in se conjunxerit, ab omnibus expeti solere: hujus rei exemplum fuisse tum Salomonem, de quo verba reginae Sabae exponuntur; tum Josephum, et Danielem.

50. Prudentissimo cuique causam nostram committimus, et ab eo consilium promptius quam a caeteris poscimus. Praestat tamen fidele justi consilium viri, et sapientissimi ingenio frequenter praeponderat. Utilia enim vulnera amici, quam aliorum ascula (Prov. XXVII, 6). Deinde quia justi judicium est, sapientis autem argumentum: in illo censura disceptationis, in hoc calliditas inventionis. 51. Quod si utrumque connectas, erit magna consiliorum salubritas, quae ab universis spectatur admiratione sapientiae et amore justitiae; ut omnes quaerant audire sapientiam ejus viri, in quo utriusque virtutis copula sit: sicut quaerebant omnes reges terrae videre faciem Salomonis, et audire sapientiam ejus; ita ut et Saba regina veniret ad eum, et tentaret eum in quaestionibus: Et venit, et omnia locuta est quae habebat in corde suo, et audivit omnem sapientiam Solomonis, nec ullum verbum praeterivit eam (III Reg. X, 2 et 3). 52. Quae sit ista, quam nihil praetereat, nec sit aliquid quod ei non annuntiaverit verus Salomon, cognosce, o homo, ex his quae audis loquentem: Verus est, inquit, sermo quem audivi in terra mea de sermonibus tuis, et de prudentia tua, et non credidi his qui dicebant mihi, donec veni, et viderunt oculi mei: et nunc non est nec dimidia quidem pars secundum ea quae annuntiabant mihi. Apposuisti bona super omnia quae audivi 83 in terra mea. Beatae mulieres tuae, et beati pueri tui qui assistunt tibi, qui audiunt omnem prudentiam

tuam (Ibid., 6 et seq.). Intellige convivium veri Salomonis, et quae apponuntur in eo convivio, intellige sapienter, et considera in qua terra congregatio nationum audierit famam sapientiae verae atque justitiae, et quibus eum viderit oculis, contemplantibus utique ea quae non videntur. Quoniam quae videntur, temporalia sunt: quae autem non videntur, aeterna (II Cor. IV, 14). 53. Quae sunt beatae mulieres, nisi illae de quibus dicitur, quia multae verbum Dei audiunt et pariunt (Luc. XI, 28)? Et alibi: Quicumque enim verbum Dei fecerit, ipse meus frater et soror et mater est (Matth. XII, 50). Qui etiam pueri tui beati qui assistunt, nisi Paulus qui dicebat: Usque in hunc diem sto protestans minori ac majori (Act. XXVI, 22), Simeon qui exspectabat in templo ut videret consolationem Israel (Luc. II, 25)? Quomodo enim dimitti posceret, nisi quia assistens Domino, discedendi habere facultatem non poterat, nisi voluntatem Domini adeptus esset? Exempli causa propositus est nobis Salomon, a quo certatim ut audiretur ejus sapientia, postulabatur.

54. Joseph quoque nec in carcere feriatus erat, quo minus de rebus incertis consuleretur. Cujus consilium Aegypto universae profuit; ut non sentiret septem annorum sterilitatem, aliosque populos miserae famis levaret jejunio (Gen. XLI, 10 et seq.). 55. Daniel ex captivis, regalium consultorum arbiter factus, consiliis suis emendavit praesentia, annuntiavit futura. Ex his enim quae frequenter interpretatus ostenderat veri se esse annuntium, fides ei in omnibus deferebatur (Dan. II, 10 et seq.).

CAPUT XI.

TERTIA CONDITIO QUAE ad fidem alicui conciliandam valet, in Moyse, Daniele ac Josepho fulsisse ostenditur.

56. Sed etiam tertius locus de his qui admiratione digni aestimarentur, Joseph, Salomonis et Danielis exemplo decursus videtur. Nam quid de Moyse loquar, cujus omnis Israel quotidie consilia praestolabatur, quorum vita fidem faciebat prudentiae, admirationemque ejus augebat? Quis se non committeret consilio Moysi, cui seniores, si qua supra suum intellectum et virtutem esse arbitrarentur, dijudicanda servabant? 57. Quis Danielis consilium refugeret, de quo Deus ipse dixit: Quis Daniele sapientior (Ezech. XXVIII, 3)? Aut quomodo homines de eorum dubitare mentibus possent, quibus Deus tantam conferebat gratiam? Moysi consilio bella conficiebantur: Moysi meritis de coelo affluebat alimonia, potus e petra. 58. Quam purus Danielis animus, ut mulceret barbaros mores, mitigaret leones (Dan. XIV, 39)! Quae in illo temperantia! Quanta animi et corporis 84 continentia! Nec immerito mirabilis factus omnibus, quando (quod vehementer admirantur homines) regalibus fultus amicitiis, aurum non quaerebat, nec delatum sibi honorem pluris faciebat quam fidem. Quin etiam periclitari malebat pro lege Domini, quam pro gratia hominis inflecti.

59. Nam de sancti Joseph (quem pene praeterieram) castimonia et justitia quid dicam; quarum altera illecebras beriles respuit, refutavit praemia: altera mortem contempsit, metum repulit, carcerem praeoptavit (Gen. XXXIX, 8 et seq.)? Quis hunc privatae causae ad consulendum idoneum non judicaret, cujus ferax animus et mens fertilis, temporis sterilitatem quodam consiliorum et cordis ubere fecundavit (Gen. XLI, 25 et seq.).

CAPUT XII.

NEMINEM AB HOMINE vitiis contaminato consilium poscere; nec rursus a moroso et difficili: sed ab eo cujusmodi exemplar habemus in Scripturis.

60. Advertimus igitur quod in acquirendis consiliis plurimum adjungat vitae probitas, virtutum praerogativa, benevolentiae usus, facilitatis gratia. Quis enim in coeno fontem requirat? Quis e turbida aqua potum petat? Itaque ubi luxuria est, ubi intemperantia, ubi vitiorum confusio; quis inde sibi aliquid hauriendum existimet? Quis non despiciat morum colluvionem? Quis utilem causae alienae judicet, quem videt inutilem vitae suae? Quis iterum improbum, malevolum, contumeliosum non fugiat, et ad nocendum paratum; quis non eum omni studio declinet? 61. Quis vero quamvis instructum ad consilii opem, difficili tamen accessu, ambiat; in quo sit illud, tanquam si quis aquae fontem praecludat? Quid enim prodest habere sapientiam, si consilium neges? Si consulendi intercludas copiam, clausisti fontem; ut nec aliis influat, nec tibi prosit. 62. Pulchre autem et de illo convenit, qui habens prudentiam, commaculat eam vitiorum sordibus, eo quod aquae exitum contaminet. Degeneres animos vita arguit. Quomodo enim eum potes judicare consilio superiorem, quem videas inferiorem moribus? Supra me debet esse, cui me committere paro. An vero idoneum eum putabo, qui mihi det consilium, quod non det sibi: et mihi eum vacare credam, qui sibi non vacet: cujus animum voluptates occupent, libido devincat, avaritia subjuget, cupiditas perturbet, quatiat metus? Quomodo hic consilii locus, ubi nullus quieti? 63. Admirandus mihi et suspiciendus consiliarius (Esai. III, 3), quem propitius Dominus Patribus dedit, offensus

abstulit. Hujus imitator debet esse qui potest consilium dare, et alienam a vitiis custodire prudentiam, quoniam nihil inquinatum in illam incurrit. 85

CAPUT XIII.

DECLARATA DIVINIS TESTIMONIIS sapientiae pulchritudine, ad probandam ejus cum virtutibus aliis societatem transit oratio.

64. Quis igitur tanquam vultu speciem praeferat pulchritudinis, et belluinis posterioribus ac ferinis unguibus formae superioris dehonestet gratiam; cum tam admirabilis et praeclara forma virtutum sit, et specialiter pulchritudo sapientiae, sicut series Scripturae indicat? Est enim haec speciosior sole, et super omnem stellarum dispositionem luci comparata invenitur prior. Lucem etenim hanc suscipit nox, sapientiam autem non vincit malitia (Sap. VII, 29).

65. Diximus de ejus pulchritudine, et Scripturae testimonio comprobavimus: superest ut doceamus Scripturae auctoritate nullum ei contubernium cum vitiis esse, sed inviduam cum caeteris virtutibus conjunctionem: cujus spiritus est disertus, sine inquinamento, certus, sanctus, amans bonum, acutus, qui nihil vetet benefacere, benignus, stabilis, securus, omnem habens virtutem, omnia prospiciens (Sap. VII, 22 et seq.). Et infra: Sobrietatem docet, et justitiam et virtutem (Sap. VIII, 7).

CAPUT XIV.

PRUDENTIAM CUM OMNIBUS virtutibus conjunctam esse, maxime vero cum opum despicientia.

66. Omnia igitur operatur prudentia, cum omnibus bonis habet consortium. Nam quomodo potest utile consilium dare, nisi habeat justitiam, ut induat constantiam, mortem non formidet, nullo terrore, nullo revocetur metu, nulla adulatione a vero deflectendum putet: exsilium non refugiat, quae noverit sapienti patriam mundum esse: egestatem non timeat, quae nihil deesse sapienti sciat, cui totus mundus divitiarum est? Quid enim praecelsius illo viro, qui auro moveri nesciat, contemptum habeat pecuniarum, et velut ex arce quadam despiciat hominum cupiditates? Quod qui fecerit, hunc homines supra hominem esse arbitrantur: Quis est, inquit, hic, et laudabimus eum? Fecit enim mirabilia in vita sua (Eccli. XXXI, 9). Quomodo enim non admirandus, qui divitias spernit, 86 quas plerique saluti propriae praetulerunt? 67. Decet igitur omnes censura frugalitatis, continentiae auctoritas, et maxime eum qui honore praestet, ne praeeminentem virum thesauri possideant sui, et pecuniis serviat, qui praeest liberis. Illud magis decet, ut supra thesaurum sit animo, et infra amicum obsequio. Humilitas enim gratiam auget. Haec plena laudis et digna primario viro, non communem cum Tyriis negotiatoribus et Galaaditis mercatoribus habere turpis lucri cupidinem, nec omne bonum locare in pecunia, et tamquam mercenario munere quotidianos numerare quaestus, calculari compendia.

CAPUT XV.

DE LIBERALITATE. QUIBUSNAM potissimum impartienda: et qua ratione illam tenuioris census homines opera et consiliis exerceant.

68. Quod si ab his sobrium gerere animum laudabile est, quanto illud praestantius si dilectionem multitudinis liberalitate acquiras, neque superflua circa importunos, neque restricta circa indigentes! 69. Plurima autem genera liberalitatis sunt, non solum quotidiano sumptu egentibus, quo vitam sustinere suam possint, disponere ac dispensare alimoniam; verum etiam his qui publice egere verecundantur, consulere ac subvenire, quatenus communis egenorum alimonia non exhauriatur. De eo enim loquor qui praeest alicui muneri, ut si officium sacerdotis gerat, aut dispensatoris; ut de his suggerat episcopo, nec reprimat si quem positum in necessitate aliqua cognoverit, aut dejectum opibus ad inopiae necessitatem redactum: maxime si non effusione adolescentiae, sed direptione alicujus et amissione patrimonii in eam reciderit injuriam, ut sumptum exercere diurnum non queat. 70. Summa etiam liberalitas, captos redimere, eripere ex hostium manibus, subtrahere neci homines, et maxime feminas turpitudini, reddere parentibus liberos, parentes liberis, cives patriae restituere. Nota sunt haec nimis Illyrici vastitate et Thraciae: quanti ubique venales 87 erant toto captivi orbe, quos si revoces, unius provinciae numerum explere non possint! Fuerunt tamen qui et quos Ecclesiae redemerunt, in servitutem revocare vellent, ipsa graviores captivitate, qui inviderent alienam misericordiam. Ipsi si in captivitatem venissent, servirent liberi: si venditi fuissent, servitutis ministerium non recusarent; et volunt alienam libertatem rescindere, qui suam servitutem non possent rescindere, nisi forte pretium

recipere emptori placeret: in quo tamen non rescinditur servitus, sed redimitur. 71. Praecipua est igitur liberalitas, redimere captivos, et maxime ab hoste barbaro, qui nihil deferat humanitatis ad misericordiam, nisi quod avaritia reservaverit ad redemptionem: aes alienum subire, si debitor solvendo non sit, atque arctetur ad solutionem, quae sit jure debita, et inopia destituta: enutrire parvulos, pupillos tueri. 72. Sunt etiam qui virgines orbatas parentibus tuendae pudicitiae gratia connubio locent, nec solum studio, sed etiam sumptu adjuvent. Est etiam genus illud liberalitatis quod Apostolus docet: Ut si quis fidelis habet viduas, subministret illis, ut earum alimoniis Ecclesia non gravetur, ut his quae vere viduae sunt, sufficiat (I Tim. V, 16). 73. Utilis igitur hujusmodi liberalitas, sed non communis omnibus. Sunt enim plerique etiam viri boni, qui tenues sunt censu, contenti quidem exiguo ad sui usum, sed non idonei ad subsidium levandae paupertatis alienae; tamen suppetit aliud beneficentiae genus, quo juvare possint inferiorem. Est enim duplex liberalitas: una quae subsidio rei adjuvat, id est, usu pecuniae; altera quae operum collatione impenditur, multo frequenter splendidior, multoque clarior. 74. Quanto illustrius Abraham captum armis victricibus recepit nepotem (Gen. XIV, 16), quam si redemisset! Quanto utilius regem Pharaonem sanctus Joseph consilio providentiae juvit, quam si contulisset pecuniam! Pecunia enim unius civitatis non redemit ubertatem: prospicientia totius Aegypti per quinquennium famem repulit (Gen. XLI, 33 et seq.). 75. Facile autem pecunia consumitur, consilia exhauriri nesciunt. Haec usu augentur: pecunia minuitur, et cito deficit, atque ipsam destituit benignitatem; tatem; ut quo pluribus largiri volueris, eo pauciores adjuves, et saepe tibi desit quod aliis conferendum putaveris. Consilii 88 autem operisque collatio, quo in plures diffunditur, eo redundantior manet, et in suum fontem recurrit. In se enim refluit ubertas prudentiae: et quo pluribus fluxerit, eo exercitius fit omne quod remanet.

CAPUT XVI.

MODUM IN LIBERALITATE servandum, ne profundatur in indignos quod dignioribus debebatur; non tamen nimis parce ac timide ministrandas eleemosynas: sed imitandum beatum Joseph, cujus prudentia prolixioribus verbis commendatur.

76. Liquet igitur debere esse liberalitatis modum, ne fiat inutilis largitas. Sobrietas tenenda est, maxime sacerdotibus, ut non pro jactantia, sed pro justitia dispensent. Nusquam enim major aviditas petitionis. Veniunt validi, veniunt nullam causam nisi vagandi habentes, et volunt subsidia evacuare pauperum, exinanire sumptum: nec exiguo contenti, majora quaerunt, ambitu vestium captantes petitionis suffragium, et natalium simulatione licitantes incrementa quaestuum. His si quis facile deferat fidem, cito exhaurit pauperum alimoniis profutura compendia. Modus largiendi adsit, ut nec illi inanes recedant, neque transcribatur vita pauperum in spolia fraudulentorum. Et ergo mensura sit, ut neque humanitas deseratur, nec destituatur necessitas. 77. Plerique simulant debita. Sit veri examen. Exutos se per latrocinia deplorant: aut injuria fidem faciat, aut cognitio personae, quo propensius juventur. Ab Ecclesia relegatis sumptus impartiendus, si desit eis alendi copia. Itaque qui modum servat, avarus nulli, sed largus omnibus est: non enim solas aures praebere debemus audiendis precantium vocibus, sed etiam oculos considerandis necessitatibus. Plus clamat operatori bono debilitas, quam vox pauperis. Neque vero fieri potest ut non extorqueat amplius importunitas vociferantium: sed non semper impudentiae locus sit. Videndus est ille, qui te non videt: requirendus ille, qui erubescit videri. Ille etiam clausus in carcere occurrat tibi; ille affectus

aegritudine mentem tuam personet, qui aures non potest. 78. Quo plus te operari viderit populus, magis diliget. Scio plerosque sacerdotes, quo plus contulerunt, plus abundasse; quoniam quicumque bonum operarium videt, ipsi confert quod 89 ille suo officio dispenset, securus quod ad pauperem sua perveniat misericordia: nemo enim vult, nisi pauperi proficere suam collationem. Nam si quem aut immoderatum aut nimis tenacem dispensatorem viderit, utrumque despiciet: si aut superfluis erogationibus dissipet alieni fructus laboris, aut recondat sacculis. Sicut igitur modus liberalitatis tenendus est, ita etiam calcar plerumque adhibendum videtur. Modus ideo, ut quod benefacis, id quotidie facere possis; ne subtrahas necessitati, quod indulseris effusioni: calcar propterea, quia melius operatur pecunia in pauperis cibo, quam in divitis sacculo. Cave ne intra loculos tuos includas salutem inopum, et tanquam in tumulis sepelias vitam pauperum.

79. Potuit donare Joseph totas Aegypti opes, et effundere thesauros regios; noluit tamen de alieno effusus videri: maluit frumenta vendere, quam donare esurientibus; quia si paucis donasset, plurimis defuisset. Eam liberalitatem probavit, quo abundaret omnibus. Patefecit horrea, ut omnes emerent subsidium frumentarium (Gen. XLI, 56, 57), ne gratis accipiendo, cultus terrarum relinquerent; quoniam qui alieno utitur, suum negligit. 80. Itaque primum omnium coacervavit pecunias, deinde instrumenta caetera, ad postremum jura terrarum regi acquisivit, non ut omnes exueret suo, sed fulciret: publicum tributum constitueret, quo sua tutius habere possent. Quod ita fuit gratum omnibus quibus terras ademerat; ut non venditionem sui juris, sed redemptionem salutis putarent. Denique dixerunt: Sanasti nos, invenimus gratiam in conspectu Domini nostri (Gen. XLVII, 14 et seq., 25). Nam et de proprietate nihil amiserant, qui jus receperant: et de utilitate nihil perdiderant, qui acquisierant perpetuitatem. 81. O virum magnum, qui non largitatis superfluae temporalem captavit gloriam, sed perpetuam commoditatem constituit providentiae! Fecit enim ut tributis populi se

juvarent suis, nec in tempore necessitatis aliena subsidia desiderarent. Melius enim fuit conferre aliquid de fructibus, quam totum de jure amittere. Quintam portionem collationis statuit et in providendo perspicacior, et in tributo liberalior. Denique nunquam postea Aegyptus hujusmodi famem pertulit. 82. Quam praeclare autem collegit futura! Primum quam argute regalis interpres somnii veritatem expressit! Somnium regis primum hoc fuit: Septem juvencae ascendebant de flumine, visu decorae, et pingues corpore, et ad oram pascebantur fluminis. Aliae quoque vitulae visu deformes ac jejunae corpore, post illas juvencas 90 ascendebant de flumine, et juxta eas in ipso riparum thoro pascebantur: et visae sunt hae vitulae tenues atque exiles devorare illas quae praestabant et forma et gratia. Et somnium secundum hoc fuit: Septem spicae pingues, electae et bonae de terra surgebant: et post eas septem spicae exiles et vento corruptae ac marcidae se subjicere moliebantur: et visum est quod laetas et uberes spicas steriles spicae et tenues devoraverunt.

83. Hoc somnium ita aperuit sanctus Joseph, eo quod septem juvencae septem anni forent, et septem spicae similiter septem anni forent, ex fetu et fructu interpretatus tempora. Fetus enim juvencae annum exprimit, et fructus segetis annum consummat integrum. Quae ideo ascendebant de flumine, quod dies, anni, ac tempora fluminum praetereunt modo, et cursim labuntur. Annos itaque septem priores uberis terrae fertiles ac fecundos declarat futuros: posteriores autem alios septem annos steriles atque infecundos, quorum sterilitas absumptura foret ubertatem superiorum. Qua gratia prospiciendum admonuit, ut uberioribus annis congregaretur subsidium frumentarium, quod sustentare posset inopiam futurae infecunditatis. 84. Quid primum mirer? Ingenium quo in ipsum veritatis descendit cubile: an consilium quo tam gravi atque diuturnae prospexit necessitati: an vigilantiam atque justitiam; quarum altera, imposito sibi tanto munere, congregavit tam multiplices commeatus: alteraque

aequalitatem per omnes servavit? Nam de magnanimitate quid loquar; quod venditus a fratribus in servitutem, non retulit injuriam, sed famem depulit? Quid de suavitate, qua dilecti fratris praesentiam pia fraude quaesivit, quem simulato per elegantiam furto, reum statuit rapinae, ut obsidem teneret gratiae (Gen. XLIV, 2 et seq.). 85. Unde merito ei a patre dicitur: Filius ampliatus meus Joseph, filius ampliatus meus, zelotes filius meus adolescentior . . . . Adjuvit te Deus meus, et benedixit te benedictione coeli a summo, et benedictione terrae, terrae habentis omnia, propter benedictiones patris tui et matris. Praevaluit super benedictiones montium manentium, et desideria collium aeternorum (Gen. XLIX, 22 et seq.), et in Deuteronomio: Qui visus es, inquit, in rubo, ut venias super caput Joseph, et super verticem ipsius. Honorificus inter fratres: primitivus tauri decus ejus, cornua unicornui cornua ipsius. In ipsius cornu gentes ventilabit simul usque ad extremum terrae. Ipsi decem millia Ephraem, et ipsi millia Manasses (Deut. XXXIII, 16 et seq.). 91

CAPUT XVII.

QUAS VIRTUTES IN eo quem consulamus, inesse oporteat: et qua ratione iisdem Joseph ac Paulus ornati fuerint?

86. Talis itaque debet esse qui consilium alteri det, ut se ipsum formam aliis praebeat ad exemplum bonorum operum, in doctrina, in integritate, in gravitate; ut sit ejus sermo salubris atque irreprehensibilis, consilium utile, vita honesta, sententia decora. 87. Talis erat Paulus, qui consilium dabat virginibus (I Cor. VII, 25 et seq.), magisterium sacerdotibus (Tit. II, 7), ut primum se ipsum formam nobis praeberet ad imitandum. Ideo et humiliari sciebat, sicut scivit et Joseph, qui summo ortus patriarcharum genere, non dedignatus degenerem servitutem, exhibebat eam obsequiis, illustrabat virtutibus. Scivit humiliari, qui et venditorem et emptorem passus est, et dominum appellabat eum. Audi humiliantem se: Si Dominus meus propter me nihil scit in domo sua, et omnia quaecamque habet, dedit in manus meas, neque subtractum est a me quidquam praeter te, quia uxor illius es; quomodo faciam verbum malum hoc, et peccabo coram Domino (Gen. XXXIX, 8 et seq.)? Plena vox humilitatis, plena castimoniae: humilitatis, quia domino deferebat; honorificentiae, quia referebat gratiam: plena quoque castimoniae, quia turpi flagitio contaminari grave peccatum putabat. 88. Talis igitur debet esse consiliarius, qui nihil nebulosum habeat, nihil fallax, nihil simulatum, quod vitam ejus ac mores refellat; nihil improbum ac malevolum, quod avertat consulentes. Alia sunt enim quae fugiuntur, alia quae contemnuntur. Fugimus ea quae possunt nocere, quae malitiose possunt in noxam serpere; ut si is qui consulitur, dubia sit fide, et pecuniae avidus, ut possit pretio mutari: si injuriosus, hic fugitur ac declinatur. Qui

vero voluptuarius, intemperans, etsi alienus a fraude; tamen avarus et cupidior lucri turpis, hic contemnitur. Quod enim specimen industriae, quem fructum laboris edere potest, quam recipere animo curam ac sollicitudinem, qui se torpori dederit atque ignaviae? 89. Ideo boni vir consilii dicit: Ego enim didici, in quibus sum, sufficiens esse (Phil. IV, 11). Sciebat enim omnium malorum radicem esse avaritiam, et ideo suo contentus erat, alienum non requirebat (I Tim. VI, 10). Satis mihi est, inquit, quod habeo; sive parum, sive plurimum habeam, mihi plurimum est. Expressius aliquid dicendum videtur. Signato verbo usus est: Sufficit mihi, inquit, in quo sum; id est, nec deest, nec superfluit. Non deest, quia nihil quaero amplius: non superfluit, quia non solum mihi habeo, sed pluribus. Hoc de pecunia. 92

90. Caeterum de omnibus dici potest quia sufficiebant illi praesentia, hoc est, non honorem majorem, non obsequia uberiora desiderabat; non gloriae immodicae cupidus, aut gratiam indebite quaerebat: sed debiti finem certaminis, patiens laboris, securus meriti praestolabatur: Scio, inquit, et humiliari (Phil. IV, 12). Non ergo indocta humilitas, sed quae habeat sui modestiam et scientiam, laudi datur. Est enim humilitas formidinis, est imperitiae atque ignorantiae; et ideo Scriptura ait: Et humiles spiritu salvabit (Psal. XXXIII, 19). Praeclare ergo dixit: Scio et humiliari, id est, quo in loco, qua moderatione, quo fine, in quo officio, in quo munere. Nescivit Pharisaeus humiliari, ideo dejectus est: scivit publicanus, ideo justificatus est (Luc. XVIII, 11 et seq.). 91. Sciebat et abundare Paulus, quia animum habebat divitem; etsi thesaurum divitis non habebat. Sciebat abundare, qui non quaerebat datum in pecunia, sed requirebat fructum in gratia. Possumus et sic intelligere, quia sciebat abundare, qui poterat dicere: Os nostrum patet ad vos, o Corinthii, cor nostrum dilatatum est (II Cor. VI, 11). 92. In omnibus erat imbutus, et saturari et esurire. Beatus qui sciebat saturari in Christo. Non ergo illa corporalis, sed spiritualis est satietas, quam

operatur scientia. Et merito scientia opus est; quia non in pane solo vivit homo, sed in omni verbo Dei (Deut. VIII, 3). Ergo qui sic sciebat saturari et sic esurire, sciebat ut semper nova quaereret, esuriret Deum, sitiret in Dominum. Sciebat esurire, qui sciebat quia esurientes manducabunt (Matth. V, 6): sciebat et poterat abundare, qui nihil habebat, et possidebat omnia (II Cor. VI, 10).

CAPUT XVIII.

QUANTUM INIQUI CONSILIARII damni afferant, exemplo decem tribuum a rege Roboam desciscentium sat intelligi.

93. Egregie itaque viros alicui praesidentes muneri commendat justitia: contra iniquitas destituit atque impugnat. Exemplo nobis est Scriptura quae dicit quia cum populus Israel post mortem Salomonis rogasset filium ejus Roboam, ut relevaret cervices eorum a servitute dura, et paterni imperii temperaret austeritatem, illum spreto senili consilio de suggestione adolescentium responsum dedisse hujusmodi, quia et onus adjiceret super patrium jugum, et leviora gravioribus suppliciis mutaret (III Reg. XII, 4 et seq.). 94. Quo responso exasperati responderunt populi: Non est nobis portio cum David, neque haereditas in filiis Jesse. Revertere unusquisque in tabernacula tua, Israel (Ibid. 16); quoniam hic homo neque in principem, neque in ducem erit nobis. Itaque desertus a populo ac destitutus, vix duarum tribuum propter David meritum habere potuit societatem. 93

CAPUT XIX.

JUSTITIA ET BENEVOLENTIA et affabilitate plurimos conciliari: sed hanc sinceram esse debere.

95. Claret ergo quoniam et aequitas imperia confirmet, et injustitia dissolvat. Nam quomodo potest malitia regnum possidere, quae ne unam quidem privatam potest regere familiam? Summa igitur benignitate opus est, ut non solum publica gubernacula, sed etiam privata jura tueamur. Plurimum juvat benevolentia, quae omnes studet beneficiis amplecti, devincire officiis, oppignerare gratia. 96. Affabilitatem quoque sermonis diximus ad conciliandam gratiam valere plurimum. Sed hanc volumus esse sinceram ac sobriam sine ulla adulatione, ne simplicitatem ac puritatem alloquii dedeceat sermonis adulatio; forma enim esse debemus caeteris non solum in opere, sed etiam in sermone, in castitate ac fide. Quales haberi volumus, tales simus: et qualem affectum habemus, talem aperiamus. Neque dicamus in corde nostro verbum iniquum, quod abscondi putemus silentio; quia audit in occulto dicta, qui occulta fecit: et cognoscit secreta viscerum, qui sensum visceribus infudit. Ergo tamquam sub oculis constituti judicis, quidquid gerimus, in luce positum putemus, ut omnibus manifestetur.

CAPUT XX.

OMNIBUS MULTUM PRODESSE bonorum familiaritatem, maxime vero adolescentibus: hoc Jesu Nave ac Moysi, aliisque exemplis probari: quibus subjicitur qui aetate sint dispares, virtute interdum pares esse, ut Petrus ac Joannes patefaciunt.

97. Plurimum itaque prodest unicuique bonis jungi. Adolescentibus quoque utile, ut claros et sapientes viros sequantur; quoniam qui congreditur sapientibus, sapiens est: qui autem cohaeret imprudentibus, imprudens agnoscitur. Et ad instructionem itaque plurimum proficit, et ad probitatis testimonium. Ostendunt enim adolescentes eorum se imitatores esse, quibus adhaerent; et ea convalescit opinio, quod ab his vivendi acceperint similitudinem, cum quibus conversandi hauserint cupiditatem. 98. Inde tantus Jesus Nave, quod eum non solum erudivit ad Legis scientiam Moysi copula, verum etiam sanctificavit ad gratiam (Exod. XXIV, 13). Denique cum in ejus tabernaculo divina refulgere praesentia videretur majestas Domini, solus erat in tabernaculo Jesus Nave. Moyses cum Deo 94 loquebatur, Jesus pariter nube sacra tegebatur. Presbyteri et populus deorsum stabant; Jesus cum Moyse ad accipiendam Legem ascendebat (Exod. XXXIII, 11). Omnis populus intra castra erat, Jesus extra castra in tabernaculo testimonii. Cum columna nubis descenderet, et loqueretur cum Moyse, quasi fidus astabat minister: nec exibat de tabernaculo juvenis, cum seniores longe positi divina trepidarent miracula. 99. Ubique igitur inter admiranda opera et reverenda secreta sancto Moysi individuus adhaerebat. Unde factum est ut qui fuerat socius conversationis, fieret successor potestatis (Deut. XXXIV, 9). Merito vir hujusmodi evasit, ut sisteret

fluminum cursus (Josue III, 15 et seq.), diceret: Stet sol, et staret sol (Josue X, 12, 13); quasi ejus spectator victoriae noctem differret, diem produceret: quid! (quod Moysi negatum est) solus eligeretur, ut populum introduceret in terram repromissionis. Magnus vir fidei miraculis, magnus triumphis. Illius augustiora opera, hujus prosperiora. Uterque igitur divina subnixus gratia, ultra humanam processit conditionem (Exod. XIV, 21): ille mari, hic coelo imperavit. 100. Pulchra itaque copula seniorum atque adolescentium (Gen. XII, 4). Alii testimonio, alii solatio sunt: alii magisterio, alii delectationi. Omitto quod Abrahae adhaesit Loth adolescentulus etiam proficiscenti; ne forte hoc propinquitatis magis fuisse existimetur, et necessariae potius quam voluntariae adjunctionis. Quid Eliam atque Elisaeum loquamur? Licet non expresse Elisaeum juvenem Scriptura significaverit, advertimus tamen et colligimus juniorem fuisse (III Reg. XIX, 21). In Actibus apostolorum Barnabas Marcum assumpsit, Paulus Silam, Paulus Timotheum, Paulus Titum (Act. XII et alibi). 101. Sed illis superioribus videmus divisa officia, ut seniores consilio praevalerent, juniores ministerio. Plerumque etiam virtutibus pares, dispares aetatibus, sui delectantur copula, sicut delectabantur Petrus et Joannes. Nam adolescentem legimus in Evangelio Joannem et sua voce, licet meritis et sapientia nulli fuerit seniorum secundus, erat enim in eo senectus venerabilis morum et cana prudentia. Vita enim immaculata bonae senectutis stipendium est.

CAPUT XXI.

PLURIMUM VALERE AD commendationem, si defendas infirmos, aut peregrinos suscipias, similiave officia exhibeas, et hoc maxime viris probatis. Ubi injecta avaritiae vituperatione, potissimum prodigalitas in sacerdotibus improbatur.

102. Adjuvat hoc quoque ad profectum bonae existimationis, si de potentis 95 manibus eripias inopem, de morte damnatum eruas, quantum sine perturbatione fieri potest; ne videamur jactantiae magis causa facere, quam misericordiae, et graviora inferre vulnera, dum levioribus mederi desideramus. Jam si oppressum opibus potentis, et factione magis quam sceleris sui pretio gravatum liberaveris, egregae convalescit opinionis testimonium. 103. Commendat plerosque etiam hospitalitas. Est enim publica species humanitatis, ut peregrinus hospitio non egeat, suscipiatur officiose, pateat advenienti janua. Valde id decorum totius est orbis existimatione, peregrinos cum honore suscipi, non deesse mensae hospitalitatis gratiam, occurrere officiis liberalitatis, explorare adventus hospitum. 104. Quod Abrahae laudi est datum, qui ante januam suam speculabatur, ne forte praeteriret peregrinus aliquis: et diligenter praetendebat excubias, ut occurreret, ut praeveniret, ut rogaret, ne transiret hospes, dicens: Domine, si inveni gratiam ante te, ne praeterieris puerum tuum (Gen. XVIII, 1 et seq.). Et ideo pro hospitalitatis mercede fructum posteritatis recepit. 105. Loth quoque nepos ejus non solum genere, sed etiam virtute proximus, propter hospitalitatis affectum Sodomitana a se suisque supplicia detorsit (Gen. XIX, 1 et seq.).

106. Decet igitur hospitalem esse, benignum, justum, non alieni cupidum; immo de suo jure cedentem potius aliqua, si fuerit lacessitus, quam aliena jura pulsantem, fugitantem litium, abhorrentem a jurgiis, redimentem concordiam et tranquillitatis gratiam. Siquidem de suo jure virum bonum aliquid relaxare, non solum liberalitatis, sed plerumque etiam commoditatis est. Primum dispendio litis carere, non mediocre est lucrum; deinde accedit ad fructum quod augetur amicitia, ex qua oriuntur plurimae commoditates, quae contemnenti aliqua in tempore, postea fructuosae erunt. 107. In officiis autem hospitalibus, omnibus quidem humanitas impartienda est: justis autem uberior deferenda honorificentia: Quicumque enim justum receperit in nomine justi, mercedem justi accipiet (Matth. X, 41, 42), ut Dominus pronuntiavit. Tanta autem est apud Deum hospitalitatis gratia, ut ne potus quidem aquae frigidae a praemiis remunerationis immunis sit. Vides quia Abraham Deum recepit hospitio, dum hospites quaerit? Vides quia Loth angelos recepit? Unde scis ne et tu cum suscipis hominem, suscipias Christum? Licet in hospite sit Christus; quia Christus 96 in paupere est, sicut ipse ait: In carcere eram, et venistis ad me: nudus eram, et operuistis me (Matth. XXV, 36). 108. Suave est igitur non pecuniae, sed gratiae studere. Verum hoc malum jamdudum humanis influxit mentibus, ut pecunia honori sit, et animi hominum divitiarum admiratione capiantur. Inde se immersit avaritia, veluti quaedam bonorum ariditas officiorum; ut homines damnum putent quidquid praeter morem impenditur. Sed etiam in hoc adversus avaritiam, ne quod afferre possit impedimentum, prospexit Scriptura venerabilis, dicens: Quia melior est hospitalitas cum oleribus (Prov. XV, 17). Et infra: Melior est panis in suavitate cum pace (Prov. XVII, 1). Non enim prodigos nos docet esse Scriptura, sed liberales.

109. Largitatis enim duo sunt genera: unum liberalitatis, alterum prodigae effusionis. Liberale est hospitio recipere, nudum vestire, redimere captivos, non habentes sumptu juvare: prodigum est, sumptuosis effluescere

conviviis, et vino plurimo; unde legisti: Prodigum est vinum, et contumeliosa ebrietas (Prov. XX, 1). Prodigum est popularis favoris gratia exinanire proprias opes: quod faciunt qui ludis circensibus, vel etiam theatralibus, et muneribus gladiatoriis, vel etiam venationibus patrimonium dilapidant suum, ut vincant superiorum celebritates; cum totum illud sit inane, quod agunt. Quandoquidem etiam bonorum operum sumptibus immoderatum esse non deceat. 110. Pulchra liberalitas (Dist. 86, cap. Pulchra) erga ipsos quoque pauperes mensuram tenere, ut abundes pluribus: non conciliandi favoris gratia ultra modum fluere. Quidquid ex affectu puro ac sincero promitur, hoc est decorum: non superfluas aedificationes aggredi, nec praetermittere necessarias. 111. Et maxime sacerdoti hoc convenit, ornare Dei templum decore congruo, ut etiam hoc cultu aula Domini resplendeat: impensas misericordiae convenientes frequentare: quantum oporteat largiri peregrinis; non superflua, sed competentia: non redundantia, sed congrua humanitati; ne sumptu pauperum alienam sibi quaerat gratiam, nec restrictiorem erga clericos aut indulgentiorem se praebeat. Alterum enim inhumanum, alterum prodigum; si aut sumptus desit necessitati eorum quos a sordidis negotiationis aucupiis retrahere debeas: aut voluptati superfluat.

CAPUT XXII.

MODUM INTER NIMIAM remissionem ac severitatem esse statuendum; eos enim qui affectata remissione in aliorum animos irrepere moliuntur, solidum ac duraturum nihil consequi: quod Abessalonis exemplum satis ostendit.

112. Quin etiam verborum ipsorum et praeceptorum esse mensuram convenit; ne aut nimia remissio videatur, aut nimia severitas. Plerique enim remissiores malunt esse, ut videantur boni esse: sed nihil simulatum et fictum verae virtutis esse certum est; quin etiam diuturnum esse non solet. In principio vernat, in processu tamquam flosculus dissipatur et solvitur: quod autem verum ac sincerum, alta radice fundatur. 113. Et ut exemplis assertiones nostras probemus, quoniam quae simulata sunt, diuturna esse non possunt, sed tamquam ad tempus virentia cito decidunt, ex ea familia ex qua nobis plurima ad virtutis profectum exempla accersivimus, unum simulationis et fraudis proferamus testimonium (II Reg. XIV, 25). 114. Abessalon (II Reg. XV, 1 et seq.) erat David regis filius, decore insignis, egregius forma, praestans juventa; ita ut vir talis in Israel non reperiretur, a vestigio pedis usque ad verticem immaculatus. Is fecit sibi currus et equos, et viros quinquaginta, qui praecurrerent ante eum. Surgebat diluculo, et stabat ante portam in via: et si quem advertisset regis judicia quaerentem, accedebat ad eum, dicens: Ex qua civitate es tu? Respondebat ille: Ex una tribu sum de tribubus Israel, servus tuus. Referebat Abessalon: Verba tua bona sunt et directa, et qui te audiat non est tibi datus a rege. Quis constituet me judicem, et quisquis ad me veniet, cuicumque fuerit judicium necessarium, justificabo illum? Talibus delinibat singulos sermonibus. Et cum accederent adorare eum, extendens manus suas, apprehendebat atque

osculabatur eos. Sic convertit in se corda omnium, dum blanditiae hujusmodi intimorum tangunt viscerum sensum. 115. Sed delicati isti et ambitiosi elegerunt honorabilia et grata ad tempus et jucunda: ubi parva processit dilatio, quam prudens omnium propheta paulisper cedendo interponendam putavit, non potuerunt tolerare ac sustinere. Denique (II Reg. XVIII, 5) non dubitans de victoria David, commendabat filium dimicaturis, ut ei parcerent. Ideoque nec praelio interesse maluit; ne vel referre arma, parricidae licet, videretur, sed tamen filio. 116. Liquet igitur ea esse perpetua ac solida, quae vera sunt, et quae sincere potius quam dolo congregantur: ea vero quae simulatione atque assentatione parata sunt, non posse diu perseverare. 98

CAPUT XXIII.

EORUM QUI VEL pecunia vel ambitu redempti fuerint, fluxam fidem esse.

117. Quis igitur vel illos qui pecunia ad obedientiam redimuntur, vel eos qui assentatione invitantur, fidos sibi arbitretur? Nam et illi frequenter se vendere volunt, et isti imperia dura ferre non possunt. Levi assentatiuncula facile capiuntur: si perstrinxeris verbo, immurmurant, deserunt, infesti abeunt, indignantes relinquunt, imperare malunt, quam obedire: quasi obnoxios beneficio, subjectos sibi debere esse existimant, quos praepositos sibi habere debeant. 118. Quis igitur sibi fideles putet, quos vel pecunia vel adulatione sibi obligandos crediderit? Nam et ille qui pecuniam acceperit, vilem se et despectum judicat, nisi saepe redimatur? Itaque frequenter exspectat pretium suum: et ille qui obsecratione ambitus videtur, vult semper se rogari.

CAPUT XXIV.

BONIS ARTIBUS AD honores nitendum, maxime ecclesiasticos: adeptum vero munus moderate ac sapienter administrandum. Nec inferiores ordines simulatis virtutibus episcopo derogare, nec item episcopum cleri invidum esse debere: sed justum in omnibus, atque comprimis in judicando.

119. Ergo bonis actibus et sincero proposito nitendum ad honorem arbitror, et maxime ecclesiasticum; ut neque resupina arrogantia, vel remissa negligentia sit: neque turpis affectatio, et indecora ambitio. Ad omnia abundat animi directa simplicitas, satisque se ipsa commendat. 120. In ipso vero munere neque severitatem esse duram convenit, nec nimiam remissionem; ne aut potestatem exercere, aut susceptum officium nequaquam implere videamur. 121. Enitendum quoque ut beneficiis atque officiis obligemus plurimos, et collatam reservemus gratiam; ne jure beneficii fiant immemores, qui se graviter laesos dolent. Saepe enim usu venit ut quos gratia foveris, vel aliquo superiore cumulaveris gradu, avertas, si indigne aliquem eis praeponendum judices. Sed et sacerdotem beneficiis suis vel judiciis favere convenit, ut aequitatem custodiat, et presbytero vel ministro deferre, ut parenti. 122. Neque hos quia semel probati sunt, arrogantes esse oportet; sed magis tamquam memores gratiae, humilitatem tenere: neque offendi sacerdotem, si aut presbyter, aut minister, aut quisquam de clero, aut misericordia, aut jejunio, aut integritate, aut doctrina et lectione existimationem accumulet suam: Gratia enim Ecclesiae laus doctoris est. Bonum, opus 99 alicujus praedicari, ita tamen si nullo studio fiat jactantiae. Laudent enim unumquemque proximorum labia, et non os suum: et commendent opera, non studia sua.

123. Caeterum si quis non obediat episcopo, extollere atque exaltare sese desideret, obumbrare merita episcopi simulata affectatione doctrinae aut humilitatis, aut misericordiae, is a vero devius superbit; quoniam veritatis ea est regula, ut nihil facias commendandi tui causa, quo minor alius fiat: neque si quid boni habeas, id ad deformationem alterius et vituperationem exerceas. 124. Ne defendas improbum, et sancta indigno committenda arbitreris: neque iterum urgeas et impugnes, cujus crimen non deprehenderis. Nam cum in omnibus injustitia cito offendat, tum maxime in Ecclesia, ubi aequitatem esse oportet, ubi aequalitatem haberi decet; ut nihil sibi potentior plus vindicet, nihil plus usurpet ditior. Sive enim pauper, sive dives, in Christo unum sunt. Nihil sanctior plus sibi arroget; ipsum enim par est esse humiliorem.

125. Sed nec personam alterius accipiamus in judicio: gratia absit, causae merita decernant. Nihil sic opinionem, immo fidem gravat, quam si in judicando potentiori dones causam inferioris: vel pauperem innocentem arguas, divitem excuses reum culpae. Pronum quidem est genus hominum favere honoratioribus, ne laesos sese putent, ne victi doleant. Sed primum si offensam vereris, non recipias judicium: si sacerdos es, aut si quisquam alius, non lacessas. Licet tibi silere in negotio duntaxat pecuniario; quamquam sit constantiae adesse aequitati. In causa autem Dei, ubi communionis periculum est, etiam dissimulare peccatum est non leve.

CAPUT XXV.

BENEFICIA IN PAUPERES potius conferenda quam in divites; hos enim aut quaesitam a se beneficii vicem putare, aut indignari quod videantur hinc facti debitores: pauperes vero et debitorem pro se Deum ipsum constituere, et libenter accepta beneficia confiteri. Quibus additur ad pecuniae contemptum adhortatio.

126. Quid autem et tibi prodest favere diviti? An quia citius amantem remuneratur? His enim favemus frequentius, a quibus referendae vicem speramus gratiae. Sed eo 100 magis infirmo et inopinos studere convenit; quia pro eo qui non habet, remunerationem speramus a Domino Jesu (Luc. XIV, 12, 13): qui sub specie convivii generalem virtutum edidit formam: ut his potius nostra conferamus beneficia, qui nobis ea non possunt repraesentare, docens ad convivium atque epulas non eos qui divites sunt, sed pauperes invitandos. Divites enim rogari videntur, ut ipsi quoque nobis reddant convivium; pauperes, quia non habent quod restituant, cum acceperint, remuneratorem nobis faciunt Dominum, qui se pro paupere obligandum obtulit. 127. Ad ipsum quoque saeculi usum collatio beneficii facta in pauperes magis quam in locupletes plus juvat; quia dives dedignatur beneficium, et pudet eum debitorem esse gratiae. Quin etiam id quod collatum est sibi, meritis suis arrogat, quod velut debitum acceperit, vel ideo datum sit eo quod is qui dedit, reddendum sibi a divite uberius existimaverit. Ita in accipiendo beneficio, eo ipso quod acceperint divites, dedisse se magis quam accepisse existimant: pauper vero etsi non habet unde reddat pecuniam, refert gratiam. In quo certum est quod plus reddat, quam acceperit; pecunia enim nummo solvitur, gratia numquam exinanitur.

Reddendo vacuatur pecunia: gratia autem et habendo solvitur, et solvendo retinetur. Deinde quod dives refugit, pauper fatetur quod sit obligatus debito, sibique subventum, non honori suo delatum putat: donatos sibi arbitratur filios, vitam redditam, servatam familiam. Quanto igitur melius apud bonos, quam apud ingratos locare beneficium? 128. Unde Dominus ad discipulos ait: Nolite possidere aurum, neque argentum, neque pecuniam; (Matth. X, 9); quia velut falce, pullulantem in pectoribus humanis succidit avaritiam. Petrus quoque claudo, qui ex utero matris suae portabatur, ait: Argentum et aurum non habeo: sed quod habeo, do tibi. In nomine Jesu Christi Nazareni surge et ambula (Act. III, 6). Itaque pecuniam non dedit, sanitatem dedit. Quanto melius est salutem habere sine pecunia, quam pecuniam sine salute! Surrexit claudus, quod non sperabat: pecuniam non accepit, quam sperabat. Sed haec vix in sanctis Domini reperiuntur, ut divitiae contemptui sint. 101

CAPUT XXVI.

QUAM VETUS MALUM sit avaritia, multis veteris testamenti exemplis clarum esse; hincque praeterea patere quam inanis sit pecuniarum possessio.

129. Caeterum ita incubuerunt mores hominum admiratione divitiarum, ut nemo nisi dives honore dignus putetur. Neque hic recens usus: sed jamdudum, quod pejus est, inolevit hoc vitium humanis mentibus. Siquidem cum Hiericho magna civitas tubarum sacerdotalium sono corruisset, et Jesus Nave potiretur victoria, cognovit infirmatam esse virtutem populi per avaritiam, atque auri cupiditatem. Nam cum de spoliis urbis incensae sustulisset Achar vestem auream, et ducenta argenti didrachmata, et linguam auream, oblatus Domino negare non potuit, sed prodidit furtum (Josue VII, 19 et seq.).

130. Vetus igitur et antiqua avaritia est, quae cum ipsius divinae legis coepit oraculis, immo propter ipsam reprimendam lex delata est. Propter avaritiam Balach putavit Balaam praemiis posse tentari, ut malediceret populum patrum: et vicisset avaritia, nisi Dominus a maledicto eum abstinere jussisset (Num. XXII, 7 et seq.). Propter avaritiam praecipitatus Achar, in exitium deduxerat totam plebem parentum. Itaque Jesus Nave, qui potuit solem statuere, ne procederet (Josue X, 12, 13), avaritiam hominum non potuit sistere, ne serperet. Ad vocem ejus sol stetit, avaritia non stetit. Sole itaque stante, confecit Jesus triumphum: avaritia autem procedente, pene amisit victoriam. 131. Quid fortissimum omnium Samson, nonne Dalilae mulieris avaritia decepit? Itaque ille qui rugientem leonem manibus discerpsit suis, qui vinctus et alienigenis traditus, sine ullo adjutore solus dissolutis vinculis, mille ex his peremit viros: qui funes intextis nervis velut

mollia sparti fila disrupit; is super genua mulieris inflexa cervice truncatus, invicti crinis ornatum, praerogativam suae virtutis amisit. Influxit pecunia in gremium mulieris, et a viro discessit gratia (Judic. XVI, 5 et seq.). 132. Feralis igitur avaritia, illecebrosa pecunia, quae habentes contaminat, non habentes non juvat. Esto tamen ut aliquando adjuvet pecunia, inferiorem tamen et ipsam desiderantem. Quid ad eum qui non desiderat, qui non requirit, qui auxilio ejus non indiget, studio non flectitur? Quid ad alios, si sit ille copiosior qui habet? Numquid idcirco honestior; quia habet quo honestas plerumque amittitur, quia habet quod custodiat magis quam quod possideat? Illud enim possidemus quo utimur: 102 quod autem ultra usum est, non utique habet possessionis fructum, sed custodiae periculum.

CAPUT XXVII.

In pecuniae contemptu inesse formam justitiae: quam virtutem nec non alias nonnullas sectari debent tam clerici quam antistites; ubi potissimum de non ferenda praecipitanter excommunicatione.

133. Ad summam novimus quod pecuniae contemptus justitiae forma sit; et ideo avaritiam declinare debemus, et omni studio intendere, ne quid faciamus umquam adversus justitiam, sed in omnibus gestis et operibus custodiamus eam. 134. Si volumus commendare nos Deo, charitatem habeamus, unanimes simus, humilitatem sequamur, alterutrum existimantes superiorem sibi. Haec est enim humilitas, si nihil sibi quis arroget, et inferiorem se esse existimet. Episcopus ut membris suis utatur clericis, et maxime ministris qui sunt vere filii; quem cuique viderit aptum muneri, ei deputet. 135. Cum dolore amputatur etiam quae putruit pars corporis, et diu tractatur, si potest sanari medicamentis: si non potest, tunc a medico bono absciditur. Sic episcopi affectus boni est, ut optet sanare infirmos, serpentia auferre ulcera, adurere aliqua, non abscidere: postremo quod sanari non potest, cum dolore abscidere. Unde pulcherrimum illud praeceptum magis eminet, ut cogitemus non quae nostra sunt, sed quae aliorum (Phil. II, 4). Hoc enim modo nihil erit, quod vel irati nostro indulgeamus affectui, vel faventes nostrae plus justo tribuamus aliquid voluntati.

CAPUT XXVIII.

MISERICORDIAM ETIAM CUM invidia propria largius exercendam: ad quod refertur memorabilis vasorum sacrorum in captivorum redemptionem ab Ambrosio fractorum historia, et pulcherrima de auri et argenti quae Ecclesia possidet, legitimo usu praecipiuntur. Hinc postquam ex facto sancti Laurentii quinam veri sint Ecclesiae thesauri ostensum est, regulae in conflandis atque impendendis vasis initiatis servandae proponuntur.

136. Hoc maximum incentivum misericordiae, ut compatiamur alienis calamitatibus (Dist. 86, cap. Pulchra, § Compatiamur), necessitates aliorum, quantum possumus, juvemus; et plus interdum quam possumus. Melius est enim pro misericordia causas praestare, vel invidiam perpeti, quam praetendere inclementiam; ut nos aliquando in invidiam 103 incidimus, quod confregerimus vasa mystica, ut captivos redimeremus, quod arianis displicere potuerat; nec tam factum displiceret, quam ut esset quod in nobis reprehenderetur. Quis autem est tam durus, immitis, ferreus, cui displiceat quod homo redimitur a morte, femina ab impuritatibus barbarorum, quae graviores morte sunt: adolescentulae, vel pueruli, vel infantes ab idolorum contagiis, quibus mortis metu inquinabantur? 137. Quam causam nos etsi non sine ratione aliqua gessimus; tamen ita in populo prosecuti sumus, ut confiteremur, multoque fuisse commodius astrueremus, ut animas Domino quam aurum servaremus (Matth. X, 9). Qui enim sine auro misit apostolos, Ecclesias sine auro congregavit. Aurum Ecclesia habet (12, quaest. 2, cap. Aurum); non ut servet, sed ut eroget, et subveniat in necessitatibus. Quid opus est custodire quod nihil adjuvat? An ignoramus quantum auri atque argenti de templo Domini Assyrii sustulerint (IV Reg. XXIV, 13)? Nonne

melius conflant sacerdotes propter alimoniam pauperum, si alia subsidia desint, quam ut sacrilegus contaminata asportet hostis? Nonne dicturus est Dominus: Cur passus es tot inopes fame mori? Et certe habebas aurum, ministrasses alimoniam. Cur tot captivi deducti in commercio sunt, nec redempti, ab hoste occisi sunt? Melius fuerat ut vasa viventium servares, quam metallorum. 138. His non posset responsum referri. Quid enim diceres: Timui ne templo Dei ornatus deesset? Responderet: Aurum sacramenta non quaerunt: neque auro placent, quae auro non emuntur. Ornatus sacramentorum redemptio captivorum est. Vere illa sunt vasa pretiosa, quae redimunt animas a morte. Ille verus thesaurus est Domini, qui operatur quod sanguis ejus operatus est. Tunc vas Dominici sanguinis agnoscitur, cum in utroque viderit redemptionem; ut calix ab hoste redimat, quos sanguis a peccato redimit. Quam pulchrum, ut cum agmina captivorum ab Ecclesia redimuntur, dicatur: Hos Christus redemit! Ecce aurum quod probari potest, ecce aurum utile, ecce aurum Christi quod a morte liberat, ecce aurum quo redimitur pudicitia, servatur castitas. 139. Hos ergo malui vobis liberos tradere, quam aurum reservare. Hic numerus captivorum, hic ordo praestantior est, quam species poculorum. Huic muneri proficere debuit aurum Redemptoris, ut redimeret periclitantes. Agnosco infusum auro sanguinem Christi non solum irrutilasse, verum etiam divinae operationis impressisse virtutem redemptionis munere.

140. Tale aurum sanctus martyr Laurentius 104 Domino reservavit, a quo cum quaererentur thesauri Ecclesiae, promisit se demonstraturum. Sequenti die pauperes duxit. Interrogatus ubi essent thesauri quos promiserat, ostendit pauperes dicens: Hi sunt thesauri Ecclesiae. Et vere thesauri, in quibus Christus est, in quibus fides est. Denique Apostolus ait: Habemus thesaurum in vasis fictilibus (II Cor. IV, 7). Quos meliores thesauros habet Christus, quam eos in quibus se esse dixit? Sic enim scriptum est: Esurivi, et dedistis mihi manducare: sitivi, et dedistis mihi bibere: hospes eram, et

collegistis me (Matt. XXV, 35). Et infra: Quod enim uni horum fecistis, mihi fecistis (Ibid., 40). Quos meliores Jesus habet thesauros, quam eos in quibus amat videri? 141. Hos thesauros demonstravit Laurentius, et vicit, quod eos nec persecutor potuit auferre. Itaque Joachim qui aurum in obsidione servabat, nec dispensabat alimoniae comparandae; et aurum vidit eripi, et se in captivitatem deduci (IV Reg. XXIV, 13). Laurentius qui aurum Ecclesiae maluit erogare pauperibus, quam persecutori reservare, pro singulari suae interpretationis vivacitate sacram martyrii accepit coronam. Numquid dictum est sancto Laurentio: Non debuisti erogare thesauros Ecclesiae, vasa sacramentorum vendere?

142. Opus est ut quis fide sincera et perspicaci providentia munus hoc impleat. Sane si in sua aliquis derivat emolumenta, crimen est: sin vero pauperibus erogat, captivum redimit, misericordia est. Nemo enim (12, q. 2, cap. Aurum, § Nemo potest) potest dicere: Cur pauper vivit? Nemo potest queri, quia captivi redempti sunt: nemo potest accusare, quia templum Dei est aedificatum: nemo potest indignari, quia humandis fidelium reliquiis spatia laxata sunt: nemo potest dolere, quia in sepulturis Christianorum requies defunctorum est. In his tribus generibus vasa Ecclesiae etiam initiata confringere, conflare, vendere licet. 143. Opus est ut de Ecclesia mystici poculi forma non exeat, ne ad usus nefarios sacri calicis ministerium transferatur. Ideo intra Ecclesiam primum quaesita sunt vasa quae initiata non essent: deinde comminuta, postremo conflata, per minutias erogationis dispensata egentibus, captivorum quoque pretiis profecerunt. Quod si desunt nova, et quae nequaquam initiata videantur, in hujusmodi usus, quos supra diximus, arbitror omnia pie posse converti. 105

CAPUT XXIX.

DEPOSITA VIDUARUM, IMMO omnium fidelium in Ecclesia cum sui etiam periculo defendi oportere: quae res Oniae sacerdotis, Ambrosii ac Ticinensis episcopi exemplis lucem capit.

144. Illud sane diligenter intuendum est, ut deposita viduarum intemerata maneant, sine ulla serventur offensione, non solum viduarum, sed etiam omnium; fides enim exhibenda omnibus est, sed major est viduarum causa et pupillorum. 145. Denique hoc solo viduarum nomine, sicut in libris Machabaeorum legimus (II Machab. III, 10 et seq.), commendatum templo omne servatum est. Nam cum indicium factum esset pecuniarum, quas in templo Hierosolymis maximas reperiri posse Simon nefarius Antiocho regi prodidit, missus in rem Heliodorus, ad templum venit, et summo sacerdoti aperuit indicii invidiam, et adventus sui causam. 146. Tunc sacerdos deposita esse dixit viduarum victualia et pupillorum: quaedam autem Hircani Tobiae viri sancti, eaque demonstravit. Argenti talenta quadraginta erant, auri vero ducenta. Quae cum Heliodorus ereptum ire vellet, et regis vindicare commodis, sacerdotes ante altare jactaverunt se, induti sacerdotales stolas: et Deum vivum qui de depositis legem dederat, flentes invocabant, ut custodem se praeceptorum praestaret suorum. Vultus vero et color summi sacerdotis immutatus declarabat dolorem animi, et mentis intentae sollicitudinem. Flebant omnes, quod in contemptum locus venturus foret, si nec in Dei templo tuta fidei servaretur custodia: accinctaeque mulieres pectus, et clausae virgines pulsabant januam: ad muros alii currebant, per fenestras alii prospectabant, omnes ad coelum tendebant manus, orantes ut suis Dominus adesset legibus.

147. Heliodorus autem nec his territus, quod intenderat, urgebat, et satellitibus suis aerarium sepserat; cum subito apparuit illi terribilis eques armis praefulgens aureis: equus autem ejus erat insigni ornatus opertorio. Alii quoque duo juvenes apparuerunt in virtute inclyta, decore grato, cum splendore gloriae, speciosi amictu, qui circumsteterunt eum, et utraque ex parte flagellabant sacrilegum, sine 106 ulla intermissione continuato verbere. Quid multa? Circumfusus caligine in terram concidit, et evidenti divinae operationis indicio exanimatus jacebat, nec ulla spes in eo residebat salutis. Oborta est laetitia metuentibus, metus superbis: dejectique ex amicis Heliodori quidam rogabant Oniam, vitam poscentes ei, quoniam supremum gerebat spiritum. 148. Rogante itaque sacerdote summo, iidem juvenes iterum Heliodoro apparuerunt, iisdem amicti vestibus, et dixerunt ad eum: Oniae summo sacerdoti gratias age, propter quem tibi vita est reddita. Tu autem expertus Dei flagella, vade, et nuntia tuis omnibus, quantam cognoveris templi religionem, et Dei potestatem. His dictis, non comparuerunt. Heliodorus itaque recepto spiritu, hostiam Domino obtulit, Oniae sacerdoti gratias egit, et cum exercitu ad regem revertitur dicens: Si quem habes hostem, aut aliquem insidiatorem rerum tuarum, illuc illum dirige, et flagellatum recipies eum. 149. Servanda est igitur, filii, depositis fides, adhibenda diligentia. Egregie hinc vestrum enitescit ministerium, si suscepta impressio potentis, quam vel vidua vel orphani tolerare non queant, Ecclesiae subsidio cohibeatur: si ostendatis plus apud vos mandatum Domini, quam divitis valere gratiam. 150. Meministis ipsi quoties adversus regales impetus pro viduarum, immo omnium depositis certamen subierimus. Commune hoc vobiscum mihi. Recens exemplum Ecclesiae Ticinensis proferam, quae viduae depositum, quod susceperat, amittere periclitabatur. Interpellante enim eo qui sibi illud imperiali rescripto vindicare cupiebat, clerici non tenebant auctoritatem: honorati quoque et intercessores dati non posse praeceptis imperatoris obviari

ferebant. Legebatur rescripti forma directior, magistri officiorum statuta, agens in rebus imminebat. Quid plura? Traditum erat. 151. Tamen communicato mecum consilio, obsedit sanctus episcopus ea conclavia, ad quae translatum illud depositum viduae cognoverat. Quod ubi non potuit auferri, receptum sub chirographo est. Postea iterum flagitabatur ex chirographo: praeceptum imperator iteraverat, ut ipse per semetipsum nos conveniret. Negatum est: et exposita divinae legis auctoritate, et serie lectionis, et Heliodori periculo, vix tandem 107 rationem imperator accepit. Post etiam tentata fuerat obreptio; sed praevenit sanctus episcopus, ut redderet viduae quod acceperat. Fides interim salva est: impressio non est formidini; quia jam res, non fides periclitatur.

CAPUT XXX.

LIBRI CONCLUSIO PER exhortationem ad fugiendos invidos, atque ad prudentiam, fidem aliasque virtutes prosequendas.

152. Filii, fugite improbos, cavete invidos. Inter improbum et invidum hoc interest: improbus suo delectatur bono, invidus torquetur alieno: ille diligit mala, hic bona odit; ut prope tolerabilior sit, qui sibi vult bene, quam qui male omnibus. 133. Filii, ante factum cogitate: et cum diutius cogitaveritis, tunc facite quod probatis. Laudabilis mortis cum occasio datur, rapienda est illico. Dilata gloria fugit, nec facile comprehenditur. 108 154. Fidem diligite, quoniam per fidem et devotionem Josias magnum sibi ab adversariis amorem acquisivit; quoniam celebravit pascha Domini, cum esset annorum decem et octo, quemadmodum nemo ante eum (IV Reg. XXIII, 21 seq.). Zelo itaque ut vicit superiores, ita et vos, filii, zelum Dei sumite. Exquirat vos Dei zelus et devoret; ut unusquisque vestrum dicat: Exquisivit me zelus domus tuae (Psal. LXVIII, 10). Apostolus Christi zelotes dictus est (Luc. VI, 15). Quid de Apostolo dico? Ipse Dominus ait: Zelus domus tuae comedit me (Joan. II, 17). Sit ergo Dei zelus, non iste humanus quem invidia generat. 155. Sit inter vos pax, quae superat omnem sensum. Amate vos invicem. Nihil charitate dulcius, nihil pace gratius. Et vos ipsi scitis quod prae caeteris vos semper dilexi et diligo: quasi unius patris filii coaluistis in affectum germanitatis. 156. Quae bona sunt tenete, et Deus pacis et dilectionis erit vobiscum in Domino Jesu: cui est honor, gloria, magnificentia, potestas, cum Spiritu sancto in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

LIBER TERTIUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

A DAVIDE AC Salomone nobis praeceptum, qua ratione cum corde nostro conversandum sit, proindeque Scipionem dicti, quod ei tribuitur, primum auctorem non reputandum. Quam pulchra in otio suo perpetraverint sancti prophetae: horum atque aliorum otia conferuntur, ostenditurque numquam solum aut in angusto justum esse. 1. David propheta docuit nos tamquam in ampla domo deambulare in corde nostro, et conversari cum eo tamquam cum bono contubernali; ut ipse sibi diceret, et loqueretur secum, ut est illud: Dixi, custodiam vias meas (Psal. XXXVIII, 2). Salomon quoque filius ejus ait: Bibe aquam de tuis vasis, et de puteorum tuorum fontibus (Prov. V, 15); hoc est tuo consilio utere. Aqua enim alta, consilium in corde viri (Prov. XX, 5). Nemo, inquit, alienus particeps sit tibi. Fons aquae tuae sit tibi proprius: et jucundare cum uxore, quae est tibi a juventute. Cervus amicitiae et pullus gratiarum confabulentur tecum (Prov. V, 17, 18).

2. Non ergo primus Scipio scivit solus non esse, cum solus esset; nec minus otiosus, cum otiosus esset: scivit ante ipsum Moyses, qui cum taceret, clamabat (Exod. XIV, 15): cum otiosus staret, praeliabatur; nec solum praeliabatur, sed etiam de hostibus, quos non contigerat, triumphabat (Exod. XVII, 11 et seq.). Adeo otiosus, ut manus ejus alii sustinerent: nec minus 108 quam caeteri negotiosus, qui otiosis manibus expugnabat hostem, quem non poterant vincere qui dimicabant. Ergo Moyses et in silentio loquebatur, et in otio operabatur. Cujus autem majora negotia, quam hujus otia, qui quadringinta diebus positus in monte, totam Legem complexus est, et in illa solitudine qui cum eo loqueretur, non defuit (Exod. XXIV, 15 et seq.)? Unde et David ait: Audiam quid loquatur in me Dominus

Deus (Psal. LXXXIV, 9). Et quanto plus est si cum aliquo Deus loquatur, quam ipse secum! 3. Transibant apostoli, et umbra eorum curabat infirmos. Tangebantur vestimenta eorum, et sanitas deferebatur (Act. V, 16). 4. Sermonem locutus est Elias, et pluvia stetit nec cecidit super terram tribus annis et sex mensibus. Iterum locutus est, et hydria farinae non defecit, et vas olei toto famis diurnae tempore non est exinanitum (III Reg. XVII, 1 et seq.). 5. Et quoniam plerosque delectant bellica; quid est praestantius, exercitus magni lacertis, an solis meritis confecisse praelium? Sedebat Elisaeus in uno loco, et rex Syriae magnam belli molem inferebat populo patrum, diversisque consiliorum acervabat fraudibus, et circumvenire insidiis moliebatur: sed omnes ejus apparatus propheta deprehendebat, et vigore mentis per gratiam Dei ubique praesens, cogitationes hostium suis annuntiabat, et monebat quibus 109 caverent locis. Quod ubi regi Syriae manifestatum est, misso exercitu, clausit prophetam. Oravit Elisaeus, et omnes illos caecitate percuti fecit, et captivos intrare in Samariam, qui venerant obsidere eum (IV Reg. VI, 8 et seq.). 6. Conferamus hoc otium cum aliorum otio. Alii enim requiescendi causa abducere animum a negotiis solent, et a conventu coetuque hominum subtrahere sese; et aut ruris petere secretum, captare agrorum solitudines, aut intra urbem vacare animo, indulgere quieti et tranquillitati: Elisaeus autem aut in solitudine Jordanem transitu suo dividit (IV Reg. II, 8); ut pars defluat posterior, superior autem in fontem recurrat: aut in Carmelo resoluta difficultate generandi, inopina sterilem conceptione fecundat: aut resuscitat mortuos: aut ciborum temperat amaritudines, et facit farinae admixtione dulcescere: aut decem panibus distributis, reliquias colligit, plebe saturata: aut ferrum securis excussum, et in fluvii Jordanis mersum profundum, misso in aquas ligno, facit supernatare: aut emundatione leprosum, aut siccitatem imbribus, aut famem mutat fecunditate (IV Reg. IV, 16 et seq., et alibi.) 7. Quando ergo justus solus est, qui cum Deo semper est? Quando solitarius est, qui numquam

separatur a Christo? Quis nos, inquit, separabit a dilectione Christi? Confido quia neque mors, neque vita, neque angelus (Rom. VIII, 35). Quando autem feriatur a negotio, qui numquam feriatur a merito, quo consummatur negotium? Quibus autem locis circumscribitur, cui totus mundus divitiarum possessio est? Qua aestimatione definitur, qui numquam opinione comprehenditur? Etenim quasi ignoratur et cognoscitur: quasi moritur, et ecce vivit: quasi tristis, et semper laetior: ut egenus, et largus: ut qui nihil habeat, et possideat omnia (II Cor. VI, 8). Nihil enim spectat vir justus, nisi quod constans et honestum est. Et ideo etiamsi alii videatur pauper, sibi dives est: qui non eorum quae caduca, sed eorum quae aeterna sunt, aestimatione censetur.

CAPUT II.

QUOD PHILOSOPHI DE honesti atque utilis comparatione disputant, hoc apud Christianos locum non habere, quibus nihil utile nisi quod justum. Quae officia perfecta, quaeve media? Easdem voces diversis diverse convenire: postremo virum justum numquam alieno incommodo commodum suum quaerere, sed contra semper aliorum studere utilitati.

8. Et quoniam de duobus superioribus locis diximus, in quibus honestum illud et utile tractavimus, sequitur utrum honestatem et utilitatem inter se comparare debeamus, et quaerere quid sit sequendum. Sicut enim supra 110 tractavimus, utrum honestum illud an turpe esset; et secundo loco, utrum utile an inutile: similiter hoc loco, utrum honestum sit an utile nonnulli requirendum putant. 9. Nos autem movemur, ne haec inter se velut compugnantia inducere videamur, quae jam supra unum esse ostendimus: nec honestum esse posse, nisi quod utile: nec utile, nisi quod honestum; quia non sequimur sapientiam carnis, apud quam utilitas pecuniariae istius commoditatis pluris habetur, sed sapientiam quae ex Deo est, apud quam ea quae in hoc saeculo magna aestimantur, pro detrimento habentur. 10. Hoc etenim κατορθώμα, quod perfectum et absolutum officium est, a vero virtutis fonte proficiscitur. Cui secundum est commune officium, quod ipso sermone significatur non esse arduae virtutis ac singularis, quod potest plurimis esse commune. Nam pecuniae compendia captare familiare multis, elegantiori convivio et suavioribus delectari epulis usitatum est: jejunare autem et continentem esse paucorum est; et alieni cupidum non esse, rarum: contra autem detrahere velle alteri, et non esse contentum suo; nam in hoc cum plerisque consortium est. Alia igitur prima, alia media officia. Prima

cum paucis, media cum pluribus. 11. Denique in iisdem verbis frequenter discretio est. Aliter enim bonum Deum dicimus, aliter hominem: aliter justum Deum appellamus, aliter hominem. Similiter et sapientem Deum aliter dicimus, aliter hominem. Quod et in Evangelio docemur: Estote ergo et vos perfecti, sicut et pater vester qui in coelis est, perfectus est (Matth. V, 48). Ipsum Paulum lego perfectum et non perfectum. Nam cum dixisset: Non quod jam acceperim, aut jam perfectus sim: sequor autem si comprehendam (Phil. III, 12), statim subjecit: Quicumque ergo perfecti sumus (Ibid., 15). Duplex enim forma perfectionis: alia medios, alia plenos numeros habens: alia hic, alia ibi: alia secundum hominis possibilitatem, alia secundum perfectionem futuri. Deus autem justus per omnia, sapiens super omnia, perfectus in omnibus. 12. Inter ipsos quoque homines distantia est. Aliter Daniel sapiens, de quo dictum est: Quis Daniele sapientior (Ezech. XXVIII, 3)? Aliter alii sapientes, aliter Salomon, qui repletus est sapientia super omnem sapientiam antiquorum, et super omnes sapientes Aegypti (III Reg. IV, 29 et seq.). Aliud est enim communiter sapere, aliud sapere perfecte. Qui communiter sapit, pro temporalibus sapit, pro se sapit; ut alteri aliquid detrahat, et sibi adjungat. Qui perfecte sapit, nescit sua spectare commoda: sed ad illud quod aeternum est, quod decorum atque honestum, toto affectu intendit, quaerens non quod sibi utile est, sed quod omnibus. 13. Itaque haec sit formula, ut inter duo illa, honestum atque utile, errare nequeamus; eo quod 111 justus nihil alteri detrahendum putet, nec alterius incommodo suum commodum augeri velit. Hanc formam tibi praescribit Apostolus dicens: Omnia licent, sed non omnia expediunt: omnia licent, sed non omnia aedificant. Nemo quod suum est quaerat, sed quod alterius (I Cor. X, 22); hoc est nemo commodum suum quaerat, sed alterius: nemo honorem suum quaerat, sed alterius. Unde et alibi dicit: Alter alterum existimantes superiorem sibi, non quae sua sunt singuli cogitantes, sed quae aliorum (Philipp. II, 3, 4). 14. Nemo etiam suam gratiam quaerat,

nemo suam laudem, sed alterius. Quod evidenter etiam in Proverbiis declaratum possumus advertere, dicente sancto per Salomonem Spiritu: Fili, si sapiens fueris, tibi sapiens eris et proximis; si autem malus evaseris, solus hauries mala (Prov. IX, 12). Sapiens enim aliis consulit, sicut justus; quando quidem consors sui est, utriusque forma virtutis.

CAPUT III.

PRAEMISSUM DE NON quaerendo proprio emolumento praeceptum urgetur, primum a Christi exemplo, tum ab interpretatione nominis, denique ab ipsa membrorum forma et usibus. Unde ostendit quam flagitiosum sit alienae utilitati detrahere; cum hoc scelere naturalis lex aeque ac divina violetur, atque insuper illud amittatur quo praestamus caeteris animantibus, ad postremum leges civiles cum summa infamia conculcentur.

15. Si quis igitur vult placere omnibus, per omnia quaerat non quod sibi utile est, sed quod multis, sicut quaerebat et Paulus. Hoc est enim conformari Christo, alienum non quaerere, nihil alteri detrahere, ut acquirat sibi (Philipp. II, 6 et seq.). Christus enim Dominus cum esset in Dei forma, exinanivit se, ut formam susciperet hominis, quam operum suorum locupletaret virtutibus. Tu ergo spolias, quem Christus induit? Tu exuis, quem vestivit Christus? Hoc enim agis, quando alterius detrimento tua commoda augere expetis. 16. Considera, o homo, unde nomen sumpseris; ab humo utique, quae nihil cuiquam eripit, sed omnia largitur omnibus, et diversos in usum omnium animantium fructus ministrat. Inde appellata humanitas specialis et domestica virtus hominis, quae consortem adjuvet. 17. Ipsa te doceat forma tui corporis, membrorumque usus. Numquid membrum tuum alterius membri officia sibi vindicat, aut oculus officium oris, aut os oculi officium sibi vindicat, aut manus pedum ministerium, aut pes manuum? Quin etiam ipsae manus dextera ac sinistra dispartita habent officia pleraque, ut si usum commutes utriusque, adversum naturam sit; priusque totum hominem exuas, quam membrorum tuorum ministeria convertas: si aut de sinistra cibum suggeras, aut de dextera fungaris

ministerio sinistrae, ut reliquias ciborum abluas nisi forte poscat necessitas. 18. Finge hanc et da oculo virtutem, ut possit detrahere sensum capiti, auditum auribus, 112 menti cogitationes, odoratum naribus, ori saporem, et sibi conferat; nonne omnem statum dissolvet naturae? Unde pulchre Apostolus ait: Si totum corpus oculus, ubi auditus? Si totum auditus, ubi odoratus (I Cor. XII, 17)? Omnes ergo unum corpus sumus et diversa membra, sed omnia corpori necessaria; non enim potest membrum de membro dicere: Non est mihi necessarium. Quin etiam ipsa quae videntur infirmiora membra esse, multo magis necessaria sunt, et majorem plerumque tuendi se requirunt sollicitudinem. Et si quid dolet membrum unum, compatiuntur ei membra omnia. 19. Unde quam grave est ut detrahamus aliquid ei, cui nos compati oportet: et cui debemus consortium ministerii, ei fraudi et noxae simus! Haec utique lex naturae est, quae nos ad omnem astringit humanitatem, ut alter alteri tamquam unius partes corporis invicem deferamus. Nec detrahendum quidquam putemus, cum contra naturae legem sit non juvare. Sic enim nascimur ut consentiant membra membris, et alterum alteri adhaereat, et obsequantur sibi mutuo ministerio. Quod si unum desit officio suo, impediantur caetera: ut si eruat oculum manus, nonne sibi operis sui usum negavit? Si pedem vulneret, quantorum sibi actuum profectum inviderit? Et quanto gravius est totum hominem quam unum membrum detrahi? Jam si in uno membro totum corpus violatur, utique in uno homine communio totius humanitatis solvitur; violatur natura generis humani, et sanctae Ecclesiae congregatio, quae in unum connexum corpus atque compactum unitate fidei et charitatis assurgit: Christus quoque Dominus, qui pro universis mortuus est, mercedem sanguinis sui evacuatam dolebit. 20. Quid! quod etiam ipsa lex Domini hanc formam tenendam edocet, ut nihil alteri detrahas, tui commodi servandi gratia, cum dicit: Non transferas terminos, quos statuerunt patres tui (Prov. XXII, 28); cum vitulum errantem fratris tui reducendum praecipit

(Exod. XXIII, 4), cum furem mori jubet (Exod. XXII, 2), cum vetat mercenarium debita mercede fraudari, cum pecuniam sine usuris reddendam censuit (Levit. XIX, 13). Subvenire enim non habenti humanitatis est: duritiae autem plus extorquere quam dederis (Deut. XXIII, 19). Etenim si ideo auxilio tuo erit opus, quia non habuit unde de suo redderet; nonne impium est ut sub humanitatis simulatione amplius ab eo poscas, qui non habebat unde minus solveret? Absolvis igitur alteri debitotorem, ut condemnes tibi: et hanc humanitatem vocas, ubi est iniquitatis auctio? 21. Hoc praestamus caeteris animantibus, quod alia genera animantium conferre aliquid nesciunt: ferae autem eripiunt, homines tribuunt. Unde et Psalmista ait: Justus miseretur, et tribuit (Psal. XXXVI, 21). Sunt tamen quibus et ferae conferant. Si quidem collatione sobolem suam nutriunt, et aves cibo suo pullos satiant suos: homini autem soli tributum est, ut omnes tamquam suos pascat. Debet istud ipso naturae jure. Quod si non licet non dare, quomodo detrahere licet? Nec ipsae leges 113 nos docent? ea quae detracta sunt alicui, cum injuria personae, aut rei ipsius cumulo, restitui jubent; quo furem a detrahendo, aut poenis deterreant, aut mulcta revocent. 22. Pone tamen quod aliquis possit aut poenam non timere, aut mulctae illudere; numquid dignum est ut aliqui alteri detrahant? Servile hoc vitium, et familiare ultimae conditioni; adeo contra naturam, ut inopia magis hoc extorquere videatur, quam natura suadere. Servorum tamen occulta furta, divitum rapinae publicae. 23. Quid autem tam contra naturam, quam violare alterum tui commodi causa; cum pro omnibus excubandum, subeundas molestias, suscipiendum laborem naturalis affectus persuadeat: et gloriosum unicuique ducatur, si periculis propriis quaerat universorum tranquillitatem: multoque sibi unusquisque arbitretur gratius excidia patriae repulisse, quam propria pericula: praestantiusque esse existimet quod operam suam patriae impenderit, quam si in otio positus tranquillam vitam voluptatum copiis functus egisset.

CAPUT IV.

UBI STRICTIUS OSTENSUM est eum qui commodi sui causa noceat alteri, graves conscientiae suae paenas luiturum, colligitur uni utile nihil esse, quod itidem non sit omnibus: atque adeo propositae a philosophis de naufragis duobus quaestioni locum non esse apud Christianos, quibus ubique charitas atque humilitas exercendae sunt.

24. Hinc ergo colligitur quod homo, qui secundum naturae formatus est directionem, ut obediat ei, nocere non possit alteri: quod si cui noceat, naturam violet: neque tantum esse commodi quod adipisci sese putet, quantum incommodi, quod ex eo sibi accidat. Quae enim poena gravior, quam interioris vulnus conscientiae? Quod severius judicium, quam domesticum, quo unusquisque sibi est reus, seque ipse arguit quod injuriam fratri indigne fecerit? Quod non mediocriter Scriptura commendat dicens: Ex ore stultorum baculum contumeliae (Prov. XIV, 3). Stultitia igitur condemnatur, quia contumeliam facit. Nonne hoc magis fugiendum, quam mors, quam dispendium, quam inopia, quam exsilium, quam debilitatis dolor? Quis enim vitium corporis, aut patrimonii damnum non levius ducat vitio animi, et existimationis dispendio? 114 25. Liquet igitur id spectandum et tenendum omnibus, quod eadem singulorum sit utilitas, quae sit universorum: nihilque judicandum utile, nisi quod in commune prosit. Quomodo enim potest uni prodesse? Quod inutile sit omnibus, nocet. Mihi certe non videtur, qui inutilis est omnibus, sibi utilis esse posse. Etenim si una lex naturae omnibus, una utique utilitas universorum, ad consulendum utique omnibus naturae lege constringimur. Non est ergo ejus qui consultum velit alteri secundum naturam, nocere ei adversus legem naturae. 26.

Etenim si hi qui in stadio currunt, ita feruntur praeceptis informari atque instrui, ut unusquisque celeritate non fraude contendat, cursuque, quantum potest, ad victoriam properet; supplantare autem alterum aut manu dejicere non ausit: quanto magis in hoc cursu vitae istius, sine fraude alterius et circumscriptione gerenda nobis victoria est? 27. Quaerunt aliqui, si sapiens in naufragio positus insipienti naufrago tabulam extorquere possit, utrum debeat? Mihi quidem, etsi praestabilius communi videatur usui sapientem de naufragio quam insipientem evadere; tamen non videtur quod vir christianus, et justus, et sapiens, quaerere sibi vitam aliena morte debeat: utpote qui etiam si latronem armatum incidat, ferientem referire non possit; ne dum salutem defendit, pietatem contaminet. De quo in Evangelii libris aperta et evidens sententia est: Reconde gladium tuum; omnis enim qui gladio percusserit gladio ferietur (Matth. XXVI, 52). Quis latro detestabilior, quam persecutor qui venerat ut Christum occideret? Sed noluit se Christus persecutorum defendi vulnere, qui voluit suo vulnere omnes sanare. 28. Cur enim te potiorem altero judices, cum viri sit christiani praeferre sibi alterum, nihil sibi arrogare, nullum sibi honorem assumere, non vindicare meriti sui pretium? Deinde cur non tuum tolerare potius incommodum, quam alienum commodum diripere assuescas? Quid tam adversus naturam, quam non esse contentum eo quod habeas, aliena quaerere, ambire turpiter? Nam si honestas secundum naturam, omnia enim fecit Deus bona valde, turpitudo utique contraria est. Non potest ergo honestati convenire et turpitudini, cum haec inter se discreta naturae lege sint. 115

CAPUT V.

JUSTUM NIHIL AGERE quod sit contra officium, etiamsi latendi spem habuerit; ad hoc ipsum significandum fabulam de Gygis annulo excogitatam esse a philosophis, qua explosa, Davidis ac Joannis Baptistae certa et vera exempla proferuntur.

29. Sed jam ut etiam in hoc libro ponamus fastigium, in quo velut in fine disputationis nostrae dirigamus sententiam: ut nihil expetendum sit, nisi quod honestum. Nihil agit sapiens, nisi quod cum sinceritate, sine fraude sit: neque quidquam facit, in quo se crimine quoquam obliget, etiamsi latere possit. Sibi enim est reus priusquam caeteris; nec tam pudenda apud eum publicatio flagitii, quam conscientia est. Quod non fictis fabulis, ut philosophi disputabant, sed verissimis justorum virorum exemplis docere possumus. 30. Non igitur ego simulabo terrae hiatum, quae magnis quibusdam dissiluerit soluta imbribus, in quem descendisse Gyges, atque ibi fabularum illum equum aeneum offendisse a Platone inducitur, qui in lateribus suis fores haberet: quas ubi aperuit, animadvertit annulum aureum in digito mortui hominis, cujus illic exanimum corpus jaceret, aurique avarum sustulisse annulum. Sed cum se ad pastores recepisset regios de quorum ipse numero foret, casu quodam, quod palam ejus annuli ad palmam converterat, ipse omnes videbat, atque a nullo videbatur: deinde cum in locum suum revocasset annulum, videbatur ab omnibus. Cujus solers factus miraculi, per annuli opportunitatem reginae stupro potitus, necem regi intulit, caeterisque interemptis, quos necandos putaverat, ne sibi impedimento forent, Lydiae regnum adeptus est. 31. Da, inquit, hunc annulum sapienti, ut beneficio ejus possit latere, cum deliquerit: non enim

minus fugiet peccatorum contagium, quam si non possit latere. Non enim latebra sapienti spes impunitatis, sed innocentia est. Denique lex non justo, sed injusto posita est (I Tim. I, 9); quia justus legem habet mentis suae, et aequitatis ac justitiae suae normam: ideoque non terrore poenae revocatur a culpa, sed honestatis regula. 32. Ergo ut ad propositum redeamus, non fabulosa pro veris, sed vera pro fabulosis exempla proferam. Quid enim mihi opus est fingere hiatum terrae, equum aeneum, annulumque aureum in digito defuncti repertum; cujus annuli tanta sit vis, ut pro arbitrio suo qui eum sit indutus annulum, 116 appareat, cum velit: cum autem nolit, e conspectu se praesentium subtrahat, ut praesens non possit videri? Nempe eo tendit istud, utrum sapiens etiam si isto utatur annulo, quo possit propria flagitia celare, et regnum assequi; nolitne peccare, et gravius ducat sceleris contagium poenarum doloribus: an vero spe impunitatis utatur ad perpetrandum scelus? Quid, inquam, mihi opus est figmento annuli, cum possim docere ex rebus gestis quod vir sapiens cum sibi in peccato non solum latendum, sed etiam regnandum videret, si peccatum admitteret; contra autem periculum salutis cerneret, si declinaret flagitium; elegerit tamen magis salutis periculum, ut vacaret flagitio, quam flagitium quo sibi regnum pararet? 33. Denique David cum fugeret a facie regis Saul, quod eum rex cum tribus millibus virorum electorum ad inferendam necem in deserto quaereret, ingressus in castra regis, cum dormientem offendisset, non solum ipse non percussit, sed etiam protexit; ne ab aliquo qui simul ingressus fuerat, perimeretur. Nam cum diceret ei Abessa: Conclusit hodie Dominus inimicum tuum in manibus tuis, et nunc occidam eum? respondit: Non consumas eum, quoniam quis injiciet manum suam in christum Domini, et purus erit? Et addidit: Vivit Dominus, quoniam nisi Dominus percusserit illum, aut nisi hora illius venerit, ut moriatur, aut in pugna discesserit, et apponatur mihi; non sit a Domino injicere manum meam in christum Domini (I Reg. XXVI, 8 et seq.). 34. Itaque non permisit necari

eum, sed solam lanceam quae erat ad caput ejus, et lenticulam sustulit. Itaque dormientibus cunctis, egressus de castris transivit in cacumen montis, et coarguere coepit stipatores regios, et praecipue principem militiae Abner, quod nequaquam fidam custodiam regi et domino suo adhiberet: denique demonstraret, ubi esset lancea regis, vel lenticula quae erat ad caput ejus. Et appellatus a rege lanceam reddidit: Et Dominus, inquit, restituat unicuique justitias suas, et fidem suam: sicut tradidit te Dominus in manus meas, et nolui vindicare manu mea in christum Domini. Et cum haec diceret, timebat tamen insidias ejus, et fugit, sedem exsilio mutans. Nec tamen salutem praetulit innocentiae, cum jam secundo facultate sibi tributa regis necandi, noluisset uti occasionis beneficio: quae et securitatem salutis metuenti, et regnum offerebat exsuli. 35. Ubi opus fuit Joanni Gygeo annulo, qui si tacuisset, non esset occisus ab Herode (Marc. VI, 18)? Praestare hoc illi potuit silentium suum, ut et videretur et non occideretur: sed quia non solum 117 peccare se propter salutis defensionem passus non est, sed ne alienum quidem peccatum ferre ac perpeti potuit; ideo in se causam necis excitavit. Certe hoc negare non possunt potuisse fieri ut taceret, qui de illo Gyge negant potuisse fieri ut annuli beneficio absconderetur. 36. Sed fabula, etsi vim non habet veritatis, hanc tamen rationem habet, ut si possit celare se vir justus; tamen ita peccatum declinet, quasi celare non possit: nec personam suam indutus annulum, sed vitam suam Christum indutus abscondat, sicut Apostolus ait: Quia vita nostra abscondita est cum Christo in Deo (Coloss. III, 3). Nemo ergo hic fulgere quaerat, nemo sibi arroget, nemo se jactet (Luc. IX, 36). Nolebat se Christus hic cognosci, nolebat praedicari in Evangelio nomen suum, cum in terris versaretur: venit ut lateret saeculum hoc. Et nos ergo simili modo abscondamus vitam nostram Christi exemplo, fugiamus jactantiam, praedicari non exspectemus. Melius est hic esse in humilitate, ibi in gloria.

Cum Christus, inquit, apparuerit, tunc et vos cum illo apparebitis in gloria (Coloss. III, 4).

CAPUT VI.

PRAEVALERE APUD NOS emolumentum non oportere. Quid obtendere soleant qui a frumentis lucrum captant: quidve illis debeat responderi? Ubi eisdem Evangelica parabola et Salomonis effata sub oculis ponuntur.

37. Non vincat igitur honestatem utilitas, sed honestas utilitatem: hanc dico utilitatem, quae aestimatur secundum vulgi opinionem. Mortificetur avaritia, moriatur concupiscentia. Sanctus in negotiationem introisse se negat; quia pretiorum captare incrementa non simplicitatis, sed versutiae est. Et alius ait: Captans pretia frumenti, maledictus in plebe est (Prov. XI, 26).

38. Definita est sententia, nihil disputationi relinquens, quale controversum genus solet dicendi esse, cum alius allegat agriculturam laudabilem apud omnes haberi, fructus terrae simplices esse, plus qui seminaverit eo probatiorem fore, uberiores reditus industriae non fraudari, negligentiam magis et incuriam ruris inculti reprehendi solere. 39. Aravi, inquit, studiosius, uberius seminavi, diligentius excolui, bonos collegi proventus, sollicitius recondidi, servavi fideliter, provide custodivi. Nunc in tempore famis vendo, subvenio esurientibus: vendo frumentum non alienum, sed meum; non pluris quam caeteri, immo etiam minori pretio. Quid hic fraudi est, cum multi possent periclitari, si non haberent quod emerent? Num industria in crimen vocatur? Num diligentia reprehenditur? Num providentia vituperatur? Fortasse dicat: Et Joseph 118 frumenta in abundantia collegit, in charitate vendidit. Num charius aliquis emere compellitur? Num vis adhibetur emptori? Omnibus defertur emendi copia, nulli irrogatur injuria. 40. His igitur quantum cujusque fert ingenium

disputatis, exsurgit alius, dicens: Bona quidem agricultura, quae fructus ministrat omnibus, quae simplici industria accumulat terrarum fecunditatem, nihil doli, nihil fraudi interserens. Denique si quid vitii fuerit, plus dispendii est; quia si bene aliquis seminaverit, melius metet: si sincerum tritici granum severit, puriorem ac sinceram messem colligit. Fecunda terra multiplicatum reddit, quod acceperit: fidelis ager feneratos solet restituere proventus. 41. De reditibus igitur uberis glebae exspectare debes tui mercedem laboris, de fertilitate pinguis soli justa sperare compendia. Cur ad fraudem convertis naturae industriam? Cur invides usibus hominum publicos partus? Cur populis minuis abundantiam? Cur affectas inopiam? Cur optari facis a pauperibus sterilitatem? Cum enim non sentiunt beneficia fecunditatis, te auctionante pretium, te condente frumentum, optant potius nihil nasci, quam te de fame publica negotiari. Ambis frumentorum indigentiam, alimentorum penuriam, uberes soli partus ingemiscis, fles publicam fertilitatem, horrea frugum plena deploras, exploras quando sterilior proventus sit, quando exilior partus. Votis tuis gaudes arrisisse maledictum, ut nihil cuiquam nasceretur. Tunc messem tuam venisse laetaris, tunc tibi de omnium miseria congeris opes: et hanc tu industriam vocas, hanc diligentiam nominas, quae calliditatis versutia, quae astutia fraudis est; et hoc tu remedium vocas, quod est commentum nequitiae. Latrocinium hoc, an fenus appellem? Captantur tamquam latrocinii tempora, quibus in viscera hominum durus insidiator obrepas. Augetur pretium tamquam sorte cumulatum fenoris, quo periculum capitis acervatur. Tibi conditae frugis multiplicatur usura: tu frumentum quasi fenerator occultas, quasi venditor auctionaris. Quid imprecaris male omnibus, quia major futura sit fames, quasi nihil frugum supersit, quasi infecundior annus sequatur? Lucrum tuum damnum publicum est. 42. Joseph sanctus omnibus aperuit horrea, non clausit: nec pretia captavit annonae, sed perenne subsidium collocavit: nihil sibi acquisivit, sed

quemadmodum fames etiam in posterum vinceretur, provida ordinatione disposuit (Gen. XLI, 56). 43. Legisti quemadmodum hunc frumentarium pretii captatorem exponat in Evangelio Dominus Jesus, cujus possessio divites fructus attulit, et ille quasi egens dicebat: Quid faciam? Non habeo quo congregem, destruam horrea, et majora faciam (Luc. XII, 17, 18); 119 cum scire non posset, utrum sequenti nocte anima sua ab eo reposceretur. Nesciebat quid faceret: quasi ei alimenta deessent, haerebat ambiguo. Non capiebant horrea annonam, et ille se egere credebat. 44. Recte igitur Salomon: Qui continet, inquit, frumentum, relinquet illud nationibus (Prov. XI, 26), non haeredibus, quoniam avaritiae emolumentum ad successorum jura non pervenit. Quod non legitime acquiritur, quasi ventis quibusdam, ita extraneis diripientibus dissipatur. Et addidit: Captans annonam maledictus in plebe est: benedictio autem ejus qui participat (Ibid.). Vides ergo quod largitorem frumenti esse deceat, non pretii captatorem. Non est igitur ista utilitas, in qua plus honestati detrahitur, quam utilitati adjungitur.

CAPUT VII.

PEREGRINOS TEMPORE FAMIS ex urbe neutiquam expellendos. Egregium hac in re christiani senis consilium refertur: cui opponitur indignum facinus Romae admissum; nec non utroque inter se comparato, primum cum honestate atque utilitate conjunctum fuisse ostenditur, secus vero secundum.

45. Sed et illi qui peregrinos urbe prohibent, nequaquam probandi: expellere eo tempore quo debent juvare, separare a commerciis communis parentis, fusos omnibus partus negare, inita jam consortia vivendi averruncare: cum quibus fuerint communia jura, cum his nolle in tempore necessitatis subsidia partiri. Ferae non expellunt feras, et homo excludit hominem. Fere ac bestiae communem putant omnibus victum, quem terra ministrat. Illae etiam conformem sui generis adjuvant, homo impugnat, qui nihil a se alienum debet credere quidquid humani est. 46. Quanto ille rectius, qui cum jam provecta processisset aetate, et famen toleraret civitas, atque (ut in talibus solet) peterent vulgo ut peregrini urbe prohiberentur, praefecturae urbanae curam caeteris majorem sustinens, convocavit honoratos et locupletiores viros, poposcit ut in medium consulerent, dicens quam immane esse peregrinos ejici, quam hominem ab homine exui, qui cibum morienti negaret. Canes ante mensam impastos esse non patimur, et homines excludimus: quam inutile quoque tot populos mundo perire, quos dira conficiebat tabes: quantos urbi suae perire, qui solerent adjumento esse, 120 vel in conferendis subsidiis, vel in celebrandis commerciis: neminem famem alienam juvare: protrahere ut plurimum diem posse, non inopiam repellere; immo tot cultoribus exstinctis, tot agricolis occidentibus, occasura in perpetuum subsidia frumentaria. Hos igitur excludimus, qui victum nobis

inferre consuerunt: hos nolumus in tempore necessitatis pascere, qui nos omni aetate paverunt? Quanta sunt quae ab ipsis nobis hoc ipso tempore ministrantur! Non in solo pane vivit homo (Deut. VIII, 3). Nostra illic familia, plerique etiam nostri parentes sunt. Reddamus quod accepimus. 47. Sed veremur ne cumulemus inopiam. Primum omnium misericordia numquam destituitur, sed adjuvatur. Deinde subsidia annonae, quae his impartienda sunt, collatione redimamus, reparemus auro. Numquid his deficientibus, non alii nobis redimendi cultores videntur? Quanto vilius est pascere, quam emere cultorem! Ubi etiam repares, ubi invenias quem reformes? Adde si invenias, quod ignarum, et alieni usus, numero possis substituere, non cultui. 48. Quid plura? Collato auro, coacta frumenta sunt. Ita nec abundantiam urbis minuit, et peregrinis alimoniam subministravit. Quantae hoc commendationis apud Deum fuit sanctissimo seni, quantae apud homines gloriae! Hic magnus vere probatus, qui vere potuit imperatori dicere, demonstrans provinciae totius populos: Hos tibi omnes reservavi, hi vivunt beneficio tui senatus, hos tua curia morti abstulit. 49. Quanto hoc utilius quam illud quod proxime Romae factum est, ejectos esse urbe amplissima, qui jam plurimam illic aetatem transegerant, flentes cum filiis abiisse, quibus velut civibus amoliendum exsilium deplorarent, interruptas complurium necessitudines, diremptas affinitates! Et certe arriserat anni fecunditas, invectitio urbs sola egebat frumento: potuisset juvari, si peteretur ab Italis frumentum, quorum filii expellebantur. Nihil hoc turpius, excludere quasi alienum, et exigere quasi suum. Quid illum ejicis, qui de suo pascitur? Quid illum ejicis, qui te pascit? Servum retines, trudis parentem? Frumentum suscipis, nec affectum impertis? Victum extorques, nec rependis gratiam? 50. Quam deforme hoc, quam inutile! Quomodo? enim potest utile esse quod non decet? 121 Quantis corporatorum subsidiis dudum Roma fraudata est? Potuit et illos non amittere, et evadere famem, exspectatis ventorum opportunis flatibus, et speratarum commeatu navium.

51. Quam vero illud superius honestum atque utile! Quid enim tam decorum atque honestum, quam collatione locupletum juvari egentes, ministrari victum es urientibus; nulli cibum defore? Quid tam utile, quam cultores agro reservari, non interire plebem rusticanorum? 52. Quod honestum igitur, et utile est: et quod utile, honestum. Et contra quod inutile, indecorum; quod autem indecorum, id etiam inutile.

CAPUT VIII.

EOS QUI HONESTUM utili anteponant a Deo probari, Josue, Caleb, et aliorum exploratorum patere exemplis.

53. Quando majores nostri servitio exire potuissent, nisi id non solum turpe, sed etiam inutile credidissent regi servire Aegyptiorum (Exod. XII, 34 et seq.)? 54. Jesus quoque et Caleb missi ad explorandam terram, uberem quidem terram, sed a ferocissimis inhabitari gentibus nuntiaverunt. Terrore belli populus infractus, recusabat terrae ejus possessionem (Num. XIII, 28 et seq.). Suadebant missi exploratores Jesus et Caleb terram esse utilem: indecorum putabant cedere nationibus: lapidari potius eligebant, quod minabatur populus, quam decedere de honestate. Dissuadebant alii; plebs reclamabat, dicens adversus diras et asperas gentes bellum fore, cadendum sibi in praelio, mulieres suas et pueros direptioni futuros. 55. Exarsit Domini indignatio, ut omnes vellet perdere: sed rogante Moyse, temperavit sententiam, ultionem distulit, satis esse perfidis supplicii judicans, etsi parceret interim, nec percuteret incredulos, ad eam tamen terram quam recusaverant, propter incredulitatis suae pretium non pervenirent: sed pueri et mulieres qui non immurmuraverant, vel sexu, vel aetate veniabiles, caperent ejus terrae promissam haereditatem. Denique quicumque erant a vigesimo anno et supra in deserto, eorum membra ceciderunt, sed aliorum dilata est poena. Qui autem ascenderunt cum Jesu, et dissuadendum putaverunt, plaga magna statim mortui sunt: Jesus vero et Caleb cum innoxia aetate vel sexu in terram promissionis intraverunt (Num. XIV, 6 et seq.). 56. Pars igitur melior gloriam saluti praetulit, deterior salutem honestati. Divina autem sententia eos probavit, qui honesta utilibus

praestare arbitrabantur: eos vero condemnavit, apud quos ea quae videbantur saluti potius quam honestati accommoda, praeponderabant. 122

CAPUT IX.

FRAUDES ET TURPIA lucra maxime dedecere clericos, quorum est utilitati omnium inservire: illos in causis pecuniariis intervenire nequaquam debere, secus vero in capitalibus. Eisdem ne cui, etiam lacessiti, noceant, exemplum David; neu autem vitam honestati praeferant, caedes Nabuthe proponitur.

57. Nihil itaque deformius quam nullum habere amorem honestatis, et usu quodam degeneris mercaturae, quaestu sollicitari ignobili, avaro aestuare corde, diebus ac noctibus hiare in alieni detrimenta patrimonii, non elevare animum ad honestatis nitorem, non considerare verae laudis pulchritudinem. 58. Hinc nascuntur aucupio quaesitae haereditates, continentiae atque gravitatis simulatione captatae: quod abhorret a proposito christiani viri; omne enim quod arte elicitum, et fraude compositum est, caret merito simplicitatis. In ipsis qui nullum Ecclesiastici ordinis officium receperint, incongrua judicatur affectatae ambitio haereditatis. In supremo fine vitae positos suum habere judicium, ut libere testentur quod sentiunt, qui postea non sunt emendaturi: cum honestum non sit competentia compendia aliis vel debita, vel parata avertere; cum vel sacerdotis vel ministri sit prodesse, si fieri potest, omnibus, obesse nemini. 59. Denique (14, quaest. 5, cap. Denique) si non potest alteri subveniri, nisi alter laedatur, commodius est neutrum juvari, quam gravari alterum. Ideoque in causis pecuniariis intervenire non est sacerdotis: in quibus non potest fieri, quin frequenter laedatur alter qui vincitur, quoniam intercessoris beneficio se victum arbitratur. Sacerdotis est igitur nulli nocere, prodesse velle omnibus: posse autem solius est Dei. Nam in causa capitis nocere ei quem juvare debeas periclitantem, non sine peccato est gravi: in causa autem

pecuniae odia quaerere, insipientiae est; cum pro salute hominis graves frequenter fiant molestiae: in quo etiam periclitari gloriosum sit. Proposita igitur forma in sacerdotis officio teneatur; ut nulli noceat, ne lacessitus quidem, et aliqua injuria offensus. Bonus enim est vir qui dixit: Si reddidi retribuentibus mihi mala (Psal. VII, 5). Quae enim est gloria, si eum non laedimus, qui nos non laeserit? Sed illa virtus est, si laesus remittas. 60. Quam honestum, quod cum potuisset regi inimico nocere, maluit parcere (I Reg. XXIV, 5 et seq.)! Quam etiam utile, quia successori hoc profuit, ut discerent omnes fidem regi proprio servare, nec usurpare imperium, sed vereri! Itaque et honestas utilitati praelata est, et utilitas secuta honestatem est. 123 61. Parum est quod pepercit, addidit quod etiam in bello doluit occisum, et flebiliter deploravit dicens: Montes qui estis in Gelbeal, neque ros, neque pluvia cadat super vos. Montes mortis, quoniam ibi sublata est protectio potentium, protectio Saul. Non est unctus in oleo et sanguine vulneratorum, et ex adipe belligerantium. Sagitta Jonathae non est reversa retro, et gladius Saul non est reversus vacuus. Saul et Jonathas speciosi et charissimi, inseparabiles in vita sua, et in morte non sunt separati. Super aquilas leviores, super leones potentiores. Filiae Israel, plorate super Saul, qui vestiebat vos vestimenta coccinea cum ornamento vestro, qui imponebat aurum super vestimenta vestra. Quomodo ceciderunt potentes in media pugna? Jonathas in morte vulneratus est. Doleo in te, frater meus, Jonatha, speciosus mihi valde. Ceciderat amor tuus in me, sicut amor mulierum. Quomodo ceciderunt potentes, et perierunt arma concupiscenda (II Reg. I, 21 et seq.) ? 62. Quae mater sic unicum defleret filium quemadmodum hic deflevit inimicum? Quis gratiae auctorem tantis prosequeretur laudibus, quantis iste prosecutus est insidiatorem capitis sui? Quam pie doluit, quanto ingemuit affectu! Aruerunt montes prophetico maledicto, et divina vis sententiam maledicentis implevit. Itaque pro regiae necis spectaculo poenam elementa solverunt. 63. Quid vero sancto Nabuthe, quae fuit causa

mortis, nisi honestatis contemplatio? Nam cum ab eo vineam rex posceret, pecuniam daturum se pollicens; indecorum pretium pro paterna recusavit haereditate, maluitque morte declinare hujusmodi turpitudinem. Non mihi, inquit, faciat Dominus, ut dem tibi haereditatem patrum meorum (III Reg. XXI, 3); hoc est, tantum mihi opprobrium non fiat, non permittat Deus tantum extorqueri flagitium. Non utique de vitibus dicit, neque enim de vitibus cura est Deo, neque de terreno spatio, sed de jure loquitur patrum. Potuit utique alteram vineam de vineis regis accipere, et amicus esse; in quo non mediocris saeculi hujus utilitas aestimari solet: sed quod turpe erat, judicavit non videri utile: maluitque periculum cum honestate subire, quam utilitatem cum opprobrio: vulgarem utilitatem loquor, non illam in qua etiam honestatis gratia est. 64. Denique et ipse rex potuit extorquere, sed impudens arbitrabatur, sed occisum doluit. Dominus quoque mulieris immanitatem, quae honestatis immemor turpe antetulit lucrum, congruo supplicio plectendam annuntiavit. 65. Turpis est itaque omnis fraus. Denique etiam in rebus vilibus exsecrabilis est staterae fallacia, et fraudulenta mensura. Si in foro rerum venalium, in usu commerciorum fraus plectitur, potestne irreprehensibilis videri inter officia 124 virtutum? Clamabat Salomon: Pondus magnum et exiguum, et mensurae duplices immundae sunt coram Domino (Prov. XX, 10). Supra quoque ait: Statera adultera, abominatio est Domino, pondus autem aequum acceptabile est illi (Prov. XI, 1).

CAPUT X.

De fraude in omni contractu fugienda non solum in politico jure cautum esse, verum etiam in sacris litteris, ut Josue ac Gabaonitarum patet exemplo.

66. In omnibus igitur decora est fides, justitia grata, mensura aequitatis jucunda. Quid autem loquar de contractibus caeteris, ac maxime de coemptione praediorum, vel transactionibus, atque pactis? Nonne formulae sunt, dolum malum abesse: eumque cujus dolus fuerit deprehensus, duplici poenae obnoxium fore? Ubique igitur honestatis praeponderat consideratio, quae dolum excludit, fraudem ejicit? Unde recte generalem David propheta prompsit sententiam dicens: Nec fecit proximo suo malum (Psal. XIV, 3). Non solum itaque in contractibus (in quibus etiam vitia eorum quae veneant, prodi jubentur, ac nisi intimaverit venditor, quamvis in jus emptoris transcripserit, doli actione vacuantur), sed etiam generaliter in omnibus dolus abesse debet: aperienda simplicitas, intimanda veritas est.

67. Veterem autem istam de dolo non jurisperitorum formulam, sed patriarcharum sententiam Scriptura divina evidenter expressit in libro Testamenti veteris, qui Jesu Nave inscribitur. Nam cum exisset fama per populos, siccatum esse mare in Hebraeorum transitu, fluxisse aquam de petra, de coelo diurnam ministrari alimoniam tot populi millibus abundantem; corruisse muros Hierico sacro tubarum sono, ictu et ululatu plebis arietatos; Hethaeorum quoque regem victum, et suspensum in ligno usque ad vesperam: Gabaonitae metuentes validam manum, venerunt cum versutia, simulantes se de terra longinqua esse, diuque peregrinatos dirupisse calceamenta, detrivisse amictus vestium, quarum veterascentium indicia monstrarent; causam autem tanti laboris, emerendae pacis, et

ineundae cum Hebraeis esse amicitiae cupiditatem; et coeperunt ab Jesu Nave poscere, ut secum firmaret societatem. Et quia adhuc erat ignarus locorum, atque incolarum inscius, non cognovit fraudes eorum, neque Deum interrogavit: sed cito credidit. 68. Adeo sancta erat illis temporibus fides eorum, ut fallere aliquos posse non crederetur. Quis hoc reprehendat in sanctis, qui caeteros de suo affectu aestimant; et quia ipsis amica est veritas, mentiri neminem putant, fallere quid sit 125 ignorant: libenter credunt quod ipsi sunt, nec possunt suspectum habere quod non sunt. Hinc Salomon ait: Innocens credit omni verbo (Prov. XIV, 15; 22, q. 4, c. Innocens). Non vituperanda facilitas, sed laudanda bonitas. Hoc est innocentem esse ignorare quod noceat: et si circumscribitur ab aliquo; de omnibus tamen bene judicat, qui fidem esse in omnibus arbitratur. 69. Hac igitur mentis suae devotione inclinatus ut crederet, testamentum disposuit, pacem dedit, confirmavit societatem. Sed ubi in terras eorum ventum est, deprehensa fraude, quod cum essent finitimi, advenas se esse simulaverant, circumscriptum sese populus patrum indignari coepit. Jesus tamen pacem quam dederat, revocandam non censuit; quia firmata erat sacramenti religione; ne dum alienam perfidiam arguit, suam fidem solveret. Mulctavit tamen eos vilioris obsequio ministerii. Clementior sententia, sed diuturnior; manet enim officiis poena veteris astutiae, haereditario in hunc diem ministerio deputata (Josue IX, 15 et seq.).

CAPUT XI.

INDUCTIS PER RETICENTIAM rhetoricam fraudum quarumdam exemplis, eas atque alias omnes apertius in Scriptura damnari ostenditur.

70. Non ego in haereditatibus adeundis digitorum percussiones, et nudi successoris saltationes notabo; nam haec etiam vulgo notabilia: non simulatae piscationis compositas copias, ut emptoris illiceretur affectus. Cur enim tam studiosus luxuriae ac deliciarum repertus est, ut hujusmodi fraudem pateretur? 71. Quid mihi tractare de Syracusano illo amoeno secretoque secessu, et de Siculi hominis ealliditate: qui cum peregrinum aliquem reperisset, cognito quod cupidus esset hortorum venalium, ad coenam in hortos rogaverit: promisisse invitatum, postridie venisse: offendisse illic magnam piscatorum multitudinem, exquisitis copiis adornatum convivium, in prospectu coenantium ante hortulos compositos piscatores, ubi numquam ante jaciebant retia: unusquisque quod ceperat, certatim offerebat epulantibus: supra mensam pisces ingerebantur, oculos recumbentium resilientes verberabant. Mirari hospes tantam copiam piscium, tantumque numerum cymbarum. Responsum quaerenti, aquationem illic esse, dulcis aquae gratia innumerabiles eo pisces convenire. Quid multa? Pellexit hospitem, ut sibi extorqueret hortos: vendere volens cogitur, pretium gravatus suscipit. 72. Sequenti die ad hortos emptor cum amicis venit, navigium nullum invenit. Percontanti num aliqua piscatoribus eo esset die feriarum solemnitas, respondetur nulla, nec umquam illic 126 praeter hesternum diem piscari solitos. Quam hic redarguendi haberet auctoritatem doli, qui tam turpe captarit aucupium deliciarum? Qui enim alterum peccati arguit, ipse a peccato debet alienus

esse. Non ergo hujusmodi nugas ego in hanc Ecclesiasticae censionis auctoritatem vocabo, quae generaliter condemnat omnem lucri turpis appetentiam, brevique sermonis compendio excludit levitatem ac versutiam. 73. Nam de illo quid loquar, qui de eo testamento quod ab aliis licet factum, falsum tamen cognoverit, haereditatem sibi aut legatum vindicet, et lucrum quaerat alieno crimine: cum etiam leges publicae eum qui sciens falso utitur, tamquam reum facinoris astringant? Regula autem justitiae manifesta est, quod a vero declinare virum non deceat bonum, nec damno injusto afficere quemquam, nec doli aliquid annectere fraudisve componere. 74. Quid evidentius eo quod Ananias (Act. V, 1 et seq.), qui fraudavit de pretio agri sui, quem ipse vendiderat, et portionem pretii tamquam summae totius numerum ante pedes posuit apostolorum, sicut reus fraudis interiit? Licuit utique illi nihil offerre, et hoc sine fraude fecisset. Sed quia fraudem admiscuit, non liberalitatis gratiam reportavit, sed fallaciae poenam exsolvit. 75. Et Dominus in Evangelio cum dolo accedentes repudiabat, dicens: Vulpes foveas habent (Matth. VIII, 20); quoniam in simplicitate cordis, et innocentia nos jubet vivere. David quoque ait: Sicut novacula acuta fecisti dolum (Psal. LI, 4); nequitiae arguens proditorem, eo quod instrumentum hujusmodi ad hominis adhibetur ornatum, et plerumque ulcerat. Si quis igitur praetendat gratiam, et dolum nectat proditoris exemplo, ut eum quem protegere debeat, prodat ad mortem; instrumenti istius comparatione censetur, quod ebriae mentis et titubantis vitio manus vulnerare consuevit. Sicut iste malitiae ebrius vino, per funestae proditionis indicium Abimelech sacerdoti necem detulit, eo quod Prophetam hospitio recepisset, quem rex invidiae accensus stimulis persequebatur (I Reg. XXII).

CAPUT XII.

NIHIL PROMITTENDUM QUOD sit inhonestum, nec si quid injustum juraveris, id observandum; contra quam peccasse Herodes demonstratur. Culpatur etiam votum a Jephthe nuncupatum, itemque alia omnia quae sibi exsolvi Deus nolit. Denique filia ejusdem Jephthe cum duobus Pythagoraeis componitur ac praeponitur.

76. Purum igitur ac sincerum oportet esse affectum, ut unusquisque (22, q. 4, c. Unusquisque) simplicem sermonem proferat, vas suum in sanctitate possideat, nec fratrem circumscriptione verborum inducat, nihil promittat inhonestum: ac si promiserit, 127 tolerabilius est promissum non facere, quam facere quod turpe sit. 77. Saepe plerique constringunt seipsos jurisjurandi sacramento: et cum ipsi cognoverint promittendum non fuisse; sacramenti tamen contemplatione faciunt quod spoponderunt: sicut de Herode supra scripsimus (Sup. c. 9), qui saltatrici praemium turpiter promisit, crudeliter solvit. Turpe, quod regnum pro saltatione promittitur: crudele, quod mors prophetae pro jurisjurandi religione donatur. Quanto tolerabilius tali fuisset perjurium sacramento? Si tamen perjurium posset dici, quod ebrius inter vina juraverat, quod eviratus inter saltantium choros promiserat. Infertur disco prophetae caput: et hoc aestimatum est fidei esse, quod amentiae fuit. 78. Neque umquam adducar ut credam non incaute principem promisisse Jephthe, ut immolaret Deo quidquid sibi revertenti intra limen domus suae occurreret; cum et ipsum voti poenituerit sui, postquam filia occurrit sibi. Denique conscidit vestimenta sua, et dixit: Heu me! filia mea, impedisti mihi, stimulus doloris facta es mihi (Judic. XI, 35). Qui licet pio metu ac formidine acerbitatem durae solutionis impleverit;

tamen luctum annuum etiam posteris deplorandum statuit ac dereliquit. Dura promissio, acerbior solutio, quam necesse habuit lugere etiam ipse qui fecit. Denique factum est praeceptum et decretum in Israel ex diebus in dies: Ambulabant, inquit, filiae populi Israel, lugentes filiam Jephthe Galaaditidis quatuor diebus in anno (Ibid., 40). Non possum accusare virum qui necesse habuit implere quod voverat; sed tamen miserabilis necessitas, quae solvitur parricidio (22, q. 4, cap. Unusquisque, § Miserabilis). 79. Melius est non vovere, quam vovere id quod sibi cui promittitur, nolit exsolvi. Denique in Isaac habemus exemplum (Gen. XXII, 13), pro quo arietem Dominus statuit immolari sibi. Non semper igitur promissa solvenda omnia sunt (22, q. 4, cap. Non semper). Denique ipse Dominus frequenter suam mutat sententiam, sicut Scriptura indicat. Nam et in eo libro qui inscribitur Numeri, proposuerat percutere morte et perdere populum: sed postea rogatus a Moyse, reconciliatus est populo suo (Num. XVI, 12 et seq.). Et iterum ad Moysen et Aaron ait: Dividite vos de medio Synagogae ejus, et consummabo eos simul (Num. XVI, 21). Quibus discedentibus de coetu, Dathan et Abiron subito impios terra praerupto soluta hiatu absorbuit. 80. Praecellentius et antiquius istud exemplum de filia Jephthe, quam illud quod memorabile habetur apud philosophos de duobus Pythagoraeis quorum alter cum a tyranno Dionysio capitis damnatus esset, praescripto mortis die, poposcit ut domum pergendi ei facultas daretur, quo commendaret suos: ac ne revertendi 128 nutaret fides, vadem mortis obtulit, ea conditione ut si ipse deforet ad constitutum diem, vas ejus sibi pro eo moriendum agnosceret. Nec qualitatem sponsionis qui offerebatur recusavit, constantique animo diem necis praestolabatur. Itaque alter se non subtraxit, alter ad diem recepit. Quod eousque fuit mirabile, ut tyrannus eos sibi in amicitiam adsciscerat, quorum urgebat periculum. 81. Quod ergo in spectatis et eruditis viris plenum miraculi est, hoc in virgine multo magnificentius, multoque illustrius deprehenditur, quae ingemiscenti

patri ait: Fac mihi ut exivit de ore tuo (Jud. XI, 36 et seq.). Sed spatium duorum poposcit mensium, ut cum aequalibus conventum ageret in montibus, quae virginitatem ejus praedestinatam neci pio affectu prosequerentur. Nec fletus aequalium movit puellam, nec dolor flexit, nec gemitus retardavit, nec dies praeteriit, nec fefellit hora. Rediit ad patrem, quasi ad votum rediret, et voluntate propria cunctantem impulit, fecitque arbitratu spontaneo, ut quod erat impietatis fortuitum, fieret pietatis sacrificium.

CAPUT XIII.

JUDITHAM CUM MULTA pericula pro honestate subiisset, multiplicem reportasse utilitatem.

82. Ecce tibi Judith se offert mirabilis, quae formidatum populis virum Holophernem adit, Assyriorum triumphali septum caterva. Quem primo formae gratia et vultus decore perculit, deinde sermonis circumscripsit elegantia (Judith X, 12 et seq.). Primus triumphus ejus fuit, quod integrum pudorem de tabernaculo hostis revexit: secundus, quod femina de viro reportavit victoriam, fugavit populos consilio suo (Judith XIII, 20). 83. Horruerunt Persae audaciam ejus. Utique quod in illis Pythagoraeis duobus mirantur, non expavit mortis periculum, sed nec pudoris, quod est gravius bonis feminis: non unius ictum carnificis, sed nec totius exercitus tela trepidavit. Stetit inter cuneos bellatorum femina, inter victricia arma, secura mortis. Quantum ad molem spectat periculi, moritura processit: quantum ad fidem, dimicatura. 84. Honestatem igitur secuta est Judith, et dum eam sequitur, utilitatem invenit. Honestatis enim fuit prohibere ne populus Dei se profanis dederet, ne ritus patrios et sacramenta proderet; ne sacras virgines, viduas graves, pudicas matronas barbaricae subjiceret impuritati; ne obsidionem deditione solveret: honestatis fuit se malle pro omnibus periclitari, ut omnes eximeret periculo (Judith VIII, 10 et seq.). 85. Quanta honestatis auctoritas, ut consilium 129 de summis rebus femina sibi vindicaret, nec principibus populi committeret! Quanta honestatis auctoritas, ut Deum adjutorem praesumeret: quanta gratia, ut inveniret!

CAPUT XIV.

ELISAEI FACTUM QUAM honestum atque utile fuerit. Ejusdem cum decantato Graecorum facinore comparatio. Joannem pro honestate vitam impendisse: nec non Susannam eadem causa se mortis periculo objecisse.

86. Quid vero Elisaeus nisi honestatem secutus est, cum exercitum Syriae, qui ad obsidendum eum venerat, captivum introduxit in Samariam, cujus oculos caecitate obduxerat, et dixit: Domine, aperi oculos eorum, ut videant, et viderunt (IV Reg. VI, 18 et seq.)? Itaque cum rex Israel percutere ingressos vellet, eamque sibi dari a propheta facultatem posceret; respondit non percutiendos, quorum captivitatem non esset manu operatus, armisque bellicis, sed magis subsidio alimentorum juvandos. Denique epularibus refecti copiis, numquam postea in terram Israel piratae Syriae revertendum putarunt. 87. Quanto hoc sublimius, quam illud Graecorum quod cum duo populi adversum se de gloria imperioque decertarent, et alter ex his haberet copiam quemadmodum naves alterius populi clanculo exureret, turpe credidit: maluitque minus posse honeste, quam plus turpiter. Et isti quidem sine flagitio hoc facere nequibant, ut eos qui consummandi belli Persici gratia in societatem convenerant, hac fraude deciperent; quam licet possent negare, non possent tamen non erubescere: Elisaeus autem non fraude, deceptos licet, sed potestate Domini percussos, maluit tamen servare quam perdere; quia decorum foret hosti parcere, et adversario donare vitam, quam potuisset auferre nisi pepercisset. 88. Liquet igitur id quod decorum est, semper esse utile. Nam et Judith sancta decoro contemptu propriae salutis solvit obsidionis periculum, et publicam honestate propria acquisivit utilitatem: et Elisaeus gloriosius ignovit, quam perculit: et utilius reservavit

hostes quos ceperat. 89. Quid autem aliud Joannes nisi honestatem consideravit? ut inhonestas nuptias etiam in rege non posset perpeti, dicens: Non licet tibi illam uxorem habere (Marc. XIV, 4). Potuit tacere, nisi indecorum sibi judicasset mortis metu verum non dicere, inclinare regi propheticam auctoritatem, adulationem subtexere. Sciebat utique moriturum se esse, quia regi adversabatur: sed honestatem saluti praetulit. Et tamen quid utilius quam quod passionis viro sancto advexit gloriam? 90. Sancta quoque Susanna denuntiato falsi testimonii terrore, cum hinc se videret urgeri 130 periculo, inde opprobrio, maluit honesta morte vitare opprobrium, quam studio salutis turpem vitam subire ac sustinere. Itaque dum honestati intendit, etiam vitam reservavit: quae si id quod sibi videbatur ad vitam utile praeoptavisset, non tantam reportasset gloriam: immo etiam id quod non solum inutile, sed etiam periculosum foret, poenam criminis forsitan non evasisset (Dan. XIII). Advertimus igitur quia id quod turpe est, non possit esse utile: neque rursus id quod honestum est, inutile; quia complex honestatis est semper utilitas, et utilitatis honestas.

CAPUT XV.

RELATO ROMANORUM GENEROSO consilio, maximam fuisse Moysi honestatis curam, ex ejus factis declaratur.

91. Memorabile ferunt rhetores, quod dux Romanorum cum ad eum adversarii regis medicus venisset, pollicens daturum se regi venenum, vinctum eum ad hostem remiserit. Et revera praeclarum, ut qui virtutis certamen susceperat nollet fraude vincere. Non enim in victoria honestatem ponebat, sed ipsam, nisi honestate quaesitam, victoriam turpem pronuntiabat. 92. Redeamus ad nostrum Moysen, atque ad superiora revertamur; ut quanto praestantiora, tanto antiquiora promamus. Nolebat Aegypti rex populum dimittere patrum. Dixit Moyses sacerdoti Aaron, ut extenderet virgam suam super omnes aquas Aegypti. Extendit Aaron, et conversa est aqua fluminis in sanguinem, et nemo poterat bibere aquam, omnesque Aegyptii siti peribant: sincera autem fluenta patribus abundabant (Exod. VII, 20). Jactaverunt favillam in coelum, et facta sunt ulcera, et vesicae candentes in hominibus et quadrupedibus (Exod. IX, 10 et seq.). Deduxerunt grandinem in igne flammeo, contrita erant super terram omnia. Rogavit Moyses, et universa in suam gratiam reverterunt: grando sedata est, sanata ulcera, solitos potus flumina praebuerunt (Ibid. 30). 93. Iterum caligantibus tenebris operta erat terra per triduum, ex quo Moyses manum levaverat, et tenebras infuderat (Exod. X, 22). Moriebatur omne primogenitum Aegypti, cum Hebraeorum omnis esset inoffensa progenies. Rogatus Moyses, ut his quoque finem exitiis daret, oravit et impetravit (Exod. XII, 29 et seq.). In illo praedicandum, quod a fraudis consortio temperaverit: in hoc mirabile quoniam divinitus intentata supplicia virtute

propria etiam ab hoste detorserit, vere nimium, sicut scriptum est, mansuetus et mitis. Sciebat quod fidem rex non servaret promissis; tamen honestum putabat ut rogatus oraret, laesus benediceret, appetitus remitteret (Num. XII, 3). 94. Projecit virgam, et serpens factus est, qui devoravit serpentes Aegyptiorum (Exod. VII, 12): significans quod Verbum caro fieret, quae serpentis diri venena 131 vacuaret per remissionem et indulgentiam peccatorum. Virga est enim Verbum directum, regale, plenum potestatis, insigne imperii. Virga serpens facta est, quoniam qui erat Filius Dei ex Deo Patre natus, Filius hominis factus est, natus ex Virgine: qui quasi serpens exaltatus in cruce, medicinam vulneribus infudit humanis. Unde et ipse Dominus ait: Sicut Moyses exaltavit serpentem in deserto, ita exaltari oportet Filium hominis (Joan. III, 14). 95. Denique et alterum signum ad Dominum Jesum pertinet, quod fecit Moyses: Manum suam misit in sinum, et protulit eam, et facta est manus ejus sicut nix. Iterum misit, et protulit eam, et erat sicut carnis humanae species (Exod. IV, 6, 7); significans Domini Jesu primum fulgorem Divinitatis, postea susceptionem carnis, in qua fide credere omnes gentes populosque oporteret. Merito manum misit, quia dextera Dei Christus est, in cujus divinitate et incarnatione si quis non crediderit, quasi reprobus flagellatur: sicut iste rex qui quoniam signis non credidit evidentibus, postea flagellatus orabat, ut veniam mereretur. Quantus igitur honestatis affectus esse debeat, ex his probatur, et eo maxime quod se objiciebat pro populo, dicens ut remitteret populo Deus, aut certe de libro viventium se deleret.

CAPUT XVI.

PAUCIS DE TOBIA injectis, Raguelem honestate philosophis antecelluisse evincitur.

96. Tobis quoque formam expressit honestatis evidentius, cum relicto convivio mortuos sepeliret, et ad cibos pauperis mensae invitaret inopes (Tobiae II, 2 et seq.). Raguel praecipue, qui contemplatione honestatis, cum rogaretur ut filiam suam in conjugium daret, vitia quoque filiae non tacebat; ne circumvenire petitorem videretur tacendo. Itaque cum Tobis filius Tobis posceret ut sibi daretur puella, respondit lege quidem ipsi eam deberi tamquam propinquo, sed dedisse se eam jam sex viris, et omnes eos esse mortuos. Justus itaque vir plus alienis timebat, et malebat innuptam sibi manere filiam, quam propter nuptias ejus extraneos periclitari (Tobiae VII, 13 et seq.). 97. Quam breviter absolvit omnes quaestiones philosophorum. Illi de vitiis tractant domorum, tegenda an prodenda a venditore videantur: noster iste nec filiae vitia celanda arbitratus est. Et certe non ipse affectabat ut eam traderet, sed rogabatur. Quanto utique iste honestior sit illis, dubitare non possumus, si conferamus quanto praestantior sit filiae causa, quam rei venalis pecunia. 132

CAPUT XVII.

QUANTO HONESTATIS STUDIO antiqui patres in captivitatem abituri, sacrum ignem occuluerint.

98. Consideremus aliud quod in captivitate gestum, summum tenuit honestatis decorem. Nullis enim adversis honestas impeditur, quae in his eminet, et magis praecellit quam in prosperis. Inter vincula itaque, inter arma, flammas, servitutem, quae liberis omni supplicio gravior est, inter poenas morientium, excidia patriae, vivorum formidinem, sanguinem peremptorum, non excidit tamen cura honestatis majoribus nostris: sed inter eversae patriae cineres et favillas in affectibus piis resplenduit et refulsit. 99. Nam cum in Persidem ducerentur patres nostri, qui tunc Dei omnipotentis cultores erant, acceptum ignem de altari sacerdotes Domini occulte in valle absconderunt. Erat illic velut patens puteus, aquae secessu infrequens, nec populari usui patens, ignoto et ab arbitris remoto loco: ibi obsignaverunt indicio sacro pariter ac silentio ignem reconditum (II Mach. I, 19 et seq.). Non illis studio fuit aurum defodere, argentum abscondere, quod servarent posteris suis: sed inter extrema sua honestatis curam habentes, sacrum ignem servandum putarunt; ne eum vel impuri contaminarent, vel defunctorum sanguis exstingueret, vel deformium ruinarum acervus aboleret. 100. Abierunt itaque in Persidem sola religione liberi; quoniam sola illis per captivitatem extorqueri nequivit. Post vero plurimum temporis, quando placuit Deo, dedit hanc mentem regi Persarum, ut restaurari in Judea templum, et legitimos reparari Hierosolymis ritus juberet. Cujus gratia muneris Neemiam sacerdotem rex Persarum direxit. At ille secum deduxit sacerdotum illorum nepotes, qui profecturi de patrio

solo, sacrum ne periret ignem absconderant. Venientes autem, ut patrum sermone est proditum, non invenerunt ignem, sed aquam. Et cum deesset ignis, quo adolerent altaria, haurire eos aquam Neemias sacerdos, sibique deferre, et aspergere super ligna jussit. Tunc, visu mirabile! cum esset coelum intextum nubibus, sol repente illuxit, accensus est magnus ignis; ita ut omnes in tam evidenti Domini gratia factum stupentes, laetitia perfunderentur. Orabat Neemias, psallebant sacerdotes hymnum Deo. Utque consumptum est sacrificium, jussit iterum Neemias residua aqua majores perfundi lapides: quo facto flamma accensa est, lumen autem refulgens ab altari consummatum illico est. 101. Hoc patefacto indicio, rex Persarum eo loco in quo ignis fuerat absconditus, et postea reperta est aqua, templum fieri mandavit, cui 133 inferebantur dona plurima. Appellaverunt autem illud qui erant cum sancto Neemia, ephthar, quod interpretationem habet purificationis: a plurimis nephthe vocatur. Invenitur autem in descriptionibus Hieremiae prophetae, quod jusserit accipere de igne eos qui postea essent futuri. Hic est ignis qui cecidit super sacrificium Moysi, et consumpsit illud, sicut scriptum est: Quia exivit ignis a Domino, et consumpsit universa quae erant super altare holocausta (Levit. IX, 24). Hoc igne oportebat sanctificari sacrificium; ideoque et in filios Aaron qui alienum ignem inferre voluerunt, exivit iterum ignis a Domino et consumpsit eos, ita ut mortui extra castra projicerentur (Levit. X, 1 et seq.). 101*. Veniens autem Hieremias in locum, invenit domum in modum speluncae, et tabernaculum et arcam, et altare incensi intulit illuc, et obstruxit ostium: quod cum hi qui simul venerant, curiosius perscrutarentur, ut notarent sibi locum; nequaquam comprehendere atque invenire potuerunt. Ut autem cognovit Hieremias quod affectassent, dixit: Ignotus erit locus, donec congreget Deus congregationem populi, et propitius fiat. Tunc Deus ostendet haec, et apparebit majestas Domini (II Mach. II, 5 et seq.).

CAPUT XVIII.

SUPERIORIS EVENTUS, AC potissimum oblati a Neemia sacrificii narratione Spiritum sanctum, Christianorumque baptisma significari: et eodem etiam Moysis et Eliae sacrificium, atque historiam Noe referri.

102. Congregationem populi tenemus, propitiationem Domini Dei nostri agnoscimus, quam propitiator in sua operatus est passione. Arbitror quod nec ignem istum possimus ignorare, cum legerimus quia baptizat Dominus Jesus in Spiritu sancto et igni, sicut in Evangelio dixit Joannes (Joan. I, 33). Merito consumebatur sacrificium, quoniam pro peccato erat. Ille autem ignis typus Spiritus sancti fuit, qui descensurus erat post Domini ascensionem, et remissurus peccata omnium: qui quasi ignis inflammat animum ac mentem fidelem. Unde ait Hieremias accepto Spiritu: Et factum est in corde meo ut ignis ardens, flammigerans in ossibus meis: et dissolutus sum undique, et ferre non possum (Jer. XX, 9). Sed etiam in Actibus apostolorum cum descendisset super apostolos Spiritus, et plerosque, qui exspectabant promissa Domini, tamquam ignem dispersas esse linguas legimus. Denique sic vaporabatur singulorum animus, ut musto repleti esse aestimarentur, qui acceperant linguarum diversitatem (Act. II, 4 et seq.). 103. Quid ergo sibi vult esse quod ignis aqua factus est, et aqua ignem excitavit; nisi quia spiritalis gratia per ignem exurit, per aquam mundat peccata nostra? Eluitur enim peccatum, et exuritur. Unde et Apostolus ait: Uniuscujusque 134 opus quale sit, ignis probabit (I Cor. III, 13); et infra: Si cujus opus arserit, detrimentum patietur, ipse autem salvus erit, sic tamen quasi per ignem (Ibid., 15). 104. Quod ideo posuimus, ut probaremus per ignem exuri peccata. Notum est ergo hunc esse vere ignem sacrum, qui tunc

in typo futurae remissionis peccatorum descendit super sacrificium. 105. Hic igitur ignis absconditur captivitatis tempore, quo culpa regnat: tempore autem libertatis promitur. Et licet in aquae speciem mutatus, tamen servat ignis naturam, ut consumeret sacrificium. Nec mireris cum legeris, quia Pater Deus dixit: Ego sum ignis consumens (Deut. IV, 24); et alibi: Me dereliquerant fontem aquae vivae (Jerem. II, 13). Ipse quoque Dominus Jesus quasi ignis inflammabat audientium corda (Luc. XII, 49), quasi fons refrigerabat; nam ipse in Evangelio suo dicit quod ideo venerit, ut ignem in terras mitteret, et potum sitientibus aquae vivae ministraret (Joan. VII, 37 et seq.). 106. Eliae quoque tempore descendit ignis, quando provocavit prophetas gentium, ut altare sine igne accenderent. Et cum illi nequissent facere, hostiam suam tertio ipse perfudit aqua, et manabat aqua in circuitu altaris, et exclamavit, et cecidit ignis a Domino de coelo, et consumpsit holocaustum (III Reg. XVIII, 38). 107. Hostia illa tu es. Considera tacitus singula. In te descendit vapor Spiritus sancti, te videtur exurere, cum tua peccata consumit. Denique quod consumptum est sacrificium Moysi tempore, sacrificium pro peccato erat. Unde Moyses ait, sicut in Machabaeorum scriptum est libro (II Mach. II, 11), eo quod non sit manducatum quod erat pro peccato, consumptum est. Nonne tibi consumi videtur, quando in baptismatis sacramento interit homo totus exterior? Vetus homo noster confixus est cruci, Apostolus clamat (Rom. VI, 6). Illic, sicut Patrum exempla te docent, Aegyptius demergitur, Hebraeus resurgit, sancto renovatus Spiritu, qui etiam per mare Rubrum inoffenso transivit vestigio, ubi baptizati sunt patres sub nube, et in mari (I Cor. X, 1 et seq.). 108. In diluvio quoque Noe tempore mortua est omnis caro, justus tamen cum sua progenie servatus est (Gen. VII, 21 et seq.). Annon consumitur homo, cum absolvitur mortale istud a vita? Denique exterior corrumpitur, sed interior renovatur. Nec solum in baptismate, sed etiam in poenitentia fit carnis interitus ad profectum spiritus; sicut Apostolica docemur auctoritate,

dicente sancto Paulo: Judicavi ut praesens eum qui sic operatus est, tradere hujusmodi Satanae in interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus sit in die Domini nostri Jesu Christi (I Cor. V, 3, 4). 109. Prolixior excursus admirandi gratia mysterii factus videtur, dum studemus revelatum plenius sacramentum pandere, quod eo usque plenum honestatis est, ut sit plenum religionis. 135

CAPUT XIX.

NARRATUR ADMISSUM IN levitae cujusdam uxorem a civibus Gabaa flagitium, atque ex illius ultione colligitur quam veteribus illis cordi fuerit honestatis ratio.

110. Quanta autem honestatis cura majoribus fuit, ut unius mulieris injuriam stupro illatam intemperantium bello persequerentur, et victo populo, tribus Benjamin obtestarentur in conjugium se eis proprias filias non daturos! Remanserat tribus sine ullo posteritatis subsidio, nisi fraudis necessariae accepisset licentiam. Quae tamen indulgentia congruo intemperantiae supplicio non videtur vacare, quando illis hoc solum permissum est, ut rapto inirent conjugia, non connubii sacramento. Et revera dignum fuit ut qui alienum contubernium solverant, ipsi nuptiarum amitterent solemnitatem. 111. Quam plena autem miserationis historia! Vir, inquit (Judic. XIX, et seq.), levita acceperat sibi jugalem (quam a concubitu concubinam appellatam arbitror) quae aliquanto post quibusdam, ut fieri solet, offensa rebus, ad patrem se contult, et fuit illic quatuor mensibus. Et surrexit vir ejus, et abiit ad soceri sui domum, ut cum sua jugali repararet gratiam, et revocaret eam, ac reduceret; occurrit ei mulier, atque in domum patris sui introduxit maritum. 112. Laetatus est adolescentulae pater: venit obviam, et sedit cum eo tribus diebus; et epulati sunt, et quieverunt. Et sequenti die surrexit levita diluculo, et retentus est a socero, ut tam cito non desereret convivii jucunditatem. Et alio et tertio die non permisit pater adolescentulae proficisci generum suum, donec laetitia et gratia inter eos omnis consummaretur. Sed die septimo cum jam ad vesperum declinaret dies, post mensas et laeta convivia, cum praetexeret finitimae noctis

viciniam, ut apud suos potius, quam apud extraneos requiescendum putaret, nequivit tenere, et dimisit una cum filia sua. 113. Verum ubi facta est aliqua progressio, cum vesper jam propior urgeret, et appropinquatum foret ad urbem Jebusaeorum, dicente servulo, ut ad eam dominus suus deflecteret, non acquievit dominus suus; quia non erat ea civitas filiorum Israel: sed intendit pervenire usque Gabaa, quae habitabatur a populo tribus Benjamin. Nec erat quisquam qui advenientes reciperet hospitio, nisi vir peregrinus progressa aetate. Qui cum aspexisset eos, et interrogasset levitam: Quo vadis, vel unde venis? quo respondente quod esset viator, et repeteret montem Ephraem, et non esset qui colligeret eum, hospitium ei obtulit, et adornavit convivium. 114. At ubi satietas epulandi facta est, et mensae remotae, irruerunt pestilentes viri, et circumierunt domum. Tunc senior filiam suam virginem, 136 et coaequalem ejus cum qua cubitare solita esset, offerebat viris iniquitatis, tantum ne vis irrogaretur hospiti. Verum ubi parum ratio processit, et vis praevaluit, cessit levites jugali sua: et cognoverunt eam, et tota nocte illuserunt ei. Qua atrocitate, vel dolore victa injuriae, ante ostium hospitis, quo vir suus diverterat, projecit se atque exhalavit spiritum, supremo licet vitae munere affectum bonae conjugis servans, ut exsequias saltem sui funeris marito reservaret. 115. Quo cognito (ne multis morer) omnis prope populus Israel in bellum exarsit, dubioque eventu cum anceps maneret praelium, tertia tamen praeliandi vice, traditus est populus Benjamin populo Israel, et divina judicatus sententia, poenas intemperantiae luit. Condemnatus quoque ne quis ei ex numero patrum filiam suam daret in uxorem: idque confirmatum jurisjurandi sacramento est. Sed compuncti quod tam acerbam in fratres tulissent sententiam, ita severitatem ejus temperaverunt, ut orbatas parentibus virgines in conjugium sibi adsciscerent, quorum patres pro delicto perempti forent, vel rapto copulam sociarent; quia pro tam turpis commissi facinore, qui alieni matrimonii jus violaverant, indignos se impetrando exhibuere matrimonio.

Sed ne periret una populo tribus, fraudis indulta est conniventia. 116. Quanta igitur honestatis cura majoribus fuerit, hinc proditur, ut quadraginta millia virorum stringerent gladium adversus fratres suos de tribu Benjamin, dum ulcisci volunt injuriam pudicitiae; quia temeratores castitatis non sufferebantur. Itaque eo bello caesa sunt utrinque sexaginta quinque millia bellatorum, et exustae urbes. Et cum inferior primo fuisset populus Israel, tamen nec adversi metu belli percitus, vindicandae castitatis sequestravit dolorem. Ruebat in praelium, vel sanguine suo parans commissi flagitii diluere notam.

CAPUT XX.

POST SOLUTAM EX Elisaei vaticinio diram Samariae obsidionem, quanta fuerit quatuor leprosis honesti cura, enarratur.

117. Et quid mirum si populo Dei decorum illud atque honestum curae fuit, quando etiam leprosis, sicut in libris Regnorum legimus (IV Reg. VI), honestatis non defuit consideratio? 118. Fames erat magna in Samaria, quia obsederat eam Syrorum exercitus. Rex militares excubias supra murum sollicitus revisebat; interpellavit eum mulier dicens: Persuasit mihi haec mulier ut afferrem filium meum, et attuli, et coximus, et comedimus eum; et promisit ut et ipsa postea filium suum afferret, et carnes illius simul manducaremus: nunc autem filium suum abscondit, et non vult eum afferre. Motus rex quod non solum humanis, sed etiam parricidalibus 137 cadaveribus mulieres pastae viderentur, et tam atrocis calamitatis exemplo percitus, Elisaeo prophetae denuntiavit necem, cujus in potestate fore crederet, ut obsidionem solveret, propulsaret famem: vel quia non permiserat regi ut percuteret Syros, quos caecitate perfuderat. 119. Sedebat Elisaeus cum senioribus in Bethel, et priusquam introiret ad eum regis nuntius, ait ad seniores viros: Si vidistis quoniam filius homicidae illius misit auferre caput meum? Et introivit nuntius, et mandatum regis pertulit, denuntiantis praesens capitis periculum (IV Reg. VI, 32, 33). Cui respondit propheta: Hac hora die crastina mensura similaginis siclo, et duae mensurae hordei siclo in porta Samariae. Et cum missus a rege nuntius non credidisset, dicens: si pluerit Dominus de coelo abundantiam frumenti, nec sic quidem id posset effici; dixit ad eum Elisaeus: Quia non credidisti, oculis tuis videbis, et non manducabis (IV Reg. VII, 1, 2). 120. Et factus est

subito in castris Syriae velut quadrigarum sonus, et vox multa equitum, et vox magnae virtutis, atque ingens belli tumultus: et arbitrati sunt Syri quod rex Israel in societatem advocasset praelii regem Aegypti, et regem Amorrhaeorum: et fugerunt diluculo relinquentes tabernacula sua; quoniam verebantur ne improviso adventu novorum opprimerentur hostium, et conjunctis regum viribus non possent resistere. Id incognitum Samariae erat, quoniam victi metu, et fame tabidi, nec praetendere audebant (Ibid. 6, 7). 121. Erant autem leprosi quatuor ad portam civitatis, quibus vita erat supplicium, et mori lucrum; et dixerunt ad se invicem: Ecce nos hic sedemus, et morimur. Si ingredimur urbem, moriemur fame; si manemus hic, nullum subsidium vivendi suppetit nobis: eamus in castra Syriae, aut compendium mortis erit, aut salutis remedium. Perrexerunt itaque, et intraverunt in castra: et ecce omnia nuda hostium. Ingressi tabernacula, primum repertis alimentis fugaverunt famem, deinde auri et argenti quantum potuerunt, diripuerunt. Et cum soli praedae incumberent, disposuerunt tamen nuntiare regi fugisse Syros; quia id honestum arbitrabantur, quam represso indicio fovere fraudis rapinam. 122. Quo indicio egressus est populus, et diripuit castra Syriae, et commeatus hostium abundantiam fecit, annonae vilitatem reddidit secundum propheticum dictum; ut mensura similaginis siclo, et duae mensurae hordei pari pretio constarent. In hac laetitia plebis nuntius ille in quo requiescebat rex, contritus inter exeuntium festinationem et remeantium exsultationem, conculcatus a plebe, mortuus est (IV Reg. VII, 3 seq., 8 seq.). 138

CAPUT XXI.

ESTHER VITAE PERICULO honestatis decus secutam esse, immo et regem barbarum, illata nece viro amicissimo; amicitiam enim honestati semper conjungendam, ut Jonathae atque Alchimelech exempla probant.

123. Quid Esther regina, nonne ut populum suum periculo exueret, quod erat decorum atque honestum, morti se obtulit, nec immitis regis trepidavit furorem (Esther IV, 16)? Ipse quoque rex Persarum ferox, atque tumido corde, tamen decorum judicavit indici insidiarum quae sibi paratae forent, gratiam repraesentare, populumque liberum a servitute eripere, eruere neci, nec parcere ei, qui tam indecora suasisset (Esther VI, 3 et seq.). Denique quem secundum a se, ac praecipuum inter omnes amicos haberet, cruci tradidit, quod dehonestatum se ejus fraudulentis consiliis animadvertisset (Esther VII, 9). 124. Ea enim amicitia probabilis, quae honestatem tuetur, praeferenda sane opibus, honoribus, potestatibus: honestati vero praeferri non solet, sed honestatem sequi. Qualis fuit Jonathae, qui pro pietate nec offensam patris, nec salutis periculum refugiebat (I Reg. XX, 29 et seq.). Qualis fuit Abimelech, qui pro hospitalis gratiae officiis necem potius sui, quam proditionem fugientis amici, subeundam arbitrabatur (I Reg. XXI, 6).

CAPUT XXII.

HONESTATEM AMICI CAUSA non deserendam; si tamen adversus amicum testimonium dicendum fuerit, cautionem adhibendam. Inter amicos quis candor in aperiendo pectore, quae generositas in patiendo, quae in arguendo libertas requiratur? Amicitiam virtutum custodem esse, nec nisi in similium morum hominibus inveniri. Eamdem in corripiendo mitem, atque a propriis commodis alienam esse oportere; et inde quam rari divitibus veri amici! Quanta amicitiae dignitas; quae quo major, eo detestabilior amici perfidia, ut Judae atque amicorum Job exemplis cognoscitur.

125. Nihil igitur praeferendum honestati, quae tamen ne amicitiae studio praetereatur, etiam hoc Scriptura admonet de amicitia. Sunt enim pleraeque philosophorum quaestiones: utrum amici causa quisquam contra patriam sentire necne debeat, ut 3amico obediat? Utrum oporteat ut fidem deserat, dum indulget atque intendit amici commoditatibus?

126. Et Scriptura quidem ait: Clava, et gladius, et sagitta ferrata, sic homo est testimonium dans falsum adversus amicum suum (Prov. XXV, 18). Sed considera quid astruat. Non testimonium reprehendit dictum in amicum, sed falsum testimonium. Quid enim si Dei causa, quid si patriae cogatur aliquis dicere testimonium? Numquid praeponderare debet amicitia religioni, praeponderare charitati civium? 139 In his tamen ipsis rebus requirenda est veritas testimonii; ne amicus appetatur amici perfidia, cujus fide absolvi debeat. Amicus itaque neque noxio gratificari debet, neque innocenti insidiari. 127. Sane si necesse sit dicere testimonium, si quid in amico vitii cognoverit, corripere occulte; si non audierit, corripere palam. Sunt enim bonae correptiones, et plerumque meliores quam tacita amicitia.

Et si laedi se putat amicus, tu tamen corripe; et si amaritudo correctionis animum ejus vulneret, tu tamen corripe, ne verearis: Tolerabilia sunt enim amici vulnera, quam adulantium oscula (Prov. XXVII, 6). Errantem igitur amicum corripe, innocentem amicum ne deseras. Constans enim debet esse amicitia, perseverare in affectu; non puerili modo amicos mutare vaga quadam debemus sententia. 128. Aperi pectus tuum amico, ut fidelis sit tibi et capias ex eo vitae tua jucunditatem. Fidelis enim amicus medicamentum est vitae, et immortalitatis gratia (Eccli. VI, 16), Defer amico ut aequali, nec te pudeat ut praevenias amicum officio; amicitia enim nescit superbiam. Ideo enim Sapiens dicit: Amicum salutare non erubescas (Eccli. XXII, 31). Nec deseras amicum in necessitate, nec derelinquas eum, neque destituas; quoniam amicitia vitae adjumentum est. Ideo onera nostra portemus, sicut Apostolus docuit (Galat. VI, 2); dicit enim his quos ejusdem corporis complexa est charitas. Etenim si amici secundae res amicos adjuvant, cur non et in adversis amici rebus amicorum adjumentum suppetat? Juvemus consilio, conferamus studia, compatiamur affectu. 129. Si necesse est, toleremus propter amicum etiam aspera. Plerumque inimicitiae subeundae sunt propter amici innocentiam, saepe obtrectationes, si restiteris vel responderis, cum amicus arguitur et accusatur. Nec te poeniteat ejusmodi offensionis; justi enim vox est: Etsi mala mihi evenerint propter amicum, sustineo (Eccli. XXII, 31). In adversis enim amicus probatur; nam in prosperis amici omnes videntur. Sed ut in adversis amici patientia et tolerantia necessaria, sic in prosperis auctoritas congrua est; ut insolentiam extollentis se amici reprimat et redarguat. 130. Quam pulchre in adversis positus Job dicit: Miseremini mei, amici, miseremini (Job. XIX, 21). Non quasi abjecta vox ista est, sed quasi censoria. Nam cum injuste argueretur ab amicis, respondit: Miseremini mei, amici; hoc est, misericordiam debetis facere: opprimitis autem vos et impugnatis hominem, cujus aerumnis compati 140 pro amicitia vos oportebat. 131. Servate igitur, filii, initam cum

fratribus amicitiam, qua nihil est in rebus humanis pulchrius. Solatium quippe vitae hujus est, ut habeas cui pectus aperias tuum, cum quo arcana participes, cui committas secretum pectoris tui; ut colloces tibi fidelem virum, qui in prosperis gratuletur tibi, in tristibus compatiatur, in persecutionibus adhortetur. Quam boni amici Hebraei pueri, quos a sui amore nec fornacis ardentis flamma divisit (Dan. III, 16 et seq.)! De quo supra diximus (Supr. c. 9). Bene ait sanctus David: Saul et Jonathas speciosi et charissimi, inseparabiles in vita sua, et in morte non sunt separati (II Reg. I, 23). 132. Hic est amicitiae fructus, ut non fides propter amicitiam destruatur. Non potest enim homini amicus esse, qui Deo fuerit infidus. Pietatis custos amicitia est, et aequalitatis magistra; ut superior inferiori se exhibeat aequalem, inferior superiori. Inter dispares enim mores non potest esse amicitia; et ideo convenire sibi utriusque debet gratia. Nec auctoritas desit inferiori, si res poposcerit, nec humilitas superiori. Audiat quasi parem, quasi aequalem: et ille quasi amicus moneat, objurget, non jactantiae studio, sed affectu charitatis. 133. Neque monitio aspera sit, neque objurgatio contumeliosa; sicut enim adulationis fugitans amicitia debet esse, ita etiam aliena insolentiae. Quid est enim amicus, nisi consors amoris, ad quem animum tuum adjungas atque applices, et ita misceas, ut unum velis fieri ex duobus, cui te tamquam alteri tibi committas, a quo nihil timeas, nihil ipse commodi tui causa inhonestum petas? Non enim vectigalis amicitia est, sed plena decoris, plena gratiae. Virtus est enim amicitia, non quaestus; quia non pecunia paritur, sed gratia: nec licitatione pretiorum, sed concertatione benevolentiae. 134. Denique meliores amicitiae sunt inopum plerumque quam divitum: et frequenter divites sine amicis sunt, quibus abundant pauperes. Non est enim vera amicitia, ubi est fallax adulatio. Divitibus itaque plerique assentatorie gratificantur: erga pauperem nemo simulator est. Verum est quidquid defertur pauperi, hujus amicitia invidia vacat. 135. Quid amicitia pretiosius, quae angelis communis et hominibus

est? Unde et Dominus Jesus dicit: Facite vobis amicos de iniquo mammona, qui recipiant vos in aeterna tabernacula sua (Luc. XVI, 9). Ipse nos Deus amicos ex servulis facit, sicut ipse 141 ait: Jam vos amici mei estis, si feceritis quae ego praecipio vobis (Joan. XV, 14). Dedit formam amicitiae quam sequamur, ut faciamus amici voluntatem, utaperiamus secreta nostra amico quaecumque in pectore habemus, et illius arcana non ignoremus. Ostendamus illi nos pectus nostrum, et ille nobis aperiat suum. Ideo, inquit, vos dixi amicos, quia omnia quaecumque audivi a Patre meo, nota feci vobis (Joan. XV, 14). Nihil ergo occultat amicus, si verus est: effundit animum suum, sicut effundebat mysteria Patris Dominus Jesus. 136. Ergo qui facit mandata Dei, amicus est; et hoc honoratur nomine. Qui est unanimis, ipse amicus est: quod unitas animorum in amicis sit: neque quisquam detestabilior, quam qui amicitiam laeserit. Unde in proditore Dominus hoc gravissimum invenit, quod ejus condemnaret perfidiam, quod gratiae vicem non repraesentaverit, et conviviis amicitiae venenum malitiae miscuerit. Itaque sic ait: Tu vero homo unanimis, dux meus et notus meus, qui semper mecum dulces capiebas cibos (Psal. LIV, 14)! Hoc est, non potest sustineri istud, quia unanimis appetisti eum, qui tibi donaverat gratiam: Nam si inimicus meus maledixisset mihi, sustinuissem utique (Ibid., 13); et ab eo 142 qui me oderat, absconderem me. Inimicus vitari potest, amicus non potest, si insidiari velit. Illum cavemus cui non committimus consilia nostra: hunc cavere non possumus, cui commisimus. Itaque ad acervandam peccati invidiam non dixit: Tu vero servus meus, apostolus meus; sed: Unanimis meus; hoc est, non meus, sed etiam tuus proditor es, qui unanimem prodidisti. 137. Dominus ipse cum a tribus regibus offensus esset, qui sancto Job non detulissent, ignoscere his per amicum maluit, ut amicitiae suffragium remissio fieret peccatorum. Itaque rogavit Job, et Dominus ignovit. Profuit illis amicitia, quibus obfuerat insolentia (Job, XLII, 7 et seq.).

CONCLUSIO.

138. Haec apud vos deposui, filii, quae custodiatis in animis vestris: quae utrum aliquid profectus habeant, vos probabitis; interim copiam multam exemplorum offerunt: nam prope omnia Majorum exempla, plurima quoque dicta his tribus inclusa libris tenentur; ut et si sermo nihil deferat gratiae, series tamen vetustatis quodam compendio expressa plurimum instructionis conferat.

De spiritu sancto

CONTENTS

LIBER PRIMUS.

PROLOGUS.
CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.
CAPUT VII.
CAPUT VIII.
CAPUT IX.
CAPUT X.
CAPUT XI.
CAPUT XII.
CAPUT XIII.
CAPUT XIV.
CAPUT XV.
CAPUT XVI.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.

CAPUT VII.
CAPUT VIII.
CAPUT IX.
CAPUT X.
CAPUT XI.
CAPUT XII.
CAPUT XIII.

LIBER TERTIUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.
CAPUT VII.
CAPUT VIII.
CAPUT IX.
CAPUT X.
CAPUT XI.
CAPUT XII.
CAPUT XIII.
CAPUT XIV.
CAPUT XV.
CAPUT XVI.
CAPUT XVII.
CAPUT XVIII.
CAPUT XIX.
CAPUT XX.

CAPUT XXI.
CAPUT XXII.

LIBER PRIMUS.

PROLOGUS.

In Gedeonis electione Dominicae incarnationis figuram fuisse: in haedi sacrificio peccatorum per Christi corpus expiandorum: in vituli, profanorum sacrorum abolendorum: in trecentis denique militibus futurae per crucem redemptionis. Quod plura petierit signa idem Gedeon, mysterii fuisse; per velleris enim siccitatem ac madefactionem, Judaeorum infidelitatem, gentiumque vocationem significatas: per rorem autem pelvi exceptum pedum apostolorum ablutionem. Hac sibi pedum mundari sordes orat Ambrosius, simulque Christi benignitatem laudat. Quam utile sit hanc imitari! Eamdem aquam a Dei Filio missam in orbe mirabiles conversiones operari: sed ab alio mitti non posse, cum sit effusio Spiritus Sancti, qui alienae potestati non subjicitur. 1. Hierobaal cum sub arbore, ut legimus (Judic. VI, 11), quercu, tritici messem virga caederet, accepit oraculum, ut a potestate alienigenarum in libertatem Dei populum vindicaret. Nec mirum si est electus ad gratiam, cum sub umbra jam tum sacrae crucis et venerabilis sapientiae praedestinato incarnationis futurae mysterio constitutus, feracis segetis sensibilia de latibulis frumenta produceret, electionemque sanctorum a purgamentis inanis paleae sequestraret: qui tamquam virga veritatis exerciti, superflua veteris hominis cum ejus actibus deponentes, quasi in torculari, ita in Ecclesia congregantur; Ecclesia enim torcular est fontis aeterni, in qua coelestis vitis fructus exundat.

2. Quo motus oraculo Gedeon, cum audisset quod deficientibus licet populorum millibus, in uno viro Dominus plebem suam ab hostibus 600 liberaret (Ibid., 14); obtulit haedum caprarum, cujus carnem, secundum

praeceptum angeli, et azyma supra petram posuit et ea jure perfudit: quae simul ut virgae cacumine, quam gerebat angelus, Dei contigit, de petra ignis erupit; atque ita sacrificium quod offerebatur, absumptum est (Ibid., 19 et seq.). Quo indicio declaratum videtur quod petra illa typum habuerit corporis Christi; quia scriptum est: Bibebant de consequenti eos petra, petra autem erat Christus (I Cor. X, 4). Quod utique non ad divinitatem ejus, sed ad carnem relatum est, quae sitientium corda populorum perenni rivo sui sanguinis inundavit. 3. Jam tunc igitur in mysterio declaratum est, quia Dominus Jesus in carne sua totius mundi peccata crucifixus aboleret: nec solum delicta factorum, sed etiam cupiditates animorum. Caro enim haedi ad culpam facti refertur; jus ad illecebras cupiditatum, sicut scriptum est: Quia concupivit populus cupiditatem pessimam, et dixerunt: Quis nos cibabit carne (Num. XI, 4)? Quod igitur extendit angelus virgam, et tetigit petram, de qua ignis exivit (Judic. VI, 21); ostendit quod caro Domini Spiritu repleta divino, peccata omnia humanae conditionis exureret. Unde et Dominus ait: Ignem veni mittere in terram (Luc. XII, 49). 4. Advertit igitur vir doctus et praesagus futuri superna mysteria; et ideo secundum oracula occidit vitulum a patre suo idolis deputatum, et ipse septennem alium vitulum immolavit Deo (Judic. VI, 25). Quo facto manifestissime revelavit post adventum Domini omnia gentilitatis abolenda sacrificia, solumque sacrificium Deo Dominicae passionis pro redemptione populi deferendum. Etenim vitulus ille erat in typo Christus, in quo septem spiritalium plenitudo virtutum, sicut Esaias dixit (Esai. I, 2), habitabat. Hunc vitulum et Abraham obtulit, quando diem Domini vidit, et gavisus est (Joan. VIII, 56). Hic est qui nunc in haedi typo, 601 nunc in ovis, nunc in vituli offerebatur. Haedi, quod sacrificium pro delictis sit; ovis, quod voluntaria hostia: vituli, quod immaculata sit victima. 5. Praevidit ergo mysterium sanctus Gedeon. Denique trecentos elegit ad praelium (Judic. VII, 6); ut ostenderet non in numero multitudinis, sed in sacramento crucis mundum ab incursu

graviorum hostium liberandum. Et tamen licet fortis et fidus, pleniora adhuc de Domino futurae victoriae documenta quaerebat, dicens: Si salvas in manu mea Israel, quemadmodum locutus es, Domine; ecce ego pono lanae vellus in area: et si ros factus fuerit super vellus, et super omnem terram siccitas, cognoscam quia in manu mea secundum promissa tua populum liberabis. Et ita factum est (Judic. VI, 36 et seq.). Sed adjecit postea, ut rursum ros proflueret super totam terram, et siccitas esset in vellere. 6. Quaerit fortasse aliquis utrumnam quasi incredulus esse videatur, qui frequentibus informatus indiciis adhuc plura poscebat? Sed quemadmodum potest videri quasi ambiguus incertusque tentasse, qui mysteria loquebatur? Non ergo ille ambiguus, sed providus, ne nos ambigeremus. Nam quomodo ille ambiguus, cujus precatio habebat effectum? Unde autem securus adorsus esset praelium, nisi intellexisset oraculum: ros enim in vellere fides erat in Judaea; quia, sicut ros, Dei verba descendunt (Deut. XXXII, 2). 7. Ergo quando totus orbis infructuoso aestu gentilis superstitionis arebat, tunc erat ros ille coelestis visitationis in vellere. Postea vero quam oves quae (Matth. XV, 24) perierunt domus Israel (unde puto figuram Judaici velleris adumbratam), oves, inquam, illae fontem aquae vivae negarunt (Jerem. II, 13), ros fidei humentis exaruit in pectoribus Judaeorum, meatusque suos fons ille divinus in corda gentium derivavit (Esai. III, 2). Inde est quod nunc fidei rore totus orbis humescit: at vero Judaei prophetas suos et consiliarios perd i derunt. 8. Nec mirum si perfidiae subeant siccitatem, quos Dominus Deus prophetici imbris ubertate privavit, dicens: Mandabo nubibus meis ne pluant super vineam istam (Esai. V, 6). Est enim propheticae nubis pluvia salutaris, sicut et David dixit: Descendit sicut pluvia in vellus, et sicut stillicidia stillantia super terram (Psal. LXXI, 6). Hanc nobis Scripturae divinae totius mundi pluviam pollicebantur, quae rigaret orbem sub Domini Salvatoris adventu Spiritus rore divini. Venit ergo jam Dominus, venit et pluvia, venit Dominus stillicidia secum coelestia deferens; et ideo jam nos

bibimus, qui ante sitiebamus, et divinum illum Spiritum haustu interiore potamus. 9. Hoc ergo praevidit sanctus Gedeon, quia verum et spiritalem rorem etiam gentium nationes erant fidei perceptione bibiturae, et ideo diligentius exploravit; est enim necessaria cautela sanctorum. Siquidem etiam Jesus Nave cum vidisset ducem militiae coelestis, interrogavit: Noster es, an adversariorum (Jos. V, 13)? ne forte aliquibus 602 adversarii praestigiis falleretur. 10. Non tamen otiose quod vellus non vel in campo posuit, vel in prato: sed posuit in area, ubi messis est tritici: Messis enim multa, operarii autem pauci (Luc. X, 12); eo quod per fidem Domini futura esset messis fecunda virtutum. 11. Nec illud otiose quod exsiccavit vellus Judaicum, et rorem ejus misit in pelvim, ut repleretur aqua, non tamen ipse eo rore pedes lavit (Judic. VI, 39, 40). Alii debebatur tanti praerogativa mysterii. Exspectabatur ille qui sordes omnium solus posset abluere. Non erat tantus Gedeon, qui hoc sibi mysterium vindicaret. Non enim Gedeon, sed Filius hominis venit non ministrari, sed ministrare (Matth. XX, 28). Itaque cognoscamus in quo haec mysteria videantur esse completa. Non in sancto Hierobaal; adhuc enim erant illa principia. Ideo gentes victae, quia siccitas erat adhuc in gentibus: ideo Israel vicit, quia ros tunc manebat in vellere. 12. Veniamus ad Dei Evangelium. Invenio Dominum spoliantem se vestimenta, et praecingentem se linteo, mittentem aquam in pelvim, lavantem pedes discipulorum (Joan. XIII, 4 et seq.). Haec erat aqua ros ille coelestis, hoc prophetabatur quod illo rore coelesti discipulorum suorum Dominus Jesus pedes lavaret. Et nunc extendantur pedes animorum nostrorum. Vult Dominus Jesus et nostros lavare pedes; non enim Petro soli, sed unicuique dicit fideli: Nisi lavero tibi pedes, non habebis mecum partem (Ibid., 8).

13. Veni ergo, Domine Jesu, exue te vestimenta, quae propter me induisti: esto nudus, ut nos misericordia tua vestias. Praecinge te propter nos linteo, ut nos tui muneris immortalitate praecingas. Mitte aquam in

pelvim: lava non solum pedes, sed etiam caput: nec solum corporis nostri, sed etiam mentis vestigia. Volo exuere omnes nostrae sordes fragilitatis; ut et ego dicam: Nocte exui tunicam meam, quomodo induam eam? Lavi pedes meos, quomodo inquinabo illos (Cant. V, 3)? 14. Quanta ista majestas est! Quasi minister pedes famulorum tuorum lavas, quasi Deus rorem mittis e coelo. Nec solum pedes lavas, sed etiam ut tecum recumbamus invitas, et exemplo nos tuae dignationis hortaris dicens: Vocatis me dominum et magistrum, et bene facitis; sum etenim. Si ergo ego lavi pedes vestros dominus et magister, et vos invicem lavate pedes vestros (Joan. XIII, 13, 14). 15. Volo ergo et ego pedes lavare fratrum meorum, volo Domini implere mandatum, volo in me non verecundari, non dedignari quod ipse prius fecit. Bonum mysterium humilitatis; quia dum alienas sordes lavo, meas abluo. Sed non hoc omnes haurire poterant mysterium. Lavare voluit quidem et Abraham pedes, sed hospitalitatis affectu (Gen. XVIII, 4). Volebat et Gedeon lavare pedes angelo Domini qui apparuit sibi: sed volebat uni, volebat quasi is qui deferret obsequium, non qui donaret consortium. 603 Hoc mysterium magnum est, quod nemo cognovit. Denique Petro dixit: Quod ego facio tu nescis, cognosces postea (Joan. XIII, 7). Hoc, inquam, divinum mysterium est, quod etiam qui laverint, requirent. Non est ergo simplex aqua coelestis mysterii, per quam consequimur, ut partem cum Christo habere mereamur. 16. Est et quaedam aqua quam mittamus in pelvim animae nostrae, aqua de vellere et libro Judicum, aqua de libro Psalmorum (Psal. XXII, 2). Aqua est ros coelestis oraculi. Veniat igitur, Domine Jesu, haec aqua in meam animam, in meam carnem; ut hujus humore pluviae nostrarum convalles mentium atque intimi cordis arva viridescant (Psal. LXXI, 6). Veniant in me stillicidia tua, gratiam immortalitatemque rorantia. Dilue gressus mentis meae, ne iterum peccem. Ablue animi mei calcaneum, ut possim abolere maledictum (Gen. III, 15); ne morsum serpentis interiore pede sentiam, sed, sicut ipse jussisti

sequentibus te, ut serpentes et scorpiones illaeso possim calcare vestigio (Luc. X, 19). Redemisti mundum, redime unius animam peccatoris. 17. Haec est specialis tuae praerogativa pietatis, qua totum mundum in singulis redemisti. Elias ad unam missus est viduam (III Reg. XVII, 9), Elisaeus mundavit unum (IV Reg. V, 14): tu nobis, Domine Jesu, hos hodie mille mundasti. Quantos in urbe Roma, quantos Alexandriae, quantos Antiochiae, quantos etiam Constantinopoli! Nam etiam Constantinopolis jam Dei verbum recepit, et evidentia meruit tui documenta judicii. Etenim quamdiu venena Arianorum suis fovebat inclusa visceribus, bellis finitimis inquieta, muros armis circumsonabat hostilibus. Postea vero quam fidei exsules abdicavit, hostem ipsum judicem regum, quem semper timere consueverat, deditum vidit, supplicem recepit, morientem obruit, sepultum possidet. Quantos ergo et Constantinopoli, quantos postremo toto hodie in orbe mundasti!

18. Non mundavit Damasus, non mundavit Petrus, non mundavit Ambrosius, non mundavit Gregorius; nostra enim servitia, sed tua 604 sunt sacramenta. Neque enim humanae opis est divina conferre; sed tuum, Domine, munus et Patris est, qui locutus est per prophetas, dicens: Effundam de Spiritu meo super omnem carnem, et prophetabant filii et filiae eorum (Joel. II, 21). Hic est in typo ros ille coelestis: haec pluvia voluntaria, sicut legimus: Pluviam voluntariam segregans Deus haereditati suae (Psal. LXVII, 18). (Alias cap. I.) Non enim Spiritus sanctus aut potestati alienae est subjectus aut juri; sed suae libertatis arbiter, omnia pro auctoritate propriae voluntatis dividens, sicut legimus (I Cor. XII, 10), singulis prout vult.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

ARGUMENTUM SUUM AGGRESSUS Ambrosius, imperatorem cum propter fidem, tum propter basilicam Ecclesiae restitutam laudat: hinc ubi dixit adversarios, si Spiritum sanctum servire negaverint, quin sit super omnia, diffiteri non posse; addit Spiritum eumdem, cum dixit: Universa serviunt tibi, satis innuisse a creaturis se separari: quod aliis quoque testimoniis astruitur.

19. Non ergo inter omnia, sed super omnia Spiritus sanctus est. Jam enim de eo (quoniam ita plene de Dei Filio, clementissime imperator, instructus es, ut ipse jam doceas) cupientem te et exigentem audire aliquid expressius, non morabor; praesertim cum ita te assertione istiusmodi testificatus sis proxime delectatum, ut basilicam Ecclesiae sine ullo monitore praeceperis reformari.

20. Fidei itaque tuae gratiam, et nostrae praemium jam tenemus; neque enim aliud possumus dicere, nisi sancti Spiritus hanc fuisse gratiam quod ignorantibus omnibus, subito basilicam reddidisti. Spiritus, inquam, sancti hoc munus, hoc opus est, qui a nobis quidem tunc praedicabatur, sed in te operabatur. 21. Nec superioris temporis damna deploro; quandoquidem sequestratio illa basilicae, cujusdam fenoris traxit usuras. Etenim basilicam sequestrasti, ut fidem probares. Implevit igitur propositum suum pietas tua, quae sic sequestraverat, ut probaret; sic probavit, ut redderet. 605 Nec fructum amisi, et judicium teneo, patuitque omnibus in quadam facti discretione discretam tibi numquam fuisse sententiam. Patuit, inquam, omnibus et tuum non fuisse, cum sequestrares: et tuum esse, cum redderes. 22. Primum igitur ab inferioribus inchoemus, ut quasi per gradus quosdam

tractatus noster ascendat, quo facilius hi qui fidem non deferunt, vel ratione flectantur. Possunt enim dicere in principio: Nec nos dicimus servire Spiritum. Sed cum dicant servire Christum, quomodo possunt negare de Spiritu? Quod si secundum carnem in servi forma consentiunt Christum fuisse, constat et convenit. Ergo si secundum divinitatem suam Christus non servit, non servit etiam Spiritus. Quod si non servit Spiritus, omnia autem serviunt: super omnia igitur Spiritus est, qui non servit sicut omnia. 23. Nunc idipsum quod diximus, testimoniis astruamus. Principium disputationis est, quia serviunt omnia. Servire autem omnia liquet, quoniam scriptum est: Universa serviunt tibi (Psal. CXVIII, 91). Dixit hoc Spiritus per Prophetam. Non dixit: servimus; sed, serviunt tibi; ut crederes quod a servitio sit ipse exceptus. Ergo cum universa serviant, non serviat Spiritus, utique inter universa non est Spiritus sanctus. 24. Nam si inter omnia dicimus esse Spiritum sanctum, utique cum legerimus quia alta Dei scrutatur Spiritus (I Cor. II, 10), Deum Patrem esse super omnia denegamus. Etenim cum ex Deo Spiritus sit, et Spiritus oris ejus, quomodo possumus inter omnia dicere Spiritum sanctum; cum super omnia Deus sit, cujus est Spiritus, plenae utique perfectionis, perfectaeque virtutis? 25. Ac ne Apostolum arbritentur errasse, accipiant, quem fiduciae hujus sit secutus auctorem. Dominus enim in Evangelio dixit: Cum venerit Paraclitus, quem ego mittam vobis a Patre meo, Spiritum veritatis, qui a Patre procedit; ille testimonium perhibebit de me (Joan. XV, 26). Ergo et a Patre procedit Spiritus sanctus, et testificatur de Filio. Testificatur etaim de Patre testis et fidelis et verus: quo nihil ad expressionem divinae majestatis est plenius; nihil ad unitatem divinae potestatis evidentius; cum idem noverit Spiritus quod et Filius, qui paternorum testis et consors individuus secretorum est. 26. Exclusit itaque a cognitione Dei societatem et multitudinem creaturae: non excludendo autem Spiritum sanctum, ostendit non esse socium creaturae. Unde et illud quod lecum est in Evangelio: Quia Deum nemo

vidit umquam, nisi unigenitus Filius qui est in sinu Patris, ipse enarravit (Joan. I, 18); ad exceptionem pertinet Spiritus sancti. Quomodo enim Deum non vidit, qui scrutatur etiam alta Dei? quomodo Deum non vidit, qui cognovit quae Dei sunt (I Cor. II, 10)? quomodo 606 Deum non vidit, qui ex Deo est? Ergo cum ita positum sit quia Deum nemo vidit umquam, vidit autem Spiritus; utique exceptus est Spiritus. Super omnia igitur est, qui est exceptus ex omnibus.

CAPUT II.

SPIRITUM SANCTUM ESSE inter omnia non probari ex illis verbis: Omnia per ipsum facta sunt; cum factus non sit. Namque alias perinde probaretur Filius, immo etiam Pater numerandus inter omnia. Quod est ejusdem impietatis.

27. Videtur, sancte imperator, plena ratio esse pietatis, sed impiis non videtur. Denique quid moliantur adverte. Solent enim dicere haeretici ideo inter omnia Spiritum sanctum esse numerandum, quia scriptum est de Dei Filio: Omnia per ipsum facta sunt (Joan. I, 3). 28. Quam male confunditur actio, quae non tenet veritatem, et praepostero ordine assertionis involvitur! Hoc enim tunc valeret, ut inter omnia dicerent esse Spiritum sanctum, si factum probarent. Namque omnia per Filium Scriptura dicit esse, quae facta sunt: cum autem factus non doceatur Spiritus sanctus; utique nec inter omnia probari potest, qui neque factus est sicut omnia, nec creatus. Mihi igitur ad utrumque hoc proficit testimonium, ut et super omnia probetur esse, quia factus non est; et quia super omnia est, non videatur factus esse: nec inter ea quae sunt facta, numerandus. 29. Quod si quis, quia omnia facta per Verbum Evangelista posuit, non excipit Spiritum sanctum (quamquam in Joanne locutus Spiritus Dei, Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, dixerit, non omnia facti sumus; cum utique loqui in Evangelistis Spiritum Dei ipse Dominus ostenderit, dicens (Matth. XVI, 20): Non enim vos eritis loquentes, sed Spiritus Patris vestri, qui loquitur in vobis); tamen si quis, ut dixi, hoc loco non excipit Spiritum sanctum, sed inter omnia numerat; nec ibi ergo excipit Dei Filium, ubi Apostolus dixit: Nobis tamen unus Deus Pater ex quo omnia, et nos per illum (I Cor. VIII, 6). Sed ut sciat quia inter

omnia non est Filius, legat sequentia; nam cum dicit: Et unus Dominus Jesus, per quem omnia (Ibid.); ab omnibus utique excipit Dei Filium, qui excepit et Patrem. 30. Ejusdem autem impietatis est vel Patri, vel Filio, vel Spiritui sancto derogare. Non enim credit in Patrem, qui non credit in Filium: nec credit in Dei Filium, qui non credit in Spiritum: nec potest sine regula veritatis fides stare. Nam qui negare coeperit unitatem potestatis in Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto, non potest utique ibi, ubi nulla divisio sit, fidem probare divisam. Ergo quia pietatis unitas est bene credere, etiam unitas impietatis est male credere. 31. Itaque qui putant Spiritum sanctum inter 607 omnia debere numerari, quia omnia legunt facta per Filium, etiam Filium utique inter omnia annumerandum putant, quia legunt: Ex Deo omnia (II Cor. V, 18). Consequenter autem nec Patrem secernunt ab omnibus, qui a creaturis omnibus Filium non secernunt; quoniam sicut ex Patre omnia, ita etiam per Filium omnia. Hoc ipsum in Spiritu praevidens Apostolus, dixit: ne inter omnia posuisse Filium vel impiis videretur, qui audierant dixisse Filium: Pater quod dedit mihi, majus omnibus est (Joan. X, 29).

CAPUT III.

QUOD APOSTOLUS DIXERIT ex Patre per Filium omnia esse, ab eorum consortio Spiritum non secludi; cum quae ad unam referuntur personam, aliis quoque attribuantur. Sic baptizati in nomine Christi simul in Patris ac Spiritus nomine censentur baptizati; si tamen simul in tres personas crediderint: secus autem, nullus erit baptismus. Haec etiam baptismo in Spiritus sancti nuncupatione convenire. Si autem ob eumdem locum Spiritus ab aliis personis separaretur, utique ob alios locos Pater Filio diceretur postponendus. Ab angelis Filium adorari, non a Spiritu; hunc enim testem ejus esse, non ministrum. Cum omnibus anteponitur Filius, intelligendum de creaturis. Dignitatem sancti Spiritus a peccati in eum admissi irremissibilitate probari. Unde sit illa irremissibilitas; et quomodo unus Spiritus.

32. Sed fortasse aliquis dicat, qua ratione cum dixerit hic ex Patre omnia, et per Filium omnia (I Cor. VIII, 6), de Spiritu sancto tacuerit; et hinc cupiat praejudicium comparare. Quod si pergit malitiose interpretari, quam multis inveniet locis praedicatam sancti Spiritus potestatem, in quibus vel de Patre vel de Filio nihil Scriptura expresserit, sed intelligendum reliquerit! 40. Numquid ergo cum gratia Spiritus praedicatur, Dei Patris aut unigeniti Filii denegatur? Non ita, quia sicut Pater in Filio et Filius in Patre, ita etiam diffusa est, inquit, charitas Dei in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis (Rom. V, 5). Et sicut qui benedicitur in Christo, 608 benedicitur in nomine Patris, et Filii et Spiritus sancti; quia unum nomen, potestas una, ita etiam ubi operatio aliqua divina, aut Patris, aut Filii, aut Spiritus designatur, non solum ad sanctum Spiritum, sed etiam ad Patrem

refertur et Filium, nec solum ad Patrem, sed etiam ad Filium refertur et Spiritum. 41. Denique Aethiops eunuchus Candacis reginae baptizatus in Christo (Act. VIII, 27), plenum mysterium consecutus est. Et illi qui negaverunt se scire Spiritum sanctum, quamvis baptizatos se dicerent in Joannis baptismo, baptizati sunt postea (Act. XIX, 2 et seq.); quia Joannes in remissionem peccatorum, in advenientis Jesu, non in suo baptizavit nomine. Et ideo Spiritum nesciebant, quia nec baptismum in Christi nomine, sicut Joannes baptizare solebat, acceperant. Joannes enim, licet non baptizaret in Spiritu, tamen et Christum praedicabat et Spiritum. Denique cum interrogaretur, ne forte ipse esset Christus, respondit: Ego vos aqua baptizo, veniet autem fortior me, cujus non sum dignus calceamenta portare: ipse vos baptizabit Spiritu sancto et igni (Joan. I, 26, 27). Ergo isti quia nec in Christi nomine, nec cum fide Spiritus sancti baptizati fuerant, non potuerunt accipere baptismatis sacramentum. 42. Baptizati sunt itaque in nomine Jesu Christi: nec iteratum est in his baptisma, sed novatum; unum enim baptisma (Ephes. IV, 5). Ubi autem non est plenum baptismatis sacramentum, nec principium, vel species aliqua baptismatis aestimatur. Plenum autem est, si Patrem et Filium Spiritumque sanctum fatearis. Si unum neges, totum subrues. Et quemadmodum si unum in sermone comprehendas, aut Patrem, aut Filium, aut Spiritum sanctum; fide autem nec Patrem, nec Filium, nec Spiritum sanctum abneges, plenum est fidei sacramentum: ita etiam quamvis et Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum dicas, et aut Patris, aut Filii, aut Spiritus sancti minuas potestatem, vacuum est omne mysterium. Denique et illi ipsi qui dixerant: Nec si Spiritus sanctus 609 sit audivimus, baptizati sunt postea in nomine Domini Jesu Christi (Act. XIX, 5). Et hoc abundavit ad gratiam; quia jam Spiritum sanctum, Paulo praedicante, cognoverant. 43. Nec contrarium debet videri, quia quamvis etiam postea tacitum sit de Spiritu, tamen creditum est: et quod verbo tacitum fuerat, expressum est fide. Cum enim dicitur: In nomine Domini

nostri Jesu Christi, per unitatem nominis impletum mysterium est: nec a Christi baptismate Spiritus separatur; quia Joannes in poenitentia baptizavit, Christus in Spiritu (Ibid., 4). 44. Nunc consideremus utrum quemadmodum in Christi nomine plenum esse legimus baptismatis sacramentum; ita etiam sancto tantum Spiritu nuncupato, nihil desit ad mysterii plenitudinem. Rationem sequamur; quia qui unum dixerit, Trinitatem signavit. Si Christum dicas, et Deum Patrem a quo unctus est Filius, et ipsum qui unctus est, Filium, et Spiritum sanctum quo unctus est, designasti. Scriptum est enim: Hunc Jesum a Nazareth, quem unxit Deus Spiritu sancto (Act. X, 38). Et si Patrem dicas, et Filium ejus et Spiritum oris ejus pariter indicasti; si tamen id etiam corde comprehendas. Et si Spiritum dicas, et Deum Patrem, a quo procedit Spiritus: et Filium, quia Filii quoque est Spiritus, nuncupasti. 45. Unde et rationi copuletur auctoritas, in Spiritu quoque recte nos baptizari posse Scriptura indicat, dicente Domino: Vos autem baptizabimini in Spiritu sancto (Act. I, 5). Et alibi Apostolus ait: Omnes enim in ipso corpore, in unum Spiritum bapti zati sumus (I Cor. XII, 13). Unum opus, quia unum mysterium: unum baptisma, quia mors una pro mundo: unitas praedicationis quae non potest separari. 46. Quod si hoc loco separatur Spiritus ab operatione Patris et Filii, quia dictum est: Ex Deo omnia, et per Filium omnia (I Cor. VIII, 6); ergo et ubi Apostolus de Christo dicit: Qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in saecula (Rom. IX, 5), non solum eum creaturis omnibus, sed etiam Patri (quod dictu nefas est) praetulit. Sed absit; non enim inter omnia Pater, non inter plebem quamdam creaturarum suarum. Subter creatura omnis, supra divinitas Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Illa servit, haec regnat; illa subjacet, ista dominatur: illa opus, haec auctor est operis: illa adorat omnes, haec adoratur ab omnibus. 47. Denique de Filio scriptum est: Et adorent eum omnes angeli Dei (Hebr. I, 6). Non habes: Adoret Spiritus sanctus. Et infra: Ad quem autem angelorum dixit aliquando: Sede ad dexteram meam, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum

pedum tuorum? Nonne omnes sunt, inquit, ministri spiritus in ministerium, qui mittuntur (Ibid., 13)? Cum dicit, omnes, numquid et Spiritum sanctum comprehendit? Non utique, quia Angeli et caeterae Potestates in ministerium et obsequium Dei Filio, ut serviant, destinantur. 48. At vero Spiritus sanctus non minister, 610 sed testis est Filii, quemadmodum de ipso Filius dixit: Ille testimonium perhibet de me (Joan. XV, 26). Testis est ergo Filii, Spiritus. Qui testis est, novit omnia, sicut Deus Pater testis est. Sic enim habes in posterioribus, quia confirmata est salus nostra, testificante Deo, signis quoque et prodigiis, et variis virtutibus, et Spiritus sancti divisionibus (Hebr. II, 4, 5). Qui dividit quod vult, utique supra omnia, non inter omnia est; dividere enim operatoris gratia, non operis est materies (I Cor. XII, 11). 49. Si supra omnia Filius, per quem initium salus nostra, ut praedicaretur, accepit: utique et Pater Deus, qui testificatur, et asseverat signis et prodigiis de salute nostra, exceptus a cunctis est. Similiter autem et Spiritus qui divisionibus suis nostrae testimonium fert saluti, non est in creaturarum plebe numerandus, sed cum Patre aestimandus et Filio, qui non per incisionem sui dividitur ipse, cum dividit; individuus enim cum sit, nihil amittit, cum omnibus largiatur: sicut et Filius, regnum Patre accipiente, nihil perdit: nec Pater Filio cum sua tradat, amittit. Nullum itaque damnum esse in divisione gratiae spiritalis, Domino attestante (I Cor. XV, 6), cognovimus; qui enim ubi vult spirat (Joan. III, 8), ubique sine damno est. De quo infra dicemus plenius. 50. Interim nunc quoniam propositum est ordine suo asserere, non esse inter omnia Spiritum compntandum, ipsum Apostolum, de cujus verbis faciunt quaestionem, assertionis hujus adhibeamus auctorem. Quae enim essent illa omnia, sive visibilia, sive invisibilia, ipse signavit dicens: Quoniam in ipso condita sunt omnia in coelis et in terra (Coloss. I, 16). Vides omnia de his dicta, quae vel in coelis sunt, vel in terra; sunt enim in coelis etiam invisibilia, quae facta sunt. 51. Tamen ne cui esset incognitum, addidit de quibus diceret: Sive Sedes,

inquit, sive Dominationes, sive Principatus, sive Potestates, omnia per ipsum, et in ipso creata sunt, et ipse est ante omnes, et omnia in ipso constant (Ibid., 16, 17). Numquid ergo hic inter creaturas Spiritum sanctum comprehendit? Aut cum dicit ante omnes esse Dei Filium, numquid ante Patrem dixisse aestimandus est? Non utique; nam sicut hic per Filium dicit omnia creata esse, et in ipso omnia constare coelestia: ita etiam in Spiritu sancto vires habere universa coelestia dubitari non potest, quando lectum est: Verbo Domini coeli firmati sunt, et Spiritu oris ejus omnis virtus eorum (Psal. XXXII, 6). Super omnia est igitur, de quo est omnis coelestium et terrestrium virtus. Qui igitur super omnia est, utique non servit: qui non servit, liber est: qui liber est, habet jura dominatus. 52. Hoc si a principio dicerem, negaretur. Sed quemadmodum illi minora negant, ne majora credantur: ita et nos minora praemittamus, ut aut perfidiam suam etiam in minoribus prodant; aut si vel minoribus consentiunt, majora de minoribus colligamus. 53. Arbitror, clementissime imperator, plenissime confutatos eos, qui audent inter omnia 611 Spiritum sanctum computare. Sed tamen ut sciant se non tantum Apostolicis testimoniis, sed etiam Dominicis perurgeri; quomodo audent inter omnia numerare Spiritum sanctum, quando ipse Dominus dixit: Qui blasphemaverit in Filium hominis, remittetur ei: qui autem blasphemaverit in Spiritum sanctum, nec hic, nec in futurum remittetur ei (Luc. XII, 10)? Quomodo igitur inter creaturas audet quisquam Spiritum computare? Aut quis sic se obligat, ut si creaturae derogaverit, non putet sibi hoc aliqua venia relaxandum? Nam si Judaei, quia adoraverunt militiam coeli (IV Reg. XVII, 16), divino praesidio destituti sunt: qui autem adorat et confitetur Spiritum sanctum, acceptus est Deo; qui non confitetur, sacrilegii reus sine venia damnatur: utique hinc aestimari potest non inter omnia, sed super omnia esse Spiritum sanctum, cujus injuria aeternis suppliciis expiatur. 54. Cur autem dixerit Dominus: Qui blasphemaverit in Filium hominis, remittetur ei: qui autem blasphemaverit in Spiritum

sanctum, nec hic, nec in futurum remittetur ei (Luc. XII, 10); diligenter adverte. Numquid alia est offensa Filii, alia Spiritus sancti? Sicut enim una dignitas, sic una injuria. Sed si quis corporis specie deceptus humani, remissius aliquid sentit de Christi carne, quam dignum est (neque enim vilis nobis debet videri, quae aula virtutis, fructus est Virginis), habet culpam; non est tamen exclusus a venia, quam fide possit adsciscere. Si quis vero sancti Spiritus dignitatem, majestatem et potestatem abneget sempiternam, et putet non in Spiritu Dei ejici daemonia, sed in Beelzebub: non potest ibi exoratio esse veniae, ubi sacrilegi plenitudo est; quia qui Spiritum negavit, et Deum Patrem negavit et Filium; quoniam idem est Spiritus Dei, qui Spiritus est Christi.

CAPUT IV.

SPIRITUM SANCTUM UNUM et eumdem esse qui locutus est in prophetis et in apostolis, qui Spiritus Dei et Christi est, quem praeterea Spiritum Paraclitum, Spiritum vitae ac veritatis Scriptura significat.

55. Unum autem esse Spiritum nemo dubitaverit, etsi de uno Deo plerique dubitaverunt. Alium enim dixerunt plerique haeretici Deum veteris, alium novi Testamenti. 612 Sed sicut unus Pater, qui et olim locutus est, ut legimus, patribus in prophetis: et in novissimis diebus nobis locutus est in Filio (Hebr. I, 1, 2): et sicut unus Filius, qui juxta veteris seriem Testamenti ab Adam offensus, ab Abraham visus, adoratus a Jacob est: ita etiam Spiritus sanctus unus est, qui efferbuit in prophetis, insufflatus est apostolis, copulatus est Patri et Filio in baptismatis sacramentis (II Petr. I, 21; Joan. XX, 22; Matth. XXVIII, 19). De ipso enim dicit David: Et Spiritum sanctum tuum ne auferas a me (Psal. L, 13). De ipso etiam alibi dixit: Quo ibo a Spiritu tuo (Psal. CXXXVIII, 7). 56. [Alias cap. IV.] Ut scias quia idem Spiritus Dei est, qui est Spiritus sanctus, sicut et in Apostolo legimus: Nemo in Spiritu Dei loquens, dicit anathema Jesu; et nemo potest dicere Dominus Jesus, nisi in Spiritu sancto (I Cor. XII, 3), ipsum Apostolus Spiritum Dei dixit. Ipsum etiam Spiritum Christi appellavit, sicut habes: Vos autem in carne non estis, sed in Spiritu; si tamen Spiritus Dei inhabitat in vobis. Si quis autem Spiritum Christi non habet, hic non est ejus (Rom. VIII, 9). Et infra: Quod si Spiritus ejus qui suscitavit Jesum a mortuis, habitat in vobis (Ibid. 11). Ipse est ergo Spiritus Dei, qui Spiritus est Christi. 57. Ipse etiam est Spiritus vitae, sicut ait Apostolus: Lex enim Spiritus vitae in Christo Jesu liberavit me a lege peccati et mortis (Ibid., 2). 58. Quem

igitur Spiritum vitae Apostolus dixit, ipsum Dominus in Evangelio paraclitum nominavit, ipsum Spiritum veritatis, sicut habes: Et rogabo Patrem, et alium Paraclitum dabit vobis; ut vobiscum sit in aeternum, Spiritum veritatis, quem hic mundus non potest accipere; quia non videt eum, nec cognoscit eum (Joan. XIV, 16, 17). Habes ergo et Paraclitum Spiritum, eumdem et Spiritum veritatis et Spiritum invisibilem designatum. Quomodo igitur secundum divinitatem quidam Filium visibilem putant, cum etiam Spiritum mundus videre non possit? 59. Accipe nunc ejusdem vocem Domini, quod ipse sit Spiritus sanctus, qui est Spiritus veritatis; habes enim in ultimo libri hujus: Accipite Spiritum sanctum (Joan. XX, 22). Ipsum quoque esse Spiritum sanctum, qui est Spiritus Domini, Petrus docet dicens: Anania, quid tibi visum est tentare et mentiri Spiritui sancto (Act. V, 3)? Et statim ad uxorem Ananiae idem ait: Quid vobis visum est tentare Spiritum Domini (Ibid., 9)? Cum dicit, vobis, ostendit de eo dictum Spiritu, de quo Ananiae dixerat. Ipse est ergo Spiritus Domini, qui Spiritus sanctus. 60. Ipsum etiam Spiritum sanctum, qui Spiritus 613 Patris est, declaravit Dominus, dicens secundum Matthaeum in persecutione non esse cogitandum quid loquamur: Non enim vos estis qui loquimini; sed Spiritus Patris vestri, qui loquitur in vobis (Matth. X, 20). Idem autem secundum Lucam ait: Nolite solliciti esse qualiter respondeatis aut dicatis; Spiritus enim sanctus Dei docebit vos in ipsa hora, quae oporteat dicere (Luc. XII, 11, 12). Ergo quamvis multi dicantur spiritus, quia lectum est: Qui facit Angelos suos spiritus (Psal. CIII, 4); unus tamen est Dei Spiritus. 61. Ipsum igitur unum Spiritum et apostoli et prophetae sunt consecuti. Sicut etiam vas electionis, doctor gentium dicit: Quia unum Spiritum potavimus (I Cor. XII, 13); quasi eum qui non queat scindi, sed infundatur animis, et sensibus allabatur, ut saecularis sitis restinguat ardorem.

CAPUT V.

SPIRITUM SANCTUM, CUM creaturas sanctificet, nec creaturam esse, nec mutabilem: eum semper bonum esse, cum a Patre detur et a Filio; nec inter ea quae declinare dicuntur, numerandum; fontem bonitatis, Spiritum oris Dei, malorum emendatorem, bonum necessario confitendum: postremo cum in Scripturis bonus affirmetur, et Patri ac Filio conjungatur in baptismate, bonum negari neutiquam posse; nec tamen dici in bono proficientem, sed perficientem: quod eum ab omnibus distinguit creaturis.

62. Non ergo sanctus Spiritus de substantia corporalium; hic enim corporalibus incorpoream infundit gratiam: sed nec de substantia invisibilium creaturarum est; nam et illae sanctificationem hujus accipiunt, et per hunc reliquis mundi operibus antecellunt. Sive Angelos dicas, sive Dominationes, sive Potestates, omnis creatura exspectat sancti Spiritus gratiam. Sicut enim nos per Spiritum liberi, quia misit Deus Spiritum Filii sui in corda nostra clamantem: Abba Pater. Itaque jam non est servus, sed filius (Galat. IV, 6, 7): ita etiam omnis creatura revelationem filiorum Dei exspectat, quos utique sancti Spiritus gratia filios Dei fecit (Rom. VIII, 19). Ergo et creatura ipsa omnis spiritualis gratiae revelatione mutabitur, et liberabitur a servitute corruptionis in libertatem gloriae filiorum Dei (Ibid. 21). 63. Omnis ergo creatura mutabilis, non solum ea quae jam peccato aliquo aut elementorum conditione mutata est; verum etiam quae corruptelae potest esse obnoxia vitio naturae, etsi nondum est studio disciplinae; nam ut in superioribus libris docuimus (Lib. III, de fide, ca), et angelorum naturam liquet potuisse mutari. Utique aestimare convenit quia qualis unius natura, talis et caeterorum. Mutabilis ergo et reliquorum natura,

sed melior disciplina. 64. [Alias cap. V.] Ergo omnis mutabilis creatura, sed bonus et non mutabilis Spiritus sanctus; neque enim aliquo vitio mutari potest, qui omnium 614 abolet vitia, peccata condonat. Quomodo ergo mutabilis qui sanctificando alios mutat ad gratiam, non ipse mutatur? 65. Quomodo mutabilis, qui bonus semper est? Neque enim umquam malus Spiritus sanctus, per quem nobis quae bona sunt, ministrantur. Unde et evangelistae duo in uno eodemque loco, diversis quidem inter se verbis, sed eadem designarunt; habes enim in Matthaeo: Si vos cum sitis mali, nostis bona data dare filiis vestris; quanto magis Pater vester, qui in coelis est, dabit bona petentibus se (Matth. VII, 11)! Secundum Lucam autem invenies ita scriptum: Quanto magis Pater vester de coelo dabit Spiritum sanctum petentibus se (Luc. XI, 13)! Advertimus ergo bonum esse Spiritum sanctum Domini judicio, evangelistarum testimonio: quando alius pro sancto Spiritu bona, alius pro bonis sanctum Spiritum nominavit. Si igitur quod bonum est, hoc est Spiritus sanctus, quomodo bonus non est? 66. Nec fallit quod nonnulli codices habent etiam secundum Lucam: Quanto magis Pater vester de coelo dabit bonum datum petentibus se! Hoc bonum datum gratia spiritalis est, quam Dominus Jesus effudit e coelo, postquam patibulo crucis fixus, triumphales revehens evacuatae mortis exuvias, victor mortis a mortuis resurrexit, sicut habes scriptum: ascendens in altum captivam duxit captivitatem: dedit data hominibus (Psal. LXVII, 19). Et bene ait, data; sicut enim Filius datus, de quo scriptum est: Puer natus est, filius datus est nobis (Esai. IX, 6), data est et gratia spiritualis. Quid autem dubito dicere quia datus est et Spiritus sanctus, cum scriptum sit: Charitas Dei effusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis (Rom. V, 5). Quem utique quoniam pectora recipere captiva non poterant, prius Dominus Jesus captivam duxit captivitatem; ut liberis affectibus gratiae divinae munus effunderet. 67. Pulchre autem dixit: Captivam captivitatem. Christi enim victoria, victoria libertatis est, quae omnes gratiae vindicavit, nullum

astrinxit injuriae. Ergo in omnium absolutione nemo captivus est. Et quia Dominicae tempore passionis sola feriabatur injuria, quae captivos omnes amiserat quos tenebat; in se recurrens captiva facta est ipsa captivitas, jam non Belial addicta, sed Christo, cui servire libertas est. Qui enim in Domino vocatus est servus libertus est Domini (I Cor. VII, 22). 68. Sed ut ad proposita revertamur: Omnes, inquit, declinaverunt, simul inutiles facti sunt; non est qui faciat bonum, non est usque ad unum (Psal. XIII, 3). Si excipiunt Spiritum sanctum, etiam ipsi eum non esse inter omnia confitentur: si non excipiunt, ergo et ipsum inter omnes declinasse fateantur. 69. Sed videamus utrum bonitatem habeat, cum fons sit principiumque bonitatis. Nam sicut 615 Pater bonitatem habet et Filius, ita etiam bonitatem habet et Spiritus sanctus. Quod etiam Apostolus docuit dicens: Fructus autem Spiritus pax, charitas, gaudium, patientia, bonitas (Galat. V, 22). Quis autem dubitat quod bonus sit, cujus fructus est bonitas? Arbor enim bona bonos fructus facit (Matth. VII, 17). 70. Itaque si bonus Deus, quomodo non bonus qui oris ejus est Spiritus (Psal. XXXII, 6), qui scrutatur etiam alta Dei (I Cor. II, 10)? An in alta Dei contagio mali possit intrare? Unde et illud intelligitur, quam amentes sint, qui bonum Filium Dei abnegant, cum bonum Spiritum Christi negare non possint; de quo ait Dei Filius: Propterea dixi, de meo accipiet (Joan. XVI, 15). 71. An non bonus Spiritus, qui bonos de pessimis facit, peccatum abolet, malum delet, crimen excludit, bonum munus infundit, de persecutoribus apostolos facit, de peccatoribus sacerdotes? Eratis, inquit, aliquando tenebrae, nunc autem lux in Domino (Ephes. V, 8). 72. Sed quid differimus eos? Nam si verba exigunt, cum facta non abnuant, accipiant bonum Spiritum scriptum; dixit enim David: Spiritus tuus bonus deducet me in viam rectam (Psal. CXLII, 10). Quid est enim Spiritus, nisi plenus bonitatis? Qui cum sit inaccessibilis natura, receptibilis tamen propter bonitatem suam nobis est, complens virtute omnia, sed qui solis participetur justis, simplex substantia, opulentus virtutibus, unicuique

praesens, dividens de suo singulis, et ubique totus. 73. Meritoque Filius Dei dixit: Ite, baptizate gentes in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti (Matth. XXVIII, 19), non dedignatus Spiritus sancti societatem. Cur igitur nunc quem Dominus non dedignatus est in baptismatis sacramento, moleste ferunt aliqui Patri vel Filio Spiritum nostra devotione conjungi? 74. Bonus ergo Spiritus: bonus autem, non quasi acquirens, sed quasi impertiens bonitatem. Non enim accipit a creaturis, sed accipitur Spiritus sanctus: sicut non sanctificatur, sed ipse sanctificat; creatura enim sanctificatur, sanctificat autem Spiritus sanctus. In quo licet verbi communio, discretio tamen naturae est. Sanctus enim dicitur et homo qui accipit, et Deus qui tribuit sanctitatem; quia legimus: Estote sancti, quoniam et ego sanctus sum (Levit. XIX, 2). Non ergo potest sanctificatio et corruptela unius esse naturae; et ideo non potest gratia sancti Spiritus et creatura unius esse substantiae. 75. Itaque cum omnis invisibilis praeter Trinitatem reliqua natura, cujus rationabilem et incorpoream jure quidam substantiam putant, non impertiat spiritalem gratiam, sed acquirat: nec participet, sed assumat; separanda utique est a societate Spiritus sancti communitas creaturae. Credant igitur quia creatura non est Spiritus sanctus: aut si creaturam putant, cur associant Patri? Si creaturam arbitrantur, cur Filio Dei jungunt? Quod si a Patre et Filio 616 non existimant separandum, non aestiment creaturam; quia ubi una sanctificatio, una natura est.

CAPUT VI.

QUAMQUAM IN AQUA et Spiritu baptizamur, hunc tamen illi longe praestare; atque adeo non sejungendum a Patre et Filio.

76. Sunt tamen plerique qui eo quod in aqua baptizamur et Spiritu, non putent aquae et Spiritus distare munera; et ideo non putant distare naturam. Nec advertunt quia in illo aquarum sepelimur elemento, ut renovati per Spiritum resurgamus. In aqua enim imago mortis, in Spiritu pignus est vitae; ut per aquam moriatur corpus peccati, quae quasi quodam tumulo corpus includit: et per virtutem Spiritus renovemur a morte peccati, renati in Deo. 77. Et ideo hi tres testes unum sunt, sicut Joannes dixit: Aqua, sanguis, et Spiritus (I Joan. V, 8). Unum in mysterio, non in natura. Aqua igitur testis est sepulturae, sanguis testis est mortis, Spiritus testis est vitae. Si qua ergo in aqua gratia, non ex natura aquae, sed ex praesentia est Spiritus sancti. 78. Numquid in aqua vivimus, sicut in Spiritu? Numquid in aqua signamur, sicut in Spiritu? In ipso enim vivimus, et ipse est pignus haereditatis nostrae, sicut et Apostolus scribens ad Ephesios, ait: In quo credentes signati estis Spiritu promissionis sancto, qui est pignus haereditatis nostrae (Ephes. I, 13, 14). Sancto igitur Spiritu signati sumus, non natura, sed a Deo, quia scriptum est: qui unxit nos Deus, et qui signavit nos, et dedit pignus Spiritum in cordibus nostris (II Cor. I, 21, 22). 79. Signati ergo Spiritu a Deo sumus. Sicut enim in Christo morimur, ut renascamur; ita etiam Spiritu signamur, ut splendorem atque imaginem ejus et gratiam tenere possimus: quod est utique spiritale signaculum. Nam etsi specie signemur in corpore, veritate tamen in corde signamur; ut Spiritus sanctus exprimat in nobis imaginis coelestis effigiem. 80. Quis igitur audeat dicere

discretum a Deo Patre et Christo esse Spiritum sanctum; cum per ipsum ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei esse mereamur; et per ipsum fiat, quemadmodum Petrus apostolus dixit (II Petr. I, 4), ut divinae simus consortes naturae? In quo utique non carnalis successionis haereditas, sed adoptionis gratiae spiritale commercium est. Atque ut sciamus cordis nostri magis hoc, quam corporis esse signaculum, docet Propheta qui dicit: Signatum est in nobis lumen vultus tui, Domine; dedisti laetitiam in corde meo (Psal. IV, 7). 617

CAPUT VII.

SPIRITUM SANCTUM CREATURAM non esse, cum sit incircumscriptus, et apostolis per omnes regiones dispersis infusus, quin etiam angelos ipsos, quibus aequales nos reddit, sanctificet. Eodem Mariam repletam esse, nec non etiam Christum Dominum, atque adeo superiora et inferiora omnia: de cujus operatione, quae per piscinae commotionem designabatur, ortum ducit omnis benedictio.

81. Cum igitur omnis creatura certis naturae suae sit circumscripta limitibus; si quidem et illa invisibilia opera, quae non queunt locis et finibus comprehendi, substantiae suae tamen proprietate clauduntur: quomodo quis audeat creaturam appellare Spiritum sanctum, qui non habet circumscriptam determinatamque virtutem; quia et in omnibus et ubique semper est, quod utique divinitatis et dominationis est proprium: Domini enim est terra, et plenitudo ejus (Psal. XXIII, 1)?

81*. Et ideo cum Dominus servulos suos apostolos destinaret, ut agnosceremus aliud creaturam esse, aliud gratiam spiritalem, alios alio destinabat; quia omnes simul ubique esse non poterant. Dedit autem omnibus Spiritum sanctum, qui licet separatis apostolis inseparabilis gratiae munus infunderet. Erant igitur diversae personae, sed unus in omnibus operationis effectus; quia unus est Spiritus sanctus, de quo ait: Accipietis virtutem venientem, Spiritum sanctum in vos; et eritis mihi testes in Hierusalem et in omni Judaea et Samaria usque in fines terrae (Act. I, 8).

82. Incircumscriptus igitur et infinitus Spiritus sanctus, qui se discipulorum sensibus per separatarum divortia discreta regionum, remotosque fines totius orbis infudit, quem nihil potest praeterire vel fallere.

Et ideo sanctus David ait: Quo ibo a Spiritu tuo, aut quo a facie tua fugiam (Psal. CXXXVIII, 7)? De quo Angelo Scriptura hoc dicit? de qua Dominatione? de qua Potestate? Cujus inveniemus Angeli virtutem per plurimos esse diffusam? Angeli enim ad paucos mittebantur, Spiritus autem sanctus populis infundebatur. Quis igitur dubitet quin divinum sit, quod infunditur simul pluribus, nec videtur: corporeum autem, quod et videtur a singulis, et tenetur? 83. Sed quemadmodum sanctificans apostolos Spiritus, non est humanae consors naturae; ita etiam sanctificans Angelos, Dominationes et Potestates, non habet consortium creaturae. Si qui autem putant non esse spiritalem in angelis sanctitatem, sed aliam quamdam gratiam suae proprietate naturae, hi inferiores profecto angelos hominibus judicabunt. Cum enim et ipsi fateantur quod Spiritui sancto angelos conferre non audeant, nec possint negare quod hominibus infundatur Spiritus sanctus: sanctificatio autem Spiritus donum munusque divinum sit; invenientur utique homines qui meliorem sanctificationem habent, angelis praeferendi. 618 Sed cum angeli hominibus in adjumentum descendant (Hebr. I, 14), intelligendum est quod creatura quidem superior angelorum sit, quae plus recipit gratiae spiritalis; ejusdem tamen et erga nos et illos munus auctoris sit. 84. Quanta autem gratia, quae praemiis angelorum etiam inferiorem creaturam humanae conditionis exaequet, sicut Dominus ipse promisit dicens: Eritis sicut angeli in coelo (Matth. XXII, 30)? Nec difficile; qui enim illos angelos fecit in Spiritu, homines quoque per eamdem gratiam similes faciet angelorum (Psal. CIII, 4). 85. De qua autem creatura dici potest quia repleverit universa, quod scriptum est de Spiritu sancto: Effundam de Spiritu meo super omnem carnem (Joel II, 28)? Non hoc de angelo dici potest. Denique Gabriel ipse missus ad Mariam: Ave, inquit, gratia plena; spiritalem utique in ea declarans gratiam, quod in eam Spiritus sanctus supervenisset, et plenum gratiae uterum Verbo esset habitura coelesti. 86. Domini enim est omnia complere, qui dicit: Ego coelum et

terram compleo (Jerem. XXIII, 24). Si ergo Dominus est, qui coelum complet et terram; quis potest Spiritum sanctum judicare dominationis, et divinae potestatis exsortem, qui replevit orbem, et quod ultra totum orbem est, replevit Jesum mundi totius redemptorem? Scriptum est enim: Jesus autem plenus Spiritu sancto, regressus est ab Jordane (Luc. IV, 1). Quis igitur alius nisi qui ejusdem esset plenitudinis, complentem omnia posset implere? 87. Sed ne hoc secundum carnem dictum objiciant; quamquam plus unus ille, quam omnes: de cujus carne exibat virtus, quae sanaret omnes: tamen sicut Dominus complet omnia, ita etiam et de Spiritu lectum est: Quoniam Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum (Sap. I, 7). Habes etiam de omnibus qui convenerant cum apostolis dictum quia, repleti sancto Spiritu, loquebantur verbum Dei cum fiducia (Act. IV, 31). Vides quia et plenitudinem et fiduciam dat Spiritus sanctus; cujus operationem archangelus nuntiat Mariae, dicens: Spiritus sanctus superveniet in te (Luc. I, 35). 88. Habes etiam in Evangelio quia angelus secundum tempus descendebat in natatoriam, et movebatur aqua: et qui prior descendisset in natatoriam, sanus fiebat (Joan. V, 4). Quid in hoc typo angelus, nisi descensionem sancti Spiritus nuntiabat, quae nostris futura temporibus, aquas sacerdotalibus invocata precibus consecraret? Ille ergo angelus sancti Spiritus erat nuntius, eo quod per gratiam spiritualem medicina nostris esset animi ac mentis languoribus deferenda. Eosdem ergo et Spiritus habet, quos Deus Pater et Christus ministros. Sic omnia replete, sic omnia possidet, sic omnia operatur et in omnibus, quemadmodum et Deus Pater operatur et Filius. 89. Quid igitur sancti Spiritus operatione divinius, cum etiam benedictionum suarum praesulem Spiritum Deus ipse testetur dicens: 619 Ponam Spiritum meum super semen tuum, et benedictiones meas super filios tuos (Esai. XLIV, 3)? Nulla enim potest esse plena benedictio, nisi per infusionem Spiritus sancti. Unde et apostolus nihil melius hoc nobis quod optaret invenit, sicut ipse dixit: Non deficimus pro vobis orantes et

obsecrantes, ut repleamini cognitione voluntatis ejus in omni sapientia et intellectu spiritali, ambulantes digne Deo (Coloss. I, 9). Hanc igitur Dei esse docuit voluntatem, ut magis in bonis operibus et sermonibus et sensibus ambulantes repleamur voluntate Dei, qui ponit in cordibus nostris Spiritum sanctum. Ergo si is qui habet Spiritum sanctum, Dei repletus est voluntate; utique inter Patrem et Spiritum nulla distantia voluntatis est.

CAPUT VIII.

A DEO SOLO dari Spiritum; neque tamen totum singulis, cum praeter Christum nemo fuerit qui totum eum capere posset. Per Spiritum effundi charitatem, quae per mysticum unguentum figurata, nihil commune cum creaturis habere ostenditur: ipsum autem cum ex ore Dei dicatur procedere, inter creata non reponendum; nec inter divisibilia, cum sit aeternus.

90. Simul illud adverte, quia Deus dat Spiritum sanctum (Rom. V, 5). Non enim humanum hoc opus, neque ab homine datur: sed qui invocatur a sacerdote, a Deo traditur, in quo Dei munus, ministerium sacerdotis est. Nam si Paulus apostolus judicavit (Ephes. V, 18) quod ipse donare Spiritum sanctum sua auctoritate non posset, et in tantum se huic officio imparem credidit, ut a Deo nos Spiritu optaret impleri; quis tantus est, qui hujus traditionem muneris sibi audeat arrogare? Itaque Apostolus votum precatione detulit, non jus auctoritate aliqua vindicavit: impetrare optavit, non imperare praesumpsit. Petrus quoque ait quia non erat idoneus qui posset Spiritum sanctum vel cogere, vel arcere. Sic enim dixit: Ergo si eamdem gratiam concessit illis Deus sicut et nobis, ego quis eram, qui possem prohibere Deum (Act. XI, 17)? 91. Sed fortasse apostolicis non moveantur exemplis, et ideo divinis utamur oraculis; scriptum est enim: Jacob puer meus, suscipiam eum: Israel electus meus, suscepit eum anima mea, dedi Spiritum meum in ipsum (Esai. XLII, 1). Dominus quoque per Esaiam dixit: Spiritus Domini super me, propter quod unxit me (Esai. LXI, 1). 92. Quis ergo audeat dicere creatam Spiritus sancti esse substantiam, qui cum illuxerit in cordibus nostris, divinae cernimus pulchritudinem veritatis, et distantiam creaturae divinitatisque cognoscimus, ut opus segregetur ab

auctore? Aut de qua creatura Deus ita locutus est, quod aut Dominationes aut Potestates effundat aut Angelos? Sed de Spiritu, inquit, meo effundam (Joel II, 28). Non Spiritum ait, sed de Spiritu; neque enim nos capere possumus plenitudinem Spiritus sancti, sed tantum accipimus, quantum de suo arbiter nostri pro sua voluntate diviserit. Sicut enim Dei Filius non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo, sed semetipsum exinanivit (Philipp. II, 6), ut nos eum nostris animis percipere 620 possemus: exinanivit autem non quod ipse esset vacuus suae plenitudinis; sed quo mihi qui plenitudinem ejus sustinere non possem, pro eo quod capere possem, infunderetur: ita etiam de Spiritu sancto Pater se dicit effundere super omnem carnem; non enim totum effudit, sed quod effudit, omnibus abundavit. 93. Supra nos ergo effusum est de Spiritu: at vero super Dominum Jesum, cum in forma esset hominis, manebat Spiritus, sicut scriptum est: Supra quem videris Spiritum descendentem de coelo, et manentem super eum, hic est qui baptizat in Spiritu sancto (Joan. I, 33). Circa nos ex affluenti commodo liberalitas largientis est, in illo totius manet in aeternum Spiritus plenitudo. Quod igitur nobis satis esse judicavit, effudit: et quod effusum est, non separatum est, nec incisum: sed unitatem habet plenitudinis, quo aciem nostri cordis illuminet pro nostrae possibilitate virtutis. Denique tantum capimus, quantum profectus nostrae mentis acquirit; inseparabilis est enim plenitudo gratiae spiritalis, sed nobis pro nostrae participatur facultate naturae. 94. Effundit ergo Deus de Spiritu, effunditur etiam charitas Dei per Spiritum: quo loco unitatem debemus agnoscere operationis et gratiae. Sicut enim de Spiritu sancto Deus effudit, ita etiam, Charitas Dei effusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum (Rom. V, 5); ut intelligamus non esse opus sanctum Spiritum, qui divinae arbiter et fons profluus charitatis est. 95. Similiter autem ut credas id quod effunditur, cum creaturis non posse esse commune, sed speciale divinitatis; etiam et Filii nomen effunditur, sicut habes: Unguentum exinanitum est

nomen tuum (Cant. I, 2). Cujus virtute sermonis nihil potest esse praestantius. Nam sicut inclusum in vase aliquo unguentum cohibet odorem suum, qui odor quamdiu vasis illius angustiis coercetur, etsi ad plures non potest pervenire, tamen vim suam servat; cum vero de vase illo, quo claudebatur, unguentum fuerit effusum, longe lateque diffunditur: ita et Christi nomen ante ejus adventum in Israel populo, quasi in vase aliquo Judaeorum mentibus claudebatur: Notus enim in Judaea Deus, in Israel magnum nomen ejus (Psalm. LXXV, 1): hoc utique nomen, quod vasa Judaeorum angustiis suis coercitum continebant. 96. Magnum quidem et tunc nomen, cum infirmiorum atque paucorum haereret angustiis: sed magnitudinem sui nondum per corda gentium, et in fines totius orbis effuderat. Postea vero quam per omnem mundum suo illuxit adventu, per omnem utique creaturam divinum illud suum nomen extendit, non repletum accessione aliqua (plenitudo enim nescit augmentum) sed replens vacua, ut esset admirabile nomen ejus in universa terra. Hujus igitur effusio nominis abundantem quamdam exuberantiam gratiarum, bonorumque coelestium significat largitatem; ex abundantia enim superfluit, quidquid effunditur. 97. Itaque sicut creata non potest dici sapientia, quae ex ore Dei procedit, nec Verbum, quod eructatur ex corde, nec virtus, in qua plenitudo 621 majestatis aeternae est: ita etiam creatus non potest Spiritus aestimari, qui ex ore Dei funditur; cum ipse Deus tantam ostenderit unitatem, ut effundere se de Spiritu suo dicat. Quo intelligamus quia etiam Dei Patris eadem gratia sit, quae Spiritus sancti est, et quod sine incisione ac detrimento aliquo dividatur mentibus singulorum. Quod ergo de Spiritu Dei effunditur, nec inciditur, nec partibus aliquibus corporalibus comprehenditur, aut secatur. 98. [Alias cap. VIII]. Quomodo enim credibile est, quod Spiritus sectilibus aliquibus dividatur? Dicit Joannes de Deo: Ex hoc cognoscimus quia manet in nobis de Spiritu quem dedit nobis (I Joan. III, 24). Quod autem manet semper, utique nec mutatur: ergo si mutationem non habet, aeternitatem

habet. Et ideo Spiritus sanctus sempiternus est; creatura autem obnoxia vitio, ideoque mutabilis. Quod autem mutabile est, esse non potest sempiternum (Rom. VIII, 20): et ideo non potest Spiritui sancto et creaturae esse consortium; quia sempiternus est Spiritus, creatura autem omnis in tempore est. 99. Sempiternum autem Spiritum sanctum, etiam Apostolus ostendit: Si enim sanguis taurorum et hircorum, et cinis vitulae aspersus inquinatos sanctificat ad carnem emundandam; quanto magis sanguis Christi, qui per Spiritum sempiternum se obtulit immaculatum Deo (Hebr. IX, 13, 14)! Ergo sempiternus est Spiritus.

CAPUT IX.

SPIRITUM SANCTUM RECTE dici unguentum Christi, et oleum laetitiae, et quas ob causas? Christum ipsum non esse unguentum; cum unctus sit Spiritu sancto: mirum autem id non videri, si unguentum vocetur et Spiritus, cum Pater ac Filius etiam Spiritus appellentur. Nec ullam tamen in ipsis confusionem esse; cum solus Christus in corpore oppetierit mortem, cujus salutifera crux praedicatur.

100. Plerique autem arbitrati sunt unguentum Christi esse Spiritum sanctum. Et bene unguentum, quia oleum laetitiae nuncupatum est, plurimarum redolente copula gratiarum: verum illum Deus omnipotens Pater unxit principem sacerdotum, qui non ut alii in typo unctus ex lege, sed et secundum legem unctus in corpore, et in veritate supra legem virtute sancti Spiritus ex Patre plenus est. 101. Hoc est oleum laetitiae, de quo dicit propheta: Unxit te Deus, Deus tuus oleo laetitiae prae consortibus tuis (Psal. XLIV, 8). Denique Petrus unctum Spiritu dicit Jesum, sicut habes: Vos scitis quod factum est verbum per totam Judaeam, incipiens a Galilaea post baptismum, quod praedicavit Joannes, Jesum a Nazareth, quomodo unxit eum Deus Spiritu sancta (Act. X, 37, 38). Oleum igitur laetitiae Spiritus sanctus est. 102. Et pulchre oleum laetitiae dixit, ne creaturam putares; olei enim hujusmodi natura est, ut nequaquam naturae alterius humido misceatur. Laetitia quoque non corpus ungit, sed intima 622 cordis illuminat, sicut propheta dixit: Dedisti laetitiam in corde meo (Psalm. IV, 7). Ergo cum ludat operam, qui oleum velit cum creatura humidiore confundere: quia cum olei natura levior sit caeteris, residentibus aliis, elevata secernitur: quomodo putant isti deterrimi caupones oleum laetitiae

cum caeteris creaturis sua posse fraude confundi; cum utique non queant incorporeis corporea, increatis creata misceri? 102*. Et bene oleum laetitiae dicitur, quo unctus est Christus; neque enim usitatum fuit, ei oleum et commune quaerendum, quo aut vulnera curantur, aut aestus levatur: cum fomentum vulnerum suorum salus mundana non quaereret, nec refectionem corporis fatigati virtus sempiterna deposceret.

103. Nec mirum si habet oleum laetitiae, qui fecit exsultare morituros, tristitia mundum exuit, moestae fetorem mortis abolevit. Et ideo Apostolus ait: Christi enim bonus odor sumus Deo (II Cor. II, 15); utique de spiritalibus significans se locutum. Sed et cum ipse Filius Dei dicat: Spiritus Domini super me, propter quod unxit me (Luc. IV, 18), spiritale signat unguentum. Ergo unguentum Christi est Spiritus. 104. Aut quia unguentum exinanitum est nomen Jesu, si ibi Christum ipsum intelligere volunt unguenti expressum nomine, non Spiritum Christi; utique cum unctum Spiritu sancto Dominum Jesum Petrus apostolus dixerit, liquet sine dubio quod unguentum dicatur et Spiritus. 105. Sed quid mirum, cum et Pater et Filius spiritus esse dicatur? De quo quidem dicemus plenius, cum de unitate nominis dicere coeperimus (Infra, ca). Tamen quia hic quoque incidit pulcherrimus locus, ne sine corollario eum praeterire videamur, accipiant quia et Pater dicitur spiritus, sicut in Evangelio Dominus locutus est, quoniam Spiritus est Deus (Joan. IV, 24); et Christus spiritus dicitur; quia Jeremias dixit: Spiritus ante faciem nostram Christus Dominus (Thren. IV, 20). 106. Et Pater ergo spiritus, et Filius spiritus; quia quod non est creaturae corpus, hoc spiritus est: sed non confusus cum Patre et Filio Spiritus sanctus, verum et a Patre distinctus et a Filio. Non enim Spiritus sanctus est mortuus, qui mori non potuit; quia carnem non suscepit, nec mortis capax esse potuit sempiterna divinitas: sed mortuus est secundum carnem Christus. 107. In eo utique mortuus, quod suscepit ex Virgine: non in eo, quod habebat ex Patre; in eo enim mortuus, in quo crucifixus est

Christus. Spiritus autem sanctus non potuit crucifigi, qui carnem et ossa non habuit: sed crucifixus est Dei Filius, qui carnem et ossa suscepit; ut in illa cruce nostrae carnis tentamenta morerentur. Suscepit enim quod non erat, ut celaret quod erat: celavit quod erat, ut tentaretur in eo, et redimeretur quod non erat; ut ad id quod erat, per id quod non erat, nos vocaret. 108. O divinum crucis illius sacramentum, 623 in qua haeret infirmitas, virtus libera est, affiguntur vitia, eriguntur tropaea! Unde quidam sanctus ait: Confige clavis a timore tuo carnes meas (Psal. CXVIII, 120); non ferreis clavis, ait, sed timoris et fidei: vehementior est enim virtutis strictura, quam poenae. Denique Petrum, cum usque in atrium principis sacerdotum Dominum sequeretur (Matth. XXVI, 58), quem nemo ligaverat, fides vinxerat: et quem fides vinxit, poena non solvit. Rursus cum ligaretur a Judaeis, devotio solvit, poena non tenuit; quia non recessit a Christo. 109. Ergo et tu crucifige peccatum, ut moriare peccato; qui enim peccato moritur, Deo vivit: vivas ei qui Filio proprio non pepercit; ut in illius corpore nostras crucifigeret passiones. Pro nobis enim mortuus est Christus, ut nos in illius redivivo corpore viveremus. Mortua est ergo in illo non vita nostra, sed culpa: Qui peccata, inquit, nostra pertulit in corpore suo super lignum; ut a peccatis nostris separati, cum justitia vivamus, cujus vulnere plagarum sanati sumus (I Petr. II, 24). 110. Lignum igitur illud crucis velut quaedam nostrae navis salutis vectura nostra est, non poena; alia enim salus non est, nisi vectura salutis aeternae. Dum mortem expetendo, non sentio: dum poenam contemnendo, non patior: dum metum nescio, negligendo. 111. Quis est igitur cujus vulnere plagarum sanati sumus, nisi Christus Dominus: de quo idem prophetavit Esaias quia plaga ejus nostra medicina est (Esai. LIII, 5): de quo Paulus apostolus in Epistolis suis scripsit: Qui peccatum non cognovit, sed pro nobis peccatum factus est (II Cor. V, 21)? Hoc quippe divinum in eo, quia caro peccatum non fecit, nec in eo suscepti corporis creatura peccavit. Nam quid mirum, si non peccavit sola divinitas,

cum peccandi incentiva non habeat? Si autem solus exsors peccati Deus, omnis utique creatura per naturam sui, ut diximus, obnoxia potest esse peccato.

CAPUT X.

QUOD SPIRITUS PECCATA condonat, hoc illi cum Patre ac Filio, non autem cum angelis esse commune.

112. [Alias cap. IX.] Dic igitur, quicumque Spiritus sancti divinitatem negas: Spiritus autem obnoxius non potuit esse peccato, qui magis peccata condonat. Numquid angelus donat? numquid archangelus? Non utique, sed donat solus Pater, solus Filius, solus Spiritus sanctus (Luc. V, 21). Nemo autem quod potest donare, non potest evitare. 113. Sed fortasse dixit aliquis quia et Seraphim dixit Esaiae: Ecce tetigit hoc labia tua, et auferet iniquitates tuas, et peccata tua circumpurgabit (Esai. VI, 7). 624 Auferet, inquit, et circumpurgabit: non ego auferam, sed ignis ille de altari Dei, hoc est, gratia spiritalis. Quid enim aliud pie intelligere possumus in altari Dei esse, nisi Spiritus gratiam? Non utique lignum silvarum, nec fuliginem atque carbonem. Aut quid tam pium, quam ut secundum mysterium intelligamus quia revelabatur in ore Esaiae omnes homines per passionem Christi esse purgandos, qui velut carbo secundum carnem exussit nostra peccata, sicut in Zacharia habes: Nonne hic titio ejectus ab igni? Et ille erat Jesus indutus estimenta sordida (Zach. III, 2, 3). 114. Denique ut sciamus communis hoc redemptionis mysterium per prophetas evidentissime revelatum, etiam hoc loco habes dictum: Ecce abstulit peccata tua (Ibid., 4): non quod Christus peccata sua deponeret, qui peccatum non fecit; sed quod in carne Christi omne a peccatis suis genus absolveretur humanum. 115. Sed etiamsi Seraphim abstulisset peccatum, quasi unum utique de ministris Dei ad hoc esset mysterium destinatum. Sic enim dixit Esaias: Quia missum est ad me unum de Seraphim (Esai. VI, 6).

CAPUT XI.

SPIRITUM AD OMNES mitti, nec transire ex loco in alium: cum nec loco, nec tempore concludatur. Sic igitur eum exire a Filio, ut ipse Filius a Patre, in quo semper manet: sed eumdem venire nobis, cum ipsum recipimus. Eodem etiam modo venire quo Pater ipse, a quo separari nequaquam potest.

116. [Alias cap. X.] Et Spiritus quidem missus dicitur: sed Seraphim ad unum, Spiritus ad omnes (Joan. XVI, 7): Seraphim mittitur in ministerium, Spiritus operatur mysterium: Seraphim quod jubetur, exsequitur, Spiritus quod vult, dividit (Cor. XII, 11): Seraphim de loco ad locum transit; non enim complet omnia, sed et ipsum repletur ab Spiritu: Seraphim descendit cum aliquo secundum naturam suam transitu; at vero de Spiritu sancto hoc non possumus aestimare, de quo dicit Filius Dei: Cum venerit Paraclitus Spiritus veritatis, quem ego mitto vobis, qui a Patre procedit (Joan. XV, 26). 117. Etenim si de loco procedit Spiritus, et ad locum transit; et ipse Pater in loco invenietur, et Filius. Si de loco exit, quem Pater mittit, aut Filius, utique de loco transiens Spiritus atque progrediens, et Patrem sicut corpus secundum impias interpretationes relinquere videtur et Filium. 118. Hoc secundum eos loquor, qui dicunt quod habeat Spiritus descensorium motum. Sed neque in loco aliquo Pater circumscribitur, 625 qui est super omnia, non solum corporeae naturae, sed etiam invisibilis creaturae: neque Filius suorum operum locis temporibusque concluditur, qui super omnem est creaturam totius opifex creaturae: neque Spiritus veritatis, utpote Dei spiritus, circumscribitur aliquiquibus finibus corporalibus (Sap. VII, 23): qui cum sit incorporeus, omnem intelligibilem substantiae creaturam inenarrabili divinitatis plenitudine supereminet, spirandi ubi velit (Joan. III,

8), et inspirandi quomodo velit, habens super omnia potestatem. 119. Non ergo quasi ex loco mittitur Spiritus, aut quasi ex loco procedit, quando procedit ex Filio, sicut ipse Filius cum dicit: De Patre processi et veni in mundum (Joan. XVI, 18), omnes interficit opiniones, quae ex loco ad locum possunt, sicut in aliquibus corporalibus, aestimari. Similiter autem cum aut intus aut foris legimus Deum esse, non utique Deum aut intra aliquod corpus includimus, aut ab aliquo corpore separamus: sed alta hoc et inenarrabili aestimatione pensantes, divinae naturae intelligimus arcanum. 120. Denique ita sapientia ex ore altissimi prodiisse se dicit (Eccl. XXIV, 5), non ut extra Patrem sit; sed apud Patrem; quia Verbum erat apud Deum (Joan. I, 1): nec solum apud Patrem, sed etiam in Patre. Dicit enim: Ego in Patre, et Pater in me est (Joan. XIV, 10). Sed neque cum de Patre exit, de loco recedit, aut quasi corpus a corpore separatur: neque cum in Patre est, quasi in corpore tamquam corpus includitur. Spiritus quoque sanctus cum procedit a Patre et Filio, non separatur a Patre, non separatur a Filio. Quemadmodum enim separari potest a Patre, qui Spiritus oris ejus est (Psal. XXXII, 6)? Quod utique et aeternitatis indicium, et divinitatis exprimit unitatem. 121. Est ergo et manet semper, qui oris est Spiritus: sed descendere videtur, cum illum recipimus, ut habitet in nobis; ne nos simus a gratia ejus alieni. Nobis descendere videtur, non quod ille descendat, sed quod ad illum animus noster ascendat. De quo plenius diceremus, nisi meminissemus in libris jam superioribus (Lib. V de Fide, ca) positum quod et Pater dixerit: Descendamus et confundamus linguas eorum (Gen. XI, 7); et Filius dixerit: Qui diligit me, sermonem meum servabit, et Pater meus diliget eum: et ad eum veniemus, et mansionem apud eum faciemus (Joan. XIV, 23). 122. Sic igitur venit Spiritus, quemadmodum venit Pater; quia ubi Pater est, ibi est et Filius: et ubi Filius est, ibi est Spiritus sanctus. Non ergo discrete venire aestimandus est Spiritus sanctus. Venit autem non de loco ad locum, sed a dispositione constitutionis ad salutem redemptionis, a gratia

vivificationis ad gratiam sanctificationis; ut de terris ad coelum, de injuria ad gloriam, de servitio ad regnum transferat. 123. Sic ergo venit Spiritus, quemadmodum venit Pater. Dixit enim Filius: Ego et Pater veniemus, et mansionem apud eum faciemus. Numquid corporaliter Pater venit? Sic ergo et Spiritus 626 venit, in quo cum venit, et Patris et Filii plena praesentia est. 124. Quis autem potest a Patre et Filio Spiritum sanctum separare, cum vel appellare Patrem et Filium sine Spiritu non queamus? Nemo enim dicit Dominum Jesum, nisi in Spiritu sancto (I Cor. XII, 3). Ergo si appellare Dominum Jesum sine Spiritu non possumus, utique sine Spiritu praedicare non possumus. Si autem et angeli praedicant Dominum Jesum, quem nemo potest sine Spiritu praedicare; et in ipsis ergo Spiritus sancti munus operatur. 125. Probavimus igitur unam praesentiam esse, unam gratiam esse Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti: quae tam coelestis atque divina est, ut pro ea agat gratias Patri Filius, dicens: Confiteor tibi, Pater domine coeli et terrae, quod abscondisti haec a sapientibus et prudentibus, et revelasti ea parvulis (Matth. XI, 25)

CAPUT XII.

PATRIS ET FILII et Spiritus sancti unam esse pacem atque gratiam: similiter unam charitatem, quae maxime in hominum redemptione apparuit: unam denique trium communicationem.

126. [Alias cap. XI.] Ergo cum una vocatio sit, una etiam gratia est. Denique scriptum est: Gratia vobis et pax a Deo patre nostro et Domino Jesu Christo (Rom. I, 7). Ecce habemus quia Patris et Filii una est gratia, et Patris et Filii una est pax: sed haec gratia et pax fructus est Spiritus, sicut ipse Apostolus docuit dicens: Fructus autem Spiritus est charitas, gaudium, pax, patientia (Galat. V, 22). Et bona pax et necessaria, ut nemo disputationum turbetur incertis, neque passionum corporalium tempestate quatiatur: sed simplicitate fidei, et tranquillitate mentis quietus circa Dei cultum perseveret affectus. 127. De pace probavimus: de gratia autem propheta Zacharias dicit, quia promisit Deus effundere in Jerusalem Spiritum gratiae et misericordiae (Zach. XII, 10); et apostolus Petrus dicit: Poenitentiam agite, et baptizetur unusquisque vestrum in nomine Domini Jesu Christi, in remissionem peccatorum; et accipietis gratiam Spiritus sancti (Act. II, 38). Ergo sicut Patris et Filii, ita et Spiritus sancti gratia est. Quomodo enim sine Spiritu potest esse gratia, cum gratia divina omnis in Spiritu sancto sit? 128. [Alias cap. XII.] Nec solum pacem et gratiam legimus Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti; sed etiam charitatem, et communionem, fidelis Auguste. De charitate enim dictum est: Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et charitas Dei (II Cor. XIII, 13). Accepimus charitatem Patris. Eadem charitas quae Patris, etiam Filii est. Ipse enim dixit: Qui me diligit, diligetur a Patre meo, et ego diligam eum (Joan. XIV,

21). Quae est enim charitas Filii, nisi quia se pro nobis obtulit, et suo sanguine nos redemit (Ephes. V, 2)? Eadem autem charitas et in Patre est, quia scriptum est: Sic enim dilexit Deus mundum, ut Filium suum unigenitum daret (Joan. III, 16). 129. Tradidit ergo Pater Filium, et Filius ipse 627 se tradidit. Servatur charitas, nec laeditur pietas; nulla est enim pietatis injuria, ubi nulla est traditionis aerumna. Tradidit volentem, tradidit offerentem, non utique ad poenam Pater Filium, sed ad gratiam. Si discutis facti meritum, interroga pietatis vocabulum. Vas electionis unitatem hanc divinae charitatis evidenter ostendit; quia et Pater tradidit Filium, et Filius ipse se tradidit. Pater tradidit, qui Filio proprio non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit illum (Rom. VIII, 32). De Filio quoque dicit: Qui se tradidit pro me (Galat. II, 20). Tradidit, inquit. Si gratiae, quid arguo? si injuriae, plus debeo. 130. Sed sicut Pater tradidit Filium, et Filius ipse se tradidit, accipe quia et Spiritus eum tradidit. Scriptum est enim: Tunc Jesus ductus est in desertum ab Spiritu, ut tentaretur a diabolo (Matth. IV, 1). Ergo et Spiritus diligens tradidit Dei Filium. Sicut enim una est charitas Patris et Filii, ita hanc charitatem Dei supra effundi per Spiritum sanctum (Rom. V, 5), et fructum esse sancti Spiritus declaravimus; quia fructus est Spiritus charitas, gaudium, pax, patientia (Galat. V, 22). 131. [Alias cap. XIII.] Communicationem autem et Patris et Filii esse manifestum est, quia scriptum est: Et communicatio nostra cum Patre, et Filio ejus Jesu Christo (I Joan. I, 3); et alibi: Communicatio Spiritus sancti cum omnibus vobis (II Cor. XIII, 13). Si igitur una pax, una gratia, una charitas, una communicatio est Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti; una certe operatio est: et ubi una operatio est, utique non potest virtus esse divisa, et discreta substantia. Nam quomodo operationis ejusdem gratia conveniret?

CAPUT XIII.

DIVINARUM TRIUM PERSONARUM unum esse nomen e Scripturis demonstrat Ambrosius: at in primis unitatem nominis Filii ac Spiritus sancti; cum uterque paraclitus dicatur et veritas.

132. [Alias cap. XIV.] Quis igitur unitatem negare audeat nominis, cum operationis videat unitatem? Sed quid ego unitatem nominis argumentis astruo; cum divinae vocis evidens testimonium sit unum nomen esse Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti? Scriptum est enim: Ite, baptizate gentes in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti (Matth. XXVIII, 19). In nomine dixit, non in nominibus. Non ergo aliud nomen Patris, aliud nomen Filii, aliud nomen Spiritus sancti; quia unus Deus: non plura nomina; quia non duo Dii, non tres Dii (I Cor. VIII, 4). 133. Et ut aperiret quia una divinitas, una majestas est, quia unum nomen Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti; nec in alio nomine venerit Filius, in alio nomine Spiritus sanctus, ait ipse Dominus: Ego veni in nomine Patris mei, et non accepistis me: si alius venerit in nomine suo, illum accipietis (Joan. V, 43). 133*. Quod autem nomen Patris est, hoc idem Filii Scriptura declarat; quia in Exodo dixit Dominus: Ego antecedam te in nomine meo et 628 vocabo in nomine meo Dominum in conspectu tuo (Exod. XXXIII, 19). Dominus ergo dixit quia in nomine suo vocabit Dominum: Dominus ergo et Patris est nomen et Filii.

134. Cum autem unum nomen sit Patris et Filii, accipe quia et Spiritus sancti idem nomen sit, quoniam et Spiritus sanctus in nomine Filii venit, sicut scriptum est: Paraclitus autem Spiritus sanctus quem mittet Pater in nomine meo, ille vos docebit omnia (Joan. XXIV, 26). Qui autem venit in nomine Filii, utique etiam in nomine Patris venit; quia unum nomen Patris

et Filii est. Sic fit ut unum et Patris et Filii nomen sit et Spiritus sancti. Nec enim est aliud nomen sub coelo datum, in quo oporteat nos salvos fieri (Act. IV, 12). 135. Simul docuit unitatem divini nominis esse credendam, non disparilitatem; quoniam in unitate nominis venit Christus: in suo autem nomine venturus Antichristus est, sicut scriptum est: Ego veni in nomine Patris mei, et non accepistis me: si alius venerit in nomine suo, illum accipietis (Joan. V, 43).

136. Edoctum est igitur ex his non esse in Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto paraclito nominis diversitatem: et quod nomen est Patris, id esse etiam Filii nomen: similiter quod nomen est Filii, esse id etiam Spiritus sancti; quando etiam paraclitus Filius dicitur, sicut et Spiritus sanctus. Et ideo ait in Evangelio Dominus Jesus: Rogabo Patrem meum, et alium paraclitum dabit vobis qui vobiscum sit in aeternum Spiritum veritatis (Joan. XIV, 16). Et bene dixit alium, ne ipsum Filium, ipsum Spiritum intelligeres; unitas enim nominis est, non Filii Spiritusque Sabelliana confusio. 137. Edit. Ben. [Alias cap. XV.] Itaque alius paraclitus est Filius, alius paraclitus Spiritus sanctus; Filium enim paraclitum dixit etiam Joannes, sicut habes: Si quis peccaverit, paraclitum habemus apud Patrem Jesum Christum (I Joan. II, 1). Itaque quemadmodum unitas nominis, ita etiam unitas potestatis est; ubi enim paraclitus Spiritus, ibi etiam Filius. 138. Nam sicut hic in aeternum Dominus futurum cum fidelibus Spiritum dicit, ita etiam de se alibi ostendit quod in aeternum cum apostolis sit futurus, dicens: Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem mundi (Matth. XXVIII, 20). Unum sunt ergo Filius et Spiritus: unum nomen est Trinitatis, et una inseparabilisque praesentia. 139. Sicut autem ostendimus paraclitum Filium nominatum, ita etiam ostendimus veritatem Spiritum nuncupatum. Veritas Christus; veritas Spiritus; habes enim in epistola Joannis: Quoniam Spiritus est veritas (I Joan. V, 6). Non solum ergo Spiritus veritatis, sed etiam veritas

dicitur Spiritus, sicut et Filius veritas praedicatur, qui ait: Ego sum via et veritas et vita (I Joan. XIV, 6). 629

CAPUT XIV.

SINGULAS TRINITATIS PERSONAS e sacris codicibus lucem esse; Spiritum autem etiam ignem significari apud Esaiam, cujus quidem ignis in Moysis rubo, in linguis flammeis, et in lagenis Gedeonis figura exstitit. Negari non posse ejusdem Spiritus divinitatem, cum eadem sit ejus, quae Patris et Filii operatio, nec non Dominici vultus lumen ignisque praedicetur.

140. [Alias cap. XVI.] Quid autem astruam quod sicut Pater lumen, ita etiam Filius lumen, et Spiritus sanctus lumen est? Quod utique divinae potentiae est. Deus enim lux est, sicut dixit Joannes: Quia Deus lux est, et tenebrae in eo non sunt (I Joan. I, 5). 141. Lux autem et Filius, quia vita erat lux hominum. Et ut ostenderet se de Dei Filio Evangelista dixisse, ait de Joanne Baptista: Non erat ille lux, sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine. Erat lux vera, quae illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum (Joan. I, 8, 9). Ergo quia Deus lux est, lux autem vera est Dei Filius: sine dubio Deus verus est Dei Filius. 142. Habes et alibi quia Filius Dei lux est: Populus qui sedebat in tenebris et in umbra mortis, lucem vidit magnam (Esai. IX, 2). Quid autem hoc evidentius, quod ait: Quoniam apud te est fons vitae, et in lumine tuo videbimus lumen (Psal. XXXV, 10)? Hoc est, quod apud te, Deus omnipotens Pater, qui fons vitae es, in lumine tuo Filio, lumen videbimus Spiritus sancti. Sicut ipse Dominus ostendit dicens: Accipite Spiritum sanctum (Joan. XX, 22); et alibi: Et virtus exibat de eo (Luc. VI, 19). 143. Ipsum autem Patrem quis dubitet lucem esse, cum lectum sit de Filio ejus quia splendor sit lucis aeternae (Hebr. I, 3)? Cujus enim nisi Patris aeterni splendor est Filius, qui et cum Patre semper est, nec dissimili, sed eadem claritate semper praefulget? 144. Et Esaias significat

non solum lucem, sed etiam ignem esse Spiritum sanctum, dicens: Et erit lux Israel in ignem (Esai. X, 17). Itaque prophetae eum ignem ardentem dixerunt; quia in tribus istis generibus propensius majestatem divinitatis advertimus: quoniam et sanctificare, divinitatis; et illuminare, ignis et lucis est proprium: et in specie ignis exprimi vel videri divinae est consuetudinis: Deus enim est ignis consumens, sicut Moyses dixit (Deut. IV, 24). 145. Vidit enim ipse in rubo ignem, et audierat Deum, tunc quando vox facta est de flamma ignis ad eum dicens: Ego sum Deus Abraham, et Deus Isaac, et Deus Jacob (Exod. III, 15). Vox ergo de flamma, et in rubo flamma, et flamma non noxia. Urebatur enim rubus, et non exurebatur; eo quod illo mysterio Dominus figuraret quia illuminaturus spinas nostri corporis adveniret: nec consumpturus aerumnosos, sed mitigaturus aerumnas: qui baptizaret in Spiritu sancto et igni (Matth. III, 11); 630 ut gratiam tribueret, peccata consumeret. Ergo in specie ignis Deus servat propositum. 146. In Actibus quoque apostolorum cum supra fideles Spiritus sanctus descendisset, ignis species videbatur; sic enim habes: Et factus est subito de coelo sonus, tamquam vi magna Spiritus ferretur; et replevit totam domum, ubi erant sedentes: et visae sunt illis dispersae linguae tamquam ignis (Act. II, 2, 3). 147. Unde et illud quando Gedeon superaturus Madian, trecentos viros jussit hydrias sumere, et in hydriis faces accensas habere, et in dextris tenere tubas (Judic. VII, 16); ita nostri acceptum ab apostolis servavere majores, quod hydriae sunt corpora nostra, figurata de limo quae timere non norunt, si fervore gratiae spiritalis ignescant, et Jesu Domini passionem canora vocis confessione testentur. 148. Quis igitur de divinitate sancti Spiritus dubitet, cum ubi Spiritus gratia sit, ibi species divinitatis appareat? Quo testimonio non diversitatem, sed unitatem divinae colligimus potestatis. Nam quemadmodum potest esse discretio potestatis, ubi unus in omnibus operationis effectus est? Neque vero potest esse gratia sacramentorum, nisi ubi fuerit venia peccatorum. 149. Quis est igitur iste

ignis? Non utique virgultis vilibus concretus, aut stipula silvarum fragosus incendiis: sed ignis ille, qui ut aurum bona facta meliorat, et ut stipulam peccata consumit. Hic est utique Spiritus sanctus, qui Dominici vultus et ignis appellatur et lumen: lumen, sicut supra diximus: Signatum est in nobis lumen vultus tui, Domine (Psal. IV, 7). Quod est ergo lumen signatum, nisi illius signaculi spiritalis, in quo credentes signati, inquit, estis Spiritu promissionis sancto (Ephes. I, 13)? 150. [Alias cap. XVII.] Et sicut lumen est vultus divini, ita etiam ignis emicat ex Dei vultu; quia scriptum est: Ignis in conspectu ejus ardebit (Psal. XLIX, 3). Praefulget enim gratia diei judicii, ut sequatur absolutio, quae sanctorum remuneretur obsequium. O magna abundantia Scripturarum, quam nemo possit humano ingenio comprehendere! O maximum divinae unitatis indicium! His enim duobus versiculis quam multa signantur!

CAPUT XV.

SPIRITUM SANCTUM AEQUE ac Patrem et Filium vitam esse; immo vero sive Pater intelligatur, apud quem est fons vitae, sive Filius, fontem illum aliud non esse quam Spiritum.

151. [Alias cap. XVIII.] Diximus quia lux est Pater, lux Filius, lux Spiritus sanctus: accipiamus etiam quia vita est Pater, vita Filius, vita Spiritus sanctus. Dixit enim Joannes: Quod erat ab initio, quod audivimus et quod vidimus, et oculis nostris perspeximus, et manus nostrae scrutatae sunt de Verbo vitae: et vita apparuit, et vidimus et testamur et annuntiamus vobis de vita, quae erat apud Patrem (I Joan. I, 1, 2). Et Verbum vitae dixit et vitam; ut 631 et Patrem vitam significaret et Filium. Quod enim est vitae Verbum, nisi Dei Verbum? Ac per hoc et Deus et Verbum Dei vita est. Et sicut Verbum vitae dicitur, ita et Spiritus vitae. Scriptum est enim: Et Spiritus vitae erat in rotis (Ezech. I, 20). Itaque sicut Verbum vitae vita est, ita et vitae Spiritus vita est. 152. [Alias cap. XIX.] Accipe nunc quia sicut Pater fons vitae est, ita etiam Filium plerique fontem vitae memorarunt significatum; eo quod apud te, inquit, Deus omnipotens, Filius tuus fons vitae sit, hoc est, fons Spiritus sancti; quia Spiritus vita est, sicut Dominus ait: Verba quae ego locutus sum vobis, spiritus et vita sunt (Joan. VI, 64) quia ubi Spiritus, et vita est: et ubi vita est, etiam Spiritus sanctus. 153. Plerique tamen hoc loco Patrem volunt tantummodo per fontem significatum, quamquam videant quid Scriptura memoraverit: Apud te, inquit, fons vitae (Psal. XXXV, 10), hoc est, apud Patrem Filius; quoniam Verbum apud Deum, quod erat in principio, et erat apud Deum. 154. Sed sive Patrem quis hoc loco, sive Filium intelligat fontem; fontem utique

intelligimus non aquae istius, quae creatura est: sed divinae illius gratiae, hoc est, Spiritus sancti; ipse est enim aqua viva. Propterea Dominus dicit: Si scires donum Dei, et quis est qui dicit tibi: Da mihi bibere; tu petisses ab eo, et dedisset tibi aquam vivam (Joan. IV, 10). 155. Hanc aquam sitivit anima David (Psal. XLI, 3). Harum fontem aquarum desiderat cervus, non sitiens venena serpentum. Viva est enim aqua gratiae spiritalis, eo quod mentis interna purificet, et omne animi peccatum abluat, occultorumque mundet errorem.

CAPUT XVI.

SPIRITUM SANCTUM FLUMEN esse magnum, cujus munere mystica Jerusalem irrigatur. Eumdem fonti suo, id est, Patri ac Filio aequalem esse, atque in Scriptura significari. Illius aquam sitit Doctor sanctus: sed ut ea conservetur in nobis, diabolum, cupiditatem, ac haeresim admonet vitari oportere; cum nobis vasa sint fragilia: descrendos etiam contritos lacus, ut Domini aquam Samaritanae patriarcharumque exemplo inveniamus.

156. [Alias cap. XX.[Sed ne quis forte tamquam pusillitatem Spiritus redarguat, et hinc velit quamdam facere distantiam magnitudinis, quod aqua portio videatur esse fontis exigua: quamquam creaturarum exempla minime divinitati aptanda videantur; tamen ne quid ex hac quoque creaturae comparatione praejudicent, discant non solum aquam, sed etiam flumen dictum Spiritum sanctum, secundum quod lectum est: Flumina de ventre ejus fluent aquae vivae. Hoc autem 632 dicebat de Spiritu, quem incipiebant accipere, qui credituri erant in eum (Joan. VII, 38, 39). 157. Ergo flumen est Spiritus sanctus, et flumen maximum, quod secundum Hebraeos de Jesu fluxit in terris, ut ore Esaiae accepimus prophetatum (Esai. LXVI, 12). Magnum hoc flumen, quod fluit semper, et numquam deficit. Nec solum flumen, sed etiam profusi impetus, et magnitudinis redundantis, sicut etiam David dixit: Quia fluminis impetus laetificat civitatem Dei (Psal. XLV, 5). 158. Neque enim civitas illa Jerusalem coelestis meatu alicujus fluvii terrestris abluitur: sed ille ex vitae fonte procedens Spiritus sanctus, cujus nos brevi satiamur haustu, in illis coelestibus Thronis, Dominationibus et Potestatibus, Angelis et Archangelis redundantius videtur effluere, pleno septem virtutum spiritalium fervens meatu. Si enim fluvius riparum editis

superfusus exundat, quanto magis Spiritus omnem supereminens creaturam, cum reliqua tamquam inferiora nostrae mentis arva perstringat, coelestem illam creaturarum naturam effusiore quadam sanctificationis ubertate laetificat! 159. Nec moveat quod vel hic dixit flumina (Joan. VII, 38), vel alibi septem spiritus (Apoc. V, 6); his enim sanctificationibus septem spiritalium, sicut Esaias dixit (Esai. XI, 2), significatur plenitudo virtutum: spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, spiritus consilii atque virtutis, spiritus cognitionis atque pietatis, spiritus timoris Dei. Unum ergo flumen, sed multi spiritalium donorum meatus. Hoc igitur flumen exit ex fonte vitae. 160. Nec hic rursus sensum tuum ad inferiora detorqueas, quia quaedam diversitas videtur esse fontis et fluminis; et tamen ad omnia prospexit Scriptura divina, ne infirmitas humani caperetur ingenii vilitate sermonum. Proponas tibi licet quodvis flumen, e fonte est; unius tamen naturae, unius splendoris et gratiae. Dic sane et tu Spiritum sanctum unius cum Filio Dei et Deo Patre esse substantiae, unius claritatis et gloriae. Capiam fidele compendium de unitate virtutis, nec verebor aliquam de diversitate magnitudinis quaestionem. Nam etiam in hoc nobis Scriptura prospexit; dicit enim Dei Filius: Qui biberit de aqua, quam ego dabo ei, fiet in eo fons aquae salientis in vitam aeternam (Joan. IV, 14). Hic fons utique gratia spiritalis est fluvius ex vivo fonte procedens. Fons igitur vitae etiam Spiritus sanctus est. 161. Advertis ergo ex verbis ipsius divinae significari magnitudinis unitatem, nec posse Christum etiam a perfidis fontem negari; cum fons dicatur et Spiritus. Et sicut flumen dicitur Spiritus, ita et Pater dixit: Ecce ego decurro in vos, sicut fluvius pacis, et sicut torrens inundans gloriam gentium (Esai. LXVI, 12). 633 Quis autem dubitet flumen esse vitae Dei Filium, de quo aeternae vitae flumina profluebant? 162. Bona ergo aqua, spiritalis gratia: quis hunc fontem dabit pectori meo? In me saliat; in me fluat vitae largitor aeternae. Superfluat in nobis fons iste, non effluat. Dicit enim sapientia: Bibe aquam de tuis vasis, et de puteorum tuorum fontibus, inque plateis tuis superfluant

aquae tuae (Prov. V, 15, 16). Quomodo hanc aquam tenebo, ne effluat, ne labatur? Quomodo vas meum conservabo, ne qua penetrans rima peccati, aeternae vitae distillet humorem? Doce nos, Domine Jesu, doce sicut docuisti apostolos tuos, dicens: Nolite thesaurizare vobis thesauros in terra, ubi aerugo et tinea exterminat, et ubi fures effodiunt et furantur (Matth. VI, 19). 163. Furem videlicet immundum spiritum esse significat, qui in bonorum operum luce gradientibus non possit obrepere: in tenebris autem saecularium cupiditatum, et inter oblectamenta terrestrium si quem ceperit voluptatum, omni virtutis aeternae flore despoliet. Et ideo Dominus dicit: Thesaurizate vobis thesauros in coelo: ubi neque aerugo neque tinea exterminat; et ubi fures non effodiunt et furantur. Ubi enim fuerit thesaurus tuus, ibi erit et cor tuum. 164. Aerugo nostra lascivia est, aerugo nostra libido est, aerugo nostra luxuria est, quae flagitiorum sordibus aciem mentis obducunt. Tinea rursus nostra Arius est, tinea nostra Photinus est, qui sanctum Ecclesiae vestimentum impietate sua scindunt; et unitatem divinae potestatis 634 individuam separare cupientes, sacrilego morsu pretiosum fidei velamen obrodunt. Funditur aqua, si Arius dentem impresserit: effluit, si aculeum suum in alicujus vas Photinus infixerit. Vile figmentum sumus, cito vitia sentimus. Sed nemo dicit figulo: Quid me fecisti sic (Rom. IX, 20)? Nam etsi vile vas nostrum, aliud tamen in honore, aliud in contumelia est. Noli ergo aperire lacum tuum, noli fodere vitiis atque criminibus, ne quis dicat: Lacum aperuit, et effodit eum: et incidit in foveam, quam operatus est (Psal. VII, 16). 165. Si Jesum quaeritis, contritos lacus deserite; Christus enim non ad lacum, sed ad puteum sedere consuevit. Ibi eum Samaritana illa quae credidit, illa quae aquam haurire cupiebat, invenit (Joan. IV, 6). Quamvis mane venire debueris, tamen etiamsi serius veneris, etiam sexta hora Jesum fatigatum ab itinere invenies. Fatigatus est, sed in te; quia diu te quaesivit, tua illum tamdiu incredulitas fatigavit. Non offenditur tamen, si modo venias: petit bibere, daturus. Bibit autem non

aquam praetermeantis rivuli, sed salutem tuam: bibit affectum tuum, bibit calicem, hoc est, passionem illam tuorum criminum redemptricem; ut tu sitim istius mundi, sacri potus cruore restinguas. 166. Sic Abraham Deum posteaquam puteum fodit, emeruit (Gen. XXI, 30). Sic Isaac dum ad puteum deambulat (Gen. XXIV, 62), venientem illam in typo Ecclesiae accepit uxorem (Ibid., 67). Fidelis ad puteum, infidelis ad lacum. Denique et Rebecca sicut legimus, petitorem invenit ad fontem, et meretrices in lacu Jezabel se cruore laverunt (III Reg. XXII).

LIBER SECUNDUS.

PROLOGU TRES DIVINAS personas ut priscis judicibus ita et Moysi non fuisse ignotas: declaratam etiam cum alibi tum apud illum Filii cum Patre, non secus ac trium inter se aequalitatem. Spiritum sanctum adfuisse Samsoni, cujus deinceps percurritur mira historia et variis Ecclesiae mysteriis aptatur. Eodem autem Spiritu recedente, ipsum in multiplices incidisse calamitates, quod resecatis capillis ne tribuatur, spiritales illorum significationes proponit Ambrosius. 1. Etsi in libro primo veteris historiae lectione patefactum sit; et in ipsis judicibus veterum Judaeorum septiformis gratiam Spiritus refulsisse, et per Spiritum sanctum coelestium sacramentorum revelata mysteria, quem Moyses non ignoravit aeternum. Denique statim in principio mundi, immo ante principium, cum Deo junxit, quem ante mundi principium sempiternum esse cognovit. Namque si quis diligenter 634 advertat, et Patrem in principio et Filium cognoscet et Spiritum. De Patre enim scriptum est: In principio fecit Deus coelum et terram (Gen. I, 1, 2). De Spiritu dictum est: Spiritus superferebatur super aquas (Ibid., 4). Et bene in exordio creaturae baptismi figura signatur, per quod habuit creatura mundari. Lectum etiam de Filio quod ipse est, qui discrevit inter medium lucis et tenebrarum; unus est enim Deus Pater qui dicit, et unus Dominus Jesus qui facit.

2. Sed ne rursus aut arrogans putes dicentis imperium, aut vile facientis obsequium; aequalem sibi Pater Filium confitetur operis unitate dicens: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram (Ibid., 26). Imago enim et operatio et similitudo communis quid aliud nisi majestatis ejusdem significat unitatem? 3. Tamen ut aequalitatem plenius Patris

Filiique cognoscas, sicut dixit Pater et Filius fecit; ita et Pater operatur, et Filius dicit. Pater operatur, sicut scriptum est: Pater meus usque modo operatur (Joan. V, 17). 635 Habes dictum ad Filium: Dic verbo et sanabitur (Matth. VIII, 8). Et Filius dicit Patri: Volo ut ubi ego sum, et isti sint mecum (Joan. XVII, 24). Fecit Pater quod Filius dixit. 4. Sed nec Abraham ignoravit Spiritum sanctum: denique tres vidit, et unum adoravit (Gen. XVIII, 2, 3,); quia unus Deus, unus Dominus, et unus Spiritus. Et ideo unitas honoris; quia unitas potestatis. 5. Et quid de singulis loquar? Samson divina promissione generatus, Spiritum comitantem habebat; sic enim legimus: Quia benedixit ei Dominus, et coepit Spiritus Domini comitari cum eo in castra (Judic. XIII, 25). Et ideo futurum praevidens sacramentum, ex alienigenis poscebat uxorem (Judic. XIV, 1 et seq.): quod Pater ejus ac mater, ut scriptum est, ignorabant, quoniam a Domino est. Meritoque fortior caeteris habebatur, quia eum Spiritus Domini dirigebat, quo duce, solus nunc alienigenarum fugabat populos, nunc leonem morsu inviolabilis, fortitudine insuperabilis, discerptum manibus dividebat (Ibid. 5 et seq.). Utinam tam cautus ad servandam gratiam, quam fortis ad superandam bestiam! 6. Et fortasse hoc non solum virtutis miraculum, sed etiam sapientiae mysterium, prophetiae oraculum fuit. Neque enim otiosum videtur quod cum tenderet ad mysterium nuptiarum, leo rugiens occurrit ei, quem manibus ille discerpsit, in cujus corpore, connubio potiturus optato, congregationem apum reperit, et mel sustulit de ore ejus, quod Patri edendum matrique tribuit (Ibid., 8 et seq.). Habebat gentium populus mella, qui credidit: qui populus feritatis erat ante, nunc Christi est. 7. Nec ipsa quaestio vacat sacramentis, quam proposuit sodalibus suis, dicens: De edente exivit esca, et de potente exivit dulce (Ibid., 14). Denique eo usque mystica, ut tribus diebus ejus revelatio quaereretur, quae non potuit nisi per fidem Ecclesiae. die septima, completo Legis tempore, post passionem Domini revelari. Sic enim habes, quia et apostoli ideo non intelligebant,

quia Jesus nondum fuerat honorificatus (Joan. VII, 39). 8. Quid, inquiunt, dulcius melle, et quid fortius leone? Ad quae ille respondit: Si non domuissetis vitulam meam, non invenissetis quaestionem meam (Judic. XIV, 18). O divinum mysterium! O evidens sacramentum! Evasimus interemptorem, potentem vicimus. Ibi nunc cibus vitae est, ubi erat ante miserae fames mortis. In salutem pericula, in suavitatem amaritudo convertitur. Gratia ex offensione processit, potentia ex infirmitate, vita de morte. 9. Sunt tamen qui e contrario putent fundari 636 non potuisse conjugium, nisi occiso leone de tribu Juda: et ideo in corpore ejus, hoc est, Ecclesiae, apes repertas, quae condunt mella sapientiae; quia post Domini passionem magis apostoli crediderunt. Hunc igitur leonem Samson quasi Judaeus occidit, sed in eo mel quasi in figura redimendae haereditatis invenit; ut reliquiae salvae fierent secundum electionem gratiae (Rom. XI, 27). 10. Et decidit, inquit, super eum Spiritus Domini, et descendit in Ascalonem, et percussit inde triginta viros (Judic. XIV, 19, 20). Neque enim potuerat victoriam non tenere, qui sacramenta cernebat. Accipiunt itaque in stolis praemium sapientiae, conversationis insigne, qui absolvunt et renuntiant quaestionem. 11. Rursus hic alia oboriuntur mysteria, quod uxor ejus aufertur; et ideo vulpes incendunt manipulos alienigenarum (Judic. XV, 1 et seq.). Eos enim qui adversus divina sacramenta contendunt, decipere sua consuevit astutia. Unde iterum dicit in Canticis canticorum: Prendite nobis vulpes pusillas exterminantes vineas, ut vineae nostrae floreant (Cant. II, 15). Bene pusillas dixit; quia majores vineas exterminare non poterant, licet fortibus et diabolus sit pusillus. 12. Ergo ille (ut compendium faciamus historiae; suo enim tempori totius lectionis digestio reservanda est) invictus erat, quamdiu habuit gratiam spiritalem, sicut Dei populus ille electus a Domino, ille Nazaraeus in Lege. Invictus ergo Samson, atque ita insuperabilis, ut in maxilla asini viros mille percuteret: ita plenus gratiae coelestis, ut etiam aquam in maxilla asini sitiens reperiret (Judic. XV, 15 et

seq.); sive hoc ad miraculum conferas, sive ad mysterium vertas, quod in populi foret humilitate gentilis et requies et triumphus. Juxta quod scriptum est: Qui te percusserit in maxillam, praebe ei et alteram (Matth. V, 39). Per hanc enim injuriarum patientiam, quam erudiunt sacramenta baptismatis, de quibusdam stimulis iracundiae triumphamus; ut morte obita, resurrectionis requiem consequamur. 13. Illene ergo Samson, qui funes intextos nervis, qui novas restes sicut mollia fila dissolvit? Illene Samson qui crinium suorum palo constricta defixo vincla non sensit, quamdiu habuit gratiam spiritalem? Is, inquam, posteaquam Spiritus Dei discessit ab eo, longe mutatus ab illo Samsone, qui rediit Allophylorum indutus exuvias, in muliebribus genibus virtutis suae degener, palpatus et captus sacro crine tondetur (Judic. XVI, 9 et seq.)? 14. Tantumne ergo momenti crines habuere capitis, ut manentibus his, virtus invicta duraret: tonso autem capite, fortitudo omnis viri 637 subito solveretur? Non ita est, ut tantam vim corporalium capillorum putemus. Sunt quidam crines religionis et fidei: crines Nazaraei in Lege perfecti, in parcimonia et abstinentia consecrati, quibus illa in typo Ecclesia, quae Domini pedes oleo perfuderat, Verbi coelestis vestigia detergebat (Joan. XII, 3); tunc enim et secundum carnem noverat Christum. Isti videlicet crines, de quibus dicitur: Capillatura tua ut greges caprarum (Cantic. IV, 1); ex illo capite pullulantes, de quo dictum est: Caput viri, Christus (I Cor. XI, 3); et alibi: Caput ejus aurum cephas, et crines ejus abietes nigrae (Cant. V, 11). Et bonae ex abiete naves Tharsis, quae fluctibus supernatent mundi, et tutum remigium salutis exhibeant. 15. Unde et in Evangelio Dominus noster visibiles capitis et intelligibiles capillos quosdam esse significans, ait: Sed et capilli capitis vestri omnes numerati sunt (Matth. X, 31), spiritalium videlicet significans facta virtutum; neque enim de capillis nostris cura est Deo. Quamquam et illud non absurdum sit aestimare, quia pro majestate divina eum latere nihil possit. 16. Sed quid mihi prodest, si Deus ipse omnes meos novit capillos?

Illud mihi redundat et proficit, si bonorum operum pervigil testis, remunerationem gloriae donet aeternae. Denique et ipse Samson non corporales, sed intelligibiles hos capillos esse declarans ait: Et si tonsus fuero, discedet a me virtus mea (Judic. XVI, 17). Hoc de mysterio: nunc lectionis seriem consideremus.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

SPIRITUM DOMINI ETIAM Dominum ac virtutem esse, nec in hoc Patri vel Filio inferiorem.

17. Supra habes quia Benedixit ei Dominus, et coepit Spiritus Domini comitari cum eo (Judic. XIII, 24, 25). Infra ait: Et direxit super eum Spiritus Domini (Judic. XIV, 6). Item ait: Si tonsus fuero, discedet a me virtus mea (Judic. XVI, 17). Posteaquam tonsus est, vide Scriptura quid dicat: Dominus, inquit, discessit ab eo (Ibid., 20). 18. Vides ergo quia ille qui comitabatur, ipse discessit. Idem est ergo Dominus, qui Spiritus Domini, hoc est, ipsum Spiritum Dei, Dominum nuncupavit, sicut et Apostolus ait: Dominus autem Spiritus est: ubi autem Spiritus Domini, ibi libertas (II Cor. III, 17). Habes ergo Dominum dictum etiam Spiritum sanctum; non enim unus, sed unum sunt Spiritus sanctus et Filius. 19. Hoc quoque loco virtutem dixit, et Spiritum significavit. Sicut enim Pater virtus, ita et Filius virtus, et Spiritus sanctus est virtus (I Joan. V, 7). De Filio legisti, Christum Dei virtutem esse, et Dei sapientiam (I Cor. I, 24). Legimus etiam quia virtus est Pater, sicut scriptum est: Videbitis Filium hominis sedentem ad dexteram virtutis Dei (Matth. XXVI, 64). Hic utique virtutem Patrem dixit, cujus ad dexteram Filius sedet, sicut habes: Dixit Dominus 638 Domino meo: Sede ad dexteram meam (Psal. CIX, 1). Virtutem etiam Spiritum sanctum ipse Dominus nuncupavit dicens: Accipietis virtutem, adveniente in vos Spiritu sancto (Act. I, 8).

CAPUT II.

UNUM ESSE PATRIS et Filii et Spiritus sancti consilium.

20. Ipse enim Spiritus virtus est, quia legisti: Spiritum consilii atque virtutis (Esai. XI, 2). Et sicut Filius magni consilii Angelus, ita etiam Spiritus consilii est, ut unum scias Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti esse consilium. Consilium non de rebus incertis aliquibus, sed praecognitis et statutis. 21. Arbitrum autem divini consilii Spiritum, etiam inde cognosce. Nam cum supra (Lib. I, ca) docuerimus arbitrum baptismatis esse Spiritum sanctum, baptismum autem Dei esse consilium legerimus sicut habes: Pharisaei autem consilium Dei spreverunt in se, non baptizati ab eo (Luc. VII, 30); liquido claret, cum sine Spiritu baptisma esse non possit, sine Spiritu quoque non esse consilium Dei. 22. Et ut sciamus plenius virtutem esse Spiritum, scire debemus ipsum esse promissum, quando dixit Dominus: Effundam de Spiritu meo super omnem carnem (Joel. II, 28). Ille ergo qui promissus est nobis, ipse est virtus; sicut etiam in Evangelio idem Dei Filius declaravit dicens: Et ego mitto promissa Patris mei in vos, vos autem sedete in civitate, quousque induamini virtute ex alto (Luc. XXII, 49). 23. Eousque autem virtutem esse Spiritum sanctum evangelista significat, ut et cum vi magna eum sanctus Lucas descendisse memoraret, dicens: Et factus est subito de coelo sonus, tamquam vi magna Spiritus ferretur (Act. II, 2). 24. Sed ne rursus putes ad sensibilia et corporalia hoc esse vertendum, accipe quia sic descendit et Spiritus, quemadmodum descensurus est Christus. Nam et ipse cum virtute descendet, sicut habes: Videbunt Filium hominis venientem in nubibus coeli, in virtute maxima et majestate (Matth. XXIV, 30). 25. Quomodo enim non est una virtus atque

eadem potestas; cum unum opus, unum judicium, unum templum, una vivificatio, una sanctificatio, unum etiam regnum sit Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti?

CAPUT III.

SICUT VITA EST cognoscere Patrem et Filium, ita vitam esse cognoscere Spiritum sanctum; proindeque a Patris divinitate non separandum.

26. Dicant enim in quo dissimilitudinem divini operis arbitrentur. Quandoquidem sicut vita est cognoscere Patrem et Filium, quemadmodum ipse Dominus declaravit dicens: 639 Haec est autem vita aeterna, ut cognoscant te solum verum Deum, et quem misisti Jesum Christum (Joan. XVII, 3); ita etiam vita est cognoscere Spiritum sanctum. Dicit enim Dominus: Si diligitis me, mandata mea servate: et ego rogabo Patrem, et alium paraclitum dabit vobis, ut maneat vobiscum in aeternum, Spiritum veritatis, quem mundus non potest accipere; quia non videt eum, nec cognoscit eum: vos autem scitis eum, quia apud vos manet, et in vobis est (Ibid. XIV, 15 et seq.). 27. Ergo mundus non habebat vitam aeternam, quia non acceperat Spiritum: ubi autem Spiritus, ibi vita aeterna: ipse est enim Spiritus vitae operator aeternae. Unde miror, cur de solo et vero Deo Ariani moveant quaestionem. Sicut enim vita aeterna est cognoscere solum et verum Deum, ita vita aeterna est cognoscere Jesum Christum, ita vita aeterna est cognoscere Spiritum sanctum: quem sic non videt mundus, quemadmodum Patrem: sic non cognoscit, quemadmodum Filium. Qui autem de hoc mundo non est, habet vitam aeternam, et cum ipso manet Spiritus in aeternum, qui est lumen vitae aeternae. 28. Ergo si hoc confert cognitio solius veri Dei, quod confert Filii Spiritusque cognitio, cur Filium et Spiritum a veri Dei honore secernis, cum a magnitudine beneficii non secernas? Aut enim credas necesse est solius verae divinitatis esse hoc maximum munus, et solam et veram divinitatem sicut et Patris, ita et Filii et

Spiritus confitebere: aut si dixeris quia vitam aeternam potest et is conferre, qui verus Deus non sit; incides ut Patri magis derogare videaris, cujus opus non putes solius verae divinitatis esse praecipuum, sed creaturae operibus conferendum.

CAPUT IV.

SPIRITUM SANCTUM NON secus ac Patrem et Filium, operatione non diversa vivificare.

29. Quid autem mirum si Spiritus operator est vitae, qui vivificat sicut Pater, vivificat sicut Filius (Joan. V, 21)? Vivificare autem quis abnuat esse majestatis aeternae? Scriptum est enim: Vivifica servum tuum (Psal. CXVIII, 17). Vivificatur ergo qui servus est, hoc est, homo, qui vitam ante non habuit, sed ut haberet, accepit. 30. Videamus igitur utrum vivificetur Spiritus, an ipse vivificet. Sed scriptum est: Littera occidit, Spiritus autem vivificat (II Cor. III, 6). Ergo vivificat Spiritus. 31. Sed ut intelligas Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti vivificationem non esse divisam, accipe quia vivificationis quoque unitas sit; quando ipse per Spiritum vivificat Deus; dixit enim Paulus: Qui suscitavit Christum ex mortuis, vivificabit et mortalia corpora vestra propter inhabitantem Spiritum ejus in vobis (Rom. VIII, 11). 640

CAPUT V.

SICUT PATREM AC Filium, ita etiam Spiritum creatorem in Scriptura significari. Hoc ipsum a paganis quoque scriptoribus adumbratum: sed planissime demonstratum esse in mysterio incarnationis, de qua ubi delibavit Ambrosius nonnulla, coeptum argumentum ex eo quod adoratio, quae soli debetur creatori, etiam Spiritui debeatur, confirmat.

32. Quis vero dubitare potest quia vivificet omnia Spiritus sanctus, quando et ipse sicut Pater et Filius, creator est omnium, nec quidquam nisi cum Spiritu sancto Deus omnipotens Pater intelligatur operatus; quandoquidem et in principio creaturae Spiritus superferebatur super aquam (Gen. I, 1)? 33. Itaque cum superferebatur Spiritus, nulla erat gratia creaturae: postea vero quam operationem Spiritus etiam creatura mundi istius suscepit, omnem hanc gratiae meruit venustatem, qua mundus illuxit. Denique sine Spiritu sancto universitatis gratiam manere non posse Propheta declaravit dicens: Auferes Spiritum eorum, et deficient, et in pulverem suum revertentur. Emitte Spiritum tuum, et creabuntur, et innovabis omnem faciem terrae (Psal. CIII, 29, 30). Non solum igitur sine Spiritu docuit omnem creaturam stare non posse, sed etiam creatorem totius esse Spiritum creaturae. 34. Et quis neget opus esse Spiritus sancti quod creata est terra, cujus opus est quod novatur? Nam si negare cupiant quod per Spiritum sit creata; cum per Spiritum novandam negare non possint; meliorem ergo operationem Spiritus sancti, quam Patris et Filii, qui cupiunt separare, defendent: quod abhorret a vero; neque enim dubium est quod novata terra melior, quam creata sit. Aut si primo sine operatione Spiritus sancti terram Pater fecit et Filius: postea vero Spiritus sancti operatio

copulabatur; videbitur id quod factum est, ejus quod accessit eguisse praesidio. Sed absit ut hoc quisquam existimet, ut operatio divina varietatem creatoris quam Manichaeus inducit, habere credatur. 35. An vero sine opere Spiritus sancti substantiam putamus esse terrarum, sine cujus opere nec coeli convexa subsistunt? Scriptum est enim: Verbo Domini coeli firmati sunt, et Spiritu oris ejus omnis virtus eorum (Psal. XXXII, 6). Adverte quid dicat: Omnem, inquit, virtutem coelorum ad Spiritum esse referendam. Qui enim superferebatur, antequam terra fieret, quomodo cum terra fieret, feriabatur? 36. Gentiles homines per umbram quamdam nostros secuti, quia veritatem Spiritus haurire non poterant; quod coelum ac terras, lunae 641 quoque stellarumque micantium globos Spiritus intus alat, suis versibus indiderunt. Ergo illi per Spiritum non negant virtutem subsistere creaturae: nos qui legimus, denegamus? Sed flatilem putatis ab illis spiritum designatum. Si illi auctorem omnium flatilem Spiritum declararunt, nos dubitamus Spiritum Dei esse omnium creatorem? 37. Sed quid alienis immoror? Accipiant documentum evidens, nihil posse esse quod Spiritus sanctus negetur operatus, nec de Angelis, nec de Archangelis, nec de Thronis, nec de Dominationibus posse dubitari, quod ejus operatione subsistant; quandoquidem ipse secundum carnem Dominus, cui angeli serviebant, Spiritu in Virginem superveniente, genitus sit; sicut et secundum Matthaeum ad Joseph angelus dixit: Joseph, fili David, noli timere accipere Mariam uxorem tuam; quod enim ex ea nascetur, de Spiritu sancto est (Matth. I, 20). Et secundum Lucam dixit ad Mariam: Spiritus sanctus superveniet in te (Luc. I, 35). 38. Opus ergo Spiritus Virginis partus est. Opus Spiritus fructus est ventris, secundum quod scriptum est: Benedicta tu inter mulieres, et benedictus fructus ventris tui (Ibid., 42). Opus Spiritus flos radicis est: ille, inquam, flos, de quo bene est prophetatum: Exiet virga de radice Jesse, et flos de radice ejus ascendet (Esa. XI, 1). Radix Jesse patriarchae familia Judaeorum, virga Maria, flos Mariae Christus; qui

bonum odorem fidei toto sparsurus orbe, virginali ex utero germinavit, sicut ipse dixit: Ego flos campi, et lilium convallium (Cant. II, 1). 39. Flos odorem suum et succisus reservat, et contritus accumulat, nec avulsus amittit; ita et Dominus Jesus in illo patibulo crucis, nec contritus emarcuit, nec avulsus evanuit; et illa lanceae punctione succisus, sacro speciosior fusi cruoris colore vernavit, mori ipse nescius, et mortuis aeternae vitae munus exhalans. In hoc igitur Spiritus sanctus virgae regalis flore requievit. 40. Bona virga, ut quidam putant, est caro Domini, quae de radice terrena ad superna se subrigens, odoriferos sacrae fructus religionis circumtulit mundo, mysteria divinae generationis, et gratiam coelestibus altaribus superfundens. 41. Dubitare ergo non possumus Spiritum creatorem, quem Dominicae cognoscimus incarnationis auctorem. Quis enim dubitet, cum in principio Evangelii habeas, quia Christi generatio 642 sic erat: Cum desponsata esset Maria Joseph, antequam convenirent, inventa est in utero habens ex Spirituc santo (Matth. I, 18) ? 42. Nam licet plerique habeant, de Spiritu, Graecus tamen unde transtulerunt Latini, ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου dixit, hoc est, ex Spiritu sancto. Quod enim ex aliquo est, aut ex substantia est, aut ex potestate ejus. Ex substantia, sicut Filius, qui ait: Ex ore Altissimi prodivi, sicut Spiritus, qui a Patre procedit (Eccl. XXIV, 5); de quo dicit Filius: Ille me clarificabit; quia de meo accipiet (Joan. XVI, 14). Ex potestate autem, sicut illud est: Unus Deus Pater, ex quo omnia (I Cor. VIII, 6). 43. Quomodo ergo in utero habuit Maria ex Spiritu sancto? Si quasi ex substantia: ergo Spiritus in carnem et ossa conversus est? Non utique. Si quasi ex operatione et potestate ejus Virgo concepit; quis neget Spiritum creatorem? 44. Quid quod etiam Job creatorem suum Spiritum evidenter ostendit dicens: Spiritus divinus, qui fecit me (Job. XXXIII, 4)? Et divinum utique et creatorem uno versiculo demonstravit. [Alias cap. VI.] Si igitur creator est Spiritus, non est utique creatura; creaturam enim Apostolus creatoremque divisit dicens: Servierunt creaturae potius quam creatori

(Rom. I, 25). 45. Simul creatori admonet serviendum, damnando eos qui serviunt creaturae, cum creatori servitium debeamus. Et quoniam creatorem Spiritum noverat, docet eidem serviendum, dicens: Videte canes, videte malos operarios, videte concisionem; nos enim sumus circumcisio, qui Spiritui Dei servimus (Philip. III, 2, 3). 46. Quod si quis de Latinorum codicum varietate contendit, quorum aliquos perfidi falsaverunt, Graecos inspiciat codices, et advertat quia ibi scriptum est: οἱ Πνεύματι Θεοῦ λατρεύοντες, quod interpretatur Latinus: qui Spiritui Dei servimus. 47. Ergo cum serviendum dicat Spiritui idem Apostolus, qui non creaturae, sed creatori asserit serviendum; evidenter utique et ipse sanctum ostendit Spiritum creatorem, et in aeternae divinitatis honore venerandum; quia scriptum est: Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et ipsi soli servies (Matth. IV, 10). 643

CAPUT VI.

OBJICIENTIBUS EX VERBIS Amos creari Spiritum, reponitur hanc vocem illic intelligendam de vento, qui saepius creatur: quod sane dici non potest de Spiritu sancto; quippe qui et aeternus sit, nec morte, aut haeretica in Patrem refusione resolvi possit. Quod si urgeant pervicacius eumdem locum de Spiritu sancto scriptum fuisse, docet recurrendum ad expositionem spiritualem; Christum enim adventu suo tonitrua, id est, verborum divinorum vim firmavisse: per Spiritum autem humanam animam significari, sicut et carnem a Christo susceptam. Hujus porro cum quaelibet Trinitatis persona vere sit creatrix, inde astruitur Spiritum similiter incarnationis Domini auctorem esse, qui rerum omnium creator jam ante assertus est.

48. [Alias cap. VII.] Nec me praeterit haereticos objectare consuevisse ideo videri creatum Spiritum sanctum, quia plerique eorum ad argumentum astruendae suae impietatis adsciscunt illud, quod Amos de flatu ventorum locutus est, ut ipse propheticus sermo declarat. Sic enim habes: Ecce ego firmans tonitruum, et creans spiritum, et nuntians in homines Christum suum, faciens lucem et nebulam, et ascendens super excelsa, Dominus Deus omnipotens nomen est ei (Amos. IV, 13). 49. Si hinc faciunt quaestionem, quod creatum Spiritum dixit, quia creatur Spiritus Esdras nos docuit, dicens in quarto libro: Et in die secundo iterum creasti spiritum firmamenti (IV Esdr. VI, 41); tamen ut propositis inhaereamus, his videlicet quae Amos dixit, nonne evidenter dictorum testificatur series de istius creatura mundi locutum prophetam? 50. Denique ita coepit: Ego Dominus firmans tonitruum, et creans spiritum. Ipse ordo nos doceat; nam si de Spiritu sancto

dicere voluisset, non de tonitruo utique praemisisset. Neque enim antiquiora tonitrua sunt, quam Spiritus sanctus: quamvis impii sint, tamen id non audent dicere. Deinde cum subjectum videamus esse de luce et nebula, nonne manifestum est quod de creatura mundi dictum intelligendum sit? Cum enim fiunt aliquae tempestates istius mundi, praecedere tonitrua, sequi ventorum flatus, coelum nebulis caligare, lucem refundi ex tenebris, ipso usu quotidiano, exemploque cognoscimus. Nam etiam flatus ventorum spiritus dicitur, sicut scriptum est: Ignis et sulphur, et Spiritus procellae (Psal. X, 7). 51. Et ut scires quia hunc spiritum dixit, ait: Firmans tonitruum, et creans spiritum; quia frequenter creantur ista, cum fiunt: Spiritus autem sanctus aeternus est; quem si quis audet dicere creatum, non potest tamen dicere quod quotidie creatur, sicut flabra ventorum. Denique ipsa Sapientia secundum suscepti locuta corporis sacramentum, ait: Dominus creavit me (Prov. VIII, 22). Quamvis ventura prophetaret, tamen quia praedestinatus erat Domini Salvatoris adventus; 644 non dixit, creat me, sed creavit, ne frequenter, sed semel crederent ex virgine Maria Jesu corpus esse generandum. 52. Et hoc igitur quod velut quotidianam operationem Dei in tonitrui firmamento, et in Spiritus creatione propheta declaravit, intelligere nefas est, ut de Spiritu sancto tale aliquid aestimemus, quem ipsi impii ante saecula esse negare non possunt; unde et semper eum esse, et semper manere pia assertione testamur. Neque enim qui ante mundum superferebatur super aquas (Gen. I, 2), potest videri coepisse post mundum: aut multos esse Spiritus sanctos aestimari fas est, qui veluti quotidiana generatione generentur. Absit ut se quisquam tali impietate contaminet; ut dicat frequenter creari, aut umquam creari Spiritum sanctum. Cur enim frequenter creari videatur, non intelligo; nisi forte et mori eum credant frequenter, et frequenter creari. Sed quemadmodum mori potest Spiritus vitae? Ergo si mori non potest, causam non habet cur saepius sit creandus. 53. At qui aliter putant, in illud sacrilegium recidunt, ut non

distinguant Spiritum sanctum, qui prolativum Verbum putant in Patrem redire, prolativum Spiritum in Deum refundi; ut unius refusio sit, et quaedam vicissitudo in varias formas se saepe mutantis: cum Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti manens semper immutabilisque distinctio, unitatem suae teneat potestatis. 54. Si quis tamen propheticum dictum ideo derivandum putat ad interpretationem Spiritus sancti, quia habet: Annuntians in homines Christum suum (Amos IV, 15); is ad incarnationis Dominicae mysterium dictum facilius derivabit. Nam si te movet quia spiritum dixit, et ideo non hoc putas derivandum ad mysterium assumptionis humanae; prosequere Scripturas, et invenies optime congruere de Christo, de quo bene convenit aestimari quia firmavit tonitrua adventu suo, vim videlicet et sonum coelestium Scripturarum, quarum velut quodam tonitruo mentes nostrae redduntur attonitae, ut timere discamus, et reverentiam coelestibus deferamus oraculis. 55. Denique in Evangelio fratres Domini filii tonitrui dicebantur; et cum vox Patris facta esset dicentis ad Filium: Et honorificavi, et iterum honorificabo (Joan. XII, 28); Judaei dicebant: Tonitruum factum est illi (Ibid., 29). Nam licet gratiam veritatis haurire non possent, tamen confitebantur inviti, et ignari mysterium loquebantur; eo quod magnum Patris de Filio testimonium resultabat. In Job quoque libro Scriptura dicit: Firmamentum quoque tonitrui sui quis scit quando faciet (Job. XXVI, 14)? Utique si ad haec commotionum coelestium tonitrua pertinerent, non futura eorum firmamenta, sed facta dixisset. 56. Ergo tonitrua ad sermones Domini retulit, quorum in omnem terram exivit sonus: spiritum autem hoc loco animam, quam suscepit rationabilem atque perfectam, intelligimus; quia Scriptura frequenter et animam hominis 645 spiritus vocabulo designat, sicut habes: Qui creat spiritum hominis in ipso (Zach. XII, 1). Unde et Dominus animam suam spiritus appellatione significans ait: In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum (Luc. XXIII, 46). 57. Et ut scires quia de Jesu Domini descensione memoravit, addidit quod nuntiaret in homines

Christum suum (Amos IV, 13); annuntiavit enim in baptismate, dicens: Tu es Filius meus dilectissimus, in quo bene complacui (Matth. III, 17). Annuntiavit in monte, dicens: Hic est Filius meus dilectus, ipsum audite (Matth. XVII, 17). Annuntiavit in passione, cum sol recessit, maria terraeque tremuerunt. Annuntiavit in centurione, qui ait: Vere Dei Filius erat iste (Matth. XIV, 33). 58. Totum igitur hunc locum aut ad simplicem intellectum istius flatus qui vivendo hauritur, aut ad mysterium Dominici corporis referre debemus, nam si hic creatum dixisset Spiritum sanctum, utique et alibi idem Scriptura declarare potuisset, sicut de Filio Dei frequenter legimus quia secundum carnem et factus est et creatus (Rom. I, 3). 59. Cujus tamen majestatem in eo ipso quod carnem pro nobis suscepit, considerare nos convenit; ut divinam potentiam in ipsa corporis assumptione videamus [Alias cap. VIII]. Etenim sicut legimus quia creavit Pater Dominicae incarnationis sacramentum, creavit et Spiritus; ita etiam legimus quod et ipse Christus suum corpus creavit; creavit enim Pater, secundum quod scriptum est: Dominus creavit me (Prov. VIII, 23); et alibi: Misit Deus Filium suum factum ex muliere, factum sub Lege (Gal. IV, 4). Creavit et Spiritus illud omne mysterium, secundum quod legimus, quia inventa est Maria in utero habens ex Spiritu sancto (Matth. I, 18). 60. Habes quia creavit Pater, creavit et Spiritus: accipe quia creavit et Filius Dei, dicente Salomone: Sapientia fecit sibi domum (Prov. IX, 1). Ergo Spiritus sanctus qui creavit Dominicae incarnationis sacramentum, quod super omnes est creaturas, quomodo esse potest creatura? 61. De generalitate autem supra ostendimus (Sup. ca) quia secundum carnem creator est noster Spiritus sanctus in homine exteriore: nunc ostendamus quia creator est noster, etiam secundum gratiae sacramentum. Et sicut creat Pater, ita creat et Filius, ita creat et Spiritus sanctus, sicut legimus, dicente Paulo: Dei enim donum est, non ex operibus, ne quis glorietur; ipsius enim sumus factura, creati in Christo Jesu in operibus bonis (Ephes, II. 8 et seq.).

CAPUT VII.

CREATIONIS SPIRITALIS SEU regenerationis non minus auctorem Spiritum esse, quam Patrem ac Filium. In quo consistat illa creatio, ejusque praestantia: et quomodo quod membra et corpus Deo tribuere videntur sacri codices, debeat intelligi?

62. [Alias cap. IX.] Ergo creat Pater in operibus bonis: creat et Filius; quia scriptum est: Quotquot autem eum receperunt, dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri, his qui credunt in nomine ejus: qui non ex sanguinibus, neque ex voluntate carnis, neque ex voluntate viri, sed ex Deo nati sunt (Joan. I, 12, 13). 646 63. Similiter ex Spiritu secundum gratiam nos renasci Dominus ipse testatur, dicens: Quod natum est ex carne, caro est; quia de carne natum est: et quod natum est de spiritu, spiritus est; quia Deus spiritus est. Noli mirari quia dixi tibi: Oportet vos nasci denuo. Spiritus ubi vult spirat, et vocem ejus audis: sed nescis unde veniat, aut quo vadat; sic est omnis qui natus est de Spiritu (Joan. III, 6 et seq.). 64. Claret igitur spiritalis quoque generationis auctorem esse Spiritum sanctum; quia secundum Deum creamur, ut filii Dei simus. Ergo cum ille nos in regnum suum per adoptionem sacrae regenerationis assumpserit, nos ei quod suum est, denegamus? Ille nos supernae regenerationis fecit haeredes, nos haereditatem vindicamus, refutamus auctorem? Sed non potest manere beneficium, cum auctor excluditur; nec auctor sine munere, nec sine auctore munus. Si vindicas gratiam, crede potentiam: si refutas potentiam, gratiam ne requiras. Qui Spiritum negavit, statim negavit et donum. Nam si auctor vilis, quomodo dona pretiosa? Cur nostris ipsi muneribus invidemus, spem imminuimus, dignitatem repudiamus, consolatorem negamus?

65. Sed illum negare non possumus. Absit enim ut negemus quod maximum est, cum Apostolus dicat: Vos autem, fratres, secundum Isaac promissionis filii estis: sed sicut tunc qui secundum carnem natus est, persequebatur eum qui secundum Spiritum (Galat. IV, 28, 29). Iterum utique subauditur de superioribus, qui secundum Spiritum natus est. Qui ergo secundum Spiritum nascitur, secundum Deum nascitur. Renascimur autem, quando in interiore renovamur affectu, et exterioris hominis vetustatem deponimus. Et ideo ait iterum Apostolus: Renovamini autem Spiritu mentis vestrae, et induite novum hominem, qui secundum Deum creatus est in veritate, et justitia, et sanctitate (Ephes. IV, 23, 24). Audiant quemadmodum unitatem divinae operationis Scriptura signaverit. Qui renovatur Spiritu mentis, induit novum hominem, qui secundum Deum creatus est. 66. Sancti igitur Spiritus opus est regeneratio ista praestantior; et novi hujus hominis, qui creatur ad imaginem Dei, auctor est Spiritus: quem utique meliorem hoc exteriore esse nostro homine nemo dubitaverit. Siquidem coelestem alterum, terrenum alterum Apostolus significavit dicens: Qualis coelestis, tales et coelestes (I Cor. XV, 48). 67. Ergo cum coelestem faciat gratia spiritalis, quod terrenum creare possit, etiam sensu debemus advertere, licet careamus exemplis. Dicit enim alibi sanctus Job: Vivit Dominus, qui sic me judicat; et omnipotens, qui ad amaritudinem perduxit animam meam: Spiritus autem divinus, qui est in naribus meis (Job XXVII, 2, 3). Non utique spiritum hic auram vitalem hanc et spiramentum corporeum designavit, sed nares hic interioris sui hominis significat, quibus vitae odorem carpebat aeternae, et gratiam coelestis unguenti 647 geminis quibusdam sensibus hauriebat. 68. Sunt enim nares spiritales, ut legimus, quas habet Sponsa Verbi, cui dicitur: Et odor naris tuae (Cant. VII, 8); et alibi: Odoratus est Dominus odorem suavitatis (Gen. VIII, 21). Sunt ergo quaedam interioris membra hominis, cujus manus in actu, aures in auditu, pedes in processu quodam boni operis aestimantur. Itaque ex officiis, veluti

quasdam colligimus membrorum figuras; neque enim in interiore homine secundum carnalia aliquid nos convenit opinari. 69. [Alias cap. X.] Et sunt quidam qui corporaliter Deum putant esse formatum, cum legunt aut manum ejus, aut digitum: nec advertunt quod haec non propter formam scripta sint corporis, quia in divinitate nec membra, nec partes sunt: sed propter unitatem divinitatis expressa, ut credamus quia impossibile est a Patre Deo vel Filium, vel Spiritum sanctum separari; cum plenitudo divinitatis velut corporaliter habitet in substantia Trinitatis. Ideo igitur et Filius Patris dextera nuncupatur, sicut lectum est: Dextera Domini fecit virtutem, dextera Domini exaltavit me (Ps. CXVII, 16).

CAPUT VIII.

ARGUTIAM HAERETICORUM QUI Deum idcirco dictitabunt in Spiritu, non autem cum Spiritu glorificandum, ut hinc eumdem Spiritum esse inferiorem colligerent, diluit: quamobrem particulam in etiam Filio, immo et Patri quoque aptari planum facit: at e contrario cum creaturis etiam attribui sine ulla divinitatis injuria; proindeque in iisdem praepositionibus simpliciter agnoscendam divinarum personarum conjunctionem.

70. Sed quid mirum si de verbis amentes homines faciunt quaestionem, cum faciant et de syllabis? Sunt enim qui hinc putent faciendam esse distantiam, quod dicant in Spiritu Deum, non cum Spiritu praedicandum: et ex una syllaba, vel usu quodam divinitatis aestimandum putent esse momentum, argumentantes quod si in Spiritu Deum praedicandum putent, ministerium sancti Spiritus signare videantur: si vero cum Spiritu dicant Dei vel virtutem esse, vel gloriam, societatem quamdam et communionem Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti designare videantur. 71. Sed quis separet, quod non potest separari? quis dividat societatem, quam, individuam Christus ostendit? Ite, inquit, baptizate omnes gentes in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti (Matth. XXVIII, 19). Numquid hic vel circa Patrem vel Filium vel Spiritum sanctum aut verbum mutavit, aut syllabam? Non utique: sed In nomine, inquit, 648 Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Idem de Spiritu quod de Patre et de se sonat. Unde nullum Spiritus sancti ministerium, sed consortium magis honoris aut operis, cum in Spiritu dicitur, aestimatur. 72. Considera et hic quia ad Patrem et Filium hoc opinionis vestrae praejudicium derivatur; quia hic non dixit: Cum Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti nomine; sed in nomine: et tamen non ministerium

aliquod Trinitatis hac syllaba exprimitur, sed potestas. 73. Denique ut scias quia fidei non praejudicat syllaba, sed commendat fides syllabam, et Paulus loquitur in Christo. Nec ideo minor Christus est, quia Paulus locutus in Christo est, sicut habes: Coram Deo in Christo loquimur (II Cor. II, 6). Quemadmodum igitur Apostolus dicit quia in Christo loquimur; ita illud est quia loquimur in Spiritu; sicut ipse Apostolus dixit: Nemo dicit Dominum Jesum, nisi in Spiritu sancto (I Cor. XII, 3). Non subjectio itaque hoc loco Spiritus sancti, sed gratiae copula designatur. 74. Et ut scias discretionem non esse de syllaba, alibi quoque ait: Et haec quidem fuistis: sed abluti estis, sed sanctificati estis, sed justificati estis in nomine Jesu Christi, et in Spiritu Dei nostri (I Cor. VI, 11). Quam multa possum hinc exempla proferre! Scriptum est enim: Omnes vos unum estis in Christo Jesu (Galat. III, 26); et alibi: Sanctificatis in Christo Jesu (I Cor. I, 2); et iterum: Ut nos essemus justitia Dei in ipso (II Cor. V, 21); et alio loco: Ut excidant a castitate, quae est in Christo Jesu (II Cor. XI, 3). 75. Verum quid ago? Dum enim similiter dico scriptum esse de Filio, quemadmodum de Spiritu scriptum est, magis illud incurro; ut non quia de Filio scriptum est, religiose dictum videatur de Spiritu: sed quia idem de Spiritu scriptum est, etiam de Filio propter Spiritum objiciant derogatum. Dicunt enim: Numquid de Deo Patre scriptum est? 76. Sed accipiant etiam de Deo Patre dictum: In Domino laudabo verbum (Ps. LV, 5); et alibi: In Deo faciemus virtutem (Ps. LIX, 14); et: In te commemoratio mea semper (Ps. LXX, 16); et: In nomine tuo exsultabimus (Ps. LXXXVIII, 17); iterum alibi: Ut manifestentur opera ejus, quia in Deo sunt facta (Joan. III, 21); et Paulus: In Deo qui omnia creavit (Ephes. III, 9); et iterum: Paulus et Sylvanus et Timotheus Ecclesiae Thessalonicensium in Deo Patre et Domino Jesu Christo (I Thess. I, 1); et in Evangelio: Ego in Patre, et Pater in me (Joan. XIV, 10); et: Pater qui in me manet (Ibid.). Scriptum est etiam: Qui gloriatur in Domino glorietur (II Cor. X, 17); et alibi: Vita autem nostra abscondita est cum Christo in Deo

(Coloss. III, 3). Numquid hic plus Filio quam Patri detulit, ut in Deo nos diceret esse cum Christo? aut numquid plus nostra conditio quam 649 Spiritus gratia sibi vindicat; ut nos possimus esse cum Christo, Spiritus sanctus esse non possit? Et cum Christus velit esse nobiscum, sicut ipse dixit: Pater, quos dedisti mihi, volout ubi ego sum, et ipsi sint mecum (Joan. XVI, 24), dedignetur esse cum Spiritu? Scriptum est etiam: Convenientibus vobis et meo Spiritu cum virtute Domini Jesu (I Cor. V, 4). Ergo nos cum virtute Domini convenimus, et audemus dicere quod nolit Dominus Jesus cum Spiritu convenire, qui non dedignatur convenire nobiscum. 77. Nullam igitur distantiam putat Apostolus hac an illa syllaba utaris. Syllaba enim conjunctionis est, conjunctio autem sejunctionem non facit; neque enim si divideret, conjunctio diceretur. 78. Quid igitur te movet ut dicas quia gloria est Deo Patri, vel Christo ejus, vita, virtus, magnificentia, potestas in Spiritu sancto, et nolis dicere cum Spiritu sancto? An quia times ne et Spiritum cum Patre et Filio sociare videaris? Sed audi et de Spiritu scriptum: Lex enim Spiritus vitae in Christo Jesu (Rom. VIII, 2). Et alibi Deus Pater dicit: Et adorabunt te, et in te deprecabuntur (Esai. XLV, 14). In Christo orare nos debere Deus Pater dicit; et tu putas Spiritui derogari, si in eo gloria Christi esse dicatur? 79. Audi quod times de Spiritu confiteri, non timuisse de se sibi Apostolum vindicare; ait enim: Dissolvi, et cum Christo esse multo melius (Phil. I, 23). Cum quo igitur est Apostolus, cum eo negas esse Spiritum, per quem Apostolus meruit esse cum Christo? 80. Quae igitur ratio est, ut in Spiritu malis dicere, quam cum Spiritu gloriam Dei esse vel Christi? An quia si dicas in Spiritu, minor Christo Spiritus declaratur? Quamvis hoc refutabile sit, ut majorem Dominum facias et minorem; tamen cum lectum sit: Quia pro nobis peccatum factus est Christus ut nos essemus justitia Dei in ipso (II Cor. V, 21); ille invenitur potissimus, in quo sumus nos infimi. Sic et alibi habes: Quia omnia in ipso constant (Colos. I, 17), hoc est in ejus virtute. Nec comparari possunt illi, quae in eo constant; quia

ex virtute ejus ut constent, substantiam consequuntur. 81. Numquid igitur sic Deum regnare vultis in Spiritu, ut virtus Spiritus regnandi Deo principium quasi fons quidam substantiae largiatur? Sed hoc impium est. Et ideo ut unam Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti majores nostri dicerent potestatem cum spiritu gloriam Christi esse memorabant, quo individuam copulam declararent. 82. Quomodo enim separatur Spiritus sanctus a Filio, cum ipse Spiritus testimonium reddat spiritui nostro quod sumus filii Dei? Si autem filii, et haeredes: haeredes quidem Dei, cohaeredes autem Christi (Rom. VIII, 16, 17). Quis igitur tam amens, qui conjunctionem Spiritus et Christi dissociet sempiternam; cum Spiritus etiam disjuncta connectat, per quem Christi efficimur cohaeredes? 650 83. Si tamen, inquit, compatimur, ut et conglorificemur (Ibid.). Si nos ergo conglorificabimur cum Christo per Spiritum, quomodo et ipsum conglorificari Christo Spiritum recusamus? Dissociamus vitam Christi et Spiritus sancti, cum Spiritus dicat quod simul victuri sumus cum Dei Filio? Dicit enim Apostolus: Si autem mortui sumus cum Christo, credimus quod etiam simul vivemus cum illo (Rom. VI, 8); deinde alibi: Si enim compatimur, inquit, et convivemus: nec solum convivemus, sed etiam conglorificabimur: nec solum conglorificabimur, sed etiam conregnabimus (II Tim. II, 11, 12). 84. Non est igitur in syllabis istis ulla discretio; utraque enim syllaba conjunctionis est. Denique saepe reperimus in Scripturis alteram interpositam, et alteram intellectam, sicut scriptum est: Introibo in domum tuam in holocaustis (Ps. LXV, 13), hoc est, cum holocaustis; et alibi: Eduxit, inquit, eos in argento et auro (Ps. CIV, 37), hoc est, cum argento et auro. Alibi quoque ait: Non egredieris in virtutibus nobiscum (Ps. XLIII, 10); pro eo quod est, cum virtutibus. Ergo cum et in usu sermonis calumnia esse non possit, et ex sermone calumnia divinitati non debeat excitari, opus est ut ad justitiam corde credatur, et ex fide cordis fiat ad salutem in ore confessio (Rom. X, 10). Sed qui corde non credunt, calumniam strunt verbis.

CAPUT IX.

APOSTOLICUM LOCUM QUO haeretici, ut discrimen inducerent inter personas divinas, abutebantur, exponit: et declarata haereticae interpretationis impietate, ostendit locum integrum de singulis personis recte dici posse; quem tamen proprie ad Filium pertinere astruit: postremo quod affirmaverat omnia ejusdem loci membra unicuique personae convenire, multis confirmat testimoniis: et eo ipso quod Patri competit, ut dicatur ex illo omnia, eidem etiam tribui posse per illum et in illo omnia scite colligit.

85. Denique simile et illud est, quod aiunt discretionem esse, quia scriptum est: Nobis autem unus Deus Pater, ex quo omnia, et nos in illum: et unus Dominus Jesus Christus per quem omnia, et nos per ipsum (I Cor. II, 6). Volunt enim cum dicitur, ex illo, materiam designari: cum dicitur, per illum, quoddam vel instrumentum operis, vel ministerium declarari: cum autem dicitur, in illo, aut locus significetur aut tempus, in quo omnia facta videantur. 86. Ita igitur distantiam quamdam substantiae probare desiderant, tamquam instrumentum ab operatore proprio vel auctore, et tamquam tempus aut locum ab instrumento dirimere gestientes. Numquid ergo alienus secundum naturam Filius a Patre; quia alienum instrumentum ab operatore proprio vel auctore? aut numquid alienus Filius a Spiritu; quia ab instrumenti genere aut locus separatur aut tempus? 87. Compara nunc assertiones nostras. Illi volunt ex Deo tamquam ex natura Dei esse 651 materiam, ut si dicas ex ligno arcam esse factam, ex lapide statuam: ita ex Deo materiam processisse, et eamdem materiam tamquam per instrumentum aliquod factam esse per Filium; ut non tam operatorem

Filium, quam instrumentum operis esse declarent: et omnia ita facta in Spiritu, tamquam in aliquo loco facta vel tempore: singula singulis tribuunt, in commune omnia negant. 88. Verum nos ostendimus ita ex Deo Patre esse omnia, ut nec amiserit Deus Pater, quod vel per ipsum et in ipso omnia sint, nec tamquam ex materia ex ipso omnia sint: ita quoque per Dominum Filium esse omnia, ut non privatus sit eo, quod ex Filio sint omnia, et in ipso sint omnia: et ita omnia esse in Spiritu, ut doceamus omnia esse per Spiritum, et omnia esse de Spiritu. 89. Nam istae syllabae, sicut illae de quibus superius diximus, se invicem signant. Non enim ita dixit Apostolus: Ex Deo omnia, et per Filium omnia; ut separabilem substantiam Patris Filiique signaret: sed ut inconfusibili distinctione quod alius Pater, alius sit Filius, edoceret. Non igitur tamquam compugnantes syllabae istae, sed tamquam sociae atque concordes sunt; ut etiam uni saepe conveniant, sicut scriptum est: Quia ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso sunt omnia (Rom. XI, 36). 90. Quod si vere consideres unde translatum sit, de Filio dictum esse non ambiges. Dicit enim Apostolus secundum prophetiam Esaiae: Quis cognovit sensum Domini, aut quis consiliarius ejus fuit (Esai. XL, 13)? Et addidit: Quia ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso sunt omnia. Quod Esaias de operatore omnium dixit, sicut habes: Quis mensus est manu aquam, et coelum palmo, et universam terram clausa manu? Quis statuit montes in libra, et rupes in statera? Quis cognovit sensum Domini, aut quis consiliarius ejus fuit (Esai. XL, 12) ? 91. Et addidit Apostolus: Quoniam ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso sunt omnia. Quid est, ex ipso? Quod ex ipsius voluntate natura sit omnium, et ipse sit auctor omnium, quae esse coeperunt. Per ipsum, quid est? Quia per ipsum constitutio et perseverantia omnibus impertita videatur. In ipso, quid est? Quia omnia admirabili quodam desiderio, et inenarrabili amore auctorem vitae et ministratorem gratiae suae ac muneris intuentur, secundum quod scriptum est: Oculi omnium in te sperant; et: Aperis manum tuam, et imples omnem animam

bona voluntate (Psal. CXLIV, 15). 92. De Patre quoque si dicas: ideo ex ipso, quia ex ipso operatrix Sapientia, quae omnibus ex sua et Patris voluntate dedit esse, quae non erant: Per ipsum, quia per Sapientiam ejus facta sunt omnia: In ipso, quia ipse est vivificatoriae fons substantiae, in quo vivimus et sumus et movemur. 93. Ex Spiritu quoque, ut per ipsum formati, per ipsum firmati, in ipso roborati, vitae capiamus munus aeternae. 94. Cum haec igitur vel Patri vel Filio vel 652 Spiritui sancto convenire videantur, nihil utique humile in his certum est declarari; cum et ex Filio dicamus esse pleraque, et multa per Patrem, sicut habes de Filio dictum: Ut augeamur in ipso per omnia, qui est caput Christus, ex quo totum, inquit, corpus compactum et connexum per omnem juncturam ministrationis in mensuram uniuscujusque partis, augmentum corporis facit in aedificationem sui in charitate (Ephes. IV, 15, 16). Et iterum ad Colossenses de his qui non haberent cognitionem unigeniti Filii Dei: Quia non tenent, inquit, caput, ex quo omne corpus per compaginationes et colligationes subministratum et copulatum crescit in incrementum Dei (Coloss. II, 19); caput enim Christum esse Ecclesiae supra diximus (Coloss. I, 18). Et alibi habes quia de plenitudine ejus nos omnes accepimus (Joan. I, 16). Et ipse Dominus dixit: De meo accipiet, et annuntiabit vobis (Joan. XVI, 14). Et supra ait: Cognovi virtutem exisse de me (Luc. VIII, 46). 95. Similiter ut agnoscas unitatem, etiam de Spiritu dicitur: Quia qui seminat in Spiritu, de Spiritu metet vitam aeternam (Galat. VI, 8). Et Joannes ait: Ex hoc cognoscimus quia in nobis est, quoniam de Spiritu suo dedit nobis (I Joan. IV, 13). Et Angelus dicit: Quod ex ea nascetur, de Spiritu sancto est (Matth. I, 20). Et Dominus ait quia quod natum est de Spiritu, Spiritus est (Joan. III, 6). 96. Ergo sicut ex Patre legimus esse omnia, ita et ex Filio posse dici omnia, per quem omnia sunt: et ex Spiritu esse omnia, in quo omnia sunt, testimoniis edocemur. 97. Nunc consideremus utrum per Patrem esse aliquid docere possimus. Sed scriptum est: Paulus servus Christi per

voluntatem Dei (I Cor. I, 1); et alibi: Unde jam non est servus, sed filius: si autem filius, et haeres per Deum (Galat. IV, 7); et alibi: Sicut resurrexit Christus a mortuis per gloriam Patris (Rom., VI, 4). Et alibi Deus Pater ad Filium dicit: Ecce proselyti venient ad te per me (Esai. LIV, 15). 98. Multa reperies alia, si quaeras per Patrem facta. Numquid ideo minor Pater, quia in Filio et ex Filio pleraque esse legimus: et per Patrem facta vel data plurima in Scripturis coelestibus reperimus? 99. Sed etiam per Spiritum similiter legimus facta pleraque, sicut habes: Nobis autem revelavit Deus per Spiritum suum (I Cor. II, 10); et alibi: Bonum depositum custodi per Spiritum sanctum (I Tim. I, 14); et ad Ephesios: Confortari per Spiritum ejus (Ephes. III, 16); et ad Corinthios: Alii enim datur per Spiritum sermo sapientiae (I Cor. XII, 8); et alibi: Si autem per Spiritum facta carnis mortificaveritis, vivetis (Rom. VIII, 13); et supra: Qui suscitavit Christum ex mortuis, vivificabit et mortalia corpora vestra per inhabitantem Spiritum ejus in vobis (Ibid., 11). 100. Sed fortasse dicat: Ostende mihi specialiter lectum, quia ex Filio omnia, vel ex Spiritu omnia. At ego refero, ut et illi mihi lectum esse ostendant quia per Patrem omnia. Sed cum haec vel Patri probaverimus, vel Filio, vel Spiritui sancto convenire, nec ullam ex hujusmodi syllabis nasci posse divinae distantiam potestatis; non est dubium quin per quem omnia, ex eo omnia: et ex quo omnia, per eum omnia: et in quo omnia, per cum 653 vel ex eo omnia esse intelligere debeamus. Omnis enim creatura et ex voluntate, et per operationem et in virtute est Trinitatis, sicut scriptum est: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram (Gen. I, 26); et alibi: Verbo Domini coeli firmati sunt, et Spiritu oris ejus omnis virtus eorum (Psal. XXXII, 6).

CAPUT X.

PROBATURUS UNAM TRINITATIS esse voluntatem, vocationem atque jussionem, docet non secus ac Pater et Filius Ecclesiam vocarunt, ita et Spiritum eam vocasse; idque ex electione Pauli et Barnabae ostendit, sed potissimum ex missione Petri ad Cornelium. Hic obiter ejusdem Spiritus potestate, ac trina Petri confessione perstrictis, in ejusdem apostoli visione adumbratam fuisse declarat vocationem gentium, quae cum prius ferarum similes exsitissent, Spiritus opera deposuere feritatem. Tum ubi superiora ex alio loco stabilivit, in Hieremia in lacum a Judaeis demisso, et inde educto ab Abdemelech, Spiritus sancti ab iisdem Judaeis contemptui habiti, et a gentibus quas mundavit, honorati symbolum praeivisse demonstrat.

101. [Alias cap. XI.] Nec solum una operatio est ubique Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, sed etiam una atque eadem voluntas, una vocatio, una praeceptio: quod licet in illo magno ac salutari Ecclesiae spectare mysterio. Sicut enim Pater vocavit gentes ad Ecclesiam, dicens: Vocabo non plebem meam, plebem meam: et non dilectam, dilectam (Ose. II); et alibi: Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur omnibus gentibus (Esai. LVI, 7): ita etiam Dominus Jesus ad evocandam et congregandam Ecclesiam Paulum a se dicit electum, sicut habes ad Ananiam dictum a Domino Jesu: Vade, quoniam vas electionis est mihi hic ac ferendum nomen meum coram gentibus (Act. IX, 15). 102. Sicut ergo Pater Deus vocavit Ecclesiam, ita vocavit et Christus: et quemadmodum Christus vocavit, ita vocavit et Spiritus, dicens: Separate mihi Paulum et Barnabam in opus quo vocavi eos. Tunc jejunantes, inquit, et orantes, imposuerunt eis manus, et dimiserunt eos. Ipsi autem praemissi ab Spiritu sancto devenerunt in Seleuciam (Act.

XIII, 2 et seq.). Ergo non solum Christi, sed etiam Spiritus sancti imperio apostolatum Paulus accepit, et ad congregationem gentium festinavit. 103. Nec solus Paulus, sed etiam Petrus, sicut legimus in Actibus apostolorum. Nam cum in oratione vidisset coelum apertum, et quatuor initiis ligatum vas quoddam, tamquam linteum in quo erant omnia genera quadrupedum et ferarum et volucrum coeli, facta est vox ad eum: Surge, occide, et manduca. Et Petrus dixit: Absit, Domine: numquam manducavi commune et immundum. Et vox rursus ad eum: Quod Deus mundavit, tu commune ne dixeris. Hoc autem factum est per ter, et receptum est vas in coelum (Act. X, 11 et seq.). Ergo cum hoc secum Petrus tacitus cogitaret, et venissent ad eum Cornelii servuli ab Angelo 654 destinati, ait illi Spiritus: Ecce viri quaerunt te, surge itaque, et descende, et vade cum eis: ne dubites; quoniam ego misi illos (Ibid., 19, 20). 104. Quam evidenter expressit suam Spiritus sanctus potestatem? Primo omnium quia aspiravit oranti, adfuit deprecanti: deinde quoniam vocatus Petrus respondit, Domine, et ideo secundum evidentius meruit oraculum, quia confessus est Dominum. Sed quis iste sit Dominus Scriptura declarat; respondenti enim, is utique cui responderat, loquebatur: Spiritum autem ostendunt sequentia declaratum; quia ipse qui mysterium figurabat, mysterium revelabat. 105. Simul illud adverte quia tertio repetita figura mysterii operationem Trinitatis expressit. Et ideo in mysteriis interrogatio trina defertur, et confirmatio trina celebratur: nec potest quis nisi trina confessione purgari. Unde et ipse Petrus in Evangelio (Joan. XXI, 15) tertio interrogatur, utrum diligat Dominum; ut trina responsione vincula, quae Dominum negando contraxerat, et quibus se ipse ligavit, absolverentur. 106. Tum deinde quia ad Cornelium angelus mittitur, Petrum Spiritus sanctus alloquitur (Act. X, 3): Oculi enim Domini super fideles terrae (Psal. C, 6). Nec illud otiosum, quod cum in superioribus praemisisset: Quod Deus mundavit, tu ne commune dixeris (Act. X, 15); subito decidit super gentiles, ut mundaret eos Spiritus sanctus; unde

ostenditur operationem Spiritus operationem esse divinam. Petrus autem missus ab Spiritu, non exspectavit imperium Dei Patris, sed ipsius quoque Spiritus illud est confessus oraculum, ipsius Spiritus gratiam esse testatus est dicens: Si ergo eamdem gratiam illis concessit Deus, sicut et nobis; ego quis eram, qui prohiberem Deum (Act. XI, 17)? 107. Spiritus ergo sanctus est, qui nos ab illa gentili colluvione mundavit. In illis enim generibus quadrupedum, et ferarum, et volucrum figura erat conditionis humanae, quae ferarum modo bestialem videtur induta saevitiam, nisi Spiritus sanctificatione mitescat. Bona ergo gratia, quae ferinam rabiem spirituali simplicitate commutat: Eramus enim et nos aliquando insipientes, increduli, errantes, servientes desideriis et voluptatibus variis: nunc autem per renovationem Spiritus haeredes Christi, angelorum coepimus esse cohaeredes (Tit. III, 3). 108. Itaque Spiritu videns sanctus propheta David ex feris nos similes futuros esse coelestium: Increpa, inquit, feras silvae (Psal. LXVII, 32), silvam videlicet significans non ferarum fragosam cursibus, nec bestiarum gemitibus inhorrentem, sed illam silvam de qua scriptum est: Invenimus eam in campis silvae (Psal. CXXXI, 6). In qua, sicut dixit Propheta: justus ut palma florebit, et velut cedrus quae in Libano est, multiplicabitur (Psal. XCXI, 13). Illa silva, quae Verbi coelestis alimoniam propheticarum verticibus arborum concussa defluxit. Illa silva, ad quam Paulus lupus quidem raptor intravit, sed pastor exivit: In omnem enim terram exivit sonus eorum (Psal. XVIII, 5). 655 109. Eramus ergo ferae, et ideo dicit Dominus: Attendite vobis a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt in vestitu ovium, intus autem sunt lupi rapaces (Matth. VII, 15). Sed per Spiritum sanctum jam leonum saevitia, pardorum varietas, astutia vulpium, luporum rapacitas de nostris exolevit affectibus. Magna igitur gratia, quae coelo terras mutavit; ut conversatio nostra, sicut Apostolus dixit (Philip. III, 20), in coelis sit, qui ante sicut ferae errabamus in silvis. 110. Sed nec hoc tantum loco Petrus apostolus, sed etiam alibi in eodem libro a Spiritu sancto

aedificatam Ecclesiam demonstravit. Habes enim dixisse eum: Deus qui novit corda hominum, testimonium perhibuit, dans his Spiritum sanctum, sicut et nobis; et nihil discrevit inter nos et illos, mundans per fidem corda eorum (Act. XV, 8, 9). In quo illud est contuendum, quia sicut Christus lapis est angularis, qui unitatem plebis utriusque connexuit, ita etiam Spiritus sanctus non discrevit utriusque populi corda, sed junxit. 111. Non ergo tamquam Judaeus contemnas Filium, quem annuntiaverunt prophetae; contemnas etiam Spiritum sanctum, contemnas Esaiam, contemnas Hieremiam, quem de lacu Judaicae domus ille assumptus a Domino pannis et funibus elevavit (Jerem. XXXVIII, 10). Verbum enim propheticum despiciens, in lacum demerserat eum populus Judaeorum. Nec quisquam inventus est de Judaeis qui levaret prophetam, sed unus Aethiops Abdemelech, sicut Scriptura testatur. 112. In quo nomine figura pulcherrima est, quia sermonem propheticum, quem Judaei velut in coenum suae mentis carnisque detruserant, nos videlicet ex gentibus peccatores, nigri ante delictis, et quondam infructuosi elevavimus de profundo (Ibid., 11). Et ideo scriptum est: Aethiopia praelevabit manus suas Deo (Psal. LXVII, 32). In quo sanctae Ecclesiae species significatur, quae ait in Canticis canticorum: Nigra sum et decora, filiae Hierusalem (Cant. I, 4); nigra per culpam, decora per gratiam: nigra per conditionem, decora per redemptionem: aut certe nigra exercitii sui pulvere. Nigra ergo, dum praeliatur: decora est, dum victoriae suae insignibus coronatur. 113. Et bene funibus levatur propheta; fidelis enim dixit: Funes ceciderunt mihi in praeclaris (Psal. XV, 6). Bene pannis; quia ipse Dominus, excusantibus his qui primo ad nuptias vocati fuerant, ad exitus viarum misit, ut quotquot invenirentur et boni et mali, ad nuptias vocarentur (Matth. XXII, 9, 10). His itaque pannis propheticum verbum levavit coeno. 656

CAPUT XI.

IMITATUROS NOS ABDEMELECH, si credamus Filium et Spiritum sanctum omnia cognoscere. Spiritui cognitionem hanc tribui in Scripturis; Filio quoque eamdem attribui. Filium a Spiritu clarificari, sicut et a Filio Spiritum: item ex eo quod Patrem, Filium atque Spiritum legamus eadem loqui, ac revelare, unitatem in ipsis naturae et scientiae agnoscendam: denique quod alta Dei scrutatur Spiritus, ignorantiae non esse; cum Pater et Filius etiam dicantur scrutatores, et Paulus tametsi a Christo domino electus, edoctus tamen fuerit a Spiritu.

114. [Alias cap. XII.] Eris igitur et tu Abdemelech, hoc est, assumptus a Domino, si de profundo gentilis imprudentiae levaveris Dei Verbum: si credideris quia non fallitur; non praeteritur Dei Filius, non ignorat quae futura sunt; non fallitur etiam Spiritus sanctus, de quo dicit Dominus: Cum venerit autem ille Spiritus veritatis, deducet vos in omnem veritatem (Joan. XVI, 13). Qui dicit omnem, nihil praeterit, non diem, non horam, non praeterita, non futura. 115. Et ut scias quia et omnia novit, et futura annuntiat, et unius est scientiae cum Patre et Filio; audi quid dicat de eo Dei veritas: Non enim loquetur a semetipso, sed quae audierit, loquetur, et quae evenient, annuntiabit vobis (Ibid.). 116. Itaque ut advertas quia novit omnia, cum diceret Filius: De die autem illa et hora nemo novit, neque Angeli coelorum (Marc. XIII, 32); excepit Spiritum sanctum. Si autem exceptus est Spiritus sanctus ab ignorantia, quomodo non exceptus est Dei Filius? 117. Sed dicis quia cum angelis annumeraverit et Dei Filium. Annumeravit quidem Filium, sed non annumeravit et Spiritum. Aut fatere igitur potiorem esse Spiritum sanctum Dei Filio, ut jam non solum quasi Arianus, sed etiam

quasi Photinianus loquaris: aut agnosce quo referre debeas, quod nescire Filium dixit. Etenim quasi homo annumerari creaturis potuit, qui creatus est. 118. Quod si vis discere quia novit omnia, et praescientiam habet omnium Dei Filius futurorum, quae Filio incognita putas, ea de Filio Spiritus sanctus accepit. Accepit autem per unitatem substantiae, sicut accepit a Patre Filius: Ille, inquit, me clarificabit, quia de meo accipiet, et annuntiabit vobis. Omnia quaecumque habet Pater, mea sunt; propterea dixi, de meo accipiet, et annuntiabit vobis (Joan. XVI, 14, 15). Quid igitur hac evidentius unitate? Quae habet Pater, Filii sunt: quae habet Filius, accepit et Spiritus. 119 et 120*. Accipe tamen quia novit judicii diem Filius. Lectum est in Zacharia: Et veniet Dominus Deus meus, et omnes sancti cum eo. In illa die non erit lumen, sed frigus et gelu: et erit dies una, et dies illa nota Domino (Zach. XIV, 5). Haec igitur dies nota Domino, qui veniet cum sanctis suis, secundo nos illuminaturus adventu.

121. Sed quod orsi sumus de Spiritu, persequamur. 657 Habes enim in eo quod praetulimus exemplo quia Filius dicit de Spiritu: Ille me clarificabit. Clarificat ergo Spiritus Filium, sicut clarificat et Pater: sed etiam Spiritum clarificat Dei Filius, sicut supra diximus. Non est ergo infirmus, qui reddit mutuam claritatem per unitatem lucis aeternae: nec inferior sancto Spiritu, cujus hoc ipsum est, quod clarificatur ab Spiritu. 122. Assumeris ergo et tu, si credas quia hoc locutus est Spiritus, quod locutus est Pater, quod locutus est Filius. Denique Paulus ideo assumptus est, quia sic credidit, sic docuit, quia quod oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit, quae praeparavit Deus diligentibus se, nobis revelavit per Spiritum suum, sicut scriptum est (I Cor. II, 9, 10). Et ideo revelationis Spiritus dicitur, sicut habes: Dat enim Deus sic praeparantibus se Spiritum sapientiae et revelationis in agnitionem ejus (Esai. LXIV, 4). 123. Unitas igitur est scientiae, quando sicut Pater revelat, qui dat Spiritum revelationis, sic revelat et Filius; quia scriptum est: Nemo novit Filium, nisi Pater; neque

Patrem quis novit, nisi Filius, et cui voluerit Filius revelare (Matth. XI, 27). Plus dixit de Filio, non quod plus habeat quam Pater, sed ne minus habere credatur. Nec immerito sic revelatur Pater a Filio; quia sic novit Patrem Filius, quemadmodum Filium Pater novit. 124. Accipe nunc quia Deum Patrem novit et Spiritus; scriptum est enim quia sicut ea quae hominis sunt, nemo novit nisi spiritus qui in ipso est: sic et quae Dei sunt, nemo cognovit nisi Spiritus Dei (I Cor. II, 11). Nemo, inquit, cognovit, nisi Spiritus Dei. Numquid exclusus est Dei Filius? Non utique; quia nec Spiritus sanctus exclusus est, cum dicitur: Neque Patrem quis novit, nisi Filius. 125. Ergo unius et Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus et naturae sunt et scientiae. Neque cum omnibus quae per Filium facta sunt, annumerandus est Spiritus, cum Deum Patrem noverit, quem, sicut scriptum est (Matth. XI, 27), quis potest nosse nisi Filius? Sed et Spiritus sanctus novit. Quid ergo? Cum dicitur universitas creaturarum, non Spiritus sanctus comprehenditur. 126. Nunc velim respondeant, quid est in homine, quod cognoscat quae sunt hominis? Utique rationabile, quod caeteris animae virtutibus supereminet, et quo praecipua natura hominis aestimatur. Quid est igitur Spiritus, qui alta Dei novit, per quem Deus omnipotens revelatur. Numquid plenitudine divinitatis inferior est, qui ejusdem cum Patre substantiae etiam hoc exemplo probatur? Aut aliquid ignorat, qui novit consilia Dei, et mysteria ejus ab initio abscondita? Quid est quod nesciat, qui novit omnia quae Dei sunt? Spiritus enim etiam alta Dei scrutatur (I Cor. II, 10). 127. Ac ne putes quod scrutetur incognita, et ideo scrutetur, ut discat id quod ignoret; 658 ante praemisit quia revelavit nobis Deus per Spiritum suum: simul ut disceres quia novit Spiritus quae nobis per ipsum Spiritum revelantur, in posterioribus ait: Quis enim scit hominum quae hominis sunt, nisi spiritus hominis qui in ipso est: sic et quae Dei sunt, nemo cognovit, nisi Spiritus Dei. Ergo si hominis spiritus novit quae hominis sunt, et antequam scrutetur novit, potestne aliquid Dei esse, quod Spiritus Dei nesciat? De quo non

otiose Apostolus dixit: Quae Dei sunt, nemo cognovit, nisi Spiritus Dei: non quod scrutando cognoverit, sed noverit per naturam: non quod accidens in eo scientia divinorum, sed cognitio naturalis sit. 128. Verum si te movet quia dixit, scrutatur, accipe quia id quoque de Deo scriptum est, eo quod sit scrutator cordis et renum. Ipse enim dixit: Ego sum scrutans corda et renes (Jerem. XVII, 10). Etiam de Filio Dei habes ad Hebraeos: Qui scrutator est animi et cogitationis (Hebr. IV, 12). Unde liquet quia nemo inferior superioris scrutatur interna; divinae enim solius est potestatis occulta novisse. Similiter ergo scrutator est Spiritus sanctus ut Pater, similiter scrutator et Filius: cujus proprietate sermonis id exprimitur; ut videatur nihil esse quod nesciat, quem nihil praeterit. 129. Denique ille electus a Christo, instructus ab Spiritu est. Nam sicut ipse testatur, per Spiritum divini cognitionem consecutus arcani, ostendit quia et novit Spiritus Deum, et ea nobis quae Dei sunt, Spiritus revelavit, sicut revelavit et Filius. Et addidit: Nos autem non spiritum hujus mundi accepimus, sed Spiritum qui ex Deo est; ut sciamus quae a Deo donata sunt nobis, quae et loquimur, non in suasoriis humanae sapientiae verbis, sed in ostensione Spiritus, et virtute Dei (I Cor. II, 12, 13)?

CAPUT XII.

PROBATO SPIRITUM AEQUE revelare ac Patrem et Filium, quomodo non loquatur a se idem Spiritus, explicatur; ostenditurque non cogitanda in ipso corporeo organa, nec ullam inferioritatem ex eo fingendam, quod audire legatur; quando idem Filio esset attribuendum; immo vero etiam Patri, cum et ipse audiat Filium. Spiritum igitur eo sensu audire et clarificare Filium, quod eum prophetis atque apostolis revelavit; qua ex re operationis trium personarum unitas astruitur; et cum eadem Spiritus operetur, quae Pater eadem quoque declaratur utriusque esse substantia.

130. Probatum est igitur quia sicut Deus nobis quae sua sunt, ita et Filius quae Dei sunt, ita etiam Spiritus revelavit. Ex uno enim Spiritu per unum Filium in unum Patrem cognitio nostra procedit: et ex uno Patre per unum Filium in unum Spiritum sanctum bonitas et sanctificatio et imperiale jus aeternae traditur potestatis. Ubi ergo ostensio Spiritus, ibi Dei virtus: nec potest esse discretio, ubi opus unum est. Et ideo quod loquitur Filius, loquitur 659 et Pater: et quod Pater loquitur, loquitur et Filius: et quod loquitur Pater et Filius, loquitur et Spiritus sanctus. 131. Unde et de Spiritu Filius Dei dixit: Non enim loquetur a se (Joan. XVI, 13), hoc est, non sine mea et Patris communione; neque enim divisus ac separatus est Spiritus, sed quae audit, loquitur: audit videlicet per unitatem substantiae, et per proprietatem scientiae. Neque enim foraminibus aliquibus corporalibus recipit auditum, et quibusdam divina modulis carnalibus vox resultat, vel audit id quid ignorat; quoniam in rebus humanis scientiam plerumque auditus operatur, et tamen nec in ipsis hominibus semper alloquium corporale, aut carnalis auditus est: Qui enim loquitur linguis, non

hominibus, inquit, loquitur, sed Deo. Nemo enim audit, Spiritu autem loquitur mysteria (I Cor. XIV, 2). 132. Ergo si in hominibus non semper auditus est corporalis; in Deo tu infirmitatis humanae sonitus, et quaedam organa exigis carnalis auditus; cum ideo audire dicatur, ut scire credatur? Nos enim id scimus quod audierimus, et ante audimus, ut scire possimus: in Deo autem qui novit omnia antequam fiant, scientia praecedit auditum. Itaque ut quod velit Pater, Filium non ignorare dicamus, audisse memoramus: sed non in Deo sonus, neque syllaba, quae significare solent indicium voluntatis; sed voluntatis unitas divinis quidem intelligitur arcanis, nostris autem significatur indiciis. 133. Quid est ergo: Non enim a se loquetur? Hoc est, non sine me loquitur; quia loquetur veritatem, sapientiam aspirat. Non sine Patre loquitur, quia Dei Spiritus est: non a se audit, quoniam ex Deo omnia. 134. Omnia accepit a Patre Filius, quia ipse dixit: Omnia mihi tradita sunt a Patre meo (Matth. XI, 27). Omnia Patris habet Filius; quia iterum ait: Omnia quae Pater habet mea sunt (Joan. XVI, 15). Et quae accepit ipse per unitatem naturae, ex ipso per eamdem unitatem accepit et Spiritus, sicut ipse Dominus Jesus declarat, de Spiritu suo dicens: Propterea dixi, de meo accipiet, et annuntiabit vobis (Ibid.). Quod ergo loquitur Spiritus, Filii est: quod dedit Filius, Patris est. Ita nihil a se aut Filius loquitur aut Spiritus, quia nihil extra se Trinitas loquitur. 135. Quod si ad infirmitatem Spiritus sancti, et quamdam corporeae similitudinem vilitatis id derivari contendas; etiam ad Filii injuriam derivabis; quia et de se Filius dixit: Sicut audio, judico; et, Non potest aliud facere Filius, nisi quod viderit facientem Patrem (Joan. V, 30). Si enim verum est, sicut verum est, quod dixit Filius: Omnia quae Pater habet, mea sunt (Ibid., 19); et secundum divinitatem unum est cum Patre Filius, unum per substantiam naturalem, non unus secundum Sabellianam perfidiam. Quod unum utique est per substantiae proprietatem, non potest separari; et ideo non potest Filius facere, nisi quod audierit a Patre; quia in aeternum est permanens Dei

Verbum (Psal. CXVIII, 89), nec umquam Pater a Filii operatione dividitur: et quod operatur Filius scit Patrem velle: et quod vult Pater, Filius novit operari. 660 136. Denique ne vel in tempore, vel in ordine aliquam inter Patrem et Filium putares operis esse distantiam, sed ejusdem operationis crederes unitatem: Et opera, inquit, quae ego facio, ipse facit (Joan. V, 17). Et rursus ne discretionem aliquam in operis distinctione sentires, sed idem velle, idem facere, idem posse Patrem et Filium judicares, dicit tibi Sapientia de Patre: Quaecumque enim ille fecerit, eadem et Filius facit similiter (Ibid., 19). Non ergo alicui prior vel secundus est actus, sed idem unius operationis effectus. Et ideo nihil a se posse facere Filius dicitur; quia a Patre non potest ejus operatio separari. Similiter et Spiritus sancti operatio non secernitur. Unde etiam ea quae loquitur. audire a Patre dicitur. 137. Quid si doceo quia et Pater audit Filium, sicut ut et Filius audit Patrem? Habes enim scriptum in Evangelio, quia dicit Filius: Pater, gratias tibi ago, quia audisti me (Joan. XI, 41). Quomodo audivit Pater Filium, cum Filius nihil ad Patrem in superioribus de Lazaro sit locutus? Ac ne putares quia semel a Patre auditus est Filius, addidit: Et ego sciebam quia semper me audis (Ibid., 42). Ergo non subjectae obedientiae, sed unitatis auditus est sempiternae. 138. Similiter igitur et audire a Patre Spiritus, et clarificare Filium dicitur. Clarificare ideo, quia docuit nos Spiritus sanctus Filium Dei imaginem esse invisibilis Dei, et splendorem gloriae, et characterem substantiae ejus (Coloss. I, 15), Spiritus enim et in patriarchis et in prophetis locutus est: et apostoli denique tunc perfectiores esse coeperunt, posteaquam Spiritum receperunt (Hebr. I, 1, 2). Nulla ergo distantia divinae virtutis et gratiae; nam licet divisiones gratiarum sint, idem autem Spiritus: et divisiones ministeriorum sint, idem autem Dominus: et divisiones operationum sint, idem autem Deus, qui operatur omnia in omnibus (I Cor. XII, 4 et seq.). Divisiones sunt munerum, non separationes Trinitatis. 139. Denique idem est Deus qui operatur omnia in omnibus; ut scias quia non est

discretio operationis inter Deum Patrem et Spiritum sanctum, quando ea quae operatur Spiritus, operatur et Pater Deus, qui operatur omnia in omnibus. Nam cum operetur omnia in omnibus Pater: Alii tamen datur per Spiritum sermo sapientiae, alii sermo scientiae secundum eumdem Spiritum, alteri fides in eodem Spiritu, alii gratia curationum in uno Spiritu, alii operatio virtutum, alii prophetia, alii discretio spirituum, alii genera linguarum, alii interpretatio sermonum. Haec autem omnia operatur unus atque idem Spiritus, dividens singulis prout vult (Ibid., 8 et seq.). 140. Non est ergo dubium, quin ea quae operatur Pater, operetur et Spiritus. Nec ex praecepto, sicut qui corporaliter audit, operatur: sed ex voluntate, qui sui est liber arbitrii, non alienae famulus potestatis. Non enim quasi jussus obtemperat, sed quasi largitor suae moderator est largitatis. 141. Vide nunc interim utrum omnia operari dieas Spiritum, quae operatur et Pater; negare tamen non potes quia operatur Pater, 661 quae operatur Spiritus sanctus: alioquin non omnia operatur Pater, si non operatur ea quae operatur et Spiritus. Quod si ea quae operatur Spiritus, operatur et Pater; cum Spiritus operationes suas pro voluntate sua dividat, necesse est id quod dividit Spiritus, aut invito Patre Deo, dicas eum ex sua voluntate dividere: aut si idem velle dixeris Patrem, quod vult Spiritus sanctus; necesse est ut unitatem voluntatis operationisque divinae vel invitus, et si non corde, saltem ore fatearis. 142. Quod si unius et voluntatis et operationis est cum Patre Deo Spiritus sanctus, unius etiam substantiae est; quoniam ex operibus suis creator agnoscitur. Idem igitur Spiritus, idem, inquit, Dominus, idem, inquit, Deus (Ibid., 5). Et si Spiritum dicas, idem, est: et si Dominum dicas, idem est: et si Deum dicas, idem est. Non idem ut ipse Pater, ipse Filius, ipse sit Spiritus: sed quia et Pater et Filius ejusdem est potestatis. Idem ergo est per substantiam atque virtutem; quia non est in divinitate vel Sabelliana confusio, vel Ariana discretio, vel terrena corporalisque mutatio.

CAPUT XIII.

PROPHETIAM FUISSE NON solum a Patre ac Filio, sed etiam a Spiritu: hujus quoque idem cum eis imperium atque operationem in apostolos significari; et inde in tribus intelligendam imperii, constitutionis largitatisque unitatem: non timendum tamen ex eo consortio praejudicium; cum illud nec in humana amicitia locum habeat. Denique hanc esse apostolicae fidei haereditatem hinc confirmatur, quod apostoli scribantur Spiritui sancto obtemperasse.

143. Accipe aliud, sancte Imperator, in causa validum exemplum et tibi notum. Multifariam, inquit, et multis modis etiam Deus locutus est patribus in prophetis (Heb. I, 1). Et Sapientia Dei dixit: Mittam prophetas et apostolos. Et, alii datur, sicut scriptum est, per Spiritum sermo sapientiae, alii sermo scientiae secundum eumdem Spiritum, alii fides in eodem Spiritu, alii gratia curationum in uno Spiritu, alii operatio virtutum, alii prophetia (Luc. XI, 49). Ergo secundum Apostolum non solum per Patrem et Filium, sed etiam per Spiritum sanctum prophetia; et ideo unum munus, una est gratia. Habes ergo quia etiam Spiritus auctor est prophetiarum. 144. Apostoli quoque dixerunt: Visum est Spiritui sancto et nobis (Act. XV, 28). Et cum dicunt, visum, non solum operatorem gratiae, sed etiam auctorem imperatae exsecutionis ostendunt. Sicut enim de Deo legimus: Placuit Deo; ita etiam cum dicitur quia visum est Spiritui sancto, arbiter suae exprimitur potestatis. 145. Et quomodo non arbiter, qui ea quae vult, loquitur, quae vult, mandat; sicut mandat Pater, mandat et Filius? Sicut enim audivit Paulus 662 vocem dicentem sibi: Ego sum, inquit, Jesus, quem tu persequeris (Act. XVI, 7); ita etiam Spiritus Paulum et Silam vetuit ire in

Bithyniam. Et sicut Pater locutus est per prophetas, ita etiam de Spiritu Agabus dicit: Haec dicit Spiritus sanctus: Virum cujus est zona haec, sic alligabunt eum in Hierusalem (Act. XXI, 11). Et sicut misit Sapientia apostolos, dicens: Ite in orbem universum, et praedicate Evangelium (Marc. XVI, 15): sic et Spiritus sanctus dicit: Separate mihi Paulum et Barnabam in opus, quo vocavi eos (Act. XIII, 2). Itaque praemissi a Spiritu sancto, quod infra Scriptura indicat, nullam discretionem inter caeteros habuerunt apostolos, quasi aliter a Patre Deo, aliter a Spiritu mitterentur (Ibid., 4). 146. Denique cum Paulus missus esset a Spiritu, et vas electionis erat Christi, et Deum in se operatum esse commemorat, dicens: Qui enim operatus est Petro in apostolatum circumcisionis, operatus est et mihi ad gentes (Galat. II, 8). Cum igitur idem si operatus in Paulo, qui est operatus in Petro, hoc utique ostenditur cum Spiritus sit operatus in Paulo, quod etiam in Petro Spiritus sanctus operatus sit. Sed et Deum Patrem in se operatum Petrus ipse testatur, sicut est in Actibus apostolorum, quia surgens Petrus dixit ad eos: Viri fratres, vos scitis quia a diebus antiquis in nobis Deus elegit ex ore meo audire nationes verbum Evangelii (Act. XV, 7). Ecce igitur in Petro Deus gratiam praedicationis operatus est. In quo utique cum per Christum electus sit et assumptus, operationem Christi quis audeat diffiteri, cum ipse Dominus dicat: Pasce agniculos meos (Joan. XXI, 15) ? 147. Una igitur operatio Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti: nisi forte hoc putetis, qui negatis ejusdem erga apostolos operis unitatem, ideo operatum Patrem, ideo operatum Spiritum in Petro, in quo Filius operatus fuerat, quasi ei Filii operatio minime redundaret ad gratiam. Et ideo velut adjunctis atque collatis viribus Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti operationem fuisse multiplicem, ne ad confirmandum Petrum Christi solius operatio vacillaret. 148. Nec solum una operatio in Petro Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti invenitur, sed etiam in omnibus apostolis divinae operationis unitas revelatur, et quaedam supernae constitutionis auctoritas. Operatio enim

divina habet imperium, non habet ministerium; neque enim cum operatur Deus, aut labore aliquid extundit, aut arte: sed dixit, et facta sunt (Psal. XXXII, 9). Dixit, Fiat lux, et facta est lux (Gen. I, 3); in praecepto enim Dei operationis effectus est. 149. Hanc igitur regalem quamdam etiam sancto Spiritui potestatem Scripturarum testificatione delatam, si velimus advertere, facile possumus reperire; omnesque apostolos non solum Christi fuisse discipulos revelabitur, sed etiam Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti ministros. Sicut etiam Doctor gentium docet dicens: Quosdam quidem posuit Deus in Ecclesia, primo apostolos, secundo prophetas, tertio doctores: deinde 663 virtutes, gratiam curationem, opitulationes, gubernationes, genera linguarum (I Cor. XII, 28). 150. Ecce Deus posuit apostolos, posuit prophetas atque doctores, dedit curationum gratiam, quam supra habes dari per Spiritum sanctum, dedit genera linguarum. Sed tamen non omnes apostoli, non omnes prophetae, non omnes doctores. Non omnes, inquit (Ibid., 10), habent gratiam curationum, neque omnes, inquit, linguis loquuntur. In singulis enim hominibus universa dona divina esse non possunt: pro captu unusquisque id accipit, quod aut desiderat, aut meretur. Sed non hujus infirmitatis similis potentia Trinitatis, quae omnium munifica gratiarum est. 151. Denique posuit apostolos Deus. Hos quos Deus posuit in Ecclesia, Christus elegit, et apostolos ordinavit, et in orbem dixerit dicens: Ite in orbem universum, et praedicate Evangelium universae creaturae. Qui crediderit, et baptizatus fuerit, hic salvus erit: qui vero non crediderit, damnabitur. Signa autem credentes ista sequentur: in nomine meo daemonia ejicient, linguis loquentur novis, serpentes tollent; et si mortiferum quid biberint, non eis nocebit: super aegros manus imponent, et bene habebunt (Marc. XVI, 15 et seq.). Ecce doctores posuit Pater, posuit etiam Christus in Ecclesiis; et sicut Pater dat gratiam curationum, ita dat et Filius; sicut Pater dat dona linguarum, ita largitus est et Filius. 152. Similiter de sancto Spiritu supra accepimus, quia eadem gratiarum genera largiatur. Datur enim, inquit,

per Spiritum alii gratia curationum, alii genera linguarum, alii prophetia (I Cor. 12, 9, 10). Ergo eadem dat Spiritus, quae dat Pater, dat etiam Filius. Accipiamus nunc expressius, quod superius praelibavimus, quia idem quod Pater et Filius, etiam Spiritus sanctus mandet officium, eosdemque constituat; dixit enim Paulus: Attendite vobis, et omni gregi, in quo posuit vos Spiritus sanctus episcopos regere Ecclesiam Dei (Act. XX, 28). 153. Unitas igitur imperii, unitas constitutionis, unitas largitatis. Nam si constitutionem separes et potestatem, quae erat causa ut quos posuerat apostolos Christus, poneret Deus Pater, poneret et Spiritus sanctus; nisi forte ut homines tamquam in consortio possessionis aut juris praejudicium verebantur? Et ideo dividebatur 664 operatio, distribuebatur imperium. 154. Haec inter ipsos homines angusta sunt et minuta, qui plerumque tamen etiamsi operatione non congruunt, congruunt voluntate. Unde quidam interrogatus quid amicus esset: Alter, inquit, ego. Si ergo homo amicum ita definivit, ut alterum se esse diceret, per unitatem videlicet amoris et gratiae; quanto magis in Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto unitatem majestatis aestimare debemus, cum per eamdem operationem ac divinitatem vel unitas, vel certe id quod amplius est, ταυτότης sicut Graece dicitur, exprimatur? ταυτὸ enim idem significat; eo quod idem habeat et Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus; ut idem velle, et idem posse non ex affectione sit voluntatis, sed in substantia Trinitatis. 155. Haec est apostolicae fidei et devotionis haereditas, quam licet et ex ipsorum apostolorum considerare Actibus. Paruerunt ergo Paulus et Barnabas sancti Spiritus imperatis. Paruerunt et omnes apostoli, statimque eos quos separari jusserat Spiritus, ordinaverunt: Separate, inquit, mihi Paulum et Barnabam (Act. XIII, 4). Videtis jubentis imperium? Spectate merita servientium? 156. Credidit Paulus; et quia credidit, studia persecutoris abjecit, coronam justitiae reportavit. Credidit ille qui Ecclesias devastabat: sed conversus ad fidem, praedicabat in Spiritu, quod Spiritus imperabat. Ungebat athletam suum

Spiritus, et pulvere impietatis excusso, debellatorem infidelium ineluctabilem variis impiorum congressionibus offerebat, atque ad bravium supernae vocationis in Christo Jesu diversis passionibus erudiebat (Act. IX, 20 et seq.). 157. Barnabas quoque credidit, et quia credidit, paruit. Itaque sancti Spiritus electus imperio, quod ei ad omne redundat insigne meritorum, non fuit tanto indignus collegio. Una enim gratia fulgebat in his, quos Spiritus unus elegerat. 158. Nec Paulus inferior Petro, quamvis ille Ecclesiae fundamentum, et hic sapiens architectus sciens vestigia credentium fundare populorum: nec Paulus, inquam, indignus apostolorum collegio, cum primo quoque facile conferendus, et nulli secundus. Nam qui se imparem nescit, facit aequalem.

LIBER TERTIUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

NON TANTUM PROPHETAS et apostolos a Spiritu missos, verum etiam Filium Dei. Probatur id ex Esaia, et evangelistis, quamque ob causam eumdem Spiritum sicut columbam descendisse ac super Christum manere Lucas scripserit, exponitur. Dehinc eadem Christi missione confirmata, Filium a Patre et Spiritu non secus ac Spiritum a Patre et Filio mitti colligitur. 1. Superiori libro (Ca) evidentibus testimoniis Scripturarum docuimus apostolos et prophetas, illos ad prophetandum, hos ad evangelizandum a sancto Spiritu, sicut a Patre et a Filio destinatos: nunc adjicimus quod omnes jure mirentur, et dubitare non possint, quod Spiritus super Christum; et quod sicut ille Spiritum misit, et Filium Dei Spiritus misit. Dicit enim Filius Dei: Spiritus Domini super me, propter quod unxit me, evangelizare pauperibus, misit me, praedicare captivis remissionem, et caecis visum (Esai. LXI, 1). Quod cum de libro Esaiae legeret, ait in Evangelio: Hodie completa est haec Scriptura in auribus vestris (Luc. IV, 21); ut de se dictum esse signaret.

2. Ergo mirari possumus si et prophetas et apostolos Spiritus misit cum Christus dixerit: Spiritus Domini super me (Ibid., 18)? Et bene, super me, dixit, quia quasi filius hominis loquebatur. Quasi filius enim hominis et unctus et missus est ad Evangelium praedicandum. 3. Sed si non creditur Filio, audiant etiam Patrem loquentem quia Spiritus Domini super Christum. Dicit enim Joanni: Super quem videris Spiritum descendentem de coelo, et manentem super eum, hic est qui baptizat in Spiritu sancto (Joan. I, 33). Dixit hoc Deus Pater Joanni: Joannes et audivit, et vidit, et credidit. Audivit a Deo, vidit in Domino, credidit quia Spiritus erat, qui descendebat

de coelo. Non enim columba, sed sicut columba descendit; sic enim scriptum est: Et vidi Spiritum descendentem de coelo, sicut columbam (Marc. I, 10). 4. Sicut Joannes vidisse se dixit, ita scripsit et Marcus: Lucas autem addidit quod corporali specie descendit Spiritus sanctus, sicut columba (Luc. III, 22); ne incarnationem illam putares fuisse, sed speciem. Ideo autem speciem praetendit, ut per speciem crederet, qui Spiritum non videbat, et per speciem declararet unius honoris in imperio, unius operationis in mysterio, unius muneris in lavacro cum Patre et Filio sibi esse consortium, nisi forte invalidum credimus, ut in eo baptizetur servulus, in quo baptizatus est Dominus. 5. Pulchre autem dixit: Manentem super eum (Joan. I, 33); quia ad prophetas quoties volebat Spiritus, 666 vel inspirabat verbum, vel faciebat: semper autem manebat in Christo. 6. Nec rursum moveat, quod super eum dixit; de Filio enim hominis loquebatur, quia sicut Filius hominis baptizabatur. Nam secundum divinitatem non super Christum est Spiritus, sed in Christo; quia sicut Pater in Filio, et Filius in Patre, ita Dei Spiritus et Spiritus Christi et in Patre est et in Filio, quia oris est Spiritus. Manet enim in Deo qui ex Deo est, sicut scriptum est: Nos autem non spiritum hujus mundi accepimus, sed spiritum qui ex Deo est (I Cor. II, 12). Et manet in Christo, qui a Christo accepit: et in Christo est, quia iterum scriptum est: Ille de meo accipiet (Joan. XVI, 14): et alibi: Lex enim Spiritus vitae in Christo Jesu liberavit me a lege peccati et mortis (Rom. VIII, 2). Non ergo secundum divinitatem Christi super Christum est, quia non super se est Trinitas, sed supra omnia, supra se autem non est, sed in se est. 7. Quis ergo dubitet quia prophetas et apostolos Spiritus misit, cum dicat Dei Filius: Spiritus Domini super me (Luc. IV, 18)? Et alibi: Ego sum primus, et ego in aeternum: et manus mea fundavit terram, et dextera mea solidavit coelum: vocabo eos, et astabunt simul, et congregabuntur omnes, et audient. Quis illis haec denuntiavit? Diligens te, feci voluntatem tuam adversus Babylonem, ut tollatur semen Chaldaeorum. Ego locutus sum, et

ego vocavi: adduxi eum, et prosperum iter ejus feci. Accedite ad me, et audite haec. Non ab initio in occulto locutus sum: cum fierent, illic eram. Et nunc Dominus Deus misit, et Spiritus ejus (Esai. XLVIII, 12 et seq.). Quis est, qui dicit: Misit me Dominus Deus, et Spiritus ejus; nisi qui venit a Patre, ut salvos faceret peccatores? Quem ut audis, et Spiritus misit; ne cum legis quia Filius Spiritum mittit, inferioris esse Spiritum crederes potestatis. 8. Ergo et Pater Filium misit, et Spiritus: Spiritum quoque et Pater misit, et Filius: Pater misit, quia scriptum est: Paraclitus autem ille Spiritus sanctus, quem mittet Pater in nomine meo (Joan. XIV, 26). Filius misit, quia dixit: Cum venerit autem ille paraclitus, quem ego mittam vobis a Patre, Spiritum veritatis (Joan. XV, 26). Si ergo se invicem Filius et Spiritus mittunt, sicut Pater mittit, non subjectionis injuria, sed communitas potestatis est.

CAPUT II.

FILIUM PERINDE AC Spiritum dari; unde non subjectio, sed una divinitas operatione demonstratur.

9. Nec solum misit Pater Filium, sed etiam dedit, sicut ipse se Filius dedit. Lectum est enim nobis: Gratia vobis a Deo Patre nostro et Domino Jesu Christo, qui se dedit pro peccatis nostris (Galat. I, 3, 4). 667 Si subjectum in eo putant fuisse, quia missus est; gratiae esse negare non possunt, quia datus est. Datus est autem a Patre, ut Esaias dixit: Puer natus est nobis, Filius datus est nobis (Esai. IX, 6); datus est autem, audeo dicere, et ab Spiritu qui missus ab Spiritu est. Cum enim non definierit propheta a quo datus sit, ostendit datum gratia Trinitatis: cum autem ipse se Filius dederit, utique non potuit ipse sibi secundum divinitatem esse subjectus. Ergo non potuit divinae subjectionis esse quod datus est. 10. Datus est autem et Spiritus sanctus, quia lectum est: Rogabo Patrem, et alium paraclitum dabit vobis (Joan. XIV, 16). Et Apostolus ait: Quapropter qui haec spernit, non hominem spernit, sed Deum, qui dedit Spiritum suum in nobis (I Thess. IV, 8). Esaias quoque et Spiritum datum ostendit et Filium: Sic, inquit, dicit Dominus Deus, qui fecit coelum, et finxit illud: qui solidavit terram, et quae in ea sunt: et dat populo qui est super eam Spiritum, et Spiritum calcantibus eam (Esa. XLII, 5). Et ad Filium: Ego Dominus Deus, qui vocavi te in aequitate, et tenebo manum tuam, et confortabo te: et dedi te in testamentum generis mei, in lucem gentium, aperire oculos caecorum, educere de vinculis alligatos (Ibid. 6, 7). Cum ergo Filius et missus et datus sit, Spiritus quoque missus et datus sit; habent utique unitatem divinitatis, qui habent operis unitatem.

CAPUT III.

EAMDEM QUOQUE UNITATEM inde cognosci, quod Spiritus digitus dicatur, et Filius dextera; humani enim sermonis consuetudine juvari divinorum intelligentiam. Hoc digito scriptas fuisse legis tabulas, quae postea fractae sunt, et qua de causa? denique Christum scripsisse eodem digito: nec ullam tamen e corporea comparatione in Spiritu admittendam, esse inferioritatem.

11. Unde etiam et digitus Dei appellatus est Spiritus, eo quod sit Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto individua, inseparabilisque communio. Nam sicut Filium Dei Scriptura dexteram Dei dixit, sicut lectum est: Dextera tua, Domine, glorificata est in virtute, dextera manus tua, Domine, confregit inimicos (Exod. XV, 6); ita Spiritus sanctus appellatus est digitus Dei, sicut ipse Dominus dicit: Quod si in digito Dei ego ejicio daemonia (Luc. XI, 20). Hunc enim digitum in alio libro Evangelii eodem loco Dei Spiritum nominavit, sicut habes: Quod si in Spiritu Dei ego ejicio daemonia (Marc. XII, 28). 12. Quid igitur expressius ad significandam divinitatis vel operationis dici potuit unitatem, quae secundum divinitatem est Patris, vel Filii, vel Spiritus sancti, quam ut intelligamus multo magis quam corpus hoc nostrum aeternae plenitudinem divinitatis scindi videri, si quis unitatem substantiae separet, multiplicet potestates; cum una sit ejusdem divinitatis aeternitas? 668 13. Plerumque enim ex nostris sermonibus ea quae supra nos sunt, convenit aestimari: et quia illa videre non possumus, ex his quae videre possumus, colligamus: Invisibilia enim ejus, ait Apostolus, a creatura mundi per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciuntur (Rom. I, 20). Et subdidit: Sempiterna quoque virtus ejus et divinitas (Ibid.). Quorum aliud

de Filio, aliud de Spiritu sancto dictum videtur; ut quemadmodum sempiterna virtus Patris dicitur Filius, ita etiam Spiritus quia divinus est, sempiterna divinitas esse credatur. Nam et Filius quia semper vivit, vita sempiterna est. Hic ergo digitus Dei et sempiternus est, et divinus. Quid enim Dei proprium, quod non sempiternum sit et divinum? 13. Hoc digito, sicut legimus, tabulas illas lapideas Deus inscripsit, quas Moyses accepit (Exod. XXXI, 18). Non enim carnali digito Deus harum litterarum, quas legimus, apices et elementa formavit: sed Spiritu suo dedit Legem. Et ideo Apostolus dixit: Lex enim spiritalis est, quae utique non atramento inscripta est, sed Spiritu Dei vivi: non in tabulis lapideis, sed in tabulis cordis carnalibus (II Cor. III, 3). Nam si Apostoli epistola scribitur in Spiritu, quid obstat quonimus etiam legem Dei non atramento, sed Spiritu Dei scriptam credere debeamus: quae utique cordis nostri mentisque secreta non maculat, sed illuminat? 14. Scripta est autem in tabulis lapideis (Exod. XXXII, 19), quia in typo scripta est: sed tabulae fractae primo sunt, et abjectae de Moysis manibus; quia Judaei a propheticis operibus exciderunt. Et bene tabulae fractae sunt, non scriptura deleta. Et tu vide ne frangatur tabula tua, ne mens tua et animus dividatur. Numquid divisus est Christus? Non divisus est, sed unum est cum Patre: et te nemo ab eo separet. Si fides deficiat, tabula cordis tui frangitur. Comminuitur animi firmitudo, si unitatem divinitatis in Trinitate non credas. Scripta est et fides tua, scripta est et culpa tua, sicut Hieremias dixit: Scripta est, Juda, culpa tua graphio ferreo et ungue adamantino. Et scripta est, inquit, in pectore et in corde tuo (Jerem. XVII, 1). Ibi igitur culpa est, ubi gratia: sed culpa graphio scribitur, gratia Spiritu designatur. 15. Hoc digito mystice etiam Dominus Jesus, inclinato capite, scribebat in terra, cum a Judaeis adultera esset oblata (Joan. VIII, 6): significans per figuram, quando de peccatis alterius judicamus, nostri nos debere meminisse peccati. 16. Ac ne rursus quia Legem Deus Spiritu suo scripsit, inferius aliquid tamquam de ministerio Spiritus crederemus, vel ex

corporis nostri aestimatione portionem quamdam exiguam Dei Spiritum putaremus, ait alibi Apostolus (II Cor. II, 13) non se humanae scientiae verbis loqui, sed doctis Spiritus, et spiritualibus spiritalia comparare: animalem autem hominem non percipere quae sunt Spiritus Dei; sciebat enim quod is, qui divina carnalibus compararet, inter animalia esset, non inter spiritales homines computandus: 669 Stultitia enim, inquit, illi est (Ibid. 14). Et ideo quia sciret has futuras esse animalium hominum quaestiones, praesagus futuri ait: Quis enim cognovit sensum Domini, qui instruat eum (Ibid. 16)? Nos autem sensum Christi habemus.

CAPUT IV.

SPIRITUM PROPTEREA QUOD digitus vocatur, minorem esse contendentibus, regerit hoc quoque in Filii, qui dextra dicitur, injuriam converti. Haec ergo nomina non nisi ad unitatem divinitatis referenda; unde Moyses totam Trinitatem in maris rubri transitu cecinit operatam. Nec sane mirum ibi Spiritus exstitisse operationem, ubi baptismi figura fuit; siquidem in hoc tres personas ex aequo operari, sanctificareque Scriptura docet.

17. [Alias cap. III.] Sed si quis adhuc carnalibus inhaeret ambiguis, et corporalibus vacillat exemplis, consideret quia non potest bene sentire de Filio, qui potest male sentire de Spiritu. Nam si ideo portionem quamdam exiguam putant esse Spiritum Dei, quia digitus Dei dicitur; iidem utique et portionem exiguam dicunt esse in Filio Dei, quia dextera Dei dicitur. 18. Sed Filius et dextera et virtus dicitur: itaque si verba nostra pendamus, nulla potest sine virtute esse perfectio; et ideo caveant ne putent, quod nefas dictu est, semiperfectum in sua substantia Patrem perfectionem accepisse per Filium, et desinant coaeternum Filium Patri negare. Quando enim non fuit Dei virtus? Quod si aliquando putant non fuisse Dei virtutem, aliquando plenitudinem in Deo Patre negabunt fuisse, cui putant aliquando defuisse virtutem. 19. Sed haec, ut dixi, scripta sunt, ut ad unitatem divinitatis ista referamus, et credamus quod Apostolus dixit (Coloss. II, 9), quia plenitudo divinitatis corporaliter habitat in Christo, et habitat in Patre, et habitat in Spiritu sancto: et quod sicut unitas divinitatis, ita et unitas operationis sit. 20. Quod etiam ex Cantico Moysis colligi potest; ipse enim cum per maria traduxisset populum Judaeorum, et Dei Patris operationem et Filii est confessus et Spiritus dicens: Dextera manus tua, Domine, glorificata est in

virtute: dextera manus tua, Domine, confregit inimicos (Exod. XV, 6). Habes quia et Filium sit confessus et Patrem, cujus est dextera. Et infra, ne Spiritum sanctum praeteriret, adjecit: Misisti Spiritum tuum, et cooperuit eos mare: et Spiritu iracundiae tuae divisa est aqua (Ibid. 10). Quo significatur unitas divinitatis, non inaequalitas Trinitatis. 21. [Alias cap. IV.] Vides igitur quia et Spiritus sanctus cooperatus Patri et Filio sit, ut tamquam congelascentibus fluctibus in medio mari, aquarum quidam murus insurgeret ad transitum Judaeorum, et rursus Aegyptiorum populum per Spiritum refusus obrueret (Exod. XIV, 22). Inde et columnam nubis plerique praecessisse in die populo Judaeorum, et columnam ignis in nocte arbitrantur, quo protegeret plebem suam gratia spiritalis (Exod. XIII, 21). 670 22. Hanc autem operationem Dei, quam totus orbis jure miratur, sine sancti Spiritus opere non fuisse etiam Apostolus declaravit, dicens in figura illa praecessisse spiritalis mysterii veritatem; sic enim habes: Quoniam patres nostri omnes sub nube fuerunt, et omnes mare transierunt, et omnes in Moyse baptizati sunt in nube et in mari: et omnes eamdem escam spiritalem manducaverunt, et omnes eumdem potum spiritalem biberunt (I Cor. X, 1 et seq.). 23. Nam quemadmodum typus sacramenti potuit esse sine operatione Spiritus sancti, cujus veritas omnis in Spiritu est? Quod et Apostolus docuit dicens: Sed abluti estis, sed sanctificati estis, sed justificati estis in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et in Spiritu Dei nostri (I Cor. VI, 11). 24. Vides igitur quia et Pater operatur in Filio, et Filius operatur in Spiritu. Et ideo secundum seriem Scripturarum noli dubitare in figura fuisse, quod in veritate esse ipsa etiam veritas declaravit. Quis enim operationem ejus abnuat in lavacro, in quo operationem ejus, septimus et gratiam? 25. [Alias cap. V.] Nam sicut sanctificat Pater, ita sanctificat et Filius, sanctificat et Spiritus sanctus. Sanctificat Pater, secundum quod scriptum est: Deus pacis sanctificet vos, ut integer spiritus vester, et anima et corpus sine querela in die Domini nostri Jesu Christi servetur (I Thess. V,

23). Et alibi Filius dicit: Pater, sanctifica eos in veritate (Joan. XVII, 17). 26. De Filio autem idem Apostolus dixit: Qui factus est nobis sapientia a Deo, et justitia, et sanctificatio, et redemptio (I Cor. I, 30). Vides quia factus est sanctificatio? Sed factus est nobis; non ut ille mutaret quod erat, sed ut nos sanctificaret in carne. 27. Spiritum quoque sanctum sanctificare Apostolus docet. Sic enim dicit: Gratias agere debemus Deo semper pro vobis, fratres dilectissimi a Domino; quia elegit vos Deus primitias in salutem, in sanctificatione Spiritus, et fide veritatis (II Thess. II, 12). 28. Ergo sanctificat Pater, sanctificat et Filius, sanctificat et Spiritus sanctus: sed una est sanctificatio, quia unum est baptisma, et una gratia sacramenti (Ephes. IV, 5).

CAPUT V.

COLLIGIT COEPTUM ARGUMENTUM, et unitatem per digitum atque dexteram significari inde confirmat, quod eadem opera Dei sint, quae sunt manuum; et quae manuum, eadem etiam sint digitorum: ac demum quod manus Filio et Spiritui perinde conveniat, ac Spiritui et Filio digitus.

29. [Alias cap. VI.] Sed quid mirum si sanctificat singulos ipse sanctificatione non indigens, sed redundans; quando tantam, ut dixi, majestatem ejus accepimus, ut tamquam digitus a corpore, ita a Deo Patre inseparabilis videatur Spiritus sanctus? 30. Quod si quis ad diminutionem, non ad unitatem potestatis putat esse referendum, is profecto in eam amentiam cadet, ut tamquam in unam velut corporis formam Patrem et 671 Filium et Spiritum sanctum videatur effingere, et distinctiones quasdam figurare membrorum. 31. Sed accipiant, ut saepius dixi, non inaequalitatem, sed unitatem potestatis hac testificatione signari; quandoquidem quae opera Dei sunt, eadem sint opera manuum, eadem etiam legerimus opera esse digitorum. Scriptum est enim: Coeli enarrant gloriam Dei, et opera manuum ejus annuntiat firmamentum (Psal. XVIII, 1); et alibi: Initio terram tu fundasti, Domine, et opera manuum tuarum sunt coeli (Psalm. CI, 26). Eadem igitur sunt opera manuum, quae sunt opera Dei. Non ergo aliqua pro membrorum corporalium qualitate discretio operationis, sed unitas potestatis est. 32. Quae autem opera sunt manuum, eadem opera digitorum; quia aeque scriptum est: Quoniam videbo coelos tuos, opera digitorum tuorum, lunam et stellas quas tu fundasti (Psal. VIII, 4). Quid hic igitur digiti minus quam manus fecisse produntur; cum idem fecerint digiti, quod manus; sicut scriptum est: Quoniam delectasti me, Domine, in factura tua,

et in operibus manuum tuarum delectabor (Psal. XCI, 5). 33. Et tamen quia manum legimus Filium (scriptum est enim: Nonne manus mea fecit haec omnia (Esai. LXVI, 2)? et alibi: Ponam te in foramine petrae, et protegam manum meam super te. Posui manum meam sub tegumento petrae (Exod. XXXIII, 22); quod ad incarnationis mysterium spectat, quia integumentum corporis virtus Dei sempiterna suscepit) utique liquet manus et de Filio Dei et de Spiritu sancto Scripturam locutam. 34. Et rursus quia digitum Dei Spiritum legimus (Luc. XI, 20), ideo appellatos digitos aestimamus, ut Filium Spiritumque signaret. Denique ut et Filii et Spiritus sanctificationem se habere memoraret, ait quidam sanctus: Manus tuae fecerunt me, et plasmaverunt me (Job. X, 8).

CAPUT VI.

SPIRITUM PERINDE AC Patrem et Filium arguere; immo vero judicare non posse judices absque ipso, ut Salomonis Danielisque judiciis, quae obiter paucis explicantur, ostenditur; neque alium Danieli aspirasse, quam Spiritum sanctum.

35. [Alias cap. VII.] Cur enim verborum similitudinem recusamus, ubi unitatem potestatis asserimus; cum eousque unitas potestatis sit, ut et arguat Spiritus, sicut arguit Pater, et arguit Filius? Sic enim scriptum est: Domine, ne ira tua arguas me, neque in furore tuo corripias me (Psalm. VI, 1). Deinde in quadragesimo nono psalmo sic dicit Dominus: Arguam te, et statuam ante faciem tuam peccata tua (Psal. XLIX, 21); ita etiam de Spiritu sancto Filius dixit: Cum autem abiero, mittam paraclitum ad vos: et ille veniens arguet mundum de peccato, et de justitia, et de judicio (Joan. XVI, 7, 8). 36. Sed quo nos perfidorum hominum deducit amentia, ut quasi de ambiguo quod Spiritus sanctus arguat, 672 videamur astruere; cum judices ipsi non queant nisi per Spiritum judicare? Denique nobile illud Salomonis judicium, quod inter dubia certantium; cum una, oppresso parvulo, quem ipsa susceperat, vindicare sibi vellet alienum, altera proprium filium defensaret; et fraudem in ipsis cogitationibus occultis, et pietatem in maternis visceribus deprehendit, utique per Spiritus sancti munus emicuit (III Reg. III, 16). Neque enim latentem conscientiam feminarum alia aliqua penetrasset nisi Spiritus sancti machaera, de qua ait Dominus: Non veni pacem mittere, sed machaeram (Matth. X, 34); quia non ferro, sed Spiritu mens interna penetrabilis: Est enim Spiritus intelligentiae sanctus, unicus, multiplex, subtilis, mobilis (Sap. VII, 22); et infra: Omnia prospiciens

(Ibid., 23). 37. Vide propheta quid dicat, quia omnia prospicit. Et ideo etiam Salomon prospexit, ut machaeram illam juberet afferri (III Reg. III, 24); quia simulato quod dividere vellet infantem, consideravit quod vera mater plus consuleret filio quam solatio; et gratiam juri, non gratiae jura praeferret. At vero illa quae matris simularet affectum, vincendi studio caeca, parvi duceret ejus exitium, in quo nesciret pietatis dispendium. Itaque vir ille spiritalis, qui dijudicaret omnia (Spiritalis enim (I Cor. II, 15) dijudicat omnia) naturam in affectibus quaesivit, quae latebat in vocibus: et pietatem interrogavit, ut proderet veritatem. Vicit itaque mater charitatis affectu, quae fructus est Spiritus. 38. Dijudicat in propheta, quia per Spiritum datur sermo sapientiae: quomodo ergo negatur quod arguere possit Spiritus sanctus mundum de judicio, qui judicii tollit ambiguum, largitur eventum? 39 et 40. Daniel quoque nisi accepisset Dei Spiritum, numquam potuisset deprehendere adulterium libidinis, mendacium fraudis. Nam cum Susanna presbyterorum conjurationibus appetita, inflexam populi mentem videret contemplatione seniorum; et omnibus destituta subsidiis, sola inter homines pudicitiae suae conscia Deum arbitrum precaretur: Exaudivit, inquit, Dominus vocem ejus, cum duceretur, ut periret: et excitavit Dominus Spiritum sanctum pueri adolescentis, cui nomen Daniel (Dan. XIII, 44, 45). Itaque secundum accepti Spiritus sancti gratiam vacillantia perfidorum testimonia deprehendit; neque enim alia nisi divinae fuit operatio potestatis, ut eos vox sua proderet, quorum latebat affectus.

41. Percipite igitur Spiritus sancti sacrum et coeleste miraculum. Illa quae maluit sibi casta esse, quam populo: illa quae maluit innocentiae subire periculum, quam pudoris: quae cum accusaretur, tacebat: cum damnaretur, silebat, conscientiae suae contenta judicio: quae reverentiam pudoris etiam in periculis reservabat; ne extorsisse petulantiam viderentur, qui extorquere non potuerant castitatem: ubi 673 Dominum invocavit, Spiritum meruit qui latentem presbyterorum conscientiam revelavit. 42.

Discant pudicae calumniam non timere. Nam quae castimoniam vitae praetulit, nec vitae dispendium pertulit, et gloriam retulit castitatis. Sic et Abraham quondam jussus adire peregrina, nec uxoriae periculo pudicitiae, nec mortis propositae terrore revocatus, et vitam suam, et castimoniam servavit uxoris. Nullum itaque Deo credidisse poenituit: et castitas devotionem cumulavit in Sara, et devotio castitatem. 43. Ac ne quis forte existimet, quia dicente Scriptura: Excitavit Deus Spiritum sanctum pueri adolescentis (Dan. IV, 21), spiritum in eo putet fuisse hominis, non Spiritum sanctum; legat in posterioribus, et inveniet quia Spiritum sanctum accepit Daniel, et ideo prophetavit. Denique et rex eum praetulit, quia habebat gratiam spiritalem. Sic enim dicit: Tu autem, Daniel, potes; quia Spiritus sanctus Dei in te est. Et infra Scriptura dicit: Et fuit Daniel praepositus illis; quoniam Spiritus erat superans in eo (Dan. VI, 3). Sed etiam Moysis Spiritus judicaturis divisus est (Num. XI, 25).

CAPUT VII.

FILIUM IPSUM NON judicare aut vindicare sine Spiritu; unde idem Spiritus Verbi gladius appellatur. Sed cum vicissim Verbum dicatur Spiritus gladius, summam in utroque potentiae unitatem inde cognosci.

44. Sed quid de caeteris loquamur? ipsum Dominum Jesum in Spiritu non solum judicare accepimus, sed etiam vindicare. Neque enim vindicaret in Antichristum, nisi ante de ejus meritis judicaret, quem (sicut legimus) Dominus Jesus interficiet Spiritu oris sui (II Thess. II, 8). [Alias cap. VIII]. Sed hic non acquisita gratia est, sed individua manet unitas; quia neque Christus sine Spiritu, neque Spiritus potest esse sine Christo. Non enim potest divinae naturae unitas separari.

45. Et quia in medium id venit exemplum quod Dominus Jesus interficiet Spiritu oris sui, gladius quidam Verbi Spiritus intelligitur (Ephes. VI, 17). Denique et in Evangelio dicit ipse Dominus Jesus: Non veni pacem mittere, sed gladium (Matth. X, 34). Venit enim ut Spiritum daret, ideoque et in ore ejus gladius bis acutus, utique gratia spiritalis (Apoc. XIX, 15). Spiritus ergo Verbi gladius est. 46. Et ut scias inaequalitatem non esse, sed unitatem naturae, Verbum quoque gladius est Spiritus sancti; scriptum est enim: Accipientes scutum fidei, in quo possitis omnia tela maligni ignita exstinguere, et galeam salutis assumite, et gladium Spiritus, quod est Verbum Dei (Ephes. VI, 16, 17). 47. Cum igitur Verbi gladius Spiritus sanctus sit, et Spiritus sancti gladius Verbum Dei sit; utique unitas est potentiae. 674

CAPUT VIII.

PRAEDICTAM UNITATEM EO probari, quod sicut Pater, ita etiam Filius contristari ac tentari legitur. Tentatum etiam Filium in deserto, ubi erecta fuit in aeneo serpente figura crucis: sed Spiritum quoque ibidem tentatum dici ab Apostolo. Hinc Israelitas ab eodem Spiritu directos in terram promissam, ipsique unam esse cum Patre et Filio voluntatem ac potentiam colligit Ambrosius.

48. [Alias cap. IX.] Quam unitatem licet etiam aliis Scripturarum locis considerare. Nam cum dicat Ezechiel ad populum Judaeorum: Et contristastis me in omnibus his, dicit Dominus (Ezech. XVI, 43); Paulus novo populo in epistola sua dicit: Nolite contristare Spiritum sanctum Dei, in quo signati estis (Ephes. IV, 30). Rursus cum Esaias dicat de ipsis Judaeis: Ipsi autem non crediderunt, sed exacerbaverunt Spiritum sanctum (Esai. LXIII, 10); David de Deo dicit: Et exacerbaverunt altissimum in siccitate, et tentaverunt Deum in cordibus suis (Psal. LXXVII, 17, 18). 49. Accipe etiam quia cum alibi dixerit Scriptura tentatum Spiritum, tentatum etiam Deum, eadem dicat et Christum esse tentatum; habes enim ad Corinthios Apostolum: Neque tentemus Christum, sicut quidam eorum tentaverunt, et a serpentibus perierunt (I Cor. X, 9). Justa vindicta, ut adversarii venena sentirent, qui non venerabantur auctorem. 50. Et bene Dominus, aereo serpente suspenso, jussit curari vulnera sauciorum (Num. XXI, 9); imago enim crucis aereus serpens est; nam etsi in carne sua suspensus est Christus, tamen in eo et ipse crucifixus est mundo, et ipsi crucifixus est mundus: Mihi enim, inquit, mundus crucifixus est, et ego mundo (Galat. VI, 14). Crucifixus est ergo in suis mundus illecebris; et ideo

non verus, sed aereus suspensus est serpens; quia in veritate quidem corporis, sed sine veritate peccati suscepit Dominus speciem peccatoris; ut per lubricum infirmitatis humanae simulando serpentem, depositis carnis exuviis, veri destrueret serpentis astutiam. Per crucem itaque Domini, quae in tentationis ultione subvenit, offensam in perfidis Trinitatis agnosco, qui medicinam Trinitatis accipio. 51. Ergo cum habeas in libro Moysi, quia Dominus tentatus serpentes immiserit populo Judaeorum (Num. XXI, 6), necesse est aut unitatem in majestate divina fatearis Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti: aut certe cum Spiritum dicat apostolica Scriptura tentatum, Domini nomine. Spiritum utique designavit. Tentatum autem Spiritum sanctum ad Hebraeos scribens apostolus dicit; sic enim habes: Quia haec dicit Spiritus sanctus: Hodie si vocem ejus audieritis, nolite obdurare corda vestra, sicut in irritatione secundum diem tentationis in deserto, ubi tentaverunt me patres vestri, probaverunt et viderunt opera mea. Quadraginta annis proximus fui generationi huic, et dixi: Semper isti errant corde; ipsi vero non cognoverunt vias meas, sicut juravi in ira mea, si introibunt in requiem meam (Hebr. III, 7 et seq.). 675 52. Ergo secundum Apostolum tentatus est Spiritus. Si et ipse tentatus est, et ipse utique in terram repromissionis Judaeorum populum dirigebat, sicut scriptum est: Quia adduxit eos per abyssum, sicut equum per desertum, et non laboraverunt, et sicut pecora per campum. Descendit Spiritus a Domino, et direxit eos (Esai. LXIII, 13, 14). Et ipse utique serenam coelestis alimoniae pluviam ministrabat, ipse quotidianam messem, quam terra non parturierat, agricola non severat, imbre fertili fecundabat. 53. Nunc spectemus singula. Requiem Judaeis promiserat Deus, eam requiem Spiritus suam dicit (Exod. XVI, 12). Tentatum se a perfidis Deus Pater memorat, tentatum ab iisdem se dicit et Spiritus; quia una tentatio est, qua tentata est a sacrilegis una divinitas Trinitatis. Condemnat Deus populum Judaeorum (Num. XIV, 8); ut in terram fluentem lac et mel, hoc est, ad resurrectionis requiem pervenire non

possit: eadem sententia condemnat et Spiritus dicens: Si introibunt in requiem meam (Psal. XCIV, 11). Unius ergo sententia voluntatis, unius excellentia potestatis est.

CAPUT IX.

SPIRITUM SANCTUM EXACERBARI confirmatur ex Petri verbis; ubi unum et idem esse Spiritum Dei, ac Spiritum Domini, cum ex aliis locis, tum e memorata ejusdem apostoli sententia in Ananiam ac Saphiram ostenditur: unde Spiritus sancti vel cum Patre ac Filio conjunctionem, vel propriam divinitatem evinci contenditur.

54. Fortasse tamen aliquis diceret hoc exemplum non posse ad proprietatem sancti Spiritus derivari, nisi alio loco etiam Petrus apostolus nos docuisset peccatis nostris etiam Spiritum posse tentari, sic enim habes ad Ananiae conjugem dictum: Quid utique convenit vobis tentare Spiritum Domini (Act. V, 9)? Etenim Domini Spiritus ipse est Dei Spiritus; quia unus sanctus est Spiritus, ut etiam Paulus apostolus docuit dicens: Vos autem in carne non estis, sed in Spiritu; si tamen Spiritus Dei habitat in vobis. Si quis autem Spiritum Christi non habet, hic non est ejus (Rom. VIII, 9). Praemisit Spiritum Dei, et statim subdidit eumdem esse Spiritum Christi. Et cum dixisset de Spiritu, ut intelligeremus quia ubi Spiritus sanctus, ibi Christus est, addidit: Si autem Christus in vobis (Ibid., 10). 55. Deinde quomodo hic intelligimus quia ubi Spiritus, ibi et Christus; ita etiam alibi ostendit quia ubi Christus, ibi etiam Spiritus sanctus sit. Nam cum dixisset: Numquid experimentum ejus quaeritis, qui in me loquitur Christus (II Cor. XIII, 3); alibi ait: Puto enim et ego Spiritum Dei habeo (I Cor. VII, 40). Inseparabilis ergo 676 est unitas, quia ubi aut Pater, aut Christus, aut Spiritus, Scriptura testificante, signatur; ibi omnis plenitudo est Trinitatis. 56. [Alias cap. X] Sed et ipse Petrus in eo, quod proposuimus, exemplo praemisit Spiritum sanctum, et postea dixit Spiritum Domini; sic enim habes: Anania, cur

implevit Satanas cor tuum ad mentiendum Spiritui sancto, ut fraudem faceres de pretio agri? Ita nonne manens tibi manebat, et venditus in tua erat potestate? Quare posuisti in corde tuo hoc scelus? Non es hominibus mentitus, sed Deo (Act. V, 3 et seq.). Et subter ad ejus uxorem ait: Quid utique convenit vobis tentare Spiritum Domini (Ibid., 9)? 57. Primum intelligimus quia Spiritum sanctum Spiritum Domini dixit. Deinde cum praemiserit Spiritum sanctum, et addiderit: Non es hominibus mentitus, sed Deo; necesse est in Spiritu sancto aut unitatem divinitatis intelligas; quoniam cum Spiritus tentatur, Deus fallitur: aut si unitatem divinitatis conaris excludere, secundum Scripturae verba ipse utique Spiritum Deum credis. 58. Si enim et de Spiritu expressum intelligimus et de Patre, in Deo utique Patre et Spiritu sancto veritatis et scientiae advertimus unitatem; quia similiter a sancto Spiritu sicut a Deo Patre mendacium deprehenditur. Quod si utrumque de Spiritu accipimus, cur quod legis, perfide, negare conaris? Aut igitur unitatem divinitatis Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, aut divinitatem sancti Spiritus confitere. Utrum dixeris, in Deo utrumque dixisti; quia et unitas divinitatem astruit, et divinitas unitatem.

CAPUT X.

SPIRITUS SANCTI DIVINITATEM astrui ex Joannis loco. Hunc quidem deletum fuisse ab haereticis, at inani conatu; cum inde facilius eorum perfidia convinci possit. Ut ostendatur hic idem locus esse de Spiritu, contextus series expenditur. Eum de Spiritu sancto nasci, qui renascitur de eodem Spiritu, de quo Christus ipse natus ac renatus creditur. Iterum ex duobus Joannis testimoniis colligitur Spiritus divinitas, ac demum quomodo Spiritus, aqua et sanguis testes dicantur, exponitur.

59. [Alias cap. XI.] Nec solum hoc loco evidenter sancti Spiritus θεότητα, hoc est, deitatem Scriptura testatur; sed etiam ipse Dominus dixit in Evangelio: Quoniam Deus Spiritus est (Joan. III, 6). Quem locum ita expresse, Ariani, testificamini esse de Spiritu; ut eum de vestris codicibus auferatis: atque utinam de vestris, et non etiam de Ecclesiae codicibus tolleretis! Eo enim tempore quo impiae infidelitatis Auxentius Mediolanensem 677 Ecclesiam armis exercituque occupaverat, vel a Valente atque Ursatio, nutantibus sacerdotibus suis, incursabatur Ecclesia Sirmiensis, falsum hoc, et sacrilegium vestrum in Ecclesiasticis codicibus deprehensum est. Et fortasse hoc etiam in Oriente fecistis. 60. Et litteras quidem potuistis abolere, sed fidem non potuistis auferre. Plus vos illa litura prodebat, plus vos illa litura damnabat; neque enim vos poteratis oblinire veritatem, sed illa litura de libro vitae nomina vestra radebat. Cur auferebatur: Quoniam Deus Spiritus est; si non pertinebat ad Spiritum? Si enim de Deo Patre vultis expressum, ergo et Deum Patrem negatis, qui putatis esse delendum. Utrum vultis, eligite: in utroque vos laqueus vestrae impietatis astringet, si gentiles vos esse fateamini vel Patrem Deum

negando, vel Spiritum. Tenetur igitur vestra confessio, qua delestis oraculum, dum formidatis exemplum. 61. Delestis quidem in pectoribus animisque vestris: caeterum divinum non deletur oraculum, non deletur Spiritus sanctus, sed aversatur impias mentes: non deletur gratia, sed iniquitas; quia scriptum est: Ego sum, ego sum, qui deleo iniquitates tuas (Esai. XLIII, 25). Denique Moyses pro populo petens: Dele, inquit, me de libro tuo, si non parcis huic populo (Exod. XXXII, 32). Nec tamen deletus est; quia non habebat iniquitatem, sed gratiam profluebat. 62. Vestra igitur estis confessione convicti, quod sapienter factum non potestis dicere, sed astute. Astute enim cognovistis loci istius vos attestatione convinci, nec argumenta vestra adversus id posse testimonium convenire. Quo enim possit alio intellectus loci istius derivari, cum series lectionis tota de Spiritu sit? 63. Nicodemus quaerit de regeneratione, respondet Dominus: Amen, amen dico tibi, nisi quis renatus fuerit per aquam et Spiritum, non potest introire in regnum Dei (Joan. III, 5). Et ut ostenderet aliam generationem secundum carnem esse, aliam secundum Spiritum, addidit: Quod natum est ex carne caro est; quia de carne natum est; et quod natum est de Spiritu, Spiritus est; quia Deus Spiritus est (Ibid., 6). Pro sequere ergo totam seriem lectionis, et invenies quod Dominus impietatem vestram plenitudine assertionis excluserit. Noli, inquit, mirari quia dixi: Oportet vos nasci denuo. Spiritus ubi vult spirat, et vocem ejus audis: sed nescis unde veniat, aut quo vadat; sic est omnis qui natus est de Spiritu (Ibid., VII, 8). 64. Quis est qui nascitur de Spiritu, et qui efficitur Spiritus, nisi qui renovatur Spiritu mentis suae? Hic est utique qui per aquam regeneratur 678 et Spiritum sanctum; quoniam per lavacrum regenerationis et renovationis Spiritus sancti spem vitae capimus aeternae. Et alibi Petrus apostolus ait: Vos autem Spiritu sancto baptizabimini (Act. XI, 16). Quis est autem qui baptizatur Spiritu sancto, nisi qui renascitur per aquam et Spiritum sanctum? Ergo de sancto Spiritu Dominus dixit: Amen, amen dico tibi, nisi quis renatus fuerit

per aquam et Spiritum, non potest introire in regnum Dei. Et ideo de ipso nasci nos in posterioribus definivit, per quem renasci nos in superioribus est locutus. Haec Dominica sententia est: scripto nitor, non argumento. 65. Quaero tamen cur si non dubitatur per Spiritum sanctum nos renasci, dubitetur de Spiritu sancto nos nasci; cum ipse Dominus Jesus de Spiritu sancto et natus sit et renatus? Quem si natum de Spiritu sancto confitemini (Matth. I, 20), quia non potestis negare: renatum autem (Matth. III, 16) negatis; magna insipientia, ut quod singulare Dei est, confiteamini: quod commune est hominum, denegetis. Et ideo bene vobis dicitur quod Judaeis dictum est: Si terrena vobis dixi, et non creditis; quomodo si dixero vobis coelestia credetis (Joan. III, 12)? 66. Sed tamen utrumque locum ita scriptum invenimus in Graeco, ut non per Spiritum dixerit, sed de Spiritu. Denique sic habet: Ἀμὴν, ἀμὴν, λέγω σοι, ἐὰν μή τις γεννήθη ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ Πνεύματος, hoc est, de aqua et Spiritu. Ergo cum dubitari non debeat de sancto scriptum esse Spiritu, quod natum est de Spiritu; non est dubium quin Deus sit et sanctus Spiritus, secundum quod scriptum est, quia Deus Spiritus est. 67. Alibi quoque ut hoc de sancto Spiritu scripsisse se idem evangelista reseraret: Per aquam, inquit, et Spiritum venit Christus Jesus, non solum in aqua sed per aquam et sanguinem. Et spiritus testimonium dicit, quoniam Spiritus est veritas; quia tres sunt testes, Spiritus, aqua, sanguis: et hi tres unum sunt (I Joan. V, 6 et seq.). 68. Audi quomodo testes: Spiritus mentem renovat, aqua proficit ad lavacrum, sanguis spectat ad pretium. Spiritus enim nos per adoptionem filios Dei fecit, sacri fontis unda nos abluit, sanguis Domini nos redemit. Alterum igitur invisibile, alterum visibile testimonium sacramento consequimur spiritali; quia Spiritus testimonium reddit spiritui nostro (Rom. VIII, 16). Etsi in utroque plenitudo sit sacramenti, distinctio tamen muneris est: ergo ubi distinctio est muneris, non est utique testificationis aequalitas. 679

CAPUT XI.

OBJICIEBATUR JOANNIS VERBA, nimirum, Spiritus est Deus, ad Deum Patrem referenda esse; quando postea Deum adorandum in Spiritu et veritate praedicit Christus. Respondetur primo voce spiritus interdum gratiam spiritalem significari: deinde si personam Spiritus sancti per voces in spiritu intelligendam velint, proptereaque ipsi deberi negent adorationem, ostenditur argumentum aeque pugnare in Filium: quem tamen cum adorandum innumera probent exempla, hinc de Spiritu quoque idem statuendum intelligitur. Quid adorari praecipitur scabellum pedum? Hoc designari Domini corpus, cujus cum auctor sit Spiritus, ipsum sequitur adorandum esse, nec tamen proinde Mariam adorandam. Non ergo abrogari Spiritus adorationem, sed ejus cum Patre conjunctionem exprimi, cum Pater in Spiritu dicitur adorandus: quod similibus locutionibus confirmatur.

69. [Alias cap. XII.] Sed fortasse referatur quia in posterioribus istius ipsius libri iterum Dominus Deum Spiritum dixit, sed de Patre Deo sensit. Sic enim habes in Evangelio: Nunc est quando veri adoratores adorabunt Patrem in Spiritu et veritate. Nam et Pater tales quaerit, qui adorent eum. Spiritus est Deus, et eos qui adorant eum, in Spiritu et veritate oportet adorare (Joan. IV, 23, 24). Non solum enim hoc exemplo divinitatem sanciti Spiritus vultis negare; sed etiam in Spiritu adorari Deum tamquam ad subjectionem Spiritus derivatis. 70. Cui loco respondebo breviter, quia spiritus plerumque ponitur pro gratia spiritali, sicut et Apostolus dixit: Quia ipse spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus (Rom. VIII, 26), hoc est, gratia spiritalis; nisi forte gemitus vos sancti Spiritus audire potuistis. Ergo et hic adoratur Deus, non in malitia cordis, sed in gratia

spiritali. In animam enim malevolamnon intrat sapientia (Sap. I, 4); quia nemo potest dicere Dominum Jesum, nisi in Spiritu sancto (I Cor. XII, 3). Statimque subdidit: Divisiones vero gratiarum sunt (Ibid., 4). 71. Non igitur hoc ad plenitudinem, nec ad portionem Spiritus potest pertinere, quia neque humana mens ejus plenitudinem capit, neque in ullas sui dividitur sectiones: sed donum gratiae spiritalis infundit, in quo adoratur Deus, sicut adoratur etiam in veritate; non enim adorat, nisi qui veritatem divinitatis ejus pio haurit affectu. Nec utique velut personaliter Christum, aut sanctum personaliter Spiritum comprehendit. 72. Aut si putas quod velut personaliter dictum de Spiritu videatur et de Christo: ergo Deus similiter adoratur in veritate, sicut adoratur in Spiritu. Aut similis igitur subjectio, quod absit ut credas; et nec Filius adoratur: aut, quod verum est, similis unitatis est gratia, et Spiritus adoratur. 680 73. Colligamus hic ergo et concludamus Arianorum impias quaestiones. Si enim ideo negant adorandum Spiritum, quia Deus adoratur in Spiritu; negent ergo adorandam veritatem, quia Deus adoratur in veritate. Nam licet plurimae veritates sint, quia scriptum est: Diminutae sunt veritates a filiis hominum (Psal. XI, 1); donatae tamen sunt a veritate divina, quae est Christus qui ait: Ego sum via, veritas et vita (Joan. XIV, 6). Ergo si hoc loco veritatem ex usu intelligunt, intelligant etiam gratiam spiritalem, et nihil est offensionis: aut si veritatem Christum accipiunt, adorandum negent. 74. Sed refelluntur factis piorum, serie Scripturarum. Adoravit enim Christum Maria, et ideo praenuntia resurrectionis ad apostolos destinatur, solvens haereditarium nexum, et feminei generis immane delictum. Hoc enim operatus est in mysterio Dominus; ut ubi superabundaverat peccatum, superabundaret et gratia (Rom. V, 20). Meritoque ad viros femina destinatur; ut quae culpam viro prima nuntiaverat, prima Domini gratiam nuntiaret. 75. Adoraverunt et apostoli (Matth. XXVIII, 17); et ideo quia detulerunt fidei testimonium, acceperunt fidei magisterium. Adoraverunt et angeli, de quibus scriptum

est: Et adorent eum omnes angeli ejus (Hebr. I, 6). 76. Adorant autem non solum divinitatem ejus, sed etiam scabellum pedum ejus, sicut scriptum est: Et adorate scabellum pedum ejus; quoniam sanctum est (Psal. XCVIII, 5). Aut si negant quia in Christo etiam incarnationis adoranda mysteria sint, in quibus velut vestigia quaedam divinitatis expressa, et vias quasdam Verbi coelestis advertimus; legant quia et apostoli adorabant eum in carnis gloria resurgentem (Matth. XXVIII, 17). 77. Ergo si nihil derogat Christo, quod Deus adoratur in Christo; quia adoratur et Christus: nihil utique derogat etiam Spiritui, quia Deus adoratur in Spiritu; quia adoratur et Spiritus, sicut Apostolus dixit: Spiritui Dei servimus (Philip. III, 3). Qui enim servit, et adorat, sicut supra dictum est: Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et illi soli servies (Deut. VI, 13). 78. Sed ne forte propositum aliquis praeterfugere videatur exemplum, qua ratione ad incarnationis Dominicae sacramentum spectare videatur, quod ait Propheta: Adorate scabellum pedum ejus (Ps. XCVIII, 5), consideremus; non enim ex usu hominum aestimare debemus scabellum. Nam neque corporalis Deus, aut non immensus; ut tamquam fulcrum pedibus ejus scabellum subjectum putemus. Neque adorandum quidquam praeter Deum legimus; quia scriptum est: Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et ipsi soli servies (Deut. VI, 13). Quomodo ergo adversus Legem Propheta praeciperet, sub Lege nutritus, et eruditus in Lege. Non mediocris igitur quaestio, et ideo diligentius consideremus quid sit scabellum. Legimus enim alibi: Coelum mihi thronus, terra autem scabellum pedum meorum (Esa. LXVI, 1). Sed nec terra adoranda 681 est nobis, quia creatura est Dei. 79. Videamus tamen ne terram illam dicat adorandam Propheta, quam Dominus Jesus in carnis assumptione suscepit. Itaque per scabellum terra intelligitur: per terram autem caro Christi, quam hodieque in mysteriis adoramus, et quam apostoli in Domino Jesu, ut supra diximus, adorarunt; neque enim divisus est Christus, sed unus (I Cor. I, 13): neque cum adoratur tamquam Dei Filius, natus ex Virgine denegatur. Cum igitur incarnationis

adorandum sit sacramentum, incarnatio autem opus Spiritus, sicut scriptum est: Spiritus sanctus superveniet in te, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi; et quod nascetur ex te sanctum, vocabitur Filius Dei (Luc. I, 35): haud dubie etiam sanctus Spiritus adorandus est; quando adoratur ille, qui secundum carnem natus ex Spiritu sancto est. 80. Ac ne quis hoc derivet ad Mariam virginem: Maria erat templum Dei, non Deus templi. Et ideo ille solus adorandus, qui operabatur in templo. 81. Nihil ergo officit, quod Deus adoratur in Spiritu; quia et Spiritus adoratur. Quamquam si ipsa verba consideremus, quid aliud in Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto, nisi ejusdem potestatis unitatem intelligere debemus? Quid est enim: In Spiritu et veritate adorare oportet (Joan. IV, 24)? si tamen hoc non ad gratiam spiritalem referas, nec ad veram conscientiae fidem: sed, ut diximus, personaliter (si tamen dignum hoc verbum est majestatis expressione divinae) de Christo accipias et de Spiritu. 82. Quid est ergo adoratur in Christo Pater, nisi quia est in Christo Pater, et loquitur in Christo Pater, et manet in Christo Pater? Non utique quasi corpus in corpore; non enim Deus corpus: nec quasi confusus in confuso; sed quasi verus in vero, Deus in Deo, lumen in lumine, quasi Pater sempiternus in Filio coaeterno. Non ergo insertio corporis intelligitur, sed unitas potestatis. Ergo per unitatem potestatis coadoratur in Patre Christus, cum Deus Pater 682 adoratur in Christo. Similiter itaque per unitatem potestatis ejusdem coadoratur in Deo Spiritus, dum Deus adoratur in Spiritu. 83. Adhuc verbi istius vim atque sermonis diligentius pertractemus, et proprietatem ejus ex aliis colligamus: Omnia, inquit, in Sapientia fecisti (Ps. CIII, 24). Quid hic igitur intelligimus exsortem factorum esse Sapientiam? Sed omnia per ipsum facta sunt (Joan. I, 3). Et David ait: Verbo Domini coeli firmati sunt (Psal. XXXII, 6) Ergo ipse qui Dei Filium etiam coelestium dicit auctorem, ita utique dixit in Filio facta omnia, ut in operum instauratione Filium a Patre minime separaret, sed Patri jungeret. 84. Paulus quoque ait: Quoniam in ipso condita sunt omnia

in coelis et in terra, visibilia et invisibilia (Coloss. I, 16). Numquid cum dicit, in ipso, negavit per ipsum? Non negavit utique, sed asseruit. Denique et alibi dixit: Unus Dominus Jesus, per quem omnia (I Cor. VIII, 6). Ergo cum dicit, per ipsum, negavit in ipso condita esse omnia, per quem dicit esse omnia? Hanc vim habent verba haec: In ipso, et cum ipso (Coloss. I, 16); ut unum in his atque consimile, non contrarium intelligatur. Quod etiam in inferioribus manifestavit dicens: Omnia per ipsum, et in ipso creata sunt (Ibid.); haec enim tria in Christo unum esse: cum ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso, sicut supra diximus (Lib. II, ca, 9), Scriptura testatur. Habes enim per ipsum et in ipso condita esse omnia. 85. Accipe etiam quia cum ipso Pater, et ipse cum Patre erat; cum omnia conderentur. Sapientia dicit: Cum pararet coelos, cum illo eram; cum faceret fontes aquarum (Prov. VIII, 27). Et in veteri Testamento dicendo Pater, Faciamus (Gen. I, 26), ostendit Filium secum adorandum, quasi omnium conditorem. Sicut ergo in Filio creata dicuntur, quorum Filius creator accipitur; ita etiam cum in veritate adorari Deus dicitur, verbi ipsius proprietate in eumdem modum frequenter expressa debet intelligi, quod et Filius adoretur. Similiter itaque adoratur et Spiritus; quia Deus adoratur in Spiritu. Ergo Pater et cum Filio adoratur, et cum Spiritu, quia Trinitas adoratur. 683

CAPUT XII.

EX EO QUOD in Trinitate divinitatis lucem, quam in Christo tres apostoli adoraverunt, inesse Paulus significaverit, adorandus etiam Spiritus declaratur. Ostenditur ex ipsis verbis Spiritum designatum ab Apostolo. Ejusdem Spiritus divinitas inde probatur, quod templum habeat, in quo non ut sacerdos habitet, sed ut Deus: nec non cum Patre ac Filio adoretur; unde in iisdem naturae unitas intelligitur.

86. An vero negat aliquis adorandam divinitatem Trinitatis aeternae? cum et Scripturae divinae inexplicabilem majestatem exprimant Trinitatis, sicut alibi Apostolus dicit: Quoniam Deus, qui dixit de tenebris lumen splendescere, illuxit in cordibus nostris ad illuminationem scientiae claritatis Dei in facie Jesu Christi (II Cor. IV, 6). 87. Nempe hanc claritatem viderunt apostoli, cum Dominus Jesus divinitatis suae luce in monte fulgeret: Viderunt, inquit, apostoli, et in faciem prociderunt (Matth. XVII, 6). Putasne illos vel cum prociderent, adorasse; cum fulgorem divini luminis corporalibus oculis sustinere non possent, et splendor lucis aeternae aciem visus mortalis obduceret? Aut quid aliud tunc temporis dixerunt illi videntes gloriam ejus, nisi: Venite adoremus, et procidamus ante eum (Psal. XCIV, 6)? [Alias cap. XIII.] Illuxit enim Deus in cordibus nostris ad illuminationem scientiae claritatis Dei in facie Jesu Christi (II Cor. IV, 6). 88. Quis est ergo qui illuxit, ut cognoscamus Deum in facie Christi Jesu? Dixit enim, Illuxit Deus, ut cognoscatur claritas Dei in facie Christi Jesu: quem putamus alium praeter Spiritum declaratum? Aut quis est alius praeter Spiritum sanctum, cui divinitatis potentia deferatur? Qui enim Spiritum excludunt, necesse est inducant alium, qui cum Patre et Filio gloriam

divinitatis accipiat. 89. Eadem igitur verba repetamus: Deus est qui illuxit ad illuminationem claritatis Dei in facie Jesu Christi. Habes Christum evidenter expressum. Cujus ergo claritas illuminare dicitur, nisi Spiritus? Ipsum ergo Deum expressit, quia claritatem Dei dixit: si Patris, superest ut qui dixit de tenebris lumen splendescere, et illuxit in cordibus nostris, Spiritus sanctus intelligatur; alium enim non possumus cum Patre Filioque venerari. Si igitur Spiritum intelligis, et hunc Apostolus Deum dixit; necesse est igitur deitatem Spiritus etiam vos fateamini, qui negatis. 90. Sed quam impudenter negatis, cum legeritis quia templum habet Spiritus sanctus! Scriptum est enim: Templum Dei vos estis, et Spiritus sanctus habitat in vobis (I Cor. III, 16). Deus ergo templum habet, creatura templum non habet verum. Spiritus autem habet templum, qui habitat in nobis. Nam scriptum est: Quia membra vestra templum sunt Spiritus sancti (I Cor. VI, 15). 91. In templo autem non quasi sacerdos, nec quasi minister, sed quasi Deus inhabitat; quoniam ipse Dominus dixit Jesus: Inhabitabo in illis, et inter eos ambulabo; et ero illorum Deus, 684 et ipsi erunt mihi populus (Levit. XXVI, 12). Et David dicit: Dominus in templo sancto suo (Psal. X, 5). Ergo Spiritus habitat in templo sancto suo, sicut habitat Pater, habitat et Filius, qui ait: Ego et Pater veniemus, et mansionem apud eum faciemus (Joan. XIV, 23). 91*. Advertimus igitur quod Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus in uno eodemque per naturae ejusdem maneant unitatem. Ergo divinae est potestatis, qui habitat in templo; sicut enim Patris et Filii, ita et Spiritus sancti sumus templum: non multa templa, sed unum templum; quia unius templum est potestatis.

92. Manet autem in nobis Pater per Spiritum, quem dedit nobis. Quomodo igitur potest simul dispar manere natura? Utique non potest. Manet autem cum Patre et Filio Spiritus sanctus. Unde et Apostolus cum gratia Jesu Christi et charitate Dei communicationem sancti Spiritus

copulavit dicens: Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et charitas Dei, et communicatio Spiritus sancti cum omnibus vobis (II Cor. XIII, 13).

CAPUT XIII.

OBJICIENTIBUS CATHOLICOS, DUM Spiritui attribuunt divinitatem, tres deos inducere, retorquetur ab ipsis ob eamdem causam induci duos deos, nisi divinitatem Filio negaverint. Deinde orthodoxa doctrina exponitur.

92*. [Alias cap. XIV.] Sed quid veremini, an illud quod oblatrare consuestis, ne tres faciatis deos? Absit; ubi enim una deitas intelligitur, unus Deus dicitur. Neque enim cum Filium Deum dicimus, duos deos dicimus. Nam si cum deitatem Spiritus confitemini, putatis tres deos dici: ergo et cum deitatem Filii dicitis, quia non potestis eam negare, duos inducitis deos. Necesse est igitur juxta sententiam vestram, si Deum personae unius, non unius naturae nomen putatis, aut duos deos dicatis, aut Deum Filium denegetis.

93. Sed excusemus vos ab inscientia, etsi non excusamus a culpa. Etenim secundum nostram sententiam quia unus Deus, una divinitas, et unitas intelligitur potestatis. Sicut unum Deum dicimus, et Patrem vero deitatis nomine confitentes, nec Filium denegantes; ita etiam Spiritum sanctum a deitatis non excludimus unitate, et tres deos non asserimus, sed negamus; quia pluralitatem non unitas facit, sed divisio potestatis. Quomodo enim pluralitatem recipit unitas divinitatis; cum pluralitas numeri sit, numerum autem non recipiat divina natura?

CAPUT XIV.

PRAETER SUPERIORA TESTIMONIA, alios locos ad probandum trium personarum imperium afferri posse. Afferuntur duo ex epistolis ad Thessalon. et iisdem Spiritui dominatum sicut et aliis personis arrogari, aliorum Scripturae textuum collatione ostenditur. Demum citato alio ex altera ad Corinth. adhuc expressiore loco, et Dominum Spiritum esse, et ubi sit Dominus, Spiritum esse colligitur.

94, [Alias cap. XV.] Unus ergo Deus, salva majestate Trinitatis aeternae, sicut proposito 685 declaratur exemplo. Nec eo tamen solo loco Trinitatem videmus nomine divinitatis expressam, sed cum plerisque locis, sicut et supra diximus, tum maxime in his epistolis quas ad Thessalonicenses Apostolus scripsit, divinitatem atque dominatum Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti evidentissime declaravit. Sic enim habes: Vos autem Dominus multiplicet, et abundare faciat in charitate invicem et in omnes, sicut et nos in vobis, ad confirmanda corda vestra sine querela in sanctificatione coram Deo et Patre nostro in adventu Domini Jesu (I Thess. III, 12, 13).

95. Quis est igitur Dominus, qui multiplicet nos, et abundare faciat coram Deo et Patre nostro in adventu Domini Jesu? Patrem dixit, et Filium dixit: quem ergo cum Patre et Filio praeter Spiritum junxit? Quis est Dominus qui corda nostra in sanctificatione confirmet? Sanctificatio enim gratia spiritalis est, sicut et infra dixit: In sanctificatione Spiritus, et fide veritatis (II Thess. II, 12). 96. Quem putatis ergo hic Dominum, praeter Spiritum nuncupatum? Nec Deus Pater docere vos potuit, qui ait: Super quem videris Spiritum descendentem et manentem super eum, hic est qui baptizat in Spiritu sancto (Joan. I, 33)? Descendit enim Spiritus in specie

columbae (Luc. III, 22); ut et sapientiae testimonium ferret, et sacramentum lavacri spiritalis impleret, et unius se cum Patre et Filio operationis ostenderet. 97. Ac ne per imprudentiam aliquid excidisse Apostolo judicetis, sed scientem prudentemque et sancto infusum Spiritu significasse Dominum, quem Deum sentiebat, etiam in secunda ad Thessalonicenses epistola hoc idem repetivit dicens: Dominus autem dirigat corda vestra in dilectione Dei, et patientia Christi (II Thess. III, 5). Si dilectio Dei est, et Christi patientia, quis est dominus qui dirigat, debet ostendi, si directionem sancti Spiritus denegamus. 98. Sed negare non possumus, quoniam de ipso Dominus dixit: Adhuc multa habeo vobis dicere, sed non potestis illa portare modo. Cum autem venerit ille Spiritus veritatis, deducet vos in omnem veritatem (Joan. XVI, 12, 13). Et David de ipso dicit: Spiritus tuus bonus deducet me in viam rectam (Psal. CXLII, 10). 99. [Alias cap. XVI.] Vide quid de Spiritu sancto vox Dominica resultaverit. Filius Dei venit, et quia nondum infuderat Spiritum, parvulos quosdam nos degere sine Spiritu declaravit. Spiritum dixit esse venturum, qui faceret ex parvulis fortiores, incremento videlicet spiritalis aetatis. Quod ideo posuit, non quo virtutem Spiritus anteferret, sed ut in cognitione Trinitatis ostenderet plenitudinem esse virtutis. 100. Necesse est igitur aut quartum aliquem dicatis, quem sentire praeter Spiritum debeatis: aut certe non alium Dominum judicetis, nisi Spiritum designatum. 101. Quod si evidentem conceptionem verborum exigitis, quibus Dominum Spiritum Scriptura memoraverit, nec id latere vos potuit; 686 quia scriptum est: Dominus autem Spiritus est (II Cor. III, 17). Quod utique dictum de Spiritu sancto totius series lectionis ostendit. Et ideo Apostolica consideremus eloquia: Quoties legitur Moyses, inquit, velamen positum est super cor eorum: cum vero conversi fuerint ad Dominum, auferetur velamen. Dominus autem Spiritus est: ubi autem Spiritus Domini, ibi libertas (Ibid., XV, 16). 102. Non solum itaque Spiritum dominum dixit, sed etiam addidit: Ubi autem Spiritus Domini, ibi libertas. Nos itaque

omnes revelata facie gloriam Domini speculantes, ad eamdem imaginem reformamur a gloria in gloriam, sicut a Domini Spiritu (Ibid., 18), hoc est, qui ad Dominum sumus ante conversi, ut spiritali intellectu quasi in quodam speculo Scripturarum Domini gloriam videremus, nunc ab hac gloria quae nos convertit ad Dominum, in illam coelestem gloriam reformamur. Ergo cum Dominus sit ad quem convertimur, Dominus autem Spiritus sit a quo reformamur, qui conversi ad Dominum sumus, Dominus utique Spiritus sanctus est designatus; ipse enim conversos suscipit, qui reformat. Nam quomodo quos non susceperat, reformaret? 103. Quamquam quid expressionem quaerimus vocis, ubi expressionem cernimus unitatis? Nam etsi Dominum Spiritumque distinguas; negare tamen non potes quia ubi Dominus, ibi et Spiritus: et qui fuerit conversus ad Dominum, erit conversus ad Spiritum. Si litteram calumniaris, unitatem non inficiaris: si unitatem vis secernere, potestatis Dominum ipsum Spiritum confiteris.

CAPUT XV.

ETSI SPIRITUS DOMINUS appelletur, tres tamen Dominos hinc non induci; cum ex eo quod Filius non secus ac Pater in variis Scripturae locis Dominus appellatur, non inducantur duo Domini: dominationem enim in divinitate esse, et in dominatione divinitatem, quae tribus personis indivisim congruant.

104. [Alias cap. XVII.] Sed fortassis iterum dicas: Si Dominum Spiritum dixero, tres Dominos declarabo. Numquid cum Dominum Filium dicis, aut Filium negas, aut duos Dominos confiteris? Absit; ipse enim Filius dixit: Nolite duobus dominis servire (Matth. VI, 24). Sed non utique aut se aut Patrem Dominum denegavit; nam et Patrem Dominum dixit, sicut habes: Confiteor tibi, Pater, Domine coeli et terrae (Matth. XI, 25). Et se memoravit Dominum, sicut in Evangelio legimus: Vocatis me Dominum et magistrum, et bene facitis; sum etenim (Joan. XIII, 13). Sed non duos Dominos dixit; immo ostendit se non duos Dominos dixisse, cum praemonet: Nolite duobus dominis servire. Non sunt enim duo domini, ubi dominatus unus est; quia Pater in Filio, et Filius in Patre; et ideo Dominus unus. 105. Sic et Lex docuit: Audi, Israel, Dominus Deus tuus Dominus unus est (Deut. VI, 4): hoc est, immutabilis, 687 semper in unitate permanens potestatis, semper idem, nulla accessione, nulla diminutione mutatur. Ergo unum dixit Moyses, et idem tamen Dominum a Domino pluisse memoravit (Gen. XIX, 14). Apostolus quoque: Det, inquit, Dominus misericordiam invenire a Domino (II Tim. I, 18). Dominus pluit a Domino, Dominus dat a Domino misericordiam: Dominus nec ibi discernitur, ubi pluit a Domino; nec hic separatur, ubi miseretur a Domino, sed utroque in

loco unitas dominationis exprimitur. 106. In psalmis quoque habes: Dixit Dominus Domino meo (Psal. CIX, 1). Nec ideo Patrem suum Dominum denegavit, quia Filium Dominum suum esse memoravit: sed ideo Filium Dominum suum dixit, ne crederes Filium prophetae fuisse, sed Dominum: quod in Evangelio ipse Dominus manifestavit dicens: Si enim David in spiritu vocat eum Dominum, quomodo Filius ejus est (Matth. XXII, 43)? In spiritu dicit David Dominum, non Spiritus dicit. Aut si hinc calumniantur, quia Dominum Spiritus dixit, necesse est pari sacrilegio Filium Dei etiam Spritus sancti Filium videantur asserere. 107. Ergo quemadmodum duos non dicimus Dominos, cum et Patrem et Filium designamus; ita nec tres Dominos dicimus, cum dominum Spiritum confitemur. Sicut enim sacrilegium est tres Dominos aut Deos dicere, ita etiam hoc plenum sacrilegii est duos Dominos aut Deos dicere; quia unus Deus, unus Dominus, unus est Spiritus sanctus: et qui Deus, Dominus: et qui Dominus, Deus: quia et in dominatione divinitas, et in divinitate dominatus est. 108. Denique et Dominum et Deum legisti Patrem: Domine Deus meus, clamabo ad te, exaudi me (Psal. CXL, 1). Et Dominum et Deum habes Filium, sicut in Evangelio legisti, quia cum tetigisset Thomas latus Christi, ait: Dominus meus et Deus meus (Joan. XX, 28). Ergo sicut Pater Deus, et Filius Dominus: ita et Filius Deus, et Pater Dominus. Alternatur pia significatio, non alternatur divina natura, sed immutabilis manet gratia. Non enim largitatis collativa, sed naturalis placita charitatis sunt, quia et unitas proprietatem habet, et proprietas unitatem. 688

CAPUT XVI.

PATREM SANCTUM ESSE, ac similiter Filium et Spiritum, atque hinc trisagio eodem celebrari: nec posse a nobis Deum praedicari dignius, quam si eumdem sanctum dicamus; unde clarum fit Spiritui sancto non derogandum. Eidem inesse omnia quae Dei sunt, cum in baptismate una cum Patre et Filio nominetur, eique Pater dederit quod majus omnibus est, nec quisquam ipsi valeat eripere. Igitur e loco Joannis unde calumniam conflabant haeretici, Trinitatis aequalitatem unitatemque astrui deitatis. Tandem ubi expositum est quo pacto Filius a Patre accipiat, quemadmodum citato loco jugulentur varii haeretici, aperitur.

109. (Alias cap. XVIII.) Ergo sanctus Pater, sanctus Filius, sanctus et Spiritus: sed non tres sancti; quia unus est Deus sanctus, unus est Dominus. Una est enim vera sanctitas, sicut una est vera divinitas, una illa vera sanctitas naturalis. 110. Ideo omnia haec quae sancta nos credimus, illam solam praedicant sanctitatem. Cherubim et Seraphim indefessis vocibus laudant et dicunt: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth (Esai. VI, 3). Non semel dicunt, i.e singularitatem credas: non bis dicunt, ne Spiritum excludas: non sanctos dicunt, ne pluralitatem aestimes: sed ter repetunt, et idem dicunt, ut etiam in hymno distinctionem Trinitatis, et divinitatis intelligas unitatem: hoc cum dicunt, Deum praedicant. 111. Nos quoque nihil pretiosius invenimus quo Deum praedicare possimus, nisi ut sanctum appellemus. Quodlibet aliud inferius Deo, inferius est Domino. Ergo hinc quoque considerate utrum aliquid sancto Spiritui derogandum sit, cujus nomen Dei laus est. Sic enim laudatur Pater, sic laudatur et Filius, quemadmodum et Spiritus nominatur et laudatur. Seraphim laudat, omnis

beatorum chorus laudat, ut sanctum Deum dicat, sanctum Filium, sanctum Spiritum. 112. Quomodo igitur non omnia habet quae Dei sunt, qui cum Patre et Filio a sacerdotibus in baptismate nominatur et in oblationibus invocatur cum Patre et Filio a Seraphim in coelestibus praedicatur cum Patre et Filio habitat in sanctis, infunditur justis, inspiratur prophetis. Unde et in Scriptura divina θεόπνευστος omnis ex hoc dicitur, quod Deus inspiret quae locutus est Spiritus (II Tim. III, 16). 113. Aut si nolunt omnia habere quae Dei sunt, et posse omnia Spiritum sanctum, dicant quid non habeat, quidve non possit. Nam sicut omnia habet Filius, nec invidet Pater quominus omnia naturaliter det Filio, qui dedit 689 quod majus est omnibus, quemadmodum Scriptura testatur dicens: Pater quod dedit mihi, majus est omnibus (Joan. X, 29); ita etiam Spiritus Christi habet, quod majus est omnibus, quia justitia nescit invidiam. 114. Itaque si diligenter advertamus, etiam hic divinae potestatis comprehendimus unitatem. Pater, inquit, quod dedit mihi majus omnibus est: et nemo potest rapere ea de manu Patris mei. Ego et Pater unum sumus (Ib. 30). Nam si recte supra ostendimus (Lib. III, ca) manum Dei esse Spiritum sanctum, eadem utique manus Patris est, quae Filii est manus; quoniam idem Spiritus Patris, qui Spiritus Filii est. Ideo sicut non rapitur Patri, ita non rapitur Filio, ita non rapitur et Spiritui, quicumque de nobis in hoc nomine Trinitatis vitam accepit aeternam. 115. Ex ipso autem quod et dedisse Filio Pater, et accepisse a Filio Spiritus dicitur; quia scriptum est (Joan. XVI, 14): Ille me clarificabit, quia de meo accipiet, et annuntiabit vobis (quod de munere magis dispensationis videtur, quam de potestatis divinae jure dixisse, quia quos Filius redemit, Spiritus quoque sanctificaturus accepit); ex istis ipsis, inquam, verbis, de quibus calumniam instruunt, unitas divinitatis advertitur, non indigentia largitatis. 116. Dedit Pater per generationem, non per adoptionem: dedit quasi id quod esset in ipso divinae jure naturae, non quasi liberalitatis gratia, quod deesset. Et ideo quia sic acquisit Filius

populos ut Pater, sic vivificat Filius ut Pater, aequalitatem suam ad Patrem unitate potestatis expressit dicens: Ego et Pater unum sumus. Cum enim dicit: Ego et Pater, revelatur aequalitas: cum dicit: Unum sumus, unitas declaratur. Aequalitas confusionem excludit, unitas separationem: aequalitas Patrem Filiumque distinguit, unitas Patrem Filiumque non separat. 117. Ergo cum dicit, Ego et Pater, Sabellianum repellit; quia alium se, alium Patrem dixit: repellit Photinianum, quia se cum Deo Patre junxit. Illos superioribus repellit, quia dixit, Ego et Pater: inferioribus Arianos, quia dicit: Unum sumus; tamen et in superioribus et in inferioribus haereticam jugulat saevitatem Sabellianorum; quia unum dixit sumus, non unus sumus: Arianorum; quia ego et Pater, non Pater et ego dixit. Quod utique non contumaciae, sed pietatis et praescientiae fuit; ne nos errorem in ordine putaremus. Nescit enim unitas ordinem, gradum nescit aequalitas: nec cadit in Dei Filium, ut per contumaciam pietatem laederet magister ipse pietatis. 690

CAPUT XVII.

UBI AD INTELLIGENTIAM verborum Domini loca, in quibus verba illa dicta fuerint, juvare exemplis ostendit Ambrosius, Christum sententiam ex Joanne citatam locutum esse in porticu Salomonis, per quam sapientis anima significatur, docet; eum enim haec in corde stulti aut turbulenti negat fuisse prolaturum, et quamobrem. Addit ab iis qui fidem non habeant iisdem verbis, Christum lapidari: et quemadmodum Petro, quod illa sit confessus, claves coeli datae fuerunt; ita Iscariotem, quod haec ipsa non crediderit, male periisse. Per hanc occasionem in Judaeos, qui Dei Filium emerunt, ac vendiderunt Josephum, invehitur. Mystice utriusque pretia edisserit; ac murmure proditoris de unguento Magdalenae eadem ratione exposito, subjicit alio modo Christum emi ab haereticis, alio a catholicis, illosque nequicquam sibi nomen usurpare christianorum, si Spiritum a Patre diviserint.

118. Refert itaque advertere quo loci haec Dominus disputaverit; frequenter enim ejus oracula ex locorum in quibus diversatus est, qualitatibus aestimantur. Jejunaturus, ab Spiritu, sicut legimus (Matth. IV, 1), ducitur in desertum, ut evacuaret diaboli tentamenta. Nam etsi in abundantia copiarum contineater vixisse laudandum est; tamen in divitiis et amoenitatibus frequentior tentationis illecebra est. Denique tentator ut tentet, copias pollicetar: et Dominus ut vincat, famem nutrit. Nec ego diffiteor in divitiis esse posse continentiam: sed etsi qui mare navigat, frequenter evadit; magis tamen obnoxius est periculo, quam qui navigare noluerit.

119. Videamus caetera. Promissurus regnum coelorum Jesus montem ascendit (Matth. V, 1). Alibi per sata ducit discipulos (Matth. XII, 1), seminaturus in eorum affectibus coelestium segetem praeceptorum; ut messis animorum fecunda flavesceret. Consummaturus susceptae carnis officia, cum perfectionem in discipulis jam videret, quos verborum suorum radice fundaverat, hortum ingreditur (Joan. XVIII, 1), ut olearum novellas in domo Domini plantaret, et justum palmae florentem modo, vitemque fecundam rivo sui sanguinis irrigaret (Psal. CXXVII, 3). 120. Hoc quoque loco in porticu Salomonis deambulabat dedicationis, ut legimus (Joan. X, 23), die, hoc est, in pectore sapientis atque pacifici deambulabat Christus, ejus sibi dedicaturus affectum. Quae ista porticus sit, docet Propheta dicens: Deambulabam in innocentia cordis mei in medio domus tuae (Psal. C, 2). Habemus ergo in nobis domum Dei, habemus atria, habemus et porticus, habemus et plateas; quia scriptum est: Inque plateis tuis superfluant aquae tuae (Prov. V, 16). Dilata ergo hanc porticum tui cordis Dei Verbo, quod tibi dicit: Dilata os tuum et adimplebo illud (Psal. LX, 11). 121. Ergo deambulans in corde sapientis 691 atque pacifici Dei Verbum, audiamus quid loquatur: Ego et Pater unum sumus (Joan. X, 30). Non dicet hoc in pectore perturbatoris et stulti; quia Animalis homo non percipit quae sunt Spiritus Dei; stultitia enim illi est (I Cor. II, 14). Non capiunt fidei magnitudinem angusta impiorum pectora. Denique Judaei audientes: Ego et Pater unum sumus; tulerunt lapides, ut lapidarent eum (Joan. X, 31). 122. Qui hoc audire non potest, Judaeus est: qui hoc audire non potest, lapidat Christum asperioribus omni caure perfidiae suae saxis; et si mihi creditis, vulnerat Christum. Nam etsi ille jam nunc vulnus sentire non possit: Nunc enim secundum carnem jam non novimus Christum (II Cor. V, 16); tamen Arianorum impietate lapidatur, qui Ecclesiae pietate laetatur. 123. Bonum mihi est, Domine, lex oris tui (Psal. CXVIII, 72); servo praeceptum tuum. Unum te esse cum Patre ipse dixisti. Quia hoc credidit Petrus, claves regni

coelorum accepit (Matth. XVI, 19), et sui securus peccata donavit; quia hoc non credidit Judas, impietatis suae se laqueo strangulavit (Matth. XXVII, 5). O dura infidelium saxa verborum! O informem laqueum proditoris, sed deformius pretium Judaeorum! O argentum improbum, quo aut emitur ad necem justus, aut venditur! Joseph venditus (Gen. XXXVII, 28), emptus Jesus Christus (Matth. XXVI, 15): alter ad servitutem, alter ad mortem. Detestabilis haereditas, feralis auctio, quae aut fratrem vendit injuriae, aut Dominum licitatur exitio, salutis omnium redemptorem.

124. Duo igitur quae praestantiora sunt omnibus, Judaea violavit, fidem atque pietatem; sed in utroque Christum fidei et pietatis auctorem. Nam et in patriarcha Joseph typus Christi fuit, et in veritate sui corporis Christus: Qui non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo, sed formam servi accepit (Phil. II, 6, 7); propter lapsus videlicet nostros suscipiens servitutem, nec refugiens passionem. 125. Alibi viginti aureis emitur, alibi triginta. Quomodo enim poterat verum ejus pretium comprehendi, cujus non potest meritum definiri? Erratur in pretio, quia erratur in studio. Viginti aureis in veteri Testamento venditur, triginta in Evangelio; pretiosior enim typo veritas, largior gratia, quam disciplina: opimior Lege praesentia; quia Lex promisit adventum, Legem adventus implevit. 126. Viginti aureis emunt Ismaelitae, triginta Judaei. Nec hic figura mediocris. Ad sacrilegium perfidi largiores, quam ad salutem fideles sunt. Utriusque tamen contractus considerare convenit qualitatem. Viginti aurei pretium servitutis, triginta aurei crucis sunt. Quamvis enim simili modo assumptionis et passionis sint admiranda mysteria; plenitudo tamen fidei in sacramento est passionis. Non minoris quidem aestimo sanctae Virginis partum: sed gratius sumo benedicti corporis sacramentum. Quid clementius quam quod mihi suas donavit injurias? 692 Plenius tamen est, quod tantum contulit nobis; ut qui moriturus non erat, quia Deus erat; nostra ille morte moreretur, ut nos ejus Spiritu viveremus. 127. Denique non otiose et Judas Iscarioth unguentum

illud trecentis denariis aestimavit (Joan. XII, 5): quod utique ipsius pretii definitione crucem videretur Domini declarare. Unde et Dominus ait: Haec enim mittens hoc unguentum in corpus meum, ad sepeliendum me fecit (Matth. XXVI, 12). Cur igitur Judas hoc charius aestimavit? Quia peccatoribus pluris constat remissio peccatorum, et indulgentia videtur esse pretiosior. Denique habes scriptum: Quia cui multum dimittitur, plus diligit (Luc. VII, 47). Ergo et ipsi peccatores Dominicae passionis, quam perdiderunt, gratiam confitentur, et testimonium ferunt Christo, qui Christum sunt persecuti. 128. Aut quia in malevolam animam non intrat sapientia (Sap. I, 4); etiam hoc loquebatur proditoris affectus, charius aestimabat Dominici corporis passionem; ut omnes a fide pretii enormitate revocaret. Ideoque Dominus gratis se obtulit, ne quem revocaret a Christo paupertatis necessitas. Patriarchae eum vili vendiderunt, ut omnes emerent. Esaias dixit: Quicumque non habetis argentum, ite, emite, et bibite: manducate sine argento (Esa. LV, 1); ut eum acquireret, qui non habebat argentum. O Juda proditor, unguentum passionis ejus trecentis denariis aestimas, et passionem ejus triginta denariis vendis (Matth. XXVI, 15)! Dives in aestimatione, vilis in scelere. 129. Ergo non omnes eodem pretio emunt Christum. Alio emit Photinus, qui ad mortem emit: alio Arianus, qui emit ad injuriam: alio catholicus, qui emit ad gloriam. Sed emit sine pecunia, secundum quod scriptum est: Qui non habet pecuniam, emat sine pretio (Esai. LV, 1). 130. Non omnes, inquit, qui dicunt mihi, Domine, Domine, intrabunt in regnum coelorum (Matth. VII, 21). Etsi multi se nominent christianos, nomen usurpant, non tamen omnes mercedem habent. Et Cain obtulit sacrificium (Gen. IV, 3), et Judas accepit osculum (Luc. XXII, 48), sed audivit: Juda, osculo Filium hominis tradis? hoc est, amoris pignore scelus imples, ac pacis instrumento odia seris, et charitatis officio mortem irrogas. 131. Ergo nec Ariani sibi usurpato nomine blandiantur, quia christianos esse se dicunt. Respondebit eis Dominus: Nomen meum

praetenditis, et substantiam denegatis: sed non agnosco nomen meum, ubi non est mea sempiterna divinitas. Non est nomen meum, quod a Patre dividitur, ab Spiritu separatur: non agnosco nomen meum, ubi non agnosco doctrinam meam: non agnosco nomen meum, ubi non agnosco Spiritum meum. Nescit enim se Spiritus Patris comparare servitiis, quae creavit. De quo multa jam diximus (Lib. I, ca et seq.). 693

CAPUT XVIII.

Spiritus sancti divinitatem ex iis quae hactenus disputata sunt, confirmaturus, nonnulla iterum tractanda sumit, nimirum peccata eum non habere, sed condonare: creaturam non esse, sed creatorem: ac demum non adorare, sed adorari.

132. [Alias cap. XIX.] Ad summam tamen, ut in fine quae disperse dicta sunt, expressius colligamus; cum ex caeteris, tum ex quatuor istis prae caeteris manifesta divinitatis gloria comprobatur: Deus enim ex eo cognoscitur, aut quia sine peccato est, aut quia peccata condonat: aut quia creatura non est, sed creator est: aut quia non adorat, sed adoratur. 133. Sine peccato itaque nemo est, nisi unus Deus; quia nemo sine peccato, nisi unus Deus. Peccata quoque nemo condonat, nisi unus Deus; quia aeque scriptum est: Quis potest peccata donare, nisi solus Deus (Luc. V, 21)? Creator quoque omnium non potest esse, nisi qui creatura non est: qui autem creatura non est, sine dubio Deus est: quia scriptum est: Servierunt creaturae potius quam creatori, qui est Deus benedictus in saecula (Rom. I, 23). Deus quoque non adorat, sed adoratur; quia scriptum est: Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et illi soli servies (Deutur. VI, 13). 134. Consideremus ergo utrum horum aliquid habeat Spiritus sanctus, quae testimonium afferant divinitatis. Primum igitur de eo tractemus, quia nemo sine peccato nisi unus Deus: et exigamus ut doceant quod peccatum habeat Spiritus sanctus. 135. Sed docere non possunt, et auctoritatem requirunt, ut lectione doceamus, quia non peccavit Spiritus sanctus, sicut de Filio lectum est, quia peccatum non fecit (I Petr. II, 22). Et hoc accipiant Scripturarum auctoritate nos docere; scriptum est enim: Quia in Sapientia est Spiritus

intelligentiae, sanctus, unicus, multiplex, subtilis, bene mobilis, disertus, immaculatus (Sap. VII, 22). Immaculatum dicit Scriptura: numquid mentita est de Filio, ut de Spiritu credas esse mentitam? Dixit enim propheta in eodem loco de Sapientia, quia nihil maculosum in illam incurrit. Ipsa immaculata est, et immaculatus ejus est Spiritus. Ergo si peccatum non habet Spiritus, Deus est. 136. Sed quomodo reus potest esse peccati, qui donat ipse peccata? Ergo peccatum non fecit: et quia sine peccato est, creatura non est. Omnis enim creatura peccatorum capacitati obnoxia est: sola autem est a peccato immunis et immaculata sempiterna divinitas. 137. Nunc videamus utrum peccata donet Spiritus. Sed hic dubitari non potest, cum ipse Dominus dixerit: Accipite Spiritum sanctum: quorum remiseritis peccata, remissa erunt (Joan. XX, 22). Ecce quia per Spiritum sanctum peccata donantur. Homines autem in remissionem peccatorum ministerium suum exhibent, non jus alicujus 694 potestatis exercent. Neque enim in suo, sed in Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti nomine peccata dimittunt. Isti rogant, divinitas donat; humanum enim obsequium, sed munificentia supernae est potestatis. 138. Per baptismum quoque peccata donari non est ambiguum: in baptismo autem operatio Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti est. Ergo si peccatum donat Spiritus, cum scriptum sit: Quis potest dimittere peccata, nisi unus Deus (Marc. II, 7); utique qui non potest ab unitate naturalis nominis separari, non potest etiam a Dei potestate secerni. Si autem a Dei non secernitur potestate, quomodo a Dei appellatione secernitur? 139. Videamus nunc utrum creatura sit, an creator? Sed cum supra (Lib. II, ca, 6) creatorem evidentissime probaverimus, quia scriptum est: Spiritus divinus qui fecit me (Job. XXXIII, 4): et innovari faciem terrae per Spiritum (Psal. CIII, 30), et sine Spiritu fatiscere omnia declaratum sit; apparet Spiritum esse creatorem. Sed quis hoc dubitet, quando, sicut supra ostendimus, ne Domini quidem ex Virgine assumpta generatio, quae praestantior omnibus creaturis est, operationis exsors sit spiritalis? 140. Non ergo creatura

Spiritus, sed creator est: qui autem creator, non utique creatura. Et quia creatura non est, sine dubio creator est, qui Patri et Filio cooperator est omnium. Si autem creator, utique dicendo Apostolus in condemnationem gentilitatis: Quia servierunt creaturae potius quam Creatori, qui est Deus benedictus in saecula (Rom. I, 23): suadendo quoque, ut supra (Lib. II, ca, 6) docuimus, serviendum esse Spiritui sancto; et creatorem ostendit, et quia creator est, Deum appellari debere monstravit. Quod etiam in epistola quae ad Hebraeos scripta est, comprehendit dicens: Quoniam qui omnia creavit, Deus est (Hebr. III, 4). Aut dicant igitur quid sit quod sine Patre et Filio et Spiritu sit creatum, aut Spiritum quoque unius cum Patre et Filio deitatis esse fateantur. 141. Adorandum quoque docuit, quem Dominum et Deum dixit. Qui enim Deus universitatis et dominus, utique ab omnibus adorandus est; sic enim scriptum est: Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et ipsi soli servies (Deut. VI, 13). 142. Aut dicant ubi legerint quia adorat Spiritus. Dictum est enim de Dei Filio: Adorent eum omnes angeli ejus (Hebr. I, 6): non lectum est, adoret Spiritus. Quomodo enim potest adorare, qui non inter famulos et ministros est, sed cum Patre et Filio servitia habet subjecta justorum; quia scriptam est: Spiritui Dei servimus (Phil. III, 3). Adorandus igitur est nobis, cui serviendum a nobis Apostolus docuit: cui autem servimus, hunc et adoramus, juxta quod scriptum est, ut eadem saepe repetamus: Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et illi soli servies. 143. Quamquam nec hoc praetermiserit Apostolus, quin et Spiritum diceret adorandum. 695 Cum enim docuerimus quia Spiritus in prophetis est, nec hoc quisquam possit ambigere, quia per Spiritum prophetia datur, utique cum adoratur qui in prophetis est, idem Spiritus adoratur. Itaque sic habes: Si conveniat universa Ecclesia in unum, et omnes linguis loquantur, intret autem idiota aut infidelis, nonne dicet quod insanitis. Sin autem prophetent omnes, intret autem quis idiota aut infidelis, convincitur ab omnibus, dijudicatur ab omnibus. Occulta etiam cordis ejus manifesta fiunt; et ita

cadens in faciem, adorabit Deum, pronuntians quod vere Deus sit in vobis (I Cor. XIV, 23 et seq.). Deus est ergo qui adoratur, Deus qui manet, et qui loquitur in prophetis: manet autem et loquitur Spiritus; ergo et Spiritus adoratur.

CAPUT XIX.

EX EO QUOD supra probatum et Spiritum manere et loqui in prophetis, colligit ab eo cognosci omnia, quae Dei sunt; atque adeo unum esse cum Patre et Filio. Hoc ipsum exinde iterum confirmat quod omnia habet, quae habet Deus, nempe divinitatem, cordis cognitionem, veritatem, nomen super omne nomen, potestatem mortuos suscitandi, quod ultimum eidem adjudicat ex Exechiele, in quo et ipsum Filio aequalem probat.

144. Itaque sicut Pater et Filius unum sunt; quia Filius omnia habet, quae Pater habet (Joan. XVI, 15): ita. et Spiritus unum est cum Patre et Filio; quia et ipse omnia Dei novit (I Cor. II, 10). Non enim extorsit, ne sit amittentis injuria: non rapuit, ne damnum sit ejus, cui videtur ereptum. Neque enim aut per indigentiam rapuit, aut per excellentiam virtutis validioris extorsit, sed per unitatem possidet potestatis. Ergo si haec omnia operatur, quia omnia operatur unus atque idem Spiritus (I Cor. XII, 11); quomodo non Deus, qui omnia habet, quae Deus habet?

145. Aut consideremus quid habeat Deus, quod non habeat Spiritus sanctus. Habet Deus Pater divinitatem, habet et Filius, in quo habitat plenitudo divinitatis: habet et Spiritus; quia scriptum est: Spiritus divinus qui est in naribus meis (Job. XVII, 3). 146. Habet Deus ut scrutetur corda et renes; quia scriptum est: Deus scrutans corda et renes (Psal. VII, 10). Habet et Filius, qui dicebat: Quid cogitatis in cordibus vestris mala (Matth. IX, 4)? Sciebat enim Jesus cogitationes eorum. Habet et Spiritus, qui etiam prophetis alieni cordis occulta manifestat, sicut supra divimus (Lib. II, c. 13), quia occulta cordis ejus manifesta fiunt. Et quid miramur si hominum scrutatur occulta, qui scrutatur etiam alta Dei (I Cor. II, 10) ? 147. Habet

Deus ut verax sit; quia scriptum est: Sit autem Deus verax, omnis autem homo mendax (Rom. III, 4). Et alibi scriptum est: Fidelis Deus, qui non mentitur (Tit. I, 2). Numquid mentitur Spiritus, qui est Spiritus veritatis; immo quem docuimus veritatem dictum; quia et ipsum Joannes veritatem sicut Filium nuncupavit (Joan. XVI, 13)? Et in psalmo ait David: Emitte lucem tuam, et veritatem tuam; ipsa me deduxerunt, et adduxerunt in montem sanctum tuum, et in tabernacula tua (Psal. XLII, 3). Si lucem 696 hic Filium putas, ergo Spiritus veritas est: aut si Filium putas veritatem, ergo Spiritus lux est. 148. Habet Deus nomen super omne nomen, et dedit Filio nomen; sicut legimus (Phil. II, 9), ut omnes in nomine Jesu genua flectant. Hoc nomen utrum habeat Spiritus consideremus. Sed et scriptum est: Ite, baptizate gentes in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti (Marc. XVI, 15). Habet ergo nomen super omne nomen. Quod ergo habet Pater et Filius, habet et Spiritus per naturalis nominis unitatem. 149. [Alias cap. XX.] Habet Deus quod suscitat mortuos: Sicut enim Pater suscitat mortuos et vivificat: sic et Filius quos vult, vivificat (Joan. V, 21). Suscitat autem etiam Spiritus, per quem Deus suscitat, quia scriptum est: Vivificabit et mortalia corpora vestra per habitantem Spiritum ejus in vobis (Rom. VIII, 11). Tamen ne infirmam gratiam putes, audi quia et Spiritus suscitat; dicit enim propheta Ezechiel: Veni, Spiritus, et insuffla in mortuos istos, et vivent. Et prophetavi sicut mandavit mihi, et intravit in eos Spiritus vitae, et vixerunt, et steterunt in pedibus suis congregatio nimis multa (Ezech. XXXVII, 9, 10). Et infra Deus dicit: Scietis quod ego sum Dominus, cum aperiam sepulcra vestra; ut educam de sepulcris populum meum: et dabo Spiritum meum in vos, et vivetis (Ibid., 13, 14). 150. Utique cum Spiritum suum dixerit, numquid alium praeter Spiritum sanctum nuncupavit? Neque enim flatilem spiritum suum diceret, nec hic spiritus a quatuor mundi posset venire cardinibus; quia ventorum flatus hic, quem videmus, partis non universitatis est: et hic spiritus quo vivimus, singulorum non universorum

est: Spiritus autem sancti est, ut et super omnes, et in omnibus sit. Itaque ex verbis propheticis spectare licet quemadmodum ossa, dudum resolutorum membrorum compage dispersa, in formam redivivi corporis, vivificante Spiritu, revertantur; et in suos artus favilla concrescat, sensu prius animata coeundi, quam specie reformata vivendi. 151. Nonne in facti similitudine unitatem divinae recognoscimus potestatis? Sic suscitat Spiritus, sicut et Dominus in passione propria suscitavit; cum subito in momento oculi defunctorum sepulcra patuerunt, et rediviva corpora surrexere de tumulis (Matth. XXVII, 52), mortisque fetore deterso, ac vitae odore reparato, exspirantium favillae spirantium faciem receperunt. 152. Habet ergo Spiritus, quod habet Christus: habet igitur quod habet Deus; quia omnia quae habet Pater, habet et Filius; ideoque dixit: Omnia quae habet Pater, mea sunt (Joan. XVI, 15).

CAPUT XX.

In flumine de sede Dei promanante figuram fuisse Spiritus sancti; per aquas vero quas David memorat, coelestes virtutes designari. Regnum Dei opus esse Spiritus: nec mirum, si hic idem conregnet cum Filio, quando nos etiam Filio conregnaturos promittat Paulus.

153. [Alias cap. XXI.] Nec illud mediocre, quod de throno Dei exire fluvium legimus. Sic enim habes, 697 dicente Joanne evangelista: Et ostendit mihi flumen aquae vivae, splendidum tamquam crystallum, procedens de sede Dei et agni: in medio plateae ejus, et ex utraque parte lignum vitae, faciens fructus duodecim, per singulos menses reddens fructum suum, et folia ligni ad medicinam omnium gentium (Apoc. XXII, 1, 2). 154. Hic est utique fluvius de Dei sede procedens, hoc est, Spiritus sanctus, quem bibit qui credit in Christum, sicut ipse ait: Si quis sitit, veniat ad me, et bibat: Qui credit in me, sicut dicit Scriptura, flumina de ventre ejus fluent aquae vivae. Hoc autem dicebat de Spiritu (Joan. VII, 37, 38). Ergo flumen est Spiritus. 155. Hic igitur est in Dei sede; neque enim aqua abluit Dei sedem. Denique David non supra sedem Dei dixit, sed supra coelos esse, quamlibet illam intelligas aquam; quia scriptum est: Et aquae quae super coelos sunt, laudent nomen Domini (Psal. CXLVIII, 4). Laudent, dixit, non laudet. Nam si aquae elementum voluisset intelligi, laudet utique dixisset: dicendo autem pluraliter, virtutes voluit aestimari. 156. Et quid mirum, si in sede Dei Spiritus sanctus est, cum ipsum regnum Dei operatio Spiritus sit, sicut scriptum est: Quia non est regnum Dei esca et potus, sed justitia et pax, et gaudium in Spiritu sancto (Rom. XIV, 17)? Et ipse cum dicit Salvator: Omne regnum in se ipsum divisum destruetur (Matth. XII,

25). Deinde subjiciendo: Quod si in Spiritu Dei ego ejicio daemonia, profecto pervenit in vos regnum Dei (Ibid., 28); ostendit regnum Dei individuum sibi esse cum Spiritu. 157. Quid autem dementius, quam ut neget quisquam Christo conregnare Spiritum sanctum; cum etiam nos in Christi regno conregnaturos Christo Apostolus dicat: Si enim commortui sumus, et convivemus; si sustinemus, et conregnabimus (II Tim. II, 11, 12): sed nos per adoptionem, ille per potestatem: nos gratia, ille natura. 158. Habet igitur consortium regni cum Patre et Filio etiam Spiritus sanctus, qui unius naturae, unius dominationis, unius etiam potestatis est.

CAPUT XXI.

MISSUM A SPIRITU fuisse Esaiam, proindeque eumdem Spiritum ab eo visum. Quid per currentes rotas, alasque diversas intelligendum, et qua ratione cum Spiritus a Seraphim praedicetur Deus Sabaoth, hoc ei nomen negari nisi ab impiis neutiquam possit.

159. [Alias cap. XXIII.] Itaque cum habeat consortium regni, quid obstat quominus Spiritum sanctum intelligamus, a quo Esaias missus est? Neque enim Paulo possumus auctore dubitare, cujus sententiam in Actibus apostolorum Lucas evangelista sic probavit, ut scriberet. Denique sic habes, dicente Paulo: Bene locutus est Spiritus sanctus per Esaiam ad patres nostros, dicens: Vade ad plebem istam, et dic: Aure audietis, et non intelligetis; et videntes videbitis, et non aspicietis (Act. XXVIII, 25, 26). 160. Spiritus ergo est, qui misit Esaiam. Si 698 Spiritus misit, Spiritus est utique quem, mortuo Ozia rege, vidit Esaias, quando dixit: Vidi Dominum Sabaoth sedentem super thronum excelsum et elevatum, et plena erat domus majestatis ejus: et Seraphim stabant in circuitu ejus; sex alae uni, et sex alae alteri, et duabus velabant faciem ejus, et duabus velabant pedes ejus, et duabus volabant; et clamabant alter ad alterum, et dicebant: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth: plena est universa terra majestate ejus (Esai. VI, 1 et seq.). 161. Si stabant Seraphim, quomodo volabant? Si volabant, quomodo stabant? Si hoc non possumus comprehendere, quomodo Deum comprehendere volumus, quem non videmus? 162. Sed sicut rotam intra rotam (Ezech. I, 16) vidit propheta currentem (quod utique non ad corporalis refertur speciem visionis, sed ad utriusque gratiam Testamenti; quia teres vita sanctorum sit, et ita sibi concinens, ut

superioribus posteriora respondeant. Rota igitur intra rotam est vita sub Lege, vita sub gratia; eo quod Judaea intra Ecclesiam sit, Lex intra gratiam. Nam intra Ecclesiam est, qui Judaeus est in occulto: et circumcisio cordis intra Ecclesiam sacramentum est. Sed illa Judaea intra Ecclesiam, de qua scriptum est (Psal. LXXXV, 1): Notus in Judaea Deus: ergo sicut rota intra rotam currit, similiter alae stabant, et alae volabant. 163. Similiter et Seraphim duabus alis faciem, et duabus pedes velabant, et duabus volabant. Nam hic quoque spiritalis sapientiae sacramentum est. Stant tempora, volant tempora: stant praeterita, volant futura: et quasi alae Seraphim, ita faciem Dei, vel pedes velant; eo quod in Deo qui nec principium nec finem habet, omnis ab hac cognitione principii ejus et finis cursus temporum feriatur. Stant ergo praeterita vel futura, praesentia volant. Ne quaeras principii ejus, vel finis arcana, quae non sunt. Habes praesentia: sed laudato, non discute. 164. Seraphim indefessis vocibus laudant, et tu discutis? Quod utique cum faciunt, ostendunt nobis non aliquando discutiendum Deum, sed semper esse laudandum. Ergo Dominus Sabaoth et Spiritus sanctus est. [Alias cap. XXIII.] Nisi forte displicet impiis doctor, quem Christus elegit: aut Dominum virtutum negare possunt Spiritum sanctum, qui donat quas voluerit ipse virtutes.

CAPUT XXII.

UT REGNI UNITAS probetur in tribus personis, citatus Esaiae locus expenditur: et in iis a quibus vel de Patre vel de Filio vel de Spiritu expositus sit, nullam sensus diversitatem fuisse declaratur. Ad haec majestate Spiritui inde asserta, quod crucifixus dicatur Dominus majestatis, ejus cum Patre ac Filio tanta aequalitas ostenditur, ut ipsum hinc numquam dejecturi sint Ariani.

165. Nunc unitatem majestatis et regni licet in Patre, Filioque, et sancto Spiritu cognoscere. Nam plerique dicunt Patrem 699 Deum ab Esaia hoc tempore visum (Esai. VI, 1), Paulus Spiritum dixit, Lucas probavit (Act. XXVIII, 25), Joannes Evangelista ad Filium retulit. Sic enim scriptum est de Filio (Joan. XII, 36): Haec locutus est Jesus, et abiit, et abscondit se ab his. Cum autem tanta signa fecisset coram eis, non credebant in eum; ut sermo Esaiae impleretur, quem dixit: Domine, quis credidit auditui nostro, et brachium Domini cui revelatum est (Esai. LIII, 1)? Propterea non poterant credere, quia iterum dixit Esaias: Excaecavit oculos eorum, et induravit cor eorum, ut non videant oculis, et corde intelligant, et convertantur, et sanabo eos (Esai. VI, 10). Haec dicit Esaias, quando vidit majestatem ejus, et locutus est de eo. 166. Ipsa verba dixit Joannes dixisse Esaiam, et majestatem ei Filii apparuisse evidentissime revelavit: Paulus autem Spiritum haec dixisse memoravit. Unde igitur ista diversitas? 167. Diversitas quidem verborum, non sensuum est. Nam licet diversa dixerint, nullus erravit; quia et Pater videtur in Filio, qui dixit: Qui me videt, videt et Patrem (Joan. XIV, 9). Et Filius videtur in Spiritu; quia sicut nemo dicit Dominum Jesum nisi in Spiritu sancto (I Cor. XII, 3); ita non carnali oculo,

sed spiritali gratia Christus videtur. Unde et Scriptura ait: Surge, qui dormis, et exsurge a mortuis, et illucescet tibi Christus (Ephes. V, 14). Et Paulus cum oculos perdidisset, quomodo nisi in Spiritu 700 Christum videbat (Act. IX, 8)? Unde et Dominus ait: Ad hoc enim tibi visus sum, ut constituerem te ministrum et testem quibus vidisti me, et in quibus visurus es (Act. XXVI, 16). Nam et prophetae Spiritum accipiebant, et Christum videbant. 168. Una igitur visio, una praeceptio, una majestas. An negamus etiam Dominum majestatis esse Spiritum sanctum (I Cor. II, 12), cum Dominus majestatis sit crucifixus, qui natus est de Spiritu sancto ex virgine Maria? Quia non alter Christus, sed unus est: et ante saecula ex Patre, ut Dei filius natus; et in saeculo, ut homo carnis assumptione generatus. 169. Quid autem dicam, quia sicut Pater et Filius, ita etiam Spiritus immaculatus est et omnipotens (Sap. VII, 22); quia Graece παντοδύναμον, πανεπίσκοπον Salomon dixit, eo quod omnipotens et speculator sit omnium, sicut lectum esse in libro Sapientiae supra est demonstratum (Ca, num. 135). Ergo et Spiritus in honore est et in majestate. 170. Intuere nunc, ne quid eum forte non deceat: aut si tibi displicet, Ariane, detrahe eum de Patris Filiique consortio. Sed si detrahere volueris, coelos supra te reverti videbis; quia virtus eorum omnis ab Spiritu est (Psal. XXXII, 6). Si detrahere volueris, in Deum tibi prius mittenda est manus; quia Deus Spiritus (Joan. IV, 24). Sed quomodo detrahes eum, qui alta scrutatur Dei (I Cor. II, 10)?

De excessu fratris sui Satyri

CONTENTS

LIBER I.
LIBER II.

LIBER I.

1113 1. DEDUXIMUS, fratres dilectissimi, hostiam meam, hostiam incontaminatam, hostiam Deo placentem, domnum et fratrem meum Satyrum. Memineram esse mortalem, nec fefellit opinio, sed superabundavit gratia. Itaque nihil habeo quod querar, et habeo in quo Deo gratias agam; quia semper optavi, ut si quae perturbationes vel Ecclesiam vel me manerent, in me potius ac meam deciderent domum. Deo igitur gratias, quia in hoc omnium metu, cum omnia motibus sint suspecta Barbaricis, communem moerorem privato dolore transegi, et in me conversum est quidquid timebam omnibus. Atque utinam hic consummatum sit, ut dolor meus publici doloris redemptio sit!

2. Nihil quidem habui, fratres charissimi, in rebus humanis tanto fratre pretiosius, nihil amabilius, nihil charius; sed praestant privatis publica. Ipsius quoque sententiam si quis sciscitaretur, mallet occidi pro aliis, quam sibi vivere; propterea enim pro omnibus secundum carnem Christus est mortuus, ut nos non solis nobis vivere disceremus (II Cor. V, 15). 3. Accedit illud quod ingratus divinitati esse non possum: laetandum est enim magis quod talem fratrem habuerim, quam dolendum quod fratrem amiserim; illud enim munus, hoc debitum est. Itaque perfunctus sum, quamdiu licuit,

1114 commisso mihi fenore: qui deposuit pignus, recepit. Nihil interest utrum abjures depositum, an doleas restitutum. In utroque fidei ambiguum, vitae periculum est. An si pecuniam neges, culpa est: si hostiam neges, pietas est? cum pecuniae fenerator illudi possit, naturae auctor, et necessitudinis creditor fraudari non queat. Itaque quanto uberior fenoris summa, tanto gratior sortis usura. 4. Unde ingrati de fratre esse non

possumus; quia quod naturae communis fuit, reddidit: quod gratiae singularis est, meruit. Quis enim communem conditionem recuset? Quis doleat sibi proprium pignus ereptum cum ad solatium nostri Filium suum unicum pro nobis Pater tradiderit ad mortem (Rom. VIII, 32)? Quis exceptum se putet esse debere a conditione moriendi, qui non sit exceptus a conditione nascendi? Magnum pietatis mysterium, ut mors corporis nec in Christo esset excepta; ac licet naturae Dominus, carnis tamen quam susceperat, legem non recusaret. Et mihi necesse est mori, illi necesse non fuit. An qui de servo dicit: Si eum volo sic manere, donec venio, quid ad te (Joan. XXI, 22)? Non potuit ipse sic manere, si vellet? Sed perpetuitate vitae hujus sibi pretium, mihi sacrificium perdidisset. Quod igitur majus est solatium nostri, quam quod secundum carnem et Christus mortuus est? Aut cur ego vehementius fleam fratrem, cum sciam illam mori non potuisse pietatem?

1115 5. Cur solus prae caeteris fleam, quem fletis omnes? Privatum dolorem communi dolore digessi, praesertim cum meae lacrymae nihil prosint, vestrae autem lacrymae fidem astruant, consolationem afferant. Fletis divites, et flendo probatis nihil opitulari repositas divitias ad salutem; cum pecuniae pretio mors differri non queat, et pari usu divitem, inopemque dies supremus eripiat. Fletis senes, quod in hoc liberorum sortem pavetis; et ideo quia vitam corporis producere non potestis, instituite liberos non ad usum corporis, sed ad virtutis officium. Fletis et juvenes, quod naturae finis non sit maturitas senectutis. Fleverunt et pauperes, et quod multo est pretiosius, multoque uberius, lacrymis suis ejus delicta laverunt. Illae sunt lacrymae redemptrices, illi gemitus qui dolorem mortis abscondunt, ille dolor qui, perpetuae ubertate laetitiae, veteris sensum doloris obducat. Itaque licet privatum funus, fletus tamen est publicus; et ideo non potest fletus esse diuturnus, qui universorum est affectibus consecratus. 6. Nam quid te, mi frater amantissime, fleam, qui mihi sic ereptus es, ut esses

omnium? Non enim perdidi usum tui, sed commutavi: ante corpore inseparabilis, nunc individuus affectu; manes enim mecum, at semper manebis. Et quidem cum viveres nobiscum, numquam te patria eripuit mihi, nec ipse mihi umquam patriam praetulisti: et nunc alteram praestitisti: coepi enim jam hic non esse peregrinus, ubi melior mei portio est. Numquam enim totus in me fui, sed in altero nostri pars major amborum: uterque autem eramus in Christo, in quo et summa universitatis, et portio singulorum est. Hic mihi tumulus genitali solo gratior, in quo non naturae, sed gratiae meae fructus est; in isto enim corpore, quod nunc exanimum jacet, praestantior vitae meae functio; quia in hoc quoque quod gero corpore, uberior tui portio. 7. Atque utinam ut memoriae, ut gratiae; ita etiam vitae tuae hoc quidquid est, quod spiramus, spirare possemus, dimidiumque meorum decideret temporum, quod ad tuorum proficeret usum! Par enim erat, ut quibus indivisum semper fuit patrimonium facultatum, non esset vitae tempus divisum: vel certe qui indistincta semper habuimus vivendi consortia, non haberemus distincta moriendi. 8. Nunc vero, frater, quo progrediar, quove convertar? Bos bovem requirit, seque non totum putat, et frequenti mugitu pium testatur amorem, si forte defecerit cum quo ducere collo aratra consuevit: et ego te, frater, non requiram? Aut possum umquam oblivisci tui, cum quo vitae hujus semper aratra sustinui? Labore inferior, sed amore conjunctior: non tam mea virtute habilis, quam tua patientia tolerabilis,

1116 qui pio semper sollicitus affectu latus meum tuo latere sepiebas: charitate, ut frater: cura, ut pater; sollicitudine, ut senior: reverentia, ut junior. Ita in unius necessitudinis gradu complurium mihi necessitudinum officia impendebas; ut in te non unum, sed plures amissos requiram, in quo uno ignorata adulatio, expressa est pietas. Neque enim habebas quod simulatione adderes, qui totum pietate comprehenderes, ut nec incrementa receperis, nec vicem exspectaris. 9. Sed quo immemor officii, memor

gratiae, immodico dolore progredior? Revocat Apostolus, et tamquam frenos moerori inducit, dicens sicut nuper audistis: Nolumus vos ignorare, fratres, de dormientibus; ut non tristes sitis, sicut et caeteri qui spem non habent (I Thess. IV, 12). Date veniam, fratres charissimi. Neque enim omnes possumus dicere: Imitatores mei estole, sicut et ego Christi (I Cor. IV, 16); sed ad imitandum si auctorem quaeritis, habetis quem possitis imitari. Non omnes ad docendum idonei, utinam omnes ad discendum habiles! 10. At non gravem lacrymis contraximus culpam: non omnis infidelitatis aut infirmitatis est fletus. Alius est naturae dolor, alia est tristitia diffidentiae: et plurimum refert desiderare, quod habueris; et lugere, quod amiseris. Non solus dolor lacrymas habet, habet et laetitia lacrymas suas, et pietas fletum excitat, et oratio stratum rigat, et precatio, juxta Propheticum dictum (Psal. VI, 7), lectulum lavat. Fecerunt et fletum magnum sui cum patriarchae sepelirentur. Lacrymae ergo, pietatis indices, non illices sunt doloris. Lacrymavi ergo, fateor, etiam ego, sed lacrymavit et Dominus. Ille alienum, ego fratrem (Joan. XI, 35): ille in uno lacrymavit omnes, ego in omnibus lacrymabo te, frater. 11. Ille nostro, non suo lacrymavit affectu; neque enim divinitas lacrymas habet: sed lacrymavit eo, quo tristis fuit (Matth. XXVI, 38): lacrymavit eo, quo crucifixus est, quo mortuus, quo sepultus est: lacrymavit in eo, de quo hodie nobis insinuavit propheta, dicens: Mater Sion dicet: Homo, et homo factus est in ea, et ipse fundavit eam Altissimus (Psal. LXXXVI, 5). Eo lacrymavit, quo matrem Sion dixit, genitus in Judaea, susceptus ex Virgine. Matrem autem secundum divinitatem habere non potuit, quia auctor est matris. Ille factus est non divina generatione, sed humana; quia homo factus est, Deus natus est. 12. Sic et alibi habes: Puer natus est nobis, Filius datus est nobis (Esai. IX, 6). In puero enim nomen aetatis, in Filio plenitudo divinitatis est. Factus ex matre, natus ex Patre; idem tamen et natus est et datus: non diversum, sed unum putes. Unus enim Dei Filius, et natus ex Patre, et ortus ex Virgine,

distanti ordine, sed in unum concurrente nomine, sicut et praesens lectio docet, quia et homo factus est in ea, et ipse fundavit

1117 eam Altissimus (Psal. LXXXVI, 5), homo utique corpore, altissimus potestate. Et si Deus et homo diversitate naturae; idem tamen non alter in utroque. Aliud ergo speciale naturae suae, aliud commune nobiscum: sed in utroque unus, et utroque perfectus. 13. Non igitur mirandum est, quia et Dominum eum et Christum fecit Deus. Fecit ergo Jesum, eum utique qui ex corpore nomen accepit; fecit eum de quo etiam patriarcha scribit David: Mater Sion dicet: Homo, et homo factus est in ea. (Homo autem factus) dissimilis utique est non divinitate, sed corpore: nec discretus a Patre, sed exceptus in munere: manens in consortio potestatis, segregatus in mysterio passionis. 14. Plura loci hujus tractatus exposcit, quibus possimus ostendere auctoritatem Patris, proprietatem Filii, Trinitatis totius unitatem: sed consolandi hodie, non tractandi partes recepi; quamquam abducere a moerore animum intentione tractandi consolationis sit usus. Sed temperandus mihi magis moeror, quam alienandus affectus; ut mulceantur magis desideria, quam sopiantur. Non libet enim abire a fratre longius, et occupatione subduci; cum velut comitandi ejus gratia hic sermo susceptus sit, ut diutius sensu prosequar proficiscentem: et quem oculis teneo, mente complectar. In illo enim totam oculorum aciem figere libet, cum illo totis animorum officiis immorari, illum toto blanditiarum ambire obsequio; dum stupet animus, nec amissum credo, quem adhuc cerno praesentem: nec mortuum puto, cujus adhuc officia non requiro, quibus ego vitae meae usum et spirandi omne munus addixeram. 15. Quid enim referam tantae gratiae, tanto labori? Ego te, frater, haeredem feceram, tu me haeredem reliquisti: ego te superstitem optabam, tu me superstitem dimisisti. Ego pro muneribus tuis, ut compensarem beneficia, vota referebam: nunc et vota perdidi, sed tamen tua beneficia non amisi. Quid agam, mei successor haeredis? quid agam, meae vitae superstes? quid agam

exsors hujus, quod capio luminis? quas grates, quae munera referam tibi? Nihil a me praeter lacrymas habes. Aut fortasse securus meriti tui, quas solas superstites habeo lacrymas, non requiris. Nam etiam cum adhuc viveres, flere prohibebas: moeroremque magis nostrum, quam tuam mortem tibi esse testabaris dolori. Prohibent ulterius prodire lacrymae,

1118 fletusque revocant. Prohibet etiam tui gratia; ne dum nostra deflemus, de tuis meritis desperare videamur. 16. At certe nobis tu etiam moeroris istius minuis acerbitatem: non habeo quod timeam, qui timebam tibi; non habeo quod mihi jam mundus eripiat. Etsi sancta supersit soror, integritate venerabilis, aequalis moribus, non impar officiis; tibi tamen ambo plus timebamus, in te vitae hujus jucunditatem repositam putabamus. Propter te vivere delectabat, propter te mori non pigebat; te enim ambo superstitem precabamur, tibi nos supervivere non juvabat. Quando non cohorruit animus, cum metus hujusmodi titillaret? Quomodo consternata mens erat aegritudinis tuae nuntio! 17. Vae miserae opinioni! Putabamus redditum, quem videmus dilatum; tuis enim votis apud sanctum martyrem Laurentium impetratum esse nunc cognoscimus commeatum. Atque utinam non solum commeatum, sed etiam prolixum vitae tempus rogasses! Potuisti annos plurimos impetrare vivendi, qui potuisti commeatum impetrare veniendi. Et quidem tibi, omnipotens aeterne Deus, gratias ago, quod vel haec nobis suprema solatia non negasti, quod amantissimi fratris ex Siculis Africanisve regionibus exoptatum nobis reditum contulisti; ita enim mature, postquam venit, ereptus est; quasi propter hoc solum videretur esse dilatus, ut ad fratres rediret. 18. Habeo plane pignus meum, quod nulla mihi peregrinatio jam possit avellere: habeo quas complectar, reliquias: habeo tumulum, quem corpore tegam; habeo sepulcrum, super quod jaceam; et commendabiliorem Deo futurum esse me credam, quod supra sancti corporis ossa requiescam. Utinam sic potuissem adversus mortem quoque tuam meum corpus objicere! Si gladiis petitus esses, me pro te potius

suffigendum dedissem: si exeuntem potuissem revocare animam, meam potius obtulissem. 19. Nihil mihi profuit ultimos hausisse anhelitus, nihil flatus in os inspirasse morienti; putabam enim quod aut tuam mortem ipse susciperem, aut meam vitam in te ipse transfunderem. O infelicia illa, sed tamen dulcia suprema osculorum pignora! O amplexus miseri, inter quos exanimum corpus obriguit, halitus supremus evanuit! Stringebam quidem brachia, sed jam perdideram, quem tenebam; et extremum spiritum ore relegebam, ut consortium mortis

1119 haurirem. Sed nescio quomodo vitalis ille mihi halitus factus est, et majorem gratiam in ipsa morte redolebat. Atque utinam si tuam nequivi meo spiritu vitam producere, vel ultimi anhelitus tui vigor transfundi potuisset in meam mentem, et illam tui animi puritatem atque innocentiam noster spirasset affectus! Hanc mihi haereditatem, frater charissime, reliquisses, quae non lacrymabili dolore percuteret affectum, sed memorabili gratia commendaret haeredem. 20. Quid igitur nunc agam, cum omnes vitae istius suavitates, cuncta solatia, cuncta denique ornamenta amiserim? Tu enim mihi unus eras domi solatio, foris decori: tu, inquam, in consiliis arbiter, curae particeps, deprecator sollicitudinis, depulsor moeroris: tu meorum assertor actuum, cogitationumque defensor: tu postremo unus, in quo domestica sollicitudo resideret, publica cura requiesceret. Testor sanctam animam tuam, me in fabricis Ecclesiae id saepe veritum esse, ne displicerem tibi. Denique ubi rediisti, objurgasti moram: ita domi forisque eruditor quidam et arbiter sacerdotis, ut domestica cogitare non sineres, publica curare censeres. At non verear, ne videar arroganter dicere; haec enim laudis tuae portio est, quia sine offensione ulla et gubernasti fratris domum, et commendasti sacerdotium. 21. Sentio equidem quod repetendis officiis tuis, recensendisque virtutibus, afficiatur animus: sed tamen in ipsa mei affectione requiesco, atque hae mihi recordationes etsi dolorem renovant, tamen afferunt voluptatem. An ego

possum aut non cogitare de te, aut umquam sine lacrymis cogitare? Et potero umquam aut tanti non meminisse fratris, aut sine lacrymabili quadam meminisse gratia? Quid enim mihi umquam jucundum, quod non esset ex te profectum? Quid, inquam, mihi sine te, aut tibi umquam sine me voluptati fuit? Quis non usus nobis, et prope visus ipse, somnusque communis? Quae discreta umquam voluntas? Quod non commune vestigium? fere ut cum gradum tollerem, vel tu meum, vel ego tuum corpus videremur attollere. 22. Quod si quando sine altero prodeundum fuit, intectum latus putares, affectum vultum cerneres, moestum animum judicares: non assueta gratia, non vigor solitus praenitebat: suspecta omnibus solitudo metum alicujus aegritudinis afferebat. Ita novum videbatur omnibus nos dividi! Ego certe fraternae impatiens et non oblitus absentiae, quasi praesentem reflexa saepius cervice quaerebam, et coram alloqui atque aspicere videbar mihi: sed tamquam suspenso collo jugum, ubi speratis excideram,

1120 trahere me putabam, difficilis progredi, verecundus videri, et redire properans, quod sine te procedere non liberet. 23. At vero ubi ambobus prodeundum fuit, non plura in itinere vestigia, quam verba; nec incessus, quam sermo crebrior: nec ambulandi cura, sed colloquendi gratia; uterque enim nostrum ex alterius ore pendebat. Non intento aspectu legere iter, sed mutuo sollicitos experiri sermones, haurire oculorum gratiam, spirare fraternae imaginis voluptates. Quam virtutes tuas tacitus mecum ipse mirabar! quam plaudebam mihi, quod tali me Dominus fratre donaverat, tam pudico, tam efficaci, tam innocenti, tam simplici; ut cum tuam innocentiam cogitarem, efficaciam desperarem: cum efficaciam cernerem, innocentiam non putarem! Sed utrumque mira quadam virtute jungebas. 24. Denique ea quae ambo nequiveramus concludere, solus implesti. Plaudebat sibi, ut audio, Prosper, quod sacerdotii mei occasione redditurum se, quae abstulerat, non putabat: sed vehementiorem tuam unius efficaciam expertus est, quam duorum. Itaque solvit omnia, nec moderationi ingratus tuae, nec

illudens pudori: sed et modestiae gratus, nec insolens efficaciae. Sed cui, frater, illa quaesisti? Nos enim idem volebamus laborum tuorum esse praemium, quod documentum erat. Peregisti omnia, et ubi perfunctus omnibus revertisti, tu solus nobis, qui omnibus es praeferendus, eriperis; quasi ideo mortem distuleris, ut consummares pietatis officium, palmam efficaciae reportares. 25. Quam nec ipsi nos, frater charissime, saeculi hujus delectabant honores, quod nos a nobis invicem dividebant! Quos ideo adepti sumus, non quia fuit eorum expetenda perceptio, sed ne vilis dissimulatio videretur. Aut fortasse ideo sunt tributi, ut quia immaturo tui obitu nostrae futurus eras voluptatis occasus, sine nobis jam vivere disceremus. 26. Et quidem praesagae mentis agnosco formidinem, dum repeto saepe, quae scripserim. Revocabam te, frater, ne ipse Africam peteres, ac potius aliquem destinares. Timebam te committere viae, fluctibus credere, et solito metus major incesserat animum: sed et peregrinationem explicuisti, et rem ordinasti, et veteri et sentinoso, ut audio, navigio iterum te fluctibus credidisti. Namque cum celeritatem aucuparis, cautelam praetermisisti, avidus nostrae gratiae, dissimulans periculi tui. 27. O fallax laetitia! o incerta humanarum rerum curricula! Ex Africa redditum, ex mari restitutum, ex naufragio servatum, putabamus jam nobis non posse eripi: sed graviora naufragia

1121 in terris positi sustinemus; nam quem non potuerunt naufragia maris ad mortem deducere, strenuis natatibus evitata, ejus mors coepit nobis esse naufragio. Quid enim superest suavitatis, quibus tam praedulce decus, tam clarum in his mundi tenebris lumen exstinctum est: in quo non nostrae solum familiae, sed totius patriae decus occidit? 28. Habeo sane vobis, fratres dilectissimi, plebs sancta, maximam gratiam, quod non alium dolorem meum, quam vestrum putatis; quod vobis accidisse hanc nostri creditis solitudinem, quod fletum totius civitatis, aetatum omnium, ordinum omnium vota, nova quadam pietate defertis. Non enim misericordiae

privatae dolor, sed quoddam publicae officium et munus est gratiae: aut si qua vos mei tangit misericordia, quod talem fratrem amiserim, habeo fructum uberem, habeo vestri pignus affectus. Mallem fratrem viventem; sed tamen publicum officium in secundis rebus jucundius est, in adversis gratius. 29. Neque vero mihi mediocre meritum tanti videtur officii. Neque enim otiose vel in Actibus apostolorum (Act. IX, 39), Thabita mortua, flentes viduae describuntur, vel in Evangelio (Luc. VII, 12) mota lacrymis viduae prosequens turba funus adolescentis inducitur, cui resurrectio debebatur; illam tamen Thabitam viduae, hunc tota civitas flevit. Non ergo dubium est vestris lacrymis apostolorum patrocinium comparari: non, inquam, dubium est Christum misericordia motum, cum vos flentes videret. Etsi nunc non tetigit loculum, suscepit tamen commendatum spiritum: et si non appellavit corporis voce defunctum; divinae tamen potestatis auctoritate a cruciatibus mortis, et a nequitiae spiritalis incursionibus ejus animam liberavit: et si non resedit in loculo, qui erat mortuus; tamen requievit in Christo: et si non locutus est nobis; tamen ea quae supra nos sunt, cernit: et quae potiora sunt nobis, jam se videre laetatur. Per ea enim quae in Evangelio legimus, quae futura sunt intelligimus: et praesentium species indicium est futurorum. 30. Non opus fuit ei resurrectio temporalis, cui aeterna debetur. Quid enim in hanc miseram et aerumnosissimam recideret labem, atque in hanc flebilem vitam rediret, quem raptum magis

1122 esse ex tam imminentibus malis urgentibusque periculis gaudere debemus? Nam si pacato saeculo, bellisque cessantibus, raptum Enoch (Gen. V, 24) nemo deflevit, sed magis propheta laudavit, sicut de illo Scriptura dixit: Raptus est, ne malitia mutaret cor ejus (Sap. IV, 11); quanto magis nunc jure dicendum est, cum ad saeculi lubricum, vitae accedat ambiguum! Raptus est, ne in manus incideret Barbarorum: raptus est, ne totius orbis excidia, mundi finem, propinquorum funera, civium mortes, ne postremo sanctarum virginum atque viduarum, quod omni morte acerbius

est, colluvionem videret. 31. Ego vero te, frater, cum vitae tuae flore, tum mortis commoditate beatum arbitror. Non enim nobis ereptus es, sed periculis: non vitam amisisti, sed ingruentium acerbitatum formidine caruisti. Nam qua eras sanctae mentis misericordia in tuos, si nunc urgeri Italiam tam propinquo hoste cognosceres, quantum ingemisceres, quam doleres in Alpium vallo summam nostrae salutis consistere, lignorumque concaedibus construi murum pudoris! Qua afflictione moereres tam tenui discrimine tuos ab hoste distineri, ab hoste impuro atque crudeli, qui nec pudicitiae parceret, nec saluti! 32. Quonam, inquam, haec modo ferres, quae nos perpeti, et fortasse (quod gravius est) spectare cogemur, rapi virgines, et avulsos a complexu parentum parvulos liberos supra tela jactari, incestari sacrata Deo corpora, et senilem viduae maturioris uterum in usus desuetos oncrum redire, non pignorum? Quonam, inquam, modo ista tolerares, qui etiam ultimo spiritu tui jam fortassis oblitus, et adhuc nostri non immemor, de cavenda incursione Barbarorum nos saepius admonebas, commemorans non frustra te dixisse fugiendum. Fortasse ideo quod nos destitui tua morte cernebas: quod non infirmitate animi, sed pietate faciebas; et si infirmus pro nobis, tamen firmus tibi. Qui cum a viro nobili revocareris Symmacho tuo parente, quod ardere bello Italia diceretur, quod in periculum tenderes, quod in hostem incurreres; respondisti hanc ipsam tibi causam esse veniendi, ne nostro deesses periculo, ut consortem te fraterni discriminis exhiberes. 33. Felix igitur tam opportuno obitu, quia non est in hunc servatus dolorem. Certe felicior

1123 quam sancta soror, quae tuo solatio destituta, de suo pudore sollicita, duobus nuper beata germanis, nunc ex duobus fratribus aerumnosa, neque alterum sequi potest, neque alterum derelinquere: cui tumulus hospitium tuus, et corporis tui sepulcrum est domus. Atque utinam vel hoc tutum diversorium! Cibus in fletibus, potus in lacrymis; cibum etenim dedisti nobis panem lacrymarum, et potum dedisti nobis in lacrymis

in mensura, aut fortasse ultra mensuram (Psal. LXXIX, 6). 34. Nam quid de me loquar, cui neque mori licet, ne sororem relinquam: neque vivere libet, ne a te avellar? Quid enim mihi sine te potest esse jucundum, in quo omnis semper fuit nostra jucunditas? aut quid diutius in hac vita degere juvat, atque in terris morari, in quibus tamdiu jucunde viximus, quamdiu simul viximus! Etsi esset quod hic delectare nos posset, sine te delectare non posset: et si quando voluissemus impense vitam producere, jam tamen sine te esse nollemus. 35. Haec intolerabilia. Quid enim tolerabile sine te tanto vitae comite, tanto laborum meorum officiorumque consorte? Cujus ego casum quo esset tolerabilior, nec praemeditari potui; ita pavebat animus de illo tale aliquid cogitare! non quo conditionem ignorarem, sed quidam votorum usus sensum communis fragilitatis obduxerat; ut de illo nisi secunda omnia cogitare nescirem. 36. Denique proxime cum gravi (quodam atque utinam supremo!) urgerer occasu; hoc solum dolebam, quod non ipse assideres lectulo, ac votivum mihi cum sancta sorore partitus officium, morientis oculos digitis tuis clauderes. Quid optaveram! Quid rependo! Quae vota deficiunt! Quae ministeria succedunt! Aliud praeparabam, aliud exhibere compellor; non jam ipse ministerium funeris, sed minister. O dura oculorum lumina, quae potuistis fratrem videre morientem! O immites et asperae manus, quae clausistis oculos, in quibus plus videbam! O durior cervix, quae tam lugubre onus, consolabili licet obsequio, gestare potuisti! 37. Haec tu, frater, mihi justius exhiberes. Haec ego a te exspectabam, haec ego officia desiderabam. Nunc vero ipsae meae vitae superstes, quod sine te solatium capiam, qui solus moerentem solari solebas, excitare laetitiam, moestitudinem propulsare? Qualem te nunc ego, frater, aspicio, jam nulla mihi verba referentem,

1124 jam nulla offerentem oscula! Quamquam ita mutuus semper utrique nostrum insederit amor, ut interiore potius foveretur affectu, quam forensi blanditia divulgaretur; neque enim aliorum quaerebamus testimonium, qui

tantam nostri gratiam tenebamus. Ita virilis se utrique nostrum germanitatis succus infuderat, ut non blanditiis probare amorem, sed conscia mente pietatis interno amore contenti, fucum blanditiarum non requirere videremur, quos et ipsa in amorem mutuum imago formaret; nescio enim qua expressione mentis, qua corporis similitudine alter in altero videbamur. 38. Quis te aspexit, qui non me visum putaret? Quoties aliquos salutavi, qui quoniam te prius consalutaverant, se a me jam dicerent salutatos! Quanti tibi dixerunt aliquid, qui se mihi dixisse memorarent! Quae mihi hinc gaudia, quanta frequenter oborta laetitia, quod eos errare in nobis cernerem! Quam gratus error, quam jucunda prolapsio, quam religiosa fallacia, quam suavis calumnia! Neque enim de tuis erat aliquid aut factis aut sermonibus, quod timerem, qui mihi tua laetabar ascribi. 39. Tamen si vehementius contenderent, quod se mihi aliquid intimasse memorarent, respondebam ridens et gaudens: Videte ne fratri dixeritis. Nam cum omnia nobis essent nostra communia, individuus spiritus, individuus affectus; solum tamen commune non erat secretum amicorum: non quo conferendi periculum vereremur, sed tenendi servaremus fidem. Sane si consilio pendenda res esset, erat semper commune consilium, nec semper commune secretum. Nam etsi amici ita alteri nostrum dicerent, ut dicta sua ad alterum pervenirent; tamen scio plerumque ita fidem secreti esse servatam, ut nec fratri committeretur. Erat enim fidele indicium, et extraneo non esse proditum, quod non esset cum fratre collatum. 40. His igitur tantis ac talibus bonis in excessum quemdam, fateor, mentis elatus, superstitem me timere desieram, quod illum vita crederem digniorem: et ideo excepi plagam, quam ferre non possum; tolerabiliora enim tanti doloris praemeditata, quam inexplorata vulnera. Quis jam moestum solabitur? Quis afflictum levabit? Cum quo participabo curas? Quis me ab istius mundi vindicabit usura? Tu enim auctor negotiorum, censor servulorum, arbiter fratrum; non litis, sed pietatis arbiter. 41. Nam si quando aliquid cum sancta sorore

1125 mihi conferendum fuit, utra melior videretur sententia, te judicem sumebamus, qui nullius laederes os, atque utrique satisfacere gestiens, et amandi affectum tenebas, et censendi modum; ut et utrumque gratum dimitteres, et utriusque tibi gratiam vindicares. Aut si ipse aliquid disceptandum deferres, quam grata contentio tua! quam sine felle ipsa indignatio! quam servulis ipsis coercitio non amara; cum te fratribus magis deferre, quam ex affectu disceres vindicare! Nobis enim professio repressit studia coercendi; immo tu, frater, ab omni nos abducebas coercitionis affectu, vindicare pollicens, et lenire desiderans. 42. Non mediocris igitur prudentiae testimonium, quae ita a sapientibus definitur: Bonorum primum esse Deum scire, et verum illud atque divinum pia mente venerari, illam amabilem et concupiscendam aeternae pulchritudinem veritatis tota mentis charitate diligere. Secundum autem, in proximos a divino illo fonte atque coelesti naturae derivare pietatem: quod etiam mundi sapientes nostris hausere de legibus. Neque enim derivare ista in hominum disciplinas, nisi de coelesti illo divinae legis fonte potuissent. 43. Quid igitur observantiam ejus erga Dei cultum praedicem? Qui priusquam perfectioribus esset initiatus mysteriis, in naufragio constitutus, cum ea qua veheretur, navis scopuloso illisa vado, et urgentibus hinc atque inde fluctibus solveretur, non mortem metuens, sed ne vacuus mysterii exiret e vita; quos initiatos esse cognoverat, ab his divinum illud fidelium sacramentum poposcit: non ut curiosos oculos inferret arcanis, sed ut fidei suae consequeretur auxilium. Etenim ligari fecit in orario, et orarium involvit collo, atque ita se dejecit in mare, non requirens de navis compage resolutam tabulam, cui supernatans juvaretur, quoniam fidei solius arma quaesierat. Itaque his se tectum atque munitum satis credens, alia auxilia non desideravit. 44. Simul fortitudinem ejus spectare licet, qui fatiscente remigio, non quasi naufragus tabulam sumpserit, sed quasi fortis ex se ipso adminiculum suae virtutis assumpserit: nec deseruit

1126 spes, nec fefellit opinio. Denique primus servatus ex undis, et in portum terrenae stationis evectus, praesulem suum, cui se crediderat, recognovit: statimque ubi etiam caeteros servulos suos vel ipse liberavit, vel liberatos comperit, negligens facultatum, nec amissa desiderans, Dei ecclesiam requisivit; ut ageret gratias liberatus, et mysteria aeterna cognosceret, pronuntians nullum referenda gratia majus esse officium. Quod si homini non referre, simile homicidio judicatum est; quantum crimen est non referre Deo! 45. Est ergo prudentis agnoscere se ipsum, et quemadmodum a sapientibus definitum est, secundum naturam vivere. Quid enim est tam secundum naturam, quam referre auctori gratiam? Aspice coelum hoc; nonne auctori refert gratiam, cum videtur? Coeli enim enarrant gloriam Dei, et opera manuum ejus annuntiat firmamentum (Psal. XVIII, 2). Mare ipsum cum sedatum atque tranquillum est, divinae serenitatis testatur indicium: cum movetur, indignatio superna terrori est. Nonne omnes Dei gratiam jure miramur, cum advertimus quod insensibilis natura quadam sensibili ratione suos fluctus coerceat, et fines suos unda cognoscat? Nam de terris quid loquar, quae divino obedientes praecepto omnibus sponte animantibus pabulum subministrant (Gen. I, 11); atque id quod acceperint agri, velut crescentibus usuris multiplicatum, cumulatumque restituunt? 46. Ergo ille qui natura duce divini rationem operis igneo mentis vigore perceperat, scivit primo omnium servatori suo gratiam esse referendam: sed quia referre non poterat, habere poterat. Est enim hujuscemodi gratiae vis, ut et cum refertur, habeatur; et habendo referatur. Referebat igitur gratiam, deferebat fidem. Nam qui tantum mysterii coelestis involuti in orario praesidium fuisset expertus, quantum arbitrabatur si ore sumeret, et toto pectoris hauriret arcano! quam majus putabat fusum in viscera, quod tantum sibi tectum orario profuisset! 47. Sed non ita avidus fuit, ut esset incautus; scimus enim plerosque aviditate studii praetermittere cautionem. Advocavit ad se episcopum (24, q. 1, cap. Advocavit),

1127 nec ullam veram putavit nisi verae fidei gratiam, percontatusque ex eo est utrumnam cum episcopis catholicis, hoc est, cum Romana Ecclesia conveniret? Et forte ad id locorum in schismate regionis illius Ecclesia erat; Lucifer enim se a nostra tunc temporis communione diviserat, et quamquam pro fide exsulasset, et fidei suae reliquisset haeredes; non putavit tamen fidem esse in schismate. Nam etsi fidem erga Deum tenerent, tamen erga Dei Ecclesiam non tenebant, cujus patiebantur velut quosdam artus dividi, et membra lacerari. Etenim cum propter Ecclesiam Christus passus sit, et Christi corpus Ecclesia sit (Ephes. V, 25); non videtur ab his exhiberi Christo fides, a quibus evacuatur ejus passio, corpusque distrahitur. 48. Itaque quamvis gratiae fenus teneret, et metueret tanti nominis debitor navigare; tamen eo transire maluit, ubi tuto posset exsolvere: judicabat enim divinae solutionem gratiae in affectu ac fide esse; quam quidem statim ubi primum copia liberior Ecclesiae fuit, implere non distulit. Deique gratiam et accepit desideratam, et servavit acceptam. Nihil igitur ea prudentia sapientius, quae divina et humana secernit. 49. Nam quid spectatam in stipendiis forensibus ejus facundiam loquar? Quam incredibili admiratione in auditorio praefecturae sublimis emicuit! Sed malo illa laudare, quae perceptis mysteriis Dei duxit humanis esse potiora. 50. Fortitudinem quoque ejus si quis plenius spectare volet, consideret quoties post naufragium invicto quodam contemptu vitae hujus, maria transfretaverit: diffusasque regiones obeundo peragrarit: postremo quod hoc ipso tempore periculum non refugerit, sed ad periculum venerit, patiens injuriae, negligens frigoris, atque utinam sollicitus cautionis! Sed hoc ipso beatus, quod dum licuit vigore uti corporis, inoffenso ad exsequenda quae vellet, functus

1128 juventutis officio, vitam vixit, debilitatem ignoravit. 51. Qua vero prosecutione simplicitatem ejus edisseram? Ea est enim quaedam morum temperantia, mentisque sobrietas. Date, quaeso, veniam, et permittite dolori

meo; ut de eo mihi paulo uberius liceat loqui, cum quo jam non conceditur colloqui. Certe et vobis proficit, ut advertatis non fragilitate quadam vos hoc officium, sed judicio detulisse: nec misericordia mortis impulsos, sed virtutum honorificentia provocatos; anima enim benedicta omnis simplex (Prov., XI). Tanta autem simplicitas erat, ut conversus in puerum, simplicitate illius aetatis innoxiae, perfectae virtutis effigie, et quodam innocentium morum speculo eluceret. Intravit igitur in regnum coelorum, quoniam credidit Dei verbo; quoniam sicut puer artem repulit adulandi, injuriae dolorem clementer absorbuit, quam inclementius vindicavit: querelae quam dolo promptior, satisfactioni facilis, difficilis ambitioni, sanctus pudori; ut frequenter in eo superfluam magis verecundiam praedicares, quam necessariam quaereres. 52. Sed numquam superflua fundamenta virtutis; pudor enim non revocat, sed commendat officium. Itaque velut quadam virginali verecundia suffusus ora, cum vultu affectum proderet, si forte aliquam subito veniens offendisset parentem, velut depressus et quasi demersus in terram, licet in ipso nequaquam dissimilis coetu virorum, rarus attollere os, elevare oculos, referre sermonem: quod pudico quodam mentis pudore faciebat, cum quo castimonia quoque corporis congruebat. Etenim intemerata sacri baptismatis dona servavit, mundus corpore, purior corde: non minus adulterini sermonis opprobrium, quam corporis perhorrescens: non minorem ratus pudicitiae reverentiam deferendam integritate verborum, quam corporis castitate. 53. Denique in tantum castimoniam dilexit, ut

1129 nec uxorem expeteret; licet in eo non solum castitatis appetentia fuerit, sed etiam pietatis gratia. Miro autem modo et conjugium dissimulabat, et jactantiam declinabat: tantaque erat dissimulatio, ut nobis quoque urgentibus, differre magis consortium, quam refugere videretur. Hoc unum itaque fuit, quod nec fratribus crederet: non aliqua cunctationis haesitantia, sed virtutis verecundia. 54. Quis igitur non miretur virum inter

fratres duos alterum virginem, alterum sacerdotem, aetate medium, magnanimitate non imparem, ita inter duo maxima munera praestitisse; ut alterius muneris castitatem, alterius sanctitatem referret, non professionis vinculo, sed virtutis officio? Ergo si libido atque iracundia reliquorum vitiorum educatrices sunt, jure castitatem atque clementiam dixerim quasdam virtutum parentes; quamquam pietas quoque ut omnium principatus bonorum, ita etiam seminarium virtutum est caeterarum. 55. Nam de parcimonia quid loquar, et quadam habendi castitate? Is enim non quaerit aliena, qui sua servat: nec inflatur immodico, qui contentus est proprio. Nihil ergo aliud nisi proprium recuperare voluit; magis ne fraudaretur, quam ut ditaretur. Nam eos qui aliena quaererent, recte accipitres pecuniae nominabat. Quod si radix malorum omnium avaritia est; utique vitia exuit, qui pecuniam non requirit (I Tim. VI, 10). 56. Non umquam accuratioribus epulis aut congestis ferculis delectatus est, nisi cum amicos rogaret: quantum naturae satis esset, non quantum voluptati superesset, requirens. Et certe erat non pauper opibus, sed tamen pauper spiritu. De istius beatitudine. (Matth. V, 3) nequaquam utique dubitare debemus, qui neque ut opulens, exsultavit in divitiis: neque ut pauper, exiguum quod habuit, judicavit. 57. Superest ut ad conclusionem cardinalium virtutum, etiam justitiae partes in eo debeamus advertere. Nam etsi cognatae sint inter se, concretaeque virtutes; tamen singularum quaedam forma expressior desideratur, maximeque justitiae. Ea enim sibi parcior foris tota est, et quidquid habet quadam inclementia sui, dum rapitur amore communi, transfundit in proximos. 58. Sed hujus multiplex est species. Alia erga propinquos, alia erga universos, alia erga Dei cultum, vel adjumentum inopum. Itaque qualis in universos fuerit, provincialium, quibus praefuit, studia docent: qui parentem magis fuisse proprium, quam judicem loquebantur: gratum piae necessitudinis arbitrum, constantem aequi juris disceptatorem. 59. Inter fratres autem qualis fuerit, licet

1130 omne hominum genus benevolentia complecteretur, indivisum patrimonium docet: nec distributa aut delibata, sed reservata haereditas. Etenim pietatem sibi causam esse negavit testandi. Nam hoc quoque ultimo sermone signavit, cum quos dilexerat, commendaret; sibi nec uxoris arbitrium fuisse ducendae, ne a fratribus divelleretur: nec testamenti faciendi voluntatem, ne nostrum in aliquo arbitrium laederetur. Denique et oratus et obsecratus a nobis, nihil tamen condendum putavit: non oblitus tamen pauperum, sed tantum obsecrans esse tribuendum, quantum nobis justum videretur. 60. Quo uno satis et divini timoris expressit indicium, et humanae edidit religionis exemplum. Nam quod pauperibus contulit, Deo detulit; quoniam qui largitur pauperi, Deo fenerat (Prov. XIX, 17): et postulando quod justum est, non exiguum, sed totum reliquit. Haec enim est summa justitiae, vendere quae habeas, et conferre pauperibus. Qui enim dispersit, dedit pauperibus, justitia ejus manet in aeternum (Psal. CXI, 9). Ergo dispensatores nos, non haeredes reliquit; nam haereditas successori quaeritur, dispensatio pauperibus obligatur. 61. Unde non immerito quantus fuerit, hodie quoque per vocem lectoris parvuli, Spiritus sanctus expressit: Innocens manibus, et mundo corde, qui non accepit in vanum animam suam, nec fecit proximo suo dolum: haec est generatio requirentium Deum (Psal. XXIII, 4, 6). Hic ergo et in montem Domini ascendet, et in tabernaculo habitabit Dei; quia ingressus sine macula, operatus est justitiam, locutus est veritatem, non decepit proximum (Psal. XIV, 2, 3): nec pecuniam feneratus est suam, qui semper voluit recuperare haereditariam. Agnosco oraculum; quod enim nulla ordinavit dispositio, Spiritus revelavit. 62. Quid vero illud recenseam, quod supra ipsam justitiam pietate progressus; cum quaedam incubatori communium fructuum mei contemplatione muneris putasset esse tribuenda, largitatis me jactabat auctorem, portionis suae lucrum ad commune consortium conferebat. 63. Haec et alia, quae mihi tunc erant voluptati, maxime nunc recordationem

doloris exasperant. Manent tamen, eruntque semper, nec umquam velut umbra praetereunt, neque enim virtutis gratia cum corpore occidit, nec idem naturae meritorumque finis; licet ipsius naturae usus non in aeternum occidat, sed temporali quadam vacatione requiescat. 64. Talibus igitur perfunctum virtutibus, ereptum periculis desiderio magis quam amissione flebo. Suadet enim ipsa opportunitas mortis, ut prosequendum magis gratia, quam dolendum

1131 putemus; scriptum est enim in communi dolore proprium vacare debere (IV Esdr. X, 11 et seq.). Neque enim prophetico sermone uni illi mulieri, quae figuratur, sed singulis dicitur, cum Ecclesiae dictum videtur. 65. Dicitur ergo et ad me, et dicit Scriptura coelestis: Hoccine doces, sic instituis Dei plebem? An nescis quia exemplum tuum periculum caeterorum est? Nisi forte exauditum non esse te quereris. Primum istud arrogantis est impudentiae, mereri solum velle, quod multis etiam sanctis negatum noveris; cum scias, quia non est personarum acceptor Deus (Act. X, 34). Nam etsi misericors Deus, tamen si semper exaudiret omnes, non jam ex voluntate libera, sed ex quadam velut necessitate facere videretur; Deinde cum omnes rogent, si exaudiret omnes, nemo moreretur. Pro quantis ergo quotidie rogas! Numquid constitutio Dei contemplatione solvenda est tui? Cur ergo non impetratum aliquando doles, quod non semper impetrabile esse cognoscis? 66. Stulte, inquit, super omnes mulieres, nonne vides luctum nostrum, et quae nobis contigerunt, quoniam Sion mater nostra omnium tristitia contristatur, et humilitate humiliata est. Lugete validissime et nunc, quoniam omnes lugemus; et tristes sitis, quoniam omnes contristati sumus: tu enim contristaris in fratre. Interroga terram et dicet tibi, quoniam haec est quae debeat lugere, tantorum superstes germinum: et ex ipsa, inquit, ab initio omnes nati, et alii venient, et ecce pene omnes in perditionem ambulant, et in exterminium fit multitudo eorum. Et quis ergo debet lugere magis, nisi quae tam magnam multitudinem perdidit, quam tu

qui pro uno doles (IV Reg. X, 6 et seq.)? 67. Absorbeat igitur nostrum dolorem communis dolor, et acerbitatem proprii moeroris excludat. Non enim dolere debemus eos, quos cernimus liberatos; neque enim otiose tam sanctas hoc tempore animas corporeis vinculis reminiscimur absolutas. Namque velut divino judicio tam graves viduas, ita uno tempore defunctas videmus, ut profectionis quidam videatur excessus, non mortis occasus; ne veterana emeritis stipendiis pudicitia in dubium diu servati pudoris incideret. Quos gemitus mihi, quos dolores tam acerba excitat recordatio! Et si moeroribus non vacabam; tamen in ipso dolore privato, in ipso tantorum amisso flore meritorum, communis quaedam naturae me conditio solabatur: defixusque in uno dolor acerbitatem publici funeris, domesticae specie pietatis obduxerat. 68. Repeto ergo, sacra Scriptura, solatia tua; juvat enim tuis praeceptis, tuis sententiis immorari. Quam facilius est coelum et terram praeterire, quam de Lege unum apicem cadere (Luc. XVI, 17)! Sed jam audiamus quae scripta sunt: Nunc, inquit, retine apud temet ipsam dolorem tuum, et

1132 fortiter fer, qui tibi contigerunt, casus. Si enim justificaveris terminum Dei, et filium tuum recipies in tempore, et in mulieribus collaudaberis (IV Esdr. X, 15, 16). Si hoc ad mulierem, quanto magis ad sacerdotem? Si de filio, non utique absurdum etiam de fratrum amissione talia posse memorari; quamquam si mihi fuisset filius, numquam eum amplius dilexissem. Nam sicut in obitu liberorum effusi labores, suscepti frustra dolores moerorem videntur augere; ita etiam in fratribus consuetudinis usus atque collegii acerbitatem doloris accendunt. 69. Sed ecce dicentem Scripturam audio: Noli facere hunc sermonem, sed consenti persuaderi. Qui enim casus Sion? Consolare propter dolorem Hierusalem. Vides enim quia sancta nostra contaminata sunt, et nomen quod nominatum est super nos, pene profanatum est, et illi nostri contumeliam passi sunt, et sacerdotes nostri succensi sunt, et levitae nostri in captivitate fuerunt, et

mulieres nostrae contaminatae sunt, et virgines nostrae vim passae, et justi nostri rapti, et parvuli nostri proditi sunt, et juvenes nostri servierunt, et fortes nostri invalilidi facti sunt. Et quod omnium majus, signaculum Sion quoniam resignata est de gloria sua, nunc et tradita est in manibus eorum, qui nos oderunt. Tu ergo excute tuam multam tristitiam, et depone abs te multitudinem dolorum; ut tibi repropitietur fortis, et requiem faciat tibi Altissimus requietione dolorum (Ibid., 20 et seq.). 70. Cessabunt igitur lacrymae, parendum est enim remediis salutaribus, quia debet aliquid inter fidos et perfidos interesse. Fleant ergo qui spem resurrectionis habere non possunt, quam non sententia Dei eripit, sed fidei inclementia. Intersit inter Christi servulos, idolorumque cultores; ut illi fleant suos, quos in perpetuum existimant interiisse: illi nullas habeant lacrymarum ferias, nullam tristitiae requiem consequantur, qui nullam putant requiem mortuorum. Nobis vero quibus mors non naturae, sed vitae istius finis est; quoniam in melius ipsa natura reparatur, fletus omnes casus mortis abstergat. 71. Certe si illi sibi aliqua solatia repererunt, qui finem sensus, defectumque naturae mortem arbitrati sunt; quanto magis nos, quibus meliora post mortem praemia bonorum factorum conscientia pollicetur! Habent gentiles solatia sua, quia requiem malorum omnium mortem existimant: et ut vitae fructu carent, ita etiam caruisse se putant omni sensu et dolore poenarum, quas in hac vita graves et assiduas sustinemus. Nos vero ut erectiores praemio, ita etiam patientiores solatio esse debemus; non enim amitti, sed praemitti videntur, quos non assumptura mors, sed aeternitas receptura est. 72. Cessabunt ergo lacrymae: aut si cessare non poterunt, in communibus lamentis flebo te, frater, et sub dolore publico domesticos gemitus

1133 tegam. Nam cessare qui poterunt, cum ad omnem sonum nominis tui lacrymae subrepant, vel cum usus ipse recordationem excitat, vel cum affectus imaginem repraesentat, vel cum recordatio dolorem renovat? Quando enim dees, qui tantis officiis repraesentaris? Ades, inquam, et

semper offunderis, et toto te animo ac mente complector, aspicio, alloquor, osculor, comprehendo vel in ipsa quiete nocturna, vel in luce clara; cum revisere et consolari dignaris moerentem. Denique ipsae jam noctes, quae quasi molestiores, vivente te, videbantur; quod mutui conspectus copiam denegarent: ipse jam somnus colloquiorum nostrorum dudum interruptor inamabilis, dulcis esse jam coepit; quia te mihi reddidit. Non igitur miseri, sed beati; quorum nec praesentia deficit, nec cura minuitur, et augetur gratia. Etenim somni similis imago mortis. 73. Quod si in quiete nocturna vinculis adhuc corporeis inhaerentes, et quasi inter carceraria religatae claustra membrorum; possunt tamen animae altiora et discreta perspicere: quanto magis spectant haec, cum jam puro aethereoque sensu nulla corporeae labis impedimenta patiuntur! Meritoque mihi conquerenti, vergente quodam jam in occasum die, quod non reviseres quiescentem, totus omni tempore individuus adfuisti; ita ut illo perfusus sopore membrorum, cum ego vigilarem tibi, tu viveres mihi, dicerem: Quid est mors, frater? Nam certe nullis a me separabare momentis; ita enim ubique praesto eras, ut quam in istius vitae usu habere nostri copiam nequibamus, nunc nobis semper et ubique praesto sit. Nam tunc utique omnia praesto esse non poterant; nec enim complexiones nostrae, conspectusque et osculorum corporalium suavitates locis omnibus et omnibus temporibus suppetebant. Animorum imagines semper nobiscum erant, etiam quando non eramus una: quae ne nunc quidem occiderunt, assiduoque advolant, quo majore desiderio, eo majore copia. 74. Teneo igitur te, frater, nec mihi te aut mors aut tempus avellet. Ipsae dulces lacrymae sunt, ipsi fletus jucundi, quibus restinguitur ardor animi, et quasi relaxatus evaporat affectus. Neque enim sine te esse possum, aut tui non meminisse umquam, aut meminisse sine lacrymis. O amari dies, qui interruptam copulam proditis! O flebiles noctes, quae tam bonum consortem quietis, et individuum mihi comitem perdidistis! Quas ederetis cruces, nisi se offunderet imago praesentis, nisi

visiones animi repraesentarent, quem species corporis denegaret! 75. Jam jam, frater animo meo charissime, quamquam tu immaturo decesseris obitu; beatus tamen, qui ista non sustines, nec amissum fratrem moerere compelleris, quem absentem diu ferre non poteras, sed recursu celeri revisebas.

1134 Quod si tunc solitudinis meae taedia repellere, moestitiam fraternae mentis ablevare properabas; quanto nunc crebrius afflictum animum debes revisere, et ex te conceptum, per te lenire moerorem! 76. At mihi tamen dat aliquas officii usus inducias, et obsequii sacerdotalis intentio abducit animum: sanctae vero sorori quid fiet, quae licet divino metu pietatem temperet; rursus tamen ipsum pietatis dolorem studio religionis accendit, strata humi et totum gremio sui complexa tumulum, laborioso fessa incessu, tristis affectu, dies noctesque moerorem integrat? Nam licet fletum plerumque sermone suspendat, in oratione renovat: et quamvis Scripturarum memoria consolationes serentibus praecurrat; flendi tamen desiderium precandi assiduitate compensat, lacrymarum ubertatem tunc praecipue, quando nemo interrumpere possit, instaurans. Ita quod miserearis, habes: quod reprehendas, non habes; flere enim in oratione virtutis est. Et quamquam istud familiare virginibus, quibus mollior sexus, tenerior affectus, contuitu communis fragilitatis in lacrymas etiam sine domestici sensu doloris exuberat; tamen cum major causa moerendi est, finis moeroribus excluditur. 77. Deest igitur consolandi via, quia suppetit excusandi gratia. Neque enim possis prohibere, quod doceas; praesertim cum religionis astruat lacrymas, non doloris; et communis seriem deplorationis metu pudoris obtexat. Consolare ergo qui potes adire animum, penetrare mentem. Cernat te esse praesentem, sentiat non esse defunctum; ut cujus secura de merito, ejus functa solatio, discat pro eo non graviter dolere, qui se admonuerit non esse dolendum. 78. Sed quid ego te morer, frater? quid exspectem, ut nostra tecum commoriatur, et quasi consepeliatur

oratio? Licet ipsa species et exanimis corporis forma soletur, oculosque manens gratia et permanens figura demulceat; nihil, inquam, moror, procedamus ad tumulum. Sed prius ultimum coram populo vale dico, pacem praedico, osculum solvo. Praecede ad illam communem omnibus et debitam, sed jam mihi prae caeteris desiderabilem domum. Para hospiti consortium; et quemadmodum hic omnia nobis fuere communia, ita illic quoque jus dividuum nesciamus. 79. Ne, quaeso, cupientem tui diu differas, properantem exspecta, festinantem adjuva, et si diutius morari tibi videbor, accerse. Neque enim umquam prolixius abfuimus a nobis, tu tamen solebas revisere. Nunc quoniam tu redire jam non potes, nos ad te ibimus: aequum est ut officium rependamus, subeamus vicem. Numquam nobis fuit vitae conditio discretior: semper aut sanitas aut aegritudo communis; ut cum alter aegresceret, alter in morbum incurreret:

1135 et cum alter revalesceret, uterque consurgeret. Quomodo jus nostrum amisimus? Et nunc consortium aegritudinis fuit, quomodo mortis consortium non fuit? 80. Tibi nunc, omnipotens Deus, innoxiam commendo animam, tibi hostiam meam offero: cape propitius ac serenus fraternum munus,

1136 sacrificium sacerdotis. Haec mei jam libamina praemitto, in hoc ad te pignore venio, non pecuniae, sed vitae pignore; ne me diutius residere facias tanti fenoris debitorem. Non mediocris est fraterni amoris usura, nec vilis naturae sors, quam cumulant incrementa virtutis. Possum ferre, si cito cogar exsolvere.

LIBER II.

DE FIDE RESURRECTIONIS.

1135 1. SUPERIORE libro aliquid indulsimus desiderio, ne tamquam ferventi plagae austeriora adhibita medicamenta exasperarent magis, quam lenirent dolorem: simul quia fratrem saepius allocuti sumus, et oculis tenebamus, absurdum non fuit relaxare paulisper affectum naturae, qui lacrymis magis pascitur, fletibus delinitur, stupore defigitur. Mollis enim et tenera species est forma pietatis, nihil insolens amat, nihil immite, nihil durum: ferendo autem magis probatur patientia, quam resistendo.

2. Ergo quia dudum dies mortis inter lacrymabiles aspectus debuit animum declinare fraternum, quia totum tenebat; nunc quoniam die septimo ad sepulcrum redimus, qui dies symbolum futurae quietis est, a fratre paululum ad communem humani generis cohortationem juvat derivare mentem, intentionemque transfundere; ita ut neque toti sensibus defigamur in fratre, ne obrepat affectus: neque tantae exsules pietatis et gratiae eum, quem diligimus, deseramus; et vere ipsi nobis tanti doloris augeamus injuriam, si hodie nobis et in sermone moriatur. 3. Unde, proposuimus, fratres charissimi, solari nos communi usu, nec durum putare, quidquid universos maneret; et ideo mortem non esse lugendam: primum, quia communis sit, et cunctis debita: deinde, quia nos saeculi hujus absolvat aerumnis: postremo, quia somni specie ubi ab istius mundi labore requietum sit, vigor nobis vivacior refundatur. Quem dolorem non soletur resurrectionis gratia? quem non excludat moerorem, si credas nihil perire morte; immo ipsius mortis celeritate fieri, ut plus perire non possit? Erit ergo, fratres charissimi, ut in adhortatione communi, etiam fratri nostrum

pendamus affectum: nec ab eo longius deviasse videamur, si per resurrectionis spem, et futurae

1136 gloriae suavitatem, etiam in sermone nobis hodie reviviscat. 4. Ordiamur igitur ab eo, ut lugendum nobis nostrorum obitum non esse doceamus. Quid enim absurdius, quam ut id quod scias omnibus esse praescriptum, quasi speciale deplores? Hoc est animum supra conditionem extollere, legem non recipere communem, naturae consortium recusare, mentem carnis inflari, et carnis ipsius nescire mensuram. Quid absurdius, quam nescire qui sis, affectare quod non sis? Aut quid imprudentius, quam quod futurum scias, id cum acciderit, ferre non posse? Natura ipsa nos revocat, et ab hujuscemodi moeroribus quadam sui consolatione subducit. Quis est enim tam gravis luctus, aut tam acerbus dolor, in quo non interdum relaxetur animus? Habet hoc natura, ut quamvis homines in tristibus rebus sint; tamen si modo homines sunt, a moerore mentem paulisper abducant. 5. Fuisse etiam quidam feruntur populi, qui ortus hominum lugerent, obitusque celebrarent. Nec imprudenter; eos enim qui in hoc vitae salum venissent, moerendos putabant: eos vero qui ex istius mundi procellis et fluctibus emersissent, non injusto gaudio prosequendos arbitrabantur. Nos quoque ipsi natales dies defunctorum obliviscimur, et eum quo obierunt diem, celebri solemnitate renovamus. 6. Non est ergo gravis subeundus moeror secundum naturam; ne aut excellentiorem aliquam naturae exceptionem nobis arrogare videamur, aut communem recusare. Etenim mors aequalis est omnibus, indiscreta pauperibus, inexcepta divitibus. Et ideo licet per unius peccatum, in omnes tamen pertransivit (Rom. V, 18); ut quem generis non refugimus auctorem, non refugiamus et mortis: et sit nobis sicut per unum mors, ita per unum etiam resurrectio; nec recusemus aerumnam, ut perveniamus ad gratiam: Venit enim,

1137 ut legimus, Christus salvum facere, quod perierat (Luc. XIX, 10): et ut non solum vivorum, sed etiam mortuorum dominetur (Rom. XIV, 9).

Lapsus sum in Adam, de paradiso ejectus in Adam, mortuus in Adam; quomodo revocet, nisi me in Adam invenerit, ut in illo culpae obnoxium, morti debitum, ita in Christo justificatum (S. Aug. de Pecc. orig., ca)? Si ergo debitum est mortis, solutio debet esse tolerabilis. Sed hic locus posterioribus partibus reservandus. 7. Nunc propositum est asserere mortem graviori non debere esse moerori, quod eum natura ipsa respuat. Denique Lyciorum feruntur esse praecepta, quae viros jubeant mulierum vestem induere, si moerori indulgeant; eo quod mollem et effeminatum judicaverint in viro luctum. Deforme est enim eos qui pro fide, pro religione, pro patria, pro aequitate judicii, atque intentione virtutis obvium morti debent pectus offerre, moerere in alio gravius, quod in se, si causa exegerit, sit expetendum. Nam quemadmodum potes in te non refugere, quod impatientius alii doleas accidisse? Depone moerorem, si potes: include, si non potes. 8. Aut absorbendus omnis, aut premendus est dolor. Cur enim moestitiam tuam non ratio potius, quam dies leniat? Non quod oblitteratura est temporis series, melius prudentia mitigabit. Quin etiam hoc ipsum irreligiosum puto erga ipsorum memoriam, quos dolemus amissos; ut oblivisci eorum malimus, quam consolatione mulceri: aut cum horrore reminisci, quam meminisse cum gratia: recordationem timere, quorum imago debeat esse voluptati: diffidere potius quam sperare de meritis defunctorum: et poenae addictos, quam immortalitati debitos, quos dilexeris, aestimare. 9. Sed dicis: Quos diligebamus, amisimus. Nonne haec nobis cum ipso mundo elementisque communia sunt; quia ad tempus credita in perpetuum tenere non possumus? Gemit terra sub aratris, imbribus caeditur, tempestate concutitur, stringitur frigore, sole torretur: ut fructus annuos feta parturiat: et cum se vario flore vestierit, proprio exuitur et spoliatur ornatu. Quantos haec raptores habet? Nec fructum suum queritur amissum, quem ideo generavit, ut amitteret: nec imposterum negat, quem sibi meminit auferendum. 10. Coelum ipsum non semper stellarum

micantium globis fulget, quibus quasi quibusdam insignitur coronis. Non semper ortu lucis albescit, radiis solis irrutilat: sed assiduis vicibus ille quidam mundi vultus gratissimus, humenti noctium caligat horrore. Quid gratius luce? quid sole jacundius? quae quotidie occidunt;

1138 decessisse tamen haec nobis non moleste ferimus, quia eum redire praesumimus. Doceris in his quam in tuis debeas exhibere patientiam. Si superiora tibi occidunt, nec dolori sunt; cur si occiderint humana, doleantur? 11. Sit tamen patiens dolor, sit in tristibus modus, qui exigitur in secundis. An si immoderate gaudere non convenit, lugere convenit? Non enim mediocre malum est immoderatio doloris, aut metus mortis. Quantos ad laqueum impulit, armavit ad gladium; ut in eo ipso amentiam suam proderent, mortem non ferentes, et mortem appetentes: et quod pro malo fugerent, pro remedio adsciscerent? Qui quoniam consentaneum naturae suae ferre ac perpeti nequiverunt, contrarium voto incidunt; ut ab his in perpetuum separentur, quos sequi desideraverint. Sed haec rara; quoniam natura ipsa revocat, etsi praecipitet amentia. 12. Illud vero frequens in mulieribus, ut clamores publicos serant, quasi metuant ne earum ignoretur aerumna: ut illuviem vestis affectent, quasi in ea sit sensus dolendi: ut impexum sordibus immadident caput: ut postremo, quod plerisque in locis vulgo fieri solet, discisso amictu, diloricata veste, secreti pudoris nuda prostituant, quasi ipsum lenocinentur pudorem, quia pudoris sui praemia perdiderunt. Sic procaces oculi provocantur, ut concupiscant, ut amare incipiant membra nudata: quae si non aspicerent, non amarent. Atque utinam sordidata illa tegumenta corporis non speciem, sed mentem obnuberent! Latet plerumque sub tristi amictu mentis lascivia: et deformis horror vestis obtexitur; ut secreta petulantium tegantur animorum. 13. Satis pie virum luget, quae servat pudorem, non deserit fidem. Haec bene defunctis officia impenduntur, ut vivant in mentibus, in affectibus perseverent. Non amisit virum, quae exhibet castitatem: non est viduata

conjugio, quae non mutavit nomen mariti. Nec tu perdidisti haeredem, quae adjuvas cohaeredem: sed pro successore corruptibilium, mutasti consortem immortalium. Habes qui tibi repraesentet haeredem: solve pauperi, quod debetur haeredi; ut non solum maternae aut paternae senectutis, sed etiam vitae propriae sit superstes. Plus successori tuo relinquis, si portio ejus non ad luxum praesentium proficiat, sed ad pretium futurorum. 14. Sed desideramus amissos. Duo sunt enim quae maxime angunt, aut desiderium eorum, quos amiserimus, sicut meo exemplo metior: aut quod eos vitae suavitate privatos, creptos laboris sui fructibus arbitremur. Tenera enim

1139 amoris est titillatio, quae improvisum affectum excitat, ut sedandi magis, quam excludendi doloris facultas relinquatur: simul quia pium videtur desiderare quod amiseris, et specie virtutis adolescit infirmitas. 15. Sed cur tu putes patientiorem illam esse debere, quae dilectum ad peregrina dimiserit, et militiae gratia, vel susceptae administrationis officio, vel negotiandi usu transfretasse compererit; quam te qui non fortuito arbitrio derelinqueris, aut studio pecuniae, sed lege naturae? At recuperandi tibi interclusa spes: quasi cuiquam certa sit redeundi. Et plerumque dubia plus fatigant, ubi periculi metus integer, graviusque est timere, ne acciderit, quam tolerare quod jam noveris accidisse. Aliud enim summam formidinis coacervat, aliud finem exspectat doloris. 16. An dominis jus est, quo decreverint, transferre mancipia, Deo non est? Sed non suppetit exspectare remeantem; suppetit tamen praecedentem sequi. Et certe brevis vitae usus nec illi multum videtur eripuisse, qui ante praecessit: nec te differre diutius, qui remanseris. 17. Quod si desiderium tuum mitigare non possis; nonne tamen videtur indignum pro desiderii tui studio rerum ordinem velle converti? Amantium ardentiora utique desideria sunt, et tamen necessitatis contuitu temperantur: et si dolent deseri, lugere tamen non solent: destituti amare impatientius erubescunt. Ita patientia desiderii plus probatur. 18. Quid autem de his loquar, qui defunctos putant vitae suavitate privari?

Nulla potest esse jucunditas inter has vitae nostrae amaritudines aut dolores, quae vel ex corporis ipsius infirmitate, vel extrinsecus accidentium incommoditate generantur. Anxii enim semper, et ad ipsa laetiorum vota suspensi, quodam fluctuamus incerto, sperantes dubia pro certis, incommoda pro secundis, caduca pro solidis: nihil habentes potestatis in arbitrio, nihil firmitatis in voto. At si aliquid contra voluntatem acciderit, perditos nos putamus; plusque adversorum dolore frangimur, quam secundorum fructu potimur. Quibus igitur carent bonis, qui magis eripiuntur incommodis? 19. Valetudo, credo, bona plus adjuvat, quam affligit mala: aut opulentia plus delectat, quam egestas afficit: aut filiorum magis amabilis gratia, quam lugubris amissio: aut adolescentia jucundior, quam senectus tristior. Quam plerumque suorum taedet votorum et optati poenitet; ut doleat impetratum, quod non impetrare metuebat. Exsilia vero, et caeterarum poenarum acerbitates, quae potest compensare patria? quae voluptates? Quae etiam cum adsunt; debilitantur tamen, aut non utendi affectu, aut amittendi metu. 20. Esto tamen: maneat inoffensus, immunis a doloribus, perpes in voluptatibus vitae cursus

1140 humanae; quid tamen commodi consequi potest anima in istiusmodi corporis inclusa compagibus, et quibusdam membrorum angustiis coarctata? Si caro nostra carcerem fugit, si detestatur omne quidquid evagandi facultatem negat; quae utique parvis ultra se audiendi videndique excurrere videtur sensibus: quanto magis anima nostra corporeum istud evadere gestit ergastulum, quae motu aereo libera, nescimus quo vadat, aut unde veniat (Joan. III, 8)! 21. Scimus tamen quod corpori supervivat, et ea, jam depositis proprii sensus repagulis expedita, libero cernat obtutu, quae ante sita in corpore non videbat. Quod exemplo dormientium possumus aestimare (quorum animi velut sepulto quieti corpore, ad altiora se subrigunt, et renuntiant corpori) rerum absentium, vel etiam coelestium visiones. Ergo si mors carnis ex saeculi nos absolvit

aerummis, utique malum non est, quae libertatem restituit, excludit dolorem. 22. Hinc igitur nobis adoriendus disputandi locus mortem malum non esse; quia aerumnarum omnium malorumque perfugium est, et fida statio securitatis, ac portus quietis. Nam quid in hac vita non experimur adversi? Quas non procellas, tempestatesque perpetimur? quibus non exagitamur incommodis? cujus parcitur meritis? 23. Sanctus patriarcha Israel profugus patria, fratre, parentibus, domum mutavit exsilio (Gen. XXVIII, 5), stuprum filiae (Gen. XXXIV, 2), generi necem flevit (Gen. XLIX, 5), famen pertulit, sepulturam defunctus amisit; transferri enim ossa sua, ne vel mortuus requiesceret, obsecravit. 24. Sanctus Joseph odia fratrum, insidias invidorum, servulorum obsequia, mercatorum imperia (Genes. XXXVII, 4 et seq.), dominae petulantiam, mariti inscitiam, carceris quoque est expertus aerumnam (Gen. XXXIX, 12 et seq.). 25. Sanctus David filios amisit duos: unum incestum (II Reg. XIII, 29), alterum parricidam (II Reg. XVIII, 14). Hos habuisse pudoris est, doloris est perdidisse. Amisit et tertium, quem amabat, parvulum. Hunc viventem adhuc flevit, mortuum non desideravit. Sic enim legimus (II Reg. XII, 18) quod, aegrotante puero, deprecabatur David Dominum pro eo, et jejunavit, et in cilicio jacuit, et astantibus majoribus natu, ut excitarent eum de terra, nec surgendum sibi, nec coenandum putavit. Ubi vero defunctum puerum comperit surrexit de terra, lavit illico, unctus est, vestimenta mutavit, adoravit Dominum, cibum sumpsit (Ibid., 20). Cum haec miranda pueris suis viderentur, respondit eis recte se, infante vivente, jejunasse et plorasse; quia jure arbitrabatur Dominum posse misereri, nec dubitandum quod vitam posset servare viventis, qui posset vivificare defunctos: jam vero, obita morte, quid jejunaret, qui jam non posset reducere mortuum exanimemque revocare: Ego, inquit, ibo ad eum: ipse autem non revertetur ad me (Ib. 23).

1141 26. O maximum solatium desiderantis! O verum sapientis judicium! O miram sapientiam servientis! ut nemo sibi adversi aliquid

accidisse indigne ferat, et contra meritum suum se queratur afflictum. Quis enim tu es, qui de tuo merito ante pronunties? Cur praevenire desideras cognitorem? Cur eripis sententiam judicaturo? Nec sanctis istud permissum est, nec a sanctis impune umquam est usurpatum. David se propterea flagellatum suo carmine confitetur: Ecce ipsi peccatores et abundantes in saeculo, obtinuerunt divitias. Ergo sine causa justificavi cor meum, et lavi inter innocentes manus meas: et fui flagellatus tota die, et index meus in matutinum (Ps. LXXII, 12 et seq.). 27. Petrus quoque quamvis plenus fide devotionis; tamen quia nondum conscius nostrae infirmitatis praesumptive dixerat Domino: Animam meam pro te ponam (Joan. XIII, 37); tentationem praesumptionis antequam tertio gallus cantaret incurrit (Joan. XVIII, 27). Licet illa tentatio documentum fuerit ad salutem; ut discamus non contemnere carnis infirmitatem, ne contemnendo tentemur. Si Petrus tentatus est, quis praesumat, quis astruat se non posse tentari? Atque haud dubie pro nobis tentatus est Petrus, ut in fortiore non esset tentamenti periculum: sed in illo disceremus quemadmodum in persecutionibus resistentes, etsi vitae studio tentaremur; tentationis tamen aculeum patientiae lacrymis vinceremus. 28. Idem tamen David, ne quem fortassis Scripturarum tenacem moveat factorum diversitas: idem, inquam, David parricidam mortuum flevit, qui non fleverat innocentem. Denique cum ploraret et lugeret, dixit: Filius meus Abessalon, filius meus Abessalon; quis dabit mihi mortem pro te (II Reg. XVIII, 33)? Non solus ergo fletur Abessalon, fletur parricida, fletur Ammon (II Reg. XIII, 36). Non solum fletur incestus, sed etiam vindicatur: alter contemptu regni, alter fratris exsilio. Fletur sceleratus, non fletur dilectus. Quae causa? quae ratio? Non mediocris igitur in prudentibus deliberatio, sapientibus confirmatio; magna enim prudentiae in tanta factorum diversitate constantia, una fides. Et illos mortuos flevit, et flendum infantem mortuum non putavit; illos enim sibi periisse credebat, hunc resurrecturum sperabat. 29. Sed de resurrectione

posterius, nunc ad proposita revertamur. Praemisimus enim etiam sanctos viros gravia in hoc mundo et multa perpessos sine suffragatione meritorum, cum aerumna laborum. Unde regressus ad se David, in posterioribus dicit: Memento, Domine, quia pulvis sumus, homo tamquam foenum, dies ejus (Ps. CII, 15); et alibi: Homo vanitati similis factus est, dies ejus sicut umbra praetereunt (Ps. CXLIII, 4). Quid enim nobis

1142 miserius, qui tamquam spoliati et nudi projicimur in hanc vitam, corpore fragili, corde lubrico, imbecillo animo, anxii ad sollicitudines, desidiosi ad labores, proni ad voluptates? 30. Non nasci igitur longe optimum, secundum sancti Salomonis sententiam. Ipsum enim etiam ii qui sibi visi sunt in philosophia excellere secuti sunt. Nam ipse illis anterior, nostris posterior, ita in Ecclesiaste locutus est: Et laudavi ego omnes defunctos qui jam mortui sunt, magis quam viventes, quicumque vivunt usque adhuc. Et optimus super hos duos, qui nondum natus est, et qui non vidit hoc opus malum, quod factum est sub sole. Et vidi ego universum laborem, et omnem virtutem operis hujus; quia aemulatio viro ab altero ejus. Et quidem hoc vanitas, et praesumptio spiritus (Eccles. IV, 2 et seq.). 31. Et quis hoc dixit, nisi ille qui sapientiam poposcit et impetravit (Sap. VII, 7); ut sciret compositionem orbis terrarum, et virtutem elementorum, anni cursus, et stellarum dispositiones, non ignoraret naturas animalium, et iras colligeret bestiarum, vim ventorum, et cogitationes hominum deprehenderet? Quem igitur non latuerunt coelestia, quemadmodum laterent mortalia? Qui cogitationem mulieris investigavit sibi infantem vindicantis alienum (III Reg. III, 27), qui naturas animalium, quas non acceperat, divina tamen gratia aspirante cognovit (Sap. VII, 20): hic de suae conditione naturae, quam in se expertus est, errare aut mentiri potuit? 32. Sed non solus hoc sensit, etsi solus expressit. Legerat sanctum dixisse Job: Pereat dies ille, in quo natus sum (Job. III, 3); et cognoverat nasci malorum omnium esse principium: et ideo diem quo natus est, perire optavit; ut tolleretur origo

incommodorum: et optavit perire diem generationis suae; ut diem resurrectionis acciperet. Audierat etiam Salomon dixisse patrem suum: Notum fac mihi, Domine, finem meum, et numerum, dierum meorum; ut sciam quid desit mihi (Ps. XXXVIII, 5). Noverat enim David non posse id quod perfectum est, hic comprehendi, et ideo ad ea quae sunt futura, properabat. Nunc enim ex parte scimus, et ex parte cognoscimus: tunc autem id quod perfectum est, poterit comprehendi; cum revelata facie nobis speculandae majestatis aeternitatisque divinae coeperit relucere non umbra, sed veritas (I Cor. XIII, 12). 33. Nemo tamen festinaret ad finem, nisi vitae istius fugeret incommoditatem. Et ideo etiam David quare ad finem festinet, exposuit dicens: Ecce veteres posuisti dies meos, et habitudo mea tamquam nihil ante te: verumtamen universa vanitas, omnis homo vivens (Ps. XXXVIII, 6). Quid igitur moramur

1143 fugere vanitatem? aut quid nos delectat in hoc saeculo vane conturbari, thesaurum pecuniarum condere, et ignorare cui congregamus haeredi? Petamus amoveri a nobis plagas, eripi nos ex insipienti saeculo, carere peregrinatione diuturna, ad illam redire patriam et naturalem domum. In hac enim terra advenae sumus atque peregrini (Ephes. II, 19): remigrandum eo, unde descendimus: ambiendum et obsecrandum non perfunctorie, sed obnixe; ut a dolis et ab iniquitate loquacium liberemur. Et ille qui remedium noverat, prolongatum tamen suum ingemit incolatum, et cum peccatoribus et iniquis se habitare deplorat (Ps. CXIX, 5). Quid ego faciam, qui et peccatum habeo, et ignoro remedium? 34. Hieremias quoque quod generatus sit, et ipse deplorat his verbis, dicens: Heu me, mater! ut quid me peperisti virum causam dicentem judicii in omni terra? Non profui, neque profuit mihi quisquam: virtus mea defecit (Jerem. XV, 10). Si igitur sancti viri vitam fugiunt, quorum vita etsi nobis utilis, sibi tamen inutilis aestimatur; quid nos facere oportet, qui nec aliis prodesse possumus, et nobis vitam hanc quasi fenebrem pecuniam usurario quodam cumulo

gravescentem onerari in dies peccatorum aere sentimus? 35. Quotidie morior, Apostolus dicit (I Cor. XV, 31). Melius utique, quam illi, qui meditationem mortis philosophiam esse dixerunt: illi enim studium praedicarunt, hic usum ipsum mortis exercuit. Et illi quidem propter se: Paulus autem ipse perfectus moriebatur non propter suam, sed propter nostram infirmitatem. Quid autem est mortis meditatio, nisi quaedam corporis et animae segregatio; quia mors ipsa non aliud quam corporis atque animae secessio definitur? Sed hoc secundum communem opinionem. 36. Secundum Scripturas autem triplicem esse mortem accipimus. Una est cum morimur peccato, Deo vivimus (Rom. VI, 10). Beata igitur mors, quae culpae refuga, Domino dedita, a mortali nos separat, immortali nos consecrat. Alia mors est vitae hujus excessus, qua mortuus est patriarcha Abraham, patriarcha David, et sepulti sunt cum patribus suis; cum anima nexu corporis liberatur. Tertia mors est, de qua dictum est: Dimitte mortuos sepelire mortuos suos (Matth. VIII, 22). Ea morte non solum caro, sed etiam anima moritur: Anima enim quae peccaverit, ipsa morietur (Ezech. XVIII, 4). Moritur enim Domino, non naturae infirmitate, sed culpae. Sed haec mors non perfunctio hujus est vitae, sed lapsus erroris. 37. Una ergo est mors spiritalis, alia naturalis, tertia poenalis. Sed non quae naturalis, eadem poenalis; non enim pro poena Dominus, sed pro remedio dedit mortem. Denique Adae peccanti praescriptum est aliud pro poena, aliud

1144 pro remedio; pro poena, cum dicitur: Quoniam audisti vocem uxoris tuae, et manducasti de ligno, de quo praeceperam tibi ab eo solo ne manducares, maledicta terra in operibus tuis: in tristitia manducabis fructum ejus omnibus diebus vitae tuae. Spinas et tribulos germinabit tibi, et edes pabulum agri. Cum sudore vultus tui manducabis panem tuum, donec revertaris in terram, de qua assumptus es (Gen. III, 17 et seq.). 38. Habes poenarum ferias, quia adversus spinas saeculi hujus et sollicitudines mundi, voluptatesque divitiarum, quae Verbum excludunt, poenam includunt (Luc.

VIII, 12); mors pro remedio data est, quasi finis malorum. Non enim dixit: Quoniam audisti vocem mulieris, reverteris in terram; haec enim esset poenalis sententia, quemadmodum est illa: Maledicta terra spinas et tribulos germinabit tibi; sed dixit: Manducabis panem tuum in sudore, donec revertaris in terram. Vides mortem magis metam esse nostrarum poenarum, qua cursus hujus vitae inciditur? 39. Ergo mors non solum malum non est, sed etiam bonum est. Denique pro bono quaeritur, sicut scriptum est: Quaerent homines mortem et non invenient eam (Apoc. IX, 6). Quaerent enim illi qui dicturi sunt montibus: Cadite super nos, et collibus: Operite nos (Luc. XXIII, 30). Quaeret etiam anima illa, quae peccat. Quaerit dives ille positus in inferno, qui vult digito Lazari refrigerari linguam suam (Luc. XVI, 24). 40. Videmus itaque quod et mors haec lucrum est, et vita poena est. Unde et Paulus ait: Mihi vivere Christus est, et mori lucrum (Phil. I, 21). Quid est Christus, nisi mors corporis, spiritus vitae? Et ideo commoriamur cum eo, ut vivamus cum eo. Sit quidam quotidianus usus in nobis, affectusque moriendi; ut per illam, quam diximus, segregationem a corporeis cupiditatibus anima nostra se discat extrahere, et tamquam in sublimi locata, quo terrenae adire libidines, et eam sibi glutinare non possint, suscipiat mortis imaginem, ne poenam mortis incurrat. Repugnat enim lex carnis legi mentis, et eam legi erroris addicit, sicut Apostolus revelavit, dicens: Video enim legem carnis meae repugnantem legi mentis meae, et captivantem me in lege peccati (Rom. VII, 23). Omnes impugnamur, omnes sentimus: sed non omnes liberamur. Et ideo infelix ego homo, nisi remedium quaeram. 41. Sed quod remedium? Quis me liberabit de corpore mortis hujus? Gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum (Ibid., 24, 25). Habemus medicum, sequamur remedium. Remedium nostrum Christi gratia est, et corpus mortis corpus est nostrum. Ergo peregrinemur a corpore, ne peregrinemur a Christo: etsi in corpore sumus, tamen quae sunt corporis non sequamur, nec

1145 deseramus jura naturae, sed dona gratiae praeoptemus: Dissolvi enim, et cum Christo esse multo melius: permanere autem in carne magis necessarium propter vos (Phil. I, 23, 24). 42. Sed non omnibus necessarium, Domine Jesu: non mihi, qui nulli utilis sum; nam mihi lucrum est mori, ne plura peccem. Lucrum mihi est mori, qui ipso libro quo alios consolor, quasi vehementiore monitore ad desiderium amissi fratris impellor; quoniam me ejus non sinit oblivisci. Nunc magis amo, et vehementius desidero. Desidero cum loquor, desidero cum relego; et ideo hoc potius scribendum arbitror, ne quando ab ejus recordatione divellar. Quod non contra Scripturas facio, sed cum Scripturis sentio; ut patientius doleam, impatientius desiderem. 43. Praestitisti mihi, frater, ne mortem timerem, atque utinam moriatur anima mea in anima tua; hoc enim sibi Balaam pro maximo bono optat, donatus Spiritu prophetandi: Moriatur, inquit, anima mea in animis justorum, et fiat semen meum sicut semen istorum (Num. XXIII, 10). Et vere hoc secundum prophetiam optat; qui enim viderat ortum Christi, vidit ejus triumphale, vidit mortem, vidit in eo perennem hominum resurrectionem; et ideo mori non timet resurrecturus. Non moriatur ergo anima mea in peccato, neque peccatum in se recipiat: sed moriatur in anima justi: ut ejus recipiat aequitatem. Denique qui moritur in Christo, fit ejus gratiae particeps in lavacro. 44. Non ergo formidabilis mors, nec amara egentibus, nec gravior divitibus, nec injusta senioribus, nec ignava fortibus, nec perpetua fidelibus, nec improvisa sapientibus. Quam multi enim vitam solo mortis titulo consecrarunt, quantos vivere puduit, mori profuit? Morte unius plerumque accepimus maximos populos liberatos: morte imperatoris fugatos exercitus hostium, quos vivus vincere nequivisset. 45. Morte martyrum religio defensa, cumulata fides, Ecclesia roborata est: vicerunt mortui, victi persecutores sunt. Itaque quorum vitam nescimus, horum mortem celebramus. Unde et David prophetice gloriatus in suae mentis excessu: Pretiosa, inquit, in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus (Psal.

CXV, 15). Mortem maluit praeferre, quam vitam. Ipsa mors martyrum praemium vitae est. Morte etiam inimicorum odia solvuntur. 46. Quid plura? Unius morte mundus redemptus est. Potuit enim Christus non mori, si voluisset: sed neque refugiendam mortem quasi ignavam putavit, neque melius nos quam

1146 moriendo servasset. Itaque mors ejus vita est omnium. Morte ejus signamur, mortem ejus orantes annuntiamus, mortem ejus offerentes praedicamus: mors ejus victoria est, mors ejus sacramentum est, mors ejus annua solemnitas mundi est. Quid praeterea de ejus morte dicamus, cum divino probemus exemplo, quia immortalitatem mors sola quaesivit, atque ipsa se mors redemit? Non igitur moerenda mors, quae causa salutis est publicae: non fugienda mors, quam Dei Filius non dedignatus est, non refugit. Non solvendus ordo naturae; quod enim commune est omnibus, exceptum in singulis esse non potest. 47. Et mors quidem in natura non fuit, sed conversa est in naturam; non enim a principio Deus mortem instituit, sed pro remedio dedit. Et consideremus ne videatur esse contrarium. Nam si bonum est mors, cur scriptum est, quia Deus mortem non fecit: sed malitia hominum mors introivit in orbem terrarum (Sap. I, 13; II, 24). Revera enim mors divino operi necessaria non fuit, cum in paradiso positis bonorum omnium jugis successus afflueret; sed praevaricatione damnata in labore diuturno, gemituque intolerando vita hominum coepit esse miserabilis: debuitque dari finis malorum, ut mors restitueret, quod vita amiserat. Immortalitas enim oneri potius quam usui est, nisi aspiret gratia. 48. Et si bene discutias, non naturae mors ista est, sed malitiae; manet enim natura, malitia moritur. Resurgit quod fuit: atque utinam ut jam peccandi liberum, ita vacuum culpae prioris! Sed hoc ipsum indicio est mortem non esse naturae, quia iidem erimus, qui fuimus. Itaque aut peccatorum nostrorum supplicia pendemus, aut bene gestorum gratiam consequemur. Resurget enim natura eadem, jam stipendiis mortis honoratior. Denique mortui, qui in

Christo sunt, resurgent primi: deinde et nos qui vivimus, inquit, simul cum illis rapiemur in nubibus obviam Christo in aera; et ita semper cum Domino erimus (I Thess. IV, 15, 16). Illi primi, viventes autem secundi. Illi cum Jesu, viventes per Jesum. Illis dulcior vita post requiem: viventibus etsi grata compendia, tamen ignota remedia. 49. Nihil est igitur quod in morte timeamus, nihil quod debeamus dolere; si aut naturae repetenti vita, quae accepta est, rependatur: aut petenti impendatur officio, in quo religionis cultus, aut virtutis usus est. Neque enim quisquam sibi, ut sic maneret, optavit. Joanni promissum aestimatum est, sed non est creditum. Verba tenemus, sententiam derivamus. Ipse in libro negat sibi, quod non moreretur, esse promissum; ne quem vana spes exemplo incesseret.

1147 Quod si id velle spes insolens; quanto insolentius, quod non praeter modum acciderit, ultra modum dolere? 50. Gentiles plerumque se consolantur viri, vel de communitate aerumnae, vel de jure naturae, vel de immortalitate animae. Quibus utinam sermo constaret, ac non miseram animam in varia portentorum ludibria formasque transfunderent! Quid igitur nos facere oportet, quorum stipendium resurrectio est? cujus gratiam quoniam negare plerique non possunt, fidem abnuunt. Et ideo eam non uno argumento aliquo, sed pluribus modis, ut possumus, astruamus. 51. Et quidem omnia aut usu, aut ratione, aut exemplo, aut eo quia decorum sit ea esse, ideo esse creduntur; et ad fidem singula suffragantur. Usus, quia movemur: ratio, quia quod movet, virtutis alterius convenit aestimari: exemplum, quia generavit ager fruges, et ideo generaturum esse praesumimus: decorum, quia et ubi fructum non putamus, decere tamen credimus, ut virtutis opera minime deseramus. 52. Singula igitur singulis astruuntur. Tribus tamen evidentius colligitur resurrectionis fides, quibus omnia comprehenduntur: ratione, universitatis exemplo, testimonio rei gestae; quia plurimi surrexerunt. Ratio evidens est; quia cum omnis vitae nostrae usus in corporis animaeque consortio sit, resurrectio autem aut boni

actus praemium habeat, aut poenam improbi; necesse sit corpus resurgere, cujus actus expenditur. Quomodo enim in judicium vocabitur anima sine corpore, cum de suo et corporis contubernio ratio praestanda sit? 53. Resurrectio omnibus attributa est: sed ideo difficile creditur, quia non nostrum meritum, sed Dei munus est. Prima igitur resurrectionis fides usus est mundi, rerumque status omnium, generationum series, successionum vices, obitus ortusque signorum, diei et noctis occasus, eorumque quotidie tamquam rediviva successio. Temperamenti quoque genitalis hujus terrae aliter ratio subesse non posset, nisi humoris ipsius quo omnia terrena generantur, quantum diurni solis aestus excoqueret, tantum rore nocturno dispositio divina repararet. Nam quid de fructibus loquar? Nonne tibi videntur occidere, cum decidunt: resurgere, cum revirescunt? Quod satum est, resurgit: quod mortuum est, resurgit; et in eadem genera, in easdem species reformatur. Hos terra primum reddidit fructus, in his primum natura nostra speciem resurrectionis imitata est. 54. Quid dubitas de corpore corpus resurgere? Granum seritur, granum resurgit: pomum decidit, pomum resurgit; sed flore granum induitur, folliculoque vestitur: Et hoc mortale

1148 oportet induere immortalitatem, et hoc corruptibile induere incorruptionem (I Cor. XV, 53). Flos resurrectionis immortalitas est, flos resurrectionis incorruptio est. Quid enim uberius quiete perpetua? quid locupletius securitate diuturna? Hic est multiplex fructus, cujus proventu pullulat fecundior hominum natura post mortem. 55. Sed miraris quemadmodum putrefacta solidentur, dispersa coeant, absumpta reparentur, non miraris quemadmodum semina vapore et compressu terrae soluta viridescant. Nam utique etiam ipsa terreno coalitu putrefacta solvuntur, et cum occaecata et mortua soli genitalis succus animaverit, quodam calore vitali spiritum quemdam herbae viridantis exhalant. Deinde paulatim teneram spicae adolescentis aetatem culmo erigit, et vaginis quibusdam natura tamquam sedula mater includit; ne pubescentem glacies adurat

aspera, atque a nimio solis defendat ardore: frugem quoque ipsam adhuc quasi primis erumpentem cunabulis, mox adultam ne pluvia decutiat, ne aura dispergat, ne avium minorum morsus interimat, vallo aristarum sepire consuevit. 56. Quid igitur miraris si homines, quos acceperit, terra restituat; cum seminum corpora quaecumque susceperit, vivificet, erigat, vestiat, muniat, atque defendat? Desine ergo dubitare quod depositum generis humani terrae fides reddat, quae commendata sibi semina usurario quodam fenore multiplicata restituat. Nam quid de generibus arborum loquar, quae posito surgunt de semine, fructusque resolutos rediviva fecunditate resuscitant, et formae veteri atque imagini suae reddunt, multasque aetates quaedam arborum corpora reparata transmittunt; ut ipsa durando vincant saecula? Putrescere videmus acinum, vitem resurgere: surculus inseritur, arbor renascitur. An de reparandis arboribus divina est providentia, de hominibus nulla cura? Et qui ea quae ad usus hominum dedit, perire non passus est; hominem perire patietur, quem ad imaginem sui fecit? 57. Sed incredibile tibi videtur, ut mortui reviviscant: Insipiens tu ipse quod seminas, nonne prius moritur, ut vivificetur (Ibid., 36)? Sere quemlibet fructum arentem, resuscitatur. Sed habet succum. Et nostrum corpus habet sanguinem suum, habet humorem suum. Hic nostri succus est corporis. Unde illud quoque explosum arbitror, quod arentem surculum quidam reviviscere negant, idque ad praejudicium carnis derivare nituntur. Non enim caro arida, cum caro omnis e limo sit, limus in humore, humor e terris. Denique multa gignentia quamvis jugi serenitate humo arida arenosaque nascuntur; quoniam ipsa sibi terra humorem sufficit.

1149 Num igitur in hominibus terra degenerat, quae omnia regenerare consuevit? Unde claret non esse dubitandum quod secundum naturam magis, quam contra naturam est; ex natura enim est resurgere nascentia omnia, contra naturam est interire. 58. Sequitur illud quod gentiles plerumque perturbat, quomodo fieri possit ut quos mare absorbuerit, ferae

dilaceraverint, bestiae devoraverint, terra restituat. Quo ita demum veniatur necesse est, ut non de fide resurrectionis, sed de parte dubitetur. Esto enim ut laceratorum corpora non resurgant, resurgunt caeteri: nec resurrectio destruitur, si conditio excipitur. Miror tamen cur vel de his dubitandum putent, quasi non omnia quae ex terris sunt, in terram redeant, et in terram resolvantur (Eccles. III, 20). Mare quoque ipsum quaecumque corpora humana demerserit, vicinis exspuit unda plerumque littoribus. Quod ni ita esset, difficile, credo, Deo foret dispersa connectere, dissipata sociare; cui mundus obtemperat, muta obsequuntur elementa, servit natura: quasi non majoris miraculi sit limum animare quam jungere? 59. Avis in regione Arabiae, cui nomen est phoenix, redivivo suae carnis humore reparabilis, cum mortua fuerit, reviviscit; solos non credimus homines resuscitari? Atqui hoc relatione crebra, et scripturarum auctoritate cognovimus memoratam avem quingentorum annorum spatia vitalis usus habere praescripta; eamque cum sibi finem vitae adesse praesaga quadam naturae suae aestimatione cognoverit, thecam sibi de thure et myrrha, et caeteris odoribus adornare, completoque opere pariter ac tempore, intrare illo, atque emori: ex cujus humore oriri vermem, paulatimque eum in avis ejusdem figuram concrescere, usumque formari, subnixam quoque remigio pennarum, renovatae vitae officia munere pietatis ordiri. Nam thecam illam, vel tumulum corporis, vel incunabulum resurgentis, in qua deficiens occidit, et occidens resurgit, ex Aethiopia in Lycaoniam vehit: atque ita resurrectione avis hujus, locorum incolae completum quingentorum annorum tempus intelligunt. Ergo isti avi quingentesimus resurrectionis annus est, nobis millesimus: illi in hoc saeculo, nobis in consummatione mundi. Plerique etiam opinantur quod avis haec rogum sibi ipsa succendat, et rursus

1150 de favillis suis et cineribus reviviscat. 60. Sed fortasse natura discretior, fidei quoque discretionem videatur afferre: in originem

principiumque hominis procreandi mens nostra redeat. Viri estis, feminae estis quae humana sunt, non ignoratis: et si qui ignoratis, ex nihilo putatis esse, quod nascimur. Quam ex parvo quanti exsurgimus! Et si non exprimimus, intelligitis tamen quid velimus, vel potius quid nolimus dicere. Unde hoc caput, et vultus iste mirabilis, cujus artificem non videmus, opus videmus, in varia officia ususque formatur? Unde forma erectior, status excelsior, faciendi vis, sentiendi vivacitas, gradiendi facultas? Ignota certe nobis sunt naturae organa, sed nota ministeria. Et tu semen fuisti, et tuum corpus semen est resurrecturi. Audi Paulum, et disce quia semen es: Seminatur in corruptione, surget in incorruptione: seminatur in ignobilitate, surget in gloria: seminatur in infirmitate, surget in virtute, seminatur corpus animale, surget corpus spiritale (I Cor. XV, 42 et seq.). Et tu ergo seminaris ut caetera, quid miraris si resurges ut caetera? Sed illa credis, quia vides: ista non credis, quia non vides: Beati qui non viderunt, et crediderunt (Joan. XX, 29). 61. Tamen antequam tempus veniat, nec illa creduntur; non enim omne tempus accommodum ad resuscitanda semina. Alio triticum seminatur, alio nascitur: alio vitis inseritur, alio gemmantia sarmenta pubescunt, luxuriat pampinus, uva formatur: alio plantatur olea, alio velut alvo gravis et onusta prole baccarum, fructus sui ubertate curvescit. Ante vero quam suum cuique tempus adveniat, fetura restrictior est: nec generationis aetatem habet in potestate generandi ipsa, quae generat. Nunc informem situ, nunc fetu nudam, nunc virentem floribus, nunc arentem ipsam omnium cernas parentem. Quae utique vellet omnibus se vestire temporibus, nec umquam aurea segetum aut viridantia pratorum indumenta deponere: ipsa sui egens, et proventuum suorum, quae in alios transfuderit, indotata compendiis. 62. Ergo et nostram resurrectionem et si non credis fide, non credis exemplo, usu es crediturus. Et aliis quidem fructibus, ut viti, oleae, pomisque diversis anni aetas extrema habilis maturandis: nobis

quoque mundi consummatio tamquam extremus anni finis accommodam resurgendi praescripsit aetatem. Et bene in consummatione mundi

1151 resurrectio mortuorum est; ne post resurrectionem in hoc malum nobis esset saeculum recidendum. Ideo enim Christus est passus, ut nos ex hoc malo saeculo liberaret; ne iterum nos hujus saeculi tentamenta subruerent et obesset renasci, si renasceremur ad culpam. 63. Et rationem igitur resurrectionis, et tempus tenemus: rationem quia in omnibus sibi fetibus aeque natura respondet, nec in sola hominum successione degenerat: tempus, quia omnia in anni fine generantur. Mundi tempora annus unus est. Et quid mirum si annus unus est, quando dies una est? Una enim die Dominus operarios conduxit ad vineam, dicens: Quid hic statis tota die otiosi (Matth. XX, 6)? 64. Causae originum semina sunt. Semen esse corpus humanum gentium Doctor asseruit (I Cor. XV, 42). Est ergo substantia resurgendi, quando est series seminandi. Quod si substantia aut causa non esset, arduum quisquam putaret Deo unde vellet, vel quomodo vellet, homines regenerare, qui mundum ex nulla materia, nulla substantia esse jussit, et factus est? Coelum aspice, terram intuere. Unde stellarum ignes? unde orbis solis et radii? unde lunae globus? unde montium vertices, dura saxorum, nemorosa silvarum? unde vel diffusus aer, vel infusae vel superfusae aquae? Sed si haec omnia Deus fecit ex nihilo (Ipse enim (Psal. CXLVIII, 5) dixit et facta sunt: ipse mandavit, et creata sunt), cur miremur renasci posse, quod fuerit; cum videamus natum esse, quod non fuit? 65. Illud mirum, quod cum resurrectionem non credant, tamen ne genus pereat hominum, clementi quadam benignitate prospiciunt; et ideo transire ac demigrare in corpora dicunt animas, ne mundus intereat. Sed quid sit difficilius, ipsi asserant, transire animas an redire: sua repetere, an nova quaerere. 66. Sed illi dubitent, qui non didicerunt: nos vero qui legimus Legem, prophetas, apostolos, Evangelium, dubitare fas non est. Quis enim dubitet, cum legit: Et in tempore illo salvabitur omnis plebs tua, quae

scripta est in libro: et multi dormientium in terrae fossis, una apertione exsurgent, hi in vitam aeternam, et hi in opprobrium et in confusionem perpetuam: et intelligentes splendebunt ut splendor firmamenti, et ex justis multi sicut stellae in saecula (Dan. XII, 1 et seq.)? Bene itaque dormientium dixit quietem, ut intelligas mortem non esse perpetuam, quae somni vice initur ad tempus, et ad tempus excluditur: melioremque profectum vitae ejus ostendit, quae futura post mortem est, quam ejus quae ante mortem

1152 moerore ac dolore transigitur. Siquidem illa stellis comparatur, haec aerumnae addicitur. 67. Nam quid illa contexam, quae alio loco scripta sunt: Suscitabis me et confitebor tibi? Quid etiam illud, quod Job sanctus vitae istius expertus injurias, et adversa omnia patientia virtutis exsuperans, compensationem sibi malorum praesentium de resurrectione promisit dicens: Suscitabis corpus meum hoc, quod multa mala passum est (Job. XIX, 26)? Esaias quoque resurrectionem populis annuntians, Dominici se nuntium dixit esse responsi; sic enim habes: Os enim Domini locutum est, et dicent die illa (Esai. XXV, 8). Quid igitur os Domini locutum sit populos esse dicturos, in posterioribus declaratur, ubi scriptum est: Propter timorem tuum, Domine, in utero accepimus et parturivimus spiritum salutis tuae, quem effudisti super terram. Cadent qui inhabitant terram, resurgent qui in monumentis sunt (Esai. XXVI, 18): ros enim qui abs te, sanitas est illis, terra vero impiorum peribit. Ambula, populus meus, et intra in recessus tuos. Abscondere aliquantulum, donec transeat ira Dei. 68. Quam bene recessus esse signavit tumulos mortuorum, quibus pauxillulum abscondimur; ut in judicium Dei, quod pro nostris sceleribus jus debitae indignationis assumet, tolerabilius transire possimus! Vivit igitur qui absconditur et quiescit, quasi e medio se subtrahens et recedens; ne eum arctioribus laqueis mundi hujus involvat aerumna, quibus repositam resurrectionis esse laetitiam, sanitatemque corporum solutorum divino rore reparabilem; coelestia oracula propheticis vocibus pollicentur. Et bene ros

significatur, quo genitalia omnia terrarum semina suscitantur. Quid igitur mirum si fatiscentis quoque corporis nostri cineres ac favillae pinguedine coelestis roris exuberant, et accepto humore vitali in compaginem suam membrorum nostrorum habitus reformantur? 69. Docet etiam sanctus Ezechiel propheta, et plena expositione describit, quemadmodum arentibus vigor ossibus refundatur, sensus redeat, motus accedat, nervisque redeuntibus, corporis compago rigescat humani: quemadmodum nimis arida renatis ossa visceribus vestiantur, venarumque hiatus, et sanguinis rivulos extentae cutis velamen obducat. In ipsis, dum legimus, propheticis sermonibus humanorum videtur seges corporum rediviva consurgere, atque ipsa spatia diffusa camporum novis videas pullulare seminibus. 70. Quod si veteres sapientes satis hydri dentibus

1153 in regione Thebana inhorruisse armatorum segetem crediderunt: cum utique alterius naturae semina certum sit in naturam verti alteram nequivisse, nec partum suis discordem fudisse seminibus; ut ex serpente homines nascerentur, ut caro ex dentibus gigneretur: quanto magis utique credendum est, quaecumque sunt seminata, in suam naturam resurgere, nec a satione sua segetes discrepare, nec duris mollia, nec mollibus dura viviscere, nec in sanguinem venena converti; sed carnem de carne, os de ossibus, sanguinem de sanguine, humorem de humore reparari. Potestis ergo, gentiles, reformationem negare naturae, qui mutationem potestis asserere? Potestis non credere oraculis, non Evangelio, non prophetiis, qui fabulis inanibus creditis? 71. Sed jam ipsum audiamus prophetam; sic enim ait: Et facta est super me manus Domini, et eduxit me in spiritu Dominus, et posuit me in medio campo, et hic erat plenus ossibus humanis: et circumduxit me per gyrum eorum, et ecce ossa multa valde in facie campi, arida nimis. Et ait ad me: Fili hominis, si vivent ossa ista? Et dixi: Domine tu scis. Et ait ad me: Prophetiza super ossa ista, et dices illis: Ossa arida haec, audite verbum Domini. Haec dicit Dominus ossibus istis: Ecce ego

induco in vos spiritum vitae, et dabo in vos nervos, et adducam super vos viscera, et extendam super vos cutem, et dabo Spiritum meum in vos; et vivetis, et scietis quod ego sum Dominus. Et prophetavi sicut mandavit mihi. Et factum est cum prophetarem haec omnia, ecce factus est terrae motus magnus (Ezech. XXXVII, 1 et seq.). 72. Vide nunc quemadmodum et auditum in ossibus, et motum prius ostendat esse, quam vitae spiritus refundatur. Nam et supra ossa arida jubentur audire, quasi sensum habeant audiendi: et hic accessisse eorum unumquodque ad suam compaginem prophetico sermone signatur; sic enim habes: Et accedebant ossa, unumquodque ad suam compaginem. Et vidi, et ecce super illa nervi et viscera nascebantur, et ascendebat super ea cutis desuper, et spiritus in his non erat (Ibid., 7 et seq.). 73. Magna Domini gratia, quod futurae resurrectionis propheta testis adhibetur, ut nos quoque eam illius oculis videremus. Neque enim omnes testes adhiberi poterant, sed in uno omnes testes sumus: quia nec in virum sanctum cadit mendacium, nec in tantum error prophetam. 74. Nec nimus verisimile debet videri, quia jubente Deo, ossa in suam compaginem reformantur; cum utique innumera habeamus exempla, quibus natura rerum coelestibus est obsecuta praeceptis; ut terra pabulum gignere juberetur, et gigneret (Gen. I, 11); ut ad virgae tactum sitientibus populis petra vomeret aquam (Num. XX, 11), atque aestu

1154 torridis miseratione divina undarent fluenta dura saxorum (Exod. IV, 3). Virga in serpentem versa quid aliud indicavit, nisi volente Deo ex insensibilibus sensibilia posse generari? An vero incredibilius putas quod ossa, cum jubentur, accedunt (Ezech. XXXVII, 7); quam quod retrorsum fluenta vertuntur, maria fugiunt? Sic enim propheta testatur; Mare vidit et fugit, Jordanis conversus est retrorsum (Psal. CXIII, 3). Nec super hoc ambigi potest, quod duorum populorum alterius salute, alterius obitu comprobatum est, aquarum cursus stetisse frenatos eosdemque aliis circumfusos, aliis ad mortem refusos, ut alios mergerent, alios reservarent

(Exod. XIV, 22 et seq.). Quid in ipso Evangelio? Nonne ibi probavit Dominus, quod verbo unda mitescat (Matth. VIII, 26), fugentur coeli nubila, cedantflabra ventorum, placidisque littoribus muta Deo famulentur elementa? 75. Sed persequamur caetera, ut quemadmodum spiritu vitae animentur defuncti, surgant jacentes, sepulcra reserentur, possimus advertere. Et ait ad me: Prophetiza, fili hominis, et dic spiritui: Haec dicit Dominus: A quatuor ventis coeli veni, spiritus, et insuffla in mortuos istos, et vivant. Et prophetavi sicut mandavit mihi, et intravit in eos spiritus vitae, et vixerunt, et steterunt in pedibus suis congregatio nimis multa. Et locutus est Dominus ad me, dicens: Fili hominis, ossa haec omnis domus Israel. Ipsi enim dicunt: Arida facta sunt ossa nostra, periit spes nostra, interibimus. Propterea prophetiza et dic: Haec dicit Dominus: Ecce ego aperio vobis monumenta vestra, et educam vos de monumentis vestris in terram Israel, et scietis quod ego sum Dominus, cum aperiam sepulcra vestra, et educam de sepulcris populum meum, et dabo Spiritum meum in vobis, et vivetis, et ponam vos super terram vestram, et scietis quia ego sum Dominus: locutus sum, et faciam, dicit Dominus (Ezech. XXXVII, 9 et seq.). 76. Advertimus quemadmodum vitalis spiritus commercia resumantur, cognovimus quemadmodum dehiscentibus tumulis, mortui suscitentur. An vero mirandum est jussu Domini mortuorum sepulcra reserari, cum tota suis terminis uno tonitruo terra quatiatur, mare suis exundet finibus, idemque suarum cursus refrenet undarum? Denique ille qui credidit quia in momento, in ictu oculi, in novissima tuba (canet enim tuba) mortui resurgent (I Cor. XV, 52); cum primis rapietur in nubibus obviam Christo in aera (I Thess. IV, 16); qui non credidit, relinquetur, et perfidia sua subdet se ipse sententiae. 77. Ostendit tibi Dominus etiam in Evangelio, ut jam ad exempla veniamus, quemadmodum resurgas. Non enim unum Lazarum, sed fidem omnium suscitavit: quod tu si credas, cum legis, mens quoque tua, quae mortua fuerat, in illo Lazaro reviviscit. quid enim sibi vult quod

Dominus ad monumentum accessit, magna voce clamavit: Lazare, exi foras (Joan. XI, 44)? nisi ut

1155 futurae resurrectionis specimen praestaret, exemplum ederet? Cur voce clamavit, quasi spiritu non soleat operari, quasi tacitus non soleat imperare? Sed ut illud ostenderet, quod scriptum est: Quoniam in momento, in ictu oculi, in novissima tuba, et mortui resurgent incorrupti (I Cor. XV, 52); tubarum enim crepitus vocis metitur elatio. Et clamavit: Lazare, exi foras. Cur etiam nomen additur; nisi forte ne alius resuscitatus pro alio videretur, aut fortuita magis resurrectio, quam imperata? 78. Audivit ergo defunctus, et exivit foras de monumento, ligatus pedes et manus institis, et facies ejus orario colligata erat (Joan. XI, 44). Comprehende, si potes, quemadmodum clausis oculis iter carpat, vinctis pedibus gradum dirigat, inseparabili gressu, separabilique progressu. Manebant vincula, nec tenebant: tegebantur oculi, sed videbant. Videbat denique qui resurgebat, qui ambulabat, qui deserebat sepulcrum. Virtute enim divinae praeceptionis operante, natura suum non requirebat officium; et tamquam in excessu posita, non jam suo ordini, sed divino nutui serviebat. Rumpebantur prius mortis quam sepulturae vincula: agebatur priusquam parabatur incessus. 79. Si miraris haec, disce quis imperaverit, ut mirari desinas. Jesus Christus Dei virtus; vita, lux, resurrectio mortuorum: virtus erexit jacentem, vita gressum extulit, lux fugavit tenebras, reparavit obtutum, resurrectio vivendi gratiam reformavit. 80. Fortasse moveat quod Judaei lapidem tollunt, Judaei institas solvunt; ne forte et tu sollicitus sis, quis lapidem de monumento tuo tollat (Ibid., 41). Quasi vero qui spiritum refundere poterat, lapidem removere non poterat: aut vincula rumpere, qui vinctum fecerat ambulare: aut deoperire faciem, qui opertis oculis lumen infuderat: aut findere petram, qui poterat reformare naturam? Sed ut vel oculis suis crederent, qui credere mente nolebant, removent lapidem, vident cadaver, fetorem sentiunt, institas rumpunt. Non possunt negare defunctum, quem aspiciunt

resurgentem, vident signa mortis, et vitae munera. Quid si dum conantur, labore ipso emendantur? quid si dum audiunt, vel auribus suis credunt? quid si dum intuentur, vel oculis suis corriguntur? quid si dum rumpunt vincula, mentes suas solvunt? quid si dum Lazarus exuitur, populus liberatur? dum Lazarum abire permittunt, ipsi ad Dominum revertuntur? Denique multi qui venerant ad Mariam, videntes quae facta sunt, crediderunt (Ibid., 45). 81. Nec hoc solum exemplum edidit Dominus

1156 noster Jesus Christus; sed alios quoque resuscitavit, ut nos vel exemplis uberioribus crederemus. Resuscitavit adolescentem fletu viduae matris inflexus, quando accessit et tetigit loculum, dicens: Adolescens, tibi dico surge: et resedit qui erat mortuus, et coepit loqui (Luc. VII, 14). Statim ut audivit, statim resedit, statim locutus est. Alia ergo virtutis gratia, alius ordo naturae. 82. Nam quid de archisynagogi filia loquar, in cujus obitu flebant turbae, tibicines personabant? Etenim ad fidem mortis pompa funeris exhibetur. Quam cito ad vocem Domini convertitur spiritus, redivivum corpus erigitur, cibus sumitur; ut vitae testimonium crederetur. 83. Et quid miremur ad vocem Dei refundi animam, redire ossibus viscera; cum meminerimus prophetici tactu corporis mortuum suscitatum (IV Reg. 13, 21)? Elias oravit, et defunctum suscitavit infantem (III Reg. XVII, 22): Petrus in nomine Christi Tabitham surgere atque ambulare praecepit, et redditam sibi pauperes gratulati crediderunt pro alimentis (Act. IX, 40); et nos adhuc pro salute non credimus? Illi resurrectionem alienam suis lacrymis redemerunt, nos nostram nec Christi credimus passione? Qui cum emitteret spiritum, ut ostenderet pro nostra resurrectione se mortuum, seriem ipsam resurrectionis exercuit; simul enim ut clamans iterum voce magna emisit spiritum; et terra mota est, et petrae scissae sunt, et monumenta aperta sunt, et multa corpora sanctorum dormientium resurrexerunt, et exeuntes de monumento post resurrectionem ejus venerunt in sanctam civitatem, et multis apparuerunt (Matth. XXVII, 51, 52). 84. Si

haec facta sunt, cum emitteret spiritum, cur incredibilia putamus, cum redire coeperit ad judicium? praesertim cum haec resurrectio documentum illius resurrectionis, et futurae sit veritatis exemplum: minus autem exemplum est, quam veritas. Quis igitur in Domini passione monumenta aperuit, manum resurgentibus dedit, viam qua civitatem sanctam peterent, demonstravit? si nemo fuit, fuit utique vis divina, quae operaretur in corporibus mortuorum. Hominis tu quaeris auxilium, ubi opus Dei cernis? 85. Non egent humanis divina ministeriis. Coelum Deus fieri jussit, et factum est: terram creari statuit, et creata est (Gen. I, 6 et seq.). Quis humeris saxa convexit? quis congessit impensas? quis laboranti Deo suam operam ministravit? In momento haec facta sunt. Vis scire quam brevi? Dixit, et facta sunt (Psal. CXLIII, 5). Si dicto elementa consurgunt, cur dicto mortui non resurgant? Qui licet mortui sint, tamen aliquando vixerunt, habuerunt spiritum sentiendi, habuerunt vires agendi; plurimumque refert capax animi non fuisse,

1157 et exanimum remansisse. Diabolus dixit: Dic lapidi huic, ut fiat panis (Luc. IV, 3). Confitetur, jubente Deo, converti posse naturam; tu non credis, jubente Deo, reformari posse naturam? 86. De solis cursu coelique ratione philosophi disputant, et sunt qui putant his esse credendum; cum quid loquantur, ignorent. Neque enim coelum ascenderunt, axem dimensi, mundum oculis perscrutati sunt; quia nullus eorum cum Deo in principio fuit, nullus eorum de Deo dixit: Cum pararet coelum, cum ipso eram, et eram cum eo componens, ego eram cui adgaudebat (Prov. VIII, 27, 30). Si ergo illis creditur, non creditur Deo, qui ait: Quemadmodum coelum novum, et terra nova, quae ego facio manere coram me, dicit Dominus, sic stabit nomen vestrum, et semen vestrum: et erit mensis ex mense, et sabbatum ex sabbato: et veniet omnis caro in conspectu meo, ut adorent in Hierusalem, dicit Dominus Deus: et exibunt, et videbunt membra hominum, qui praevaricati sunt in me. Nam vermis eorum non morietur, et ignis eorum

non exstinguetur, et erunt in aspectum universae carni (Esai. LXVI, 22 et seq.) 87. Si terra renovatur et coelum, cur dubitemus hominem posse renovari, propter quem terra facta et coelum est? Si praevaricator servatur ad poenam, cur justus non perpetuatur ad gloriam? Si vermis non moritur peccatorum, quemadmodum interibit caro justorum? Haec est enim resurrectio, sicut verbi ipsius sonus exprimit; ut quod cecidit, hoc resurgat: quod mortuum fuerit, reviviscat. 88. Et haec est series et causa justitiae, ut quoniam corporis animique communis est actus (quia quae animus cogitavit, corpus effecit) utrumque in judicium veniat, utrumque aut poenae dedatur, aut gloriae reservetur. Nam propemodum absurdum videtur, ut cum animi legem lex carnis impugnet, et mens plerumque quod odit, hoc faciat, quando inhabitans in homine peccatum carnis operatur; animus subdatur injuriae alienae reus culpae, caro quiete potiatur auctor aerumnae: et solus atteratur, qui non solus erravit: aut solus gloriam referat, qui non solus gratiae militavit. 89. Plena, ni fallor, et justa ratio: sed ego rationem a Christo non exigo. Si ratione convincor, fidem abnuo. Credidit Abraham Deo (Gen. XV, 6), et nos credamus; ut qui sumus generis, etiam fidei simus haeredes. Credidit et David, propter quod et locutus est (Psal. CXV, 10): et nos credamus, ut possimus loqui, scientes quoniam, qui suscitavit Dominum Jesum Christum, et nos cum Jesu suscitabit (II Cor. IV, 14). Hoc enim promisit, qui numquam mentitur, Deus (Tit. I, 2): hoc promisit veritas in Evangelio suo, dicens: Haec est autem voluntas ejus qui misit me, ut omne quod dedit mihi, non perdam ex eo: sed resuscitem illud in novissimo die (Joan. VI, 39). Nec satis putavit semel dixisse, sed etiam repetita expressione signavit; sic enim sequitur: Haec est enim

1158 voluntas Patris mei, qui misit me, ut omnis qui videt Filium, et credit in eum, habeat vitam aeternam, et ego resuscitabo eum in novissimo die (Ibid., 40). 90. Quis hoc dicit? Utique is qui mortuus plurima defunctorum corpora suscitavit. Si Deo non credimus, nec exemplo

credimus? Non credimus quod promisit; quando etiam quod non promisit, effecit? Ipse autem quam causam moriendi habuisset, nisi habuisset et causam resurgendi? Etenim quoniam Deus mori non poterat, mori non poterat sapientia: resurgere autem non poterat, quod mortuum non erat; assumitur caro, quae mori posset; ut dum moritur, quod solet, quod mortuum fuerat, hoc resurgeret. Neque enim poterat esse nisi per hominem resurrectio; quoniam sicut per hominem mors, ita et per hominem resurrectio mortuorum (I Cor. XV, 21). 91. Ergo resurrexit homo, quoniam homo mortuus est: resuscitatus homo, sed resuscitans Deus. Tunc secundum carnem homo, nunc per omnia Deus: nunc enim secundum carnem jam non novimus Christum, sed carnis gratiam tenemus; ut ipsum primitias quiescentium, ipsum primogenitum ex mortuis noverimus. Primitiae utique ejusdem sunt generis atque naturae, cujus et reliqui fructus quorum pro laetiore proventu primitiva Deo munera deferuntur, sacrum munus pro omnibus, et quasi reparatae quaedam libamina naturae. Primitiae ergo quiescentium Christus. Sed utrum suorum quiescentium, qui quasi mortis exsortes dulci quodam sopore teneantur, an omnium mortuorum? Sed sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur, ita et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur (I Cor. XV, 22). Itaque sicut primitiae mortis in Adam, ita etiam primitiae resurrectionis in Christo. 92. Omnes resurgunt, sed nemo desperet, neque justus doleat commune consortium resurgendi; cum praecipuum fructum virtutis exspectet. Omnes quidem resurgent, sed unusquisque, ut ait Apostolus, in suo ordine (Ibid., 23). Communis est divinae fructus clementiae, sed distinctus ordo meritorum. Dies omnibus lucet, sol omnes populos fovet, pluvia possessiones omnium uberiore imbre fecundat. 93. Omnes nascimur, omnes resurgemus: sed in utroque vel vivendi, vel reviviscendi gratia dispar, diversa conditio. In momento enim, in ictu oculi, in novissima tuba mortui resurgent incorrupti, et nos immutabimur (Ibid., 52). Quinetiam in ipsa morte quiescunt alii, vivunt alii. Bona quies, sed vita

melior. Denique Paulus ad vitam excitat quiescentem, dicens: Surge, qui dormis, et exsurge a mortuis, et illuminabit tibi Christus (Ephes. V, 14). Ergo hic excitatur, ut vivat, ut similis Pauli sit, ut possit dicere: Quia nos qui vivimus, non praeveniemus eos qui dormierunt (I Thess. IV, 14). Non enim communem hunc vivendi loquitur usum, spirandique commercium, sed meritum resurgendi. Nam cum dixisset. Et mortui qui in

1159 Christo sunt, resurgent primi (Ibid., 15); subjecit deinde: Et nos qui vivimus, simul cum illis rapiemur in nubibus obviam Christo in aera. 94. Utique mortuus est Paulus, et passione venerabili vitam corporis cum immortali gloria commutavit: num fefellit ergo qui se viventem scripsit in nubibus obviam Christo esse rapiendum? Hoc enim de Enoch legimus (Gen. V, 24), aut Elia (IV Reg. II, 11): sed et tu rapieris in spiritu. Ecce currus Eliae, ecce ignes, etsi non videntur, parantur; ut justus ascendat, innocens transferatur, et tua vita mori nesciat. Denique apostoli mori nescierunt; unde et dictum est: Amen, amen dico vobis, multi ex his astantibus non gustabunt mortem, donec videant Filium hominis venientem in regno suo (Matth. XVI, 28). Vivit enim qui non habet, quod moriatur in eo, qui non habet ex Aegypto calceamentum aliquod aut vinculum: sed exuit illud priusquam corporis hujus deponat officium. Non solus itaque Enoch vivit, quia non solus est raptus: rapitur et Paulus obviam Christo. 95. Vivunt etiam patriarchae; neque enim aliter Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, et Deus Jacob, nisi mortui viverent, diceretur; Deus enim mortuorum non est, sed viventium (Luc. XX, 38). Vivemus et nos, si gesta moresque majorum voluerimus imitari. Miramur patriarcharum praemia, imitemur obsequia: praedicamus gratiam, sequamur obedientiam, non escis inducti, saeculi laqueos incidamus. Arripiamus opportunitatem temporis, praescriptum Legis, clementiam vocationis, desiderium passionis. Exierunt de terra sua patriarchae, et nos exeamus proposito de corporis potestate; nos exeamus proposito, illi exsilio: sed exsilium non putarunt, quod devotio obiret, non

necessitas imperaret. Illi terram solo mutarunt, nos terram coelo mutemus: illi habitatione, nos spiritu. Illis illuminatum stellis coelum ostenderit sapientia, nostri cordis oculos illuminet. Sic typus veritati, et veritas concurrit typo. 96. Abraham paratus excipiendis hospitibus (Gen. XVIII, 2), fidelis Deo, impiger ministerio promptus officio, Trinitatem in typo vidit, hospitalitatem religione cumulavit, tres suspiciens, unum adorans; et personarum distinctione servata, unum tamen Dominum nominabat, tribus honorificentiam muneris deferens, et unam significans potestatem. Loquebatur enim in eo non doctrina, sed gratia: et melius credebat ille, quod non didicerat, quam nos qui didicimus. Nemo enim typum falsaverat veritatis, et ideo tres videt, sed unitatem veneratur. Tres mensuras similaginis promit, unum immolat vitulum; satis credens unum esse sacrificium, trium munus: unam hostiam, trium gratiam. Nam in quatuor regibus (Gen. XIV, 1 et seq.) quis non intelligat quod materialis elementa naturae, praefiguratae Dominicae passionis indicio, et omnia sibi mundana subjecerit? Fidelis in bello, abstemius in triumpho, qui donis non hominum ditescere, sed Dei mallet.

1160 97. Generare se posse filium senex credidit, immolare posse se filium pater judicavit (Gen. XXII, 11): nec patrius trepidavit affectus, cum senis dexteram pietas adjuvaret; sciebat enim acceptiorem Deo filium immolatum esse, quam sanum. Ergo adducit ad sacrificium filium dilectissimum; et quem sero susceperat, cito obtulit: nec paterni nominis appellatione revocatur, cum ille patrem vocaret, hic filium. Chara quidem nominum pignora, sed amabiliora Dei praecepta. Itaque licet compaterentur corda, vota durabant. Distrinxit super filium gladium paterna manu, et patrio percussit affectu, ne periret poena: trepidavit, ne ictus erraret, dextera deficeret. Sensit pietatis affectum, sed non omisit devotionis negotium: et properabat obsequium, etiam cum audiret oraculum. Unde nos quoque Deum omnibus, quos diligimus, praeferamus, patri, fratribus, matri; ut

possit nobis servare dilectos, sicut in Abraham uberiorem remuneratorem, quam ministrum videmus. 98. Obtulit quidem filium pater, sed Deus non sanguine, sed pietate placatur. Ovem pro homine demonstravit in ligno; ut et filium patri redderet, nec periret hostia sacerdoti. Itaque nec Abraham parricidio cruentatus est, nec Deus sacrificio defraudatus. Vidit propheta, nec affectavit jactantiam, nec tenuit pertinaciam: ovem pro homine mutavit. Quo magis ostenditur, quam religiose obtulerit, quem tam libenter recepit. Et tu si Deo munus tuum offeras, non amittis. Sed avari sumus. Deus unicum Filium morti pro nobis obtulit (Rom. VIII, 32), nos nostros negamus. Vidit hoc Abraham, et agnovit mysterium, salutem nobis in ligno futuram: nec latuit in uno eodemque sacrificio aliud esse quod videretur offerri, aliud quod posset occidi. 99. Imitemur ergo Abrahae devotionem, imitemur Isaac bonitatem, imitemur castimoniam. Bonus plane et pudicus vir, devotus Deo, castus uxori: qui injuriam non reddidit, excludentibus cessit, poenitentes eosdem recepit, nec protervus contumaciae, nec durus gratiae. Litium fugitans, cum recederet: facilis veniae, cum reciperet: profusior bonitate, cum ignosceret. Petebatur societatis consortium, adjunxit convivium voluptatis. 100. Imitemur etiam in Jacob typum Christi, sit ejus in nobis aliqua similitudo factorum. Erimus consortes, si fuerimus imitatores. Matri obedivit, fratri cessit, socero servivit, mercedem de lucris, non de gregis divisione quaesivit. Non avara divisio, ubi lucrativa portio. Nec illa otiosa significatio, scala de coelo (Gen. XXVIII, 12), quod per crucem Christi angelorum atque hominum futura consortia viderentur. Cui obstupefactum est femur (Gen. XXXII, 29), ut in femore suo agnosceret generationis haeredem, et obstupefactio femoris passionem prophetaret haeredis.

1161 101. Videmus igitur coelum patere virtuti, nec hoc esse paucorum: Multi enim venient ab Oriente, et ab Occidente, et Aquilone et Austro, et recumbent in regno Dei (Matth. VIII, 11), delectationem perpetuae quietis

sepultis animorum motibus exprimentes. Sequamur Abraham moribus, ut nos recipiat in gremium suum, et tamquam Lazarum suae humilitatis haeredem (Luc. XVI, 23) propriis circumfusum virtutibus pio foveat amplexu. Non enim nos in gremio corporali, sed in quodam bonorum factorum amictu sancti patriarchae probata Deo successio fovet. Nolite, inquit, seduci, Deus non deridetur (Galat. VI, 7). 102. Advertimus quam grave sit sacrilegium resurrectionem non credere; si enim non resurgimus, ergo Christus gratis mortuus est, ergo Christus non surrexit (I Cor. XV, 13). Si enim nobis non resurrexit, utique non resurrexit, qui sibi cur resurgeret, non habebat. Resurrexit in eo mundus, resurrexit in eo coelum, resurrexit in eo terra; erit enim coelum novum et terra nova (Apoc. XXI, 1). Sibi autem ubi erat necessaria resurrectio, quem mortis vincula non tenebant? Nam etsi secundum hominem mortuus, in ipsis tamen erat liber infernis. 103. Vis scire quam liber? Factus sum sicut homo sine adjutorio, inter mortuos liber (Psal. LXXXVII, 5). Et bene liber, qui se poterat suscitare, juxta quod scriptum est: Solvite hoc templum, et in triduo resuscitabo illud (Joan. II, 19). Et bene liber, qui alios descenderat redempturus. Factus est autem sicut homo, non specie utique, sed veritate formatus; quia et homo est, et quis cognoscet eum? Etenim in similitudinem hominum factus, et specie inventus ut homo, humiliavit semetipsum, factus obediens usque ad mortem (Phil. II, 7, 8); ut per illam scilicet obedientiam ejus gloriam videremus, gloriam quasi unigeniti a Patre secundum Joannem sanctum (Joan. I, 14). Ita enim Scripturae figura servatur, ut et unigeniti gloria, et perfecti hominis natura servetur in Christo. 104.

Itaque adjutore non eguit: neque enim eguit, cum faceret mundum; ut egeret, cum redimeret. Non legatus, non nuntius, sed ipse Dominus salvum fecit eum: Ipse dixit, et facta sunt (Psal. XXXII, 9). Ipse Dominus salvum fecit eum: ubique ipse, quia per ipsum omnia (Coloss. I, 17). Quis autem adjuvaret eum, in quo creata sunt omnia, et omnia in ipso constant? Quis

adjuvaret eum, qui omnia in momento facit, et in novissima tuba mortuos suscitat (I Cor. XV, 52)? Non quia aut prima, aut secunda non possit, aut tertia: sed ordo servatur, non quo difficultas sero vincenda, sed legitimus numerus explicandus sit.

105. Tempus autem, arbitror, de tubarum

1162 specie dicere, quoniam sermo propinquat ad finem; ut nostri quoque consummandi eloquii tuba sit signum. Septem tubas legimus in Apocalypsi Joannis, quas septem sumpsere angeli (Apoc. VIII, 2). Ubi habes quoniam septimus angelus tuba cecinit, et facta est vox magna de coelo dicens: Factum est regnum hujus mundi Dei nostri, et Christi ejus, et regnabit in saecula saeculorum (Apoc. XI, 15). Tuba quidem et pro voce accipitur, quia habes: Quoniam ecce ostium apertum in coelo, et vox prima, quam audivi, sicut tubam loquentem mecum et dicentem: Ascende huc, et ostendam tibi quae oportet fieri (Apoc. IV, 1). Legimus etiam: Canite initio mensis tuba (Psal. LXXX, 4); sed etiam alibi: Laudate eum in sono tubae (Psal. CL, 3). 106. Ergo quid sibi velit tubarum significatio, omni virtute debemus advertere; ne quasi fabulam aniliter accipientes periclitemur, si indigna dogmate spiritali, nec convenientia Scripturarum eminentiae sentiamus. Nam cum legerimus bellum nobis esse non adversus carnem et sanguinem, sed adversus spiritalia nequitiae, quae sunt in coelestibus (Ephes. VI, 12); non carnalia utique arma, sed fortia Deo aestimare debemus (II Cor. X, 4). Non enim satis est tubam te videre, nec sonum ejus audire, nisi proprietatem sonitus intelligas. Etenim si incertam vocem det tuba, quomodo quis parabit se ad bellum? Unde oportet vocis tubae nos scire virtutem, ne videamur barbari, cum tubas hujusmodi aut audimus, aut loquimur. Et ideo cum loquimur, oremus ut eas nobis Spiritus sanctus interpretetur. 107. Requiramus igitur in Scripturis veteribus quid de tubarum genere legerimus, consentientes eas solemnitates, quae Judaeis Lege praescriptae sunt, superiorum esse umbram celebritatum, coelestiumque

festorum. Hic enim umbra, illic veritas. Per umbram ad veritatem pervenire nitamur. Cujus figura etiam alibi expressa est hoc modo; habes enim quia locutus est Dominus ad Moysen: Loquere filiis Israel, dicens: Mense septimo, una mensis, erit vobis requies in memoriale tubarum, vocata sancta erit vobis. Omne opus servile non facietis, et accendetis holocaustum Domino (Levit. XXIII, 24). In Numeris autem: Locutus est Dominus ad Moysen, dicens: Fac tibi duas tubas ductiles, argenteas facies eas, et erunt tibi ad evocandam synagogam, et promovenda castra: et tuba canes in illis, et colligetur omnis turba ad ostium tabernaculi testimonii. Si autem in una tuba cecineris, ad te venient omnes principes et duces Israel, et tuba canetis significationem primam, et promovebunt castra, et constituentur ad Orientem. Et tuba canetis significationem secundam, et promovebunt castra, et constituentur ad Libanum.

1163 Et tuba canetis significationem tertiam, et promovebunt castra, quae constituentur ad Boream. Et tuba canetis significationem quartam, et promovebunt castra, quae constituentur ad Aquilonem. Significationem tuba canent in promotu eorum. Et cum congregabitis synagogam, tuba canite, et non significationem. Et filii Aaron sacerdotes tubis canent, et erit vobis legitimum aeternum in progenies vestras. Si autem exieritis in bellum in terram vestram ad adversarios, qui resistunt vobis, significabitis tubis, et reminiscemini coram Domino, et liberationem habebitis a mortuis vestris. Et in diebus laetitiae vestrae, et in diebus festis vestris, et in neomeniis vestris concinite tubis, et in holocaustis et sacrificiis salutaribus vestris, et erit vobis in commemoratione vestra coram Domino, ait Dominus (Num. X, 1 et seq.). 108. Quid igitur, dies festos in potu et in epulis aestimabimus? Sed nemo nos in manducando dijudicet; novimus enim quia Lex spiritalis est (Rom. VII, 14): Nemo ergo nos judicet in escis aliquibus aut in potu, aut in parte diei festi, aut neomeniis, aut sabbato; quae sunt umbra futurorum, corpus autem Christi (Coloss. II, 16). Corpus itaque Christi requiramus,

quod vobis quasi novissima tuba vox de coelo paterna monstravit, tunc cum dicebant Judaei, quia tonitruum factum est illi (Joan. XII, 28): corpus Christi quod iterum tuba nobis novissima revelabit; quoniam ipse Dominus in jussu archangeli, et in tuba Dei descendet de coelo: et mortui qui in Christo sunt, resurgent (I Thess. IV, 15); ubi enim corpus, illic et aquilae (Luc. XVII, 37): ubi Christi corpus, ibi veritas. 108. Septima igitur tuba hebdomadis requiem videtur significare, quae non solum in diebus et annis et periodis aestimatur (unde et jubilaeus sacratus est numerus), sed etiam annum septuagesimum comprehendit, quando in Hierusalem regressus est populus, qui septuaginta annis in captivitate duravit. In centesimis quoque et in millesimis sacri observatio numeri minime praeteritur; neque enim otiose Deus dixit: Reliqui mihi septem millia virorum, qui non curvaverunt genua ante Baal (III Reg. XIX, 18). Ergo umbra futurae quietis in diebus, mensibus, annis, mundi ipsius tempore figuratur; et ideo per Moysen mandatur filiis Israel, ut septimo mense, una mensis, singulis fiat requies in memoriale tubarum: nec servile aliquod opus, sed Deo sacrificium offeratur; eo quod in ipso fine hebdomadis, quasi mundi sabbato, spiritalia a nobis non carnalia opera flagitantur. Quod enim carnale, servile; quia animo caro servit: liberum vero innocentia facit, culpa vernaculum. 109. Oportuit igitur per speculum et in aenigmate fieri spiritalia: Nunc enim per speculum videmus, tunc autem facie ad faciem (I Cor. XIII, 12). Nunc secundum carnem militamus, tunc spiritu videbimus divina mysteria. Et ideo verae legis character

1164 in nostris moribus exprimatur, qui in Dei ambulamos imagine; quoniam jam legis umbra transivit: umbra Judaeis carnalibus, imago nobis, veritas resurrecturis. Tria enim haec secundum Legem esse cognovimus, umbram, imaginem, veritatem: umbram in Lege, imaginem in Evangilio, veritatem in judicio. Sed Christi omnia, et in Christo omnia, quem nunc secundum veritatem videre non possumus: sed videmus quasi in quadam

imagine futurorum, quorum umbram in Lege perspeximus. Ergo Christus non umbra, sed imago Dei: non vacua imago, sed veritas. Et ideo per Moysen Lex; quia umbra per hominem, figura per Legem, per Jesum veritas (Joan. I, 17). Neque enim veritas aliunde, nisi ex veritate procederet. 110. Si quis ergo hanc imaginem Dei videre desiderat, debet diligere Deum ut diligatur a Deo: et sit jam non servus, sed amicus, qui mandata Dei fecerit; ut possit introire in nubem, ubi est Deus (Exod. XXIV, 15). Ipse faciat sibi rationabiles tubas duas ductiles argento probato (Num. X, 1), hoc est, pretioso verbo compositas et ornatas; quibus non raucum increpans, terribili sonitu murmur interstrepat, sed sublimes gratiae Deo continua jubilatione fundantur. Talium enim tubarum sonitu mortui suscitantur, non crepitu utique aeris, sed verbo veritatis animati. Et fortasse duae istae tubae sunt, per quas divino spiritu Paulus increpuit dicens: Orabo spiritu, orabo et mente: psallam spiritu, psallam et mente (I Cor. XIV, 15); alterum enim sine altero nequaquam videtur evocationem habere perfectam. 111. Nec tamen omnium est utraque canere tuba, nec est omnium universam colligere synagogam: sed solis sacerdotibus, et ministris Dei canentibus ista praerogativa defertur (Num. X, 2 et seq.); ut quicumque audierit, secutus eo fuerit, ubi est Dei gloria, et ad tabernaculum testimonii praematura intentione convenerit: et opera possit spectare divina, et legitimum illud aeternumque domicilium in suae posteritatis seriem promereri. Tunc enim bellum conficitur, hostis fugatur; quando Spiritus gratia concinit, et mentis industria. 112. Sunt et illae salutares tubae, si corde credas, et ore confitearis: Corde enim creditur ad justitiam ore autem confessio fit ad salutem (Rom. X, 10). Hac igitur gemina tuba ad illam sanctam terram, resurrectionis scilicet gratiam, pervenitur; et ideo semper tibi concinant, ut semper audias Dei vocem: semper te angelorum prophetarumque oracula excitent atque commoveant, ut ad superiora festines. 113. Hanc intentionem David versabat in pectore, cum dicebat: Quoniam transibo in locum

tabernaculi admirabilis, usque ad domum Dei; in voce exsultationis et confessionis, sonus epulantis (Psal. XLI, 5). Non enim soli hostes harum tubarum

1165 sonitu vincuntur: sed et delectationes, et dies festi, et neomeniae sine his esse non possunt. Nemo enim potest nisi divini hauriat promissa sermonis, et resultantibus credat oraculis, exsultare laetitia, dies festos aut neomenias agere, quibus se corporali gratia, et saeculari occupatione vacuatum, Christi repleri luce desideret. Sacrificia quoque ipsa Deo probata esse non possunt, nisi confessio vocis aspiret, quae sacerdotali oblatione ad obsecrandam Dei gratiam populos excitare consuevit. 114. Itaque simus praedicatores Domini, et laudemus eum in voce tubae (Psal. CL, 3), non exigua de virtute ejus et vilia sentientes, sed ea quae possint aurem mentis implere, et intimae conscientiae penetrare secretum; ut ea quae corpori conveniunt, divinitati non putemus aptanda: nec divinae magnitudinem potestatis humanis viribus metiamur; ut quaeramus quomodo quis resurgat, aut quali corpore veniat, aut quemadmodum soluta coeant, lapsa reparentur; haec enim arbitrio Dei simul ut statuuntur, implentur. Nec sensibilis tubarum exspectatur auditus, sed invisibilis potentia magnificentiae coelestis operatur; Deo enim velle pro facto est: nec resurrectionis requirendus nisus, sed fructus nobis est expetendus. Quae proclivius celebrabitur, si exinaniti vitiis plenitudinem spiritalis mysterii consequamur, gratiamque renovata caro sumat a spiritu, et fulgorem lucis aeternae anima mutuetur a Christo. 115. Sed non solum singulorum, verum etiam universitatis sunt ista mysteria. Adverte enim juxta typum Legis, ordinem gratiae. Cum tuba prima cecinerit, orientales congregat, quasi praecipuos et electos: cum secunda, suppares meritis, qui secundum libanum siti, dereliquerint ludibria nationum: cum tertia, eos qui tamquam in mari exagitati istius freto mundi, saeculi hujus fluctibus vacillaverint: cum quarta, illos qui duritiam mentium nequaquam satis potuerint eloquii

spiritalis mollire praecepto; et ideo secundum boream vocati sunt, boreas enim secundum Salomonem durus est ventus (Prov. XXVII, 16). 116. Itaque licet momento resuscitentur omnes, omnes tamen meritorum ordine suscitantur. Et ideo primi resurgunt, qui maturo devotionis occursu, et quodam antelucano fidei exortu prodeuntes, solis aeterni radios receperunt. Quod vel de patriarchis juxta veteris seriem Testamenti, vel de apostolis juxta Evangelium jure memoraverim. Secundi autem, qui ritum gentium relinquentes, ab errore sacrilego transierunt in Ecclesiae disciplinam. Et ideo illi primi ex patribus, isti secundi ex gentibus; ab illis enim lux fidei coepit, in istis usque ad mundi occasum suscepta duravit. Tertii suscitantur, et quarti, qui ab austro, et qui ab aquilone sunt. His quatuor terra distinguitur, his quatuor annus includitur, his quatuor mundus

1166 impletur, his quatuor Ecclesia congregatur. Omnes enim qui sacrosanctae Ecclesiae copulati, divini nominis appellatione censentur, praerogativam resurrectionis et delectationis aeternae gratiam consequentur; quoniam venient ab Oriente et Occidente, ab Aquilone et Austro, et recumbent in regno Dei (Luc. XIII, 29). 117. Non enim exigua mundum suum Christus luce complectitur; quandoquidem a summo coelo egressio ejus, et occursus ejus usque ad summum ejus: nec est qui se abscondat a calore ejus (Psal. XVIII, 7). Omnes enim benignus illustrat, nec refutare levem, sed emendare vult: nec excludere durum Ecclesia, sed mollire desiderat. Et ideo in Canticis canticorum eos Ecclesia, in Evangelio Christus invitat dicens: Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis, et onerati estis: et ego reficiam vos. Tollite jugum meum super vos, et discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde (Mat. XI, 28, 29). 118. Ecclesiae quoque vocem invitantis agnosce; dicit enim: Exsurge, aquilo, et veni, auster; perfla hortum meum, et defluant unguenta mea. Descendat frater meus in hortum suum, et edat fructum pomiferarum suarum (Cant. IV, 16; V, 1). Sciens enim jam tunc etiam horum tibi fore opera fructuosa, Christo tuo fructum de

talibus pollicebare: et quae primo te in cubiculum dixisti Regis inductam, diligens ubera super vinum, cum diligentem amares, lactantem quaereres, pericula pro religione contemneres. 119. Deinde a Libano, sponsa, rogaris ut venias, judicio Domini adhuc tota formosa, adhuc tota irreprehensibilis. Sic enim scriptum est: Tota es formosa, proxima mea, et reprehensio non est in te. Ades huc a Libano, sponsa, ades huc a Libano (Cant. IV, 7, 8). 120. Postea ipsa jam nullos aquae lapsus, jam nullos impetus descendentes a Libano pertimescens, aquilonem et austrum advocas, perflari cupiens hortum tuum; ut in aliis unguenta tua defluant, in aliis multiplices fecunditatis tuae fructus offeras Christo. 121. Et ideo beatus qui custodit verba prophetiae hujus (Apoc. XXIII, 7), quae nobis resurrectionem evidentioribus testimoniis revelavit dicens: Et vidi mortuos magnos et pusillos stantes ante sedem, et libros aperuerunt: et alius liber apertus est, qui est vitae: et judicati sunt mortui de scriptis in libris, secundum facta sua. Et dedit mare mortuos, qui in ipso erant: et inferi dederunt mortuos, qui penes se erant (Apoc. XX 12). Ne ergo dubites quemadmodum resurgant, quor inferi revomunt, mare reddidit. 122. Accipe etiam quando promittatur gratia futura justorum: Et audivi, inquit, vocem magnam de throno dicentem: Ecce tabernaculum Dei cum hominibus, et habitabit cum illis; et ipsi populus ejus erunt, et ipse Deus cum illis erit illorum Deus. Et delebit omnem lacrymam de oculis eorum, et mors non erit amplius, neque luctus, neque clamor, neque dolor ultra erit. (Apoc. XXI, 3, 4).

1167 123. Compara nunc, si placet, atque contende vitam hanc cum illa vita, et elige, si potes, perpetuam corporis vitam in labore aerumnaque miserabili tantarum commutationum, votorumque taedio, fastidio voluptatum. Nonne si Deus ista perpetuare velit, illa deligeres? Nam si per se ipsa vita fugienda est, ut sit molestiarum fuga, requies aerumnarum; quanto magis ea requies est expetenda, cui futurae resurrectionis voluptas perpetua succedet; ubi nulla criminum series, nulla illecebra delictorum?

124. Quis in dolore tam patiens, qui non mortem oret? quis in infirmitate tam constans, ut non optet mori se potius, quam debilem vivere? quis in moerore tam fortis, ut non desideret eo se vel moriendo defungi? Quod si ipsi nobis dum vivimus, displicemus, cum vivendo finem praestitum esse noverimus; quanto amplius vitae nos taederet istius, si sine fine futuros nobis labores hujus corporis cerneremus? Quis est igitur qui se velit mortis exsortem? Aut quid gravius immortalitate miserabili? Si in hac vita, inquit, in Christo tantum sperantes sumus, miserabiliores sumus omnibus hominibus (I Cor. XV, 19); non quod in Christo sperare sit miserum, sed quia Christus sperantibus in se vitam alteram praeparaverit. Haec enim peccato obnoxia est, illa praemio reservata. 124. Ipsos cursus breves nostrarum aetatum quantum videmus nobis afferre fastidium? Puer adolescentiam desiderat, adolescens annos sibi majoris metitur aetatis, juvenis beneficio aevi florentis ingratus, senilem honorificentiam concupiscit. Ita omnibus ex natura venit velle mutari; quia ejus nos quod sumus, poenitet. Denique etiam ipsa post usum vota fastidio sunt: et quae mereri optavimus, cum meruerimus, abdicamus. 125. Unde non immerito etiam sancti viri prolongatum incolatum suum saepe doluerunt (Psal. CXIX, 5): doluit David, doluit Jeremias (Jerem. XX, 17), doluit Elias (III Reg. XIX, 4). Si sapientibus creditur, et hi in quibus divinus Spiritus loquebatur, ad meliora properabant: si reliquorum judicia sciscitamur, ut cognoscamus omnes in unam convenire sententiam; quanti mortem moerori, quanti mortem formidini praetulerunt? judicantes videlicet graviorem metum mortis esse, quam mortem. Adeo suis malis mors non timetur, sed vitae miseriis antefertur! cum expetitur morientis exitus, et evitatur formido viventis. 126. Sed esto, huic vitae resurrectio praeferatur.

1168 Quid, philosophi ipsi genus post mortem aliquod repererunt, quo nos uti magis, quam resurgere delectabit? Et illi quidem qui dicunt animas immortales esse, non satis mulcere me possunt, cum pro parte me redimunt.

Nam quae potest esse gratia, ubi non totus evasi? quae vita, si in me opus Dei occidat? quae justitia, si naturae finis mors sit, erranti justove communis? quae veritas, ut quia ipsa se moveat, et semper moveatur anima, immortalis esse credatur? Quod nobis in corpore commune cum bestiis, ante corpus quid geratur incertum; nec ex contrariis colligatur veritas, sed destruatur. 127. An vero illorum sententia placet, qui nostras animas, ubi ex hoc corpore emigraverint, in corpora ferarum, variorumque animantium transire commemorant? At certe haec circeis medicamentorum illecebris composita esse ludibria poetarum ipsi philosophi disserere solent: nec tam illos qui perpessi ista simulentur, quam sensus eorum qui ista confinxerint, velut circeo poculo ferunt in varia bestiarum monstra conversos. Quid enim tam simile prodigii, quam homines credere in habitum ferarum potuisse mutari? Quanto majoris est prodigii gubernatricem hominis animam, adversam humano generi bestiarum suscipere naturam, capacemque rationis ad irrationabile animal posse transire, quam corporis effigies esse mutatas? Vos ipsi haec destruitis, qui docetis. Nam magicis incantata carminibus portentosae hujus conversionis genera tradidistis. 128. Ludunt haec poetae, reprehendunt philosophi: et quae putant ficta de viventibus, haec arbitrantur vera de mortuis. Illi autem qui ista finxerunt, non suam probare fabulam, sed philosophorum errores irridere voluerunt: qui putant quod illa anima quae miti humilique proposito iracundiam vincere, patientiam assumere, cruore abstinere consueverat, eadem frementi motu leonis incensa, irae impatiens, effrena rabie, sitire sanguinem, caedemque possit expetere: et illa quae populorum fremitus varios regali quodam consilio temperabat, et rationabili voce mulcebat; eadem se inter devia atque deserta ritu luporum patiatur ululare: aut quae injusto sub onere gemeus, dures aratri labores questu miserabili mugiebat; eadem postea in figuram hominis commutata, levi cornua quaerat in fronte: vel illa quam praepetes prius pennae usque ad alta coeli per sublime aeris alarum remigiis evehebant; eadem

1169 postea volatus jam non suos requirat, et se humani doleat corporis gravitate pigrescere. 129. Hinc fortasse et illum Icarum perdidistis, quod persuasionibus vestris inductus adolescens, prius avem se fuisse fortasse crediderat. Hinc etiam senes plerique decepti sunt, ut gravi immorerentur dolori, cygneis male creduli fabulis, dum putant modulis se mulcendo flebilibus albentem molli pluma mutare canitiem. 130. Haec quam incredibilia! quam deformia! Quanto illud est convenientius, ut credas secundum naturam, credas secundum usum fructuum caeterorum, credas secundum gestorum exempla, oracula prophetarum, Christi coeleste promissum. Quid vero praestantius, quam ut opus Dei judices non perire, et secundum imaginem et similitudinem Dei factos transferri non posse in effigies bestiarum; cum utique ad similitudinem Dei non corporis sit imago, sed spiritus? Nam quemadmodum homo, cui subjecta sunt animantium genera caeterorum, in subjectum sibi animal meliore sui parte demigret? Non patitur hoc natura, et si pateretur natura, non pateretur gratia. 131. Sed videro quid vos de vobis, gentes, opinionis habeatis; neque enim mirum debet videri, quod creditis vos in bestias posse mutari, qui bestias adoratis. Ego tamen malim de vestro merito melius judicetis; ut non inter coetus ferarum, sed inter angelorum consortia vos credatis futuros. 132. Habet animus ex hoc jam vitae anfractu, et terreni corporis colluvione discedere, et ad illa concilia superna contendere, etsi sanctorum sit pervenire, laudem dicere Deo (quam

1170 citharizantes illos (Apoc. XIV, 2) dicere prophetica lectione (Apoc. XV, 3, 4) comperimus: Quia magna mirabilia opera tua, Domine Deus omnipotens: justae et verae viae tuae, Rex gentium! Quis non timebit et magnificabit nomen tuum; quia solus sanctus es, quia omnes gentes venient et adorabunt ante te; videre quoque tuas, Jesu, nuptias, in quibus de terrenis ad coelestia, concinentibus omnium gaudiis sponsa deducitur; ad te enim omnis caro veniet (Psal. LXIV, 3), jam non saeculo obnoxia, sed spiritui

copulata: videre thalamos ornatos byssino, rosis, liliis, et coronis. Cujus enim alterius sic ornantur nuptiae? Ornantur enim confessorum livore, martyrum sanguine, lillis virginum, coronis etiam sacerdotum? 133. Hoc sibi prae caeteris David sanctus optavit, ut haec spectaret et cerneret. Denique ait: Unam petivi a Domino, hanc requiram; ut inhabitem in domo Domini omnes dies vitae meae, et videam voluptatem Domini (Ps. XXVI, 4, 5). 134. Juvat hoc credere, sperare delectat: certe non credidisse poena est, sperasse gratia. Quod si in hoc erro, quia angelis me post mortem sociari malo, quam bestiis; libenter in hoc erro, neque umquam hac me opinione, dum vivo, fraudari patiar. 135. Quid enim mihi superest solatii, quam quod me citius ad te, frater, spero venturum, nec digressus tui inter nos longa divortia fore; tuisque intercessionibus mihi hoc posse conferri, ut citius desiderantem tui advoces. Quis enim est, qui non sibi debeat istud optare prae caeteris; ut corruptibile hoc induat incorruptelam, et mortale hoc induat immortalitatem (I Cor. XV, 53)? ut qui nunc morti corporis fragilitate succumbimus, supra naturam siti, mortem jam timere nequeamus.

De fide ad Gratianum Augustum

CONTENTS

LIBER PRIMUS.

PROLOGUS.
CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.
CAPUT VII.
CAPUT VIII.
CAPUT IX.
CAPUT X.
CAPUT XI.
CAPUT XII.
CAPUT XIII.
CAPUT XIV.
CAPUT XV.
CAPUT XVI.
CAPUT XVII.
CAPUT XVIII.
CAPUT XIX.
CAPUT XX.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

PROLOGUS.
CAPUT PRIMUM.

CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.
CAPUT VII.
CAPUT VIII.
CAPUT IX.
CAPUT X.
CAPUT XI.
CAPUT XII.
CAPUT XIII.
CAPUT XIV.
CAPUT XV.
CAPUT XVI.

LIBER TERTIUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.
CAPUT VII.
CAPUT VIII.
CAPUT IX.
CAPUT X.
CAPUT XI.
CAPUT XII.

CAPUT XIII.
CAPUT XIV.
CAPUT XV.
CAPUT XVI.
CAPUT XVII.

LIBER QUARTUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.
CAPUT VII.
CAPUT VIII.
CAPUT IX.
CAPUT X.
CAPUT XI.
CAPUT XII.

LIBER QUINTUS.

PROLOGUS.
CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.
CAPUT VII.
CAPUT VIII.

CAPUT IX.
CAPUT X.
CAPUT XI.
CAPUT XII.
CAPUT XIII.
CAPUT XIV.
CAPUT XV.
CAPUT XVI.
CAPUT XVII.
CAPUT XVIII.
CAPUT XIX.

LIBER PRIMUS.

PROLOGUS.

GRATIANUM OB ARDOREM discendae fidei laudat Ambrosius, semet vero deprimit. Quamquam autem illum humana doctrina indigere neget, quippe qui a Deo ipso fuerit institutus, addit tamen eumdem hac sua pietate viam sibi ad victoriam munire. Tum difficultate operis insinuata, non tam rationem quam auctoritatem, maxime vero Nicaeni concilii, secuturum se profitetur. 1. Regina Austri venit audire sapientiam Salomonis, ut in libro Regnorum legimus (III Reg. X, 1 et seq.). Hiram quoque rex ad Salomonem misit, ut cognosceret eum (III Reg. V, 1). Tu quoque, sancte imperator Gratiane, veteris imitator historiae, fidem meam audire voluisti. Sed non ego Salomon, cujus mireris sapientiam: neque tu unius gentis, sed totius orbis Augustus fidem libello exprimi censuisti: non ut disceres, sed ut probares. 2. Quid enim discas, imperator Auguste, quam ab ipsis incunabulis pio fovisti semper affectu? Priusquam te, inquit, formarem in utero matris tuae, novi te: et priusquam exires de vulva, sanctificavi te (Jerem. I, 5). Santificatio ergo non traditur, sed infunditur; et ideo divina dona custodi. Quod enim nemo te docuit, utique Deus auctor infudit. 3. Petis a me fidei libellum, sancte imperator, 444 profecturus ad praelium; nosti enim fide magis imperatoris quam virtute militum quaeri solere victoriam. Nam et Abraham trecentos decem et octo duxit ad bellum, et ex innumeris tropaea hostibus reportavit; signoque Dominicae crucis et nominis, quinque regum victriciumque turmarum subacto robore, et ultus est proximum, et fratris filium meruit et triumphum (Gen. XIV, 14 et seq.). Jesus quoque filius Nave hostes quos totius exercitus manu valida superare non poterat, septem tubarum sacerdotalium sono vicit, ubi ducem militiae

coelestis agnovit (Jos. VI, 6 et seq.). Ergo et tu vincere paras, qui Christum adoras: vincere paras, qui fidem vindicas, cujus a me libellum petisti. 4. Mallem quidem cohortandi ad fidem subire officium, quam de fide disceptandi; in altero enim religiosa confessio est, in altero incauta praesumptio: sed quoniam neque tu cohortatione indiges, neque ego excusandi liber, ubi pietatis officium est, audax negotium verecunda occasione suscipiam; ut de fide pauca disceptem, de testimoniis plura contexam. 5. De conciliis id potissimum sequar, quod trecenti decem et octo sacerdotes, tamquam Abrahae electi judicio, consona fidei virtute victores, velut tropaeum, toto orbe subactis perfidis, extulerunt; ut mihi videatur hoc esse divinum, quod eodem numero in conciliis fidei habemus oraculum, quo in historia pietatis exemplum. 445

CAPUT PRIMUM.

CATHOLICAM FIDEM A gentilium, Judaeorum, ac haereticorum erroribus distinguit: expositoque vocum Dei et Domini significatu, personarum discrimen, et naturae unitatem demonstrat: quam dum separant Ariani, non tres Deos tantum inducunt, sed etiam Trinitatis regnum destruunt. 6. Assertio autem nostrae fidei haec est, ut unum Deum esse dicamus: neque, ut gentes, Filium separemus: neque ut Judaei, natum ex Patre ante tempora, et ex Virgine postea editum denegemus: neque ut Sabellius, Patrem confundamus et Verbum; ut eumdem Patrem asseramus et Filium: neque ut Photinus, initium Filii ex Virgine disputemus: neque ut Arius, plures credendo et dissimiles potestates, plures deos gentili errore faciamus, quia scriptum est: Audi, Israel, Dominus Deus tuus, Deus unus est (Deut. VI, 4). 7. Deus enim et Dominus nomen magnificentiae, nomen est potestatis, sicut ipse dicit: Dominus nomen est mihi. Et sicut alibi Propheta asserit: Dominus omnipotens nomen est ei (Esai. XLII, 8). Dominus ergo et Deus vel quod dominetur omnibus, vel quod spectet omnia, et timeatur a cunctis. 8. Si ergo unus Deus, unum nomen, potestas una est Trinitatis. Denique ipse dicit: Ite, baptizate gentes in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti (Matth. XXVIII, 19). In nomine utique, non in nominibus. 9. Ipse etiam dicit: Ego et Pater unum sumus (Joan. X, 30). Unum dixit, ne fiat discretio potestatis et naturae: sumus addidit, ut Patrem Filiumque cognoscas; quod perfectus Pater perfectum Filium genuisse credatur: et Pater et Filius unum sint, non confusione personae, sed unitate naturae. 10. [Alias cap. II.] Unum ergo Deum, non duos aut tres deos dicimus; ut impia Arianorum haeresis dum criminatur, incurrit. Tres enim deos dicit, qui divinitatem separat

Trinitatis; cum Dominus dicendo: Ite, baptizate gentes in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti, unius esse Trinitatem potestatis ostenderit. Nos Patrem 446 et Filium et Spiritum sanctum confitemur; ita ut in Trinitate perfecta et plenitudo sit divinitatis, et unitas potestatis. 11. Omne regnum in se divisum facile destruetur, Dominus hoc dicit (Matth. XII, 25). Non ergo divisum est regnum Trinitatis. Si ergo divisum non est, unum est; quod enim unum non est, divisum est. Tale ergo regnum esse cupiunt Trinitatis, quod divisione sui facile destruatur. Immo quia non potest destrui, constat non esse divisum. Non enim dividitur unitas, nec scinditur; et ideo nec corruptelae subditur, nec aetati.

CAPUT II.

Imperatorem ad fidei zelum exhortatus, ab ea quae Christo cum Patre inest, voluntatis atque operationis unitate ipsum Deum esse ostendit. Quapropter expositis divinis attributis, eadem Christo etiam convenire affirmat: cujus praeterea varias appellationes prosecutus, iis substantialem unitatem personalemque distinctionem probari docet: tum exemplis aliquot ad explicandam unitatem illam adductis, negat aliter Dei unitatem defendi posse. 12. Non quicumque, inquit, mihi dicit: Domine, Domine, intrabit in regnum coelorum (Matth. VII, 21). Non ergo perfunctoria fides debet esse, imperator Auguste; scriptum est enim: Zelus domus tuae comedit me (Psal. LXVIII, 10). Itaque fideli spiritu et mente devota Jesum Dominum invocemus, Deum esse credamus; ut in nomine ejus quidquid a Patre petimus, impetremus; Pater enim se per Filium vult rogari, Filius vult rogari Patrem. 13. Concordat pietatis gratia, nec virtutis facta discordant. Quaecumque enim Pater facit, eadem et Filius facit similiter. Et similiter facit, et eadem facit Filius: sed vult rogari Patrem in eo, quod ipse facturus est; uti non impossibilitatis indicium, sed unitatem potestatis agnoscas. Jure igitur adorandus atque venerandus est Dei Filius, qui mundum divinitate sua condidit, et nostrum pietate sua informavit affectum. 14. Et ideo bonum Deum, sempiternum, perfectum, omnipotentem, verum debemus 447 credere, ut in Lege accepimus et prophetis, Scripturisque divinis caeteris, quia sine his Deus non est. Non potest enim bonus non esse, qui Deus est, cum in natura Dei plenitudo bonitatis sit: neque ex tempore Deus potest esse, qui fecit tempora: neque potest imperfectus Deus esse; qui enim minor est, imperfectus utique est, cui desit aliquid, quo majori possit aequari. Haec

igitur fidei praedicatio: Deus malus non est, Deo impossibile nihil est: Deus temporalis non est, Deus minor non est. Si fallor, redarguant. 15. Quia igitur Deus Christus: et bonus utique, et omnipotens, et sempiternus, et perfectus, et verus est; haec enim in natura divinitatis sunt. Aut igitur negent naturam divinitatis in Christo, aut quae divinae naturae sunt, Deo negare non possunt. 16. Certe ne quis possit errare, sequatur ea quibus Scriptura sancta, ut intelligere possimus Filium, significavit. Verbum dicitur, Filius dicitur, Dei virtus dicitur, dicitur Dei sapientia. Verbum, quia immaculatus: virtus, quia perfectus; Filius, quia genitus ex Patre: sapientia, quia unum cum Patre, unum aeternitate, unum divinitate. Non enim Pater ipse, qui Filius: sed inter Patrem et Filium generationis expressa distinctio est; ut ex Deo Deus, ex manente manens, plenus e pleno sit. 17. Non sunt igitur haec nuda nomina, sed operatricis virtutis indicia; est enim plenitudo divinitatis in Patre, est plenitudo divinitatis in Filio, non discrepans, sed una divinitas. Nec confusum, quod unum est: nec multiplex, quod indifferens. 18. Etenim si omnium credentium, sicut scriptum est (Act. IV, 32), erat anima una et cor unum: si omnis qui adhaeret Domino, unus spiritus est, ut Apostolus dixit (I Cor. VI, 27): si vir et uxor in carne una sunt: si omnes homines, quantum ad naturam pertinet, unius substantiae sumus: si hoc de humanis Scriptura dicit, quia multi unum sunt, quorum nulla potest esse cum divinis comparatio; quanto magis Pater et Filius divinitate unum sunt, ubi nec substantiae nec voluntatis ulla est differentia? 19. Namque aliter quomodo unum Deum dicemus? Diversitas plures facit, unitas potestatis excludit numeri quantitatem; quia unitas numerus non est, sed haec omnium ipsa principium est.

CAPUT III.

PATRIS AC FILII unitatem Scripturae testimoniis probat, et primo Esaiae locum aliorum comparatione ita illustrat, ut nullam a Patris natura in Filio inesse differentiam astruat, nisi quantum ad carnem, ac proinde unam utriusque deitatem esse. Quod ubi auctoritate Baruch confirmatum est, fidem prophetis hac in re habendam tradit. 20. Quantam vero Scriptura divina Patris et Filii secundum divinitatem expresserit unitatem, prophetica testantur oracula. Sic enim dicit Dominus sabaoth: Laboravit 448 Aegyptus, et mercatus Aethiopum et Sebaim: viri excelsi ad te transibunt, et tui erunt servi, et post te sequentur alligati vinculis, et adorabunt te, et in te deprecabuntur; quoniam in te est Deus, et non est Deus praeter te. Tu enim es Deus, et nesciebamus, Deus Israel (Esa. XLV, 14). 21. Audi propheticam vocem: In te, inquit, est Deus, et non est Deus praeter te. Quomodo hoc secundum Arianos convenit? Necesse est negent aut Patris aut Filii divinitatem, nisi ejusdem divinitatis crediderint unitatem. 22. In te, inquit, est Deus; quoniam in Filio Pater. Scriptum est enim: Pater qui in me manet, ipse loquitur; et: Opera quae ego facio, et ipse facit (Joan. V, 5). Sed et alibi in Patre Filius est, qui dicit: Ego in Patre, et Pater in me est (Joan. XIV, 10). Dissolvant, si possunt, hanc naturae proprietatem, et operis unitatem. 23. Deus igitur in Deo est, sed non duo dii; scriptum est enim, quia unus Deus (Deut. VI, 4): et Dominus in Domino, sed non duo Domini; quia aeque scriptum est: Nolite duobus dominis servire (Matth. VI, 24). Et lex dicit: Audi, Israel, Dominus Deus tuus Deus unus est (Deut. VI, 4). Et utique in eodem est Testamento: Pluit Dominus a Domino (Gen. XIX, 24). Dominus, inquit, a Domino pluit. Sic et in Genesi habes: Et dixit Deus, et fecit Deus;

et infra: Et fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem Dei (Gen. I, 3, 26); sed tamen non duo Dii, sed unus Deus lecit. Utromque igitur unitas operationis servatur et nominis. Nam utique cum legimus, Deus ex Deo, non duos deos dicimus. 24. Denique habes in Psalmo quadragesimo quarto, quod et Deum Patrem dixit Propheta, et Deum Filium declaravit, dicens: Sedes tua, Deus, in saeculum saeculi; et infra: Unxit te Deus Deus tuus oleo laetitiae prae consortibus tuis (Psal XLIV, 7, 8). Deus est qui ungit, et Deus qui secundum carnem ungitur Dei Filius. Denique quos habet unctionis suae Christus nisi in carne consortes? Vides igitur quia Deus a Deo unctus: sed in assumptione naturae unctus humanae Dei Filius designatur, nec Legis forma violatur. 25. Et hic ergo cum dicitur: Pluit Dominus a Domino, unitatem divinitatis agnosce. Operationis enim unitas non facit pluralem divinitatem, sicut ipse Dominus ostendit, dicens: Credite mihi, quia ego in Patre, et Pater in me: alioquin vel propter opera ipsa credite (Joan. X, 38). Et hic advertimus quod unitatem divinitatis per unitatem operum designaverit. 26. Ut autem una deitas et Patris et Filii, et una dominatio probaretur; ne gentilis aut Judaicae impietatis incurreremus errorem, providens Apostolus, quid sequi deberemus ostendit dicens: Unus Deus Pater, ex quo omnia, et nos in ipso: et unus Dominus Jesus Christus, per quem omnia, et nos per ipsum (I Cor. VIII, 6). Sicut enim unum dicendo Dominum Jesum Christum, Patrem Dominum non negavit; ita unum dicendo Deum Patrem, aeque a deitatis veritate nec Filium separavit. Unde nec pluralitatem divinitatis, sed unitatem potestatis ostendit; quia et in dominatione divinitas, et in divinitate dominatus est; sicut scriptum est: Scitote quoniam 449 Dominus ipse est Deus; ipse fecit nos, et non ipsi nos (Psal. XCIX, 3). 27. In te igitur est Deus, per unitatem naturae: et non est Deus praeter te, per proprietatem substantiae, repulsa differentia. 28. In Hieremiae quoque libro unum Deum Scriptura dicit, et tamen et Patrem et Filium confitetur. Itaque sic habes: Hic Deus noster, et non reputabitur alius ad eum. Hic adinvenit omnem viam

disciplinae, et dedit eam Jacob puero suo, et Israel dilecto suo. Post haec in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est (Baruc. III, 36, 37). 29. De Filio dicit: Ipse enim est cum hominibus conversatus; et dicit: Hic Deus noster, et non aestimabitur alius ad eum. Quid discutimus eum, de quo tantus dicit propheta, quod ad eum non possit alius aestimari? Quae enim potest esse alia aestimatio, ubi deitatis unitas est? Confitebatur hoc populus in periculis constitutus: nesciebat serere quaestiones qui religionem timebat. 30. Adesto, sancte Spiritus, prophetis tuis, quibus inesse consuesti, quibus credimus. Si prophetis non credimus, sapientibus credam hujus mundi? Sed ubi sapiens, ubi scriba? Rusticus noster cum ficus insereret, invenit quod philosophus ignoravit. Quae stulta sunt enim hujus mundi, elegit Deus, ut confundat quae sunt fortia (I Cor. I, 27). Credimus Judaeis, quia notus aliquando in Judaea Deus (Psal. LXXV, 2)? Sed hoc ipsum negant propter quod credimus, quia non norunt Patrem, qui Filium negaverunt.

CAPUT IV.

Argumentis aliquot ad probandam Dei unitatem collectim propositis, in tribus magorum muneribus Christi divinitatem humanitatemque adumbratas ostendit; non secus ac in angelo cum tribus pueris inter flammas deambulante, divinitatis ac trinitatis veritatem. 31. Unum Deum communis natura testatur, quia unus est mundus. Unum Deum fides significat, quia una fides novi et veteris Testamenti. Unum Spiritum sanctum testificatur gratia, quia unum baptisma in nomine Trinitatis est. Unum Deum Prophetae dicunt, Apostoli audiunt. Unum Deum Magi crediderunt, et aurum, thus et myrrham supplices ad Christi cunabula detulerunt, auro regem fatentes, ut Deum thure venerantes. Thesaurus enim regni, sacrificium Dei, myrrha est sepulturae. 32. Quid igitur voluerunt sibi mystica munera inter abjecta praesepia, nisi ut intelligeremus in Christo differentiam divinitatis et carnis? 450 Ut homo cernitur, ut Dominus adoratur: jacet in pannis, sed fulget in stellis: cunae nascentem indicant, et stellae dominantem: caro est quae involvitur: divinitas, cui ab angelis ministratur. Ita nec dignitas naturalis majestatis amittitur, et assumptae carnis veritas comprobatur. 33. Haec est fides nostra. Sic se Deus cognosci voluit ab omnibus, sic tres pueri crediderunt, nec incendia circumjecta senserunt; cum infidos noxius ignis exureret, et fidelibus innoxia flamma roraret, quibus aliorum incendia refrigerabant; quia merito fidei perdiderat suam poena naturam. Aderat enim in specie angeli qui monebat ut in numero Trinitatis, unius esset laudatio potestatis. Benedicebatur Deus, videbatur in angelo Dei Filius, sancta et spiritalis in pueris gratia loquebatur.

CAPUT V.

Arianorum variae in Christum blasphemiae referuntur, quibus antequam respondeatur, monentur Catholici caveant a sophismatis philosophorum; eo quod scilicet in illis haeretici spem praecipuam collocarent. 34. [Alias cap. III.] Nunc consideremus quas Ariani de Dei Filio inferant quaestiones. 35. Dissimilem Patri dicunt esse Dei Filium. Hoc si homini objiciatur, injuria est. 36. Ex tempore coepisse dicunt Dei Filium; cum conditor ipse sit temporum. Homines sumus, et esse nolumus temporales. Ex tempore coepimus, et sine tempore futuros esse nos credimus. Fieri nos optamus aeternos, et quomodo negare possumus Dei Filium sempiternum, quem sempiternum docet atque demonstrat natura, non gratia? 37. Creatum dicunt. Quis auctorem inter opera sua deputet, ut videatur id esse quod fecit? 38. Bonum negant. Sacrilega vox ipsa se damnat, ut indulgentiam sperare non possit. 39. Negant verum Dei Filium, negant omnipotentem; cum fateantur omnia facta per Filium, omnia creata per Dei esse virtutem. Quid est enim virtus, nisi perfecta natura? 40. Negant etiam divinitate unum esse cum Patre. Deleant ergo Evangelium, deleant Christi vocem. Ipse enim dixit: Ego et Pater unum sumus (Joan. X, 30). Non ego hoc dico, Christus dixit. Numquid fallax, ut mentiretur? Numquid impius, ut quod non erat usurparet? Sed singula suis locis plenius digerentur. 41. Nunc quoniam haereticus dicit esse dissimilem, idque versutis disputationibus astruere nititur, dicendum est nobis quod scriptum est: 451 Cavete ne quis vos depraedetur per philosophiam, et inanem seductionem secundum traditionem hominum, et secundum elementa hujus mundi, et non secundum Christum: quia in ipso habitat omnis plenitudo divinitatis

corporaliter (Coloss. II, 8, 9). 42. Omnem enim vim venenorum suorum in dialectica disputatione constituunt, quae philosophorum sententia definitur non astruendi vim habere, sed studium destruendi. Sed non in dialectica complacuit Deo salvum facere populum suum: Regnum enim Dei in simplicitate fidei est, non in contentione sermonis (I Cor. IV, 20).

CAPUT VI.

Christum Patri dissimilem non esse probaturus, memoratis celebrioribus Arianorum ducibus, quam male inter eos conveniat, aperit, atque adversus eos, tamquam in monstra quaedam, praesidium Scripturarum ostendit. 43. [Alias cap. IV.] Dissimilem igitur dicunt esse: nos negamus; immo potius horremus hanc vocem. Sed nolo argumento credas, sancte Imperator, et nostrae disputationi: Scripturas interrogemus, interrogemus apostolos, interrogemus prophetas, interrogemus Christum. Quid multa? Patrem interrogemus, cujus honori studere se dicunt, si Filius degener judicetur. Sed non est honorificentia boni Patris, Filii injuria. Non potest bono Patri placere, si Filius degenerasse potius a Patre, quam Patrem aequasse credatur. 44. Da veniam, sancte Imperator, si ad ipsos paulisper verba converto. Sed quem potissimum legam Eunomiumne, an Arium, vel Aetium ejus magistros? Plura enim nomina, sed una perfidia, impietate non dissonans, communione discordans: non dissimilis fraude, sed coitione discreta. Cur enim secum nolint convenire, non intelligo. 452 45. Eunomii personam defugiunt Ariani, sed ejus perfidiam asserunt, impietatem exsequuntur. Aiunt eum prodidisse effusius, quae Arius scripserit. Magna caecitatis effusio! Auctorem probant, exsecutorem refutant. Itaque nunc in plures sese divisere formas. Alii Eunomium, vel Aetium, alii Palladium, vel Demophilum atque Auxentium, vel perfidiae hujus haeredes sequuntur, alii diversos. Numquid divisus est Christus? Sed qui eum a Patre dividunt, ipsi se scindunt. 46. Et ideo quoniam communiter adversus Ecclesiam Dei, quibus inter seipsos non convenit, conspirarunt, communi nomine haereticos, quibus respondendum est, nominabo. Haeresis enim, velut

quaedam Hydra fabularum, vulneribus suis crevit: et dum saepe reciditur, pullulavit, igni debita, incendioque peritura: aut velut quaedam monstruosi Scylla portenti in varias formas distincta perfidiae, velut supervacuum Christianae sectae nomen obtendit: sed quos in illo impietatis suae freto miseros inter naufragia fidei reperit fluctuantes, belluinis succincta prodigiis, tetri dogmatis saevo dente dilacerat. 47. Cujus speluncam, sancte Imperator, ut ferunt nautae, caecis latebris inhorrentem, omnemque ejus viciniam caeruleis canibus inter perfidiae saxa resonantem, clausa quodammodo praeterire aure debemus. Scriptum est enim: Sepi aures tuas spinis (Eccl. XXVIII, 28). Et alibi: Videte canes, videte malos operarios (Philip. III, 2). Et iterum: Haereticum hominem post primam correptionem devita, sciens quia subversus est qui ejusmodi est, et delinquit, cum sit proprio judicio damnatus (Tit. III, 10, 11). Itaque tamquam boni gubernatores quo tutius praetermeare possimus, fidei vela tendamus, Scripturarumque relegamus ordinem. 453

CAPUT VII.

EX PAULO, PROPHETIS atque Evangelio Christus asseritur Patri similis; maxime vero ex hominis ad similitudinem divinam creatione. 48. Apostolus dicit imaginem Patris Christum esse; ait enim quod ipse sit imago Dei invisibilis, primogenitus universae creaturae (Coloss. I, 15). Primogenitus, inquit, non primocreatus; ut et genitus pro natura, et primus pro perpetuitate credatur. Alibi quoque Apostolus asseruit quod ipsum posuit haeredem omnium, per quem fecit et saecula, qui est splendor gloriae, et character substantiae ejus (Hebr. I, 2). Imaginem Apostolus dicit, et Arius dicit esse dissimilem: cur imago, si similitudinem non habet? in picturis homines nolunt esse dissimiles, et Arius dissimilem Patrem contendit Filio, et vult ut Pater dissimilem genuerit sui, quasi impotens qui generare similem non potuerit. 49. Prophetae dicunt: In lumine tuo videbimus lumen (Psal. XXXV, 10). Prophetae dicunt: Splendor est enim lucis aeternae, et speculum sine macula Dei majestatis, et imago bonitatis illius (Sap. VII, 26). Vide quanta dicantur. Splendor; quod claritas paternae lucis in Filio sit: speculum sine macula; quod Pater videatur in Filio: imago bonitatis; quod non corpus in corpore, sed virtus in Filio tota cernatur. Imago docet non esse dissimilem, character expressum esse significat, splendor signat aeternum. Imago utique non vultus est corporalis, non fucis composita, non ceris: sed simplex de Deo, egressa de Patre, expressa de fonte. 50. Per hanc imaginem Philippo Patrem Dominus demonstravit, dicens: Philippe, qui me videt, videt et Patrem. Et quomodo tu dicis: Ostende nobis Patrem? Non credis quia ego in Patre, et Pater in me est (Joan. XIV, 9 et 10)? Videt enim in imagine Patrem, qui videt in Filio. Vides quam imaginem dicat? Imago

ista veritas est, imago ista justitia est, imago ista Dei virtus est: non muta, quia Verbum est: non insensibilis, quia sapientia est: non inanis, quia virtus est: non vacua, quia vita est: non mortua, quia resurrectio est. Vides ergo quia dum imago dicitur, Patrem significat esse cujus imago sit Filius; quia nemo potest ipse sibi imago sua esse. 51. Plura possem de Filii testimoniis dicere, sed ne forte ipse sibi nimium favisse dicatur, Patrem interrogemus. Nempe ipse dixit: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram (Gen. I, 26). Pater Filio dicit: Ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram; et tu dissimilem Filium Dei dicis? 52. Joannes dicit: Dilecti, filii Dei sumus, et nondum apparet quid erimus: scimus quia si revelatum fuerit, similes ei erimus (I Joan. III, 2). O improvida amentia! o impudens pervicacia! Homines sumus, et in quo possumus, ad similitudinem Dei erimus; et similem audemus Dei Filium denegare? 454 53. Ergo Pater dixit: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram. In principio ipsius mundi Patrem et Filium esse audio, et unum opus cerno. Audio loquentem, agnosco facientem; sed et Patris et Filii unam imaginem, unam similitudinem lego. Similitudo haec non diversitatis, sed unitatis est. Quod igitur tibi usurpas, Filio Dei derogas; cum utique nisi per imaginem Dei, ad imaginem Dei esse non possis.

CAPUT VIII.

EX PROBATA FILII cum Patre similitudine, eumdem aeternum etiam esse haud aegre demonstrari, quod nihilominus astruitur e prophetia Esaiae, ac Joannis Evangelio; cujus ultimi auctoritate obrui haeresiarchae declarantur. 54. [Alias cap. V.] Claret igitur non esse dissimilem, et ideo proclivior via est, ut etiam sempiternum esse fateamur, cum similis sempiterni utique sempiternus sit. Si autem Patrem sempiternum dicimus, et hoc idem Filium denegamus, dicimus esse dissimilem; sempiterno enim temporale dissimile est. Clamat Propheta sempiternum, clamat et Apostolus sempiternum: plenum est vetus Testamentum testimoniis Filii sempiterni, plenum est novum. 55. Ordinem ergo teneamus. Scriptum est in veteri Testamento, ut vel unum de pluribus dicam: Ante me non fuit alius Deus, et post me non erit (Esai. XLIII, 10). Nihil ergo argumentabor, teipsum interrogo. Quis hoc dicit, Pater, an Filius? Utrum dixeris, eo te convinci intelliges: vel si credas, doceri? Quis ergo hoc dicit, Pater, an Filius? Si Filius: Ante me, inquit, non fuit alius Deus: Si Pater: Post me, inquit, non erit. Hic priorem, ille posteriorem non habet: invicem in se et Pater in Filio, et Filius in Patre cognoscitur. Cum enim Patrem dixeris, ejus etiam Filium designasti; quia nemo ipse sibi pater est: cum Filium nominas, etiam Patrem ejus fateris; quia nemo ipse sibi filius est. Itaque nec Filius sine Patre, nec Pater potest esse sine Filio. Semper igitur Pater, semper et Filius. 56. In principio enim erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum, hoc erat in principio apud Deum (Joan. I, 1). Erat, inquit, apud Deum. Erat, erat, erat, erat: ecce quater erat. Ubi impius invenit quod non erat? Alibi quoque Joannes in epistola sua dicit: Quod erat in principio (I Joan. I, 1); indefinite

tenditur, erat: quidquid excogitaveris, erat Filius. 57. Omnes autem haereses hoc capitulo brevi piscator noster exclusit. Quod enim erat in principio, non includitur tempore, non principio praevenitur. Ergo Arius conticescat. Quod autem erat apud Deum, non permixtione confunditur: sed manentis Verbi apud Patrem solida perfectione distinguitur, ut Sabellius obmutescat. Et Deus erat Verbum. Non ergo in prolatione sermonis hoc Verbum est, sed in illa coelestis designatione virtutis, ut confutetur 455 Photinus. Quod vero erat in principio apud Deum, sempiternae divinitatis in Patre et Filio inseparabilis unitas edocetur ut erubescat Eunomius. Postremo cum omnia per ipsum facta dicantur, ipse conditor novi utique Testamenti et veteris designatur; ut Manichaeus locum tentationis habere non possit. Ita piscator bonus intra unum omnes rete conclusit; ut faceret inhabiles fraudi, quamvis essent inutiles captioni.

CAPUT IX.

Haereticos interrogat Vir sanctus, ostensaque illorum responsione, qua Filium omni quidem tempore priorem, Patre autem posteriorem esse affirmabant, in Deum induci mutationem, aeternitatem utrique personae tribuendam colligit. 58. Dic mihi, haeretice, dat enim veniam elementissimus imperator, ut te non colloquendi studio, nec audiendi cupiditate, sed exponendi gratia, paulisper alloquar: dic mihi, inquam, fuitne aliquando tempus quo omnipotens Deus Pater non erat, et Deus erat? Tempus, inquis, non astruo. Bene et argute. Si enim tempus dixeris, te ipse convinces: quia necesse est asseras fuisse tempus ante Filium, cum Filius temporis auctor sit et creator; non potest enim post opus suum ipse coepisse: necesse est igitur auctorem operis sui esse fatearis. 59. Ante tempora, inquis, non nego Filium: sed cum Filium dico, ostendo priorem Patrem, quia Pater, inquis, Filio prior. Quid est hoc? Negas esse tempus ante Filium, et tamen nescio quid ante Filium vis praecessise, quod temporis sit; et ostendis media nescio quae molimina fuisse generandi, in quo generationem Patris significas temporalem. Nam si Pater esse coepit, Deus ergo primo erat, postea Pater factus est. Quomodo ergo immutabilis Deus? Si enim ante Deus, postea Pater: utique generationis accessione mutatus est. 60. Sed avertat Deus hanc amentiam; nos enim ad impietatem eorum redarguendam, hanc retulimus quaestionem. Pia namque mens generationem sine tempore asserit; ut et sempiternum Patrem cum Filio dicat, nec aliquando asserat esse mutatum. 61. Jungat igitur honorificentia Patri Filium, quem divinitas junxit: non separet impietas, quem generationis proprietas copulavit. Honorificemus Filium, ut honorificemus et Patrem,

sicut et in Evangelio scriptum est (Joan. V, 23). Sempiternitas Filii Paternae majestatis insigne est. Si iste non semper fuit, ergo ille mutatus est: sed semper fuit Filius, ergo nec Pater aliquando mutatus est; quia immutabilis semper est. Itaque videmus quod illi qui volunt negare Filium sempiternum, volunt Patrem docere esse mutatum. 456

CAPUT X.

Ubi Christi aeternitatem confirmavit ex Apostolo, Divinam generationem non ad humanae modulum exigendam, aut curiosius excutiendam, at declinatis quae hinc nascuntur, difficultatibus, quidquid more corporeo de hac generatione dicitur, spiritali sensu intelligendum esse declarat. 62. Accipe aliud quo clareat Filium sempiternum. Apostolus dicit quod Dei sempiterna virtus sit atque divinitas (Rom. I, 20): virtus autem Dei Christus; scriptum est enim Christum esse Dei virtutem, et Dei sapientiam (I Cor. I, 24). Ergo si Christus est Dei virtus, quia virtus Dei sempiterna: sempiternus igitur et Christus. 63. Non ergo ex usu generationis humanae calumniam, haeretice, struas; neque ex nostro sermone componas. Neque enim angustis sermonibus nostris immensae magnitudinem possumus divinitatis includere, cujus magnitudinis non est finis (Ps. CXLIV, 3). Namque hominis generationem si definire contendas, tempus ostendis: generatio autem divina supra omnia est: late patet, supra omnes cogitationes ascendit et sensus. Scriptum est enim: Nemo venit ad Patrem, nisi per me (Joan. XIV, 6). Quidquid igitur de Patre cogitaveris, quamlibet ejus aeternitatem, non potes de eo aliquid nisi per Filium cogitare: nec potest ullus ad Patrem nisi per Filium transire sensus. Hic est, inquit, Filius meus dilectissimus (Matth. XVII, 5). Est, inquit, qui quod est, semper est. Unde et David: In aeternum, inquit, Domine, permanet Verbum tuum in coelo (Ps. CXVIII, 89). Quod enim manet, nec substantia, nec aeternitate deficit. 64. Quaeris a me quomodo Filius sit, si non priorem habeat Patrem? Quaero item abs te, quando aut quomodo Filium putes esse generatum? Mihi enim impossibile est generationis scire secretum: mens deficit, vox silet, non mea

tantum, sed et angelorum. Supra Potestates, supra Angelos, supra Cherubim, supra Seraphim, supra omnem sensum est; quia scriptum est; Pax autem Christi quae est supra omnem sensum (Phil. IV, 7). Si pax Christi supra omnem sensum est, quemadmodum non est supra omnem sensum tanta generatio? 65. Tu quoque manum ori admove, scrutari non licet superna mysteria. Licet scire quod natus sit: non licet discutere quemadmodum natus sit. Illud negare mihi non licet, hoc quaerere metus est. Nam si Paulus ea quae audivit raptus in tertium coelum, ineffabilia dicit, quomodo nos exprimere possumus paternae generationis arcanum, quod nec sentire potuimus, nec audire? 66. Verum si me ad consuetudinem trahis generationis humanae, ut Patrem dicas priorem; vide utrum ad generationem Dei terrenae generationis exempla conveniant. Si secundum hominem loquamur, negare non poteris priores esse in homine patris quam filii passiones. 457 Prior crevit, prior senuit, prior doluit, prior flevit. Si igitur hic tempore minor, ille antiquior passione. Si hic generationis incurrit aetatem, nec ille generandi evasit pudorem. 67. Quid te ista quaestionum tormenta delectant? Audis Dei Filium: aut dele nomen, aut agnosce naturam. Audis uterum, agnosce generationis perspicuae veritatem. Audis cor, Verbum intellige. Audis dexteram, agnosce virtutem. Audis os, agnosce sapientiam. Non haec sunt in Deo corporaliter aestimanda. Incomprehensibiliter generatur Filius: impassibiliter generat Pater; et tamen ex se generavit, et ante omnem intellectum generavit Deus verus Deum verum. Pater diligit, et tu discutis: Pater complacet, et tu cum Judaeis invides: Pater honorificat, et tu cum gentibus conviciaris.

CAPUT XI.

Non posse probari e Scriptura Patrem Filio priorem esse; neque etiam argumentis ex hominum generatione desumptis; cum inde innumera secutura essent absurda: quod autem Christum ex tempore natum audent pronuntiare, id cumulum esse impietatis. 68. Quaeris a me utrum prior non possit esse, qui Pater est. Quaero a te, ut doceas quando Pater prior fuerit, testimoniis, aut argumentis collige veritatem. Si testimoniis, accepisti utique sempiternam Dei esse virtutem. Legisti etiam dicentem: Israel, si me audieris, non erit in te Deus recens, neque adorabis Deum alienum (Ps. LXXX, 10). Aliud horum aeternitatem, aliud proprietatem substantiae indifferentis significat; ut neque posteriorem Patre, neque alterius divinitatis Filium esse credamus. Nam si Patre posterior est, recens est: et si unius non est divinitatis, alienus est. Sed nec posterior; quia recens non est: nec alienus, quia ex Patre natus; quia supra omnia est Deus benedictus in saecula (Rom. IX, 5), sicut scriptum est. 69. Sed si alienum putant, cur adorant eum, cum scriptum sit: Neque adorabis Deum alienum (Ps. LXXX, 10)? Aut si non adorant, fateantur, et finis est; ne quem sub religiosi nominis professione decipiant. Haec nempe sunt testimonia Scripturarum. Aut si habes aliud, proferre debebis. 70. Superest ut et argumentis veritas colligatur. Quamquam etiam humanis testimoniis argumenta cedere soleant; argumentare tamen, haeretice, ut voles. Usu, inquis, accipimus eo qui nascitur, priorem esse qui generat. Persequere igitur omnia vestigia consuetudinis, et sicaetera conveniunt, non obsisto quin et istud requiras: si autem nulla concordant, quemadmodum cum desint caetera, hoc solum exigis? Ergo quia usum requiris, quando generatus est ex Patre, parvulus

fuit. Vidisti in cunis infantulum vagientem, processus aliquos accepit aetatis; si enim infirmitatem generationis habuit, necesse est 458 ut non solum nascendi, sed etiam vivendi inciderit infirmitatem. 71. Sed fortasse eo prolabaris amentiae, ut de Dei Filio ista non abnuas, qui eum ex infirmitate metiris humana; quid si Deum negare non potes nomine, infirmitate tamen hominem vis probare? Quid si dum Filium discutis, Patrem arguis: et dum Christo praejudicas, Patrem adjudicas? 72. Nam si divina generatio subjecta tempori fuit, et id ex usu generationis usurpatur humanae; ergo et Pater corporali utero portavit Filium, decem mensium curriculis onus vexit. Sed quomodo sine sexu altero generationis usus? Vides solemnem generationis seriem non coepisse, et tu partus cujusdam corporeae necessitatis putas fuisse solemnes. Tu usum quaeris, ego sexum: tu tempus exigis, ego ordinem: tu finem discutis, ego quaero principium, Nempe finis ex principio, non principium pendet ex fine. 73. Omne, inquis, quod natum est, principium habet; et ideo quia Filius est, principium habet, et ex tempore esse coepit. Quod ipsorum ore sit dictum. Ego autem Filium natum esse profiteor: quod reliquum est impietatis, horresco. Deum confiteris, homo, et tali circumscribis calumnia? Deus hanc averruncet amentiam.

CAPUT XII.

ITERATAE IN FILIUM objectioni iterum respondetur eam retorqueri etiam in Patrem posse; cum ergo Pater nec loco, nec tempore, aliave ulla creatura indigeat, sic nec eorum indigentiam attribuendam Filio: cujus singularis generatio est non solum e Patre, sed etiam e Virgine; proptereaque cum in hac non sexus aut similia locum habuerint, in illa quoque non habuisse. 74. Rursus objiciunt: Ergo non est Filius, si non habet quae habent filii. Ignoscat mihi Pater, ignoscat Filius, ignoscat et Spiritus sanctus, quaestionem pro pietate referre cupienti. Est certe Pater, et manet semper: sunt etiam creaturae pro dispositione divina. Est ergo aliquid earum quod non subjectum sit aut locis, aut temporibus, aut creationi, aut causae alicui vel auctori? Profecto nihil. Quid ergo dicitis? Est horum aliquid quo egeat Pater? Impium est dicere. Ergo aut desinite, quae creaturarum sunt, aptare divinitati: aut si comparare contenditis, considerate quo vestra procedat impietas; quod absit ut vel in sensus nostros aliquando veniat. 75. Nos enim piam responsionem tenemus. Namque omnipotens Deus est, et ideo nullo eorum Pater indiget, qui non habet mutationem sui aliquam, vel profectum quo nos egemus, quorum infirmitas ex hujusmodi rebus profectum accipit. Qui autem omnipotens est, 459 utique non creatus, et sine loco, et supra tempora est. Nihil enim ante Deum, immo hoc ipsum Verbum, ante Deum dicere esse aliquid, grave. Ergo si ita est, quia nihil horum est in Deo Patre, quae profectum significent; quia Deus est: nihil horum aptari etiam potest Dei Filio, ut vel initium accipiat, vel profectum; quia Deus verus ex Deo vero est. 76. Ergo quia usitatum non reperimus ordinem, acquiesce, Ariane, praecipuam Filii generationem fuisse. Acquiesce, inquam; et si mihi non

credis, erubesce vel Dei vocem dicentis: Cui me similem aestimastis (Esai. XLVI, 5)? Et iterum: Quia non sicut homo, ita et Deus (Num. XXIII, 19). Etenim si operatio Dei praecipua est, quia non manibus operatur aliquid, non labore conficit, non diebus absolvit; Ipse enim dixit, et facta sunt, ipse mandavit, et creata sunt (Psal. CXLVIII, 5): cur non credamus praecipuam generationem esse ejus in Filio, cujus praecipuam creationem in operibus agnoscimus? Dignum certe est ut specialiter et praecipue videatur generasse Filium. Habeat generationis inusitatae gloriam, qui habet potestatis inusitatae gratiam. 77. Non sola admirabilis ex Patre generatio Christi, admirabilis etiam ipsa generatio ejus ex Virgine. Tu illam dicis nostrae similem conceptionis, et ego probo et istam nostrae esse dissimilem, immo te ipsum cogam fateri. Dic quemadmodum sit natus ex Maria, quo usu uterus eum habuerit virginalis, quomodo sine semine viri partus, unde virgo praegnans, quemadmodum puella mater ante fetus, quam copulam ut uxor experta? Causa deerat, et generabatur filius. Unde ergo legis novatae partus? 78. Si igitur in Virgine usus defuit generationis humanae, quemadmodum in Deo Patre propriae generationis usum requiris? Certe usus in sexu est, quia sexus in carne est: ubi ergo caro non est, quemadmodum carnis infirmitatem exigis? Nemo meliorem discutit: credere tibi jussum est, non discutere permissum est. Scriptum est enim: Credidit Abraham Deo, et reputatum est illi ad justitiam (Gen. XV, 6). Nec solum in generatione Filii sermo deficit, sed etiam in operibus Dei. Scriptum est enim: Omnia opera ejus in fide (Psal. XXXII, 4). Opera ergo in fide, generatio sine fide? Et discutimus quae non videmus, qui jubemur credere magis quam discutere, quae videmus.

CAPUT XIII.

QUAESTIONEM QUOMODO GENITUS sit Filius solvit sanctus Doctor; et revelationi credendum Nabuchodonosoris ac Petri exemplo docet. Hujus ultimi visione aeternitatem divinitatemque Filii signatam esse; atque adeo illi credendum neglectis philosophis, quibus jam ubique fides abrogabatur. Contra vero gentilibus ostenduntur similes Ariani. 79. Dicet aliquis: Quomodo generatus est Filius? Quasi sempiternus, quasi Verbum, 460 quasi splendor lucis aeternae, quia simul splendor operatur, ut nascitur. Apostoli istud exemplum est, non est meum. Noli ergo credere quod fuerit vel momentum aliquod quo fuerit sine sapientia Deus, aut sine splendore lux (Hebr. I, 3). Noli, Ariane, ex nostris aestimare divina: sed divina crede, ubi humana non invenis. 80. Rex gentilis in igne cum tribus pueris Hebraeis quarti quasi angeli vidit figuram: et quia praestare putabat angelis, Dei Filium, quem non legit, sed credidit, judicavit (Dan. III, 92). Abraham quoque tres vidit, et unum adoravit (Gen. XVIII, 2). 81. Petrus in monte Moysen et Eliam cum Filio Dei vidit, nec erravit in natura, nec erravit in gloria. Denique quid facere deberet, non illos, sed Christum interrogavit; nam etsi tribus parabat obsequium, unius tamen exspectabat imperium. Sed quoniam vel tabernaculorum numerum deferendum tribus simpliciter aestimavit, emendatur Dei Patris auctoritate dicentis: Hic est Filius meus dilectissimus, ipsum audite (Matth. XVII, 5), id est: Quid conservos tuos cum Domino socias tuo? Hic est Filius meus. Non Moyses filius, non Elias filius: sed hic Filius. Sensit emendationem apostolus, procidit in faciem, consternatus Patris voce, et Filii claritate: sed sublevatur a Filio, qui jacentes erigere consuevit. Unum vidit, solum vidit Dei Filium. Recesserunt

enim servuli, ut solus Dominus, qui solus designabatur Filius, videretur. 82. Quid igitur sibi voluit illa visio, non aequalitatem Christi servorumque significans, sed mysterium signans, nisi ut appareret nobis quod Lex et Prophetae cum Evangelio congruentes, sempiternum Dei Filium, quem annuntiaverant, revelarent? Ergo et nos cum audimus ex utero Filium, ex corde Verbum, credamus quia non plasmatus manibus, sed ex Patre natus: non artificis opus, sed progenies est parentis. 83. Et ideo qui dicit: Hic est Filius meus, non dixit: Hic est temporalis; non dixit: Haec est creatura mea, haec factura mea, hic servus meus; sed hic Filius meus, quem videtis in gloria. Hic est Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob, qui apparuit in rubo Moysi, de quo Moyses ait: Qui est, misit me (Exod. III, 14). Non Pater in rubo, non Pater in eremo: sed Filius Moysi locutus est. Denique de ipso Stephanus dixit: Hic est qui fuit in Ecclesia, in eremo, cum angelo (Act. VII, 38). Hic est ergo qui Legem dedit, ipse qui locutus est Moysi, dicens: Ego sum Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob (Exod. III, 16). Hic est ergo Deus patriarcharum, hic Deus est prophetarum. 84. Filium ergo legimus: mens tua percipit lectionem, edat lingua confessionem. Aufer hinc argumenta, ubi fides quaeritur: in ipsis gymnasiis suis jam dialectica taceat. Non quaero quid loquantur philosophi, requiro quid faciant. Soli in suis gymnasiis remanserunt. Vide 461 quam fides argumentis praeponderet. Illi quotidie a suis consortibus deseruntur, qui copiose disputant: isti quotidie crescunt, qui simpliciter credunt. Non creditur philosophis, creditur piscatoribus: non creditur dialecticis, creditur publicanis. Illi voluptatibus et deliciis orbem ligarunt, isti jejuniis et doloribus exuerunt. Plures itaque jam coepit illicere injuria, quam voluptas. 85. Nunc videamus quo distant a gentilibus Ariani. Illi deos appellant dispares sexu, dissimiles potestate: isti Trinitatem asserunt differentis divinitatis, et dissimilis potestatis. Illi deorum suorum principium asseverant temporale; et isti Christum coepisse ex tempore mentiuntur. Nonne ex philosophia omnem impietatis suae

traxerunt colorem? Illi tamen quod venerantur, amplificant: isti Dei Filium creaturam asserunt esse, qui Deus est.

CAPUT XIV.

CREATURAM NON ESSE Dei Filium hinc astruitur, quod non jusserit sibi praedicari Evangelium, quod creatura vanitati subdita sit, quod omnia creaverit, quod legatur genitus, quod tandem tradita fuerit generationis et adoptionis differentia: ubi utraque natura in ipso declaratur. Quae tot ac tanta testimonia Apostolici expositione confirmantur. 86. [Alias cap. VI.] Patuit, ut arbitror, sancte Imperator, neque dissimilem Patri, neque ex tempore esse Dominum Jesum. Restat ut illud quoque sacrilegium redarguatur, et probemus creaturam non esse Dei Filium: in quo nobis praesentis oraculum lectionis aspirat; audivimus enim legi, dicente Domino: Ite in orbem universum, et praedicate Evangelium universae creaturae (Marc. LXVI, 15). Qui universam creaturam dicit, nullam excipit. Et ideo ubi sunt, qui creaturam Christum appellant? Nam si creatura esset, numquid ipse sibi mandaret Evangelium praedicari? Non igitur creatura est, sed creator, qui docendae creaturae discipulis suis mandat officium. 87. Non creatura Christus: Vanitati enim creatura subjecta est, sicut Apostolus dixit (Rom. VIII, 20). Numquid ergo Christus subjectus est vanitati? Rursus juxta eumdem Apostolum: Creatura congemiscit et comparturit usque nunc (Ibid., 22). Numquid ergo Christus congemiscit et comparturit, qui nostros a morte gemitus liberavit? Creatura, inquit, liberabitur a servitute corruptionis (Ibid., 21). Videmus igitur magnam inter creaturam et Dominum esse distantiam; quia servitus creatura est; Dominus autem spiritus est; ubi autem spiritus Domini est, ibi libertas (II Cor. III, 17). 88. Quis hunc induxit errorem, ut eum qui creavit omnia, qui fecit omnia, diceret creaturam? Numquid ipse Dominus se creavit? Si enim lectum est quod per ipsum omnia facta sunt, et

sine ipso factum est nihil (Joan. I, 3): numquid ipse se fecit? 462 Si lectum est, quod negari non potest, quia Deus in sapientia fecit omnia: numquid verisimile videri potest quia in se ipsa est facta sapientia (Psal. CIII, 24)? 89. Legimus genitum; quia Pater dixit: Ego ex utero ante Luciferum genui te (Psal. CIX, 3). Legimus primogenitum (Matth. I, 25): Filium, legimus unigenitum (Joan. I, 14)? primogenitum, quia nemo ante ipsum: unigenitum, quia nemo post ipsum: legimus etiam: Generationem ejus quis enarrabit (Esai. LIII, 8? Generationem, inquit, non creationem. Quid his tantis ac talibus conferri potest. 90. Ostendit etiam Dei Filius distantiam generationis et gratiae, dicens: Ascendo ad Patrem meum, et Patrem vestrum: Deum meum, et Deum vestrum (Joan. XX, 17). Non dixit: Ascendo ad Patrem nostrum, sed: Ascendo ad Patremmeum, et Patrem vestrum. Separatio ista diversitatem ostendit, quod illius generator, noster creator sit. 91. Et addidit: Deum meum, et Deum vestrum; quia licet ipse et Pater unum sint, et illi Pater sit proprietate naturae, nobis Deus Pater coeperit esse per Filium, non naturae jure, sed gratiae; tamen utramque naturam hic significare videtur in Christo et divinitatis et carnis, divinitatis ex Patre, carnis ex matre, illamque ante omnia, istamque ex Virgine. Denique ante Patrem ut Filius nominavit, Deum postea ut homo nuncupavit. 92. Ubique autem Deum suum quod ex persona dicat hominis, testimonia docent: Deus, Deus meus, respice me; quare me dereliquisti (Psal. XXI, 1)? Et alibi: De ventre matris meae Deus meus es tu (Ibid., 11). Et supra quasi homo patitur: et infra homo est, qui ex matris ventre jactatur. Itaque cum dicit: De ventre matris meae Deus meus es tu; significat cum qui Pater semper erat, ex eo Deum sibi esse, ex quo de ventre matris jactatus est. 93. Cum igitur in Evangelio, in Apostolo, in prophetis generationem Christi legerimus, unde audent dicere creatum esse vel factum? Et quidem in quo creatum legerint, in quo factum, considerare deberent. Edoctum est enim Dei Filium de Deo esse genitum, de Deo natum: factum autem in quo

legerint, diligenter advertant; non enim Deus factus, sed Deus Dei Filius natus est: postea autem secundum carnem homo factus ex Maria est. 94. Si mihi non credunt, credant Apostolo dicenti: Postquam vero venit plenitudo temporis, misit Deus Filium suum factum ex muliere, factum sub Lege (Galat. IV, 4). Filium, inquit, suum, non unum de multis: non communem, sed suum. Suum cum dicit, generationis aeternae proprietatem signavit. Hunc postea factum ex muliere asseruit, ut factura non divinitati, sed assumptioni corporis ascriberetur: factum ex muliere per carnis susceptionem: factum sub Lege per observantiam Legis: generatio autem illa coelestis ante Legem, ista post Legem (Conc. Chalcedon. act. I, in exposit. fid. Nic.). 463

CAPUT XV.

Duobus Scripturae locis quibus factus et creatus Christus dicitur, ut satisfaciat sanctus Praesul: illos non nisi secundum naturam hominis ipsi convenire declarat: in quibus etiam praeteritum pro futuro positum esse ex sacrorum codicum auctoritate planum facit. 95. [Alias cap. VII.] Unde et illud vane jactare consuerunt quod scriptum est: Et Dominum eum et Christum fecit Deus. Imperiti legant totum, et intelligant; sic enim scriptum est: Et Dominum eum fecit, et Christum fecit Deus hunc Jesum, quem vos crucifixistis (Act. II, 36). Non divinitas crucifixa, sed caro est. Hoc utique fieri potuit, quod potuit crucifigi. Non ergo factura Dei Filius. 96. Facessat igitur et illud, de quo calumniari solent, et discant quemadmodum dictum sit: Dominus creavit me. (Prov. VIII, 22). Non dixit: Pater creavit, sed Dominus creavit me. Caro Dominum agnoscit, gloria Patrem significat: creatura nostra Dominum confitetur, charitas Patrem novit. Itaque quis ignoret quia ob causam incorporationis hoc dicitur? In eo igitur se creatum dicit, in quo et hominem testificatur dicens: Quid me quaeritis occidere hominem, qui veritatem locutus sum vobis (Joan. VII, 20)? Hominem dicit, in quo et crucifixus et mortuus, et sepultus est. 97. Nec dubitandum quod praeteritum posuit, quod erat futurum: haec enim consuetudo est prophetiae, ut quae futura sunt, vel quasi praesentia, vel quasi facta dicantur. Denique in psalmo XXI legisti: Tauri pingues obsederunt me (Psal. XXI, 13); legisti etiam: Diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea (Ibid., 19): quod evangelista de tempore passionis prophetatum esse significat; Deo enim quae sunt futura, praesentia sunt: et ei cui praecognita sunt omnia, ventura pro factis sunt, sicut scriptum est: Qui fecit quae ventura sunt (Esai. XLV). 98. Nec mirum

si ante saecula fundatum se esse dicit, cum legeris praedestinatum ante tempora saecularia. Quam vere de incarnatione id videatur expressum, declarant sequentia: Sapientia, inquit, aedificavit sibi domum, et subdidit columnas septem, et interfecit suas hostias: miscuit in cratera vinum suum, et paravit suam mensam; et misit suos servos, convocans cum altissima praedicatione, dicens: Qui est insipiens declinet ad me (Prov. IX, 1 et seq.). Nonne in Evangelio post incarnationem haec omnia videmus esse completa, quod sacri convivii celebravit mysteria, quod apostolos misit, voce magna clamavit dicens: Si quis sitit, veniat ad me, et bibat (Joan. VII, 37)? Ergo sequentia respondent prioribus, et totius cursum incarnationis videmus prophetiae expositione digestum. 99. Multa alia documenta praesto esse possent hujusmodi de incarnatione dicta videri: sed non me involvo libris, ne tractatus videatur esse diffusior. 464

CAPUT XVI.

ARIANOS, SI CREATUM et genitum illis idem sit, Christo inferre injuriam: sin autem illa distare credant, quem legerint genitum, creaturae loco non habendum. Hoc Pauli ne creaturae serviatur, prohibentis; Christi tamen se servum esse profitentis, testimonio confirmari: cui potius credendum quam Ario. Subditur etiam creaturam in Deo non esse, cum simplex sit: nec Filium in creaturae ordinem redigendum; cum in eo Patri complaceat. 100. Nunc ipsos Arianos interrogo, utrum idem putent esse genitum, quod creatum? Si enim idem dicunt, nihil utique distat inter generare et creare. Ergo quoniam et nos creati sumus, inter nos et Christum et elementa nulla distantia est. Sed quamvis amentes sint, id tamen non audebunt dicere. 101. Postremo ut insipientiae eorum quod verum non est, indulgeam; si nihil, ut putant, distat in verbo: cur non eum quem colunt, meliore appellant nomine? cur verbo non utuntur Patris? cur abjiciunt quod honorificentiae est, assumunt quod injuriae? 102. Si autem distat inter creatum et genitum, ut ego arbitror, cum legerimus genitum, non utique idem et genitum intelligimus et creatum. Dicant igitur generatum ex Patre, ex Virgine procreatum: aut dicant quomodo Dei Filius et genitus et creatus. Una natura, et maxime Deus diversitatem non recipit. 103. Certe facessat nostra sententia: Paulum interrogemus, qui Spiritu Dei plenus has praevidens quaestiones; generaliter contra gentes, specialiter contra Arianos locutus, ait divino judicio eos esse damnatos, qui servirent creaturae potius quam Creatori. Denique sic habes: Tradidit illos Deus in desideria cordis ipsorum, ut contumeliis afficiant corpora sua inter semetipsos: qui commutaverunt veritatem Dei in mendacium, et coluerunt, et servierunt creaturae potius

quam Creatori, qui est Deus benedictus in saecula (Rom. I, 24, 25). 104. Prohibet itaque me Paulus creaturae servire, et Christo admonet serviendum. Non ergo creatura Christus, Paulus, inquit, servus Jesu Christi (Ibid., 1). Et bonus servus qui Dominum recognoscit, ipse creaturae servire nos prohibet: quemadmodum ergo Christo ipse serviret, si creaturam Christum putaret? Aut igitur desinant colere quem creaturam appellant, aut desinant quem colere se simulant, dicere creaturam; ne sub appellatione cultorum sacrilegia graviora committant. Detestabilior enim domesticus hostis quam extraneus: et gravius scelus ut adversus Christum abutantur Christi nomine. 105. Quem igitur meliorem interpretem quaerimus Scripturarum, quam illum doctorem gentium, vas electionis, electum de persecutoribus? Qui Jesum persecutus fuerat, fatetur. Legerat 465 utique Salomonem plus quam Arius, et erat peritus in Lege; et ideo quia legerat, non creatum Christum dicit esse, sed genitum. Legerat enim: Ipse dixit, et facta sunt: ipse mandavit, et creata sunt (Psal. CXLVIII, 5). Numquid dicto factus est Christus? numquid mandato creatus est Christus? 106. Quomodo autem creatura in Deo esse potest? Etenim Deus naturae simplicis est, non conjunctae atque compositae: cui nihil accedat, sed solum quod divinum est in natura habeat sua: complens omnia, nusquam ipse confusus: penetrans omnia, nusquam ipse penetrandus: ubique totus, eodemque tempore vel in coelo, vel in terris, vel in novissimo maris praesens: visu incomprehensibilis, fatu ininterpretabilis, sensu inaestimabilis, fide sequendus, religione venerandus; ut quidquid religiosus sentiri potest, quidquid praestantius ad decorem, quidquid sublimius ad potestatem, hoc Deo intelligas convenire. 107. Ergo quia in Filio complacet Pater (Matth. XVII, 5), crede quia dignus Patre Filius, crede quia a Deo exivit Filius, ut ipse testatur dicens: Ex Deo processi, et veni (Joan. VIII, 42); et alibi: A Deo exivi (Joan. XVI, 27). Qui ex Deo processit, et a Deo exivit, nihil aliud potest habere, nisi quod Dei est.

CAPUT XVII.

CHRISTUM DEUM VERUM esse ex eo probat, quod sit proprius Dei Filius; praemissaque difficultatis suborientis solutione, eamdem rem inde confirmat, quod sit genitus, quodque ex Deo exierit. His subdit Patris ac Filii unitatem operationis ac voluntatis. Tum apostolis et Centurione quem cum Arianis contendit, in testimonium adductis Esaiam jungit ac Joannem. 108. Unde non solum Deus, sed etiam verus Deus, verus e vero, et adeo verus, ut ipse sit veritas. Itaque si nomen quaerimus, veritas est: si majestatem quaerimus naturalem, eo usque Filius Dei verus est, ut et proprius. Scriptum est enim: Qui proprio Filio non pepercit, sed pro nobis tradidit eum (Rom. VIII, 32): tradidit utique secundum carnem. Proprietas divinitatis est, veritas proprietatis, misericordia pietatis, oblatio securitatis. 109. Sed ne calumniarentur, quia scriptum est: Tradidit eum Pater; ipse Apostolus alibi dixit: Pax a Deo Patre, et Domino nostro Jesu Christo, qui se dedit pro peccatis nostris (Galat. I, 3, 4); et alibi: Sicut Christus dilexit nos, et tradidit semetipsum pro nobis (Ephes. V, 2). Si ergo et traditus est a Patre, et ipse se tradidit, apparet unam esse operationem, unam esse Patris et Filii voluntatem. 110. Si naturalem ergo majestatem quaerimus, genitus est. Qui genitum inficiatur, proprium negat: qui proprium abnuit, communem caeteris arbitratur. Sin vero generationis ipsius proprietatem requirimus, ex Deo exivit. Nam 466 cum in usu nostro id sit exire quod jam sit, et ex interioribus secretis prodire videatur, quod exire perhibetur: angustis licet sermonibus proprietatem divinae generationis advertimus; ut non ex loco aliquo videatur exisse, sed ut Deus ex Deo, Filius ex Patre; nec videatur coepisse ex tempore, qui ex Patre nascendo prodit, ut dixit ipse qui

natus est: Ex ore Altissimi prodii (Eccles. XXIV, 5). 111. Sed si naturam non agnoscunt, si non credunt Scripturis, vel operibus credant. Cui dicit Pater: Faciamus hominem (Gen. I, 26), nisi ei quem verum Filium sciret? In quo nisi in vero suam imaginem recognosceret? Non est unum adoptivus et verus; nec Filius diceret: Unum sumus (Joan. XVI, 22); si se cum vero, qui verus non esset ipse, conferret. Faciamus ergo dicit Pater. Qui dixit, verus est: potestne ergo verus non esse ille, qui fecit; et quod dicenti defertur, facienti negatur? 112. Quomodo autem nisi verum Filium sciret, committeret ei voluntatis suae unitatem, et operis veritatem? Cum enim eadem faciat Filius opera, quae Pater facit, et quos vult vivificet Filius, sicut scriptum est (Joan. V, 19, 21); nec differens potestate, et liber est voluntate: ita unitas servatur; quia et virtus Dei in divinitatis proprietate est; et libertas non in aliqua differentia, sed in unitate est voluntatis. 113. Turbati in freto apostoli, licet adhuc non credentes corde, ubi primum sub pedibus Domini ludere aquas, et inquieto maris aestu deambulantis Domini super aquas intrepida videre vestigia; subitoque navi quae fluctibus turbaretur, ubi eam tamen Christus ascendit; placidata aequora, et elementa conspexere famulantia, verum Dei Filium crediderunt, dicentes: Vere Dei Filius es (Matth. XIV, 25 et seq.). 114. Hoc idem Centurio cum aliis qui secum erant, tremefactis mundi cardinibus in passione Domini confitetur: et tu, haeretice, negas! Centurio dicit: Vere Filius Dei erat iste (Matth. XXVII, 54). Erat, inquit Centurio, et Arianus dicit, non erat. Ille ergo generationis et veritatem et aeternitatem asserit manu cruentus, sed mente devotus: tu, haeretice, veritatem generationis negas, tempus ascribis. Utinam manus potius quam animam cruentasses! Sed nec manu innocens, et mente feralis, quantum in te est, mortem infers, qui infirmum opinaris; immo, quod gravius est, etsi divinitas vulnus sentire non possit, quod in te tamen est, majestatem suam in Christo, non corpus interficere conaris. 115. Verum igitur Deum dubitare non possumus, quem verum Dei Filium et carnifices crediderunt, et

daemones fatebantur: quorum nunc non testimonia requiruntur, sed tuis tamen sacrilegiis praeferuntur. Illos nominavimus, ut erubesceres divina quoque responsa adhibuimus, ut crederes. 467 116. Clamat Dominus per Esaiam: Servientibus mihi vocabitur nomen novum, quod benedicetur super terram, et benedicent Deum verum: et qui jurant super terram, jurabunt per Deum verum (Esai. LXV, 16). Haec, inquam, dixit Esaias, quando vidit majestatem ejus. Hoc in Evangelio designatur, quod majestatem viderit Christi, et locutus sit de eo. 117. Accipe tamen quid etiam scripserit Evangelista Joannes in epistola sua dicens: Scimus quia Filius Dei apparuit, et dedit nobis sensum, ut cognoscamus Patrem, et simus in vero Filio ejus Jesu Christo Domino nostro. Hic est verus Deus, et vita aeterna (I Joan. V, 20). Verum Joannes Filium Dei, et verum Deum dicit: ergo si verus Deus, utique non creatus, nihil fallax habens atque fucatum, nihil confusum atque dissimile.

CAPUT XVIII.

In Nicaena definitione Arianos errores, ne quem decipiant, commemorari. Iidem cum anathemate suo referuntur, quod non modo Nicaeae latum dicitur, sed et Arimini semel ac iterum. 118. [Alias cap. VIII.] Deus igitur ex Deo, lumen de lumine, Deus verus de Deo vero, ex Patre natus, non factus, unius substantiae cum Patre. 119. Sic nempe nostri secundum Scripturas dixerunt Patres, qui etiam sacrilega dogmata ideo suis inserenda putavere decretis, ut Arii perfidia ipsa se proderet; ne quasi fucis quibusdam et coloribus illita velaretur. Fucum enim faciunt, qui non audent explicare quod sentiunt. Censorie itaque impietas Ariana non expositione reseratur, sed damnatione detegitur; ut qui curiose gestit audire, prius damnatam cognosceret, ne laberetur, quam expositam audiret, ut crederet. 120. [Alias cap. IX.] Eos, inquit, qui dicunt: Erat quando non erat, et antequam nasceretur non erat: et qui ex nihilo factum, aut ex alia substantia vel οὐσίᾳ dicunt esse, aut mutabilem, aut convertibilem Dei Filium, anathematizat catholica et apostolica Ecclesia. 121. Accepisti, sancte Imperator, eos qui talia asserunt, jure damnatos. Non humana industria, non composito aliquo trecenti decem et octo, ut supra pressius dixi (Prolog. n. 5), episcopi ad concilium convenerunt: sed ut in numero eorum 468 per signum suae passionis et nominis Dominus Jesus suo probaret se adesse concilio; Crux in trecentis, Jesu nomen in decem et octo est sacerdotibus. 122. Hoc et in Ariminensi concilio habuit prima confessio, et post Ariminense concilium secunda correctio. Confessionem epistola ad imperatorem Constantium missa testatur, correctionem secuta concilia confitentur.

CAPUT XIX.

UBI ARIO PRIMUM e memoratis erroribus attribuit, eumdem refellit Joannis testimonio, ac e re nata tragicam haeresiarchae mortem describit. Mox singillatim reliquas ejusdem blasphemias expendit et confutat. 123. Arius ergo dicit: Erat quando non erat; sed Scriptura dicit, Erat, non dicit, non erat. Denique Joannes scripsit: In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum: hoc erat in principio apud Deum (Joan. I, 1). Ecce quoties erat et nusquam dixit quod non erat. Cui ergo credimus? Joanni in Christi pectore recumbenti, an Ario inter effusa se sua viscera volutanti; ut agnosceremus similem Judae proditoris Arii quoque fuisse perfidiam, quem similis poena damnavit? 124. Effusa sunt enim et Arii viscera, pudet dicere ubi, atque ita crepuit medius, prostratus in faciem; ea quibus Christum negaverat, foeda ora pollutus. Crepuit enim, sicut etiam de Juda Petrus apostolus dixit (Act. I, 18), quia possedit agrum de mercede injustitiae, et in faciem prostratus crepuit medius, et effusa sunt omnia viscera ejus. Non est fortuita mors, ubi in sacrilegio pari poenae parilis processit exemplum; ut idem subirent supplicium qui eumdem Dominum negaverunt; et qui eumdem Dominum prodiderunt. 125. Veniamus ad alia. Arius dicit: Antequam nasceretur, non erat: sed Scriptura dicit omnia esse per Filium. Quomodo ergo aliis dedit esse, qui non erat? Cum autem dicit impius, quando et ante, haec utique duo verba tempus ostendunt. Quomodo ergo negant tempus ante Filium, et volunt prius fuisse quae temporis sunt: cum idipsum, quando et ante et aliquando non fuisse, sit temporis? 469 126. Arius dicit ex nihilo Dei Filium. Quomodo ergo Dei Filius? quomodo paterno generatus ex utero? quomodo eructatum ex corde Verbum legitur,

nisi ut ex intimo et inaestimabili Patris intelligatur, ut scriptum est, prodiisse secreto? Filius enim aut per adoptionem, aut per naturam est: per adoptionem nos filii dicimur, ille per veritatem naturae est. Quomodo ergo ex nihilo ille, qui ex nihilo fecit omnia (Psal. XLIV, 1)? 127. Non habet Filium, qui nescit unde sit. Denique nec Judaei habebant Filium, quia unde esset nesciebant. Et ideo dixit his Dominus: Nescitis unde veni (Joan. VIII, 14); et infra: Neque me nostis, neque Patrem meum scitis (Ibid. 19). Qui enim negat ex Patre Filium, nec Patrem ex quo est Filius, novit: neque Filium novit; quia Patrem nescit (Galat. IV, 5). 128. Arius dicit: Ex alia substantia. Quae igitur alia substantia aequatur Dei Filio, ut ex ipsa Dei Filius sit? Aut quomodo reprehendunt quia nos in Deo aut οὐσίαν Graece, aut Latine substantiam dicimus, cum ex alia dicendo substantia Dei esse Filium, etiam ipsi substantiam Dei esse confirment? 129. Sed si de nomine substantiae aut naturae divinae voluerint dicere, facile revincentur; quia et οὐσίαν Graece, et Latine substantiam frequenter Scriptura memoravit. Et Petrus vult nos, ut legimus (II Petr. I, 4), divinae consortes fieri naturae. Quod si ex alia substantia Filium dicent, ipsi se revincunt, et verbum substantiae quod metuunt confitendo, et Filium creaturis quibus praeferre se simulant, conferendo. 130. Arius dicit creaturam Dei Filium, non sicut caeteras creaturas. Quae enim creatura non sicut alia creatura non est? Homo non ut Angelus, terra non ut coelum, sol non ut aqua, lumen non ut tenebrae. Nihil ergo praeferendo donavit, sed ad simplices decipiendos misero colore fraudem suae impietatis obduxit. 131. Arius dicit mutabilem et convertibilem Dei Filium. Quomodo ergo Deus, si mutabilis; cum ipse dixerit: Ego sum, ego sum, et non sum mutatus (Malac. III, 6)?

CAPUT XX.

Optat ad se mundandum ut olim ad Esaiam Seraphim aliquem advolare; immo vero ad se, ad Imperatorem aliosque lectores suos Christum invitat: ac tandem Dominico poculo mystice designato, ut ejus virtute Gratianus caeterique fideles inebrientur, petit. 132. Verum nunc mihi propheticum illud est confitendum, quod prophetaturus de Domino praemittit Esaias dicens: O miser ego, et compuncto corde, qui cum immunda labia habeam, in medio quoque populi inhabitem immunda labia habentis; vidi Dominum Sabaoth (Esai. VI, 5). Ergo si Esaias miserum se dicit, qui vidit Dominum 470 Sabaoth: quid ego de me dicam, qui cum immunda labia habeam, cogor de Dei generatione tractare? Quo igitur de iis quae metuo, locuturus erumpo; cum David de iis quae sciat ori suo custodiam petat (Psal. XXXVIII, 2)? O si mihi quoque unus de Seraphim candentem illum carbonem, quem de altari divino sumpsit, utriusque forcipe deferens Testamenti, immunda adurat labia! 133. At quia tunc Seraphim descendit in figura ad prophetam (Esai. VI, 6): tu autem, Domine, revelato mysterio ad nos in carne venisti, non per legatum, neque per nuntium, sed ipse per te, ab occultis meis conscientiam meam mundes; ut ego quoque dudum immundus, sed jam per tuam misericordiam fide mundus, illud Davidicum canam, dicens: Psallam tibi in cithara, Deus Israel: gaudebunt labia mea, dum cantavero tibi; et anima mea, quam redemisti (Psal. VII, 22, 23). 134. Itaque, Domine, calumniatores tuos et hostes relinquens, confer te ad nos; et sanctifica aures principis Gratiani, omniumque praeterea quorum in manus hic libellus venerit, vacuas mihi praesta aures; necubi auditae perfidiae sordes resideant. Emunda ergo, emunda aurem non fontanis poculis, nec

fluviali haustu, nec susurro praetermeantis rivuli: sed sermonibus ad vicem aquarum operantibus, supra nitorem aquarum perspicuis, et omni purioribus nive; illis utique sermonibus, quibus dixisti: Si fuerint peccata vestra sicut phoenicium, ut nivem dealbabo (Esai. I, 18). 135. Est etiam poculum quo secreta mentis mundare consuevisti, poculum non naturae veteris, nec ex vite solemni: sed poculum novum de coelo delatum in terram, expressum ex illo botryone peregrino, qui sicut uva de vite, ita ille in carne crucis pependit e ligno. Ex hoc ergo botryone est vinum quod laetificat cor hominis, sobrietatem inebriat, crapulam fidei et verae religionis exhalat, crapulam castitatis infundit. 136. Hoc igitur vino, Domine meus, domini aures Augusti mentis emunda, ut sicut vino naturali homines inebriati, quietem diligunt, timorem mortis expellunt, injurias non sentiunt, aliena non quaerunt, suorum obliviscuntur: ita etiam vino tuo crapulatus, pacem diligat, et fidei exsultatione securus, mortem infidelitatis ignoret, patientiam charitatis exhibeat, sacrilegia aliena non teneat, fidem etiam pignoribus suis praeferat, secundum quod scriptum est: Relinque omnia tua, et veni, sequere me (Matth. XIX, 21). 137. Hoc vino, Domine Jesu, sensus etiam nostros dilue, ut te adoremus, te colamus visibilium et invisibilium creatorem. Non potes ergo invisibilis aut bonus non esse, qui id etiam tuis operibus contulisti.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

PROLOGUS.

AMBROSIUS LIBRO SUPERIORI hunc adjecturus, duodecim nomina Filii Dei primo trifariam divisa non ejus tantum, sed Patris etiam aeternitatem probare docet. Mox eadem cum duodecim sacerdotalis vestis lapidibus cursim comparans, quam necessario conjungenda sint, inducta ipsorum nova distributione patefacit. Deinde ad propositam comparationem rediens, allegorice memorati amictus texturam ac lapillos laudat. Hinc mystica etiam geminae divisionis ratione allata, institutam comparationem pergit exponere; ex qua fidem operibus colligens attexendam esse, contractam ejusdem fidei de Filio descriptionem subdit. 1. Satis, ut arbitror, libro superiore, sancte Imperator, edoctum est sempiternum esse Dei Filium, non dissimilem Patri, genitum, non creatum: Deum quoque verum Dei Filium Scripturarum lectionibus approbavimus, et apertis majestatis suae indiciis designatum. 2. Itaque quamvis ista ad fidem copiose redundantia sint, quod a fontis meatu magnitudo plerumque decurrentis fluminis aestimatur; tamen quo purius niteat fides nostra, tripartito videtur derivanda distinctio. Sunt enim evidentia indicia quae proprietatem deitatis ostendant: sunt quae similitudinem Patris et Filii: sunt etiam quae perspicuant divinae majestatis exprimant unitatem. Proprietatis itaque sunt, generatio, Deus, Filius, Verbum: similitudinis, splendor, character, speculum, imago: unitatis aeternae, sapientia, virtus, veritas, vita. 3. Haec indicia ita Dei Filium signant, ut ex his et sempiternum Patrem esse cognoscas, nec ab eo Filium discrepantem. Ex eo enim qui est, generatio; ex sempiterno Deus, ex Patre Filius, ex Deo Verbum, splendor gloriae, character substantiae, speculum Dei, majestatis imago, de bono bonitas, de sapiente sapientia, de forti virtus,

de vero veritas, de vivente vita. Concordant igitur Patris et Filii indicia, quibus non discrepare inter se, sed unius majestatis esse nemo dubitaverit. Quorum singulorum proferremus exempla nominum, nisi coarctandi sermonis studio teneremur. 4. His duodecim tamquam lapidibus pretiosis fidei columna consurgit. Hi sunt enim pretiosi illi lapides (Exod. XXVIII, 17 et seq.), sardius, jaspis, smaragdus, chrysolithus, et caeteri, quibus sancti Aaron, illius utique qui figuram gerit Christi, veri scilicet vestimentum sacerdotis intexitur: circumdati auro lapides, et insculpti de nominibus 472 filiorum Israel, duodecim lapides sibi invicem cohaerentes. Nam si eos aliquis separet atque secernat, omnis fidei structura dissolvitur. 5. Itaque principium fidei nostrae est scire quo genitus est Dei Filius: si genitus non est, nec Filius est. Nec satis est dixisse Filium, nisi et unigenitum Filium designaveris. Si creatura est, Deus non est: si Deus non est, nec vita est: si non est vita, nec veritas est. 6. Ergo tria illa, id est, generatio, Filius, unigenitus, principaliter et proprie indicant ex Deo Filium. 7. Tria sequentia, id est, Deus, vita, veritas, virtutem ejus manifestant, qua condidit et fecit subsistere creaturam: In ipso enim vivimus, movemur et sumus, sicut Paulus dixit (Act. XVII, 28). Et ideo in illis tribus proprietas Filii, in istis aliis paternae ac Filii operationis unitas declaratur. 8. Imago quoque et splendor et character dicitur Dei Filius, quia haec incomprehensibilem et investigabilem paternae majestatis divinitatem in Filio, et expressam similitudinem revelarunt. Haec quoque tria videmus ad similitudinem pertinere. 9. Reliquum est, virtus, sapientia, justitia; ut his singulis operationibus aeternitas probaretur. 10. Hoc igitur est illud vestimentum pretiosis lapidibus adornatum, hic veri amictus est sacerdotis, haec vestis nuptialis; hic textor propheticus, qui bene noverit ista contexere. Neque vilis ista textura est, de qua Dominus dicit per prophetam: Quis dedit mulieribus texturae sapientiam (Job. XXXVIII, 36). Nec communes isti lapides, lapides, ut legimus, supplementi: omnis enim in eo perfectio est, si nihil

desit. Lapides compositi et circumdati auro, intelligibili scilicet natura; si eos bene mens nostra componat, naturalisque sensus probabili ratione compaginet. Denique quam non mediocres lapides sint, lectio docet (Exod. XXXV, 27), quod cum alii alia viliora deferrent; istos tamen lapides super humeros suos religiosi principes attulerunt, ex quibus fecerunt rationale, opus textile (Ibid.). Textile enim opus est, quando fidei facta concordant. 11. Nec me aliquis errare putet, quia supra tripartitam de quaternis, subter vero quadripartitam de ternis feci distinctionem. Boni operis gratia per diversas plus placet formas. Bona enim et illa quae textrinum indumenti sacerdotalis ostendit, vel lex scilicet, vel Ecclesia, quae binas vestes fecit viro suo, sicut scriptum est (Prov. XXXI, 22 et seq.): unam operis, alteram mentis, fidei intexens factorumque velamina. Itaque alibi, sicut legimus, aurum praetexit, et postea hyacinthum 473 ac purpuram cum cocco subjungit et bysso. Rursus alibi ex hyacintho et caeteris prius flosculos format, aurumque subnectit, et unus est habitus sacerdotis; ut iisdem coloribus micans, gratiae decorisque diversitas ordinis diversitate resplendeat. 12. Itaque ut etiam rationis typicae series digeratur, auro et argento probabili non est dubium eloquia Domini designari, quibus fides constat. Scriptum est enim: Eloquia Domini, eloquia casta, argentum igne examinatum, probatum terrae, purgatum septuplum (Psal. XI, 7). Hyacinthus autem aeris habet similitudinem, quem spiramus, et cujus carpimus flatum: purpura quoque speciem aquarum exprimit: per coccum ignis intelligitur: terra per byssum; haec enim ex terra gignitur. Ex his autem quatuor elementis corpus subsistit humanum. 13. Sive ergo mentis fidei praecedenti concinentia corporis facta subnectas: sive facta praecedant, et fides astipuletur comes religiosa factorum, hic religiosi ornatus antistitis, hoc velamen est sacerdotis. 14. Bona ergo fides, cum pulchro operum renitet ornatu: de qua, ut ad summam loquar, definitiones istae sunt, quae non queunt solvi. Si ex nihilo est, non est Filius: si creatura est, non est creator: si factura est, non est omnium

factor: si discens, non praecognitor: si accipiens, non est perfectus: si proficiens, non est Deus: si dissimilis, non imago: si per gratiam, non per naturam: si divinitatis expers, auctor malitiae: Nemo bonus, nisi unus Deus (Marc. X, 18).

CAPUT PRIMUM.

ARIANORUM DEI FILIO bonitatem abrogantium objectionem non sine horrore propositam ut solvat, Christi sententiam ex personis loquentium, nec non ex ipsis dictionibus explicat. 15. Stupeo itaque ad reliqua, sancte imperator, et toto corpore animoque deficio, esse aliquos homines, vel potius non homines, sed humana adopertos specie, intus autem dementiae bestialis; qui post tanta Domini et tam divina beneficia, bonum negent ipsum auctorem bonorum. 16. Scriptum est, inquiunt: Nemo bonus, nisi unus Deus. Scriptum agnosco: sed littera errorem non habet; utinam Ariana interpretatio non haberet! Apices sine crimine sunt, sensus in crimine. Dictum Domini Salvatoris agnosco: 474 sed consideremus quando dicat, cui dicat, qua circumspectione dicat. 17. Dicit utique in hominis forma Dei Filius, et dicit Scribae, ei scilicet qui magistrum bonum Dei Filium nominaret, Deum negaret. Quod ille non credit, Christus adjungit; ut Dei Filium non ut bonum magistrum, sed ut bonum Deum credat. Nam sicubi unus Deus dicitur, nequaquam tamen Dei Filius ab unitatis plenitudine separatur; quomodo ubi unus Deus bonus nuncupatur, a plenitudine divinae bonitatis unigenitus excluditur? Necesse est igitur aut Deum negent Dei Filium, aut Deum bonum esse fateantur. 18. Et ideo circumspectione coelesti non dixit: Nemo bonus, nisi unus Pater; sed: Nemo bonus, nisi unus Deus. Pater enim proprium generantis est nomen, Deus autem unus nequaquam deitatem Trinitatis excludit, et ideo natura laudatur. Bonitas ergo in natura est Dei, et in natura Dei etiam Dei Filius; et ideo non quod singularitatis, sed quod unitatis est, praedicatur. 19. Non igitur a Domino bonitas negatur, sed talis discipulus refutatur. Nam cum scriba dixisset:

Magister bone, respondit Dominus: Quid me dicis bonum (Mare., X, 28)? id est, quem Deum non credis, non est satis ut bonum dicas. Non tales ego quaero discipulos, qui me magis secundum hominem magistrum bonum, quam secundum divinitatem Deum bonum credant.

CAPUT II.

Bonum esse Dei Filium ab operibus probat, nimirum ab ejus in Israelitas sub Testamento veteri, et in Christianos sub novo, beneficiis. Tum ubi subjecit utile sibi esse ut bonum dominum ac judicem suum arbitretur: paternum de Filio testimonium affert; imo etiam partis non exiguae Judaeorum, quibus proinde pejores Ariani esse declarantur. Quae omnia verborum Sponsae, eamdem Christi bonitatem designantium, claudit expositio. 20. Sed nolo praerogativa naturae suae et privilegio potestatis utatur. Non dicatur bonus, si non meretur, a nobis. Si hoc non meretur operibus, si beneficiis non meretur, abdicetur suae jure naturae, subdatur nostro judicio. Qui judicaturus de nobis est, non dedignatur judicari; ut justificetur in sermonibus suis, et vincat cum judicatur (Psal. L, 6), 475 21. Hiccine ergo non bonus, qui bona tribuit mihi (Psal. XII, 6)? Hiccine non bonus, qui cum sexcenta millia populi Judaeorum persecutoribus suis cederent, dehiscentem subito Rubri maris aestum individua aquarum mole divisit (Exod. XIV, 6 et seq.); ut fideles circumfusa unda muniret, infidos refusa demergeret? 22. Hiccine non bonus, cujus imperio maria solidata fugientibus, saxa humefacta sitientibus; ut opus veri agnosceretur auctoris, cum humor rigesceret, petra inundaret (Exod. XVII, 6)? Quod ut agnosceres opus Christi, Apostolus dixit: Petra autem erat Christus (I Cor. X, 4). 23. Hiccine non bonus, qui tam innumera populi millia, ne qua incesseret fames, in deserto pavit pane coelesti, sine usu laboris, cum fructu quietis (Exod. XVI, 13 et seq.): ita ut eorum per quadraginta annos nec vestimenta veterascerent, nec calceamenta tererentur (Deut. VIII, 4), instar fidelibus futurae resurrectionis ostendens, quod nec factorum decor splendidorum,

nec circumfusae virtutis nitor, nec vitae cursus periret humanae? 24. Hiccine non bonus, qui nobis coelum fecit esse, quod terra est; ut sicut in coelo, quasi in speculo quodam, stellarum lucentium refulgerent globi; ita etiam apostolorum et martyrum et sacerdotum, vice stellarum fulgentium, toto illucescerent chori mundo? 25. Ergo non solum bonus, sed etiam pastor bonus, hoc est, non sibi tantum, sed etiam ovibus suis bonus: Bonus enim pastor animam suam ponit pro ovibus suis (Joan. X, 11). Posuit plane animam suam, ut nostram levaret: sed pro divinitatis potestate posuit et sumpsit, sicut scriptum est: Potestatem habeo ponendi animam meam, et potestatem habeo sumendi eam. Nullus eam tollit a me, sed ego a memetipso pono eam (Ibid., 17, 18). 26. Vides bonitatem, quia sponte posuit: vides potestatem, quia sumpsit; et tu bonum negas, cum ipse de se in Evangelio dixerit: Si ego bonus, quare oculus tuus nequam (Matth. XX, 15)? Ingrate, quid agis? Bonum negas, per quem bona speras, si tamen credas? Bonum negas, qui dedit nobis quae oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit (I Cor. II, 9)? 27. Mihi expedit ut bonum credam: Bonum est enim confidere Domino (Psal. CXVII, 8). Mihi expedit ut Dominum confitear; scriptum est enim: Confitemini Domino, quoniam bonus (Ibid., I). 28. Mihi expedit, ut judicem meum bonum arbitrer; Dominus enim judex bonus domui Israel. Ergo si judex Dei Filius, utique quoniam judex Deus bonus, judex autem Dei Filius est; Deus bonus judex et Dei Filius est. 29. Sed fortasse non credas aliis, non credas Filio; audi Patrem dicentem: Eructavit cor meum Verbum bonum (Psal. XLIV, 1). Bonum ergo Verbum est, Verbum hoc de quo scriptum est: Et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum (Joan. I, 1). Ergo si Verbum bonum, Filius autem Dei Verbum est: bonus utique Deus est Dei Filius; etiamsi non 476 placeat Arianis. Erubescant aliquando. 30. Judaei dicebant: Bonus est (Joan. VII, 12). Etsi alii dicebant: Non est, alii dicebant tamen: Bonus est; et vos omnes bonum negatis. 31. Bonus est, qui peccatum unius donat; et bonus non est, qui

peccatum mundi abstulit? De ipso enim dictum est: Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccatum mundi (Joan. I, 29). 32. Sed quid dubitamus? Credidit jam Ecclesia bonum, et confessa est dicendo: Osculetur me ab osculis oris sui; quoniam bona ubera tua super vinum (Cantic. I, 1); et alibi: Et faux tua tamquam vinum est optimum (Cantic. VII, 9). Bonus ergo ille nos Legis et gratiae nutrit uberibus, coelesti curas hominum praedicatione demulcens; et nos bonum negamus, cum sit imago bonitatis, exprimens aeternae in se bonitatis effigiem, sicut et supra ostendimus scriptum, quia ipse est speculum sine macula, et imago bonitatis illius (Sap. VII, 26).

CAPUT III.

FILIUM DEI DEUM bonum ac verum esse, cum Deus unus sit. 33. [Alias cap. II.] Sed quid vobis videtur, qui bonum et verum Deum Dei Filium denegatis; cum scriptum sit quod nullus Deus, nisi unus (I Cor. VIII, 4)? Nam etsi sunt qui dicantur dii, an inter eos Christum annumeratis, qui dicuntur, et non sunt? Cum speciale sit ejus, ut semper sit: et praeter ipsum bonus et verus alius Deus non sit; quoniam in ipso est Deus: speciale autem etiam Patris sit, ut post ipsum verus alius Deus non sit; quia unus Deus, nec juxta Sabellianos Patrem Filiumque confundens, nec juxta Arianos Patrem Filiumque secernens. Pater enim et Filius distinctionem habent, ut Pater et Filius; separationem divinitatis non habent.

CAPUT IV.

Omnipotentem esse Dei Filium prisci novique foederis auctoritate demonstratur. 34. [Alias cap. III.] Itaque cum verus et bonus Dei Filius, utique omnipotens Deus Dei Filius: num hinc quoque dubitari potest? Supra (lib. I, ca) diximus lectum quia Dominus omnipotens nomen est ei. Ergo quia Filius Dominus, Dominus autem omnipotens; omnipotens est Dei Filius. 35. Sed accipe etiam eam de qua dubitare nequeas, lectionem: Ecce venit, inquit, cum nubibus, et videbit eum omnis oculus, et qui eum compunxerunt: et plangent se super eum omnes tribus terrae. Etiam, amen. Ego sum A et Ω, dicit Dominus Deus, qui est, et qui erat, et qui venturus est omnipotens (Apoc. I, 7, 8). Quem igitur compunxerunt, et quem speramus esse venturum, nisi Filium? Ergo omnipotens Dominus et Deus Christus est. 36. Accipe aliud, sancte Imperator, et accipe Christum loquentem: Haec dicit Dominus omnipotens: Post honorem misit me super gentes, quae 477 depraedaverunt vos; quoniam qui tangit vos, quasi qui tangit pupillam oculi ejus. Quia ecce ego injicio manum meam super eos, qui depraedaveruntvos, et eruam vos; et erunt in praedam, qui depraedaverunt vos, et scient quia Dominus omnipotens misit me (Zacchar. II, 8, 9). Utique qui dicit: Dominus est omnipotens: et qui misit, Dominus est omnipotens. Ergo et Patris et Filii omnipotentia: sed tamen Deus unus omnipotens; quia unitas potestatis est. 37. Atque ut scias, Imperator auguste, Christum esse, qui locutus est et in propheta et in Evangelio, tamquam in praedestinatione Evangelii per Esaiam dicit: Ipse qui loquebar, adsum (Esai. LII, 6), hoc est: Adsum in Evangelio, qui loquebar in Lege. 38. Deinde alibi: Omnia quae Pater habet, mea sunt (Joan. XVI, 25). Quae sunt omnia? Non utique locutus est de

creatis; haec enim omnia facta sunt per Filium: sed ea quae Pater habet, id est, aeternitatem, majestatem, divinitatem, quae nascendo possedit. Ergo eum qui omnia habet, quae Pater habet (scriptum est enim: Omnia quae Pater habet, mea sunt), omnipotentem esse dubitare non possumus.

CAPUT V.

Objectos adversus Christi omnipotentiam Scripturae textus exponit; ac maxime in eo immoratur, ut eumdem non raro ex humanae naturae affectu locutum probet. 39. Nec vereor ne quia scriptum est de Deo: Beatus et solus potens (I Tim. VI, 15), ab eo Dei Filius separetur; cum Scriptura Deum solum potentem dixerit, non Patrem solum: et ipse de Christo Deus Pater asserat per Prophetam: Posui adjutorium super potentem (Psal. LXXXVIII, 20). Non ergo Pater solus potens, sed potens etiam Deus Filius; in Patre enim laudatur et Filius. 40. Certe ostendat aliquis quid sit, quod non possit Dei Filius: quis ei adjutor cum coelum faceret, fuit: quis adjutor cum conderet mundum? An qui in constitutione Angelorum et Dominationum adjutore non eguit, eguit ut hominem liberaret? 41. Scriptum est, inquiunt: Pater meus, si possibile est, transfer a me calicem hunc (Matth. XXVI, 39; Luc. XXII, 42). Et ideo omnipotens est, quomodo de possibilitate 478 ambigit? Ergo quia omnipotentem probavi, probavi utique ambigere eum de possibilitate non posse. 42. Verba, inquis, Christi sunt. Verum dicis: sed quando, et in qua forma loquatur, adverte. Hominis substantiam gessit, hominis assumpsit affectum. Denique supra habes quia progressus pusillum procidit in faciem suam, orans et dicens: Pater, si possibile est. Non ergo quasi Deus, sed quasi homo loquitur; Deus enim possibile aliquid aut impossibile nesciebat? Aut aliquid impossibile Deo, cum scriptum sit: Impossibile enim tibi nihil est (Job XXII, 17)? 43. De quo autem dubitat? de se, an de Patre? De eo utique qui dicit: Transfer: et dubitat hominis affectu. Ergo propheta non putat aliquid impossibile Deo. Propheta non dubitat, et Filium dubitare tu credis? Num infra homines constituis Deum?

Et dubitat de Patre Deus, et de morte formidat? Timet ergo Christus; et cum Petrus non timeat, Christus timet? Petrus dicit: Animam meam pro te ponam (Joan. XIII, 37); Christus dicit: Anima mea turbatur (Joan. XII, 27). 44. Utrumque verum est, et plenum utrumque rationis; quod et ille qui est inferior, non timet: et ille qui superior est, gerit timentis affectum: ille enim quasi homo vim mortis ignorat, iste quasi Deus in corpore constitutus fragilitatem carnis exponit; ut eorum qui sacramentum Incarnationis abjurant, excluderetur impietas. Denique et haec dixit, et Manichaeus non credidit, Valentinus negavit, Marcion phantasma judicavit. 45. Eousque autem hominem quem veritate corporis demonstrabat, aequabat affectu, ut diceret: Sed tamen non sicut ego volo, sed sicut tu vis (Matth. XXVI, 39); cum utique similiter, sit Christi velle, quod Pater vult: cujus similiter est facere, quod Pater facit. 46. Quo loco etiam illa vestra quaestio conticescit, quam soletis objicere, quia dixit Dominus: Non sicut ego volo, sed sicut tu vis; et alibi: Ad hoc descendi de coelo, non ut facium voluntatem meam, sed voluntatem ejus qui me misit (Joan. VI, 38). 479

CAPUT VI.

Occasione superiorum Scripturae locorum tantisper digrediens, libertatem Domini primum ex eo quod eadem praeditus affirmetur Spiritus sanctus, deinde expressis quibus ipsa Filio Dei attribuitur, testimoniis demonstrat. 47. Ergo ut quasi interpositis plenioris expositionis paulisper induciis, cur dixerit: Si possibile est, voluntatis interim liberae Dominum fuisse doceamus. In tantum processistis impietatis, ut negetis quod Filius Dei liberae voluntatis sit! At certe soletis etiam sancto Spiritui derogare, et negare non potestis scriptum esse: Spiritus ubi vult, spirat (Joan. III, 8). Ubi vult, inquit, non ubi jubetur. Ergo si Spiritus ubi vult, spirat, Filius quod vult, non agit? Et certe idem Dei Filius in Evangelio suo dicit, ubi velit spirandi suppetere Spiritui facultatem. Numquid ergo superiorem fatetur; quia illi licet, quod sibi non licet? 48. Apostolus quoque dicit quia omnia operatur unus atque idem Spiritus, dividens singulis prout vult (I Cor. XII, 11). Prout vult, inquit, hoc est, pro liberae voluntatis arbitrio, non pro necessitatis obsequio. Et dividit Spiritus non mediocria; sed quae Deus consuevit operari, gratiam curationum, et operationem virtutum. Ergo dividit Spiritus prout vult, Filius Dei non liberat, quem vult? Sed audi etiam ipsum agere quod vult. Dixit enim: Ut faciam voluntatem tuam, Deus meus, volui (Psal. XXXIX, 9). Et alibi: Voluntarie sacrificabo tibi (Psal. LIII, 8). 49. Scivit sanctus apostolus Petrus Jesum in potestate habere quae vellet; et ideo cum videret ambulare eum supra mare, ait: Domine, si tu es, jube me venire ad te super aquas (Matth. XIV, 28). Petrus credidit quia si Christus jubeat, naturae possit conditio mutari; ut humanis se subjiciat unda vestigiis, et discrepantium naturarum possit convenire concordia. Petrus poscit ut

jubeat, non ut roget Christus: Christus non rogavit, sed jussit, et factum est: et Arius contradicit? 50. Quid est tamen quod Patre velit, Filius nolit: aut Filius velit et Patre nolit? Pater quos vult, vivificat; et Filius quos vult, vivificat, sicut scriptum est (Joan. V, 21). Dic nunc quos vivificaverit Filius, et Pater vivificare noluerit. Cum autem Filius quos velit vivificet, et operatio una sit; vides quia non solum Filius voluntatem Patris, sed etiam Pater Filii faciat voluntatem? Quid est autem vivificare, nisi per Filii passionem? Passio autem Christi voluntas est Patris. Quos ergo Filius vivificat, per Patris vivificat voluntatem. Una igitur est voluntas. 51. Quae autem voluntas Patris, nisi ut veniret Jesus in hunc mundum, et nos mundaret a vitiis? 480 Audi leprosum dicentem: Si vis, potes me mundare (Matth. VIII, 2). Respondit Christus, Volo; et statim secutus est effectus sanitatis. Vides quia Filius suae arbiter voluntatis est, et Christi voluntas eadem quae paterna est? Quamquam cum dixerit: Omnia quae Pater habet, mea sunt (Joan. XVI, 15): sine dubio quia nihil excipitur, quam Pater habet, eamdem habet et Filius voluntatem.

CAPUT VII.

REDIT AD PROPOSITAE difficultatis solutionem, et voluntatem affectusque humanos a Christo vere susceptos esse, ac proinde quidquid in ipso non congruit divinitati, ex eisdem oriri docet, atque ad id quod simul Deus et homo erat, referri. 52. Una ergo voluntas, ubi una operatio; in Deo enim voluntatis series operationis effectus est. Sed alia voluntas hominis, alia Dei. Denique ut scias vitam in voluntate esse hominis; quia mortem timemus: passionem autem Christi in voluntate divina; ut pateretur pro nobis: cum Petrus eum vellet a passione revocare, Dominus ait: Non sapis quae Dei sunt, sed quae sunt hominum (Matth. XVI, 23). 53. Suscepit ergo voluntatem meam, suscepit tristitiam meam. Confidenter tristitiam nomino, quia crucem praedico. Mea est voluntas, quam suam dixit; quia ut homo suscepit tristitiam meam, ut homo locutus est; et ideo ait: Non sicut ego volo, sed sicut tu vis (Matth. XXVI, 39). Mea est tristitia, quam meo suscepit affectu: nemo enim moriturus exsultat. Mihi compatitur, mihi tristis est, mihi dolet. Ergo pro me et in me doluit, qui pro se nihil habuit quod doleret. 54. Doles igitur, Domine Jesu, non tua, sed mea vulnera: non tuam mortem, sed nostram infirmitatem, sicut ait propheta: Quia pro nobis dolet (Esai. LIII, 4): et nos, Domine, aestimavimus te esse in doloribus; cum tu non pro te, sed pro me doleres. 55. Et quid mirum si pro omnibus doluit, qui pro uno flevit? Quid mirum, si moriturus pro omnibus taedeat, qui Lazarum resuscitaturus illacrymat? Verum et ibi piae sororis lacrymis commovetur, quia mente humana tangebatur: et hic alto operatur affectu; ut sicut mors ejus mortem abstulit, livor ejus ulcera nostra sanavit: ita etiam moerorem nostrum moeror ejus aboleret. 56. Ut homo ergo dubitat, ut homo turbatur.

Non turbatur ejus virtus, non turbatur ejus divinitas: sed turbatur anima: turbatur secundum humanae fragilitatis assumptionem. Et ideo quia suscepit animam, suscepit et animae passiones; non enim Deus eo quod Deus erat, aut turbari aut mori potuisset. Denique, Deus, Deus, inquit, meus, quare me dereliquisti (Psal. XXI, 1)? Ut homo 481 ergo loquitur, meos circumferens metus; quod in periculis positi, a Domino deseri nos putamus. Ut homo turbatur, ut homo flet, ut homo crucifigitur. 57. Sic enim et apostolus Paulus dixit: Quia Christi carnem crucifixerunt (Galat. V, 24). Et alibi apostolus Petrus ait: Christo passo secundum carnem (I Pet. IV, 1). Caro igitur est passa, divinitas autem mortis libera: passioni corpus naturae humanae lege concessit; an vero mori divinitas potest, cum anima non possit? Nolite, inquit, timere eos qui corpus possunt occidere, animam autem non possunt (Matth. X, 28). Si ergo anima occidi non potest, quomodo divinitas potest? 58. [Alias cap. IV]. Unde illud quod lectum est, Dominum majestatis crucifixum esse, non quasi in majestate sua crucifixum putemus (I Cor. II, 8): sed quia idem Deus, idem homo, per divinitatem Deus, per susceptionem carnis homo Jesus Christus, Dominus majestatis dicitur crucifixus, quia consors utriusque naturae, id est, humanae atque divinae, in natura hominis subiit passionem; ut indiscrete et Dominus majestatis dicatur esse qui passus est, et Filius hominis, sicut scriptum est, qui descendit de coelo (Joan. III, 13).

CAPUT VIII.

EX PRINCIPIO PROXIME ante constituto illud solvitur, quod Christus dixit: Pater major me est. Quae verba et alia ejusdem rationis ubi secundum humanitatem intelligenda esse ostensum est, eumdem Dominum secundum naturam divinam dici non posse Patri inferiorem multis confirmatur. 59. Per naturam igitur hominis et dubitavit, et taeduit et resurrexit; quod enim cecidit, hoc resurgit. Per naturam hominis dicit etiam illud, de quo calumniari solent; quia dictum est: Quoniam Pater major me est (Joan. XIV, 28). 60. Verum quia alibi dicitur: Exivi a Patre, et veni in mundum: iterum relinquo mundum, et vado ad Patrem (Joan. XVI, 28): quomodo vadit, nisi per mortem: et venit, nisi per resurrectionem? Denique addidit, ut de assumptione se dixisse signaret: Propterea dixi vobis priusquam fiat; ut cum factum fuerit, credatis (Joan. XIV, 29). Loquebatur enim passionem sui corporis, et resurrectionem per quam credere coeperant, qui ante dubitabant; neque enim Deus de loco ad locum transit, qui ubique semper est. Ut homo est qui vadit, ipse est qui venit. Denique et alibi dicit: Surgit, eamus hinc (Ibid., 31). In eo ergo vadit et venit, quod est commune nobiscum. 61. Nam quomodo potest minor esse Deus, cum Deus perfectus et plenus sit? Sed minor 482 in natura hominis et miraris si ex persona hominis Patrem dixit majorem, qui in persona hominis se vermem dixit esse, non hominem; dixit enim: Ego autem sum vermis et non homo (Psal. XXI, 7); et alibi: Sicut ovis ad occisionem ductus est (Esai. LIII, 7). 62. Si in hoc minorem dicis, negare non possum: sed, ut verbo utar Scripturae, non minor natus, sed minoratus (Hebr. II, 9), hoc est, minor factus est. Quomodo autem minor factus, nisi quia: Cum in forma Dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est esse se

aequalem Deo, sed semetipsum exinanivit (Phil. II, 6, 7): non remittens utique quod erat, sed assumens quod non erat; quia formam servi accepit. 63. Denique ut sciremus per susceptionem corporis minoratum, de homine se David prophetare signavit dicens: Quid est homo, quod memor es ejus: aut Filius hominis, nisi quia visitas eum? Minorasti eum paulo minus ab angelis (Psal. VIII, 5, 6). Et hoc ipsum interpretatus Apostolus, ait: Nam paulo quam angelos minoratum videmus Jesum, propter passionem mortis gloria et honore coronatum; ut sine Deo pro omnibus gustaret mortem (Hebr. II, 9). 64. Non solum ergo Patre, sed etiam angelis minor Filius Dei factus est. Et si hoc ad praejudicium trabis; num ergo Filius in natura Dei minor est, quam sui angeli qui ei serviunt et ministrant (Matth. IV, 6)? Ita dum minorem vultis asserere, impietatem incurritis; ut angelorum naturam Dei Filio praeferatis. Sed non est servus supra Dominum suum (Matth. X, 24). Denique et in carne constituto angeli ministrabant; ut nihil eum agnoscas per naturam corporis imminutum; neque enim Deus sui pati potuit detrimentum, cum id quod assumpsit ex Virgine, nec accessio divinae nec diminutio potestatis sit. 65. Non est ergo secundum divinitatem minor, qui plenitudinem habet divinitatis et gloriae. Major enim et minor in iis quae corporalia sunt, distingui solent: aut statu major, aut plenitudine, aut certe aetate. Vacant ista, ubi de divinis tractatus inducitur. Major enim vulgo dici solet, qui aliquem instituit et informat: in Dei autem sapientiam non cadit, ut instituta sit alterius disciplinis; cum ipsa disciplinarum omnium tradiderit institutum. Quam bene autem posuit Apostolus: Ut sine Deo pro omnibus gustaret mortem (Hebr. II, 9); ne divinitatis illam passionem putaremus fuisse, non carnis! 66. Ergo si non invenerunt quemadmodum possent probare majorem, non verbis calumnientur, sed verborum rationem requirant. Ergo illos interrogo quo putent esse majorem? Si quia Pater est, eo majorem putant: sed non hic aetas et tempus, neque canities Patris, et 483 filii pueritia est; haec enim majorem solent facere patrem. Caeterum

pater et filius generantis et nati nomina sunt, quae non videntur separare, sed jungere; non enim pietas naturae detrimentum est: namque homines sibi invicem conciliat necessitudo, non separat. 67. Itaque si nec de natura afferre possunt aliquam quaestionem, vel testimoniis credant. Denique Filium non esse eo minorem, quia Filius est, evangelista testatur; et aequalem esse, quia Filius est, ipse significat dicens: Propterea enim volebant eum occidere Judaei, quia non solum solvebat sabbatum, sed et Patrem proprium dicebat Deum, aequalem se faciens Deo (Joan. V, 18). 68. Non Judaei hoc dicunt, sed Evangelista testatur, quod aequalem se faciebat Deo, proprium se Filium Dei dicens. Non enim scriptum est ex persona Judaeorum dicentium: Propterea volebamus eum occidere: sed evangelista ex sua persona dicit: Propterea enim volebant illum Judaei occidere. Et interpretatus est causam, ideo Judaeos ad necem ejus esse commotos, quod cum et sabbatum quasi Deus solveret, et Deum Patrem sibi proprium vindicaret, non solum in solutione sabbati majestatem divinae potestatis, sed etiam in Patris proprii nomine jus sibi aeternae aequalitatis adscisceret. 69. Quibus aptissime respondit Dei Filius, ut et Dei se Filium, et aequalem probaret: Quaecumque, inquit, Pater fecerit, eadem et Filius facit similiter (Ibid., 19). Filius igitur Patri et dicitur et probatur aequalis. Bona aequalitas, quae et differentiam divinitatis excludit, et cum Filio Patrem signat, cui Filius sit aequalis; non est enim diversa, nec singularis aequalitas; quia nemo aequalis ipse sibi solus est. Ergo Evangelista interpretatus est quid sit proprium Filium Dei se dicere, hoc est, aequalem se facere Deo. 70. Unde id secutus Apostolus dixit: Non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo (Phil. II, 6). Quod enim quis non habet, rapere conatur. Ergo non quasi rapinam habebat aequalitatem cum Patre quam in substantia sui tamquam Deus et Dominus possidebat. Unde addidit: Formam servi accepit (Ibid. 7). Contrarium utique servus, et aequalis. Aequalis ergo in Dei forma; minor in susceptione carnis, et hominis passione. Nam quomodo eadem posset minor

esse aequalisque natura? Quomodo autem, si minor est, eadem similiter facit, quae Pater facit? Nam quemadmodum eadem operatio diversae esset potestatis? Numquid sic potest minor, quemadmodum major operari? aut una operatio potest esse, ubi diversa substantia est? 71. Itaque accipe Christum secundum divinitatem minorem non posse dici. Ipse loquitur ad Abraham: Per me ipsum juravi (Gen. XXII, 16). Ostendit autem Apostolus eum qui per se jurat, minorem 484 esse non posse. Itaque sic ait: Abrahae cum repromisisset Deus, quoniam nullum alium majorem habebat, juravit per seipsum, dicens: Nisi benedicendo benedixero te, et multiplicando multiplicavero te (Hebr. VI, 13, 14). Ergo majorem non habuit Christus, et ideo per se juravit. Et bene addidit: Homines enim per majorem se jurant; quia homines majorem habent, Deus non habet (Ibid., 16). 72. Aut si volunt de Patre dictum videri, reliqua non cohaerent; neque enim Pater visus est Abrahae, nec Deo Patri pedes lavit, sed ei in quo futuri hominis est figura. Denique Filius Dei dicit: Abraham diem meum vidit, et gravisus est (Joan. VIII, 56). Ipse est ergo qui per se juravit, quem Abraham vidit. 73. Et revera quomodo majorem habet, qui divinitate cum Patre unum est (Joan. X, 30)? Quod enim unum est, dissimile non est: inter majorem autem minoremque discretio est. Ergo de Filio, et Patre praesentis docet lectionis exemplum, quia nec Pater minorem habet, nec majorem Dei Filius; cum in Patre et Filio nulla distantia divinitatis sit, sed una majestas.

CAPUT IX.

Objicientibus Filium cum a Patre sit missus, eo utique minorem esse; respondetur illum etiam a Spiritu missum, quo tamen minor non habeatur. Additur etiam Spiritum mitti a Patre et Filio, ut utriusque operationum unitas designetur: Hinc admonemur sedulo distinguendum quae locutiones Christo ut Deo, quaeve eidem ut homini conveniant: quarum exempla non pauca subjiciuntur exponunturque. 74. Nec illud sane metuo, quod solent obtendere minorem esse, quia missus est. Si enim et minor non docetur, et honorificentiae docetur aequalitas; cum ita omnes honorificent Filium, sicut honorificant Patrem (Joan. V, 23), constat eo minorem non esse, quod missus est. 75. Non ergo humani sermonis angustias, sed verborum claritatem intuere, operibus crede. Considera quia Dominus noster Jesus Christus in Esaia locutus est ab Spiritu sancto esse se missum (Esa. LXI, 1). Numquid ergo Spiritu minor Filius, quia missus ab Spiritu est? Habes igitur scriptum quod Filius a Patre et Spiritu ejus dicat esse se missum: Ego sum, inquit, primus, et ego in aeternum, et manus mea fundavit terram, dextera mea solidavit coelum (Esai. XLVIII, 12, 13); et infra: Ego locutus sum, et ego vocavi; adduxi eum, et prosperum iter ejus feci. Accedite ad me, et audite haec: non in occulto ab initio locutus sum. Cum fierent, illic eram: et nunc Dominus misit me, et Spiritus ejus (Ibid., 15, 16). Utique qui coelum fecit et terram, ipse dicit a Domino et a Spiritu ejus esse se missum. Videtis ergo quod simplicitas sermonis, non injuria 485 missionis sit. Ipse igitur missus a Patre, ipse est missus ab Spiritu. 76. Et ut cognoscas nullam majestatis esse distantiam, etiam Filius Spiritum mittit, sicut ipse dixit: Cum venerit autem Paraclitus, quem ego mittam vobis a Patre meo, Spiritus

veritatis, qui a Patre meo procedit (Joan. XV, 26). Hunc eumdem Paraclitum et a Patre esse mittendum supra docuit dicens: Paraclitus autem ille Spiritus sanctus, quem mittet Pater in nomine meo (Joan. XIV, 26). Vide unitatem, quia quem Deus Pater mittit, mittit et Filius: et quem mittit Pater, mittit et Spiritus. Aut si nolunt Filium missum, quia dexteram Patris Filium legimus; ipsi de Patre quod de Filio abnuunt, fatebuntur: nisi forte aut alterum sibi Patrem, aut alterum sibi Filium inveniant Ariani. 77. Sileant igitur inanes de sermonibus quaestiones; quia regnum Dei, sicut scriptum est (I Cor. II, 4), non in persuasione verbi est, sed in ostensione virtutis. Servemus distinctionem divinitatis et carnis. Unus in utraque loquitur Dei Flius; quia in eodem utraque natura est: et si idem loquitur, non uno semper loquitur modo. Intende in eo nunc gloriam Dei, nunc hominis passiones. Quasi Deus loquitur quae sunt divina, quia Verbum est: quasi homo dicit quae sunt humana, quia in mea substantia loquebatur. 78. Hic est panis vivus, qui descendit de coelo (Joan. VI, 51). Panis hic caro est, sicut ipse dixit: Hic panis quem ego dabo, caro mea est (Ibid., 52). Hic est qui descendit de coelo, hic est quem Pater sanctificavit, et misit in hunc mundum. Nec ipsa littera nos docet sanctificatione divinitatem eguisse, sed carnem. Denique ipse Dominus dixit: Et ego memetipsum sanctifico pro ipsis (Joan. XVII, 19); ut agnoscas quod et sanctificatur in carne pro nobis, et divinitate sanctificat. 79. Hic idem est quem Pater misit, sed factum ex muliere, factum sub Lege, ut Apostolus dixit (Galat. IV, 4). Hic est, qui ait: Spiritus Domini super me, propter quod unxit me: evangelizare pauperibus misit me (Luc. IV, 18). Hic est qui dicit: Mea doctrina non est mea, sed ejus qui misit me. Si quis voluerit voluntatem ejus facere, cognoscet de doctrina, utrum ex Deo est, an ego a me ipso loquar (Joan. VII, 16, 17). Alia ergo ex Deo doctrina, alia ex homine. Itaque Judaei cum doctrinam ejus secundum hominem quaererent, et dicerent: Quomodo hic litteras novit, cum non didicerit (Joan. VII, 15)? respondit Jesus, et dixit: Mea doctrina, non est

mea; nam cum sine 486 eruditione litterarum doceat, non quasi homo, sed potius ut Deus videtur docere, qui doctrinam non didicerit, sed invenerit. 80. Adinvenit enim omnem viam disciplinae, ut supra lectum est; nam utique de Filio Dei dictum est: Hic est Deus noster, et non aestimabitur alius ad eum qui adinvenit omnem viam disciplinae. Post haec in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est (Baruc. III, 36 et seq). Quomodo ergo secundum divinitatem doctrinam suam non habet, qui adinvenit omnem viam disciplinae, antequam videretur in terris? Aut quomodo minor, de quo dictum est: Non aestimabitur alius ad eum? Utique incomparabilis dicitur, ad quam nemo alius aestimari potest: sed ita incomparabilis, ut Patri nequeat anteferri. Quod si de Patre dictum putant, impietatem Sabellii non evadent, ut Patri susceptionem humanae carnis attribuant. 81. Persequamur sequentia: Qui a semetipso, inquit, loquitur, gloriam suam quaerit (Joan. VII, 18). Vide unitatem, quae et Patrem signat et Filium. Non potest non esse, qui loquitur: sed non potest a semetipso esse quod loquitur, in quo naturaliter ex Patre sunt omnia. 82. Quid est autem: Gloriam suam quaerit? Hoc est, non divisam a Patre gloriam; nam utique et Verbum Deus habet gloriam. Denique dicit: Ut videant gloriam meam (Joan. XVII, 24). Sed illa verbi gloria eadem Patris gloria est, sicut scriptum est: Dominus Jesus Christus in gloria est Dei Patris (Philip. II, 11). Ita igitur secundum divinitatem Dei Filius suam gloriam habet, ut Patris et Filii una sit gloria. Non est ergo minor in claritate, quia una gloria: non minor divinitate, quia plenitudo divinitatis in Christo est. 83. Et quomodo, inquis, scriptum est: Pater, venit hora, clarifica Filium tuum (Joan. XVII, 1)? Qui hoc dicit, clarificatione, inquis, indiget. Hucusque oculos habes: quod reliquum est non legisti; sequitur enim: Ut Filius tuus clarificet te (Ibid.). Numquid et Pater indiget, qui clarificandus a Filio est?

CAPUT X.

Objectionem a Filii obedientia desumptam solvit, ostensoque Trinitatis unam potentiam, divinitatem atque operationem esse, addit Christum etiam matri, qua minor dici neutiquam potest, obedientiam exhibuisse. 84. Pari modo obedientiam Filii objicere solent, quia scriptum est: Et specie inventus 487 ut homo, humiliavit semetipsum, factus obediens usque ad mortem (Phil. II, 7, 8). Et hominem praemisit, et usque ad mortem dixit; ut intelligeremus obedientiam mortis non divinitatis fuisse, sed incarnationis: in qua et officia nostra suscepit et nomina. 85. Didicimus itaque unam esse potentiam Trinitatis, quam nos in ipsa atque post ipsam docuit passionem; Filius enim patitur per corporis sacramentum, apostolis Spiritus sanctus infunditur: in manus Patris commendatur spiritus, Deus quoque Pater maxima voce signatur. Didicimus unam Patris et Filii esse imaginem, unam similitudinem, unam sanctificationem. Didicimus unam esse operationem, unam gloriam, unam quoque divinitatem. 86. Unus ergo et solus Deus; quia scriptum est: Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et illi soli servies (Deut. VI, 13). Unus Deus, non ut ipse sit Pater et Filius, sicut impius Sabellius asserit: sed quia Patris et Filii, Spiritusque sancti una divinitas sit: ubi autem una divinitas, una voluntas, una praeceptio. 87. Denique ut scias et Patrem esse, et Filium esse, et unum opus Patris ac Filii esse, Apostolum sequere, qui dixit: Ipse autem Deus, et Pater noster, et Dominus noster Jesus dirigat viam nostram ad vos (I Thess. III, 11). Et Patrem loquitur, et Filium loquitur: sed unitas directionis est; quia unitas potestatis est. Sic et alibi habes: Ipse autem Dominus noster Jesus Christus, et Deus, et Pater noster qui dilexit nos, et dedit consolationem aeternam, et spem bonam in gratia; consoletur

corda vestra, et confirmet (II Thess. II, 16, 17). Quantam unitatem ostendit, ut consolationis unitas, non pluralitas sit! Conticescat ergo perfidia, aut si ratione non vincitur, morali humanitate flectatur. 88. Consideremus quam moraliter egerit Dominus; ut nos non solum fidem, sed etiam mores doceret. Namque in forma hominis constitutus, subditus erat Joseph et Mariae (Luc. II, 51). Numquid ergo minor et hominibus, quia subditus? Aliud pietatis, aliud potestatis est: sed non praejudicat pietas potestati. In quo ergo legis subditum Patri? In corpore scilicet, in quo erat subditus matri.

CAPUT XI.

Proponit cum Arianis humaniter agere Christi exemplo vulnera vino et oleo curantis: ad quod coeleste medicamentum omnes invitans, quo consilio is carnem induerit, et qua utilitate, tradit. Hinc aperit quantum prosit fidem habere, qua Christum propter nos omnem infirmitatem suscepisse cognoscimus, cujus divinitas in passione erumpebat. Ex quibus intelligere est Dei Filium sine subjectione ulla missum fuisse: nec metuendum ne fides haec displiceat Patri; quippe qui in filio sibi complacere significet. 89. Agamus et nos moraliter, persuadeamus illis quod sibi prosit, obsecremus et ploremus ante Dominum qui fecit nos (Psal. XCIV, 6). Non enim 488 vincere volumus, sed sanare: non insidiose agimus, sed religiose monemus. Saepe flectit humanitas, quos nec virtus potuerit superare, nec ratio. Denique Dominus illum hominem qui ex Hiericho descendens, incidit in latrones, quem non asperioribus Legis medicamentis, non prophetico rigore curaverat, oleo curavit et vino (Luc. X, 30 et seq.). 90. Veniant ergo ad hunc omnes qui sanari volunt; accipiant medicamentum, quod et a Patre detulit, et praeparavit in coelo, ex illis confectum immortalibus succis. Hoc ex terra non pullulat; expers enim est omnis natura hujus confectionis. Divino enim consilio suscepit hanc carnem, ut ostenderet legem carnis legi esse subditam mentis. Suscepit carnem, ut quasi homo vinceret, qui homines erudiret. 91. Quid mihi prodesset, si quasi Deus exerta potestate divinitatem suam tantummodo inviolabilem demonstrasset? Aut cur susciperet carnem, nisi ut tentari se naturae atque infirmitatis meae conditione pateretur? Tentari debuit, compati mihi debuit; ut scirem quemadmodum tentatus vincerem, compassus evaderem. Vicit per continentiam, vicit per contemptum

divitiarum, vicit per fidem: calcavit ambitionem, fugavit intemperantiam, lasciviam relegavit. 92. Hoc medicamentum Petrus vidit, et retia sua, instrumenta videlicet quaestus et subsidia dereliquit, renuntians carnis concupiscentiae tamquam corruptae navi, in quam quasi sentina quaedam multarum ingreditur passionum. Magnum ergo medicamentum, quod non solum cicatricem vetusti vulneris amputavit, sed etiam causam passionis incidit. O fides thesauris omnibus opulentior! o vulnerum nostrorum, peccatorumque medicina praestantior! 93. Consideremus quia nobis prodest bene credere. Mihi enim prodest scire quia propter me Christus suscepit meas infirmitates, mei corporis subiit passiones (Esai. LIII, 4): pro me peccatum, hoc est, pro omni homine, pro me maledictum factus est, pro me atque in me subditus atque subjectus, pro me agnus, pro me vitis, pro me lapis, pro me servus, pro me filius ancillae, pro me diem judicii ignorans, pro nobis nesciens diem aut horam. 94. Nam quomodo posset diem nescire, qui dies fecit et tempora? Quomodo posset diem ignorare judicii, qui et horam futuri judicii expressit et causam? Factus ergo maledictum non secundum divinitatem, sed secundum carnem; scriptum est enim: Maledictus omnis qui pendet in ligno (Deut. XXI, 23). Secundum carnem utique pependit; et ideo maledictum, qui nostra maledicta suscepit. Ille flevit, ne tu homo diu fleres: ille injurias passus est, ne tu injuriam tuam doleres. 95. Grande remedium, solatium habere de Christo. Ille enim pro nobis haec patientius tulit, et sumus qui patienter haec pro illius nomine ferre nequeamus! Quis appetitus non discat ignoscere, quando et pro persecutoribus 489 suis Christus etiam crucifixus orabat? Videsne illas quas tu putas Christi infirmitates, tuas esse virtutes? Cur de remediis nostris ei quaestionem movemus? Lacrymae illae nos lavant, fletus illi nos abluunt, ac dubitatio illa nos firmat; ne tu si coeperis dubitare, desperes. Quanto major est injuria, tanto uberior debetur gratia. 96. Sed in ipsis injuriis cognosce divinitatem. In cruce pendebat, et elementa ei omnia serviebant. Sol refugit,

dies occidit, offusae et circumfusae tenebrae, terra tremuit: non tremuit qui pependit (Matth. XXVII, 51). Quid aliud haec, quam Auctoris reverentiam signant? Quia in cruce est, vides: quia regnum Dei donat, non vides. Quia mortem gustavit, legis: quia latronem quoque ad paradisum invitavit (Luc. XXIII, 43), non legis. Mulieres flentes intueris ad tumulum, non intueris angelos excubantes (Joan. XX, 12). Quid dixerit legis, quid gesserit non legis. Dicis Chananaeae mulieri dixisse Dominum: Non sum missus nisi ad oves quae perierunt domus Israel (Matth. XV, 24): non dicis, quoniam id quod ab ea rogatus est, fecit. 97. Unde intelligere te convenit, quia missus non id significat, quod alieno sit coactus imperio, sed quod voluntario functus sit arbitratu: alioquin contemptum ostendis Patris. Si enim, ut tu interpretaris, paternorum famulus praeceptorum Christus venerat in Judaeam, ut solis ejus incolis mederetur, et Chananaeae prius filiam, ut legimus, liberavit; non utique alieni fuit exsecutor imperii, sed voluntarii liber arbitrii. Ubi autem libertas voluntatis, ibi nulla praevaricatio missionis. 98. Nec vereare ne displiceat Patri, quod fecit Filius; cum ipse dicat. Quaecumque placita sunt ei, facio semper (Joan. VIII, 29); et alibi: Opera quae ego facio, ipse facit (Joan. XIV, 12). Quomodo ergo Patri potuit displicere, quod ipse fecit per Filium? Unus enim Deus, sicut scriptum est, qui justificavit circumcisionem ex fide, et praeputium per fidem (Rom. III, 30). 99. Omnia lege, omnia diligenter adverte; invenies sic demonstrasse se Christum, ut Deus in homine cerneretur: nec malitiose accipias de Patre Filium gloriantem, cum audias Patrem in Filio complacentem (Matth. XVII, 5).

CAPUT XII.

CHRISTUM IN PERSONA judicis consideratum Catholici an Ariani melius sibi concilient, inquiritur. Objectio propter judicis sessionem ac Patris voces exorta dissolvitur; demonstraturque nullam in Filio nec subjectionem significari, quod sedeat a Patre invitatus: nec praelationem, quod ad ejus dextram sedeat. Denique ex Angelico Trisagio personarum in Deo Trinitatem, ac simul unitatem naturae significari declaratur. 100. Sed si moralibus flecti non queunt, provocemus ad judicem. Ad quem tandem ibimus? Nempe ad eum qui judicium habet. Numquid ad Patrem? Sed Pater non judicat quemquam; omne enim judicium dedit Filio (Joan. V, 22). Dedit utique generando, non largiendo. Vide quam te noluerit Filio suo derogare, ut tibi ipsum judicem daret. 490 101. Videamus ergo ante judicium quis causam meliorem habeat; ego, an tu. Nempe prudentis actoris est prius conciliare sibi judicem. Hominem honoras, Deum non honoras? Quid ergo conciliat cognitorem, honorificentia, an injuria? Pone me peccasse, quod non est; num offenditur honore suo Christus? Peccamus omnes: quis ergo veniam promerebitur, qui defert honorificentiam, an qui irrogat contumeliam? 102. Aut si te ratio non movet, species saltem judicii ipsa commoveat. Attolle oculos ad judicem tuos, intuere qui sedeat, cum quo sedeat, ubi sedeat. Sedet Christus ad dexteram Patris. Aut si oculis hoc non potes comprehendere, audi dicentem Prophetam: Dixit Dominus Domino meo, sede ad dexteram meam (Psal. CIX, 1). Sedet ergo ad dexteram Patris Filius. Dic nunc qui de saecularibus arbitraris aestimanda divina, num tibi videatur inferior qui ad dexteram sedet? num injuria Patris, quia ad sinistram sedet? Pater honorat, et tu injuriam putas? Pater mavult id esse

pietatis exemplum, et tu putas praeceptionis imperium? De morte surrexit, et ad dexteram Dei sedet. 103. Sed dixit, inquis, Pater. Accipe etiam ubi non dicit Pater, et praedicit Filius: Amodo videbitis Filium hominis sedentem ad dexteram virtutis (Matth. XXVI, 64). Et hoc de assumptione corporis dicit; huic dicit: Sede ad dexteram meam (Psal. CIX, 1). Nam si de aeterna sede divinitatis inquiris, interrogatus a Pilato si ipse esset rex Judaeorum, ait: In hoc sum natus (Joan. XVIII, 37). Unde et Apostolus monet hoc esse nobis utile, si Christum non ex praecepto, neque ex gratia, sed quasi dilectissimum Filium ad dexteram Dei sedere credamus. Sic enim habes: Quae sursum sunt, quaerite, ubi Christus est ad dexteram Dei sedens: quae sursum sunt, sapite (Coloss. III, 1, 2). Hoc est enim superiora sapere, credere quia Christus ut sedeat, non quasi jussus obsequitur, sed quasi Filius dilectissimus honoratur. Propter rationem ergo corporis dicit: Sede ad dexteram meam, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum (Psal. CIX, 1, 2.) 104. Quod si et hoc ad calumniam trahis, quia Pater dixit: Ponam inimicos tuos; etiam Pater trahit ad Filium, quos Filius suscitet atque vivificet: Nemo enim, inquit, potest venire ad me, nisi Pater qui misit me, attraxerit eum: et ego resuscitabo eum in novissimo die (Joan. VI, 44). Et tu Filium Dei pro infirmitate dicis esse subjectum, cui Pater attrahit, quos ille in novissimo die suscitet? Haeccine tibi videtur esse subjectio, in qua regnum Patri paratur, cum Pater ad Filium trahat, et calumniae locus non sit, cum Patri regnum Filius tradat, nec aliquid praeferatur? Haec enim documenta pietatis sunt, quod et Pater Filio, et Filius Patri tradat; ita enim sibi tradunt, ut neque ille qui accipit, quasi alienum acquirat: nec qui tradit, amittat. 105. Ad dexteram quoque sedere nulla praelatio est, neque ad sinistram injuria; divinitas enim gradum nescit, nec loco aliquo circumscribitur, nec temporibus definitur. Angustis animis homines ista pensamus. Nulla differentia charitatis, nullum discrimen est unitatis. 491 106. Sed cur longius evagamur? Circumspectasti omnia, vidisti judicem,

advertisti Angelos praedicantes. Illi laudant, et tu vituperas! Dominationes et Potestates venerantur, et tu calumniaris! Adorant omnes sancti ejus: non adorat Dei Filius, non adorat Spiritus sanctus. Seraphim dicunt: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus (Esai. VI, 3). 107. Quid sibi vult sub uno nomine sanctitatis trina repetitio? Si trina repetitio, cur una laudatio? Si una laudatio, cur trina repetitio? Trina repetitio cur, nisi quia Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus sanctitate unum sunt? Non dixit semel, ne Filium sequestraret: non bis, ne Spiritum praeteriret: non quater, ne creaturas conjungeret. Et ut ostenderet Trinitatis unam esse deitatem, cum tertio dixisset: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus; addidit singulariter: Dominus Deus sabaoth (Esai. VI, 3). Sanctus igitur Pater, sanctus Filius, sanctus et Dei Spiritus. Adoratur igitur Trinitas, non adorat: laudatur Trinitas, non laudat. Ego malo sicut Seraphim credere, et sicut omnes Potestates Virtutesque coelestes adorare.

CAPUT XIII.

CONTINUATA JUDICII DOMINICI allegoria, blasphemas Arianorum, Sabellianorum, et Manichaeorum de suo judice opiniones Ambrosius paucis refellit. Deinde propositis Christi de caeteris suis adversariis expostulationibus, judicium sibi mitius futurum sperat. 108. Igitur prosecutionem tuam videamus, quemadmodum concilies tibi judicem. Dic sane, dic, inquam: Ego te, Christe, puto esse dissimilem Patri. Respondebit et ille: Discerne, si potes; discerne, inquam, in quo putes esse dissimilem. 109. Dic aliud: Creaturam, inquies, te arbitror. Respondebit et Christus: Si duorum hominum testimonium verum est, tu nec mihi, nec Patri saltem credere debuisti, qui genitum nominavit? 110. Bonum, inquies, nego. Dicet et ille: Fiat tibi secundum fidem tuam, ut tibi bonus non sim. 111. Omnipotentem non arbitror. Respondebit et ipse: Non possum ergo tibi tua peccata donare. 112. Subjectum dico. Referet ad hoc: Cur igitur libertatem ac veniam ab eo petis, quem putas pro servitio esse subjectum? 113. Video haerere prosecutionem tuam: non urgeo, quia peccatorum meorum ipse sum conscius. Non invideo veniam, quia ipse opto indulgentiam: votum tuum scire desidero. En allego apud judicem desideria tua: non prodo crimina, seriem tuorum exspecto votorum. 114. Dic itaque ea quae in communi voto sunt; dic, inquam: Domine, fac me ad imaginem Dei. Respondebit ille: Ad quam imaginem? Quam negasti? 115. Dic: Fac me incorruptibilem. Referet utique: 492 Quomodo te incorruptibilem facere possum, quem tu creaturam dicendo, capacem corruptibilitatis esse voluisti? Mortui resurgent incorrupti, et tu corruptibilem dicis quem Deum cernis (I Cor. XV, 52)? 116. Dic: Bonus esto mihi. Dicet tibi: Quid postulas, quod negasti? Ego te

bonum esse volui, ego dixi: Estote sancti, quoniam ipse sanctus sum (Levit. XIX); et tu mihi id negare contendis? et tu exspectas veniam peccatorum? Sed nemo potest donare peccata, nisi solus Deus. Itaque cum verus et solus tibi Deus non sim, non possum utique tua peccata donare. 117. Haec Arianus dicat, et Photinianus: Nego te, inquit, Deum. Respondebit ei Dominus: Dixit insipiens in corde suo: Non est Deus (Psal. LII, 1). De quo dictum putas, de Judaeo, de gentili, an de diabolo? De quovis dictum sit, Photiniane, tolerabilior est ille, qui tacuit: tu vero et voce ausus es dicere, ut insipiente insipientior probareris. Negas ergo, inquit, Deum; cum ego dixerim: Dii estis, et filii excelsi omnes (Psal. LXXXI, 6). Et tu Deum negas, cujus opera divina circumspicis? 118. Dicat et Sabellianus: Ego teipsum Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum arbitror. Respondebit et Dominus: Non audis Patrem, non audis Filium. Numquid hic ulla confusio est? Scriptura ipsa te docet Patrem esse, qui detulit judicium: Filium esse, qui judicat. Non audisti me dicentem: Solus non sum; sed ego, et qui misit me Pater (Joan. VIII, 29). 119. Dicat et Manichaeus: Ego auctorem carnis nostrae diabolum credo. Respondebit ei: Ergo quid facies in coelestibus? Vade ad auctorem tuum. Ego eos volo mecum esse, quos dedit mihi Pater. Tu te a diabolo creatum, Manichaee, arbitraris: ad illius ergo festina sedem; ubi ignis et sulphur, ubi non restinguitur ejus incendium, ne umquam poena moriatur. 120. Mitto alia haereticorum portenta, non nomina; quid eis erit judicii, quae erit forma sententiae? Respondebit his omnibus et ille moraliter: Populus meus, quid feci tibi, aut quid constristavi te (Mich. VI, 3)? Nonne ex Aegypto eduxi te, et ex domo servitutis liberavi te? 121. Sed parum est ex Aegypto liberasse, et ex domo servitutis eripuisse: plus est te ipsum dedisse pro nobis. Dices ergo: Nonne vestras omnes suscepi injurias? Nonne corpus meum pro vobis obtuli? Nonne mortem appetivi, quod non erat divinitatis meae, sed vestrae redemptionis? Haeccine referuntur gratiae? Hoc profecit sanguis meus, sicut in Propheta ipse jam dixi: Quae

utilitas in sanguine meo; quia descendi in corruptionem (Psal. XXIX, 10)? Hoc ergo profecit, ut me impie negaretis, pro quibus ista sustinui. 122. Ego vero tunc, Domine Jesu, et si gravium peccatorum mihi ipse sim conscius, dicam tamen: Non te negavi; habes quod ignoscas fragilitati carnis. Delictum fateor, peccatum non abnuo: Si vis, potes me mundare (Matth. VIII, 2); quia hoc dixit, emeruit. 493 Ne, quaeso, in judicium intres cum servo tuo (Psal. CXLII, 2). Non quaero ut judices, sed ut ignoscas.

CAPUT XIV.

JUDICIS EXPONIT SENTENTIAM; discussisque adversariorum cavillis, ab ea provocationem non dari planum facit. 123. Quid putamus Christum judicaturum? Ego scio, judicaturum dico? Immo jam judicavit. Tenemus ejus sententiam: Omnes, inquit, honorificent Filium, sicut honorificant Patrem. Qui non honorificat Filium, non honorificat Patrem, qui misit illum (Joan. V, 23). 124. Si displicet sententia, appella ad Patrem, rescinde judicium, quod Pater detulit. Dic quia dissimilem habet Filium. Respondebit tibi: Ego ergo mentitus sum, qui dixi Filio: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram (Gen. I, 26). 125. Dic quia creavit. Respondebit tibi: Cur ergo adorasti, quem creaturam putasti? 126. Dic quia minorem generavit Filium. Respondebit: Metire, videamus. 127. Dic quia ei non debuisti credere. Referet ad hoc: Non tibi dixeram: Hic est filius meus dilectissimus, in quo complacui, ipsum audite (Matth. XVII, 5)? Quid est, ipsum audite? Dicentem utique: Omnia quae Pater habet, mea sunt (Joan. XVII, 10). Hoc audierunt apostoli, sicut scriptum est: Et ceciderunt in faciem suam, et timuerunt valde (Matt. XVII, 6). Si ceciderunt qui confessi sunt, quid facient qui negarunt? Sed illos Jesus tetigit et levavit: vos jacere patietur; ne videatis gloriam, quam negastis. 128. Videamus ergo quoniam quem Filius damnat, et Pater damnat. Et ideo honorificemus Filium, sicut honorificamus Patrem; ut per Filium ad Patrem pervenire possimus.

CAPUT XV.

Modeste sentit de Opere suo: dicit tamen ad fidem illud sufficere; cum divinae generationi tot locis Scriptura suffragetur, cui obsurdescunt Ariani. Horum pervicaciam Judaicae plane similem patefaciens, adprecatur illis veritatis amorem. Postremo deserendos eos, utpote haereticos et Antichristos, docet. 129. Haec ego, Imperator auguste, carptim ac breviter impolita magis proposui, quam enodata digessi. Quod si qua Ariani inconsummata arbitrantur, ego vix fateor inchoata: si qua adhuc superesse opinantur, ego prope omnia; infidelibus enim totum deest, abundat fidelibus. Denique una confessio Petri abundavit ad fidem Christo: Tu es Christus Filius Dei vivi (Matth. XVI, 16); sat est enim generationem scire divinam, non divisam, non diminutam, non derivatoriam, non creatam. 494 130. Hoc etiam totis Scripturarum exponitur libris, nec adhuc ab impiis creditur: Incrassatum est enim, ut scriptum est, cor populi hujus, et auribus graviter audierunt, et oculos suos gravaverunt; ne quando oculis suis videant, et auribus audiant, et corde intelligant (Esai. 6, 10). Namque, more Judaico, aures suas Ariani claudere solent, aut serere tumultus, quotiescumque verbum salutis auditur. 131. Et quid mirum si humanis vocibus credere non soleant infideles, qui non credunt divinis? Filius Dei dicebat, sicut habes in Evangelio: Pater, clarifica nomen tuum. Vox Patris de coelo audita est dicentis: Et clarificavi, et iterum clarificabo (Act. IX, 4). Infideles haec audiebant, sed non credebant. Dicebat Filius, respondebat Pater; et dicebant Judaei: Tonitruum factum est illi (Ibid., 29); alii dicebant: Angelus locutus est ei (Joan. 12. 29). 132. Paulus quoque, sicut scriptum est in Actibus Apostolorum, cum voce Christi vocaretur ad gratiam, pluresque

comites pariter incederent, solus vocem Christi audisse se dixit. Adeo, sancte Imperator, qui credit, audit; et audit, ut credat: qui non credit, non audit; sed nec vult, nec potest audire, ne credat! 133. Atque utinam, quod in me est, audire vellent, ut crederent: audire cum bona charitate et mansuetudine, ut verum quaerentes, non veritatem impugnantes. Scriptum est enim, ut non intendamus fabulis et genealogiis interminabilibus, quae quaestiones magis praestant quam aedificationem Dei, quae in fide est. Finis autem praecepti est charitas de corde puro, et conscientia bona, et fide non ficta. A quibus quidam aberrantes, conversi sunt in vaniloquium, volentes esse legis doctores, non intelligentes neque quae loquuntur, neque de quibus affirmant (I Tim. I, 4 et seq.). Alibi quoque idem Apostolus dicit: Stultas autem et sine disciplina quaestiones devita (II Tim. II, 23). 134. Tales deserendos Apostolus dicit, qui quaestiones serunt, hoc est, haereticos: de quibus et alibi dicit quod discedent quidam a fide, intendentes spiritibus erroris et doctrinis daemoniorum (I Tim. IV, 1). 135. Et Joannes dicit haereticos esse Antichristos, Arianos utique designans (I Joan. II, 18). Haec enim haeresis post omnes haereses coepit, et ex omni haeresi venena collegit. Sicut enim de Antichristo scriptum est, quia aperuit os suum in blasphemiam ad Deum, blasphemare nomen ejus, et bellum facere cum sanctis ejus (Apoc. XIII, 6): ita et isti Filio Dei derogant, nec martyribus pepercerunt; et, quod fortasse ille non faciet, Scripturas falsavere divinas. Itaque qui dicit quia Jesus non est Christus, hic est Antichristus: qui negat Salvatorem mundi, negat Jesum: qui negat Filium, negat et Patrem; quia scriptum est: 495 Omnis qui negat Filium, negat et Patrem (I Joan. II, 23).

CAPUT XVI.

GRATIANO VICTORIAM SPONDENS, eam ab Ezechiele praedictam narrat. Ex pietate Imperatoris hanc spem confirmat, superiores clades haeresi Orientalium acceptas ferens. Deum tandem obsecrat, ut jam placatus, fideli exercitui, regioni, ac duci ferat auxilium. 136. Neque vero te, Imperator, pluribus tenere debeo bello intentum, et victricia de barbaris trophaea meditantem. Progredere plane scuto fidei septus, et gladium spiritus habens: progredere ad victoriam superioribus promissam temporibus, et divinis oraculis prophetatam. 137. Namque et futuram nostri depopulationem, et bella Gothorum Ezechiel illo jam tempore prophetavit; sic enim habes: Propterea prophetiza, fili hominis, et dic: O Gog, haec dicit Dominus: Nonne in die illa cum constituetur habitare populus meus Israel in pace, surges et venies de loco tuo, ab extremo Aquilone: et gentes tecum multae, sessores equorum omnes, congregatio multa et magna, et virtus copiosa; et ascende ad populum meum Israel ut nubes operire terram in novissimis diebus, etc. (Ezech. XXXVIII, 14 et seq.). 138. Gog iste Gothus est, quem jam videmus exisse, de quo promittitur nobis futura victoria, dicente Domino: Et depraedabuntur eos, qui depraedati eos fuerant, et despoliabunt eos, qui sibi spolia detraxerant, dicit Dominus. Eritque in die illa, dabo Gog, hoc est, Gothis, locum nominatum, monumentum Israel multorum virorum congestum, qui supervenerunt ad mare: et per circuitum struet os vallis, et obruet illic Gog et totam multitudinem ejus, et vocabitur Ge Polyandrium Gog; et obruet eos domus Israel, ut purgetur terra (Ezech. XXXIX, 10 et seq.). 496 139. Nec ambiguum, sancte Imperator, quod qui perfidiae alienae pugnam excepimus, fidei catholicae in te vigentis habituri simus auxilium.

Evidens enim antehac divinae indignationis causa praecessit; ut ibi primum fides Romano imperio frangeretur, ubi fracta est Deo. 140. Non libet confessorum neces, tormenta, exsilia recordari, piorum sacerdotia proditorum munera. Nonne de Thraciae partibus per Ripensem Daciam et Mysiam, omnemque Valeriam Pannoniorum, totum illum limitem sacrilegis pariter vocibus et Barbaricis motibus audivimus inhorrentem? Quid poterat nobis vicinia tam feralis invehere? aut quemadmodum res Romana tali tuta poterat esse custodia? 141. Sed jam satis superque, omnipotens Deus, nostro exsilio, nostroque sanguine, confessorum neces, exsilia sacerdotum, et nefas tantae impietatis eluimus: satis claruit eos qui violaverint fidem, tutos esse non posse. Convertere, Domine, fideique tuae attolle vexilla. 142. Non hic aquilae militares, neque volatus avium exercitum ducunt: sed tuum, Domine Jesu, nomen et cultus. Non hic infidelis aliqua regio, sed ea quae confessores mittere solet Italia; Italia aliquando tentata, mutata numquam: quam dudum ab hoste barbaro defendisti, nunc etiam vindicasti. Non hic in Imperatore mens lubrica, sed fides fixa. 143. Ostende nunc evidens tuae majestatis indicium; ut is qui te verum virtutum Dominum et coelestis militiae ducem: is qui te veram Dei virtutem credit esse atque sapientiam, non temporalem utique nec creatam, sed sempiternam, sicut scriptum est, Dei virtutem et divinitatem, tuae majestatis fultus auxilio, fidei suae tropaea mereatur (I Cor. I, 24).

LIBER TERTIUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

UBI PRAEMISIT AMBROSIUS quamobrem strictius tractata in prioribus libris, in his uberius tractanda suscipiat; objectum sibi fabularum usum exemplo Scripturae diluit cum alia poetica memorantis, tum maxime Sirenas, quae figurae sunt voluptatum: a quibus et Pauli verba et Christi facta oportet avocent Christianos. 1. Quoniam, clementissime Imperator, instruendi tui gratia, aliqua de fide mihi scribenda mandaveras, et verecundantem coram etiam ipse fueras adhortatus; ideo quasi in procinctu positus, duos tantum conscripsi libellos, quibus vias quasdam fidei et semitas demonstrarem. 2. Sed quoniam mens prava quorumdam serendis intenta quaestionibus, stylo lacessit uberiore confici; tuae quoque pia me cura clementiae ad caetera vocat, volens in pluribus experiri, quem in paucis probasti; ea quae perstricta paucis superius sunt, placuit mihi paulo latius exsequi; ne ea quasi diffidentia assertionis deseruisse potius, quam securitate fiduciae proposuisse videamur. 3. Et quia Hydraei nominis, et Scyllaei littoris comparationem induximus (Sup. lib. I, ca), ut ostenderemus vel rediviva plantaria cavenda perfidiae, vel famosa naufragia: si quis contra licitum putat colorem disputationis ejusmodi a poeticis fabulis derivatum, et cum in fide nihil quod vituperare possit invenerit, aliquid in sermone reprehendit; agnoscat non solum sententias, sed etiam versiculos poetarum Scripturis insertos esse divinis. 4. Unde enim illud: Hujus et genus sumus (Act. XVII, 8), quod Paulus usu prophetico doctus usurpat? Nam et gigantes (Num. XIII, 34), et vallem Titanum (II Reg. V, 18) prophetici sermonis series non refugit. Et Esaias Sirenas, et filias passerum dixit (Esai. XLIII, 20). Et Hieremias de Babylonia memoravit quod

habitabunt in ea filiae Sirenum (Jerem. XXVII, 39); ut ostenderet Babylonis, hoc est, saecularis confusionis illecebras, vetustae lasciviae fabulis comparandas; quae velut scopuloso in istius vitae littore, dulcem resonare quamdam, sed mortiferam cantilenam ad capiendos animos adolescentium viderentur: quam sapiens etiam ab ipso poeta Graeco inducitur (Hom. XII Odyss.), quasi quibusdam prudentiae suae circumdatus vinculis praeteriisse. Ita difficile judicatum est ante adventum Christi etiam fortiores non posse capi speciosae deliciis voluptatis! 5. [Alias cap. II.] Quod si poeta ille perniciosam mentibus hominum, et subeundis obnoxiam naufragiis, lasciviae saecularis illecebram judicavit; quid nos aestimare oportet, quibus scriptum est: Carnis curam ne feceritis in concupiscentia (Rom. XIII, 14)? Et alibi: Castigo corpus meum et servituti redigo: ne aliis praedicans, ipse reprobus efficiar (I Cor. IX, 27). 498 6. Non enim per luxuriam nobis Christus, sed per jejunium salutem attulit. Neque ille emerendae gratiae suae causa, sed nostrae eruditionis gratia jejunavit. Neque infirmitate corporis victus est, ut esuriret: sed esuriendo suscepti corporis fidem praestitit; ut non solum corpus, sed etiam infirmitates nostri corporis doceret a se esse susceptas, sicut scriptum est: Quoniam infirmitates nostras suscepit, et aegritudines nostras portavit (Esai. LIII, 4).

CAPUT II.

Quae corporis sunt a Christo pro nobis suscepti, divinitati non tribuenda: secundum hanc illum altissimum; quod qui neget, eum Patri ascribere incarnationem. Cum Deus legitur solus esse, aut solus habere immortalitatem, id etiam intelligendum de Christo, tum ut memorata impietas declinetur, tum quia eadem Filii ac Patris asseritur operatio. 7. Corporis est igitur, hoc est, nostrum est, quod esurivit: nostrum est, quod flevit, quod tristis fuit usque ad mortem. Cur ad divinitatem quae sunt nostra referuntur? Corporis est, quod etiam factus asseritur. Denique sic habes: Mater Sion dicet: Homo, et homo factus est in ea, et ipse fundavit eam Altissimus (Psal. LXXXVI, 5). Homo, inquit, factus est, non Deus factus est. 8. Qui autem idem altissimus, idem homo, nisi Mediator Dei, et hominum, homo Christus Jesus, qui dedit semetipsum redemptionem pro nobis (I Tim. II, 5, 6)? Et hoc utique ad incarnationem pertinet; redemptio enim nostra per sanguinem, remissio per potestatem, vita per gratiam. Quasi altissimus donat, quasi homo precatur: aliud creatoris, aliud redemptoris est. Distincta licet, unius tamen auctoris beneficia sunt; decuit enim ut ille nos redimeret, qui creavit. 9. Quis autem neget Christum esse altissimum significatum? Nam qui aliter sentit, Deo Patri sacramentum incarnationis ascribit. Sed hinc dubitari non potest quod altissimus Christus sit; cum etiam alibi dixerit de mysterio passionis: Dedit vocem suam Altissimus, et mota est terra (Psal. XVII, 14). Et in Evangelio habes: Et tu, puer, propheta Altissimi vocaberis; praeibis enim ante faciem Domini parare vias ejus (Luc. I, 76). Qui altissimus? Dei Filius. Ergo qui altissimus Deus, Christus est. 10. Et solus utique cum dicitur Deus, non separatur etiam Dei Filius.

Qui enim altissimus, solus, sicut scriptum est: Et cognoscant quoniam nomen tibi Dominus, tu solus altissimus super omnem terram (Psal. LXXXII, 19). 11. Unde etiam illud explosum est, quod solent ad calumniam derivare, quia de Deo scriptum est: Qui solus habet immortalitatem, et lucem habitat inaccessibilem (I Tim. VI, 16); de Deo enim scriptum est, quod est commune nomen Patri et Filio. 499 12. Nam si ubicumque Deum legunt, negant etiam Filium designari; et impii sunt, divinitatis potentiam Filio denegando, et incarnatum Patrem Sabelliana impietate astruere videbuntur. Dicant enim quomodo illud non impie de Patre intelligere possint, quod Apostolus ait: In quo et consurrexistis per fidem operationis Dei, qui suscitavit illum a mortuis (Coloss. II, 12); et advertant de sequentibus quid incurrant; sequitur enim: Et cum mortui essetis delictis et praeputio carnis vestrae, vivificavit nos cum illo, donans nobis omnia delicta, delens quod adversum nos erat chirographum decreti, quod erat contrarium nobis: et ipsum tulit de medio, affigens illud cruci, exuens se carne (Ibid., 13, 14). 13. Ergo non Deus Pater solus intelligendus est, qui suscitavit carnem: et non etiam Filius, cujus templum resuscitatum est. Qui suscitavit, utique et vivificavit: qui vivificavit, et delicta donavit: qui delicta donavit, et chirographum tulit: qui chirographum tulit, affixit illud cruci: qui affixit illud cruci, carnem se exuit. Sed Pater non se exuit carnem; non enim Pater caro factus est, sed Verbum, sicut legimus, caro factum est (Joan. I, 14). Videtis ergo quod Ariani dum separant a Patre Filium, in id periculum incidant, ut Patrem passum esse commemorent. 14. Nos autem facile docemus de Filii dictum operatione; nam et ipse corpus suum resuscitavit, sicut ipse dixit: Solvite templum hoc, et in triduo resuscitabo illud (Joan. II, 19). Et ipse vivificat nos cum suo corpore: Sicut enim Pater suscitat mortuos et vivificat; sic et Filius quos vult, vivificat (Joan. V, 21). Et ipse delicta donavit dicens: Dimissa sunt tibi peccata tua (Luc. V, 20). Et ipse chirographum affixit cruci, qui crucifixus est per corporis passionem. Nec

alius se carnem exuit, nisi Dei Filius, qui carnem se induit. Ipse ergo significatur Deus, qui opus nostrae resurrectionis operatus est.

CAPUT III.

FILIUM A PATRE non separandum ex Apostolo confirmari, cum Filio quoque conveniat beatum esse, solum potentem ac immortalem, natura videlicet, non gratia qua ipsi etiam angeli sunt immortales; et lucem habitare inaccessibilem: quo ultimo qua ratione fiat explicato, quo pacto Pater solus, ac Filius pariter solus dicantur, ostenditur. 15. Ergo cum legis Deum, non separes Patrem, non separes Filium; quia deitas et Patris et Filii una eademque est. Et ideo nec ibi separes, ubi legis quia beatus et solus potens; de Deo enim dictum est, sicut habes: Praecipio coram Deo, qui vivificat omnia (I Tim. VI, 13); sed etiam Christus vivificat: convenit ergo et Patri et Filio Dei nomen; quando convenit et operationis effectus. 500 Persequamur et caetera. Praecipio, inquit, coram Deo qui vivificat omnia, et Christo Jesu. 16. In Deo est etiam Verbum, sicut scriptum est: In Deo laudabo Verbum (Psal. LV, 11). In Deo sempiterna sua virtus est Jesus: in Deo igitur unitatem divinitatis, in Christi autem nomine incarnationis testificatus est sacramentum. 17. Denique ut de incarnatione Christi se dixisse ostenderet, subdidit: Qui testimonium reddidit sub Pontio Pilato bonam confessionem; ut serves mandatum sine macula usque in adventum Domini nostri Jesu Christi: quem suis temporibus ostendet beatus et solus potens, rex regum, et Dominus dominantium; qui solus habet immortalitatem, et lucem habitat inaccessibilem: quem vidit hominum nemo, sed nec videre potest (I Tim. VI, 13 et seq.). Ergo de Deo haec scripta sunt, cujus nominis et dignitas et veritas communis est Filio. 18. Cur igitur hoc loco Filius separatur, cum etiam Filio haec cuncta conveniant? Aut si non conveniant, nega Deum; ut neges quae Deo sunt convenientia.

Beatus negari non potest, qui beatitudines donat: Beati enim quibus remissae sunt iniquitates (Psal. XXXI, 1). Beatus negari non potest, qui sanam doctrinam tribuit, sicut scriptum est: quae est secundum Evangelium claritatis beati Dei (I Tim. I, 11). Potens abnui non potest, de quo Pater dicit: Posui adjutorium super potentem (Psal. LXXXVIII, 20). Immortalitatem autem ejus quis audeat diffiteri, cum etiam aliis immortalitatem ipse largitus sit, sicut scriptum est de sapientia Dei: Per hanc habebo immortalitatem (Sap. VIII, 13). 19. Sed alia immortalitas suae naturae, alia nostrae. Non sunt fragilia comparanda divinis: una sola substantia divinitatis est, quae mori nescit. Unde et Apostolus, cum sciret et animam et angelos immortales, quod solus Deus immortalitatem habeat praedicavit. Nam et anima moritur: Anima enim quae peccat, ipsa morietur (Ezech. XVIII, 20); nec Angelus immortalis est naturaliter, cujus immortalitas in voluntate est Creatoris. 20. Neque ad praejudicium trahas, quod non moritur Gabriel, non moritur Raphael, non moritur Uriel; et in ipsis enim naturae capacitas vitio obnoxia, sed non obnoxia disciplinae. Omnis enim rationabilis creatura accidentia recipit, et subjecta judicio est. In accidentibus autem et poena judicii, et corruptela est, et profectus. Unde et Ecclesiastes ait: Quoniam omne opus suum Deus adducet in judicium (Eccl. XII, 14). Ergo corruptelae et mortis, etiamsi non moriatur aut peccel, capax tamen omnis est creatura: nec ex immortali natura habet, sed ex disciplina vel gratia, si se in aliquibus ad vitia non mutat. Alia ergo immortalitas quae donatur, alia quae sine capacitate mutabilitatis est semper. 21. An negatur immortalis divinitas Christi, quia in carne pro omnibus mortem gustavit? 501 Jam ergo melior Gabriel quam Christus; quia ille non est defunctus, hic mortuus est. Sed non est servus supra dominum (Matth. X, 24); alia enim carnis infirmitas, alia divinitatis aeternitas: mors carnis est, immortalitas potestatis. Quod si divinitas fecit ne caro videret corruptionem, quae utique corruptelae erat obnoxia per

naturam; quomodo mori posset ipsa divinitas? 22. Quomodo autem lucem inaccessibilem non habitat Filius, cum in sinu Patris Filius sit: lux autem Pater, lux etiam ipse sit Filius; quia Deus lux est (Joan. I, 9)? Aut si aliam lucem inaccessibilem nisi deitatis putamus, numquid melior Patre lux est; ut non sit in luce, qui sicut scriptum est, et apud Patrem est, et in Patre (Ibid., 2)? Non ergo separent Filium, cum legunt solum Deum: nec Patrem separent, cum legunt Filium solum. 23. In terris Filius sine Patre non est, et putas quia Pater sine Filio sit in coelo? In carne est Filius, cum dico in carne est, vel in terris, secundum Evangelii tempora loquor; nunc enim secundum carnem jam non novimus Christum (II Cor. V, 16): ergo in carne est Filius, et solus non est, secundum quod scriptum est: Et non sum solus, quia Pater mecum est (Joan. VIII, 16); et putas quod sit Pater solus in luce? 24. At ne hoc argumentum putes, accipe etiam testimonium: Deum, inquit, nemo vidit umquam, nisi unigenitus Filius, qui est in sinu Patris, ipse enarravit (Joan. I, 18). Quomodo solus Pater, si in sinu Patris Filius est? quomodo enarrat, quem non videt? Non ergo solus Pater. 25. Accipe nunc et solum Patrem, et solum Filium. Solus Pater, quia alius Pater non est: solus Filius, quia alius Filius non est: solus Deus, quia una divinitas Trinitatis est.

CAPUT IV.

Christum non nisi secundum carnem factum narrari; quippe qui ut homines redimeret, non eguerit adjutorio, sicut nec ut se resuscitaret; cum aliis ut mortuos resuscitarent, oratione opus fuerit. Etsi autem ipse oraverit, hoc referendum ad humanitatem: divinitatem vero ex eo quod imperaverit, aestimandam; in quo diabolus Arianis anteponitur. Tum exposito cur Filius hominis potens dicatur, argumenti ponitur conclusio. 26. [Alias, cap. III.] Satis ergo claret et solum Deum non esse Patrem sine Filio, et solum Deum non intelligi Filium sine Patre; quia secundum carnem factus legitur Dei Filius, non secundum divinam generationem. 27. In quo autem factus sit, per os sancti patriarchae locutus asseruit, dicens: Quia repleta est malis anima mea, et vita mea inferno appropinquavit. Aestimatus sum cum descendentibus in lacum: factus sicut homo sine adjutorio inter mortuos liber (Psal. LXXXVII, 4 et seq.). Et hic sicut homo, inquit, non sicut Deus, factus sum. Et repleta est malis anima mea: anima utique, non divinitas. Factus est 502 in eo, in quo erat infernis debitus: factus est in eo, in quo cum aliis aestimatus est; divinitas enim similitudinem collationis abjurat. Et tamen in ipsa carne morti obnoxia majestatem adverte divinitatis in Christo. Et si factus est sicut homo, et sicut caro factus est; factus est tamen inter mortuos liber, et liber sine adjutorio. 28. Sed quomodo hic sine adjutorio fuisse se Filius dicit, cum supra (ca) dictum sit: Posui adjutorium super potentem (Psal. LXXXVIII, 20)? Ergo et hic distingue naturas. Adjutorium caro habet, divinitas non habet. Liber igitur est, quia mortis vincula nescivit; non captus ab inferis, sed qui operatus sit in infernis: sine adjutorio est, quia neque per nuntium, neque per legatum, sed ipse per se Dominus salvum

fecit populum suum. Quomodo enim potuit adjutorium sui corporis quaerere suscitandi, qui alios suscitavit? 29. Ac licet homines quoque suscitaverint mortuos; non in sua tamen virtute fecerunt, sed in Christi nomine. Aliud est rogare, aliud imperare: aliud mereri, aliud donare. 30. Elias ergo suscitavit, sed oravit, non imperavit (III Reg. XVII, 21, 22). Elisaeus suscitavit configuratus mortuo: suscitavit etiam ipsius mortui corporis tactus; ut esset typus venturum eum qui missus in similitudinem carnis peccati, etiam sepultus mortuos suscitaret (IV Reg. XIII et XIV). 31. Petrus quoque, cum Aeneam curaret, ait: In nomine Jesu Nazareni surge et ambula (Act. II, 6): non in suo ait, sed in Christi nomine. Surge autem verbum est imperantis: sed fiducia de merito est, non praesumptio de potestate; et de nominis operatione, non de sua virtute praeceptionis auctoritas. Quid igitur Ariani dicunt? In nomine Christi et Petrus imperat, et illi nolunt imperasse Dei Filium, sed rogasse. 32. Sed lectum est quia rogavit. Disce distantiam. Rogat quasi filius hominis, imperat quasi Dei Filius. Annon defertis hoc Dei Filio, quod etiam diabolus detulit, et vos majore sacrilegio derogatis? Ille dicit: Si Filius Dei es, dic lapidi huic ut fiat panis (Luc. IV, 3). Ille dicit, impera: vos dicitis, obsecra. Ille credit quod, jubente Dei Filio, elementorum rerumque natura in adversum vertatur: vos creditis quod nisi roget Dei Filius, nec voluntas ipsius impleatur. Et diabolus de potestate aestimandum putat Dei Filium, vos de infirmitate. Tolerabiliora sunt tentamenta diaboli, quam argumenta Arii. 33. Nec moveat quia potentem Filium dixit hominis, cum Dominum majestatis legeris crucifixum (I Cor. II, 2). Quae autem major potentia, quam supra coelestes potestates habere dominatum (Ephes. I, 21)? Habebat autem qui Thronis, Dominationibus, Angelis imperabat. Nam etsi erat inter bestias, sicut scriptum est (Marc. I, 13), tamen angeli ministrabant ei; ut agnoscas aliud incarnationis esse, aliud potestatis. Secundum carnem itaque tentatur a bestiis, secundum dignitatem ab angelis adoratur. 503 34. Didicimus igitur

factum esse hominem et ad hominem hoc esse referendum. Denique et alibi habes: Qui factus est ei ex semine David (Rom. I, 3), secundum carnem utique ex semine David factus est: Deus autem ante saecula ex Deo natus est.

CAPUT V.

Factum in Scriptura non semper idem esse ac creatum exemplis ex ipsa petitis docet. Inde colligit non cavillandum ex littera more Judaeorum, quibus tamen haereticos pejores probat; atque iterum propositam confirmat sententiam. 35. Nec semper tamen factum esse ad creationem refertur; scriptum est enim: Domine, refugium factus es nobis (Ps. LXXXIX, 1); et: Factus es mihi in salutem (Ps. CXVII, 14). Non utique creationis definitio vel editio declaratur: sed refugium factus mihi, et conversus mihi dicitur ad salutem, sicut et Apostolus dixit: Qui factus est nobis sapientia a Deo, et justitia, et sanctificatio, et redemptio (I Cor. I, 30). Nobis factum non creatum ex Patre dixit. Denique quomodo dicat factum nobis esse sapientiam, in posterioribus exposuit dicens: Sed loquimur Dei sapientiam in mysterio, quae abscondita est, quam praedestinavit Deus ante tempora saecularia in gloriam nostram, quam nemo principum hujus saeculi cognovit. Si enim cognovissent, numquam Dominum majestatis crucifixissent (I Cor. II, 7, 8). Ubi mysterium passionis exprimitur, non utique generationis aeternae series declaratur. 36. Sapientia igitur mea crux Domini est, redemptio mea mors Domini est; sanguine enim pretioso redempti sumus, ut apostolus Petrus dixit (I Petr. I, 19). Sanguine igitur suo, quasi homo, Dominus nos redemit; idemque, quasi Deus, peccata donavit. 37. Non ergo in verbis quasdam constituamus insidias, et verborum tendiculas aucupemur; ut quia et aliud secundum impios significare putatur sermo qui legitur, non id quod sensus exprimat, sed quod littera ostendat, interpretemur. Sic perierunt Judaei, dum sensuum profunda despiciunt, et sequuntur nuda verborum; Littera enim occidit, spiritus autem vivificat (II

Cor. III, 6). 38. Et tamen inter duo gravia sacrilegia fortasse detestabilius sit ad divinitatem referre quae carnis sunt, quam ad litteram referre quae spiritus sunt. Illi timuerunt in Deo carnem credere; et ideo redemptionis gratiam perdiderunt, quia causam salutis abjurant: isti divinitatis majestatem usque ad carnis infirma deducunt. Detestandi Judaei, qui carnem Domini crucifixerunt: detestabiliores tamen eos arbitror, qui divinitatem Christi cruci subditam crediderunt. Denique qui cum Judaeis saepe tractabat: 504 Haereticum, inquit, post unam correptionem devita (Tit. III, 10). 39. Nec tamen sine injuria Patris factum nobis esse sapientiam, ad illam inenarrabilem, nec ullis temporibus momentisque obnoxiam Christi generationem sacrilega interpretatione derivant. Nam praeter id quod Filii injuria Patris est contumelia, etiam in Patrem sacrilegia ista procedunt, de quo scriptum est: Fiat autem Deus verax, omnis autem homo mendax (Rom. III, 4). Aut si de Filio putant dictum, generationi quidem non praejudicant: Deum autem et Deum verum hujus lectionis auctoritate quod abnuunt, confitentur. 40. Prolixum est si velim singula recensere, quoties factum legerimus, non utique per naturam, sed per gratiam. Nam et Moyses dicit: Adjutor et protector factus est mihi in salutem (Exod.XV, 2). Et David dicit: Esto mihi in Deum protectorem, et in domum refugii, ut salvum me facias (Ps. XXX, 3). Et Esaias dicit: Factus est omni civitati humili adjutor (Esai. XXV, 4). Non utique sancti Deo dicunt: Creatus es, sed protector et adjutor per gratiam tuam factus es nobis.

CAPUT VI.

Objectionem ex Joanne desumptam ut diluat, primo demonstrat Manichaeis patrocinari Arianum sensum: deinde varia distinguendorum verborum ejusdem loci exposita ratione, ipsum nullo modo ad substantiam divinam sine Patris injuria referri posse aperte probat, verumque illius exponit intellectum. 41. Unde nec illud verendum est, quod solent Ariani saeva interpretatione componere, dicentes factum esse Dei Verbum; quia scriptum est, inquiunt: Quod factum est in ipso, vita est (Joan. I, 4). 42. Primum intelligant si ad substantiam divinam referant, quod factum est; Manichaeorum se quaestionibus implicari. Objiciunt enim Manichaei: Si quod in ipso factum est, vita est: est ergo aliquid quod in ipso factum non sit, et mors sit; ut duo impie inducant principia. Sed hoc damnat Ecclesia. 43. Deinde unde possunt docere sic pronuntiasse Evangelistam? Plerique enim docti et fideles sic pronuntiant: Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil quod factum est; alii sic: Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil; denique: Quod factum est, pronuntiant et subjungunt: in ipso, hoc est: Quidquid autem factum, est in ipso. Quid est, In ipso? Apostolus docet dicens: In ipso enim sumus, et vivimus et movemur (Act. XVII, 28). 44. Tamen etiamsi quemadmodum velint, pronuntient, non possunt hic calumniari Deo 505 Verbo, si ad substantiam ejus velint referre: Quod factum est; quin calumnientur et Patri Deo, de quo scriptum est: Qui autem facit veritatem, venit ad lucem; ut manifestentur opera ejus, quia in Deo sunt facta (Joan. III, 21). Ecce hic opera hominis in Deo facta legimus, et ad substantiam tamen divinam referre non possumus: sed aut per ipsum facta cognoscimus, ut est etiam illud Apostolicum, quod

omnia per ipsum, et in ipso creata sunt; et ipse est ante omnes, et omnia in ipso constant (Coloss. I, 16): aut, ut docet praesentis lectionis testimonium, virtutes quibus vitae aeternae fructus acquiritur, in Deo factas aestimare debemus, castitatem, pietatem, religionem, fidem et alia hujusmodi, quae in voluntate Dei facta sunt. 45. Ergo sicut in Dei Patris, ita etiam in Christi voluntate et virtute facta sunt, sicut legimus: Creati in Christo in operibus bonis (Ephes. II, 10); et in psalmo: Fiat pax in virtute tua (Ps. CXXI, 7); et alibi: Omnia in sapientia fecisti (Ps. CIII, 24). In sapientia, inquit, fecisti, non sapientiam fecisti. Nam cum omnia in sapientia facta sint, Christus autem Dei sapientia sit (I Cor. I, 24), non accidens utique, sed subsistens et permanens in aeternum; si facta est sapientia, jam deteriore conditione facta est quam omnia; quia sapientia fieri per se ipsam non potuit. Ergo si factum esse frequenter ad aliquid, non ad naturam refertur, etiam creatum esse ad causam refertur.

CAPUT VII.

QUOD A SALOMONE dictum est: Dominus creavit me, etc., incarnationem Christi ad redimenda Patris opera factam signare; quo ex ipsius Filii verbis declarato, principium ostendit etiam accipi posse de documentis virtutum, quarum omnium vias nobis Dominus aperuisse, ac vere principium exstitisse demonstratur. 46. [Alias cap. IV.] Unde intelligimus illud quod de incarnatione Domini scriptum est: Dominus creavit me principium viarum suarum in opera sua (Prov. VIII, 22), id significare quod ad redimenda opera Patris Dominus Jesus ex Virgine sit creatus. Neque enim dubitari potest de incarnationis dictum esse mysterio, cum propter opera sua a corruptelae servitio liberanda Dominus susceperit carnem; ut illum qui imperium habebat mortis, per sui corporis destrueret passionem. Caro enim Christi propter opera, divinitas ante opera; quia ipse ante omnia, sed et omnia in ipso constant. 47. Non ergo divinitas propter opera, sed propter divinitatem opera; sicut Apostolus declaravit, dicens quod propter Filium Dei omnia. Sic enim habes: Decebat autem eum per quem omnia, et propter quem omnia, multis filiis in gloriam adductis, ducem salutis eorum per passionem consummari (Hebr. II, 10). Nonne evidenter exposuit quia Dei Filius qui propter divinitatem suam omnia creavit, is postea propter populi salutem et carnis suceptionem, et mortis assumpserit passionem? 48. Propter quae autem opera sit creatus ex Virgine, 506 ipse Dominus cum illum caecum curaret, ostendit dicens: In illo me oportet operari opera ejus, qui misit me (Joan. IX, 4). Et addidit, ut de incarnatione ejus dictum crederemus: Cum in hoc mundo sum, lux sum hujus mundi (Ibid., 5). Etenim quasi homo in hoc mundo pro tempore est; nam quasi Deus semper

est. Denique et alibi ait: Ecce ego vobiscum sum usque ad consummationem mundi (Matth. XXVIII, 20). 49. Nec de principio residet aliquid quaestionis, cum interrogatus in carne: Tu qui es? responderit: Principium quod et loquor vobis (Joan. VIII, 25). Quod non solum ad substantiam divinitatis aeternae refertur, sed etiam ad documenta virtutum. Ex hoc enim et Deum se probavit aeternum; quia omnium ipse principium est, et uniuscujusque virtutis auctor, quia Ecclesiae caput est, sicut scriptum est: Quia ipse est caput corporis Ecclesiae, qui est principium, primogenitus ex mortuis (Coloss. I, 18). 50. Liquet igitur et de incarnatione dictum esse principium viarum suarum, quod ad sacramentum suscepti corporis videtur esse referendum. Ideo enim carnem suscepit, ut ad coelum nobis sterneret iter. Denique ait: Ascendo ad Patrem meum, et Patrem vestrum: Deum meum, et Deum vestrum (Joan. XX, 17). Denique ut scias quod vias suas omnipotens Pater secundum incarnationem praescripserit Filio, habes in Zacharia ad Jesum indutum vestimenta sordida ab Angelo dictum: Haec dicit Dominus omnipotens: Si in viis meis ambulaveris, et praecepta mea custodieris (Zach. III, 7). Quod est vestimentum illud sordidum, nisi carnis assumptio? 51. Viae igitur Domini velut quidam tramites bonae vitae sunt, quae diriguntur a Christo, qui ait: Ego sum via, et veritas, et vita (Joan. XIV, 6). Via ergo superna est Dei virtus; Christus enim nobis via est. Et bona via, quae credentibus coeli regna patefecit. Viae autem Domini viae rectae sunt, sicut scriptum est: Vias tuas, Domine, notas fac mihi (Ps. XXIV, 4). Via castitas, via fides, via est abstinentia. Est namque via virtutis, est et via iniquitatis; scriptum est enim: Et vide si est via iniquitatis in me (Ps. CXXXVIII, 24). 52. Principium itaque nostrae virtutis est Christus. Principium integritatis, qui docuit virgines non viriles exspectare concubitus, sed integritatem mentis et corporis sancto magis dicare Spiritui, quam marito (II Cor. XI, 2). Principium parcimoniae Christus, qui pauper factus est, cum esset dives (II Cor. VIII, 9). Principium patientiae Christus,

qui cum malediceretur, non remaledixit; cum percuteretur, non repercussit (I Petr. II, 23). Principium humilitatis Christus, qui formam servi accepit (Philip. II, 7); cum Patrem Deum majestate virtutis aequaret. Ex illo enim accepit virtus unaquaeque principium. 53. Et ideo ut haec virtutum genera disceremus: Filius datus est nobis, cujus principium super humeros ejus (Esai. IX, 6). Principium illud crux Domini est; principium fortitudinis, quo via sanctis est reserata martyribus ad sacri certaminis passionem. 507

CAPUT VIII.

VERSICULUS IN ESAIA proxime citatus de Christi humanitate ac divinitate explicatur, eoque varias haereses jugulari evincitur. 54. Vidit hoc principium Esaias, et ideo ait: Puer natus est, Filius datus est nobis. Viderunt et Magi, et ideo cum parvalum in praesepi cernerent, adoraverunt dicentes: Puer natus est; cum stellam conspicerent, praedicantes: Filius datus est nobis (Matth. II, 11). Aliud munus e terris, aliud munus e coelo, et utrumque unus in utroque perfectus, et sine mutabilitate divinitatis, et sine humanae imminutione naturae. Unum adoraverunt, eidemque munera obtulerunt; ut ostenderent ipsum esse coeli Dominum, qui in praesepibus videretur. 55. Distingue singulorum momenta verborum: Puer natus est, Filius datus est nobis. Etsi ex Patre natus, non tamen nobis natus, sed datus est; quia non Filius propter nos, sed nos propter Filium. Neque enim nobis natus est, qui et ante nos natus est, et totius est conditor creaturae: neque nunc primum nascitur, qui erat semper, et erat in principio: sed illud quod non erat, nobis nascitur. Quod etiam angelus pastoribus cum loqueretur, dixit esse generatum, sicut habes scriptum: Quia natus est nobis hodie Salvator, qui est Christus Dominus, in civitate David (Luc. II, 11). Nobis ergo quod non erat, natum est: hoc est, puer ex Virgine, corpus ex Maria; hoc enim post nos, illud ante nos. 56. Alii codices sic habent: Puer natus est nobis, Filius datus est nobis; hoc est, qui erat Filius Dei, hic ex Maria puer natus est nobis, et datus est nobis. Quia datus sit, audi Prophetam dicentem: Et salutare tuum da nobis (Psal. LXXXIV, 8). Quod enim supra nos est, datur: quod de coelo est, datur; sicut etiam de Spiritu legimus quod, Charitas Dei effusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum, qui datus

est nobis (Rom. V, 5). 57. Sed videte quemadmodum hic locus multas haereses exstinguat. Puer natus est nobis, non Judaeis: nobis, non Manichaeis: nobis, non Marcionitis. Propheta dicit: Nobis, hoc est credentibus, non incredulis. Et ille quidem misericordia sua omnibus natus est, sed perfidia haereticorum fecit, ut non omnibus nasceretur, qui omnibus natus est. Nam et lumen diei oriri jubetur super bonos et malos: sed oriri non videntibus non videtur (Matth. V, 15). 58. Sicut ergo puer non omnibus natus est, sed fidelibus: sic Filius non infidelibus datus est, sed fidelibus. Nobis datus est, non Photinianis; illi enim non datum nobis Dei Filium dicunt esse, sed ab initio inter nos natum: nobis datus est, non Sabellianis; illi enim nolunt Filium datum, eumdem asserentes Patrem esse quem Filium: nobis, non Arianis; et ipsi enim non habent Filium pro salute datum, sed pro infirmitate transmissum: non habent consiliarium, quem putant futura nescisse: non habent Filium, quem sempiternum non putant; cum 508 scriptum sit de Verbo Dei, quod erat in principio; et alibi: In principio, erat Verbum (Joan. I, 2). Denique ut ad propositum revertamur exemplum: In principio, inquit, antequam terram faceret, antequam abyssos faceret, et antequam produceret fontes aquarum, ante omnes colles genuit me (Prov. VIII, 23 et seq.).

CAPUT IX.

Difficultatem ex loco Salomonis supra laudato exorientem solvit Ambrosius, illic et praeteritum sumi pro futuro, et geminam in Christo naturam designari patefaciens. 59. Fortasse dices, quomodo de incarnatione Christi dictum esse memoraverim: Dominus creavit me, cum ante incarnationem Christi creatura sit mundi? Sed considera quia moris est Scripturis divinis, et futura pro praeteritis dicere, et geminam in Christo significare substantiam divinitatis, et carnis; ne quis aut divinitatem neget ejus, aut carnem. 60. Nam sicut in Esaia habes: Puer natus est nobis, et Filius datus est nobis (Esai. IX, 6); ita hic quoque ante praemisit creaturam carnis, et subtexuit assertionem divinitatis; ut scires non duos Christos, sed unum esse: qui et ante saecula generatus sit ex Patre, et ultimis temporibus creatus ex Virgine, hoc est: Ego sum ille creatus ex homine, creatus ad causam, qui sum generatus ante saecula. 61. Denique dicturus: Dominus creavit me, praemisit: Commemorabo quae a saeculo sunt. Dicturus: Genuit, praemisit: In principio antequam terram faceret, ante omnes colles genuit me. Ante, cum dicitur, in infinitum retro sine aliqua definitione porrigitur. Denique, ante Abraham, inquit, ego sum (Joan. VIII, 58), non utique post Adam: et ante Luciferum (Psal. CIX, 3), non utique post angelos. Sed ante, cum dixit, non se intra aliquem, sed omnia intra se dixit; sic enim moris est aeternitatem Dei Scripturis significare divinis. Denique alibi habes: Priusquam montes fierent, et formaretur orbis terrae, a saeculo et usque in saeculum tu es (Psal. LXXXIX, 2). 62. Ante omnia ergo generatio, inter omnia et propter omnia creatura. Natus ex Patre supra Legem, factus ex Maria sub Lege.

CAPUT X.

Baptistae verba ex quibus Christum etiam ante incarnationem factum disputabant, soluturus, ubi praemisit ea referri posse ad praedestinationem; intelligenda tamen de incarnatione ab antecedentibus probat. Hinc progrediens ad mystica, ipsum dignitate ac merito ante Joannem fuisse declarat: maxime cum Ecclesiae, cujus typus in historia Ruth expressus fuerat, sponsus, etiam excluso Moyse, solus exstiterit: quam licet Synagoga non omnino neglecta, solus vocavit. 63. [Alias. cap. V.] Sed scriptum est: Post me venit vir, qui ante me factus est; quia prior me erat. Unde dicunt: Ecce qui erat, factus est. Ipsa verba perpendamus. Post me, inquit, venit vir (Joan. I, 30). Vir ergo est qui venit, ipse qui factus est. Vir 509 autem nomen est sexus: sexus autem non utique divinitati, sed naturae deputatur humanae. 64. Possem ergo dicere: Erat in praecognitione quidem corporis, sed aeternitate virtutis; nam et Ecclesia erat, et sancti erant praedestinati ante saecula: sed non id hoc loco dico, at illud assero, factum esse non ad divinitatem, sed ad incarnationis pertinere naturam, sicut ipse Joannes dixit: Hic est de quo dixi: Post me venit vir, qui ante me factus est. 65. Itaque cum geminam, sicut supra dixi, in Christo substantiam proposuisset, ut utramque intelligas et divinitatis et carnis, hoc loco coepit a carne. Est enim Scripturis promiscua consuetudo divinis, ut interdum a divinitate Christi incipiant, et ad incarnationis sacramenta descendant; interdum ab humilitate incarnationis exordium sumant, et ad gloriam divinitatis assurgant, ut in prophetis, et in evangelistis frequenter, et in Paulo. Ergo et hic juxta memoratam consuetudinem ab incarnatione Domini coepit de ejus divinitate dicturus; non ut confunderet humana atque divina, sed ut distingueret.

Verum Ariani, velut Judaici caupones, miscent aquam cum vino; quia divinam generationem humanamque confundunt, ad deitatem referentes, quod de carne sit dictum. 66. Nec metuo quod objecturi videntur quia in superioribus non habet, Virum; sic enim habet: Qui post me venit. Sed videant et ibi quid praemiserit: Verbum, inquit, caro factum est (Joan. I, 14). Et ideo non addidit, Virum; quia carnem dixerat: per carnem autem istic virum intelligimus, et per virum carnem. Ergo quia dixerat: Verbum caro factum est, virum hoc loco nominare superfluum fuit, quem jam carnis expressione signaverat. 67. Quo exemplo in posterioribus quoque et agnum praemisit, qui tolleret peccata mundi; et ut incarnatum intelligeres, quem ante memoraverat, ait: Hic est de quo ante dixi: Post me venit vir, qui ante me factus est (Ibid., 29), hoc est, virum dixi, non Deum factum. Sed ut ipsum incarnatum declararet esse, quia ante saecula erat; ne duos filios crederemus, ait: Quia prior me erat. Nam si, Factus est, ad divinam generationem retulisset, quid opus erat ut adhuc adderet tertium, atque iteraret quod supra dixerat? Sed quia ante de incarnatione tantum dixerat: Post me venit vir, qui ante me factus est; ideo addidit: Quia prior me erat, quoniam divinitatis aeternitas fuerat exprimenda. Et haec est causa praelationis, ut merito antelatus videatur, qui proprii Patris sempiterna virtus est. 68. Dat tamen intellectus spiritalis ubertas, ut excurrere et evagari ad concludendos libeat Arianos, qui volunt factum hoc loco non ad virum, sed ad divinitatem referre. Quid est enim tenere quod possint; cum dixerit Baptista: Post me venit, qui ante me factus est; hoc est, supra meritum meum factus, supra meam gratiam, tempore carnis posterior, divinitatis honore venerabilis? Post me enim venit, temporis 510 est: prior me erat, aeternitatis: ante me factus est, honoris; quia etiam Incarnationis mysterium supra humanam est gratiam. 69. Denique in inferioribus quid supra contexuisset expressit dicens: Post me venit vir, cujus non sum dignus calciamenta portare (Joan. I, 27); praestantiam utique dignitatis, non

aeternitatem divinae generationis exponens. Quod eousque ad incarnationem pertinet, ut typum in hominibus mystici calciamenti ante praemiserit. Lege enim proximo defuncti vel fratri copula deferebatur ejus uxoris; ut semen fratris vel proximi resuscitaret (Num. XXXVI, 6). Unde quod Ruth, licet ipsa alienigena; tamen quia maritum habuerat ex Judaeis, qui reliquerat superstitem proximum, eamque colligentem manipulos suae messis, quibus alebat et se et socrum, Booz vidit et amavit: non aliter eam accipit uxorem, nisi calciamentum ejus ante solvisset, cui uxor debebatur ex Lege (Ruth. IV, 5-7). 70. Historia simplex, sed alta mysteria; aliud enim gerebatur, aliud figurabatur. Nam si secundum litteram sensum torqueamus, prope quidam pudor et horror in verbo est, si ad commixtionis corporeae consuetudinem sententiam intellectumque referamus. Designabatur autem futurus ex Judaeis, ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, qui proximi sui, hoc est, populi mortui semen doctrinae coelestis semine suscitaret, cui calciamentum nuptiale Ecclesiae copulandae praescripta Legis spiritalia deferebant. 71. Non Moyses sponsus; illi enim dicitur: Solve calciamentum pedum tuorum (Exod. III, 5); ut Domino suo cedat. Non Jesus Nave filius sponsus; nam et ipsi dicitur: Solve calciamentum pedum tuorum (Josue V, 16); ne ex similitudine nominis sponsus Ecclesiae crederetur. Non alius sponsus, sed solus Christus est sponsus, de quo dixit Joannes: Qui habet sponsam sponsus est (Joan. III, 29). Illis igitur calciamentum solvitur, huic solvi non potest, sicut dixit Joannes: Non sum dignus solvere corrigiam calciamenti ejus (Joan. I, 27). 72. Solus ergo Christus est sponsus, cui illa veniens ex gentibus sponsa, ante inops atque jejuna, sed jam Christi messe dives, innubat: quae manipulos fecundae segetis, Verbique reliquias gremio legat mentis interno; ut exhaustam illam viduam morte filii, atque inopem defuncti populi matrem novis pascat alimentis, non relinquens destitutam viduam, et novos quaerens. 73. Solus ergo Christus est sponsus, qui nec Synagogae ipsi manipulos suae messis invideat. Utinam se non ipsa

excluderet! Habuit quos per se colligeret: sed quia populus ejus est mortuus, quasi filio egena defuncto, per Ecclesiam manipulos, quibus viveret, colligebat; quos venientes in exsultatione portabunt, sicut scriptum est: Venientes autem venient in exsultatione, tollentes manipulos suos (Psal. CXXV, 6). 74. Quis enim sibi alius sponsam audeat Ecclesiam vindicare, quam a Libano unus et solus vocavit dicens: Ades huc a Libano, sponsa; 511 ades huc a Libano (Cant. IV, 8). Aut de quo alio potuit Ecclesia dicere: Fauces ejus dulcedines, et totus desiderium (Cant. V, 16)? Et quia de calciamento pedum tractatum sumpsimus, cui alii nisi Verbo Dei incarnato convenit dictum: Crura ejus columnae marmoreae, fundatae super bases aureas (Ibid., 13)? Solus enim Christus inambulat animis, et graditur in mente sanctorum, in quibus velut aureis basibus, fundamentisque pretiosis solidata vestigia Verbi coelestis haeserunt. 75. Claret igitur et virum et typum ad incarnationis spectare mysterium.

CAPUT XI.

Redit ad locum propositum, et ubi Christus dicitur factus, hoc vel ad incarnationem vel ad causam sive adjunctum aliquod referri docet. Ad eum sensum plurima sacrorum codicum et Pauli imprimis testimonia edisserit: maxime autem in eo immoratur, ut Christum verum sacerdotem esse atque in Melchisedech praefiguratum, eique cum Patre operationis unitatem, non vero solam similitudinem inesse persuadeat. 76. Non ergo ad substantiam divinitatis, sed ad incarnationem saepe, nonnumquam etiam ad causam pertinet, cum dicitur factus. Nam si ad divinitatem refers, ergo et in opprobrium Deus factus est; sic enim habes: Tu autem repulisti, et ad nihilum redegisti, dispulisti Christum tuum (Psal. LXXXVIII, 39); et infra: Et factus est in opprobrium vicinis suis (Ibid., 42). Vicinis, inquit, non civibus, non domesticis, non adhaerentibus; quoniam qui adhaeret Domino, unus spiritus est (I Cor. VI, 17): qui vicinus est, non adhaeret. Et, Factus est in opprobrium; quia crux Domini Judaeis scandalum, Graecis stultitia (I Cor. I, 23). Nam sapientibus per eamdem crucem excelsior factus est coelis, excelsior angelis, et melioris testamenti factus est sponsor, ipse qui erat prioris. 77. Vide quam non defugiam ista, ut etiam congeram: sed quomodo factus sit, considera. 78. Primum quod purificatione facta, considet in dextera magnitudinis in excelsis, tanto melior factus angelis (Hebr. I, 3, 4). Ubi purificatio, hostia: ubi hostia, corpus: ubi corpus, oblatio: ubi munus oblationis, ibi sacrificium passionis. 79. Deinde sponsor melioris testamenti (Hebr. VII, 22). Ubi testamentum, mors necesse est praecedat testatoris (Hebr. IX, 16), sicut subter est scriptum: mors autem non ad divinitatis aeternitatem, sed ad fragilitatem refertur humanam. 80. Excelsior quoque

coelis factus quomodo sit, ostenditur: Immaculatus, inquit, segregatus a peccatoribus, et excelsior coelis factus: qui non habet quotidie necessitatem, sicut sacerdotes, prius pro suis delictis hostiam offerre, deinde pro populi. Hoc enim fecit semel se offerendo, sicut scriptum est (Hebr. VII, 26, 27). 512 Nemo excelsior factus dicitur, nisi qui in aliquo fuerit humilior: in eo igitur excelsior factus est, sedendo ad dexteram Patris, in quo se minor angelis factus, obtulit passioni (Hebr. II, 9). 81. Postremo ipse Apostolus ad Philippenses ait, quia in similitudine hominis factus, et specie inventus ut homo, humiliavit semetipsum, factus obediens usque ad mortem (Phil. II, 7, 8). Vide ubi factus sit: In similitudine, inquit, hominis, non in potestate Dei: et factus abediens usque ad mortem; ut obedientiam quidem hominis habuerit, regnum divinitatis. 82. Quantis igitur adhuc utemur exemplis ad incarnationem, vel ad aliquid referendum esse quod factus est! Quod autem et factum est, idem est et creatum: Dixit enim, et facta sunt: ipse mandavit, et creata sunt (Psal. CXLVIII, 5). Dominus creavit me (Prov. VIII, 22), secundum carnem dictum: creatum quoque supra ostendimus in libro primo (Ca et seq.) de incarnatione dictum videri. 83. Ipse etiam Apostolus asserendo serviendum non esse creaturae, significavit ex Deo Filium non creatum esse, sed genitum (Rom. I, 25). Tamen etiam alibi, ut manifestaret quomodo in Salomone sit lectum: Dominus creavit me; quid in Christo creatum esset, ostendit. 84. Itaque totius seriem capitis recenseamus; sic enim habes: Ergo quia filii participes sunt carnis et sanguinis, et ipse similiter particeps factus est eorumdem; ut per mortem destrueret hunc qui mortis habebat imperium (Hebr. II, 14). Quis ergo est qui nos participes suae voluit esse carnis et sanguinis? Utique Dei Filius. Quomodo nisi per carnem particeps factus est noster? aut per quam, nisi per corporis mortem mortis vincula dissolvit? Mortis enim mors facta est susceptio mortis in Christo. Ergo de incarnatione proposuit. 85. Videamus sequentia: Nec enim statim Angelos, inquit, assumpsit, sed semen Abrahae. Unde habuit per

omnia fratribus similari; ut misericors fieret et fidelis princeps, sacerdos ad Deum, ut expiaret peccata populi. In quo enim passus est ipse; et tentatus, potest et tentatos juvare (Ibid., 16, 17). Propter quod, fratres sanctissimi, vocationis coelestis participes, intuemini apostolum et principem sacerdotum confessionis nostrae Jesum fidelem esse creatori suo, sicut et Moyses in domo ejus (Hebr. III, 1, 2). Haec nempe verba sunt Apostoli. 86. Videtis in quo creatum dicat: in quo assumpsit, inquit, semen Abrahae, corporalem utique generationem asserit. In quo autem, nisi in corpore expiavit populi peccata? In quo passus est, nisi in corpore; sicut et supra diximus: Christo passo secundum carnem? In quo sacerdos, nisi in eo quod sacerdotali assumpsit ex genere? 87. Sacerdos enim aliquid debet offerre, et secundum Legem in sancta intrare per sanguinem (Hebr. IX, 25): 513 ergo quia sanguinem taurorum, hircorumque repudiaverat Deus, hunc utique sacerdotem per suum sanguinem, sicut legisti, in sancta sanctorum coeli summa penetrantem oportebat intrare (Ibid. 12); ut aeterna nostrorum esset oblatio peccatorum. Idem ergo sacerdos, idem et hostia: et sacerdotium tamen, et sacrificium humanae conditionis officium est; nam et agnus ad immolandum ductus est, et sacerdos est secundum ordinem Melchisedech. 88. Nemo igitur ubi ordinem cernit humanae conditionis, ibi jus divinitatis asserat. Nam et illum Melchisedech per quem Abraham hostias suas obtulit (Gen. XIV, 18), non angelum utique secundum Judaica ludibria intelligit Ecclesia, sed virum sanctum, ac sacerdotem Dei, qui typum gerens Domini, et sine Patre, et sine matre, et sine generationis enarratione, et sine initio, et sine fine describitur; ut ostenderet sempiternum Filium Dei in hunc mundum esse venturum, qui et sine Patre secundum incarnationem natus est, et sine matre secundum divinam generationem, et sine enarratione generationis; quia scriptum est: Generationem autem ejus quis enarrabit (Esa. LIII, 8)? 89. Ergo illum Melchisedech in Christi typo sacerdotem Dei accepimus: sed illum in typo, hunc in veritate: typus autem umbra est

veritatis: illum in nomine unius civitatis, hunc regem in reconciliatione totius mundi; quia scriptum est: Deus erat in Christo, mundum reconcilians sibi (II Cor. V, 19); hoc est, sempiterna divinitas; aut, si Pater in Filio, sicut Filius in Patre, et substantiae utique et operationis unitas non negatur. 90. Quomodo autem negare merito possunt, etiam si velint, cum scriptum sit: Pater autem qui in me manet, ipse facit opera; et: Opera quae ego facio, ipse facit (Joan. XIV, 10)? Non dixit: Et ipse facit; ne similitudinem magis, quam unitatem operis aestimares: sed dicendo: Quae ego facio, ipse facit, manifestum reliquit quod unum opus Patris et Filii credere debeamus. 91. Denique ubi similitudinem operum, non unitatem voluit intelligi: Qui credit, inquit, in me, opera quae ego facio, et ipse faciet (Ibid., 12). Bene hic et interponendo, similitudinem nobis donavit; et tamen unitatem naturalem negavit. Unum est igitur opus Patris et Filii, etiamsi non placeat Arianis.

CAPUT XII.

REGNUM PATRIS ATQUE Filii unum esse ac indivisum; et unam similiter utriusque divinitatem. 92. Quaero autem quomodo regnum velint Patris et Filii esse divisum; cum Dominus dixerit, ut supra ostendimus; Omne regnum in se divisum, facile destruetur (Matth. XII, 25) ? 93. Et ideo ad excludendum Arianae sacrilegium saevitatis, unum imperium Patris et Filii etiam 514 Petrus sanctus asseruit dicens: Quapropter satagite, fratres, certam vestram vocationem et electionem facere. Haec enim facientes non errabitis; sic enim abundantius ministrabitur vobis introitus in aeternum imperium Dei, et Domini nostri conservatoris Jesu Christi (II Petr. I, 10, 11). 94. Aut si quis de Christi tantum imperio dictum putat, et hoc ideo sic accipit, ut Patrem Filiumque potestate secernat; is tamen et regnum Filii fatebitur, et aeternum. Itaque non solum duo inducent regna divisa, ut obnoxia sint defectui; sed etiam cum regna comparabilia nulla sint Dei regno, quod Filii esse, etiamsi velint negare non possunt: aut contra suam sententiam redibunt, ut idem Patris et Filii regnum esse fateantur: aut, quod sacrilegium est dicere, jus Patri regni minoris ascribent: aut, quod contrarium est, quem minorem divinitate impie memorant, ejus regnum fatebuntur aequale. 95. Sed hoc non quadrat, non congruit, non cohaeret. Dicant igitur unum esse regnum, sicut nos dicimus, et probamus: probamus autem non nostris, sed coelestibus testimoniis. 96. Primum enim etiam aliis exemplis disce regnum coelorum, regnum etiam Filii esse: ipse enim dixit: Amen, amen, dico vobis quoniam sunt aliqui dehic astantibus, qui non gustabunt mortem, donec videant Filium hominis venientem in regnum suum (Matth. XVI, 28). Dubitari ergo non potest quod sit regnum Filii Dei.

97. Sed accipe ipsum esse regnum Filii, quod Patris est: Amen dico vobis quod sunt quidam circumstantium, qui non gustabunt mortem, donec videant regnum Dei veniens in virtute (Marc. VIII, 39). Eo enim usque unum regnum est, ut unum sit praemium, idem haeres, eadem merita, idem sponsor. 98. Quomodo non idem regnum, cum praesertim ipse de se Filius dixerit : Tunc justi fulgebunt sicut sol in regno Patris mei (Matth. XIII, 43). Quod enim Patris est per majestatis proprietatem, id etiam Filii est per ejusdem claritudinis unitatem. Ergo et Patris regnum Scriptura dixit, et Filii (Joan. XVII, 5). 99. Accipe nunc quia ubi regnum Dei dicit, nec Patris nec Filii separat potestatem; quia et paternum et Filii regnum uno Dei nomine comprehendit, sicut habes: Cum videritis Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, et omnes prophetas in regno Dei (Luc. XIII, 28). An negamus in regno Filii prophetas esse, cum et latroni dicenti: Memento mei, cum veneris in regnum tuum; responderit Dominus: Amen dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in paradiso (Luc. XXIII, 42, 43)? Aut quid est esse in regno Dei, nisi aeternam nescire mortem? Qui autem nesciunt aeternam mortem, vident Filium hominis venientem in regnum suum. 100. Quomodo ergo potest non in potestate habere quod donat dicens: Tibi dabo claves regni coelorum (Matth. XVI, 19)? Et videto distantiam. Servus 515 aperit, Dominus largitur: iste per se, ille per Christum: famulus claves accipit, Dominus ordinat potestates: aliud jus donantis, aliud dispensantis obsequium est. 101. Accipe adhuc unum regnum, unum imperium esse Patris et Filii. Habes ad Timotheum: Paulus apostolus Jesu Christi secundum imperium Dei Salvatoris nostri, et Christi Jesu spei nostrae (I Tim. I, 1). Unum igitur Patris et Filii regnum evidenter est declaratum, sicut et apostolus Paulus asseruit dicens: Hoc enim scitote quod omnis impudicus, aut immundus, aut avarus, quod est idololatria, non habet haereditatem in regno Christi et Dei (Ephes. V, 5). Ergo unum regnum, et una divinitas. 102. Unam divinitatem lex probavit, quae dicit unum Deum (Deut. VI, 4). Probavit et Apostolus,

dicendo de Christo: In quo habitat omnis plenitudo divinitatis corporaliter (Coloss. II, 9). Si enim juxta Apostolum plenitudo omnis corporaliter divinitatis in Christo est, aut unius divinitatis Patrem et Filium fatebuntur: aut si Patris et Filii divinitatem cupiunt separare, cum omnem plenitudinem divinitatis corporaliter Filius habeat; quid est quod existimant amplius reservandum, cum amplius nihil sit plenitudine perfectionis? Ergo una divinitas.

CAPUT XIII.

FILIO MAJESTATEM SUAM esse, ac paternae aequalem: cujus socii non sint angeli, sed spectatores. 103. [Alias cap. VI.] Imaginem autem unam, et similitudinem unam supra diximus (Lib. 1, ca), superest ut unius quoque majestatis Patrem Filiumque doceamus. Nec longe aberit; cum enim ipse dixerit de se Filius: Cum venerit Filius hominis in majestate sua, et omnes angeli cum eo, tunc sedebit super sedem majestatis suae (Matth. XXV, 31). Ecce Filii expressa majestas est: quid ei deest, cujus increatam majestatem negare non possunt? Est ergo Filii majestas. 104. Accipiant nunc, ut dubitare non possint, quod Patris et Filii una majestas sit; ipse enim Dominus dixit: Nam qui me erubuerit et meos sermones, hunc Filius hominis erubescet; cum venerit in majestate sua, et Patris, et sanctorum angelorum (Luc. IX, 26). Quid est: Et sanctorum angelorum, nisi quia honorantur et servi dignitate domini sui? 105. Dignitatem ergo suam ad Filium et Patrem retulit; non ut angeli habeant cum Patre et Filio aequale consortium, sed ut praeeminentem gloriam Dei cernant. Neque enim suam majestatem angeli habent, sicut lectum est de Filio: Cum sederit in sede majestatis suae (Matth. XXV, 31); sed assistunt, ut Patris et Filii gloriam videant, quibus aut possunt aut merentur aspectibus. 106. Denique ipsa se explanant verba divina, ut intelligas illam gloriam Patris et Filii cum 516 angeli non esse communem; sic enim habes: Cum autem venerit Filius hominis in majestate sua, et omnes angelis cum eo. Et ut doceret unam majestatem et unam gloriam esse Patris et suam, ipse in alio libro ait: Et Filius hominis confundet eum, cum venerit in gloria Patris sui cum angelis sanctis (Marc. VIII, 38). Illi in obsequio, hic in gloria: illi in comitatu, hic in

suggestu: illi stant, hic sedet; ut verbo tamen usus utamur humani, hic judicat, hi ministrant. 107. Divinam autem non praemisit majestatem Patris, et subdidit suam et angelorum; ne de superioribus ad inferiora fecisse gradum quemdam et ordinem videretur. Sed quia Pater inferior videri non poterat, praemisit majestatem suam, et addidit Patris et angelorum; ne se medium inter Patrem et angelos nominando, aut ab angelis ad Patrem per sui quoque incrementa fecisse quemdam videretur ascensum, aut a Patre rursus ad angelos per ordinem cum sui etiam diminutione crederetur fecisse descensum. Nam nos qui unam divinitatem Patris et Filii confitemur, diversum, ut Ariani, ordinem non putamus.

CAPUT XIV.

UNIUS SUBSTANTIAE CUM Patre Filium esse; hanc autem etiam secundum divinitatem sumi debere in multis Scripturarum testimoniis, tametsi in aliis nonnullis hoc verbum aut de possessionibus aut de incarnatione intelligatur. 108. De substantia autem, Imperator auguste, quid loquar unius Filium cum Patre esse substantiae; cum imaginem Paternae substantiae Filium legerimus (Sap. VII, 26); ut in nullo secundum divinitatem a Patre intelligas discrepare? 109. Juxta hanc imaginem dixit: Omnia quae Pater habet, mea sunt (Joan. XVI, 15). Ergo nec substantiam in Deo possumus denegare; neque enim insubstantivus est, qui aliis dedit habere substantiam: licet alia sit substantia Dei, alia creaturae. Nec posset insubstantivus Filius Dei esse, per quem cuncta subsistunt. 110. Et ideo ait: Non est occultatum os meum quod fecisti in abscondito, et substantia mea in inferioribus terrae (Psal. CXXXVIII, 15). Virtuti enim et divinitati ea, quae ante constitutionem mundi, vel imperspicabili majestate sunt gesta, abscondita esse non poterant. Legimus ergo substantiam. 111. Sed dices de incarnatione dictam esse substantiam. Interim nomen substantiae lectum probavi, et lectum non pro patrimoniis, ut dicitis. Jam, si placet, accipiamus secundum mysterium in inferioribus Christi fuisse substantiam. Etenim ut defunctorum animas in sui corporis anima liberaret, vincula mortis solveret, peccata donaret, operatus est in inferno. 517 112. Et tamen quid obstat quominus illam divinam intelligas esse substantiam, cum Deus ita ubique sit, ut ei dictum sit: Si ascendero in coelum, tu illic es: si descendero ad infernum, ades (Ibid., 8). 113. Denique ad substantiam divinam derivandum esse intellectum sequentibus declaravit dicens: Inoperatum meum viderunt

oculi tui (Ibid., 16); eo quod non operis factura sit Filius, sed Verbum genitum potestatis aeternae: ἀκατέργαστον enim dixit, hoc est, inoperatum atque increatum Verbum sine alicujus creaturae testimonio ex Patre natum: et tamen abundamus aliis substantiae testimoniis. Sit ista hoc loco substantia corporalis, dummodo non opus Dei Filium, sed inoperatam ejus divinitatem et ipse fatearis. 114. Scio autem aliquos dicere inoperatum esse etiam incarnationis mysterium, quod non sit virilis copulae usus operatus; quia partus est Virginis. Si ergo plerique hoc loco nec Mariae partus opus esse dixerunt, tu, Ariane, opus putas esse Dei Verbum? 115. Aut hic tantum substantiam legimus? Nonne et alibi dixit: Portae civitatum effractae sunt, montes ceciderunt, et revelata est substantia (Nahum. II, 6)? Numquid hic quoque creatura signatur? Solent enim aliqui dicere pecuniariam esse substantiam. Ergo si ad hunc sensum refers, ideo occiderunt montes, ut pecuniarium patrimonium cerneretur. 116. Sed meminerimus qui montes ceciderunt, illi utique de quibus dictum est: Si habueritis fidem sicut granum sinapis, dicetis huic monti: Tollere, et jactare in mare (Matth. XVII, 19). Montes ergo sunt altitudines se extollentes. 117. Denique in Graeco, regna ceciderunt, habetur. Quae regna, nisi satanae, de quo dixit Dominus: Quomodo stabit regnum ipsius (Matth. XII, 26)? Ipsos ergo legimus montes, quae regna sunt diaboli. Ideoque istis cadentibus regnis de corde fidelium, revelatum est paternae Dei Filium Christum esse substantiae. Qui sunt etiam illi ipsi montes aerei, de quorum medio quatuor currus procedunt (Zach. VI, 1)? 118. Advertimus altitudinem illam extollentem se adversus scientiam Dei verbo Domini corruisse; cum diceret Dei Filius: Obmulesce, et exi, immunde spiritus (Marc. I, 25). De quo et propheta dixit: Ecce ego ad te, mons corrupte (Jerem. LI, 25). 119. Isti ergo ceciderunt montes, et revelatum est quod esset in Christo divina substantia, dicentibus iis, qui viderant: Vere Filius Dei est (Luc. IV, 41); non enim humana, sed divina potestate daemoniis imperabat. Jeremias quoque dicit: Super montes

accipite luctum, et super semitas desertas planctum, quia defecerunt; eo quod non sint homines, non acceperunt vocem substantiae: a volatilibus usque ad jumenta expaverunt et defecerunt (Jerem. IX, 10). 120. Nec praeteriit etiam alibi, cum fragilitates exponeret conditionis humanae, ut susceptam a se 518 infirmitatem carnis, et affectum nostrae mentis ostenderet, dixisse Dominum per Prophetam: Memento, Domine, quae est substantia mea (Psalm. LXXXVIII, 48); quia in natura fragilitatis humanae Dei Filius loquebatur. 121. De quo supra, ut incarnationis mysteria revelaret, ait: Tu vero repulisti, Domine, et pro nihilo habuisti: dispulisti Christum tuum, evertisti testamentum servi tui, profanasti in terra sanctitatem ejus (Ibid. 39, 40). In quo utique servum dixit, nisi in carne, quia non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo, sed semetipsum exinanivit formam servi accipiens, in similitudinem hominum factus, et specie inventus ut homo (Philip. II, 6, 7)? Mea ergo susceptione servus, sua Dominus potestate. 122. Quid illud quod habes? Quoniam quis stetit in substantia Domini (Jerem. XXIII, 18); et alibi: Et si stetissent in substantia mea, et audissent verba mea, et si docuissent plebem meam; avertissem eos a nequitiis et adinventionibus suis (Ibid., 22).

CAPUT XV.

Cum Filium Patri ἑτεροούσιον Ariani dicant, eos in Deo substantiam aperte agnoscere: nec ob aliud hanc vocem defugere, nisi quod illum verum Dei Filium fateri nolint, ut significavit Eusebius Nicomediensis. Recte igitur constitutum a Nicaenis PP. verbum ὁμοούσιον, utpote haeresi oppositum et in Scriptura firmatum; proindeque neglectis, quae isti fingunt de Sabellianis, retinendum. 123. Quomodo negant Dei esse substantiam? Quomodo verbum substantiae, quod creberrimum in Scripturis est, putant esse vitandum; cum ipsi ex alia substantia, hoc est, ἑτεροούσιον dicendo Filium, substantiam tamen in Deo esse non abnuant? 124. Non igitur verbum, sed vim verbi fugiunt; quia nolunt verum esse Dei Filium. Nam licet humano verbo non possit divinae generationis series comprehendi; tamen judicarunt Patres fidem suam tali proprie contra ἑτεροούσιον sermone signandam, auctoritatem secuti prophetae, qui ait: Quis stetit in substantia Domini, et vidit Verbum ejus? Secundum impietatem igitur suam positum substantiae verbum recipiunt Ariani, secundum pietatem autem fidelium comprobatum repudiant et refutant. 125. Nam quid est aliud, cur ὁμοούσιον Patri nolint Filium dici, nisi quia nolunt verum Dei Filium confiteri? sicut auctor ipsorum Eusebius Nicomediensis epistola sua prodidit scribens: Si verum, inquit, Dei Filium et increatum dicimus, ὁμοούσιον cum Patre incipimus confiteri. Haec cum lecta esset epistola in concilio Nicaeno, hoc verbum in tractatu Fidei posuerunt Patres, quia id viderunt adversariis esse formidini; ut tamquam evaginato ab ipsis gladio ipsorum nefandae caput haereseos amputarent. 519 126. Frustra autem verbum istud propter Sabellianos declinare sedicunt, et in eo suam

imperitiam produnt; ὁμοούσιον enim aliud alii, non ipsum est sibi. Recte ergo ὁμοούσιον Patri Filium dicimus, quia verbo eo et personarum distinctio et naturae unitas significatur. 127. An negare possunt οὐσίαν lectam, cum et panem ἐπιούσιον Dominus dixerit (Matth. VI); et Moyses scripserit: ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθέ μοι λαὸς περιούσιος (Exod. XIX)? Aut quid est οὐσία, vel unde dicta, nisi οὖσα ἀεί, quod semper maneat? Qui enim est, et est semper, Deus est; et ideo manens semper ουσία dicitur divina substantia. Propterea ἐπιούσιος panis, quod ex Verbi substantia substantiam virtutis manentis cordi et animae subministret; scriptum est enim: Et panis confirmat cor hominis (Psal. CIII, 15). 128. Servemus igitur praecepta majorum, nec haereditaria signacula ausi rudis temeritate violemus. Librum signatum illum propheti cum non Seniores, non Potestates, non Angeli, non Archangeli aperire ausi sunt: soli Christo explanandi ejus praerogativa est servata. Librum sacerdotalem quis nostrum resignare audeat, signatum a confessoribus, et multorum jam martyrio consecratum? Quem qui resignare coacti sunt, postea tamen damnata fraude, signarunt: qui violare non ausi sunt, confessores et martyres exstiterunt. Quomodo fidem eorum possumus denegare, quorum victoriam praedicamus?

CAPUT XVI.

UT CATHOLICI CONTRA fraudes Arianorum praemuniantur, subdolas quasdam eorum confessiones exponit: nec sufficere quod Filium nonnumquam Deum vocitent, nisi eum admittant Patri aequalem, collectis argumentis probat. 129. Nemo metuat, nemo formidet: plus confert fidelibus, qui minatur. Venenatae sunt blanditiae perfidorum, tunc cavendae cum id quod negant, praedicare se simulant. Sic decepti sunt et ante, qui facile crediderunt; ut ibi perfidiae laqueos inciderent, ubi fidem esse credebant. 130. Qui dicit, inquiunt, Christum creaturam secundum caeteras creaturas, anathema sit. Audierunt simplices, et crediderunt: Innocens enim, sicut scriptum est, credit omni verbo (Prov. XIV, 15). Audierunt ergo, et crediderunt, primo decepti sono; ac velut aves intenti ad escam fidei, extentum sibi laqueum non caverunt. Ita dum fidem sequuntur, hamum nefandae fraudis attrectaverunt. Et ideo: Estote, inquit, astuti sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbae (Matth., X, 16); praemittitur astutia, ut sit tuta simplicitas. 520 131. Sunt enim serpentes Evangelici, qui exuunt veterem usum, ut induant novos mores, sicut scriptum est: Exspoliantes veterem hominem cum actibus ejus, et induentes novum secundum imaginem ejus, qui creavit eum (Coloss. III, 9, 10). Discamus ergo depositis vetusti hominis exuviis, Evangelicorum serpentium vias; ut more serpentium servare caput, fraudem cavere noscamus. 132. Satis fuerat dicere: Qui dicit creaturam Christum, anathema sit. Cur bono confessionis, Ariane, venena permisces, ut totum corpus contamines? Addendo enim: Secundum caeteras creaturas, non creaturam Christum negas, sed creaturam dicis esse dissimilem; creaturam enim dicis, etsi praestantiorem caeteris

asseras creaturis. Denique Arius hujus impietatis magister Dei Filium creaturam dixit esse perfectam, sed non sicut caeteras creaturas. Videtis igitur haereditario patris vestri vos usos esse sermone? Sat est creaturam negare, quid opus fuit addere: Sed non sicut caeteras creaturas? Recide quod putruit, ne serpat contagio: venenum habet; mortem affert. 133. Deinde dicis interdum Deum Christum: sed ita dic Deum verum, ut plenitudinem ei paternae divinitatis assignes; sunt enim qui dicuntur dii sive in coelo, sive in terra. Non ergo perfunctorie nuncupandus Deus, sed ita ut eamdem divinitatem praedices in Filio, quam Pater habet, sicut scriptum est, Sicut enim Pater vitam habet in semetipso, sic dedit et Filio vitam habere in semetipso (Joan. V, 26). Dedit utique quasi Filio per generationem, non quasi inopi per gratiam. 134. Et potestatem dedit ei judicium facere, quia Filius hominis est. Vide quid addidit, ne tu calumnieris ex verbo. Filium hominis legis, et accipientem arguis? Nega ergo Deum, si non omnia Filio quae Dei sunt, deferuntur; cum enim dixerit: Omnia quae Pater habet, mea sunt (Joan. XVI, 15); cur tu non omnia quae divinae naturae sunt, etiam in Filio confiteris? Nam qui dicit: Omnia quae Pater habet, mea sunt; quid excipit quod non habet? 135. Quid est quod ἐμφατικῶς, quam fideli magis sermone commemores, quod mortuos suscitaverit, maria pedes transmiserit, infirmitates hominum curaverit? Haec enim etiam servulis suis praestitit. Plus ista miror in hominibus, quod tantam eis dederit potestatem. Aliquid de Christo audire desidero, quod speciale sit Christi, quod cum iis quae creata sunt, non possit esse commune; quia genitus, quia unicus est Dei Filius, quia Deus verus ex Deo vero, quia ad dexteram Patris sedet. 136. Ubicumque lego consessum Patris et Filii, 521 semper ad dexteram Filius sedet. Numquid melior Filius Patre? Non hoc dicimus: sed quem charitas Dei honorat, humana iniquitas derogat. Scivit Pater serendas esse de Filio quaestiones, praebuit nobis quod sequeremur, pietatis exemplum, ne Filio derogemus.

CAPUT XVII.

OBJECTIONI QUAE HIC nasci poterat, occurrens, cur Dominus Stephano stare visus sit, explicat: et ex hujus ad Filium precibus ejusdem ac Patris aequalitate confirmata, librum terminat. 137. Uno tantum loco stantem ad dexteram Dei Jesum Stephanus vidisse se dixit (Act. VII, 55). Et hoc disce, ne quam hinc moveas quaestionem. Cur enim ubique ad dexteram sedere ostenditur, uno legitur in loco stare? Sedet quasi judex vivorum et mortuorum: stat quasi advocatus suorum. Stabat ergo quasi sacerdos, quando Patri hostiam boni martyris offerebat: stabat quasi bono luctatori bravium tanti praesul certaminis redditurus. 138. Accipe et tu spiritum Dei, ut ista distinguas, sicut accepit et Stephanus; et dicas sicut dixit et martyr: Ecce video coelos apertos, et Filium hominis stantem ad dexteram Dei. Qui coelos apertos habet, Jesum ad dexteram Dei cernit: qui clausos oculos habet mentis, Jesum ad dexteram Dei non videt. Confiteamur ergo Jesum ad dexteram, ut coelum et nobis aperiatur. Claudunt sibi coelum, qui aliter confitentur. 522 139. Quod si qui objiciunt quod Filius stabat, ostendant hoc loco quod Pater sedebat. Nam licet Filium hominis stare dixerit; tamen hoc loco nec Patrem sedere commemoravit. 140. Ut autem evidentius cognosceretur nulla esse stantis injuria, sed potestas, Filium Stephanus obsecrabat, ut se amplius commendaret Patri, dicens: Domine Jesu, recipe spiritum meum (Act. VII, 58). Et ut eamdem Patris et Filii potestatem esse ostenderet, repetivit dicens: Domine, ne statuas illis hoc peccatum (Ibid., 59). Hoc Dominus in passione propria quasi Filius hominis Patri dicit: hoc et Stephanus Filium Dei in suo martyrio deprecatur. Cum eadem gratia a Patre Filioque deposcitur, eadem potentia declaratur. 141. Aut si volunt

Stephanum Patri dixisse, videant quid propria testificatione significent. Licet nos ista non moveant, advertant tamen qui totum in littera constituunt et in ordine, quod Filius prius sit rogatus. Nos autem et secundum eorum interpretationem ostendimus unitatem Paternae majestatis et Filii; nam cum Pater rogatur et Filius, aequalitas precationis operationis indicat unitatem. Si autem illis non placet Filio dictum, Domine, videmus quod etiam Dominum eum negare conantur. 142. Sed jam quia martyris tanti corona processit studia certaminis relaxemus, ferias hodierni sermonis habeamus. Prosequamur sanctum martyrem laudibus, sicut post magna decebat certamina, vulneribus quidem adversarii cruentatum, sed Christi praemiis coronatum.

LIBER QUARTUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

HAUD MIRUM ESSE quod homines in Christi cognitione erraverint, sed quod Scripturae non obtemperaverint: illum quoque nec ab angelis nisi revelatione fuisse cognitum, sicut nec ab ipso Praecursore. Ejusdem Christi in coelum ascendentis triumphus qualis, et raptu prophetarum quorumdam quanto praestantior? Tum descripto angelorum hac de re colloquio, contra Arianos Filius omnipotens esse ostenditur. 1. Consideranti mihi, Imperator auguste, qua ratione sic erraverit genus hominum, ut de Dei Filio plerique, vae mihi, diversa sequerentur; nequaquam satis mirum videtur quia erravit humana scientia de supernis, sed quod Scripturis non detulit obedientiam. 2. Quid enim mirum, si mysterium Dei Patris et Domini Jesu Christi, in quo sunt omnes thesauri sapientiae et scientiae absconditi (Coloss., II, 3), per sapientiam mundi non potuerunt homines comprehendere, quod nec angeli cognoscere, nisi ex revelatione, potuerunt? 522 3. Quis enim potuit opinione magis quam fide sequi Dominum Jesum, nunc de coeli altissimis inferna penetrantem, nunc ab inferis ad coelestia resurgentem: subito exinanitum, ut habitaret in nobis; nec umquam imminutum, cum semper Filius in Patre, et in Filio Pater esset? 4. Dubitavit in eo ipse Praenuntius, licet per Synagogae typum, dubitavit ipse ante Domini faciem destinatus. Denique missis discipulis, interrogat: Tu es qui venturus es, an alium exspectamus (Matth. XI, 3)? 5. Obstupuerunt et angeli coeleste mysterium. Unde cum resurgeret Dominus, atque illum quem dudum secundum carnem angustus sepulcri locus texerat, resurgentem ab inferis coeli alta sustinere non possent, haeserunt etiam coelestia opinionis incerto. 6. Veniebat enim novis victor redimitus exuviis, Dominus in templo sancto suo; praeibant

angeli et archangeli, mirantes spolium ex morte quaesitum: et quamvis scirent nihil Deo accedere ex carne potuisse, quia infra Deum 523 omnia sunt, tamen tropaea crucis, cujus principium super humeros ejus, et triumphatoris aeterni manubias intuentes, quasi eum quem emiserant coeli portae, capere non possent; licet numquam ejus capiant majestatem, majorem viam quaerebant aliquam revertenti: adeo nihil exinanitus amiserat! 7. Debuit tamen novo victori novum iter parari; semper enim victor tamquam major et praecelsior est: sed quia aeternae sunt justitiae portae, eaedemque novi et veteris Testamenti, quibus coelum aperitur, non mutantur utique, sed elevantur; quia non unus homo, sed totus in omnium redemptore mundus intrabat. 8. Translatus erat Enoch (Gen. V, 11), raptus Elias (IV Reg. II, 12): sed non est servus supra Dominum. Nullus enim ascendit in coelum, nisi qui descendit de coelo (Joan. III, 13). Nam et Moysen, licet corpus ejus non apparuerit in terris, nusquam tamen in gloria coelesti legimus, nisi posteaquam Dominus resurrectionis suae pignore vincula solvit inferni, et piorum animas elevavit. Translatas ergo Enoch, raptus Elias; ambo famuli, ambo cum corpore: sed non post resurrectionem, non cum manubiis mortis, et triumpho crucis viderant illos angeli. 9. Et ideo Dominum omnium primum ac solum de morte triumphantem venire cernentes, tolli portas principibus imperabant, cum admiratione dicentes: Tollite portas, principes, vestri; et elevamini, portae aeternales: et introibit rex gloriae (Psal. XXIII, 7). 10. Erant tamen adhuc et in coelestibus qui stuperent, qui admirarentur novam pompam, novam gloriam; et ideo requirebant: Quis est iste rex gloriae (Ibid., 8)? Sed quia et angeli processus habent scientiae, et capacitatem profectus, habent utique discretionem virtutis, atque prudentiae: solus enim sine processu Deus; quia in omni perfectione semper aeternus est. 11. Dicebant alii, illi utique qui adfuerant resurgenti, illi qui viderant vel jam cognoverant: Dominus fortis et potens, Dominus potens in praelio. 12. Iterum multitudo Angelorum triumphali

agmine praecinebant: Tollite portas, principes, vestri; et elevamini, portae aeternales: et introibit rex gloriae. 13. Rursus alii stupentes dicebant: Quis est iste rex gloriae (Ibid., 10)? Vidimus eum non habentem speciem neque decorem (Esai. LIII, 2): si ergo ipse non est, Quis est iste rex gloriae? 14. Respondetur a scientibus: Dominus virtutum, ipse est rex gloriae. Ergo Dominus virtutum ipse est Filius. Et quomodo infirmum Ariani dicunt, quem Dominum virtutum, sicut et Patrem, credimus? Quomodo Ariani discretionem faciunt potestatis, cum Dominum sabaoth Patrem, Dominum sabaoth Filium legerimus? 524 Nam et hic sic positum plerique codices habent, quod Dominus sabaoth ipse sit rex gloriae: sabaoth autem interpretes alicubi Dominum virtutum, alicubi regem, alicubi omnipotentem interpretati sunt. Ergo quoniam qui ascendit Filius est: qui ascendit autem, Dominus est sabaoth; omnipotens utique Dei Filius est.

CAPUT II.

In coelum sine fide ascensurum neminem, vel si quis ascenderit, ejiciendum: illam itaque sedulo conservari debere. Esse etiam in nobis coelos, quorum portae aperiendae, ac per Christi divinitatis confessionem elevandae sunt. Has ab Arianis non elevari, nec ab iis qui requirunt Filium inter terrena; proindeque illos cum Magdalena remittendos ad Apostolos, in quos portae inferi non praevalebunt. Colligitur ex dictis a servo Domini dignitati non derogandum. 14. Quid igitur agemus? Quomodo ascendemus ad coelum? Sunt illic dispositae potestates, ordinati principes, qui coeli januas servant, qui ascendentem interrogant: quis me admittet, nisi omnipotentem annuntiem Christum? Clausae sunt portae, non cuicumque aperiuntur: non quicumque vult, nisi qui fideliter credit, ingredietur. Custoditur aula imperialis. 15. Sed esto, indignus obrepserit, latuerit principes portarum coelestium, discubuerit in coena Domini; ingressus Dominus convivii, videns non indutum nuptiale fidei vestimentum, projiciet eum in tenebras exteriores, ubi sit fletus et stridor dentium, si fidem pacemque non servet (Matth. XXII, 11 et seq.). 16. Servemus igitur nuptiale quod accepimus vestimentum, nec Christo propria denegemus, quem omnipotentem annuntiant angeli, prophetae significant, apostoli testificantur, sicut jam supra ostendimus (Lib. II, ca). 17. Et fortasse non de istius tantummodo coeli portis propheta dixerit quod praeteribit; et alios enim coelos Dei Verbum penetrat, de quibus dictum est: Habemus enim sacerdotem magnum, principem sacerdotum, qui pertransivit coelos, Jesum Filium Dei (Hebr. IV, 14). Qui sunt isti coeli, nisi et hi de quibus dicit Propheta: Coeli enarrant gloriam Dei (Psal. XVIII, 1)? 18. Stat enim

Christus ad januam mentis tuae, audi cum dicentem: Ecce sto ad januam, et pulso; si quis mihi aperuerit, ingrediar ad illum; et coenabo cum eo, et ipse mecum (Apoc. III, 20). Et Ecclesia de eo dicit: Vox fratris mei pulsat ad januam (Cant. V, 2). 19. Stat ergo, et non solus stat; sed praecedunt eum angeli, qui dicunt: Tollite portas, principes, vestri (Psal. XXIII, 7). Quas portas? Illas utique de quibus et alibi dicit: Aperite mihi portas justitiae (Psal. CXVII, 19). Aperi ergo Christo portas tuas, ut ingrediatur in te: aperi portas justitiae, aperi portas 525 pudicitiae, aperi portas fortitudinis atque sapientiae. 20. Crede angelis dicentibus: Et clevamini portae aeternales, et introibit rex gloriae, Dominus sabaoth (Psal. XXIII, 7). Porta tua vocis fidelis canora confessio est: porta tua ostium verbi est, quam sibi Apostolus optat aperiri, dicens: Ut aperiatur mihi ostium verbi ad eloquendum mysterium Christi (Coloss. IV, 3). 21. Aperiatur igitur Christo porta tua, nec solum aperiatur, sed etiam elevetur; si tamen aeternalis, est, non caduca; scriptum est enim: Et elevamini portae aeternales. Elevatum est super limen Esaiae, quando Seraphim labia ejus tetigit, et vidit regem Dominum sabaoth (Esai. VI, 7). 22. Tuae ergo portae elevabuntur, si sempiternum, si omnipotentem, si inaestimabilem, si incomprehensibilem, si eum qui et praeterita omnia et futura noverit, Filium Dei credas. Quod si praefinitae potestatis et scientiae, subjectumque opinaris, non elevas portas aeternales. 23. Eleventur ergo portae tuae, ut non Ariano sensu parvulus, non pusillus, non subditus ad te Christus introeat; sed intret in Dei forma, intret cum Patre, intret talis, qualis est et coelum et omnia supergressus, emittat tibi Spiritum sanctum. Expedit tibi ut credas quia ascendit, et sedet ad dexteram Patris. Nam si eum inter creaturas et terrena impia cogitatione detineas, si non tibi abeat, non tibi ascendat, nec Paraclitus ad te veniet, sicut ipse dixit: Nam si ego non abiero, Paraclitus non veniet ad vos: si autem abiero, mittam illum ad vos (Joan. XVI, 7). 24. Quod si inter terrena eum requiras, sicut Maria Magdalene requirebat, cave ne et tibi dicat: Noli me tangere;

nondum enim ascendi ad Patrem meum (Joan. XX, 17). Portae enim tuae angustae sunt, capere me non queunt: elevari non queunt, intrare non possum. 25. Vade ergo ad fratres meos, hoc est, ad illas portas aeternales, quae cum Jesum viderint, elevantur (Ibid.). Aeternalis porta est Petrus, cui portae inferi non praevalebunt (Matth. XVI, 18). Aeternales portae Joannes et Jacobus, utpote filii tonitrui (Marc. III, 17). Aeternales portae sunt Ecclesiae, ubi laudes Christi annuntiare Propheta desiderans, dicit: Ut annuntiem omnes laudationes tuas in portis filiae Sion (Psal. IX, 15). 26. Grande ergo mysterium Christi, quod stupuerunt et angeli; et ideo venerari debes, et Domino famulus derogare non debes. Ignorare non licet; propterea enim descendit ut credas: si non credis, non descendit tibi, non tibi passus est. Si non venissem, inquit, et locutus non fuissem his, peccatum non haberent: nunc autem excusationem non habent de peccato suo. Qui me odit, et Patrem meum odit (Joan. XV, 22, 23). Quis igitur odit Christum, nisi qui derogat? Sicut enim amoris est deferre, ita odii est derogare. Qui odit, quaestiones movet; qui amat, reverentiam defert. 526

CAPUT III.

VERBA ILLA: OMNIS viri caput Christus. . . . caput autem Christi Deus, primo in Arianos ipsos retorquet: deinde Christi tantum secundum naturam humanam considerati Deum caput esse ex alio Scripturae loco, quem objicere solebant iidem haeretici, probat: nec prudentius quoque oppositum ab ipsis textum illum: Qui autem plantat, et qui rigat, unum sunt. Quibus explicatis, quo pacto Pater in Filio, et Filius in Patre, nec non in utroque fideles esse dicantur, aperitur. 27. [Alias cap. II.] Itaque discutiamus eorum alias quaestiones. Scriptum est, inquiunt: Omnis viri caput Christus est, caput autem mulieris vir, caput autem Christi Deus (I Cor. XI, 3). Qua in quaestione dicant mihi, velim, utrum conjungere, an dividere haec quatuor velint. Si enim conjungere, atque ita dicunt Deum caput esse Christi, sicut vir est mulieris caput, videte quid incidant. Nam si haec tamquam ex paribus sumpta est comparatio, et haec quatuor, id est, mulier, vir, Christus, et Deus, quasi ex unius atque ejusdem naturae similitudine comparantur, ergo mulier et Deus unius incipient esse naturae. 28. Quod si hoc displicet, quia sacrilegum est dicere, ut volunt dividant. Itaque si Christum apud Deum Patrem ita volunt esse, sicut est mulier apud virum; unius utique Christum et Deum dicunt esse substantiae, quoniam mulier et vir unius sunt in carne naturae (Gen. II, 24): nam quod distat, in sexu est. Cum vero inter Christum et Patrem sexus non interveniat, quod unum inter Filium et Patrem in natura est, fatebuntur: quod diversum in sexu est, denegabunt. 29. Placetne ista divisio? An mulierem, virum et Christum unius volunt esse substantiae, et Patrem separant? Raeccine igitur divisio placet? Si ita est, videte quid incidant. Aut enim non solum Arianos, sed etiam Photinianos se

necesse est confiteantur; quia Christum hominem tantum fatentur, quem humanae tantummodo naturae aestimant copulandum: aut vel invitos acquiescere par est nostrae sententiae, per quam id quod impie cogitarunt, pie religioseque defendimus; ut sit Christus quidem secundum generationem divinam Dei virtus, secundum assumptionem autem carnis, unius cum omnibus hominibus in carne substantiae: salva tamen incarnationis suae gloriae; quia veritatem suscepit, non imaginem carnis. 30. Sit ergo juxta humanam conditionem caput Christi Deus; non enim dixit caput Christi Pater, sed caput Christi Deus; quia divinitas, ut pote creatrix, caput est creaturae. Et bene dixit: Caput Christi Deus; ut et divinitatem Christi significaret, et carnem, hoc est, incarnationem in Christi nomine: in Deo autem unitatem divinitatis, et magnitudinem potestatis. 31. Eousque autem caput Christi Deus secundum incarnationem dictum est, ut et caput viri 527 Christus secundum incarnationem Verbi dictum sit. Quod alibi Apostolus evidenter exposuit dicens: Quoniam vir caput est mulieris, sicut et Christus caput Ecclesiae (Ephes. V, 23). Et in consequentibus addidit: Qui se tradidit pro ea (Ibid., 25). Secundum incarnationem igitur caput viri Christus, quia secundum incarnationem facta traditio est. 32. Est ergo caput Christi Deus; ubi servi, hoc est, hominis, non Dei, forma tractatur. Sed nihil praejudicat Dei Filio, si secundum carnis veritatem similis sit hominibus, qui in divinitate cum Patre unum est (Joan. X, 30); non enim potestas hac interpretatione minuitur, sed misericordia praedicatur. 33. Quis autem unam divinitatem Patris et Filii pie abneget; cum ipse Dominus consummaturus praecepta, discipulis suis dixerit: Ut sint unum, sicut et nos unum sumus (Joan. XVII, 11)? Pro testimonio enim fidei positum est, licet ab Arianis ad argumentum perfidiae derivetur. Etenim quoniam toties lectam negare non queunt unitatem, extenuare conantur; ut talis videatur divinitatis unitas inter Patrem et Filium, qualis est inter homines unitas devotionis et fidei: licet etiam inter ipsos homines unitas naturae sit ex communitate naturae. 34.

Unde et illud apertissime solvitur, quod ad extenuationem Dominicae unitatis objicere consuerunt, quia scriptum est: Qui autem plantat, et qui rigat, unum sunt (I. Cor. III, 8). Hoc Ariani, si saperent, non objicerent. Quomodo enim negare conantur quia Pater et Filius unum sunt, cum Paulus et Apollo et natura unum sint et fide? Sed tamen per omnia unum esse non possunt, quia nequeunt comparari humana divinis. 35. Inseparabilis ergo Deus Pater Verbo, inseparabilis virtute, inseparabilis sapientia per divinae unitatem substantiae; et est in Filio, sicut frequenter est scriptum: est vero non ut egentem sanctificans, nec ut vacuum implens; quia non vacua Dei virtus. Nec enim virtus virtute augetur; quia non duae virtutes, sed una virtus: nec divinitas divinitatem accipit; quia non duae divinitates, sed una divinitas: nos autem per acceptam et inhabitantem in nobis virtutem unum erimus in Christo. 36. Communis ergo littera, sed discrepans divina, humanaque substantia. Nos unum erimus, Pater et Filius unum sunt: nos secundum gratiam, Filius secundum substantiam. Alia autem per conjunctionem, alia per naturam unitas. Denique vide quid ante praemiserit: Ut omnes unum sint, sicut tu, Pater, in me, et ego in te (Joan. XVII, 21). 37. Considera ergo quia non dixit: Tu in nobis, et nos in te: sed tu in me, et ego in te; ut se a creaturis separaret. Et addidit: Et isti in nobis (Ibid.), ut etiam hic suam potentiam et Patris a nobis 528 secerneret, ut quod nos in Patre et Filio unum sumus, non naturae videatur esse, sed gratiae: quod autem Filius et Pater unum sunt, non hoc Filius accepisse per gratiam, sed naturaliter ut Filius possidere credatur.

CAPUT IV.

Objectum ab haereticis locum illum: Non potest Filius facere a se quidquam, etc., primo e subsequentibus verbis exponit: deinde singulas integri textus voces expendens, eas Ariana interpretatione sumi sine impietate aut absurditate haudquaquam posse, potissimum creationis mundi et quorumdam Christi miraculorum exemplis docet. 38. [Alias cap. III.] Aliud rursus objiciunt, asserentes unam atque eamdem potestatem Filii et Patris esse non posse, quia ipse dixit: Amen, amen, dico vobis, non potest Filius facere a se quidquam, nisi quod viderit Patrem facientem (Joan. V, 19). Itaque nihil ex se fecisse Filium dicunt, nec facere posse, nisi quod viderit facientem Patrem. 39. O praescia sapientia infidelium argumentorum! quae subjecit quod solveret, quaestionem, addendo quod sequitur: Quia quaecumque ille fecerit, eadem et Filius facit similiter (Ibid.); hoc nempe sequitur. Cur ergo scriptum est: Eadem facit Filius, et non talia; nisi ut in Filio unitatem, non imitationem paterni operis aestimares? 40. Sed tamen ut illorum quoque argumenta discutiamus, quaero ut respondeant, utrum videat Filius opera Patris. Videt itaque, an non? Si videt, ergo et facit: si facit, desinant omnipotentem negare, quem omnia posse facere, quae Patrem facientem viderit, confitentur. 41. Quid est autem, viderit? Corporaliumne aliquis usus oculorum est? Sed si hoc de Filio velint dicere, corporalis etiam in Patre usum operationis ostendent; ut facientem videat, quod ipse facturus est. 42. Quid est autem: Non potest Filius facere a se quidquam? Hoc interrogemus, hoc consideremus. Est ergo aliquid impossibile Dei virtuti atque sapientiae? Hoc est enim Dei Filius, qui utique non alienam accepit fortitudinem, sed quemadmodum vita est,

non aliena vivificatione subnixus, sed alios vivificans; quia ipse vita est: ita etiam sapientia est, non quasi insipiens accipiens sapientiam, sed qui de suo alios faciat esse sapientes: ita etiam virtus est, non quasi per infirmitatem consecutus incrementa virtutis, sed ipse virtus, qui virtutem fortibus largiatur. 43. Quomodo ergo virtus quasi cum jurisjurandi attestatione dicit: Amen, amen dico vobis (Joan. V, 19), quod est: Fideliter, fideliter dico? Fideliter 529 ergo dicis, Domine Jesu, et cum sacramenti quadam repetitione confirmas quod nihil facere potes, nisi quod facientem Patrem videris. Fecisti mundum, numquid alterum mundum Patrem tuus fecit, quem quasi ad exemplar acceperis? Ergo necesse est fateantur impii aut duos, aut certe multos esse mundos, quod philosophi asserunt; ut se etiam in hoc errore gentilitatis involvant. Aut si velint verum sequi, dicant sine exemplari te fecisse, quod feceris. 44. Dic mihi, Domine, quando in mari Patrem incarnatum videris ambulantem (Marc. VI, 48)? Ego enim nescio, ego hoc de Patre credere sacrilegum puto, qui te solum carnem assumpsisse cognovi. Quando videris in nuptiis Patrem aquam in vina vertentem (Joan. II, 9)? Sed solum te unigenitum Filium legi ex Patre natum, solum te ex Spiritu sancto accepi et Virgine secundum incarnationis sacramenta generatum (Matth. I, 25). Ergo ista, quae memoravimus a te gesta, non fecit Pater: sed sine exemplari paterni operis, ad redimendam tuo sanguine salutem mundi, solus immaculatus ex alvo Virginis processisti. 45. Ac ne forte incarnationis tantummodo putent sequestrandum esse mysterium (licet cum dicunt: Non potest Filius a se facere quidquam (Joan. V, 19), nihil excipiant, ita ut et quidam impius dixerit: Nec culicem facere potest, tam temerario ausu, petulantique sermone majestatem supernae virtutis irridens), dic, Domine Jesu, quam terram sine te Pater fecerit? Coelum enim sine te non fecit, quia scriptum est: Verbo Domini coeli firmati sunt (Psal. XXXII, 6). 46. Sed nec terram sine te fecit, quia scriptum est: Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil (Joan. I, 3). Nam si aliquid

sine te Deo Verbo Pater fecit, non ergo omnia facta per Verbum, et evangelista mentitur. Quod si omnia facta per Verbum, et omnia per te coeperunt esse, quae non erant, utique quae non vidisti a Patre facta, a te ipse fecisti. Nisi forte philosophicas tibi ideas Platonica illa disputatione praestituunt, quas ab ipsis tamen philosophis scimus irrisas. Si autem ex te ipse fecisti, vana est assertio perfidorum, quae auctori omnium, cui suppetit ex se faciendi magisterium, tribuit discendi profectum. 47. Quod si per te negant coelum esse factum, vel terram, considerent impii quo se suo furore praecipitent, cum scriptum sit: Dii qui non fecerunt coelum et terram, pereant (Jerem. X, 11). Peribit ergo, Ariane, qui quod perierat, et reperit et redemit? Sed ad proposita revertamur. 530

CAPUT V.

Caeptam objecti loci expositionem urgens, rationes quatuor quibus aliquid fieri non posse affirmamus, explicat, et earum primas tres in Christum non cadere, solutis quibusdam objectiunculis, demonstrat, et Filium propter solam potestatis cum Patre unitatem nihil a se facere posse deducit. 48. Quomodo non potest Filius facere a se quidquam? Quaeramus quid sit quod facere non possit. Multae sunt impossibilitatum differentiae. Est aliquid natura impossibile, et est aliquid quod est possibile per naturam, impossibile per infirmitatem. Est etiam tertium quod sit possibile per corporis et animi firmitatem, impossibile per imperitiam aut impotentiam. Est etiam quod per definitionem immutabilis propositi, et constantis perseverantiam voluntatis atque amicitiae fidem sit impossibile mutari. 49. Sed haec ut evidentius possimus advertere, per exempla nobis disputatio dirigatur. Impossibile est ut avis sapientiae disciplinam aliquam assequatur aut artem: impossibile est et lapidem prodire quoquam; impossibile est enim lapidem moveri, nisi motu moveatur alterius: non potest ergo lapis per se ipsum moveri, et transire de loco. Non potest etiam aquila humanis imbui disciplinis. Habes unam speciem, cui impossibilitatis causa natura est. 50. Impossibile est et debili facere opera robusti; sed huic alia impossibilitatis causa est; quod enim facere potest per naturam, per infirmitatem non potest. Causa igitur huic quoque impossibilitati infirmitas. Alia ergo impossibilitatis haec species; quoniam a faciendi possibilitate, corporis infirmitate revocatur. 51. Tertia quoque impossibilitatis est causa, qua etiamsi per naturam quis, et firmitatem corporis facere aliquid possit; non potest tamen facere per imperitiam vel impotentiam, ut aut indoctus, aut

servus. 52. Quis igitur harum, quas enumeravimus, impossibilitatum causas, ut quartam interim sequestremus, Filio Dei existimas convenire? Numquid in sensibilis per naturam, et immobilis, sicut lapis? Lapis quidem est impiis in ruinam, fidelibus angularis. Sed non insensibilis, supra quem sensibilium populorum fideles aedificantur affectus. Non immobilis petra: Bibebant enim ex consequenti petra; petra autem erat Christus (I Cor. X, 4). Non ergo paternum opus per naturae distantiam impossibile Christo. 53. Numquid forte per debilitatem impossibile ei aliquid existimamus? Sed non ille debilis, 531 qui aliorum debilitates imperiali sermone sanabat. An debilis videbatur, cum paralytico praecipiens: Tolle grabatum tuum, et ambula (Marc. II, 11), sanitatis jam mandabat officium, cum adhuc ille remedium debilitatis oraret? Num debilis Dominus virtutum, cum illuminaret caecos, inclinatos erigeret (Psal. CXLV, 8), mortuos suscitaret (Matth. XI, 5), votis nostris medicinae praecurreret effectus, orantes curaret, et fimbriae mundaret attactus (Marc. VI, 56) ? 54. Nisi forte debilitatem illam, impii, putabatis, quando vulnera videbatis. Erant quidem illa corporis vulnera, sed non erat vulneris illius ulla debilitas, ex quo omnium vita profluebat. Unde et propheta dixit: Livore ejus nos sanati sumus (Esai. LII, 5). An qui in vulnere debilis non erat, erat in majestate? Quomodo quaere. Cum daemoniis imperaret, et reis peccata dimitteret; an cum rogaret Patrem? 55. Quo loco fortasse dicant: Quomodo Pater et Filius unum sunt, si Filius nunc imperat, nunc precatur? Et unum sunt, et imperat, et precatur: sed neque cum imperat, solus; nec cum precatur, infirmus. Solus non est, quia quaecumque Pater facit, eadem similiter et Filius facit: infirmus non est, quia etsi in carne infirmatus est propter peccata nostra, tamen illud nostrae erat in eo pacis eruditio, sicut scriptum est, non suae majestatis infirmitas. 56. Denique ut scias quia secundum bominem rogat, divinitate imperat, habes in Evangelio quia Petro dixit: Rogavi pro te, ut non deficiat fides tua (Luc. XXII, 32). Eidem autem supra dicenti: Tu es Christus Filius Dei vivi,

respondit: Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam; et tibi dabo claves regni coelorum (Matth. XVI, 18). Ergo cui propria auctoritate regnum dabat, hujus fidem firmare non poterat; quem cum petram dicit, firmamentum Ecclesiae indicavit? Quando igitur roget, quando imperet, considera. Rogat quando passurus ostenditur, imperat quando Filius Dei creditur. 57. Duas igitur species impossibilitatis vacare jam cernimus, quod neque insensibilis, neque infirma potest esse Dei virtus. Numquid tertium profertis in medium, quod quasi imperitus sine magistro facere nihil possit, aut servus sine domino? Ergo mentitus es, Domine Jesu, qui te et magistrum, et dominum ipse dixisti; et fefellisti discipulos tuos, dicens: Vos vocatis me magistrum et dominum, et bene dicitis; sum etenim (Joan. XIII, 13). Sed non falleres, veritas, eos praesertim quos amicos vocasti. 58. Tamen si ut imperitum te ab artifice secernunt, viderint ut tibi, hoc est, Dei sapientiae dicant peritiam defuisse; unitatem tamen substantiae inter te et Patrem separare non possunt. Artificem namque ab imperito imprudentia, non natura secernit: sed non in Patre artificium, neque in te insipientia; non est enim insipiens sapientia. 59. Ergo si neque insensibilis in Filio natura, 532 neque debilitas, neque imperitia, neque servitus potest esse; considerent quod et per naturam et majestatem unum sit cum Patre Filius, et per operationem non discrepet a Patre virtus; cum omnia quae Pater fecerit, eadem Filius faciat similiter: neque enim similiter potest quisquam facere idem opus, quod alius fecerit; nisi qui et inaequalitatem non habeat operationis, et naturae ejusdem habeat unitatem. 60. Adhuc tamen requiro, quid sit quod non possit facere a se Filius, nisi viderit facientem Patrem (Joan. V, 19); et insipienter aliqua de vilioribus exempla propono: Factus sum insipiens, vos me coegistis (II Cor. XII, 11). Nam quid insipientius, quam de majestate Dei argumenta discutere, quae quaestiones magis praestant, quam aedificationem Dei, quae est in fide (I Tim. I, 4, 5)? Sed argumentis argumenta respondeant: illis verba, nobis charitas, quae in

Deo est, de corde puro et conscientia bona, et fide non ficta. Ergo ad infirmationem tam ineptae propositionis, non piget etiam ridicula derivare. 61. Quomodo ergo videt Filius Patrem? Videt equus picturam, quam per naturam imitari non potest: non utique sic videt Filius. Videt parvulus viri opera majoris, sed imitari non potest: nec utique sic videt Dei Filius. 62. Ergo si Filius per ejusdem cum Patre arcanum commune naturae invisibiliter et videre et facere potest, et per plenitudinem divinitatis quod voluerit exsequi: quid superest, nisi ut per unitatem inseparabilem potestatis nihil credamus Filium facere, nisi quod viderit Patrem facientem; quia per incomparabilem charitatem nihil a se facit Filius; quoniam nihil vult, quod Pater nolit? Quod utique non infirmitatis, sed unitatis est.

CAPUT VI.

Accedit ad quartam e rationibus supra memoratis; et Filium nihil facere quod non probetur a Patre, cum sit utriusque perfecta voluntatis atque potestatis unitas, liquido probans, nonnullas difficultates subinde tollit. 63. Ergo nec contumax Filius, ut etiam de quarta propositione dicamus; nihil enim consiliarius Filius fecit, quod cum Patris non conveniat voluntate. Denique vidit Pater quae fecit Filius, et probavit quia bona valde. Sic enim habes in Genesi: Et dixit Deus: Fiat lux, et facta est lux; et vidit Deus lucem, quia bona est (Gen. I, 3, 4). 64. Numquid hic dixit Pater: Fiat talis lux, qualem ipse feci: aut fiat lux, quae ante non fuerat: aut Filius qualem faceret, interrogavit? Sed fecit, ut voluit, qualem Pater usque eo voluit, ut probaret. Ergo novum opus Filii est. 65. Deinde si reprehenditur in Filio secundum interpretationes Arianorum quia quod viderit, fecit, qui utique secundum Scripturas quod non vidit, et fecit, et dedit esse quae non erant: quid dicunt de Patre, qui quod viderat 533 praedicavit, quasi ea quae facienda forent, non potuerit praevidere? 66. Similiter ergo videt Filius Patris opus, sicut Pater opus Filii: nec quasi alienum laudat, sed quasi proprium recognoscit: Quaecumque enim Pater fecerit, eadem Filius facit similiter (Joan. V, 19); ut idem opus Patris Filiique sentires. Nihil ergo facit Filius, nisi quod Pater probet, Pater laudet, Pater velit; quia ex Patre totus est: non ut creatura, quae multa committit, dum studio lapsuque peccati, voluntatem frequenter offendit auctoris. Nihil ergo Filius facit, nisi quod placeat Patri; quia una voluntas, una sententia est, una est vera charitas, unius operationis effectus. 67. Denique ut scias charitatis esse quod non potest Filius a se facere quidquam, nisi quod viderit facientem Patrem, cum

praemisisset: Quaecumque ille fecerit, eadem et Filius facit similiter, subjecit: Pater enim diligit Filium. Ergo quod dixit Scriptura quia non potest, ad inseparabilis et individuae charitatis retulit unitatem. 68. Quod si naturaliter est, ut vere est, inseparabilis charitas; inseparabilis utique est etiam operatio naturaliter: et impossibile ut opus Filii cum Patris non conveniat voluntate (Joan. XII, 50); quando id quod Filius operatur, operatur et Pater: et quod Pater operatur, operatur et Filius: et quod loquitur Filius, loquitur et Pater, sicut scriptum est (Joan. XIV, 10): Pater meus qui in me manet, ipse loquitur; et opera quae ego facio, ipse facit. Nihil enim Pater sine virtute atque sapientia sua condidit; quia omnia in sapientia fecit, sicut scriptum est: Omnia in sapientia fecisti (Psal. CIII, 24). Nihil etiam Deus Verbum sine Patre fecit. 69. Non operatur sine Patre, non sine patria voluntate sacrosanctae illi se obtulit salutaris mundi totius hostia passioni, non sine patria voluntate mortuos suscitavit (Hebr. X, 10). Denique Lazarum suscitaturus levavit oculos sursum, et dixit: Pater, gratias ago tibi, quia audisti me: et ego sciebam quia semper me audis: sed propter turbam quae circumstat, dixi; ut credant quia tu me misisti (Joan. XI, 41, 42): ut quamvis ex personae hominis incarnati susceptione loqueretur, unitatem tamen paternae voluntatis et operationis exprimeret; quia Pater omnia audit, omnia videt quae vult Filius. Videt ergo et Pater facientem Filium, audit volentem. Denique non rogavit, et exauditum se esse dixit. 70. Nec existimari potest quia non audit Pater, quod velit Filius: et ut scias quia semper auditur a Patre, non quasi servus, nec quasi propheta, sed quasi Filius: Et ego, inquit, sciebam quia semper me audis: sed propter turbam quae circumstat, dixi; ut credant quia tu me misisti. 534 71. Propter nos igitur gratias agit; ne eumdem Patrem, eumdemque Filium esse credamus, cum idem opus Patris audimus et Filii. Nam ut cognosceres non quasi infirmum gratias egisse, sed quasi Dei Filium semper sibi divinam

potentiam vindicare, clamavit: Lazare, veni foras. Imperantis utique vox ista est, non precantis.

CAPUT VII.

PROPOSITA DOCTRINA HINC confirmatur, quod Filius sit Patris Verbum, non quale nostrum, sed vivum et operatorium; atque adeo non possit negari ejusdem cum Patre voluntatis, potestatis ac substantiae. 72. Sed ut ad superiora redeamus, et proposita concludamus, facit quasi Verbum Filius voluntatem Patris. Verbum hoc nostrum utique prolativum est, syllabae sunt, sonus est; et tamen a sensu nostro, et mente non discrepat, et quae interiori tenemus affectu, ea tamquam operantis Verbi testificatione signamus. Sed non sermo noster operatur, solum est Verbum Dei, quod nec prolativum est, nec quod ἐνδιάθετον dicunt; sed quod operatur, et vivit, et sanat. 73. Vis scire quale Verbum? Audi dicentem: Vivum est enim Verbum Dei, et validum atque operatorium et acutum, et penetrabilius omni gladio acutissimo, penetrans usque ad divisionem animae et spiritus, artuumque et medullarum (Hebr. IV, 12). 74. Verbum igitur audis Dei Filium, et a patria voluntate et potestate secernis? Audis quia vivit, audis quia sanat: noli ergo nostro comparare verbo. Si enim verbum nostrum quae non obtutu viderit, non auditu audierit, loquitur; et loquitur tamen cognita per quaedam naturae humanae interna mysteria: quomodo non impius, qui secundum divinitatem in Dei Verbo et obtutum quemdam corporeum exigit, et auditum: et putat quod non possit a se quidquam facere Filius, nisi quod Patrem facientem viderit; cum per unitatem, ut diximus, ejusdem substantiae, idem velle atque idem nolle et idem posse et in Patre sit et in Filio et in Spiritu sancto? 75. Quod si homines plerumque sensuum qualitate discreti, tamen unius propositi intentione concordant; quid de Patre nos et Dei Filio congruit aestimare: cum id quod humana imitatur charitas, substantia divina

possideat? 76. Ponamus tamen, sicut ipsi volunt, quia quasi in exemplari, quod viderit Patrem facientem, Filius faciat. Et hoc utique ejusdem substantiae est; nullus enim potest alterius imitationem operationis implere nisi qui ejusdem naturae habeat unitatem. 535

CAPUT VIII.

HAERETICORUM OBJECTIONEM, QUA Filium quod alium generare non possit, Patri negabant esse aequalem, primo in adversarios ipsos retorquet: deinde hominum ostendit exemplis quod quispiam generet aut secus, ad potentiam non pertinere; maxime cum alioqui ipsemet Pater minus potens dicendus esset. Inde colligit divina ex humanis non esse judicanda, sed standum Scripturae auctoritate. Postremo omnipotentiam vel Patri abjudicandam, vel adjudicandam Filio ubi demonstravit, ipsos si filios non genuerint, propriis servis qui sobolem procreaverint, minus potentes fore inducit, proindeque totam eorum disputationem ineptam esse. [Alias cap. VI.] Illud ridiculum est, Imperator auguste, quod quidam hoc etiam ad inaequalitatem Dei Patris et Filii objiciendum usurpare consuerunt, quod dicant omnipotentem Patrem esse, quod generavit Filium: negent autem omnipotentem Filium, dicentes quia generare non potuit. 78. Sed vide quemadmodum saeva impietas; ut dialectica philosophorum se ipsa convincat. Hac enim quaestione aut coaeternum Patri Filium necesse est sua voce fateantur, aut si principium temporis Filio aliquod ascribunt, principium potentiae necesse est tribuant etiam Patri. Ita cum omnipotentem Filium negant, incipiunt, quod nefas dictu est, asserere per Filium Patrem omnipotentem esse coepisse. 79. Nam si per generationem omnipotens Pater, utique aut coaeternus Patri Filius est; quia si semper omnipotens Pater, sempiternus et Filius: aut si fuit, quando non erat Filius sempiternus; fuit ergo quando non erat omnipotens Pater. Nam cum volunt dicere Filium aliquando coepisse, in illud recidunt, ut et Patris potentiam dicant non semper fuisse, sed ex Filii generatione coepisse. Ita dum Filio Dei cupiunt

derogare, plus tribuunt; ut contra fas omne auctorem paternae potentiae declarare videantur; cum Filius dicat: Omnia quae Pater habet, mea sunt (Joan. XVI, 15). hoc est, non quae Patri ipse tradiderit, sed quae a Patre jure generationis acceperit. 80. Et ideo Filium sempiternam dicimus esse virtutem: si ergo sempiterna ejus virtus atque divinitas, utique et potentia ejus est sempiterna. Filio igitur qui derogat, Patri derogat, pietatem offendit, violat charitatem. Nos honorificemus Filium, in quo Pater complacet; placet enim Patri ut laudetur Filius, in quo ipse complacuit. 81. Respondeamus tamen intentioni eorum, ne epilogo quodam invidiam quaestionis declinasse videamur. Generavit, inquiunt, Pater. 536 non generavit Filius. Quod hic argumentum est inaequalitatis? Generatio enim paternae proprietatis est, non potentiae: et pietas aequat, non separat. Denique in ipso usu nostrae infirmitatis frequenter evenire cognoscimus, ut et infirmi filios habeant, et non habeant fortiores: habeant servi, non habeant domini: habeant inopes, non habeant qui potentes sunt. 82. Sed si dicunt et hoc infirmitatis esse, quia volunt homines filios habere; nec possunt: quamvis humana non sint conferenda divinis, intelligant tamen inter ipsos quoque homines non potentiae esse, sed paternae proprietatis, habere filios, vel non habere: nec in potestate nostrae voluntatis esse generare, sed in corporis qualitate; nam si esset potentiae, utique potentior multos haberet. Ergo non est potentiae habere filios vel non habere. 83. Numquid naturae est? Si naturae infirmitatem putatis, et ad humana vos confertis exempla, eadem Patris est natura quae Filii est. Itaque aut verum Filium dicitis, et Patri in Filio derogatis per unitatem ejusdem naturae (sicut enim Pater natura Deus est, ita et Filius: deos autem ait Apostolus (I Cor. VIII, 5) non natura deos esse, sed dici); aut si negatis esse verum Filium, hoc est, ejusdem naturae, non est ergo generatus: si non est generatus Filius, non generavit Pater. 84. Colligitur itaque juxta sententiam vestram, ut non sit omnipotens Deus Pater; quia generare non potuit, si non generavit Filium, sed creavit. Sed

quia omnipotens Pater, cum juxta sententiam vestram solus generator omnipotens sit, generavit utique Filium, non creavit. Verum ipsi magis quam vobis credendum est. Ille ait: Genui (Psal. CIX, 3); et frequenter ait, generationis suae testis. 85. Non est ergo naturae, non est potentiae in Christo aliqua, quia non generavit, infirmitas; quia generatio, sicut saepe jam diximus, non ad sublimitatem potentiae, sed ad proprietatem refertur naturae. Nam si ideo omnipotens Pater, quia Filium habet; omnipotentior ergo esse potuit, si plures haberet. 86. An vero potentia ejus in una generatione defecit? At ego ostendam et Christum habere filios, quos quotidie generat, sed ea generatione, vel potius regeneratione, quae potestatis est, non naturae; adoptio enim potestatis est, generatio proprietatis. Quod ipsa Scriptura nos docuit; dicit enim Joannes quia in hoc mundo erat, et mundus per ipsum factus est, et mundus eum non cognovit. In propria venit, et sui eum non receperunt. Quotquot autem receperunt eum, dedit illis potestatem filios Dei fieri, his qui credunt in nomine ejus (Joan. I, 10 et seq). 87. Didicimus itaque potestatis esse, quod 537 nos filios Dei fecit: proprietatis autem generationem esse oracula divina declarant; dicit enim Sapientia Dei: Ex ore Altissimi prodivi (Eccl. XXIV, 5), hoc est, non coacta, sed libera: non potestati obnoxia, sed nata generationis arcano, privilegio dominationis et jure potestatis. Denique de eadem Sapientia, hoc est, de Domino Jesu, alibi Pater dicit: Ex utero ante Luciferum genui te (Psal. CIX, 3). 88. Quod utique ideo dixit, non ut corporalem alvum declararet, sed ut proprietatem verae generationis ostenderet. Nam si ad corporalem referas, ergo omnipotens Pater cum dolore et conceptione generavit. Sed absit, ut Deum ex infirmitate corporis metiamur. Est quidam uterus paternae arcanum substantiae, interiusque secretum, quod non Angeli, non Archangeli, non Potestates, non Dominationes, non aliqua creaturarum potuit penetrare natura. Cum Patre enim semper, et in Patre semper est Filius: cum Patre per distinctionem indissociabilem Trinitatis

aeternae, in Patre per divinae unitatem naturae. 89. Quis igitur hic arbiter divinitatis, qui discutiat Patrem ac Filium: ille, quare generaverit: iste, cur non generaverit? Servulum suum aut ancillulam cur non generaverit, nemo condemnat: isti condemnant, cur non generaverit Christus; condemnant enim sua opinione, cum derogant. Nec conjugibus inter se cur non generaverint, aut charitas minuitur, aut meritum derogatur: isti quia non generavit, Christi minuunt potestatem. 90. Cur, inquiunt, Filius Pater non est? Quia et Pater Filius non est. Cur non iste generavit? Quia nec ille generatus est. Nec ideo minus habet Filius, quia Pater non est: nec Pater minus habet, quia Filius non est. Dixit enim Filius: Omnia quae Pater habet, mea sunt (Joan. XVI, 15). Adeo generatio in paterna proprietate non in jure est potestatis. 91. Est quaedam indistincta distinctae incomprehensibilis et inenarrabilis substantia Trinitatis. Distinctionem etenim accepimus Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, non confusionem: distinctionem, non separationem: distinctionem, non pluralitatem. Divino itaque admirandoque mysterio manentem semper accipimus Patrem, semper Filium, semper Spiritum sanctum: non duos Patres, non duos Filios, non duos Spiritus. Unus enim Deus Pater, ex quo omnia, et nos in ipso: et unus Dominus Jesus, per quem omnia, et nos per ipsum (I Cor. VIII, 6). Unus natus ex Patre Dominus Jesus, et ideo unigenitus. Unus et Spiritus sanctus (I Cor. XII, 11), ut idem Apostolus dixit: Sic accipimus, sic legimus, sic tenemus. Distinctionem scimus, secreta nescimus: causas non discutimus, sacramenta servamus. 92. Facinus indignum, ut qui generationis suae facultatem non habent, divinae generationis examen sibi arrogent, vindicent potestatem: 538 Negent ergo aequalem Patri Filium, quia non generavit Filius: negent aequalem Patri Filium, quia Patrem habet. Hoc si de hominibus dicerent, quorum aliqui volunt filios habere, nec possunt, injuriam putaremus: sic etiamsi inter duos honore pares habenti filios qui non habet, negaretur aequalis. Et ideo hoc, inquam, grave et de ipsis hominibus videtur, ut quis ideo minor putetur,

quod Patrem habet. Nisi forte tamquam constitutum in familia putant Christum dolere, quod emancipatus a Patre non sit, et administrandi patrimonii non habeat facultatem. Sed non est Christus in sacris, qui sacra universa destruxit. 93. Quomodo volunt tamen, respondeant, verane generatio sit, et verus Filius ex Deo Patre natus, hoc est, ex substantia Patris, an ex alia natus substantia? Si enim dicunt ex Patre, hoc est, ex Dei substantia, convenit; quia ex substantia Patris Filium dicunt. Ergo quia unius substantiae, unius utique potentiae. Si vero ex alia substantia Filius est, quomodo omnipotens Pater est, et omnipotens Filius non est? Quid enim praestantius si ex alia substantia Filium Deus fecit, cum utique et Filius ex alia nos substantia filios Dei fecerit? Ergo aut unius substantiae Filius cum Patre, aut unius potentiae. 94. Friget igitur eorum quaestio, quia de Christo judicare non possunt; immo quia vincit ille, cum judicatur. Digni tamen sunt isti judicio suo, qui hanc objiciunt quaestionem. Si enim ideo aequalis Patri Filius non est, quia non generavit Filium, et isti utique fateantur, si non habent filios, qui serunt hujusmodi quaestiones, suos sibi etiam servulos preferendos, eo quod habentibus filios aequales esse non possunt. Si autem habent filios, non putent sibi meritum, sed filiorum juri deferri. 95. Non consistit igitur haec quaestio, quia aequalis Filius Patri ideo esse non possit, quia Pater generaverit Filium, Filius nullum ex se ipse generaverit. Nam et fons fluvium generat, et fluvius fontem ex se ipse non generat: et lux splendorem generat, non splendor lucem; et una natura est splendoris et lucis.

CAPUT IX.

Varias Arianorum captiunculas, queis Filium coepisse argutabantur, profert et explodit. Nam praeter quam quod eos aut contra se, aut nihil efficere constat; cum rerum omnium principio non possit esse principium, in humanis etiam eorum argumentatio vitiosa est. Tempus igitur non praecessisse auctorem suum: qui si aliquando non fuit, tunc Pater fuit sine sua virtute ac sapientia. Denique ubi humanis exemplis ostensum est aliquem priusquam nascatur, esse dici, haereticorum temeritatem detestatur. 96. Unde cum inaequalitatem ex generationis objectu probare non potuerint, 539 intelligant etiam illam divulgatam suae calumniam quaestionis explosam. Solent enim proponere: Quomodo aequalis potest esse Filius Patri? Nam si Filius est, antequam generaretur non erat: aut si erat, cur natus est? Et Arianos se negare consuerunt, qui proponunt Arii quaestiones? 97. Itaque exigunt a nobis responsionem, ut si dixerimus: Antequam generaretur, erat, astute referant: Ergo antequam generaretur, creatus est, et non differt a caeteris creaturis: quia prius coepit creatura esse quam Filius. Et adjiciunt: Cur qui erat, natus est? An quia imperfectus erat, ut postea perfectior fieret? Si autem responderimus quia non erat, objiciunt statim: Ei ergo generatio contulit ut esset, qui non erat antequam nasceretur; ut hinc colligant: Erat ergo, quando non erat Filius. 98. Sed qui hoc proponunt, et obscuritate volunt involvere veritatem: dicant ipsi utrum temporaliter generet Pater, an intemporaliter. Si enim temporaliter dixerint, quod Filio objiciunt, Patri ascribent; ut videatur Pater coepisse esse, quod non erat: si intemporaliter, quid superest, nisi ut ipsi solvant quam proposuerint quaestionem; ut cum generationem Patris abnuant temporalem,

generationem quoque Filii temporalem non esse fateantur? 99. Si ergo non est generatio ejus ex tempore, aestimari datur quod nihil praecesserit ante Filium, qui non sit ex tempore. Si enim aliquid ante Filium, jam non sunt in ipso creata omnia, quae vel in coelo sunt vel in terris, et Apostolus redarguitur, qui hoc in epistola sua (Coloss. I, 16) scripserit: quod si nihil ante generationem, non adverto cur posterior asseratur, quem nemo praecessit. 100. Connectenda est alia eorum plena impietatis objectio, quae latentem habeat dolum, quo sensus facilium, mentesque perstringat. Interrogant enim, utrum omne quod finem habet, aliquando coeperit. Et si acceperint ejusmodi responsionem, quia quod finem habet, coepit aliquando; referunt, utrum Pater desierit generare Filium. Quod cum tenuerint, nostro aspirante consensu, contexunt: Coepit ergo generatio. Id si non abnuas, consequi videtur, ut si coepit generatio, videatur in eo coepta, qui natus est; ut natus esse dicatur, qui ante non fuerat, unde definiant: Aliquando ergo Filius non fuit. 101. Adjiciunt alias ineptias loquacitatis suae, dicentes: Si Verbum Patris Filius est, et ideo genitus dicitur, quia Verbum est: quod autem Verbum est, opus non est: multifariam locutus est Pater (Hebr. I, 1); multos ergo generavit filios, si non operatus est, sed locutus est Verbum. Amentes homines! quasi non intelligant, quid intersit inter prolativum sermonem, et in aeternum permanens Dei Verbum ex Patre natum: 540 natum utique, non prolatum: in quo non composita syllaba, sed plenitudo divinitatis aeternae est, et vita sine fine. 102. Subtexunt aliam impietatem, proponentes utrum volens, an invitus generaverit Pater; ut si dixerimus volentem, antiquiorem generatione voluntatem videamur fateri, et referant quia non sit Filius coaeternus Patri, quem aliquid antecessit: aut quia et ipse sit creatura; quia scriptum est: Omnia quae voluit, fecit (Psal. CXIII, 11); cum hoc ipsum non de Patre et Filio, sed de his quas Filius fecit, dictum sit creaturis. Sin autem invitum Patrem generasse responderimus, invalidum Patrem dixisse videamur. 103. Sed mihi in sempiterna

generatione praecedit, nec velle, nec nolle: ergo nec invitum dixerim, nec volentem; quia generatio non in voluntatis possibilitate est, sed in jure quodam et proprietate paterni videtur esse secreti. Nam sicut bonus Pater non aut ex voluntate est, aut necessitate, sed super utrumque, hoc est, natura; ita non generat ex voluntate aut necessitate Pater. 104. Esto tamen, sit generatio in voluntate generantis, quando hanc voluntatem fuisse dicunt? Si in principio, in principio utique Filius: si sempiterna voluntas, sempiternus et Filius: si coepit voluntas, displicuit igitur sibi quod erat Deus Pater, ut mutaret statum. Displicuit ergo sibi sine Filio, placere coepit sibi in Filio. 105. Jam illa consequentia ut dicamus: Si studium generandi nostro more assumpsit, ergo et caetera quae generationem praecedere solent, nostro more assumpsit; nostro autem usu generationis votum est, non voluntas. 106. Produnt igitur impietatem suam, qui volunt generationem coepisse Christi; ut videatur non generatio illa Verbi manentis, sed prolatio fluentis esse sermonis: deinde multos inducendo filios, negent in Christo divinae proprietatem naturae; ut nec unigenitus, nec primogenitus aestimetur: postremo ut si principium credatur accepisse, etiam finem videatur habiturus. 107. Sed neque principium assumpsit aliquando Dei Filius, qui erat in principio (Joan. I, 1): neque finem habebit, qui est principium universitatis et finis (Joan. VIII, 20). Nam cum sit principium, quomodo quod habebat, accepit? aut quomodo sui finem habebit; cum omnium ipse sit finis, ut in illo fine sine fine maneamus? Dei enim generatio cum temporalis non sit, nec ante se, nec in se tempus invenit. 108. Frigida igitur eorum et vana quaestio in creaturis ipsis non habet locum; ipsa etenim quae temporalia sunt, discretionem in quibusdam habere temporis non videntur. Lux nempe splendorem generat, nec comprehendi potest quod splendor luce posterior sit, aut lux splendore antiquior; quia ubi lumen est, splendor 541 est: et ubi splendor, etiam lumen est. Itaque nec sine splendore lumen, nec splendor potest esse sine lumine; quia et in

splendore lumen, et splendor in lumine est. Unde et Apostolus splendorem paternae gloriae Filium dixit (Hebr. I, 3); quia splendor paternae lucis est Filius: coaeternus, propter virtutis aeternitatem: inseparabilis, propter claritudinis unitatem. 109. Ergo si temporalia et aerea haec comprehendere et separare non possumus, quae videmus; Deum quem non videmus, qui super omnem est creaturam, in ipso suae generationis arcano possumus comprehendere? Possumus eum a Filio tempore separare, cum omne tempus opus Filii sit? 110. Desinant ergo dicere: Et antequam generaretur, non erat. Ante enim temporis est, generatio ante tempora; et ideo quod posterius est, prius non est: nec opus ante auctorem potest esse; cum opera ipsa principium de operatore suo sumant. Nam quomodo ante operatorem suum usus operis aestimetur; cum omne tempus opus sit, et omne opus de operatore suo ut esset, accepit? 111. Experiri igitur adhuc istos volo, qui sibi videntur astuti; ut de nostris respondeant, qui calumniantur divinis, longeque refugiunt ab inscrutabili supernae generationis arcano: quaestionem suam humanae astruant generationis exemplo. De Filio Dei dicunt quia antequam generaretur non erat, hoc est, de Dei sapientia, de virtute Dei, de Dei Verbo, cujus generatio nihil ante se novit. Quod si aliquando, ut volunt, non fuit (quod nefas dictu est) non fuit ergo in Deo perfectionis aliquando plenitudo divinae, si postea processum generationis accepit. 112. Tamen ut sciant quam vana sit et solubilis eorum quaestio; licet nihil in eo humanis divinis ve commune, tamen docebo homines, antequam nascerentur, fuisse. Aut negent Jacob sanctum fuisse, priusquam nasceretur, qui fratrem supplantavit in materni adhuc uteri positus arcano (Gen. XXV, 23): negent Hieremiam, antequam nasceretur, fuisse, cui dicitur: Priusquam te formarem in utero matris tuae, novi te: et priusquam exires de vulva, sanctificavi te, et prophetam in gentibus posui te (Jerem. I, 5). Quid hoc evidentius tanti exemplo prophetae, qui sanctificatus est, antequam natus, et antequam formaretur, est cognitus? 113. Quid etiam de

Joanne loquar, de quo mater religiosa testatur, quia intra materna situs adhuc viscera, praesentiam Domini spiritu cognovit, exsultatione consignavit, sicut scriptum meminimus, matre dicente: Ecce enim ut facta est in auribus meis vox salutationis tuae, exsultavit in gaudio infans in utero meo (Luc. I, 41)? Erat igitur qui prophetabat, an non erat? At certe erat; erat enim qui venerabatur auctorem, erat qui loquebatur in matre. Denique Elisabeth filii spiritu replebatur, Maria filii spiritu sanctificabatur; sic enim habes, quia exsultavit 542 infans in utero ejus, et repleta est Spiritu sancto Elisabeth (Ibid.). 114. Vide singulorum verborum proprietates. Vocem quidem Mariae prior Elisabeth audivit, sed Joannes prior Domini gratiam sensit. Pulchre sibi conveniunt oracula oraculis, femina mulieri, et pignus pignori. Istae gratiam loquuntur, illi intus operantur pietatisque mysterium maternis adoriuntur profectibus; duplicique miraculo, licet honore diverso, prophetant matres spiritu parvulorum. Quis igitur auctor hujus miraculi? nonne Dei Filius, qui fecit esse non natos? 115. De rebus humanis quaestio vestra non potest convenire; potestne de divinis convenire secretis? Quid est: Antequam generaretur, non erat? Numquid Pater aliqua tempora conceptionis accepit, ut Filium tempora praevenirent? Aut femineae more naturae, generationis suae molitus est partum; ut molitio ipsa Filio esset antiquior? Quid est hoc? Cur divina secreta discutimus? Proprietatem legi divinae generationis, non qualitatem. 116. Facinus indignum! ut ex se quidam coelestia metiantur, qui Christum non nasci potuisse, sed fieri, tamquam unum de spadonibus putant: aut tamquam unum de spadonibus Patrem Filium, quem generare non potuerit, adoptaverit.

CAPUT X.

Objicientibus Christum, Joanne teste, vivere propter Patrem, ac proinde ipsi aequalem non habendum, respondetur Filii vitam secundum divinitatem nec coepisse ex tempore, nec pendere ab aliquo: locum vero de humana ipsius vita intelligendum ex eo probari, quod ibidem de corpore ac sanguine suo praemiserat. Tum duarum controversi loci expositionum primam referri ad humanitatem, et secunda Filii cum Patre aequalitatem, nec non cum homine similitudinem signari docet. Deinde perstricta quam Filio inurebant, injuria, quo pacto etiam secundum divinitatem propter Patrem vivat, aperit. Ac tandem exposito quae vitae nostrae cum divina unitas sit, aliam objectionem, qua Filius per Patrem clarificari opponitur, paucis absolvit. 117. [Alias cap. V.] Plerique etiam hinc faciunt quaestionem, quia scriptum est: Sicut misit me vivus Pater, et ego vivo propter Patrem: et qui manducat me, et ipse vivit propter me; dicentes: Quomodo aequalis est Patri Filius, qui dixit quia propter Patrem vivit? 118. Qui hoc proponunt, primum respondeant, cujusmodi vita sit Filii, utrum ea quam Pater largitus sit non habenti? Sed quomodo vitam aliquando potuit non habere, cum ipse sit vita, sicut ait: Ego sum via, veritas et vita (Luc. XIV, 6)? Vita utique sempiterna, sicut virtus est sempiterna (Rom. I, 20). Aliquando ergo, ut sic loquar, se vita non habuit? 119. Considerate quid lectum sit hodie de 543 Domino Jesu, quia mortuus est pro nobis; ut sive vigilemus, sive dormiamus, simul cum illo vivamus (I Thess. V, 10). Cujus mors vita est, hujus divinitas vita non est; cum divinitas vita sit sempiterna? 120. An vero vita ejus in Patris est potestate? Sed ne corporis quidem sui vitam in alterius fuisse potestate memoravit, sicut scriptum est: Ego pono animam meam, ut iterum sumam

illam. Nemo tollit eam a me, sed ego pono eam a me ipso. Potestatem habeo ponendi eam, et iterum potestatem habeo sumendi eam: hoc mandatum accepi a Patre meo (Joan. X, 17 et seq.). 121. Ejus ergo vita secundum divinitatem in alterius potestate posita judicatur, cujus vita secundum corpus alienae non erat subdita potestati? Aliena enim potestas erat, si non erat unitas potestatis. Sed sicut potestatis suae esse significat ponere animam, et liberae voluntatis: ita etiam quod secundum mandatum deposuit Patris, suae ac paternae voluntatis significat unitatem. 122. Ergo si vitam Filius neque aliquo accepit ex tempore, neque alienae habet potestati subditam, videamus qua ratione dixerit: Sicut misit me vivus Pater, et ego vivo propter Patrem (Joan. VI, 58). Exponamus ut possumus: imo ipse potius exponat. 123. Considera igitur quid ante praemiserit; ais enim: Amen, amen dico vobis. Ante instruit quemadmodum audire debeas: Vere, inquit, vere dico vobis, nisi manducaveritis carnem Filii homini, et biberitis sanguinem ejus, non habebitis vitam in vobis (Joan. VI, 54). Secundum Filium hominis se dicere ante praemisit, et tu quod secundum Filium hominis de carne est locutus et sanguine, ad divinitatem putas esse referendum? 124. Denique addidit: Caro enim mea vere est esca, et sanguis meus est potus (Ibid., 56). Carnem audis, sanguinem audis, mortis Dominicae sacramenta cognoscis; et divinitati calumniaris? Audi dicentem ipsum: Quia spiritus carnem et ossa non habet (Luc. XXIV, 39). Nos autem quotiescumque sacramenta sumimus, quae per sacrae orationis mysterium in carnem transfigurantur et sanguinem, mortem Domini annuntiamus (I Cor. XI, 26). 125. Ergo posteaquam se loqui secundum hominis Filium declaravit, et carnem saepe repetivit et sanguinem, subdidit postea: Sicut misit me vivus Pater, et ego vivo propter Patrem; et qui manducat me, et ipse vivit propter me (Joan. VI, 58). Quomodo igitur hoc accipiendum putant? Potest enim duplex videri comparatio. Prima ita: Sicut misit me vivus Pater, et ego vivo propter Patrem. 544 Secunda ita: Sicut misit me

vivus Pater, et ego vivo propter Patrem; ita et qui manducat me, ipse vivit propter me. 126. Si primam eligunt, hoc significat quia sicut missus sum a Patre, et descendi a Patre, ita vivo propter Patrem. Quasi quis autem missus est, atque descendit; nisi quasi Filius hominis sicut ipse supra dixit: Nemo ascendit in coelum, nisi qui de coelo descendit Filius hominis (Joan. III, 13)? Ergo sicut quasi Filius hominis missus est, atque descendit; ita quasi Filius hominis vivit propter Patrem. Denique et qui manducat quasi filium hominis, et ipse vivit propter Filium hominis. Actum ergo incarnationis suae adventui comparavit. 127. Quod si secunda complacuit, nonne et aequalitatem Filii cum Patre, et similitudinem ejus cum homine manifesta distinctione colligimus? Nam quid est: Sicut ipse vivit propter Patrem, et nos vivimus propter ipsum; nisi quia sic vivificat Filius hominem, sicut Pater in Filio carnem vivificavit humanam? Sicut enim Pater suscitat mortuos, et vivificat; sic et Filius, quos vult, vivificat, ut ipse Dominus supra dixit (Joan. V, 21). 128. Aequalitas ergo filii ad Patrem per unitatem quoque vivificationis astruitur; quando sic vivificat Filius ut Pater. Agnosce ergo ejus vitam et potentiam sempiternam. Similitudo etiam nostra ad filium, et quaedam secundum carnem unitas declaratur; quoniam quemadmodum Dei Filius a Patre, sic homo est vivificatus in carne. Sic enim scriptum est (Rom. IV, 24), quia sicut Deus Jesum Christum a mortuis suscitavit, ita etiam nos quasi homines vivificamur a Dei Filio. 129. Secundum hanc ergo expositionem non solum ad conditionem humanam derivatur gratia largitatis, sed etiam divinitatis aeternitas praedicatur; divinitatis, quia ipsa vivificat: humanae autem conditionis, quia vivificata est et in Christo. 130. Quod si quis utrumque ad Christi refert divinitatem: ergo Filius Dei hominibus comparatur; ut ita Filius propter Patrem vivat, sicut nos propter Filium Dei vivimus. Sed Filius Dei vitam largitur aeternam, nos autem largiri nequimus; ergo nostri comparatione nec ille largitur. Habeant igitur Ariani fidei suae praemium, ne vitam aeternam

adipiscantur a Filio. 131. Libet jam ulterius progredi; nam si illis placet hunc locum ad divinae perpetuitatem referre substantiae, accipiant etiam tertiam expositionem. 545 Nonne evidenter videtur dicere quod sicut vivus Pater est, ita vivit et Filius? Quod utique quis non advertat ad unitatem vitae, quod eadem Patris et Filii vita sit, esse referendum? Sicut enim Pater vitam habet in semetipso, sic dedit et Filio vitam habere in semetipso (Joan. V, 26). Dedit per unitatem: dedit, non ut auferat, sed ut clarificetur in Filio: dedit, ut complaceat: dedit non ut Pater custodiret, sed ut Filius possideret. 132. Sed objiciendum putant quia dixerat: Ego vivo propter Patrem (Joan. VI, 58). Utique si ad divinitatem referunt, propter Patrem vivit Filius; quia ex Patre Filius est: propter Patrem; quia unius substantiae cum Patre: propter Patrem; quia eructatum est Verbum ex Patris corde (Psal. XLIV, 1), quia a Patre processit, quia ex paterno generatus est utero (Psal. CIX, 3), quia fons Pater Filii est, quia radix Pater Filii est. 133. Sed dicunt fortasse: Si unitatem putas Patris ac Filii vitae esse, cum Filius dixerit: Et ego vivo propter Patrem (Joan. VI, 58), numquid unitas est Filii vitae atque hominum: cum dixerit Filius quia Qui manducat me, et ipse vivit propter me? 134. Immo plane, sicut unitatem fateor esse vitae coelestis in Patre et Filio per divinae unitatem substantiae, ita vel divinae naturae vel Dominicae incarnationis excepto privilegium, societatem nobiscum vitae spiritalis in Filio esse profiteor per humanae unitatem naturae: Qualis enim coelestis tales et coelestes (I Cor. XV, 18). Denique sicut in illo sedemus ad dextram Patris, non quia cum ipso sedemus, sed quia sedemus in Christi corpore, de quo postea dicemus plenius (Infr. lib. V): sicut, inquam, sedemus in Christo per corporis unitatem: ita et in Christo vivimus per corporis unitatem. 135. Non solum autem non vereor quia scriptum est: Et ego vivo propter Patrem; sed etiam si per Patrem dixisset, non vererer. 136. [Alias cap. VI.] Solent enim etiam illud objicere quia dixit: Haec infirmitas non est ad mortem, sed pro claritate Dei; ut clarificetur Filius ejus per ipsum (Joan XI, 4). Non

solum enim per Patrem, et a Patre Filius clarificatur, quia scriptum est: Clarifica me, Pater (Joan. XVII, 5); et alibi: Nunc clarificatus est Filius hominis, et Deus clarificatus est in eo, et Deus clarificavit eum (Joan. XIII, 31, 32): sed etiam per Filium et a Filio clarificatur Pater, quia veritas dixit: Ego te clarificavi super terram (Joan. XVII, 4). 137. Sicut ergo clarificatur per Patrem, ita etiam propter Patrem vivit. Unde et quidam δόξαν opinionem magis putaverunt esse, quam gloriam; et ideo sic interpretati sunt: Ego te clarificavi super terram, opus consummavi quod dedisti mihi; et nunc clarifica me, Pater, hoc est, δόξασον, ut sit hic sensus: Ego opinionem de te hominibus hujusmodi infudi, ut cognoscant te Deum verum; et tu hanc de me confirma illis opinionem, ut credant me tuum Filium et Deum verum. 546

CAPUT XI.

Discrimen quod conflare Ariani moliebantur e verbis Apostoli ex Patre omnia, et per Filium omnia esse docentis, irridetur. Ostenditur enim illic eamdem Patris ac Filii omnipotentiam exprimi: quod cum ex aliis locis, tum ex ipsius Pauli textu confirmatur. Hunc absurde ad Patrem referri ab haereticis, ac pertinere ad Filium ex ejusdem serie demonstrari: nec tamen quidquam Filii derogari potentiae, si de Patre intelligatur. Postremo in istis, ex quo, per quem, et in quo aliquid, nullam intercedere differentiam, et haec omnia de tribus personis dici, evincit. 138. Jam illud ridiculum est, quod quidam ex illo Apostolico discretionem inter Patrem et Filium faciunt potestatis, quia scriptum est: Nobis tamen unus Deus Pater, ex quo omnia, et nos in ipso: et unus Dominus Jesus Christus, per quem omnia, et nos per ipsum (I Cor. VIII, 6). Aiunt enim non mediocrem divinae majestatis esse distantiam, quia dictum est: Ex illo omnia, et per hunc omnia. Nihil autem expressius, quam quod hoc loco omnipotens Filius evidenti ratione signatur; nam ut ex illo omnia, ita per hunc omnia. 139. Inter omnia Pater non est, cui dictum est: Quia universa serviunt tibi (Psal. CXVIII, 91). Inter omnia Filius non est, quia omnia per ipsum facta sunt (Joan. I, 3), et omnia in ipso constant, et ipse est super omnes coelos (Coloss. I, 17). Non ergo inter omnia Filius, sed super omnia: qui secundum carnem quidem est ex familia Judaeorum; idem tamen super omnia Deus benedictus in saecula (Rom. IX, 5), cujus est nomen super omne nomen, et de quo dicitur: Omnia subjecisti sub pedibus ejus (Psal. VIII, 8). Subjiciendo autem omnia, nihil reliquit ei non subjectum, sicut Apostolus dixit (Hebr. II, 8). Quod si hoc etiam secundum incarnationis locutus est sacramentum, quemadmodum possumus

de supernae generationis incomparabili majestate dubitare? 140. Nihil igitur potestatis inter Patrem et Filium certum est interesse. Denique eo usque nihil interest potestatis, ut idem Apostolus ex ipso dixerit esse omnia, per quem omnia sicut habes: Quoniam ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso sunt omnia (Rom. XI, 33). 141. Si igitur Pater, sicut putant, tantummodo significatur, non potest idem et omnipotens esse, quia ex ipso omnia: et omnipotens non esse, quia per ipsum omnia. Aut igitur invalidum, nec omnipotentem Patrem sua assertione memorabunt, aut certe omnipotentem etiam Filium vel inviti voce propria fatebuntur. 142. Eligant tamen utrum hic Patrem declaratum putent. Si Patrem, ergo et per ipsum omnia: si Filium, ergo et ex ipso omnia. Si autem et per Patrem omnia, nihil utique Filio derogandum: et si ex Filio omnia, similiter et Filio deferendum. 143. Ac ne insidiari nos unius arbitrentur obreptione versiculi, totum caput recenseamus: O altitudo, inquit, divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae 547 Dei: quam inscrutabilia sunt judicia ejus, et investigabiles viae ejus! Quis enim cognovit sensum Domini? aut quis consiliarius ejus fuit? aut quis prior dedit illi, et retribuetur ei? Quoniam ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso sunt omnia, ipsi gloria in saecula (Ibid., 33 et seq.) 144. De quo igitur dictum putant, de Patre, an de Filio? Si de Patre: sed non est Sapientia Dei Pater; quia Sapientia Dei Filius est. Quid est autem quod non possit Sapientia, de qua scriptum est: Cum sit una omnipotens et permanens, in se omnia innovat (Sap. VII, 27)? Non ergo accedentem legimus, sed permanentem. Habes ergo juxta Salomonem, omnipotentem et permanentem Sapientiam. Habes etiam bonam, quia scriptum est: Sapientiam autem non vincit malitia (Ibid., 30). 145. Sed ad propositum revertamur. Quam inscrutabilia sunt, inquit, judicia ejus! Si igitur omne judicium Pater dedit Filio, Filium Pater videtur declarare, qui judicat (Joan. V, 22). 146. Denique ut scias quia non de Patre, sed de Filio dicit, addidit: Quis prior, inquit, dedit illi? Dedit enim Pater Filio: sed dedit jure generationis, non munere largitatis. Et ideo quia negari

non potest a Patre accepisse Filium, secundum quod scriptum est: Omnia mihi tradita sunt a Patre meo (Matth. XI, 27): dicendo tamen: Quis prior dedit illi? non accepisse per naturam a Patre Filium denegavit, sed priorem non posse dici inter Patrem et Filium declaravit; quia etsi Pater dedit Filio, non tamen quasi posteriori dedit: quia increata et inaestimabilis Trinitas, quae unius est aeternitatis et gloriae, nec tempus, nec gradum, vel posterioris recipit, vel prioris. 147. Quod si Graecos magis codices sequendos putamus, qui habent τὶς προσέδωκεν αὐτῷ vides quoniam cui nihil addi potest, non dispar a pleno est. Ergo si Filio magis convenit hoc totum Apostolicum caput, videmus et de Filio esse credendum, quia ex ipso omnia, sicut scriptum est: Quoniam ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso sunt omnia. 148. Esto tamen de Patre dictum putent. Itaque meminerimus quia sicut ex ipso legimus omnia, ita etiam per ipsum omnia: in universitatem quippe totius creaturae Patris et Filii profertur auctoritas. Ac licet superius omnipotentem Filium paterno probaverimus exemplo, tamen quia illis derogare studium est, considerent quia et Patri derogant. Si enim infirmus Filius, quia per ipsum omnia, numquid infirmus et Pater, quia et per Patrem omnia? 149. Sed ut agnoscant nullam discretionem inter haec esse, iterum demonstrabo ejusdem esse, ex quo aliquid, et per quem aliquid; et ostendam utrumque de Patre lectum. Sic enim habemus: Fidelis Deus per quem vocati estis in communionem Filii ejus (I Cor. I, 9). Quid Apostolus dixerit, considerent. Per Patrem vocamur, et nihil est quaestionis: 548 per Filium creamur, et hoc vilius aestimarunt? Pater in communionem Filii vocavit, et religiose hoc sicut debemus, accipimus: Filius omnia creavit, et putant non liberae fuisse voluntatis arbitrium, sed coactae atque servilis operationis obsequium? 150. Ut autem agnoscas plenius nihil distare inter Patris et Filii potestatem, cum per Patrem in communionem Filii ejus vocemur; ex Filio est ipsa communio, sicut scriptum est: Quoniam de plenitudine ejus nos omnes accepimus (Joan. I, 16); licet secundum Graecum Evangelium, ex

plenitudine ejus intelligere debeamus. 151. Ecce et per Patrem communio, et ex Filio communio: sed non discrepans, sed una communio; sicut idem Joannes in epistola sua dixit: Et communicatio nostra sit cum Patre, et cum Filio ejus Jesu Christo (I Joan. I, 3). 152. Accipe etiam quia non solum ex Patre et Filio, sed etiam ex Spiritu sancto unam nobis communionem Scriptura commemoravit: Gratia, inquit, Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et charitas Dei, et communicatio sancti Spiritus cum omnibus vobis (II Cor. XXIII, 13). 153. Quaero autem in quo minor videatur is per quem omnia, quam is ex quo omnia? An quia operator asseritur? Sed operatur et Pater; quia verus est, qui dixit: Pater meus usque modo operatur, et ego operor (Joan. V, 17). Sicut igitur Pater operatur, operatur et Filius. Non ergo operator infirmus aut vilis est; quoniam operatur et Pater: et ideo quod commune est Filio cum Patre, vel propter Patrem inferiore loco accipi non oportet; ne Patri potius in Filio ab haereticis derogetur. 154. Nec mediocre illud, quod alibi etiam idem sanctus Joannes ad refellendas Arianae perfidiae quaestiones, ait: Si scitis quoniam justus est, scitote quoniam qui facit justitiam, ex ipso natus est (Joan. II, 29). Justus autem quis nisi Dominus, qui justitias dilexit (Psal. X, 8)? Aut quem, sicut superiora indicant, repromissorem vitae habemus aeternae, si Filium non habemus? Si igitur Filius Dei vitam nobis promisit aeternam, et ipse justus est, ex ipso utique nati sumus. Aut si ex Filio nos per gratiam natos negant, nec justum Filium confitentur. 155. Credas igitur necesse est etiam ex Dei Filio omnia; quia omnium sicut Deus Pater, ita et Filius et auctor est et creator. Videmus ergo inanem esse hanc quaestionem, cum et de Filio credi conveniat, quoniam ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso sunt omnia. 156. Diximus quomodo ex ipso, quomodo etiam per ipsum. In ipso autem omnia esse quis dubitet, cum alibi scriptum sit: Quoniam in ipso condita sunt omnia in coelis, et in ipso creata sunt: et ipse est ante omnes, et omnia in ipso

constant (Coloss. I, 16)? Habes ergo ex ipso gratiam, ipsum operatorem, in ipso omnium firmamentum. 549

CAPUT XII.

QUOD OBJICIEBATUR EX Joanne Filium viti et Patrem agricolae comparari, de incarnatione intelligendum: qui vero secundum generationem divinam illud accipiant, Filio duas injurias inferre, quem et Paulo postponant, et aequent aliis hominibus: totidem etiam Patri, quem non solum eidem Apostolo parem, sed etiam nihili esse testificentur. Tum falsa interpretatione denuo rejecta, veraque confirmata, Filius quoque secundum divinitatem agricola esse, ac uva secundum humanitatem, astruitur; unde superior praecellentiae paternae explicatio stabilitur. 157. [Alias cap. VII.] Illud quoque ad separandam Patris et Filii divinitatem objicere consueverunt, quia Dominus dixit in Evangelio: Ego sum vitis vera, et Pater meus agricola est (Joan. XV, 1); agricolam et vitem diversae dicentes esse naturae, et vitem in agricolae esse potestate. 158. Sic ergo vultis esse Filium secundum divinitatem, sicut vitis est; ut sine cultore nihil valeat, et possit deseri vel recidi: et ex littera calumniam comparatis, quia Dominus vitem se esse dixit, incarnationis suae significans sacramentum? Tamen si placet ut ex littera argumentemur, fateor et ego, immo profiteor quia vitem se Filius nominavit. Vae enim mihi, si sacramentum salutis publicae denegavero! 159. Quomodo ergo vultis accipere quod se vitem Dei Filius nominavit? Si secundum divinam substantiam dictum accipitis: et sicut inter agricolam et vitem, ita etiam inter Patrem et Filium divinitatis creditis esse distantiam, geminam Filio, geminam Patri facitis injuriam: Filio, quia si secundum divinitatem inferior est quam agricola, inferior etiam Paulo apostolo vestra assertione necesse est aestimetur; quia et Paulus agricolam se esse dixit, sicut habes: Ego plantavi, Apollo rigavit; sed Deus incrementum dedit (I

Cor. III, 6). Num ergo vultis ut Paulus melior sit Dei Filio? 160. Habetis unam injuriam. Alteram, quia si secundum substantiam generationis aeternae, vitis est Filius, cum dixerit: Ego sum vitis, vos palmites estis (Joan. XV, 5); unius nobiscum etiam illa divina generatio videbitur esse substantiae. Sed quis similis tibi in diis, Domine, sicut scriptum est (Exod. XV, 11)? Et rursus in psalmo: Quoniam quis in nubibus aequabitur Domino? aut quis similis erit Deo inter filios Dei (Psal. LXXXVIII, 7)? 161. Nec tamen soli Filio derogatis, sed etiam Patri. Nam si in agricolae nomine omnis paternae praerogativa est potestatis, cum etiam Paulus agricola sit, Patri utique, cui Filium negatis, aequalem Apostolum comparatis. 162. Deinde cum scriptum sit: Sed neque qui plantat, est quidquam, neque qui rigat: sed qui dat incrementum Deus (I Cor. III, 7); in eo nomine vos summam paternae majestatis locabitis, quod videtis infirmum. Si enim qui plantat, et qui rigat, nihil est, sed qui dat incrementum Deus; videte 550 quid vestra asserere moliatur impietas, ut et Pater nomine sit contemnendus agricolae; et Deus aliquis incrementum paterno operi qui tribuat, requirendus. Impie igitur ex nomine agricolae praeferendam Dei Patris existimant potestatem, in quo sit Patri Deo cum homine appellationis commune consortium. 163. Quid autem egregium, si ei (ut vultis, haeretici) Filio praeferatur, cujus divina substantia ab humana conditione non discrepet? Nam si vitem Filium secundum divinam substantiam appellatum putatis, non solum corruptelae, incertisque elementorum obnoxium judicatis, sed etiam humanae tantummodo consortem naturae; quia unius naturae sunt vitis et palmites; ut non per incarnationis sacramentum carnem Dei Filius assumpsisse videatur, sed principium sumpsisse de carne. 164. Ego autem dicam plane carnem ejus, licet novo generationis mysterio, unius tamen naturae fuisse nobiscum, et hoc salutis nostrae sacramentum esse, non divinae generationis exordium. Vitis enim est, quia meas sustinet passiones; quandoquidem in illo nixa

fragilis prius humana conditio fecundis redivivae fructibus pietatis adolevit. 165. Verumtamen si te pompa delectat agricolae; dicas, velim, quis ille sit, qui locutus est in propheta: Domine, notum mihi fac, ut sciam: tunc vidi cogitationes eorum. Ego ut agnus ductus sum innocens ad immolandum, et nesciebam: adversum me cogitaverunt consilium, dicentes: Venite, injiciamus lignum in panem ejus (Jerem. XI, 19). Si enim Filius incarnationis futurae loquitur sacramentum, quia impium est ut de Patre credas, Filius est utique qui supra dicit: Ego plantavi te vitem fructiferam, quomodo conversa es in amaritudinem vitis alienae (Jerem. II, 21)? 166. Itaque et Filium vides esse agricolam, unius nominis cum Patre, unius operis, unius dignitatis atque substantiae. Ergo si agricola et vitis est Filius, vitem utique secundum incarnationis accipimus sacramentum. 167. Sed non solum se esse vitem dixit, sed etiam botryonem voce prophetica nuncupavit, tunc quando ad vallem botryonis exploratores Moyses jussu Domini direxit (Num. XIII, 14). Quae est illa vallis, nisi humilitas incarnationis, et fecunditas passionis? Et puto botryonem ideo dictum, quia ex vinea illa translata ex Aegypto, hoc est, ex familia Judaeorum, utilis mundo fructus emicuit (Psal. LXXIX, 9). Nemo certe botryonem potest ad generationem referre divinam: aut qui refert, aliud nihil relinquit, nisi ut botryonem illum natum ex vite credamus. Itaque ascribit insipiens Patri, quod reprehendit in Filio. 168. Verum si jam dubitari non potest quod vitis secundum incarnationem Dei Filius nominatus sit, videtis secundum quod sacramentum Dominus sit, locutus; Quoniam Pater major me est (Joan. XIV, 28). Nam cum hoc in superioribus dixerit, continuo subjecit: Ego sum vitis vera, et Pater meus agricola est (Joan. XV, 1), ut agnosceres secundum id Patrem esse majorem: quia sicut agricola vitium, ita Pater Dominicae carnis est cultor: quae et augeri potuit per aetatem, et per passionem recidi; ut omne humanum genus ab aestu saecularium noxio voluptatum, diffusae salutaribus brachiis crucis umbra velaret.

LIBER QUINTUS.

PROLOGUS.

QUISNAM FIDELIS ET prudens servus? Ejus merces in Petro indicatur, item etiam in Paulo, cujus auctoritati parere Ambrosius cupiens hunc librum aliis adjectum voluit, qui non potuerit in superiore comprehendi. Quid in hoc disputaturus sit, quove consilio? Deberi sibi veniam, cum ab omnibus ministris quaerenda sit creditae sibi pecuniae usura. Hanc sibi usuram fideles esse: beatum autem fore, si mercedem sperare sibi liceat; se tamen sanctorum praemia non tam optare, quam poenarum immunitatem, ad quam merendam omnes hortatur. 1. Quisnam est fidelis servus et prudens, quem constituit Dominus super familiam suam, ut det illis in tempore cibum? Beatus ille servus, quem veniens Dominus ejus invenerit sic facientem (Matth. XXIV, 45, 46), Non vilis hic servus est, magnus aliquis esse debet: quis sit iste consideremus. 2. Est Petrus ipsius Domini ad pascendum gregem electus judicio, qui tertio meretur audire: Pasce agniculos meos, pasce agnos meos, pasce oviculas meas (Joan. XXI, 13 et seq.). Itaque pascendo bene cibo fidei gregem Christi, culpam lapsus prioris abolevit. Et ideo tertio admonetur ut pascat, tertio utrum Dominum diligat, interrogatur; ut quem tertio ante crucem negaverat, tertio fateretur (Matth. XXVI, 70 et seq.). 3. Beatus et ille servus, qui potest dicere: Lac vos potavi, non escam; nondum enim poteratis (I Cor. III, 2); novit enim quos quemadmodum pascat. Quis nostrum hoc facere potest? Quis nostrum potest vere dicere: Factus sum infirmis infirmus, ut infirmos lucrificiam (I Cor. IX, 22)? 4. Et tamen ille tantus ad curam gregis electus a Christo, qui sanaret infirmos, curaret invalidos, haereticum a commisso sibi ovili statim post unam correptionem repellit (Tit. III, 10); ne unius erraticae ovis scabies serpenti

ulcere totum gregem contaminet. Jubet praeterea stultas quaestiones et contentiones esse vitandas (Ibid., 9). 5. Quid igitur nos agemus, inter messis antiquae nova zizania imprudentes accolae constituti? Si taceamus, cedere videbimur: si contendamus, verendum est ne nos quoque judicemur esse carnales. Scriptum est enim de hujusmodi quaestionibus, quae generant lites: Servum autem Domini non oportet litigare, sed mansuetum esse ad omnes, docibilem, patientem, cum modestia docentem eos qui resistunt (II Tim. II, 23, 24): et alibi: Si quis contentiosus est, nos talem consuetudinem non habemus, neque Ecclesia Dei (I Cor. XI, 16). Eoque scribere aliquid sententiae fuit, ut sine strepitu aliquo impietati haereticorum nostra pro nobis scripta respondeant. 6. 552 Quintum itaque, Imperator auguste, hunc librum paramus ordiri: nam, et quartum librum oportuit in illa vitis disputatione finiri; ne coacervasse magis librum eumdem quodam videremur quaestionum tumultu, quam fructu spiritalis vineae replevisse: nec inconsummatam fidei vindemiam tantis adhuc superfluentibus disputationibus decuit derelinqui. 7. Quinto igitur libro de Patris ac Filii et Spiritus sancti inseparabili divinitate digerimus, sequestrata interim pleniore disputatione de Spiritu sancto, provocati magisterio Evangelicae lectionis (Matth. XXV, 15); ut credita nobis quinque fidei talenta, quasi quadam horum quinque sorte librorum, humanis feneremus affectibus; ne forte cum venerit Dominus, et invenerit in terra absconditam pecuniam suam, dicat mihi: Serve male et piger, sciebas quia meto ubi non semino, et congrego ubi non sparsi: oportuit ergo te committere pecuniam meam nummulariis; ut veniens ego recepissem quod meum est (Ibid., 26, 27): aut quemadmodum in alio libro est: Et ego, inquit, veniens cum usuris utique exegissem illam (Luc. XIX, 23). 8. Date ergo veniam, si quos prolixioris hujuscemodi sermonis offendit audacia. Officii contemplatio cogit credere quod accepimus: Dispensatores sumus mysteriorum coelestium (I Cor. IV, 1). Ministri sumus, non ex aequo omnes, sed unicuique, inquit, sicut Dominus

dedit. Ego plantavi, Apollo rigavit: sed Deus incrementum dedit (I Cor. III, 3, 6). Unusquisque igitur enitatur ut mercedem possit accipere secundum suum laborem; Dei enim sumus, ut Apostolus dixit, cooperarii, Dei cultura, Dei aedificatio (Ibid., 9). Beatus itaque ille qui tales fenoris sui cernit usuras: beatus et ille qui fructus sui operis intuetur: Beatus quoque qui superaedificat supra fundamentum fidei aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos (Ibid., 12). 9. Vos nobis estis omnia, qui haec auditis aut legitis: vos feneratoris usurae; verbi usurae, non pecuniae: vos agricolae redditus: vos aedificatoris aurum, argentum, lapidesque pretiosi. In vestris meritis sacerdotalis summa laboris est, in vestris animis fructus episcopalis operis enitescit; in vestris profectibus aurum Domini refulget, multiplicatur argentum, si eloquia divina teneatis: Eloquia enim Domini, eloquia casta, argentum igne examinatum, probatum terrae, purgatum septuplum (Psal. XI, 7). Vos ergo facietis foeneratorem divitem, agricolam fructuosum: vos peritum probabitis architectum. Non arroganter dico; quia non tam mea sunt, quam vestra, quae voveo. 10. O si mihi liceat secure de vobis tunc 553 temporis dicere: Domine, quinque talenta mihi dedisti, et ecce alia quinque lucratus sum (Matth. XXV, 20), et ostendere vestrarum talenta pretiosa virtutum! Habemus enim thesaurum in vasis fictilibus (II Cor. IV, 7). Haec sunt talenta quae jubet Dominus spiritaliter fenerari: aut duo aera novi et veteris Testamenti, quae spoliato illi a latronibus Samaritanus ille Evangelicus ad curanda vulnera dereliquit (Luc, X, 35). 11. Neque ego, fratres, voti avarus ideo haec opto, ut supra multa constituar: sat est mihi praemium de vestro profectu. Utinam non indignus eo inveniar, quod accepi! Ea quae sunt me majora melioribus tribuenda, non exigo; licet soleas, Domine, dicere: Volo autem et huic novissimo dare, sicut et tibi (Matth. XX, 14). Accipiat potestatem supra decem civitates, qui meretur (Luc. XIX, 17). 12. Sit ille talis, qualis Moyses, qui Legis decem verba conscripsit (Deut. V, 5 et seq.). Sit ille Jesus Nave, qui subegit quinque

reges, et Gabaonitas in deditionem accepit (Josue X, 22 et seq.); ut esset typus venturum ejus nominis virum, cujus imperio corporales omnes deliciae vincerentur, converterentur gentes: ut fidem Jesu Christi magis, quam pristina studia sua et vota sequerentur. Sit ille David, cui occurrerunt psallentes juvenculae dicentes: Saul triumphavit in millibus, David in decem millibus (I Reg. XVIII, 7). 13. Mihi sat est, si non in exteriores tenebras extrudar, quemadmodum ille qui commissum sibi talentum in terra quadam suae carnis abscondit: sicut princeps Synagogae, caeterique principes Judaeorum, qui credita sibi eloquia Dei humo quadam sui corporis occuparunt: deliciisque carnis intenti, quasi in quamdam exaltati cordis foveam fenus coeleste merserunt (Matth. XXIII, 14 et seq.). 14. Nos igitur non intra latibula carnis absconditam Domini teneamus pecuniam, vel mnam illam in sudario reponamus (Luc. XIX, 20): sed tamquam boni nummularii cum sudore quodam mentis et corporis aequo et parato semper libremus affectu; ut prope sit verbum in ore tuo et in corde tuo (Deut. XXX, 14). 15. Hoc verbum Dei est, pretiosum est talentum, quo redimeris. Haec est pecunia per mensas animarum saepe cernenda; ut frequenter agitando in omnem terram bonorum sonus possit exire nummorum, per quem vita paretur aeterna. Haec est autem vita aeterna, quam largiris omnipotens Pater; ut cognoscamus te solum verum Deum, et quem misisti Jesum Christum (Joan. XVII, 3).

CAPUT PRIMUM.

QUAM IMPII SINT Ariani, dum illud in quo humana felicitas constat, impugnant. Joannem semper cum Patre Filium conjungere, maxime ubi ait: Ut cognoscant te solum verum, etc. Illic igitur verum Deum etiam intelligendum de Filio, quando is nec Deus negari possit, nec falsus dici; immo nec etiam nuncupativus. Quod ultimum ubi ex Apostolo demonstratum est, Christum verum Deum esse rite conficitur. 16. Unde advertant Ariani quam impii sint, qui de spe nostra et voto nobis faciunt quaestiones. Et quoniam hinc prae caeteris vociferari solent, dicentes separatum a solo 554 et vero Deo Christum, intellectus impios pro nostris viribus confutemus. 17. Hoc enim loco magis intelligere debent quia haec utilitas, haec merces est perfectae virtutis, hoc divinum et incomparabile munus, ut cognoscamus cum Patre Christum, nec separemus a Patre Filium, sicut Scriptura non separat. Namque hoc magis ad unitatem, quam ad distantiam divinae proficit potestatis, quod idem praemium unum honorem nobis dat Patris, Filiique cognitio: quam mercedem habere non poterit, nisi qui et Patrem cognoverit et Filium; sicut enim Patris, ita Filii cognitio vitam acquirit aeternam. 18. Itaque sicut in principio statim Verbum cum Deo Patre pia confessione junxit Evangelista dicens: Et Verbum erat apud Deum (Joan. I, 1), ita et hic scribendo verba Domini: Ut cognoscant te solum verum Deum, et quem misisti Jesum Christum (Joan. XVII, 3); conjunctione illa Patrem utique copulavit, et Filium, ut Christum verum Deum a majestate Patris nemo secernat: numquam enim conjunctio separat. 19. Et ideo dicendo: Ut cognoscant te solum verum Deum, et quem misisti Jesum Christum, et Sabellianos interficit, et Judaeos exclusit eos utique qui

audirent loquentem; ne aut illi eumdem Patrem putarent esse quem Filium, si non addidisset et Christum: aut isti a Patre Filium separarent. 20 et 21. Quaero autem cur non putent subaudiendum, et ex superioribus colligendum; ut quia praemisit solum verum Deum Patrem, subaudiamus etiam Jesum Christum solum verum Deum? Exprimendum enim aliter non fuit, ne duos deos dicere videretur; nam neque duos dicimus deos, et ejusdem cum Patre divinitatis Filium confitemur. 22. Itaque quaeramus qua ratione divinitatis hic putent factam esse distantiam, utrum Deum negent Christum? Sed negare non possunt. An verum Deum negent? Sed dicant, si verum negant, utrum falsum, an nuncupativum Deum judicent? Nam secundum Scripturas aut verus Deus est, aut tantummodo nuncupativus, aut falsus. Verus ut Pater, nuncupativus ut sancti, falsus ut daemones atque simulacra. Dicant igitur qua Filium Dei confessione designent, utrum falso praesumptum Dei nomen, an vero quasi nuncupativo inspirationem tantum divinitatis inesse arbitrantur. 23. Falso praesumptum nomen non puto quod dicant, ut apertiore se crimine impietatis involvant; ne ut daemoniis et simulacris, ita etiam Christo falsum Dei inditum nomen insinuando se prodant. Sin autem ideo dictum putant Deum, quia inspirationem divinitatis habuit, sicut et multi sancti viri (eos enim Scriptura deos dixit (Joan. X, 35), ad quos sermo fiebat Dei) ergo non ultra homines eum praeferunt, sed comparandum hominibus arbitrantur; ut hoc eum putent esse quod hominibus ipse donavit, dicens ad Moysen: Posuit te in Deum Pharaoni (Exod. VII, 1). Unde et in psalmo dictum est: Ego dixi, dii estis (Psal LXXXI, 6). 555 24. Et hanc tamen sacrilegorum opinionem Paulus excludit, qui ait: Nam et si sunt qui dicantur dii, sive in coelo, sive in terra (I Cor. VIII, 5). Non dixit, sunt dii, sed sunt qui dicantur. Christus autem, sicut scriptum est, heri et hodie ipse est (Hebr. XXIII, 8). Est, inquit, hoc est, non solum nomine, sed etiam veritate. 25. Et bene scriptum est: Heri et hodie ipse est; ut Arii impietas astruendi sacrilegii locum invenire non posset. Qui

cum legeret in psalmo secundo dicentem Filio Patrem: Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te (Psal. II, 7); annotavit hodie non heri, ad aeternitatem divinae generationis referens, quod de carnis assumptione memoratum est, sicut Paulus in Actibus apostolorum ait: Et nos vobis annuntiamus, quae ad patres nostros repromissio facta est; quoniam hanc Deus adimplevit filiis nostris, resuscitans Dominum Jesum Christum, sicut scriptum est in psalmo secundo: Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te (Act. XIII, 32 et seq.). Sancto igitur Spiritu repletus Apostolus, ut illam elideret saevitatem, ait: Heri et hodie ipse est, et in saecula: heri, propter aeternitatem: hodie, propter corporis susceptionem. 26. Est ergo Christus, et est semper; qui enim est, semper est. Christus autem semper est, de quo dicit Moyses: Qui est, misit me (Exod. III, 14). Erat utique Gabriel, erat Raphael, erant Angeli: sed semper esse, qui aliquando non fuerint, nequaquam pari ratione dicuntur. Christus autem, sicut legimus, non fuit, est, et non: sed est in illo fuit (II Cor. I, 19); unde vere Dei solius est esse, qui semper est. 27. Ergo si et nuncupativum Deum non audent dicere, et falsum cum dicere majoris est impietatis, restat ut Deus verus sit, veri Patris non dissimilis, sed aequalis. Qui cum et justificet et sanctificet quos velit, non foris assumens; sed in se habens sanctificandi potestatem, quomodo non est verus Deus? Nam Apostolus eum utique verum Deum dixit, qui naturaliter Deus esset, sicut habes: Quia tunc, inquit, nescientes Deum, servistis his qui natura non erant dii (Galat. IV, 8); hoc est, qui veri dii esse non poterant, quibus hoc naturaliter minime suppetebat.

CAPUT II.

Cum probatum sit Filium esse verum Deum, nec in eo minorem Patre; ostenditur per vocem solus cum in Scripturis de Patre dicitur, non excludi Filium; quin immo hanc ei vocem prae cunctis et soli ipsi convenire. Trinitatem non inter omnia, sed super omnia solam esse: Filium vero solum facere, quae facit Pater, ac solum habere immortalitatem; nec proinde in verbis controversis eum a Patre separandum; licere tamen eum locum intelligere de incarnatione: ab illis demum Patrem ab hominum redemptione secludi, qui ab hoc Filium sejunctum volunt. 28. Verum copiose jam verum Deum Christum in superioribus libris Scripturarum 556 lectionibus approbavimus. Ergo si Christus, ut edoctum est, Deus verus est, quaeramus qua ratione, cum solum verum Deum Patrem legant, a Patre Filium cupiunt separare. 29. Si dicunt quia verus Deus solus Pater est, negare non possunt quia et Filius solus Deus veritas est, quia Christus veritas est. Numquid veritas vero minor est, cum secundum appellationem nominum verus plerumque a veritate dicatur, sicut sapiens a sapientia, justus a justitia? Hoc nos inter Patrem non sentimus et Filium, quia et Patri nihil deest, quia Pater est verax: et Filius quia veritas est, aequalis est vero. 30. Ut sciant autem, cum solum legunt, nequaquam esse a Patre Filium separandum, meminerint in prophetis a Deo dictum: Ego extendi coelum solus (Esai. XLIV, 24). Et utique non extendit sine Filio Pater. Ipse enim Filius qui sapientia Dei est, dicit: Quando parabat coelum, cum ipso aderam (Prov. VIII, 27). Et Paulus de Filio dictum esse confirmat: Initio terram tu fundasti, Domine, et opera manuum tuarum sunt coeli (Hebr. I, 10). Sive ergo Filius coelum fecit, sicut et Apostolus voluit intelligi, et ipse utique non sine Patre coelum solus

extendit, sive, ut Proverbiis habes, Deus in sapientia fundavit terram, paravit autem coelos in intellectu (Prov. III, 19), ostenditur quia nec Pater solus sine Filio coelos fecit, nec sine Patre Filius; et tamen qui coelum extendit, solus dicitur. 31. Quam vero id et de Filio aperte intelligendum sit, quod solus appelletur, etsi numquam, inscio Patre, aliquid fecisse credatur; etiam alibi habes, ubi scriptum est: Extendens coelum solus, et ambulans quasi in pavimento super mare (Job. IX, 8). Namque Evangelium Domini docuit nos, quod in mari non Pater, sed Filius ambulavit, quando Petrus rogavit eum dicens: Domine, jube me venire ad te (Matth. XIV, 28). Sed etiam prophetia ipsa documento est; sanctus enim Job adventum Domini prophetabat, (Job. III, 8), de quo vere dixit quia magnum cetum erat debellaturus, et factum est: nam feralem illum cetum, diabolum scilicet, ultimis temporibus venerabili corporis sui passione postratum perculit et afflixit (Esa. XXVII, 1). 32. Est ergo solus et verus Deus Filius; haec enim et Filio praerogativa defertur. De nullo namque qui creatus est, proprie dici potest, quia solus est. Nam cui inest communitas creaturae, quemadmodum quasi solus potest a caeteris separari? Itaque homo rationabilis videtur inter omnia terrena animantia, sed tamen non est solus rationabilis; scimus enim rationabilia esse et coelestia opera Dei, angelos et archangelos rationabiles confitemur. Si ergo angeli rationabiles, non utique solus rationabilis homo dicitur. 33. Sed dicunt solum dici posse solem; quia sol alter non est. At et ipse sol habet communia multa cum stellis, quod percurrit coelum (Gen. I, 14), 557 quod aethereae illius coelestisque substantiae est, quod creatura est, quod inter omnia Dei opera computatur, quod cum omnibus Deo servit, cum omnibus benedicit Deum, cum omnibus laudat. Non ergo solus proprie dicitur, quia nec a caeteris separatur (Psal. CXLVIII, 3). 34. Itaque cum Patris et Filii Spiritusque sancti divinitati, quae sola non inter omnia, sed super omnia est, nulla possit creatura conferri, ut de Spiritu interim assertio reservetur: sicut Pater dicitur solus Deus verus, cui nihil sit commune cum

caeteris; ita etiam solus est Filius imago veri Dei, solus dextera Patris, solus virtus Dei atque sapientia. 35. Solus ergo Filius facit sicut et Pater, quia scriptum est: Quaecumque facio, ipse facit (Joan. V, 16). Cum enim unum opus sit Patris et Filii, bene de Patre et Filio dicitur quia Deus solus operatus est; unde etiam cum creatorem dicimus, et Patrem et Filium confitemur. Nam utique cum Paulus diceret: Qui servierunt creaturae potius quam Creatori (Rom. I, 25); nec Patrem creatorem negavit, ex quo omnia haec; nec Filium, per quem omnia. 36. A quo alienum utique non videtur, quia scriptum est: Qui solus habet immortalitatem (I Tim. VI, 16). Quomodo enim immortalitatem non habet, qui vitam habet in semetipso? Habet utique in natura, habet in substantia; et habet non per gratiam temporalem, sed per sempiternam divinitatem: habet non ex dono quasi servus, sed ex generationis proprietate quasi Filius coaeternus; et habet sicut Pater: Sicut enim Pater habet vitam in semetipso, ita et Filio dedit vitam habere in semetipso (Joan. V, 16); sicut habet, inquit, sic dedit. Didicisti supra (Lib. IV, ca), quemadmodum dederit; ne putares esse gratiae largitatem, ubi generationis arcanum est. Cum ergo inter Patrem et Filium vitae nulla distantia sit, quemadmodum quod immortalitatem solus habeat Pater, Filius non habeat, aestimari potest? 37. Unde intelligant nec hoc loco a solo vero Deo Patre Filium separandum; quia probare non possunt quod solus et verus Deus Filius non sit: cum praesertim et hic aut subaudiatur, ut diximus, et Christum verum solum Deum esse: aut certe aliud ad divinitatem Patris et Filii, aliud ad incarnationem Christi relatum intelligendum sit; quia non est perfecta cognitio, nisi quae et secundum aeternitatem unigenitum Deum verum Dei Filium Jesum Christum, et secundum carnem generatum ex Virgine confitetur. Quod alibi hic ipse Evangelista nos docuit dicens: Omnis spiritus qui confitetur Jesum Christum in carne venisse, de Deo est (I Joan. IV, 2). 38. Denique quam non alienum sit etiam incarnationis hoc loco intelligere sacramentum, docet nos

ipsius series lectionis; sic enim habes: Pater, venit hora, clarifica Filium tuum (Joan. XVII, 1). Utique cum et horam venisse commemoret, et clarificari petat, quomodo nisi secundum carnis assumptionem locutum eum convenit aestimari? Nam nec ulla sibi temporum praescripta momenta divinitas habet, nec clarificatione indiget lumen aeternum. Ergo in solo vero Deo Patre et Filium Dei solum verum secundum 558 divinitatis intelligimus unitatem, et in Jesu Christi nomine, quod ex Virgine natus accepit, incarnationis agnoscimus sacramentum. 39. Quod si cum solum verum Deum Patrem legunt, Filium cupiunt separare; ergo cum de Filii incarnatione legunt: Hic est lapis qui reprobatus est a vobis aedificantibus, qui factus est in caput anguli; et infra: Non est aliud nomen sub coelo datum hominibus, in quo oporteat nos salvos fieri (Act. IV, 11, 12), Patrem existimant ab impertiendae nobis salutis beneficio separandum. At neque sine Patre salus, neque vita aeterna sine Filio.

CAPUT III.

ARIANIS CONTRA URGENTIBUS Deos induci duos ex unitate substantiae, respondetur pluralitatem ex diversitate potius inferri, proindeque in ipsos recidere suam accusationem. Diversitatem multiplicem in causa esse cur duo homines unus homo dici non possint; cum tamen omnes homines singulariter homo dicantar, ubi naturae unitas indicatur. Solam in his naturam unam esse; at omnimodam in personis divinis unitatem: a Patre igitur non separandum Filium; maxime cum ei debitam esse adorationem negare non audeant. 40. Sed asserunt Ariani: Si solum verum Deum sicut Patrem, ita et Filium dicitis, et unius substantiae Patrem et Filium confitemini, non unum Deum, sed duos deos inducitis; quia qui unius substantiae sunt, non unus Deus, sed duo dii videntur esse, sicut duo homines, aut duae oves, pluresve dicuntur: homo autem et ovis nec duo homines dicuntur, nec duae oves, sed unus homo, et una ovis. 41. Haec Ariani dicunt, et hac disputatione versuta simpliciores capere nituntur. Tamen si legamus Scripturas divinas, inveniemus pluralitatem magis in ea cadere, quae diversae discretaeque substantiae sunt, hoc est, ἑτερουσία. Idque in Salomonis libris habemus expressum, eo loco scilicet in quo dicit: Tria sunt autem impossibilia intelligere, et quartum quod non cognosco; vestigia aquilae volantis, et vias serpentis super petram, et semitas navis navigantis, et vias viri in juventute (Prov. XXX, 18, 19). Utique aquila et navis et serpens unius non sunt generis atque naturae, sed differentis discretaeque substantiae, et tamen tria sunt. Contra se igitur sua esse intelligunt argumenta testimoniis Scripturarum. 42. Itaque dicendo Patris et Filii discretam esse substantiam, differentemque deitatem, duos utique ipsi

deos asserunt: nos autem cum et Patrem confitemur, et Filium; asserendo tamen unius esse deitatis non duos deos, sed unum Deum dicimus. Et hoc Dominicis eloquiis approbamus; quia ubi plures sunt, ibi aut naturae aut voluntatum et operationum est differentia. Denique ut suis sibi testimoniis revincantur, duo homines dicuntur; quia licet unius naturae sint jure nascendi, tamen et tempore et cogitatione et opere et loco distant: et ideo non potest unus homo dici in significatione et numero duorum; quia unitas non est, ubi est diversitas: unus autem Deus dicitur, et Patris 559 et Filii ac Spiritus sancti gloria et plenitudo signatur. 43. Denique tanta veritas unitatis est, ut etiam quando natura sola generationis aut carnis significatur humanae, et unus homo de multis dicatur, sicut habes: Dominus mihi adjutor, non timebo quid faciat mihi homo (Psal. CXVII, 6), id est, non una persona hominis, sed una caro, et una fragilitas generationis humanae. Et addidit: Bonum est sperare in Domino, quam sperare in homine (Ibid., 9). Nec hic utique specialem hominem, sed generalem conditionem designavit. Denique statim subjecit de pluribus: Bonum est confidere in Domino, quam confidere in principibus (Ibid., 9). Sed ubi homo dicitur, naturae interdum, ut supra diximus, communis inter omnes unitas significatur: ubi principes, variarum quaedam differentia potestatum est. 44. Sed inter homines aut in hominibus unius alicujus rei unitas est, aut charitatis, aut cupiditatis, aut carnis, aut devotionis et fidei: generalis autem unitas, et quae in se secundum divinitatis gloriam complectitur omnia, solius est Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. 45. Unde et Dominus cum diversitatem inter se hominum designaret, qui nihil habent inter se quod possit ad unitatem individuae substantiae pertinere: In lege vestra, inquit, scriptum est, quod duorum hominum testimonium verum est (Joan. VIII, 17). Et cum praemisisset: Duorum hominum testimonium verum est; ubi venit ad suum et Patris testimonium, non dixit: Verum est testimonium nostrum, quia duorum deorum testimonium est; sed: Ego, inquit, sum qui testimonium perhibeo de

me ipso, et testimonium perhibet de me, qui misit me, Pater (Ibid., 18). Supra quoque similiter ait: Et si judico ego, judicium meum verum est, quia solus non sum, sed ego et qui misit me Pater (Ibid., 16). Itaque et infra ut supra et Patrem significavit et Filium, nec pluralitatem admiscuit, nec divinae unitatem substantiae separavit. 46. Evidens est igitur quia quod unius est substantiae, separari non potest, etiamsi non sit singularitatis, sed unitatis. Singularitatem hanc dico, quae Graece μονοτὴς dicitur. Singularitas ad personam pertinet, unitas ad naturam. Ea vero quae diversae substantiae sunt, non solum unum, sed etiam plura dici solere, licet jam et prophetico claruerit testimonio; expressius tamen ipse Apostolus declaravit dicens: Nam etsi sunt qui dicantur dii, sive in coelo, sive in terra (I Cor. VIII, 5). Vides igitur quia hi qui ex diversis substantiis sunt, et non ex unius veritate naturae, dii appellantur? Pater autem et Filius, quia unius substantiae sunt, non duo dii, sed Unus Deus, Pater ex quo omnia, et unus Dominus Jesus Christus, per quem omnia (Ibid., 6). Unus, inquit, Deus Pater, et unus Dominus Jesus; et supra: Unus Deus, non duo dii (Ibid. 4); et infra: Unus Dominus, et non duo. 47. Pluralitas ergo excluditur, non unitas sequestratur. Sed quemadmodum cum legimus Dominum Jesum, nec Patrem, ut supra diximus (Lib. II, ca), a dominationis jure secernimus, quod ei commune 560 cum Filio est: ita cum legimus solum verum Deum Patrem, nec Filium a solius veri Dei jure possumus separare, quod ei commune cum Patre est. 48. Aut dicant quid aliud sentiant, quidve arbitrentur, cum legimus: Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et ipsi soli servies (Matth. IV, 10), utrum Christum non adorandum, et Christo non existiment serviendum? Quod si illa quae adoravit eum Chananaea (Matth. XV, 25), impetrare meruit quod poposcit; et Paulus apostolus, qui servum se Christi prima scriptorum suorum praefatione profitetur (Rom. I, 1), apostolus esse meruit, non ab hominibus neque per hominem, sed per Jesum Christum; dicant quid arbitrentur sequendum, utrum cum Ario malint sibi societatem esse perfidiae; ut solum

et verum Deum Christum negando, ostendant quia nec adorandum eum, nec serviendum ei judicent: an vero consortium malint habere cum Paulo, qui serviendo atque adorando etiam Christum, utique solum verum Deum voce affectuque non diffitebatur, quem pio servitio fatebatur.

CAPUT IV.

Objiciebatur ab haereticis Christum Patri adorationem exhibuisse. At reponitur et hoc referendum ad humanitatem, ut ex loci examine manifestatur: illic tamen addita esse divinitatis testimonia, quod in aliis etiam Christi operibus factum videmus. 49. [Alias cap. II.] Quod si quis dicat quoniam Deum Patrem adorat et Filius, quia scriptum est: Vos adoratis quod nescitis, nos adoramus quod scimus (Joan. IV, 22); consideret quando, et apud quem, et cujus suscepto loquatur affectu. 50. Denique et in superioribus non immerito praemissum est, quia Jesus fatigatus ex itinere sedebat, et a Samaritana bibere postulabat; quia secundum carnem hominis loquebatur: nam secundum divinitatem nec fatigari poterat, nec sitire (Ibid. VI, 7). 51. Deinde cum Samaritana quasi Judaeum appellaret, et prophetam putaret; quasi Judaeus qui spiritaliter mysteria Legis doceret, respondit: Vos adoratis quod nescitis, nos adoramus quod scimus. Nos, inquit, hoc est, se hominibus copulavit. Quomodo autem nisi secundum carnem hominibus copulatur? Et ut ostenderet quia secundum incarnationem responderat, addidit: Quia salus ex Judaeis est (Ibid. 22). 52. Sed statim post hoc sequestravit hominis affectum, dicens: Veniet hora, et nunc est, quando veri adoratores adorabunt Patrem (Ibid., 23). Non dixit: Adorabimus. Quod utique dixisset, si consortium nostri subiret obsequii. 53. Verum cum legerimus quod Maria adoravit eum (Matth. XXVIII, 9), intelligere debemus quod non potest per eamdem naturam et adorare quasi servus, et adorari quasi Dominus: sed potius quia ut homo inter homines adorare dicitur, et quasi Dominus a famulis adoratur. 54. Multa ergo secundum incarnationis legimus et credimus sacramentum, sed in ipsa 561 naturae

humanae affectione majestatem licet spectare divinam. Fatigatur ex itinere Jesus, ut reficiat fatigatos: petit bibere, sitientibus potum spiritalem daturus: esurit, cibum salutis esurientibus traditurus: moritur, vivificaturus: sepelitur, resurrecturus: tremulo pendet in ligno, confirmaturus trementes: coelum caligine obducit, ut illuminet: terras tremefacit, ut solidet: maria conturbat, ut mitiget: reserat tumulos mortuorum, ut ostendat domicilia esse vivorum: creatur ex Virgine, ut ex Deo natus esse credatur: nescire se simulat, ut scire faciat nescientes: adorare quasi Judaeus dicitur, ut quasi verus Deus Filius adoretur.

CAPUT V.

Dominica ad Zebedaei filiorum matrem verba ingerentibus Ambrosius respondet, quod Christus moestitia illam afficere noluerit, clementiae fuisse. Affertur hujusce indulgentiae causa multiplex. Moluisse igitur Dominum petitionis illius concessionem ad Patrem remittere, quam eamdem impossibilem pronuntiare: nec tamen Christo incommodare suum responsum, tum ex ipsis ejusdem verbis, tum ex aliorum locorum comparatione ostenditur. 55. Quomodo, inquiunt, Filius Dei solus verus Deus potest esse similis Patri, cum ipse dixerit filiis Zebedaei: Calicem quidem meum bibetis, sedere autem ad dexteram meam vel ad sinistram non est meum dare vobis, sed quibus paratum est a Patre meo (Matth. XX, 23)? Hoc igitur vestrum divinae, ut vultis, inaequalitatis est argumentum; cum in eo magis venerari Domini clementiam, adorare gratiam deberetis: si tamen virtutis atque sapientiae Dei profunda secreta possetis advertere. 56. Considerate enim quae cum filiis et pro filiis petat. Mater est utique, cui pro filiorum honore sollicitae immoderatior quidem, sed tamen ignoscenda mensura votorum est. Atque mater aetate longaeva, studio religiosa, solatio destituta: quae tunc temporis quando vel juvanda vel alenda foret validae prolis auxilio, abesse sibi liberos patiebatur, et voluptati suae mercedem sequentium Christum praetulerat filiorum: qui prima voce vocati a Domino, ut legimus (Matth. IV, 22), relictis retibus et patre, secuti sunt eum. 57. Haec igitur studio maternae sedulitatis indulgentior, obsecrabat Salvatorem, dicens: Dic ut sedeant hi duo filii mei, unus ad dexteram tuam, et alter ad sinistram in regno tuo (Ibid. 20, 21). Etsi error, pietatis tamen error est; nesciunt enim materna viscera patientiam: etsi voti avara, tamen veniabilis

cupiditas, quae non pecuniae est avida, sed gratiae: nec inverecunda petitio, quae non sibi, sed liberis consulebat. Matrem considerate, matrem cogitate. 58. Sed nihil mirum si vilis vobis videtur circa filios 562 affectus parentum, qui etiam omnipotentis Patris vilem putatis esse circa unigenitum Filium charitatem. Dominus coeli atque terrarum verecundabatur (ut secundum assumptionem carnis et virtutes animae loquar), verecundabatur, inquam, et ut ipsius verbo utar, confundebatur matri pro filiis postulanti etiam suae sedis consortium denegare: vos aeterni Dei Filium proprium interdum pro ministerio stare contenditis, interdum famulatorium, hoc est, non ex majestatis unitate, sed ex Patris praeceptione vultis ejus esse consessum; et negatis hoc Deo vero Dei Filio, quod ille hominibus aperte noluit denegare. 59. Considerabat enim matris dilectionem, quae filiorum mercede grandaevam solabatur senectam, et desideriis licet fessa maternis, charissimorum pignorum tolerabat absentiam. 60. Considerate etiam feminam, hoc est, sexum fragiliorem, quem Dominus propria nondum confirmaverat passione. Considerate, inquam, Evae illius primae mulieris haeredem transfusa in omnes immoderatae cupiditatis successione labentem, quam Dominus adhuc proprio sanguine non redemerat, nondum inolitam affectibus omnium immodici contra fas honoris appetentiam suo cruore diluerat. Haereditario igitur mulier delinquebat errore. 61. Et quid mirum si mater pro filiorum suorum, quod est tolerabilius quam pro se; quando etiam apostoli ipsi inter se, sicut legimus (Luc. XXII, 24), de sui praelatione certabant? 62. Non debuit igitur medicus omnium destitutam matrem, et aegram adhuc mentem pudoris convicio sauciare; ne postulato sibi superbius denegato, quasi immoderatae petitionis damnata moereret. 63. Denique Dominus qui honorandam sciret esse pietatem, non mulieri, sed filiis ejus respondit dicens: Potestis bibere calicem, quem ego bibiturus sum? Dicentibus autem illis: Possumus; ait illis Jesus: Calicem quidem meum bibetis; sedere autem ad dexteram meam vel ad sinistram non est

meum dare vobis, sed quibus paratum est a Patre meo (Matth. XX, 22, 23). 64. Quam patiens et clemens Dominus, quam alta sapientia et bona charitas! Volens enim ostendere quia non perfunctoriam rem aliquam discipuli postularent, sed eam quam impetrare non possent, praerogativam ejus paternae honorificentiae reservavit: non metuens, ne quid juri proprio derogaret, qui non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo (Philip. II, 6); simul diligens discipulos, quia, sicut habes, usque in finem dilexit eos (Joan. XIII, 1), noluit iis quos diligeret, videri quod peterent denegasse: sanctus et bonus Dominus, qui mallet aliquid dissimulare de jure, quam de charitate deponere: Charitas enim patiens est, benigna est, non aemulatur, non inflatur, non quaerit quae sua sunt (I Cor. XIII, 4). 563 65. Denique ut agnoscatis non infirmitatis, sed indulgentiae esse, quia dixit: Non est meum dare vobis; ubi sine matre filii Zebedaei rogant, nihil de Patre dixit; sic enim habes: Non est meum dare vobis, sed quibus paratum est (Matth. X, 40). Ita Marcus evangelista posuit. Ubi vero mater pro filiis rogat, hoc est, secundum Matthaeum: Non est, inquit, meum dare vobis, sed quibus paratum est a Patre meo (Matth. XX, 23), hic addidit: A Patre meo; quia majorem indulgentiam maternus poscebat affectus. 66. Quod si putant, dicendo: Quibus paratum est a Patre meo, quia, aut, Patri plus tribuit, aut sibi aliquid derogavit; dicant utrum et illic putent Patri aliquid derogatum, quia dixit in Evangelio Filius de Patre: Pater non judicat quemquam (Joan. V, 22). 67. Quod si sacrilegum putamus credere quia Pater ita judicium detulit Filio, ut ipse non habeat; habet enim, nec potest amittere quod habet naturaliter divina majestas: sacrilegum utique aestimare debemus quia non potest Filius dare quidquid aut homines mereri possunt, aut quaevis accipere creatura; praesertim cum ipse dixerit: Ego ad Patrem vado, et quodcumque ab eo petieritis in nomine meo, hoc faciam (Joan. XIV, 12, 13). Si enim quod Pater dare potest, Filius non potest, mentita est ergo veritas, et non potest facere quidquid in nomine ejus Pater fuerit obsecratus.

Nec enim ideo dixit: Quibus paratum est a Patre meo, ut tantummodo a Patre poscatur: nam omnia quaecumque a Patre fuerint postulata, se donare memoravit. Denique non dixit: Quodcumque a me petieritis, hoc faciam; sed: Quodcumque ab eo petieritis in nomine meo, hoc faciam.

CAPUT VI.

Accuratius propositam soluturus objectionem, contendit memoratam petitionem, si modo in se impossibilis non fuit, possibilem fuisse Christo; maxime cum ipsi omne judicium Pater dederit, quod sine ulla imperfectionis nota intelligendum. Attamen idem postulatum inter impossibilia censendum probat. Quod ut omnino esset possibile, tunc responsum Christi secundum naturam humanam accipiendum tradit, ac loci explicatione declarat. Denique iterum suam confirmat de sessionis hujus impossibilitate responsionem. 68. Quaero nunc utrum possibile aliquid humanae conditioni, aut alicui creaturae, an impossibile putent a Zebedaei conjuge et filiis postulatum? Si possibile, quomodo ad sinistram suam vel ad dexteram impertiendae apostolis sedis non habuit potestatem, qui omnia fecit esse, quae non erant? Aut quomodo non poterat judicare de meritis hominum, cui Pater dedit omne judicium? 69. Notum est quemadmodum dederit (Joan. V, 22): nam quomodo quasi indigens accepit Filius, qui omnia creavit ex nihilo? Quorum igitur naturas fecerat, eorum judicium non habebat? Dedit autem Pater Filio omne judicium; Ut omnes, inquit, honorificent Filium, sicut honorificant Patrem (Ibid., 23). Non igitur potentia Filii, sed cognitio nostra proficit: neque aliquid ad substantiam 564 ejus accedit, sed ad nostram utilitatem, quod a nobis cognoscitur; ut cognoscendo Dei Filium, vitam habeamus aeternam (Joan. XVII, 3). 70. Cum autem in cognitione Filii Dei honor illius, noster autem non illius sit profectus, si quis putat quia Dei virtus illo honore cumulatur, necesse est etiam Deum Patrem credat posse cumulari; quia et ipse per cognitionem nostram clarificatur sicut Filius, juxta quod scriptum est, dicente Filio: Ego

te clarificavi super terram (Ibid., 4). Ergo si possibile aliquid erat quod petebatur, in potestate utique Filii fuit. 71. Sed tamen ostendant, si possibile putant, qui de hominibus aut caeteris creaturis, aut ad dexteram, aut ad sinistram Dei sedeat; Pater enim dicit Filio: Sede ad dexteram meam (Psal. CIX, 1). Itaque si quis ad dexteram Filio sedet, inter ipsum utique et Patrem, ut humano usu loquamur, Filius medius reperitur. 72. Non ergo possibile homini aliquid petebatur, sed noluit dicere quod homines sedere secum non possint; si quidem divinam suam gloriam celari, priusquam resurgeret, non divulgari cupiebat. Nam et supra cum inter famulos suos Moysen et Eliam apparuisset in gloria, monuerat discipulos, ne cui dicerent, quod vidissent (Matth. XVII, 9). 73. Itaque si possibile non erat hominibus vel creaturis caeteris hoc mereri, non debet videri Filius minus posse, quia non dedit apostolis, quod nec Pater hominibus vel creaturis caeteris dedit. Aut dicant cui horum dederit Pater. Non utique angelis, de quibus Scriptura dicit quia omnes angeli stabant in circuitu sedis (Apoc. VII, 11). Denique Gabriel se stare dixit, sicut habes: Ego sum Gabriel, qui asto ante Dominum (Luc. I, 19). 74. Non ergo angelis, non senioribus qui adorant sedentem; illi enim non super sedem majestatis sedent: sed, ut dixit Scriptura, in circuitu sedis; sedes enim aliae viginti et quatuor sunt, ut habes in Apocalypsi Joannis: Et supra sedem viginti quatuor seniores sedentes (Apoc. IV, 4). In Evangelio quoque ipse Dominus dicit: Cum sederit Filius homnis in sede majestatis suae, sedebitis et ipsi super sedes duodecim, judicantes duodecim tribus Israel (Matth. XIX, 28). Non ergo sedis suae dixit apostolis dari posse consortium, sed alias illas sedes esse duodecim; quas tamen non pro corporali consessu, sed pro successu spiritalis gratiae aestimare debemus. 75. Denique in libro Regnorum dixit Michaeas propheta: Vidi Dominum Deum Israel sedentem super thronum suum, et omnis militia coeli stabat circa eum, ad dexteram ejus et ad sinistram (III Reg. XXII, 19). Quomodo igitur stantibus angelis ad dexteram vel ad sinistram Domini Dei, stante

omni militia coelesti, sedebunt homines ad dexteram Dei, vel ad sinistram, quibus pro virtutis praemio angelorum similitudo promittitur, sicut Dominus dicit: Eritis sicut angeli in coelo (Matth. XXII, 30)? Sicut angeli, dicit, non plus quam angeli. 76. Si ergo nihil plus dedit Pater quam Filius, nihil utique minus dedit Filius quam Pater: nihil igitur minus Filius potest quam Pater. 77. Ponite tamen possibile impetratu hominibus 565 quod posceretur, quid est quod ait: Sedere autem ad dexteram meam vel ad sinistram non est meum dare vobis (Matth. XX, 23)? Quid est meum? Supra dixit: Calicem quidem meum bibetis; infra posuit: Non est meum dare vobis; et supra meum, et infra meum dixit, nec immutavit. Ergo superiora docent propter quid dixerit meum. 78. Rogatus enim a muliere quasi homo, ut ad dexteram vel ad sinistram suam filios ejus sedere pateretur; quia illa quasi hominem rogaverat, et Dominus quasi tantummodo homo de sua passione respondit: Potestis bibere calicem, quem ego bibiturus sum (Ibid., 22)? 79. Itaque quia secundum carnem de passione sui corporis loquebatur, demonstrare voluit quod secundum carnem quidem subeundae passionis nobis exemplum ac similitudinem derelinqueret, secundum humanam autem conditionem non sedis supernae consortia donaret. Hoc est enim quod dixit: Non est meum; sicut alibi: Mea doctrina non est mea (Joan. VII, 16); non est enim, inquit, secundum carnem mea: quia quae divina sunt, non sunt carnis eloquia. 80. Indulgentiam autem suam circa discipulos quos diligeret, quam expresse revelavit, praemittens: Calicem quidem meum bibetis? Etenim quia non debebat id dare quod petierant, aliud proposuit; ut prius commemoraret quid iis tribueret, quam quid negaret: quo magis aequitatem sibi petitionis, quam studium Dominicae liberalitatis intelligerent defuisse. 81. Calicem quidem, inquit, meum bibetis, hoc est, passionem quidem quae carnis meae est, non negabo; quod enim humanae assumptionis habeo, potestis imitari: donavi vobis victoriam passionis, haereditatem crucis: Sedere autem ad dexteram meam, vel ad sinistram, non est meum dare vobis. Non dixit: Non est meum

dare, sed, non est meum dare vobis, hoc est, non sibi potestatem deesse asserens, sed meritum creaturis. 82. Accipe aliter: Non est meum dare vobis. Quod est, non est meum, qui veni humilitatem docere: non est meum, qui veni non ministrari, sed ministrare: non est meum, qui justitiam servo, non gratiam. 83. Denique ad Patrem referens, addidit: Quibus paratum est; ut ostenderet Patrem quoque non petitionibus deferre solere, sed meritis, quia Deus personarum acceptor non est (Act. X, 34). Unde et Apostolus ait: Quos praescivit, et praedestinavit (Rom. VIII, 29); non enim ante praedestinavit, quam praesciret: sed quorum merita praescivit, eorum praemia praedestinavit. 84. Jure igitur reprehenditur mulier, quae et impossibilia et speciali quodam privilegio ab eo Domino postulavit, qui ea quae sanctis judicavit esse donanda, non duobus apostolis, sed omnibus discipulis, etiam sine cujusquam precatione, voluntaria sui largitate contulerit, sicut scriptum est: Duodecim vos sedebitis super sedes, judicantes duodecim tribus Israel (Matth. XIX, 28). 566 85. Ergo etiamsi possibile putemus postulatum fuisse, calumniae locus non est; tamen cum legerim Seraphim stare (Esai. VI, 2), quomodo possum quod homines ad dexteram vel ad sinistram Filio Dei sedeant, arbitrari? Supra Cherubim Dominus sedet, sicut habes: Qui sedes super Cherubim, appare (Psal. LXXIX, 2); quomodo apostoli super Cherubim sedebunt? 86. Et hoc tamen colligo non ex meo ingenio, sed ex Dominicae vocis oraculo; ipse enim Dominus in posterioribus apostolos commendans Patri, ait: Pater, quos dedisti mihi, volo ut ubi ego sum, et illi sint mecum (Joan. XVII, 24). Utique si judicasset quia divinam sedem Pater hominibus daret, dixisset: Volo ut ubi ego sedeo, et illi sedeant mecum; Sed volo, inquit, ut sint mecum, non ut sedeant mecum; et ubi ego, non quomodo ego. 87. Deinde sequitur: Ut videant claritatem meam. Nec hic dixit: Ut habeant claritatem meam, sed ut videant; servus enim videt, Dominus possidet; sicut et David docuit dicens: Ut videam voluptatem Domini (Psal. XXVI, 4). Et ipse

Dominus in Evangelio revelavit asserens: Beati mundi corde, ipsi enim Deum videbunt (Matth. V, 8). Videbunt, inquit, non super Cherubim cum Deo sedebunt. 88. Desinant ergo viliora secundum divinitatem aestimare de Dei Filio, ne viliora quoque de Patre aestiment. Qui enim male crediderit de Filio, non potest bene sentire de Patre: qui male crediderit de Spiritu, non potest bene sentire de Filio. Ubi enim una dignitas, una gloria, una charitas, una majestas est; in commune derogatur, quidquid in aliquo putaveris derogandum: jam enim non erit plenitudo quam discernas et dividas in aliquas portiones.

CAPUT VII.

OBJECTIO PETITA EX hoc loco: Dilexisti eos, sicut et me dilexisti, ut diluatur, primo Arianorum expositionis impietas demonstratur, deinde comparantur eadem verba cum similibus, ac demum totus locus consideratur. Hinc deducitur Christi missionem, etsi secundum carnem accipienda est, illi non officere. Quo probato, qui fiat divina missio describitur. 89. [Alias cap. III.] Exsistunt tamen, Imperator auguste, qui hanc divinae unitatem substantiae negare cupientes, extenuare studeant Patris et Filii charitatem; quia scriptum est: Et dilexisti eos, sicut et me dilexisti (Joan. XVII, 23). Quod cum dicunt, qui aliud agunt, nisi inter Dei Filium et homines aequalitatem quamdam comparationis inducunt? 90. Numquid sic diligi possunt a Deo homines quemadmodum Filius, in quo complacuit Pater? Ille per se complacet, nos per ipsum: in quibus enim Deus Filium suum ad imaginem suam cernit, eos per Filium adsciscit in gratiam filiorum; ut quemadmodum per imaginem ad 567 imaginem sumus, sic per generationem Filii in adoptionem vocemur. Alius igitur naturae amor sempiternus, alius gratiae. 91. Aut si ex verbis faciunt quaestionem, quia scriptum est: Et dilexisti eos, sicut et me dilexisti; et comparationem factam putant: ergo et illud comparative dictum putant: Estote misericordes, sicut et Pater vester qui est in coelis, misericors est (Luc. VI, 36); et alibi: Estote perfecti, sicut et Pater meus, qui in coelis est, perfectus est (Matth. V, 48). Quod si ille secundum plenitudinem majestatis suae perfectus est, nos autem perfecti secundum virtutis accedentis profectum; etiam Filius diligitur a Patre secundum semper manentis plenitudinem charitatis: in nobis autem charitatem Dei virtutis emeretur profectus. 92. Vides igitur

quam gratiam Deus dederit hominibus, et tu Patris et Filii vis dissolvere naturalem et individuam charitatem; et tu verba adhuc discutis, ubi unitatem majestatis advertis? 93. Vide totum hunc locum, ex cujus affectu loquatur; habes enim dicentem ipsum: Clarifica me, Pater, claritate ea quam habui, priusquam mundus esset, apud te (Joan. XVII, 5). Vide quia ex primi hominis loquatur affectu; quia nobis ea petitione deposcit, quae ante peccatum in paradiso homo meminerit esse collata, ut et latroni in passione memoravit: Amen, amen dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in paradiso (Luc. XXIII, 13). Haec est ante mundum claritas. Mundum autem pro hominibus dixit, sicut habes: Ecce mundus totus post ipsum abit (Joan. XII, 19); et alibi: Ut cognoscat hic mundus quia tu me misisti (Joan. XIV, 31). 94. Et tamen ut scires magnum Deum et salutarem et omnipotentem Dei Filium; indicium suae majestatis admiscuit dicendo: Et mea omnia tua sunt, et tua mea (Ibid. 10). Omnia habet, et tu missum esse ad injuriam derivas? 95. Qui si secundum carnem non accipis missum, ut Apostolus dixit (Rom. VIII, 3), et ex verbo simplici praejudicium struis, quo dicas inferiores a superioribus mitti solere: quid ad illa respondes, quia Filius ad homines missus est? Nam si minorem putas eum qui mittitur, eo videlicet a quo mittitur; disce quod et minor majorem misit, et majores ad minores missi sunt. Nam et Tobias Raphaelem archangelum misit (Tobiae IX, 3), et angelus ad Balaam missus est (Num. XXII, 22), et Dei Filius ad Judaeos (Matth. XXV, 24). 96. Numquid ergo minor etiam Judaeis Dei Filius, ad quos mittebatur? De ipso enim scriptum est: Novissime autem misit eis filium suum unicum dicens: Verebuntur filium meum (Matth. XXI, 37). Et vide quia ante servos, postea filium nominavit; ut scias quod Deus Filius unigenitus secundum divinitatis potentiam nec nomen habet, nec consortium commune cum servis: reverendus mittitur, non cum famulis conferendus. 568 97. Et bene addidit, meum, ut non unus de multis, nec degeneris naturae, nec minoris alicujus potestatis: sed verus a vero, et paternae imago venisse substantiae

crederetur. 98. Esto tamen, minor sit qui mittitur, eo a quo mittitur; ergo et Pilato minor Christus, quoniam Pilatus misit eum ad Herodem. Sed sermo non praejudicat potestati: Scriptura, quae missum dicit a Patre, missum dicit a praeside. 99. Unde si sobrie de Dei Filio quae digna sunt, opinemur; ideo missum intelligere debemus, quia ex illo incomprehensibili inenarrabilique secreto majestatis profundae dedit se comprehendendum pro captu nostro mentibus nostris Dei Verbum, non solum cum se exinaniret, sed etiam cum habitaret in nobis, sicut scriptum est: Quoniam inhabitabo in illis (II Cor. VI, 16). Denique et alibi habes quia Deus dixit: Venite, descendamus, et confundamus linguas eorum (Gen. XI, 7). Non enim Deus de loco aliquando descendit, qui ait: Ego coelum et terram compleo (Jerem. XXIII, 24); sed in eo descendere videtur, si nostros Dei Verbum penetret affectus, sicut dixit propheta: Parate viam Domino, rectas facite semitas ejus; (Esai. XL, 3); ut quemadmodum ipse promisit, veniens cum Patre, apud nos faciat mansionem. Evidens est igitur quomodo veniat.

CAPUT VIII.

CHRISTO IN QUANTUM verus est Dei Filius, Dominum non esse, sed in quantum homo est; ut verbis ejusdem modo Patrem, modo Dominum compellantis significatur. Quot haereses uno jugulentur Scripturae versiculo. Distinguenda igitur quae Christo vel ut Dei vel ut Davidis filio conveniant; illi enim sub ultimo tantum nomine ascribendum, quod servus fuerit. Ad extremum complures locos demonstrat non nisi secundum incarnationem accipi posse. 100. Unde et evidens est quomodo dominum dicat, quem Patrem novit; ait enim: Confiteor tibi, Pater, Domine coeli et terrae (Matth. XI, 25). Ante Patrem dixit Sapientia suum, postea creaturae Dominum nuncupavit. Itaque dominatum non esse ubi vera progenies est, ipse Dominus ostendit in Evangelio suo, dicens: Quid vobis videtur de Christo? cujus Filius est? Dicunt ei: David. Ait illis Jesus: Quomodo ergo David in spiritu vocat eum Dominum, dicens: Dixit Dominus Domino meo: Sede a dextris meis? Et addidit: Si ergo David in spiritu vocat eum Dominum, quomodo filius ejus est? Et nemo poterat ei respondere verbum (Matth. XXII, 42 et seq.). 101. O quam caute propter Arianos etiam in hoc testimonio Dominus fidei prospexit! Non enim dixit: Vocat eum spiritus dominum: sed quia David dixit in spiritu; ut cujus secundum carnem 569 Filius est, David scilicet, ejus etiam secundum divinitatem et Dominus et Deus crederetur. Vides igitur quia nomen pietatis et dominii discretum est. 102. Et bene Dominus suum quidem Patrem coeli autem et terrae Dominum praedicavit; ut tu cum legis et Patrem et Dominum, intelligas Patrem Filii, et Dominum creaturae. In alio praerogativa naturae est, in alio auctoritas potestatis; formam enim servi accipiens, eo utique Dominum vocat, quo

servitutem suscepit, aequalis in Dei forma, servus in corporis: servitus enim carnis, dominatus autem divinitatis est. Unde et Apostolus ait: Deus Domini nostri Jesu Christi, pater gloriae (II Cor. I, 3), hoc est, Deum assumptionis humanae asserens, Patrem autem gloriae. Num enim duos filios habuit Deus Christum et gloriam? Minime. Ergo si unus Dei Filius Christus, utique Christus est gloria. Quid autem ei derogas, qui Patris gloria est? 103. Si ergo et Filius gloria est, et Pater gloria; quia Pater gloriae non potest aliud esse quam gloria: non divisio gloriarum, sed una est gloria. Itaque ad proprietatem naturae gloria refertur, dominatus autem ad suscepti corporis servitutem. Si enim caro etiam justi animae subdita est, sicut scriptum est: Castigo corpus meum, et servituti redigo (I Cor. IX, 27), quanto magis subjecta et divinitati, de qua dicitur: Quoniam universa serviunt tibi (Psal. CXVIII, 91)? 104. Una autem quaestione et Sabellianos et Photinianos et Arianos Dominus exclusit. Nam cum Dominum dixisse Domino dicit, Sabellius excluditur, qui eumdem Patrem vult esse quem Filium. Excluditur Photinus, qui secundum carnem judicat; quia dominus David regis non poterat esse, nisi qui Deus est; scriptum est enim: Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et illi soli servies (Deut. VI, 13). Numquid contra Legem propheta sentiret, qui sub Lege regnaret? Excluditur Arius, qui Filium sedere audit ad dexteram Patris; ut si ex usu argumentetur humano, ipse se perimat, et venenum sacrilegae disputationis suae in se refundat, ut dum inaequalitatem Patris et Filii ex consuetudine hominum interpretatur, in utroque a vero devius, eum praeferat cui derogat, confessurus priorem quem audit ad dexteram. Excluditur etiam Manichaeus: non enim negat esse se David filium secundum carnem; ut pote qui clamantibus caecis: Jesu, fili David, miserere nobis (Matth. XX, 30); et delectatus est fide, et stetit et curavit eos: sed negat hoc suae esse aeternitatis, si David solius filius a perfidis nominetur. 105. Nam Filius Dei est contra Hebionem, Filius David est contra Manichaeos: Filius Dei est contra Photinum, Filius David est contra

Marcionem: Filius Dei est contra Paulum Samosatenum: 570 Filius David est contra Valentinum: Filius Dei est contra Arium atque Sabellium gentilis erroris haeredes: Dominus David est contra Judaeos, qui Dei Filium in carne cernentes, hominem tantummodo impio furore credebant. 106. Sed Ecclesiastica fide et Dei Patris et David idem atque unus est Filius; quia incarnationis Dei mysterium universae salus est creaturae; secundum quod scriptum est: Ut sine Deo pro omnibus gustaret mortem (Hebr. II, 9), id est, quod creatura omnis sine passione aliqua divinitatis Dominici sanguinis redimenda sit pretio, ut alibi habet: Omnis creatura liberabitur a servitute corruptionis (Rom. VIII, 21). 107. Aliud est igitur secundum divinam substantiam, aliud secundum susceptionem carnis Filium nominari: nam secundum generationem divinam Deo Patri aequalis est Filius, et secundum susceptionem corporis Deo Patri servus est; quia formam servi, inquit (Phil. II, 7), accepit: unus tamen atque idem est Filius. Contra autem sancto patriarchae David secundum gloriam suam Dominus est, secundum corporalis successionis seriem filius est, non deficiens a se, sed nostrae jus sibi adoptionis acquirens. 108. Nec solum ex genere David servitutem suscepit in persona hominis; sed etiam ex nomine, sicut habes: Inveni David servum meum; et alibi: Ecce ego mittam ad vos servum meum (Zach. III, 8), Oriens nomen est ei (Ibid. VI, 12). Et ipse Filius ait: Sic dicit Dominus, qui finxit me ex utero servum sibi, et dixit mihi: Magnum tibi est vocari puerum meum. Ecce posui te in testamentum generis mei, in lucem gentium; ut sis in salutem usque ad extremum terrae (Esai XLIX, 6 et seq.). Cui hoc dicitur, nisi Christo? qui cum in forma Dei esset, exinanivit se, et formam servi accepit (Phil. II, 6). Quid est in Dei forma, nisi in divinitatis plenitudine? 109. Disce igitur quid sit: Formam servi accepit, id est, plenitudinem perfectionis humanae, plenitudinem obedientiae. Ideoque dicit in psalmo trigesimo: Statuisti in loco spatioso pedes meos. Super omnes inimicos meos factus sum opprobrium. Illustra faciem tuam super servum

tuum (Psal. XXX, 9, 12 et 17). Servus dictus est homo, in quo sanctificatus est: servus homo, in quo unctus est: servus homo, in quo factus sub Lege, factus ex Virgine est; et ut compendio dicam, servus dictus est, in quo matrem habet, sicut scriptum est: O Domine, ego servus tuus, ego servus tuus, et filius ancillae tuae (Psal. CXV, 7); et alibi: Afflictus sum et humiliatus sum nimis (Psal. XXXVII, 9). 110. Quis nimis humiliatus est, nisi Christus, qui venit ut omnes liberaret per obedientiam? Sicut enim per inobedientiam unius hominis peccatores constituti sunt plurimi, ita et per unius obedientiam justi constituentur multi (Rom. V, 19). Quis calicem 571 salutarem (Psal. CXV, 13) accepit, Christus princeps sacerdotum, an David, qui neque sacerdotium habuit, neque passionem subiit? Quis sacrificavit hostiam laudis? 111. Sed si hoc parum est, accipe aliud: Custodi animam meam, quoniam ego sanctus sum (Psal. LXXXV, 2). Numquid de se hoc diceret David? Sed ille dicit, qui ait: Non derelinques animam meam in inferno, nec dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem (Psal. XV, 10). Idem ergo utrumque dicit. 112. Addidit vero: Salvum fac servum tuum (Psal. LXXXV, 2); et infra: Da postestatem puero tuo, et filio ancillae tuae (Ibid. 16); et alibi, id est, in Ezechiele: Et suscitabo super eos pastorem unum, et reget eos servus meus David. Ipse pascet eos, et erit eorum pastor: et ego Dominus ero illis in Deum, et servus meus David in medio eorum princeps (Ezech. XXIV, 23, 24). Utique David jam defunctus erat, filius Jesse. De Christo itaque dicit, qui propter nos filius ancillae factus est, secundum formam hominis; nam secundum divinam generationem non matrem habet, sed Patrem: nec corporalis ventris est fructus, sed sempiterna Dei virtus. 113. Ergo etiam illud cum legimus quia dixit Dominus: Tempus meum nundum impletum est (Joan. VII, 8), et: Adhuc modicum vobiscum sum (Joan. XIII, 33), et: Vado ad eum qui misit me (Ibid.), et: Clarificatus est Filius hominis (Ibid., 31), ad incarnationis sacramentum referre debemus. Cum autem legimus: Et Deus clarificatus est in eo, et Deus clarificavit eum

(Ibid.); quid ibi est quaestionis, ubi et Filius clarificatur a Patre, et Pater clarificatur a Filio? 114. Denique ut fidem unitatis et copulam Trinitatis aperiret, etiam ab Spiritu clarificandum esse se dixit, sicut habes: Ille de meo accipiet, et clarificabit me (Joan. XVI, 14). Clarificat ergo Dei Filium etiam Spiritus sanctus. Quomodo igitur ipse dixit: Si ego clarificavero me ipsum, claritas mea nihilum est (Joan. VIII, 54)? Ergo nihil est claritas Filii? Sacrilegum est dicere, nisi referas ad carnem; quia ex persona hominis Filius loquebatur, eo quod comparatione divinitatis nulla est carnis claritas. 115. Desinant igitur impie objicere, quod in suam perfidiam retorquetur. Dicunt enim: Scriptum est: Nunc clarificatus est Filius hominis (Joan. XIII, 31). Non nego scriptum: Clarificatus est Filius hominis; sed videant quid sequatur: Et Deus clarificatus est in eo. Ego excusationem habeo de Filio hominis, ille de Patre non habet; quia Pater non suscepit carnem. Excusationem habeo, et non utor: ille non habet, et calumniatur. Aut simpliciter me patiatur intelligere, aut ad carnem referre quae carnis sunt. Pia mens, quae leguntur secundum carnem divinitatemque, distinguit: sacrilega confundit, et ad divinitatis detorquet injuriam, quidquid secundum humilitatem carnis est dictum. 572

CAPUT IX.

Judaico more ordinem verborum: In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, objicientibus, praeter responsum quod vir sanctus indicat a se jam datum, regerit etiam Filium ante Patrem saepe locari. 116. [Alias cap. IV.] Quid quod etiam more Judaico falsi et impudentes interpretes Ariani verborum sunt divinorum, dicentes usque adeo aliam Patris, aliam Filii, aliam Spiritus sancti esse potestatem, ut scriptum sit: Ite, docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti (Matth. XXVIII, 19); et ex verborum ordine differentiam divinae faciunt potestatis? 117. Ego autem licet hoc ipsum testimonium in superioribus libris pro unitate asseruerim majestatis ac nominis, tamen si hinc faciunt quaestionem, possum testimoniis asserere Scripturarum in plerisque locis prius Filium nominatum, postea Patrem dictum. Numquid igitur quia Filii significatio ante praemissa est, verborum, ut Ariani volunt, praejudicio Pater secundus a Filio est? Absit, inquam, absit. Nescit hunc ordinem fides, nescit discretum Patris et Filii honorem. Non legi, non audivi, nec aliquem in Deo inveni gradum. Nusquam secundum, nusquam tertium Deum legi: primum legi, primum ac solum audivi (Esai XLIV, 6). 118. Si ordinis exigimus superstitionem, nec ad dexteram Patris sedere Filius debet, nec primum se et principium debuit dicere. Male ergo Evangelista prius a Verbo, quam a Deo coepit, dicens: In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum (Joan. I, 1). Etenim juxta humani ritus ordinem, prius Patrem debuit nominare. Nescivit etiam Apostolus ordinem, qui ait: Paulus servus Christi Jesu, vocatus apostolus, segregatus in Evangelium Dei (Rom. I, 1); et alibi: Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et charitas Dei, et communicatio

Spiritus sancti (II Cor. XIII, 13). Si verborum persequamur ordinem, in primo Filium posuit, in secundo Patrem. Sed verborum ordo saepe mutatur; et ideo non debes vel de ordine, vel de gradu Patri Deo et Filio ejus facere quaestionem, cum secundum divinitatem divisio nulla sit unitatis.

CAPUT X.

Arianos ad gentiles palam transire, dum objiciunt illa verba: Qui in me credit, non in me credit, etc. Verus loci sensus explicatur, et ne credatur Dominus nostram in ipsum fidem prohibuisse, alias ut Deus, alias ut homo locutus ostenditur. Mox variis ejusdem fidei effectibus prolatis in medium, alios quoque nonnullos locos eodem modo sumendos probat. 119. Ad extremum ut christianos se non esse manifestent, negant in Christum esse credendum, dicentes scriptum esse: Qui in me credit, non credit in me, sed in eum qui me misit (Joan. XII, 44). Hanc ego exspectabam confessionem, quid me quibusdam ambagibus ludebatis? Sciebam mihi adversum gentiles esse contentionem: 573 sed illi convertuntur, vos non convertimini. Illi si credant, salvum est sacramentum: vos perdidistis acceptum; et nec coeptum fortasse, sed fictum. 120. Scriptum est, inquiunt: Qui in me credit, non in me credit, sed in eum qui me misit. Sed videte quid sequatur, et videte sic quemadmodum se Dei Filius vult videri; sequitur enim: Et qui videt me, videt eum qui me misit (Joan. XII, 45), hoc est, quia Pater videtur in Filio. Exposuit igitur id quod ante praemisit, quia ille credit in Filium, qui confitetur et Patrem. Nam qui Filium nescit, nec Patrem novit; omnis enim qui negat Filium, nec Patrem habet: qui confitetur Filium, et Filium, et Patrem habet. 121. Quid est ergo: Non credit in me? Non in id quod corporaliter cernitis, non in hominem tantummodo, quem videtis: non enim in hominem tantummodo credendum asseruit, sed ut credas quia Jesus Christus ipse est Dei Filius et homo. Propter quod et utrumque ait: A meipso non veni (Joan. VII, 28); et alibi: Ego sum principium quod et loquor vobis (Joan. VIII, 25). Quasi homo, a se non venit: quasi Dei Filius

non ex homine principium habet: sed sum, inquit, ipse principium quod et loquor vobis (Joan. XII, 46): neque humana, sed divina sunt, quae locutus sum. 122. Neque enim fas est credere quod negaverit in se esse credundum, cum ipse dixerit: Ut omnis qui credit in me, in tenebris non maneat (Joan. III, 16); et alibi: Haec est enim voluntas Patris mei qui me misit, ut omnis qui videt Filium et credit in eum, habeat vitam aeternam (Joan VI, 40); et alibi: Creditis in Deum, et in me credite (Joan. XIV, 1). 123. Nemo ergo Filium sine Patre accipiat, quia Filium legimus. Habet Patrem Filius, sed non temporalem, non ex passione, non ex conceptione, non ex gratia. Generationem legi, non legi conceptionem. Et Pater dicit, genui (Psal. II, 7); non dicit, creavi: et Filius non creatorem suum Deum secundum aeternitatem divinae generationis, sed Patrem nominat. 124. Se quoque nunc ex persona hominis, nunc in Dei majestate significat: nunc unitatem sibi divinitatis cum Deo Patre vindicans, nunc fragilitatem humanae carnis assumens: nunc doctrinam suam se non habere, nunc voluntatem suam se non quaerere: nunc testimonium suum verum non esse, nunc verum esse significans. Nam ipse dixit: Si ego testimonium perhibeo de me ipso, testimonium meum non est verum (Joan. V, 31). Et ipse in posterioribus ait: Et si ego testimonium perhibeo de me, verum est testimonium meum (Joan. VIII, 14). 125. Quomodo igitur non est verum testimonium tuum, Domine Jesu, cui qui credidit, in cruce licet positus, et inter confessi sceleris supplicia constitutus, merita latronis exuit, praemia innocentis emeruit (Luc. XXIII, 41 et seq.) ? 126. Deceptus est ergo Paulus, qui ideo recepit oculos, quia credidit, quos amiserat, antequam crederet (Act. IX, 18)? 127. Erravitne etiam Jesus Nave, qui ducem militiae coelestis agnovit? Sed posteaquam credidit, 574 statim vicit, dignus qui fidei praelio triumpharet. Denique non aeratas acies in bella produxit, nec ariete, caeterisque tormentorum machinis, sed tubarum septem sacerdotalium sono, murorum hostilium septa deposuit. Ita bellum immane confecit tubae clangor, et

infula sacerdotis (Josue VI). 128. Vidit hoc meretrix, et quae in excidio civitatis remedia desperaret salutis, quia fides vicerat, signa fidei atque vexilla Dominicae passionis attollens, coccum in fenestra ligavit; ut species cruoris mystici quae foret mundum redemptura, vernaret (Josue II). Ita foris Jesu nomen fuit praeliantibus ad victoriam, intus species Dominicae passionis periclitantibus ad salutem. Unde quia intellexit Rahab coeleste mysterium, dicit Dominus in psalmo. Memor ero Rahab et Babylonis, scientium me (Psal. LXXXVI, 4). 129. Quomodo ergo non est verum testimonium tuum, Domine, nisi secundum fragilitatem hominum? Omnis enim homo mendax (Psal. CXV, 2). 130. Denique ut secundum hominem dixisse se demonstraret, ait: Qui misit me Pater, ipse testimonium perhibet de me (Joan. VIII, 18). Verum autem est testimonium secundum divinitatem, sicut ipse ait: Et verum est testimonium meum; quia scio unde veni, et quo vado: vos autem nescitis unde veni, et quo vado. Vos secundum carnem judicatis (Ibid., XIV, 15). Non ergo secundum divinitatem, sed secundum hominem judicant, qui putant Christo testificandi scientiam defuisse. 131. Ergo cum audis: Qui credit in me, non credit in me; et: Qui misit me Pater, ipse mihi mandatum dedit (Joan. XII, 49); didicisti quo id putes esse referendum. Denique mandatum quod esset, ostendit dicens: Pono animam meam, ut iterum sumam illam. Nemo tollit eam a me, sed ego pono eam a me ipso (Joan. VI, 17 et seq.). Vides ideo dictum, ut ostenderet liberam sibi ponendae ac resumendae animae potestatem, sicut ipse dixit: Potestatem habeo ponendi eam, et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam. Hoc mandatum accepi a Patre meo (Ibid.). 132. Sive igitur mandatum, sive, ut aliqui Latini codices habent, praeceptum, non utique secundum divinitatem, sed secundum incarnationem datur, ad subeundae victoriam passionis.

CAPUT XI.

Quod Christus legatur nihil a se loqui, hoc referendum ad ipsius humanitatem. Quomodo etiam secundum divinitatem audire ac videre Patrem recte dicatur, exposito, Dei Filium creaturam non esse multis coacervatis argumentis evincit. 133. [Alias Cap. V.] An vero in hanc humilitatem Dei Filium deducemus, ut nisi quae audierit, facere aut loqui nesciat: et praescriptam agendi loquendique ei putemus esse mensuram; quia scriptum est: Ex me ipso non sum locutus (Joan. XII, 49); et infra: Sicut dixit mihi Pater, ita loquor (Ibid. 50)? Sed ad obedientiam carnis, aut ad fidem unitatis ista referantur. Plerique enim doctiores et audire Filium, et dicere aliquid Filio Patrem accipiunt per 575 unitatem naturae, quod enim per unitatem voluntatis novit Filius Patrem velle, videtur audisse. 134. Unde non officium corporale, sed arbitrium indissociabile cooperationis declaratur; neque enim verborum hic aliquem significat auditum, sed unitatem voluntatis atque virtutis, quae et in Patre est et in Filio. Quam etiam in Spiritu sancto esse memoravit alio loco, dicens: Non enim loquetur a se, sed quaecumque audit, loquetur (Joan. XVI, 13); ut adverteremus quia quidquid Spiritus loquitur, loquitur et Filius: et quidquid loquitur Filius, loquitur et Pater; quia una sententia et operatio Trinitatis est. Sicut enim Pater videtur in Filio, non utique specie corporali, sed unitate divinitatis; ita etiam Pater loquitur in Filio, non temporali voce, nec corporali sono, sed operis unitate. Denique cum dixisset: Pater qui in me manet, ipse loquitur: et opera quae ego facio, ipse facit; addidit: Credite mihi, quia ego in Patre, et Pater in me est. Alioquin propter opera ipsa credite (Joan. XII, 60; XIV, 50). 135. Hic intellectus est noster secundum divinarum seriem

Scripturarum: Ariani autem qui nolunt de Deo aestimare quae digna sunt, vel apto suis meritis confutentur exemplo, ne totum carnaliter credant; cum ipsi patris sui diaboli opera incorporaliter videant. Sicut de eorum consortibus Judaeis Dominus declaravit dicens: Vos quod vidistis patrem vestrum facientem, facitis (Joan. VIII, 38); cum utique non quia diabolum operantem viderint, sed quia arbitria ejus fecerint, arguantur, invisibiliter in his secundum iniquitatem suam diabolo operante peccatum. Hoc secundum Apostolum (II Tim. III, 9) propter insipientiam posuimus perfidorum. 136. Caeterum satis probatum est Scripturarum exemplis ad unitatem majestatis pertinere divinae, quod et Pater maneat in Filio; et ea quae loquitur Filius, a Patre videatur audisse. Unitatem autem majestatis quibus aliis possumus intelligere, quam quod eadem Patri et Filio deferuntur? Nam quid praecellentius potest dici, quam quod Apostolus (I Cor. II, 8) dixit Dominum majestatis crucifixum? 137. Filius ergo est et Deus majestatis, et Dominus majestatis; sed non creaturis subjecta majestas: non ergo creatura Filius. 138. Filius paternae est imago substantiae (Hebr. I, 3): omnis autem creatura dissimilis supernae substantiae, sed non dissimilis Dei Patris Filius: non ergo creatura Filius. 139. Filius non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo (Phil. II, 6): sed nulla creatura aequalis Deo, aequalis autem Filius: non ergo creatura Filius. 140. Omnis creatura mutabilis: sed non mutabilis Dei Filius: non ergo creatura Dei Filius. 141. Omnis creatura accidentia et boni et mali recipit suae capacitate naturae, eademque decessionem sentit: Dei autem Filio nihil 576 potest ex ejus divinitate vel decedere vel accedere: non ergo creatura Dei Filius. 142. Omne opus suum adducet Deus in judicium (Eccl. XII, 14), sed Dei Filius non adducitur in judicium; quia ipse judicat: non ergo creatura Dei Filius. 143. Postremo ut unitatem intelligas, de ovibus dicens Salvator: Nullus, inquit, rapit eas de manu mea. Pater quod dedit mihi, majus omnibus est, et nemo potest rapere de manu Patris mei. Ego et Pater unum sumus (Joan. X, 29, 30). 144. Sic

vivificat Filius, ut Pater: Sicut enim Pater suscitat mortuos et vivificat; sic et Filius quos vult, vivificat (Joan. V, 21). Sic suscitat Filius, ut Pater: sic conservat Filius, ut Pater. Qui non impar est gratia, quomodo impar est potestate? Sic etiam non perdit Filius, ut Pater. Et ideo ne quis vel duos deos crederet, vel discretionem potestatis induceret, unum se esse cum Patre dixit. Id quemadmodum potest dicere creatura? Non ergo creatura Dei Filius est. 145. Non idem est regnare et servire: Christus autem et rex est et filius regis: non ergo servus est Dei Filius. Omnis autem creatura servit; sed non servit Dei Filius, qui ex servis filios Dei facit: non ergo creatura Dei Filius.

CAPUT XII.

SUPERIORA CONFIRMAT EX parabola divitis ad quaerendum sibi regnum proficiscentis; ostenditque cum regnum tradat Patri Filius, ad contumeliam non accipiendum, si omnia huic subjicere Pater dicatur. Nos hic esse Christi regnum, et in Christi regno; futuros aliquando in regno Dei, ubi regnat ex aequo tota Trinitas. 146. Divine itaque illam parabolam induxit divitis, qui in regionem longinquam profectus est accipere regnum et reverti (Luc. XIX, 12), se ipsum secundum substantiam divinitatis incorporationisque describens. Ipse enim dives secundum plenitudinem divinitatis, qui pro nobis pauper factus est, cum dives esset et rex aeternus, et aeterno rege progenitus: peregre profectus secundum corporis susceptionem; quia vias hominis tamquam iter ingressus alienum, venit in hunc mundum, ut regnum sibi pararet ex nobis. 147. Venit ergo Jesus in hanc terram regnum accipere de nobis, quibus ait: Regnum Dei intra vos est (Luc. XVII, 21). Hoc est regnum quod Christus accepit, hoc est, quod Patri tradidit. Nam quomodo regnum accepit, qui erat rex sempiternus? Venit ergo Filius hominis accipere regnum, et reverti. Noluerunt eum suscipere Judaei, de quibus ait: Illi qui noluerunt me regnare super se, adducite et interficite eos (Luc. XIX, 27). 148. Sequamur Scripturarum ordinem. Ille qui venit, regnum Deo Patri tradet: et cum tradiderit regnum, tunc et ipse subjectus erit ei, qui sibi subjecit omnia; ut sit Deus omnia et in omnibus (I Cor. XV, 24, 28). Si ut Filius hominis regnum accepit Dei Filius; ut Filius utique hominis etiam 577 traditurus est, quod accepit: si ut Filius hominis tradit, ergo et ut Filius hominis subjectionem, utique per conditionem carnis, non per majestatem divinitatis, agnoscit. 149. Et tu ad contumeliam objicis, quod ei subjecerit

omnia Deus; cum audias quod regnum Filius hominis Deo tradat, et ut in superioribus diximus libris, legeris: Nemo venit ad me, nisi Pater attraxerit eum, et ego resuscitabo eum in novissimo die (lib. II, ca)? Si litteram sequamur, vide magis atque adverte unitatem honorificentiae: et Pater subjecit Filio, et Filius Patri tradit. Dic quid sit amplius trahere, an resuscitare? Nonne secundum morem hominum ministerium trahentis, potestas est suscitantis? Sed et Filius ad Patrem trahit, et Pater ad Filium trahit: et Filius suscitat, et Pater suscitat. Facessant sacrilegae commenta discretionis, ubi unitas potestatis est. 150. Tradat igitur Patri regnum suum Filius? Non deperit Christo regnum quod tradit, sed proficit. Nos sumus regnum, quia nobis dictum est: Regnum Dei intra vos est (Luc. XVII, 21). Et sumus regnum Christi ante, postea Patris; quia scriptum est: Nemo venit ad Patrem, nisi per me (Joan. XIV, 6). Cum in via sum, Christi sum; cum pervenero, Patris sum: sed ubique per Christum, et ubique sub Christo. 151. Bonum est in regno Christi esse, ut Christus nobiscum sit, sicut ipse ait: Ecce ego vobiscum sum usque ad consummationem mundi (Matth. XXVIII, 20). Sed melius est esse cum Christo: Dissolri enim et cum Christo esse multo melius (Phil. I, 23). Cum in hoc mundo sub peccato sumus, Christus nobiscum est; ut per unius obedientiam justi constituantur multi (Rom. V, 19). Et si peccatum hujus mundi evasero, incipiam esse cum Christo. Denique ait: Veniam iterum, et assumam vos ad me (Joan. XIV, 3); et infra: Volo ut ubi ego sum, et isti sint mecum (Joan. XVII, 24). 152. Ergo nunc sub regno Christi sumus, dum in corpore versamur, et nondum forma exuimur servi, quam ille cum se exinanivisset, accepit: cum vero gloriam ejus viderimus, quam habuit priusquam mundus esset, erimus in regno Dei, in quo patriarchae sunt et prophetae, de quibus scriptum est: Cum videritis Abraham, Isaac et Jacob, et omnes prophetas in regno Dei (Luc. XIII, 28); ut jam pleniore Dei cognitione potiamur. 153. Sed in Filii regno et Pater regnat, et in regno Patris Filius regnat, quia Pater in Filio, et in Patre Filius:

et in quo habitat Filius, habitat et Pater; et in quo habitat Pater, habitat et Filius, sicut ipse ait: Ego et Pater ad eum veniemus, et apud eum mansionem faciemus (Joan. XIV, 23). Ergo sicut una domus, ita et unum regnum. Eousque autem unum Patris et Filii regnum est, ut quod Filius tradit, Pater accipit, et quod Pater accipiat, Filius non amittat. Ergo in uno regno unitas potestatis est. Nemo igitur 578 divinitatem inter Patrem Filiumque secernat.

CAPUT XIII.

QUAE CHRISTI SUBJECTIO sit, quaesiturus, ubi subjectiones varias proposuit ac rejecit, Apostolicum textum percurrit; unde impiam explodit haereticorum hac de re opinionem. Subjectionem quae futura significatur, divinitatis esse non posse; cum inter Patrem et Filium voluntatis summa semper fuerit concordia. Etiam eidem Filio secundum divinitatem vere omnia subjecta esse, at nondum subjecta hoc sensu dici, quod ejus mandatis non pareant omnes homines: qui postquam illis fuerint subditi, tum Christus in his subjicietur, et Patris opus perfectum erit. 154. [Alias cap. VI.] Quod si Patri et Filio unum Dei nomen et jus est, cum Deus verus, et rex sempiternus sit etiam Dei Filius; non utique secundum divinitatem subjectus est Dei Filius. Subjectum itaque, Imperator auguste, quemadmodum debeamus accipere, consideremus. 155. Quomodo enim subjectus Dei Filius? Ut creatura vanitati? Sed impium est de divinitatis substantia tale aliquid aestimare. 156. An quemadmodum creatura omnis Dei Filio, quia aeque scriptum est: Omnia subjecisti sub pedibus ejus (Psal. VIII, 8)? Sed non Christus sibi ipse subjectus est. 157. An quemadmodum mulier viro, sicut legimus: Mulieres viris suis subjectae sint (Ephes. V, 22); et alibi: Mulier in silentio discat cum omni subjectione (I Tim. II, 11)? Sed sacrilegum est vel Patri virum, vel Dei Filio mulierem comparare. 158. An quemadmodum Petrus dixit: Subjecti estote omni humanae creaturae (I Petr. II, 13)? Nec sic utique Christus. 159. Vel quemadmodum Paulus scripsit: Deo et Patri subjecti invicem in timore Christi (Ephes. V, 21)? Sed neque in suo, neque in alterius Christi timore subjectus est Filius, quia unus est Christus. Quorum verborum vim considerate, quia Patri subjecti sumus,

dum etiam Christum veremur. 160. Quomodo ergo subjectum intelligimus? Totum Apostolicum caput recenseamus; ut nihil videatur fraude subtractum, aut obreptione praestrictum: Si in hac inquit, vita tantum in Christo sperantes sumus, miserabiliores sumus omnibus hominibus. Si autem Christus resurrexit a mortuis primitiae dormientium (I Cor. XV, 19, 20)? Videtis quoniam de resurrectione Christi tractata est disputatio. 161. Quoniam sicut per unum hominem, inquit, mors, et per hominem resurrectio mortuorum. Sicut enim in Adam omnes moriuntur, ita et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur. Unusquisque autem in suo ordine, primitiae Christus: deinde hi qui sunt Christi, qui in adventum ejus crediderunt. Deinde finis, cum tradiderit regnum Deo et Patri, cum evacuaverit omnem principatum, et potestatem et virtutem. 579 Oportet enim illum regnare, donec ponat omnes inimicos sub pedibus ejus. Novissime autem inimica destruetur mors; omnia enim subjecit sub pedibus ejus. Cum autem dicat: Omnia subjecta sunt ei, sine dubio praeter eum qui subjecit ei omnia. Cum autem subjecta illi fuerint omnia, tunc et ipse Filius subjectus erit illi, qui sibi subjecit omnia; ut sit Deus omnia in omnibus (I Cor. XV, 20-28). Quod etiam ad Hebraeos idem Apostolus dixit: Nunc autem nondum videmus omnia illi esse subjecta (Hebr. II, 8). Accepimus Apostolicae seriem lectionis. 162. Quomodo igitur subjectum dicimus? Sabelliani et Marcionitae dicunt quod haec futura sit Christi ad Deum Patrem subjectio, ut in Patrem Filius refundatur. Si ergo ea erit Verbi subjectio, ut resolvatur in Patrem Deus Verbum: ergo et quaecumque Patri Filioque subjecta sunt, in Patrem et Filium resolventur; ut sit Deus omnia et in omnibus creaturis. Sed absurdum est dicere: non igitur per refusionem subjectio. Alia sunt enim quae subjiciuntur, ea utique quae creata sunt: et alius, cui fit illa subjectio. Conticescant itaque saevae refusionis interpretes. 163. Atque utinam et illi tacerent, qui quoniam resolubile Dei Verbum, Deique sapientiam probare non possunt, infirmitatem divinitati subjectionis

ascribunt, dicentes quia scriptum est: Cum autem subjecta illi fuerint omnia, tunc et ipse Filius subjectus erit illi (I Cor. XV, 28). 164. Videmus igitur quia nondum subjectum, sed subjiciendum esse Scriptura commemorat: ergo nunc non est subjectus Deo Patri Filius. In quo igitur Filium subjectum fore dicitis? Si in divinitate; nec inobediens est, quia non est a Patre discors: nec subjectus, quia non est servus, sed unicus proprio Patri Filius. Denique cum coelum crearet, terram conderet, et potestatem exercebat et charitatem. Nulla igitur servilis in Christi divinitate subjectio. Si autem nulla subjectio, voluntas libera est. 165. Quod si eam subjectionem putant Filii, quia cum ejus voluntate omnia faciat Pater, discant hoc ipsum esse individuae potestatis argumentum; quia unitas voluntatis est, quae non coepit ex tempore, sed erat semper. Ubi autem unitas perpetua voluntatis, non utique temporalis subjectionis infirmitas. Si enim per naturam subjiceretur, semper subjectus maneret: cum vero subjiciendus dicatur in tempore, dispensationis ergo susceptae, non perpetuae infirmitatis erit illa subjectio; maxime cum sempiterna Dei virtus non possit statum mutare pro tempore, nec Deo Patri ex tempore jus potestatis accidere. Nam si Filius aliquando mutabitur, ut secundum divinitatem subjiciatur: ergo et Deus Pater, si 580 aliquando plus poterit, ut subjectum secundum divinitatem habeat Filium, nunc interim minus posse secundum interpretationem vestram necesse est aestimetur. 166. Quid autem culpae commeruit Filius, ut postea secundum divinitatem subjici posse credatur? Numquid secundum carnem ad dexteram Patris sedere praeripuit, et, invito Patre, sibi praerogativam Paterni solii vindicavit? Sed ipse ait: Omnia quae placita sunt ei, facio semper (Joan. VIII, 29). Ergo si in omnibus Patri complacet Filius, cur subjicietur qui ante subjectus non erat? 167. Videamus itaque ne non divinitatis illa, sed nostra fiat in Christi timore subjectio, plena gratiae, et plena mysterii. Itaque rursus Apostolica verba pendamus. Cum autem subjecta, inquit, illi fuerint omnia, tunc et ipse subjectus erit ei, qui sibi subjecit omnia; ut sit Deus omnia et in

omnibus. Ergo quid dicis? Nunc subjecta non sunt ei omnia? non subjecti sanctorum chori? non Angeli, qui in terris posito ministrabant (Matth. IV, 11)? non Archangeli, qui etiam ad Mariam adventus Dominici praenuntii mittebantur (Luc. I, 26)? non omnis militia coelestis? non Cherubim et Seraphim, non Throni et Dominationes et Potestates, quae venerantur et laudant? 168. Quomodo ergo subjecta erunt? Sic utique quemadmodum ipse Dominus dixit: Tollite jugum meum super vos (Matth. XI, 29); non enim indomiti jugum portant, sed humiles atque mansueti. Haec est plane nec ipsis hominibus vilis, sed gloriosa subjectio; ut in nomine Jesu omne genu curvetur coelestium, et terrestrium, et infernorum: et omnis lingua confiteatur, quia Dominus Jesus in gloria est Dei Patris (Philip. II, 10, 11). Ideo autem ante subjecta non erant omnia, quia nondum receperant sapientiam Dei, nondum habile jugum Verbi mentis quadam cervice portabant. Quotquot autem, sicut scriptum est, receperunt eum, dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri (Joan. I, 11). 169. Dicet aliquis: Ergo jam subjectus est Christus; quia plurimi crediderunt? Minime; quia non in paucis est Christi subjectio, sed in omnibus. Sicut enim si in me concupiscat adhuc caro adversus spiritum, spiritus autem adversus carnem, non videor esse subjectus, etsi ex parte sim subditus: ita quia omnis Ecclesia unum corpus est Christi, quamdiu genus dissentit humanum, Christum dividimus. Nondum ergo subjectus est Christus, cujus non sunt adhuc membra subjecta. Cum autem fuerimus non multa membra, sed unus spiritus: tunc et ipse subjectus erit; ut per ipsius subjectionem sit Deus omnia et in omnibus. 170. Sicut autem nondum subjectus est Christus, ita nondum perfectum est opus Patris; quia dixit Filius Dei: Meus cibus est ut faciam 581 voluntatem Patris mei qui me misit, et perficiam opus ejus. Quid igitur quaestionis est, quia in me erit Filii subjectio, in quo imperfectum est opus Patris; quia non sum ipse perfectus? Ergo qui imperfectum opus facio Patris, ipse Filium facio esse subjectum? Sed non est injuria ista, sed gratia; quia in eo quod

subjicimur, noster utique, non divinitatis est profectus; ut subjiciamur Legi, subjiciamur gratiae. Quoniam ante, sicut ipse dixit Apostolus, sapientia carnis inimica erat in Deum; Legi enim non erat subdita (Rom. VIII, 7): nunc autem jam per Christi est subdita passionem.

CAPUT XIV.

PROSEQUITUR COEPTAM DIFFICULTATEM, et Christum non nisi secundum carnem subjectum docet: sed ipsum dum carne subjiceretur, praebuisse tamen signa divinitatis. Repugnare ut secundum hanc subjiciatur: humanitatem vero quam adoptavit, ita in nobis subditam esse, quo pacto in eadem ejus humanitate exaltatur et nostra. Denique quando futura sit eadem illa Christi subjectio, explicatur. 171. Et tamen ne quis calumnietur, videte quid divinitus inspirans Scriptura praecaverit; ostendit enim nobis in quo subjectus erit Deo Christus, dum docet in quo sibi universa subjecerit. Ideoque dicit: Nunc autem non videmus omnia ei subjecta (Hebr. II, 8). Nam paulo minus quam Angelos minoratum vidimus Jesum propter passionem mortis. Ostendit itaque minorem factum in carnis susceptione. Quid igitur impedit quin etiam subjectionem in carnis susceptione significet, per quam subjiciet sibi omnia, dum in ipsa Patri Deo est ipse subjectus? 172. Consideremus itaque ejus subjectionem: Pater, inquit, meus, si vis, transfer calicem hunc a me: verum non mea voluntate, sed tua fiat (Luc. XXII, 42). Ergo secundum humanae naturae assumptionem erit illa subjectio; quia sicut legimus: Specie inventus ut homo, humiliavit semetipsum, factus obediens usque ad mortem (Phil. II, 8): subjectio utique obedientiae est, obedientia mortis, mors assumptionis humanae; assumptionis ergo humanae erit illa subjectio. Nequaquam igitur divinitatis infirmitas, sed dispensatio ista pietatis est. 173. Vide quam non timeam eorum propositiones. Illi objiciunt subjiciendum Patri Deo, ego lego Mariae subditum matri; quia scriptum est de Joseph et Maria: Et erat subditus illis (Luc. II, 51). Aut si hoc putant, dicant quia hominibus erat

subjecta divinitas. 174. Non igitur praejudicet quia subjectus dicitur, cui non praejudicat, quia servus legitur, quia crucifixus asseritur, mortuus praedicatur. Qui cum moreretur, vivebat; cum subjiceretur, regnabat: cum sepeliretur, resuscitabat; ac subjectum se potestati praebebat humanae, alias se Dominum majestatis declarabat aeternae. Erat sub judice, et ad dexteram Dei solium sibi judex perpetuus vindicabat. Scriptum est denique: Amodo videbitis Filium hominis sedentem ad dexteram virtutis Dei, et venientem in nubibus coeli (Matth. XXVI, 64). Vapulabat a Judaeis, imperabat angelis: natus 582 ex Maria sub Lege erat, ante Abraham supra Legem erat (Galat. IV, 4). In cruce venerandus natura: denique sol refugit, terra contremuit, conticuerunt angeli (Matth. XXVII, 51). Cujus igitur passionem elementa videre timuerunt, hujus generationem videre potuerunt? Et in quo subjectionem corporis non tulerunt, in eo subjectionem naturae venerabilis sustinebunt? 175. Sed cum unius naturae sint Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, utique non erit Pater sibi ipse subjectus. Et ideo non erit in eo subjectus Filius, in quo cum Patre unum est; ne per unitatem divinitatis videatur et Pater Filio esse subjectus. Ergo sicut in illa cruce non divinitatis plenitudo, sed nostra fragilitas erat subdita: ita etiam postea subjectus erit Filius Patri, in nostrae utique participatione naturae; ut, subjectis carnis illecebris, non divitiae sint cordi, non ambitio, non voluptas: sed omnia nobis Deus sit, si per omnia quantum capere possumus, ad ejus imaginem, similitudinemque vivamus. 176. Ad communitatem igitur beneficium transivit a specie; quia in sua carne naturam totius humanae carnis edomuit. Et ideo juxta Apostolum: Sicut portavimus imaginem hujus terreni, portemus et imaginem hujus coelestis (I Cor. XV, 49). Quod utique nisi per interiorem hominem non potest evenire. Deponentes igitur universa, hoc est, illa quae legimus; iram, animositatem, blasphemiam, turpiloquium (Coloss. III, 8); et sicut infra dictum est: Exspoliantes nos veterem hominem cum actibus suis, induamus novum, qui renovatur in agnitionem,

secundum imaginem ejus, qui creavit eum (Ibid., 9, 10). 177. Et ut scires, quia cum dicit: Ut sit Deus omnia et in omnibus, a Deo Patre non separet et Christum, ipse ad Colossenses dicit: Ubi non masculus, inquit, et femina, Judaeus et Graecus, Barbarus et Scytha, servus et liber: sed omnia et in omnibus Christus (Coloss. III, 11). Ergo etiam ad Corinthios dicens: Ut sit Deus omnia et in omnibus (I Cor. XV, 28), et unitatem et aequalitatem cum Deo Patre complexus est Christi; quia nec a Patre Filius separatur. Et similiter sicut Pater omnia et in omnibus, ita omnia in omnibus etiam Christus operatur. Si ergo Christus quoque in omnibus omnia operatur (I Cor. XII, 6), non utique in divinitatis majestate subjectus est, sed in nobis. Quomodo autem subjectus est in nobis, nisi eo modo quo minor angelis factus est, in corporis scilicet sacramento? In eo enim nondum subjecta ei omnia videbantur, quae creatori suo a principio sui utique serviebant. 178. Quod si quaesieris quemadmodum sit subjectus in nobis, ipse ostendit dicens: In carcere eram, et venistis ad me: infirmus eram, et visitastis me. Quod enim uni horum minimorum fecistis, mihi fecistis (Matth. XXV, 36 et seq.). Infirmum audis, et non moveris: subjectum audis, et moveris; cum in eo infirmus, in quo subjectus, in quo peccatum atque maledictum pro nobis factus est. 179. Sicut igitur non propter se, sed propter nos peccatum atque maledictum factus est: ita non pro se, sed pro nobis erit subjectus in nobis, non in natura subjectus aeterna, neque 583 in natura maledictus aeterna: Maledictus enim omnis qui pendet in ligno (Galat. III, 13). Maledictus, quia nostra maledicta suscepit: subjectus quoque, quia subjectionem nostram ipse suscepit, sed in servilis formae assumptione, non in Dei majestate; ut dum ille nostrae fragilitatis se praeberet in carne consortem, nos in virtute sua divinae faceret consortes naturae (II Petr. I, 4). Non quo aut hoc nobis cum superna Christi generatione naturale consortium, aut divinitatis in Christo sit illa subjectio: sed sicut in illo per carnem illam, quae est pignus nostrae salutis, sedere nos in coelestibus Apostolus dixit (Ephes. II, 6),

utique non sedentes; sic et ille per nostrae assumptionem naturae dicitur subjectus in nobis. 180. Quis enim tam demens qui putet, ut supra diximus (Ca et seq.), quod ad dexteram Dei Patris sedes sibi venerabilis debeatur; cum licet etiam secundum carnem Christo ea a Patre, generationis tamen supernae et aequalis potentiae deferatur? Angeli adorant, et tu tibi praesumptione sacrilega solium Dei sternis? 181. Scriptum est, inquies, quia cum mortui essemus peccatis, convivificavit nos in Christo, cujus gratia estis salvi facti; et simul suscitavit, simulque fecit sedere in coelestibus, in Christo Jesu (Ephes. II, 5, 6). Agnosco scriptum: sed non ut homines sedere ad dexteram sibi patiatur Deus, sed ut in Christo sedere; quia ipse est omnium fundamentum, et ipse est caput Ecclesiae (Ephes. V, 23), in quo communis secundum carnem natura praerogativam sedis coelestis emeruit: in Christo enim Deo caro, in carne autem humani natura generis omnium hominum particeps honoratur. 182. Sicut nos ergo in illo sedemus per corporeae communitatem naturae, ita et ille qui per susceptionem nostrae carnis maledictum pro nobis factus est; cum maledictum utique in benedictum Filium Dei non cadat: ita, inquam, et ille per obedientiam omnium erit subjectus in nobis; cum Gentilis crediderit, cum Judaeus agnoverit, quem crucifixit; cum Manichaeus adoraverit, quem in carne venisse non credidit; cum Arianus omnipotentem confessus fuerit, quem negavit; cum postremo in omnibus fuerit sapientia Dei, justitia, pax, charitas, resurrectio. Per sua igitur opera Christus et genera diversa virtutum erit in nobis Patri subditus; cum vitiis abdicatis, et feriante delicto, unus in omnibus Deo coeperit in uno sensu populorum omnium spiritus adhaerere, tunc erit Deus omnia et in omnibus (I Cor. XV, 28).

CAPUT XV.

Superius disputata strictim resumit, ex unitate divinae potestatis in Patre ac Filio quaecumque de Filii subjectione dicuntur, ad solam referenda humanitatem scite colligens: quod praeterea ex charitate, quae eadem utriusque est, confirmat. 183. Conclusionem igitur totius absolutionis breviter colligamus. Unitas potestatis opinionem injuriosae subjectionis excludit: evacuatio 584 potestatum, et victoria de morte quaesita, triumphatoris utique non minuit potestatem: subjectionem operatur obedientia, obedientiam Christus assumpsit, obedientia usque ad crucem, crux ad salutem. Ergo ubi opus, ibi et auctor est operis. Cum igitur omnia Christo subjecta fuerint per obedientiam Christi, ut in nomine ejus omnes genu flectant, tunc erit ipse omnia in omnibus; nunc enim, quia non omnes credunt, non videntur omnes esse subjecti. Cum omnes ergo crediderint, et Dei fecerint voluntatem, erit omnia et in omnibus Christus: cum Christus fuerit omnia et in omnibus, erit omnia et in omnibus Deus; quia Pater manet semper in Filio. Quomodo ergo infirmitatis arguitur, qui redemit infirmos? 184. Ac ne forte et illud ad infirmitatem Filii referas, quod scriptum est quia subjecit ei Deus omnia; disce quod omnia sibi etiam ipse subjecerit; scriptum est enim: Nostra autem conversatio in coelis est; unde et Salvatorem exspectamus Dominum Jesum, qui transfigurabit corpus humilitatis nostrae, conforme ut fiat corpori gloriae suae secundum operationem, quo possit etiam subjicere sibi omnia (Phil. III, 20, 21). Didicisti ergo quod omnia possit sibi ipse subjicere, secundum operationem utique divinitatis. 185. Disce nunc quoniam secundum carnem omnia subjecta accipiat, sicut scriptum est: Qui operatus est in Christo, suscitans

eum a mortuis, et constituens eum ad dexteram suam in coelestibus, supra omnem principatum, et potestatem, et virtutem, et dominationem, et omne nomen quod nominatur non solum in hoc saeculo, sed etiam in futuro; et omnia subjecit sub pedibus ejus (Ephes. V, 20, 21). Secundum carnem igitur ei omnia subjecta tradentur, secundum quam et a mortuis suscitatus est, et secundum animam humanam ac rationabilem subjectionem. 186. Divine plerique interpretantur quod scriptum est: Nonne Deo subjecta erit anima mea (Psal. LXI, 1)? animam dixit, non divinitatem; animam, non majestatem. Et ut sciremus quod Dominus per Prophetam de susceptione naturae est locutus humanae, addidit: Usquequo adjicietis super hominem (Ibid., 3)? secundum illud quod ait in Evangelio: Quid me quaeritis interficere hominem (Joan. VIII, 40)? Et addidit: Verumtamen pretium meum voluerunt repellere, cucurrerunt in siti, ore suo benedicebant, et corde suo maledicebant (Ps. LXI, 4). Judaei enim, reportante Juda pretium, recipere noluerunt (Matth. XXVII, 6), currentes in siti amentiae; quia spiritalis potus gratiam recusarunt. 187. Haec est pia subjectionis interpretatio. Etenim cum Dominicae passionis hoc munus sit, utique in quo passus est, in hoc erit subjectus in nobis. Quaerimus qua causa? Ut neque angeli, neque virtutes, neque altitudo, neque profundum, neque praesentia, neque futura, neque creatura alia separare nos possit a charitate Dei, quae est in Christo Jesu (Rom. VIII, 38, 39). Videmus itaque ex his quae diximus, nullam exceptam esse creaturam: sed istis, quas supra dixit, omnem, si qua est, annumeratam esse. 585 188. Simul etiam illud est considerandum, quod cum in superioribus dixerit: Quis nos separabit a charitate Christi? subter posuit: Neque mors, neque vita, nec alia creatura separare nos poterit a charitate Dei, quae est in Christo Jesu (Ibid., 35). Videmus ergo eamdem charitatem Dei esse, quae Christi est. Denique non otiose posuit charitatem Dei, quae est in Christo Jesu; ne separatam Dei et Christi intelligeres charitatem. Nihil autem est quod charitas dividat, nihil

quod divinitas sempiterna non possit, nihil quod lateat veritatem, fallat justitiam, praetereat sapientiam.

CAPUT XVI.

ARIANOS A SPIRITU sancto per David condemnatos, quippe qui scientiae Christi derogare audeant. Locum ab illis ad hoc citatum suspicione corruptionis minime carere; sed ut maxime careat, distinguendam esse vocem Filius; Christo enim ut Dei Filio scientiam deesse non posse, cum sit sapientia: nec partis ullius cognitionem, cum omnia crearit. Eum qui saecula fecerit, futurum non posse non cognoscere, et multo minus diem judicii. Sive quid magnum sit ea cognitio, sive quid parvum, eam Filio non negandam; immo neque etiam Spiritui sancto. Demum his addit varia signa, quibus haec scientia inesse Christo colligi potest. 189. [Alias cap. VII.] Unde exsecrabiles eos qui ista commemorant, et a Spiritu sancto esse damnatos scire debemus. Quos enim alios, nisi specialiter Arianos Propheta condemnat, qui dicunt quod Dei Filius nesciat tempora et annos? Non enim est aliquid quod ignoret Deus: est autem Deus Christus, et altissimus Christus; ipse est enim super omnia Deus. 190. Videte quemadmodum sanctus David hujuscemodi homines qui Dei Filio scientiam derogent, perhorrescat; sic enim habes: In laboribus hominum non sunt, et cum hominibus non flagellabuntur; ideo obtinuit eos superbia eorum; cooperti sunt iniquitate et impietate sua: prodiit quasi ex adipe iniquitas eorum, pertransierunt in dispositionem cordis (Psal. LXXII, 5 et seq.). Utique eos condemnat qui ex dispositione cordis aestimanda quae divina sunt, arbitrantur: nam Deus nec dispositioni est subjectus, nec ordini; quando etiam ipsa quae sunt in usu hominum, et successione generis humani, non semper aliqua solemnis dispositione rationis, sed plerumque secretis latentibusque decursa mysteriis, evenire cernamus. 191. Cogitaverunt,

inquit, et locuti sunt nequitiam, iniquitatem in Excelsum locuti sunt, posuerunt in coelum os suum (Ibid., 8). Videmus itaque quod impii sacrilegii reos damnet, qui ex similitudine 586 humanae naturae, dispositionem sibi arrogent coelestis arcani. 192. Et dixerunt: Quomodo scivit Deus? et si est scientia omnis in Altissimo (Ibid., 11)? Nonne haec quotidie perstrepunt Ariani, scientiam omnem in Christo esse non posse? Quia ipse, inquiunt, diei et horae se professus est esse ignarum. Nonne dicunt: Quomodo scivit, qui eum non potuisse scire commemorant, nisi quae audierit, et viderit: et ea quae spectant ad divinae unitatem naturae ad infirmitatem sacrilega interpretatione derivant? 193. Scriptum est, inquiunt: De die autem illo et hora nemo scit, neque angeli coelorum, nec Filius, nisi solus Pater (Marc. XIII, 32). Primum veteres non habent codices Graeci quia nec Filius scit: sed non mirum si et hoc falsarunt, qui Scripturas interpolavere divinas. Qua ratione autem videatur adjectum, proditur, dum ad interpretationem tanti sacrilegii derivatur. 194. Pone tamen ab evangelistis scriptum. Medium utique nomen est Filii: nam et Filius hominis dicitur; ut secundum imprudentiam assumptionis nostrae diem futuri judicii nescisse videatur. Quomodo enim nesciret diem Dei Filius, cum in ipso sint thesauri sapientiae et scientiae Dei absconditi (Coloss. II, 3) ? 195. Quaero autem utrum ex substantia, an ex accidenti habuerit scientiam; omnis enim scientia aut ex natura, aut ex disciplina est: ex natura suppetit, ut equo currere, pisci natare; haec enim faciunt antequam discant: ex disciplina rursus suppetit natare homini; nam nisi didicerit, scire non poterit. Cum ergo mutis animantibus suppetat ex natura facere et scire quae non didicerint, quid censes de Dei Filio, utrum ex institutione, an ex natura habeat scientiam? Si ex institutione: ergo non est natus sapientia, et ex processu coepit esse perfectus, nec erat semper. Quod si naturalem scientiam habet, utique perfectus in principio erat, perfectus ex Patre processit; et ideo praescientia non eguit futurorum. 196. Non ergo nescivit

diem; neque enim sapientiae Dei est ex parte scire, et ex parte nescire. Nam quomodo potest nescire partem, qui fecit omnia; cum minus sit scire, quam facere? Multa enim scimus, quae facere non possumus: nec eodem modo omnes scimus, sed ex parte cognoscimus. Novit enim ventorum vim, stellarumque cursus aliter rusticus, aliter civitatis incola, aliter gubernator. Etsi non omnes norunt omnia, tamen nosse dicuntur: solus autem plene novit ille, qui fecit omnia. Novit gubernator quota vigilia procedat Arcturus, 587 quales ortus exploret Orionis; non tamen colligationes Vergiliarum, caeterarumque stellarum aut numerum novit, aut nomina, sicut ille, Qui numerat multitudinem stellarum, et omnibus his nomina vocat (Ps. CXLVI, 4): quem utique non fallit operis sui virtus. 197. Quomodo enim vultis haec fecisse Dei Filium? Numquid quasi annulum, qui non sentit quod exprimit? Sed omnia in sapientia Pater fecit (Psal. CIII, 24), id est, omnia per Filium fecit, qui est virtus Dei et sapientia (I Cor. I, 24): sapientiae autem id convenit, ut suorum operum et virtutes norit et causas. Et ideo non potuit creator omnium ignorare quod fecit, nescire quod ipse donavit: novit ergo diem quem fecit. 198. Sed dicis, quia praesentem novit, nescit futurum. Licet inepta sit propositio, tamen ut de Scripturis satisfaciam tibi, disce quia non solum praeterita fecit, sed etiam quae futura sunt, sicut scriptum est: Qui fecit quae adventura sunt (Esai. XLV, 11). Et alibi ait Scriptura: Per quem et facta sunt saecula, splendor est gloriae, et character substantiae ejus (Hebr. I, 2, 3). Saecula enim et praeterita et praesentia et futura sunt. Quomodo ergo facta sunt quae futura sunt; nisi quia operatoria virtus et scientia comprehendit numerum omnium saeculorum? Sicut enim vocat quae non sunt, tamquam quae sunt (Rom. IV, 17): sic et fecit quae futura sunt, tamquam quae sint; quia non contingit ut non sint, sed necessario sunt futura, quae esse praecepit. Ergo qui fecit quae futura sunt, eo genere quo sunt futura cognovit. 199. Si hoc de saeculis, multo magis de judicii credendum est die; eo quod cognitionem ejus habeat Dei Filius tamquam a

se jam factae; quia scriptum est: Dispositione tua permanebit dies (Psal. CXVIII, 91). Nec solum permanet dixit, sed etiam permanebit; ut ejus dispositione quae ventura sunt, gubernentur. Quae disposuit ergo, non novit? Qui plantavit aurem, non audiet? qui finxit oculum, non considerat (Psal. XCIII, 9)? 200. Videamus tamen ne quid forte magnum sit, quod creatorem suum potuerit praeterire; et tamen eligant utrum quasi magnum aliquid et praestantius putent esse quam caetera: an quasi minimum atque abjectum? Si minimum atque abjectum, non est injuria, ut nostro usu loquar, vilia et exigua nescire; nam cum potentiae sit scire quae maxima sunt, despexisse magis videtur degeneris operis vilitatem. Fastidio igitur absolutus est, non potestate fraudatus. 201. Quod si magnum et summum arbitrantur scire judicii diem, dicant quid Deo Patre majus aut melius sit. Patrem igitur Deum novit, ut ipse ait: Nemo novit Patrem nisi Filius, et cui voluerit Filius revelare (Matth. XI, 27). Patrem, inquam, novit et diem nescit? Sic ergo creditis 588 quia Patrem revelat, et diem non potest revelare? 202. Deinde quia gradus quosdam facitis; ut Patrem Filio, Filium Spiritui praeferatis; dicite mihi utrum Spiritus sanctus noverit judicii diem; nihil enim de eo scriptum est hoc loco. Negatis profecto. Quid si doceo quod noverit? Lectum est enim: Nobis autem revelavit Deus per Spiritum suum; Spiritus enim omnia scrutatur, etiam alta Dei (I Cor. II, 10). Utique quia alta Dei scrutatur, cum Deus noverit judicii diem, etiam Spiritus novit. Novit enim omnia quae Deus novit, sicut Apostolus declarat dicens: Quis enim scit hominum quae sunt hominis, nisi spiritus hominis qui in ipso est? Sic et quae Dei sunt, nemo cognovit, nisi Spiritus Dei (Ibid., 11). Videte igitur, ne aut negando Spiritum sanctum scire, negetis et Patrem scire; quia quae Dei sunt, cognovit et Dei Spiritus: quae autem non cognovit Spiritus Dei, utique Dei non sunt: aut confitendo quia Spiritus Dei novit, quod negatis Filium scire, contra vestram assertionem Spiritum Filio praeferatis. Verum non solum sacrilega ista, sed etiam inepta dubitatio. 203. Nunc

consideremus quibus modis scientia colligatur, et ostendamus ipsum Filium demonstrasse quod et diem sciret. Quod enim scimus, aut tempore, aut loco, aut signis, aut personis declaramus, aut ordine. Quomodo igitur nescivit judicii diem, qui et horam judicii, et locum, et signa expressit et causas. 204. Denique sic habes: In illa hora qui fuerit in tecto, non descendat tollere vasa de domo sua; et qui in agro, similiter non redeat retro (Luc. XVII, 31). Eousque igitur futurorum norat periculorum eventus, ut etiam praesidia periclitantibus demonstraret. 205. An poterat Dominus diem ignorare, qui ipse de se dixit quia Filius hominis Dominus est sabbati (Matth. XII, 8) ? 206. Locum quoque etiam alibi designavit, cum sibi structuras templi ostendentibus discipulis, diceret: Videtis haec omnia? Amen dico vobis, non relinquetur lapis super lapidem, qui non destruatur (Matth. XXIV, 2). 207. De signo quoque interrogatus ab Apostolis respondit: Videte ne seducamini. Multi enim venient in nomine meo, dicentes quia ego sum Christus (Luc. XXI, 8); et infra: Terrae motus, inquit, magni erunt per loca singula, et fames, et pestilentia, terroresque de coelo, et signa magna erunt (Ibid., 11). Itaque et personas expressit et signa. 208. Quo autem modo, vel circumdaturos exercitus Jerusalem dicat, vel implenda tempora gentium, et quo ordine, Evangelicae utique lectionis attestatione reseratur. Scivit ergo omnia. 589

CAPUT XVII.

QUOD CHRISTUS DIEM judicii revelare noluerit, in hoc nostrae utilitati consultum esse. Illud alia Domini sententia declaratur; nec non et Pauli loco plane simili. Urgentibus vero cur ita responderit discipulis ac si nescisset, alii loci quibus Patri eadem tribui videtur ignoratio, opponuntur: ex quibus si ignorantiam impotentiamve in Patre illi admittant, hinc in Filio eamdem quae in Patre substantiam admittendam esse contra ipsos arguit Ambrosius; nisi tamen malint mendacii accusare Filium; cum neque in hunc neque in Patrem cadat fallere, sed memoratis locis utriusque unitas designetur. 209. Sed quaerimus qua ratione designare momenta noluerit (Luc. XIX, 43). Si quaeramus, non ignorantiae inveniemus esse, sed sapientiae. Nobis enim scire non proderat; ut dum certa futuri judicii momenta nescimus, semper tamquam in excubiis constituti, et in quadam virtutis specula collocati, peccandi consuetudinem declinemus; ne nos inter vitia dies Domini deprehendat. Non enim prodest scire, sed metuere quod futurum est; scriptum est enim: Noli alta sapere, sed time (Rom. XI, 20). 216. Nam si diem designasset expresse, uni aetati hominum quae proxima erat judicio, videretur disciplinam praescripsisse vivendi; superioris temporis aut justus esset remissior, aut peccator securior. Namque adulter nisi quotidianam poenam metuat, non potest ab adulterandi cupiditate desinere: nec latro obsessorum saltuum secreta deserere, nisi sciat sibi momentis omnibus imminere supplicium. Plerumque enim quibus incentivum est impunitas, timor taedio est. 211. Ideo ergo dixi quia scire non proderat, immo proderat ignorare; ut ignorantes timeremus, ut observantes emendaremur, sicut ipse dixit: Estote parati, quia nescitis qua hora Filius hominis venturus est

(Matth. XXIV, 44). Namque miles nisi bellum in manibus esse cognoscat, praetendere non novit in castris. 212. Unde alibi quoque ipse Dominus interrogatus ab apostolis, inquam, qui utique non sicut Arius intelligebant, sed Filium Dei futura scire credebant; nam nisi hoc credidissent, numquam interrogassent: interrogatus ergo quando restitueret regnum Israel, non se nescire dixit, sed ait: Non est vestrum scire tempora et annos, quae Pater posuit in sua potestate (Act. I, 7). Attende quid dixerit: Non est vestrum scire. Lege iterum: Non est vestrum. Vestrum dixit, non meum; jam enim non secundum perfectionem, sed secundum profectum humani corporis ac nostrae animae loquebatur. Vestrum ergo dixit, non meum. 213. Quod et Apostolus secutus: De temporibus autem et momentis, fratres, non habetis, inquit, opus ut vobis scribamus (I Thess. V, 1). Itaque ne Apostolus quidem ipse Christi servus dixit se nescire momenta, sed non opus esse doceri populum 590 qui semper spiritalibus munimentis esse debet armatus; ut virtus Christi in unoquoque praetendat. Cum autem dicit Dominus: De temporibus quae Pater posuit in sua potestate, utique non potest exsors esse scientiae paternae, cujus nequaquam exsors est potestatis; cum potestas ex sapientia et virtute gignatur, quod utrumque Christus est. 214. Sed quaeritis qua causa non ita discipulis negaverit, quasi sciret et nollet dicere: sed neque Angelos, neque Filium scire memoraverit (Marc. XIII, 32)? Interrogabo vos et ego, qua causa in Genesi Deus dicat: Descendam itaque, ut videam secundum clamorem illorum venientem ad me, si consummabuntur: sin autem, ut sciam (Gen. XVIII, 21)? Qua causa etiam Scriptura de Domino dicat: Et descendit Dominus videre civitatem et turrim, quam aedificarent filii hominum (Gen. XI, 5)? Qua causa etiam dicat Propheta in Psalterio: Dominus respexit super filios hominum, si est intelligens, aut requirens Deum (Psal. LII, 3); quasi et illic si non descenderet Deus, et hic si non prospiceret Dominus, aut opera hominum ignoraret aut merita? 215. Sed etiam in Evangelio habes secundum Lucam,

quia Pater dicit: Quid faciam? Mittam Filium meum dilectissimum, forsitan hunc verebuntur (Luc. XX, 13). Secundum Matthaeum, autem, et secundum Marcum habes: Quoniam misit unicum Filium suum, dicens: Verebuntur Filium meum (Matt. XXI, 37; Marc. XII, 6). In uno libro dicit: Forsitan verebuntur, et quasi nesciens dubitat; nam hic sermo dubitantis est: in duobus autem aliis libris: Verebuntur, inquit, Filium meum; hoc est, confirmat reverentiam deferendam. 216. Sed neque dubitare Dei est, neque falli; dubitat enim, qui ignorat quod futurum est: fallitur autem, qui aliud praedixit, et aliud est secutum. Quid autem evidentius, quam quod Scriptura habet aliud Patrem dixisse de Filio, et aliud accidisse eadem Scriptura testatur? Ille dixit: Verebuntur Filium meum: Filius autem vapulavit, illusus est, crucifixus est, mortuus est (Matth. XXVII, 29 et seq.); multoque illis servis qui prius fuerant destinati, graviora secundum carnem passus est. Fefellit igitur Pater, an ignoravit, vel subvenire non potuit? Sed verus nescit fallere; scriptum est enim: Fidelis Deus qui non mentitur (Tit. I, 2). Quomodo autem ignoravit, qui novit omnia (Dan. XIII, 42)? Aut quid non potuit, qui omnia potest? 217. Tamen si aut ignoravit, aut non potuit (facilius enim acquiescitis, ut dicatis Patrem ignorasse, quam confiteamini Filium scisse), videtis quia ex hoc ipso unius substantiae est Filius cum Patre; si quemadmodum Pater, ita et Filius, ut secundum vestram insipientiam loquar, aut non omnia novit, aut non omnia potest. Non sum enim avarus aut praeceps circa Filii laudes, ut plus audeam dicere Filium posse quam Patrem, qui nullam inter Patrem et Filium discretionem facio potestatis. 218. Sed fortasse dicatis, non ita dixisse Patrem, sed de Patre Filium fefellisse. Jam ergo 591 non solum infirmitatis Filium, sed etiam sacrilegii et mendacii arguitis. Verumtamen si non creditis de Patre Filio, nec de eo credatis; si enim fallere nos voluit, quia dixit dubitasse Patrem, quasi nesciret quod esset futurum: fallere ergo etiam de se nos voluit, quia futura nescire se dixit; multoque tolerabilius ad pudorem, si ignorantiam

ante praetendit, quod de se facit, quam si contrario promissis lusus videatur effectu, quod de Patre praedicavit. 219. Sed neque fallitur Pater, neque fallit Filius: verum ea est in Scripturis consuetudo divinis, sicut et superiora, et multa alia exempla testantur, ut Deus dissimulet se nescire quod novit. Et in hoc ergo unitas divinitatis, et unitas dispositionis in Patre probatur et Filio, si quemadmodum Deus Pater cognita dissimulat, ita Filius etiam in hoc imago Dei, quae sibi sunt nota dissimulet.

CAPUT XVIII.

DOMINICI AD APOSTOLOS responsi causam allaturus, primo illud indulgentiae Christi acceptum refert, mox alia quorumdam ratione proposita, germanam hanc esse profitetur, quod idem Dominus ex humano affectu locutus fuerit. Inde colligit scientiam Patris ac Filii aequalem esse; atque adeo non minorem Patre Filium. Postea ubi textui quo dicitur minor, alium quo aequalis traditur, opposuit; Arianorum de Filio judicantium temeritatem castigat, et cum illum impie minorem astruerent, ipsum pie lapidem abs se dici ostendit. 220. Edoctum est igitur non ignorasse Dei Filium quae futura sunt. Quod si fatentur, et ego, ut jam respondeam qua ratione neque angelos, neque Filium, sed Patrem scire memoravit (Marc. XIII, 32), solemnem ejus in discipulos charitatem etiam in hoc loco et gratiam recognosco, quod ex frequentia ipsa debet omnibus esse jam cognitum. Mavult enim Dominus nimio in discipulos amore propensus, petentibus his quae cognitu inutilia judicaret, videri ignorare quod noverat, quam negare; plusque amat nostram utilitatem instruere, quam suam potentiam demonstrare. 221. Sunt tamen plerique non ita timidiores, ut ego; malo enim alta timere, quam sapere: sunt tamen plerique eo freti, quod scriptum est: Et Jesus proficiebat aetate et sapientia et gratia apud Deum et homines (Luc. II, 52), qui dicant confidenter quod secundum divinitatem quidem ea quae futura sunt, ignorare non potuit, sed secundum nostrae conditionis assumptionem ignorare se quasi Filium hominis ante crucem dixit. Etenim cum Filium dicit, non quasi de alio dicit; nam ipse est et Dominus noster Dei Filius, et Filius Virginis: sed medio verbo nostrum informat affectum, ut quasi hominis filius secundum susceptionem nostrae

imprudentiae, vel profectus, non 592 plene adhuc scisse omnia crederetur; non enim est nostrum scire quae futura sunt. Eadem igitur videtur ignorare conditione, qua proficit: nam quomodo secundum divinitatem proficit, in quo habitat plenitudo divinitatis (Coloss. II, 9)? Aut quid est quod nesciat Dei Filius qui dicebat: Quid cogitatis mala in cordibus vestris (Matth. IX, 4)? Quomodo nesciat, de quo dicit Scriptura: Jesus autem norat cogitationes eorum (Luc. VI, 8)? 222. Haec tamen alii dicant: ego autem ut ad superiora redeam, qui proposuerim scriptum quia Pater dixit: Fortasse reverebuntur Filium meum (Luc. XX, 13); quod utique ideo arbitror positum; ut quia de hominibus loquebatur Pater, humano locutus videatur affectu: multo magis arbitror quia Filius qui cum hominibus conversatus est, et hominem egit, et carnem suscepit, nostrum assumpsit affectum; ut nostra ignoratione nescire se diceret, non quia aliquid ipse nesciret. Nam etsi homo in veritate corporis videbatur; erat tamen vita, erat lux, et virtus exibat de eo, quae vulnera sauciorum majestatis suae auctoritate sanabat (Luc. VI, 19). 223. Advertitis ergo quaestionem vobis esse sublatam, cum et Filii dictum ad susceptionem integrae conditionis referatur humanae, et de Patre ideo scriptum sit, ut vel sic calumniari Filio desinatis. 224. Nihil ergo fuit quod ignoraverit Dei Filius; nihil enim fuit quod ignoraverit Pater. Quod si nihil et Filius ignoravit, ut jam concludamus, dicant in quo eum minorem velint videri. Si minorem generavit Deus Filium, minus contulit; si minus contulit, aut minus voluit, aut minus potuit: sed nec infirmus nec invidus Pater; quia nec voluntas ante Filium, nec potestas: in quo enim minor, qui omnia habet quae Pater habet (Joan. XVI, 15)? Nam et omnia a Patre jure generationis accepit, et totum Patrem gloria suae majestatis expressit. 225. Scriptum est, inquiunt: Quoniam Pater major me est (Joan. XIV, 28). Sed scriptum est: Non rapinam arbitratus est se esse aequalem Deo (Philip. II, 6). Scriptum est quod propterea volebant illum Judaei occidere, quia Filium se dicebat Dei, aequalem se faciens Deo (Joan. V, 18). Scriptum est: Ego et Pater

unum sumus (Joan. X, 30). Unum legunt, multa non legunt. Numquid ergo et minor et aequalis per naturam eamdem potest esse? Sed aliud ad divinitatem refertur, aliud ad carnem. 226. Minorem dicunt: quaero quis mensus sit, quis tam exaltati cordis, qui velut ante tribunal suum Patrem Deum et Filium constituat; ut de praelatione dijudicet? Non est exaltatum cor meum, neque in vanum elati sunt oculi mei, David dicit (Psal. CXXX, 1). Rex David exaltare cor metuit in rebus humanis, nos exaltamus adversus divina secreta. Quis igitur judicat de Dei Filio? Throni, Dominationes, Angeli, Potestates? Sed famulantur 593 et serviunt Archangeli, sed ministrant Cherubim et Seraphim, sed laudant. Quis igitur judicat de Dei Filio, cum legerit quia ipse Pater noverit Filium, non judicet; Nemo enim novit Filium, nisi Pater (Matth. XI, 27). Novit, inquit, non judicat. Aliud est nosse, aliud judicare. Habet Pater in se scientiam, Filius supra se non habet potestatem. Et rursus: Nemo novit Patrem, nisi Filius; et ipse novit Patrem, sicut eum Pater novit. 227. Sed dicis quia minorem se dixit (Joan. XIV, 28): dixit et lapidem. Plus dicis, et impie calumniaris: minus dico, et pic astruo. Minorem dicis, et supra angelos confiteris: ego minorem angelis dico, et non derogo; quia non divinitatem arguo, sed misericordiam praedico.

CAPUT XIX.

CONVERSUS AD DEUM Patrem Vir sanctus, cur Filium eo minorem non statuat, exponit: tum asserit suum non esse ut metiatur Dei Filium; cum angelo metiri tantum Jerusalem datum fuerit, immo et forte Christo ut homini: sed Arium Satanae imitatorem se praebuisse. Temere igitur de divina generatione disputari; cum tantum humanae signum per Esaiam sit propositum; nec debeat comparatio fieri in divinis. Postremo quantum fugienda sit Arii arrogantia, variorum Scripturae exemplorum oppositione demonstrat. 228. Ad te nunc, omnipotens Pater, cum lacrymis verba converto. Ego te quidem inaccessibilem, incomprehensibilem, inaestimabilem prompte dixerim: sed Filium tuum minorem non ausim dicere. Nam cum illum splendorem gloriae, et imaginem substantiae tuae legerim (Hebr. I, 3); vercor ne minorem imaginem tuae dicendo substantiae, minorem substantiam tuam dicere videar, cujus imago sit Filius, cum plenitudo tuae divinitatis omnis in Filio sit. Immensum te Filiumque tuum et Spiritum sanctum, incircumscriptum, inaestimabilem, inenarrabilem legi frequenter, credo libenter. Et ideo aestimare non possum, ut examinare possim. 229. Esto tamen, spiritu ausuque temerario metiri te velim; unde, quaeso, te metiar? Funiculum agrimensorium vidit propheta (Ezech. XL, 3), quo metiebatur angelus Jerusalem. Metiebatur tamen angelus, non Arius: metiebatur Jerusalem, non Deum. Et fortasse nec Jerusalem metiri poterat angelus; vir enim erat. Denique sic habes: Et allevavi oculos, et vidi: et ecce vir, et in manu ejus funiculus agrimensorius (Ibid.). Vir erat quia typus suscipiendi corporis declarabatur. Vir erat ille, de quo est dictum: Post me venit vir, cujus non sum dignus solvere corrigiam calceamenti ejus (Joan. I,

27). Ergo Christus in typo Jerusalem metitur, Arius Deum. 230. Et Satanas transfigurat se in angelum lucis; quid mirum si Arius suum imitatur auctorem, ut usurpet illicita (II Cor. XI, 14)? Licet quod Pater suus diabolus per semetipsum non fecit, intolerabiliore 594 iste sacrilegio divinorum sibi scientiam secretorum, et supernae generationis arcana praesumat; diabolus enim verum Dei Filium fatebatur, Arius negat. 231. Si ergo metiri te, omnipotens Pater, non queo, possumne sine sacrilegio de tuae generationis disputare secreto? Possumne dicere quod aliquid inter te et Filium tuum plus minusve sit; cum ipse qui ex te natus est, dixerit: Omnia quae Pater habet mea sunt (Joan. XVI, 15)? Quis me constituit judicem aut divisorem de rebus humanis? Hoc Filius dicit, et nos inter Patrem et Filium divisionem nobis et judicium vindicamus? Bona pietas arbitros refugit etiam in divisione patrimonii. Nos ergo erimus arbitri, ut inter te et Filium tuum increatae majestatem substantiae dividamus? 232. Generatio, inquit, haec, generatio nequam est: signum quaerit, et signum non dubitur ei, nisi signum Jonae prophetae (Luc. XI, 29). Signum utique datur non divinitatis, sed incarnationis. Denique de incarnatione dicturus ait: Pete tibi signum. Et cum ille dixisset: Non petam, neque tentabo Dominum, responsum est: Ecce virgo in utero accipiet (Esai. VII, 11 et seq.). Ergo signum divinitatis videre non possumus, mensuram quaerimus? Vae misero mihi, impie discutere audemus, quem digne rogare non possimus? 233. Viderint tamen quid faciant Ariani: ego te, Pater, si majorem omnibus dixero, injuriose te tuis operibus comparavi: si majorem Filio, ut Arius asserit, impie judicavi. De te prior erit illa sententia, nam neque ulla fieri potest nisi ex comparatione praelatio, neque praeferri quisquam, nisi de quo prius fuerit judicatum. 234. Jurare nobis per coelum non licet (Matth. V, 3), judicare de Deo licet: sed Filio tuo soli judicium de omnibus detulisti. 235. Joannes carnem Domini baptizare metuebat, Joannes prohibebat dicens: Ego a te debeo baptizari, et tu venis ad me (Matth. III, 14); et ego Christum judicio meo subdam? 235.

Moyses excusat sacerdotium, Petrus imperatum in ministerio declinat obsequium: Arius scrutatur etiam alta Dei? Sed non Arius Spiritus sanctus: sed Ario et hominibus dictum est: Altiora te ne quaesieris (Eccl. III, 22). 236. Moyses vultum Domini prohibetur videre (Exod. XXXIII, 23): Arius meruit videre secretum. Moyses et Aaron in sacerdotibus ejus, Moyses qui cum Domino apparet in gloria; Moyses ergo ille posteriora tantummodo Dei in typo vidit: Arius totum Deum facie ad faciem comprehendit. Sed nemo, inquit, videre potest faciem meam, et vivit (Exod. XXXIII, 20). 237. Paulus etiam de inferioribus dicit: Ex parte cognoscimus et ex parte etiam prophetamus (I Cor. XIII, 9). Arius dicit: Ex toto Deum, non ex parte cognovi. Inferior ergo Paulus, quam Arius; et vas electionis ex parte scit, vas perditionis totum scit: Scio, inquit, hominem, sive in corpore, 595 sive extra corpus nescio, Deus scit, quoniam raptus est in paradisum, et audivit verba ineffabilia (II Cor. XII, 4, 5). Paulus raptus usque ad tertium coelum, se ipsum nescivit: Arius in stercore volutatus Deum scivit. Paulus dicit de se ipso: Deus scit; Arius de Deo dicit: Ego novi. 238. Sed non Arius raptus in coelum, quamvis 596 eum secutus sit, qui jactatione damnabili divina praesumeret, dicens: Ponam thronum meum super nubes, et ero similis Altissimo (Esai. XIV, 14); sicut enim ille dixit: Ero similis Altissimo: sic et Arius altissimum Dei Filium sui similem vult videri: quem non in divinitatis aeternae majestate veneratur, sed ex carnis infirmitate metitur.

De mysteriis

CONTENTS

CAPUT PRIMUM
CAPUT II
CAPUT III
CAPUT IV
CAPUT V
CAPUT VI
CAPUT VII
CAPUT VIII
CAPUT IX

CAPUT PRIMUM

TRACTATIBUS, QUOS ANTE de moribus Sanctus habuerat, subjecturum se mysteriorum expositionem spondet. Deinde cur ea non prius patefecerit, declarato, mysticam aggreditur apertionem, quam a Christo ipso olim celebratam demonstrat.

1. De moralibus quotidianum sermonem habuimus, cum vel Patriarcharum gesta, vel Proverbiorum legerentur praecepta; ut his informati atque instituti assuesceretis majorum ingredi vias, eorumque iter carpere, ac divinis obedire oraculis: quo renovati per baptismum, ejus vitae usum teneretis, quae ablutos deceret.

2. Nunc de mysteriis dicere tempus admonet, atque ipsam sacramentorum rationem edere: quam ante baptismum si putassemus insinuandam nondum initiatis, prodidisse potius quam edidisse aestimaremur. Deinde quod inopinantibus melius se ipsa lux mysteriorum infuderit, quam si eam sermo aliquis praecucurrisset.

3. Aperite igitur aures, et bonum odorem vitae aeternae inhalatum vobis munere sacramentorum carpite: quod vobis significavimus, cum apertionis celebrantes mysterium diceremus: Epheta, quod est adaperire (Marc. VII, 34); ut venturus unusquisque ad gratiam quid interrogaretur, cognosceret: quid responderet, meminisse deberet.

4. Hoc mysterium celebravit Christus in Evangelio (Ibid.), sicut legimus, cum mutum curaret et surdum. Sed ille os tetigit; quia et mutum curabat et virum: in altero, ut os ejus infusae sono vocis aperiret; in altero, quia tactus iste virum decebat, feminam non decebat.

CAPUT II

QUID INITIANDI ECCLESIAM ingressi promiserint, quibusve coram testibus, et quamobrem se converterint ad orientem?

5. Post haec reserata tibi sunt sancta sanctorum, ingressus es regenerationis sacrarium: repete quid interrogatus sis, recognosce quid responderis. Renuntiasti diabolo et operibus ejus, mundo et luxuriae ejus ac voluptatibus. Tenetur vox tua, non in tumulo mortuorum, sed in libro viventium.

6. Vidisti illic levitam, vidisti sacerdotem, vidisti summum sacerdotem. Noli considerare corporum figuras, sed mysteriorum gratiam. Praesentibus angelis locutus es, sicut scriptum est:

Quia labia sacerdotis custodiunt scientiam, et legem exquirunt ex ore ipsius; quoniam angelus est Domini omnipotentis (Malac. II, 7). Non est fallere, non est negare: angelus est qui regnum Christi et vitam aeternam annuntiat. Non specie tibi aestimandus sit, sed munere. Quid tradiderit considera, usum ejus expende, et statum ejus agnosce.

7. Ingressus es igitur ut adversarium tuum cerneres, cui renuntiandum in os putaris: ad orientem converteris; qui enim renuntiat diabolo, ad Christum convertitur, illum directo cernit obtutu.

CAPUT III

IN AQUA ET sacris ministris praesentiam atque operationem divinitatis considerandam esse, pluribus figuris quibus baptisma jam inde a mundi creatione ac postea praenuntiatum est, docet.

8. Quid vidisti? Aquas utique, sed non solas: levitas illic ministrantes, summum sacerdotem interrogantem et consecrantem. Primo omnium docuit te Apostolus non ea contemplanda nobis quae videntur, sed quae non videntur, quoniam quae videntur, temporalia sunt: quae autem non videntur, aeterna (II Cor. IV, 18). Nam et alibi habes: Quia invisibilia Dei a creatura mundi per ea quae facta sunt comprehenduntur: sempiterna quoque virtus ejus ac divinitas operibus aestimatur (Rom. I, 20). Unde et ipse Dominus ait: Si mihi non creditis, vel operibus credite (Joan. X, 38). Crede ergo divinitatis illic adesse praesentiam. Operationem credis, non credis praesentiam? Unde sequeretur operatio, nisi praecederet ante praesentia?

9. Considera autem quam vetus mysterium sit, in ipsius mundi praefiguratum origine. In principio ipso, quando fecit Deus coelum et terram, Spiritus, inquit, superferebatur super aquas (Gen. I, 2). Qui superferebatur super aquas, non operabatur super aquas? Sed quid dicam operabatur? quod ad praesentiam spectat, superferebatur. Non operabatur, qui superferebatur? Cognosce quia operabatur in illa mundi fabrica, quando tibi dicit Propheta: Verbo Domini coeli firmati sunt, et Spiritu oris ejus omnis virtus eorum (Psal. XXXII, 6). Utrumque prophetico subnixum est testimonio, et quia superferebatur et quia operabatur. Quia superferebatur, Moyses dicit: quia operabatur, David testificatur.

10. Accipe aliud testimonium. Corrupta erat caro omnis ab iniquitatibus suis. Non permanebit, inquit Deus, Spiritus meus in hominibus, quia carnes sunt (Gen. VI, 3.) Quo ostendit Deus quia carnali immunditia, et gravioris labe peccati gratia spiritalis avertitur. Unde volens Deus reparare quod deerat, dilnvium fecit, et justum Noe in arcam jussit ascendere (Gen. VII, 1 et seq.) Qui dum, decedente diluvio, corvum dimisisset prius, qui non revertit; dimisit columbam, quae cum ramo oleae legitur revertisse (Gen. VIII, 7, 8). Vides aquam, vides lignum, columbam aspicis, et dubitas de mysterio?

11. Aqua est ergo qua caro mergitur, ut omne abluatur carnale peccatum. Sepelitur illic omne flagitium. Lignum est in quo suffixus est Dominus Jesus, cum pateretur pro nobis. Columba est in cujus specie descendit Spiritus sanctus, sicut didicisti in novo Testamento (Matth. III, 16), qui tibi pacem animae, tranquillitatem mentis inspirat. Corvus est figura peccati, quod exit, et non revertitur; si in te quoque justi custodia et forma servetur.

12. Tertium quoque testimonium est, sicut te Apostolus docet: Quoniam patres nostri omnes sub nube fuerunt, et omnes mare transierunt, et omnes in Moyse baptizati sunt, in nube et in mari (I Cor. X, 1, 2). Denique et ipse Moyses dicit in Cantico: Misisti Spiritum tuum, et operuit eos mare (Exod.XV, 10). Advertis quod in illo Hebraeorum transitu jam tunc sacri baptismatis figura praecesserit, in quo Aegyptius interiit et Hebraeus evasit. Quid enim aliud in hoc quotidie sacramento docemur, nisi quia culpa mergitur, et error aboletur: pietas autem et innocentia tuta permansit?

13. Audis quia sub nube fuerunt patres nostri, et bona nube, quae carnalium refrigeravit incendia passionum. Bona nubes obumbrat quos revisit Spiritus sanctus. Denique supervenit in Mariam virginem, et virtus Altissimi obumbravit ei (Luc. I, 75); quando redemptionem genti genuit humanae. Et illud miraculum per Moysen in figura factum est (Exod. XIV, 21 et seq.). Si ergo in figura adfuit Spiritus, non adest in veritate, cum

Scriptura tibi dicat: Quia lex per Moysen data est, gratia autem et veritas per Jesum Christum facta est (Joan. I, 17).

14. Merrha fons amarissimus erat: misit in eum Moyses lignum, et dulcis est factus (Exod. XV, 23 et seq.). Aqua enim sine praedicatione Domini caecrucis ad nullos usus futurae salutis est: cum vero salutaris fuerit crucis mysterio consecrata, tunc ad usum spiritalis lavacri et salutaris poculi temperatur. Sicut ergo in illum fontem Moyses misit lignum, hoc est propheta; ita et in hunc fontem sacerdos praedicationem Dominicae crucis mittit, et aqua fit dulcis ad gratiam.

15. Non ergo solis corporis tui credas oculis: magis videtur quod non videtur; quia istud temporale, illud aeternum aspicitur, quod oculis non comprehenditur, animo autem ac mente cernitur.

16. Denique doceat te decursa Regnorum lectio. (IV Reg. V, 1 et seq.). Naaman Syrus erat, et lepram habebat, nec ab ullo mundari poterat. Tunc ait puella ex captivis, quoniam esset propheta in Israel, qui posset eum a leprae contagione mundare. Sumpto, inquit, auro et argento, perrexit ad regem Israel. Qui cognita adventus ejus causa, scidit vestimenta sua, dicens quod tentaretur magis, cum de se ea quae non essent potestatis regiae, poscerentur:

Elisaeus autem regi intimavit ut ad se dirigeret Syrum, quo cognosceret quod esset Deus in Israel. Et cum venisset, mandavit ei ut septies mergeretur in Jordane fluvio.

17. Tunc ille secum tractare coepit quod meliores aquas haberet patriae suae, in quibus se saepe mersisset, et numquam a lepra esset ablutus; eoque revocatus non obediebat mandatis prophetae: sed et admonitu et persuasionibus servulorum acquievit, ac mersit. Mundatusque illico intellexit non aquarum esse quod unusquisque mundatur, sed gratiae.

18. Cognosce nunc quae sit illa puella ex captivis junior, scilicet ex gentibus congregatio, id est, Ecclesia Domini depressa ante captivitate

peccati, quando libertatem adhuc gratiae non habebat; cujus consilio vanus ille populus nationum verbum audivit propheticum, de quo ante diu dubitavit; postea tamen ubi credidit exsequendum, ablutus est ab omni contagione vitiorum. Et ille quidem dubitavit, antequam sanaretur: tu jam sanatus es, et ideo dubitare non debes.

CAPUT IV

AQUAM NON MUNDARE sine Spiritu, Joannis testimonio et ipsis quibus idem sacramentum administratur, verbis declaratur. Quod etiam asseritur significatum per Evangelicam piscinam, et paralyticum a Domino ibi sanatum: quo loco Spiritus sanctus in ejusdem Christi baptismo vere descendisse ostenditur, et quid in hoc mysterio intelligendum?

19. Ideo tibi ante praedictum est, ut non hoc solum crederes quod videbas; ne forte et tu diceres: Hoc est illud magnum mysterium; quod oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit (I Cor. II, 9)? Aquas video, quas videbam quotidie: istae me habent mundare, in quas saepe descendi, et numquam mundatus sum? Hinc cognosce quod aqua non mundat sine Spiritu.

20. Ideoque legisti quod tres testes in baptismate unum sunt, aqua, sanguis, et Spiritus (I Joan. V, 7); quia si in unum horum detrahas, non stat baptismatis sacramentum. Quid est enim aqua sine cruce Christi? Elementum commune, sine ullo sacramenti effectu. Nec iterum sine aqua, regenerationis mysterium est: Nisi enim quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu, non potest introire in regnum Dei (Joan. III, 5). Credit autem etiam catechumenus in crucem Domini Jesu, qua et ipse signatur: sed nisi baptizatus fuerit in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, remissionem non potest accipere peccatorum, nec spiritualis gratiae munus haurire.

21. Ergo ille Syrus septies mersit in Lege: (IV Reg. V, 14) tu autem baptizatus es in nomine Trinitatis, confessus es Patrem, recordare quid feceris; confessus es Filium, confessus es Spiritum sanctum. Tene ordinem rerum in hac fide; mundo mortuus es, et Deo resurrexisti. Et quasi in illo

mundi consepultus elemento, peccato mortuus, ad vitam es resuscitatus aeternam.

Crede ergo quia non sunt vacuae aquae.

22. Ideo tibi dictum est: Quia angelus Domini descendebat secundum tempus in natatoriam, et movebatur aqua; et qui prior descendisset in natatoriam post commotionem aquae, sanus fiebat a languore quocumque tenebatur (Joan. V, 4). Haec piscina in Hierosolymis erat, in qua unus annuus sanabatur: sed nemo ante sanabatur, quam descendisset angelus. Ut esset indicium quia descenderat angelus, movebatur aqua propter incredulos. Illis signum, tibi fides: illis angelus descendebat, tibi Spiritus sanctus: illis creatura movebatur, tibi Christus operatur ipse Dominus creaturae.

23. Tunc curabatur unus, nunc omnes sanantur: aut certe unus solus populus christianus; est enim in aliquibus et aqua mendax (Jerem. XV, 18). Non sanat baptismus perfidorum (I, q. 1, c. Non sanat), non mundat, sed polluit. Judaeus urceos baptizat et calices (Marc. VII, 4), quasi insensibilia vel culpam possint recipere, vel gratiam. Tu baptiza hunc calicem tuum sensibilem, in quo bona opera tua luceant, in quo gratiae tuae splendor fulgeat. Ergo et illa piscina in figura; ut credas quia in hunc fontem vis divina descendit.

24. Denique paralyticus ille exspectabat hominem (Joan. V, 7). Quem illum, nisi Dominum Jesum natum ex Virgine: cujus adventu non jam umbra sanaret singulos, sed veritas universos? Iste est ergo qui exspectabatur ut descenderet, de quo dixit Deus Pater ad Joannem Baptistam: Super quem videris Spiritum descendentem de coelo, et manentem super eum, hic est qui baptizat in Spiritu sancto (Joan. I, 33). De quo testificatus est Joannes dicens: Quia vidi Spiritum descendentem de coelo quasi columbam et manentem super eum (Ibid., 32). Et hic quare Spiritus sicut columba descendit, nisi ut tu videres, nisi ut tu agnosceres

columbam etiam illam quam Noe justus emisit ex arca, istius columbae speciem fuisse, ut typum agnosceres sacramenti (Gen., VIII, 8)?

25. Et fortasse dicas: Cum illa vera columba fuerit quae emissa est, hic quasi columba descenderit: quomodo illic speciem fuisse dicimus, hic veritatem; cum secundum Graecos in specie columbae Spiritum descendisse sit scriptum (Luc. III, 12)? Sed quid tam verum quam divinitas quae manet semper? Creatura autem non potest veritas esse, sed species, quae facile solvitur atque mutatur. Simul quia eorum qui baptizantur, non in specie esse debeat, sed vera simplicitas. Unde et Dominus ait: Estote astuti sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbae (Matth. X, 16). Merito ergo sicut columba descendit, ut admoneret nos simplicitatem columbae habere debere. Speciem autem et pro veritate accipiendam legimus et de Christo: Et specie inventus ut homo (Phil. II, 7); et de Patre Deo: Neque speciem ejus vidistis (Joan. V, 37).

CAPUT V

CONFIRMATUR ADESSE CHRISTUM in baptismate, atque adeo non considerandos ejus ministros.

Demum confessio Trinitatis a baptizatis edi solita paucis expenditur. 26. Estne adhuc quod dubitare debeas, cum evidenter tibi clamet in Evangelio Pater, qui ait: Hic est Filius meus in quo complacui (Matth. III, 17); clamet Filius, super quem sicut columba se demonstravit Spiritus sanctus; clamet et Spiritus sanctus, qui sicut columba descendit; clamet David: Vox Domini super aquas, Deus majestatis intonuit: Dominus super aquas multas (Psal. XXVIII, 3); Cum tibi Scriptura (1, q. 1, c. Cum Script.) testetur quod ad Hierobaal preces ignis descenderit de coelo (Judic. VI, 21), et rursus precante Elia, ignis sit missus qui sacrificium consecravit (III Reg. XVIII, 38)?

27. Non merita personarum consideres, sed officia sacerdotum. Et si merita spectes; sicut Eliam consideres, Petri quoque merita spectato, vel Pauli, qui acceptum a Domino Jesu hoc nobis mysterium tradiderunt. Ignis illis visibilis mittebatur (l, q. 1, c. Cum Script., § Ignis), ut crederent: nobis invisibilis operatur, qui credimus: illis ad figuram, nobis ad commonitionem.

Crede ergo adesse Dominum Jesum invocatum precibus sacerdotum, qui ait: Ubi fuerint duo vel tres, ibi et ego sum (Matt. XVIII, 20); quanto magis ubi est Ecclesia, ubi mysteria sua sunt, ibi dignatur suam impertire praesentiam!

28. Descendisti igitur; recordare quid responderis, quod credas in Patrem, credas in Filium, credas in Spiritum sanctum. Non habes illic:

Credo in majorem et minorem et ultimum: sed eadem vocis tuae cautione constringeris, ut similiter credas in Filium, sicut in Patrem credis: similiter in Spiritum sanctum credas, sicut credis in Filium; hoc solo excepto, quod in crucem solius Domini Jesu fateris tibi esse credendum.

CAPUT VI

EGRESSIS E FONTE baptismatis quare unctio fiat in capite: cur etiam pedum lotio post baptismum; quaeve peccata utrisque remittantur.

29. Post haec utique ascendisti ad sacerdotem: considera quid secutum sit. Nonne illud quod ait David. Sicut unguentum in capite, quod descendit in barbam, barbam Aaron (Psal. CXXXII, 2)? Hoc est unguentum, de quo et Salomon ait: Unguentum exinanitum est nomen tuum, propterea adolescentulae dilexerunt te, et attraxerunt te (Cant. I, 2). Quantae hodie renovatae animae dilexerunt te, Domine Jesu, dicentes: Attrahe nos post te, in odorem vestimentorum tuorum currimus (Ibid., 3), ut odorem resurrectionis haurirent!

30. Quare hoc fiat intellige, quia oculi sapientis in capite ejus (Eccles. II, 14). Ideo in barbam defluit, id est, in gratiam juventutis; ideo in barbam Aaron, ut fias electum genus, sacerdotale, pretiosum; omnes enim in regnum Dei et in sacerdotium ungimur gratia spiritali.

31. Ascendisti de fonte, memento Evangelicae lectionis. Etenim Dominus noster Jesus in Evangelio lavit pedes discipulis suis. Quando venit ad Simonem Petrum, ait Petrus: Non lavas mihi pedes in aeternum (Joan. XIII, 8); non advertit mysterium, et ideo ministerium recusavit; quod gravari humilitatem servi crederet, si sibi obsequium domini patienter admitteret. Cui respondit Dominus: Si non lavero tibi pedes, non habebis partem mecum. Quo audito, Petrus:

Domine, non tantum pedes, inquit, sed et manus et caput. Respondit Dominus: Qui lotus est, non indiget nisi ut pedes lavet; sed est mundus totus (Ibid., 9).

32. Mundus erat Petrus, sed plantam lavare debebat; habebat enim primi hominis de successione peccatum: quando eum supplantavit serpens, et persuasit errorem (Gen. III, 6). Ideo planta ejus abluitur, ut haereditaria peccata tollantur; nostra enim propria per baptismum relaxantur.

33. Simul cognosce mysterium in ipso humilitatis consistere ministerio; ait enim: Si ego lavi vobis pedes Dominus et magister; quanto magis et vos debetis lavare pedes invicem vobis (Joan. XIII. 14)! Cum enim ipse auctor salutis per obedientiam nos redemerit; quanto magis nos servuli ejus humilitatis et obedientiae exhibere debemus obsequium!

CAPUT VII

VESTIMENTIS CANDIDIS PECCATORUM ablutionem indicari: cujus opera ut Ecclesia se nigram atque decoram diceret, effectum est. Angelos nitorem ejus sicut et Dominicae carnis miratos esse; quin immo ipsummet Christum sub variis figuris commendasse Sponsae suae formam: quorum in se mutui affectus describuntur.

34. Accepisti post haec vestimenta candida (De Consec. dist. 4, c. Accepsiti), ut esset indicium quod exueris involucrum peccatorum, indueris innocentiae casta velamina, de quibus dixit Propheta: Asperges me hyssopo, et mundabor: lavabis me, et super nivem dealbabor (Psal. L, 9). Qui enim baptizatur, et secundum Legem et secundum Evangelium videtur esse mundatus: secundum Legem, quia hyssopi fasciculo Moyses aspergebat sanguinem agni (Exod. XII, 22): secundum Evangelium, quia Christi erant candida vestimenta sicut nix, cum resurrectionis suae gloriam in Evangelio (Matth. XVII, 2) demonstraret. Super nivem ergo dealbatur, cui culpa dimittitur. Unde et per Esaiam Dominus ait: Si fuerint peccata vestra sicut phoenicium, ut nivem dealbabo (Esai. I, 18).

35. Haec vestimenta habens Ecclesia per lavacrum regenerationis assumpta, dicit in Canticis:

Nigra sum et decora, filiae Hierusalem (Cant. I, 4). Nigra per fragilitatem conditionis humanae, decora per gratiam: nigra, quia ex peccatoribus; decora fidei sacramento. Haec vestimenta cernentes filiae Hierusalem stupefactae dicunt: Quae est haec quae ascendit dealbata (Cant. VIII, 5)? Haec erat nigra, unde nunc subito dealbata!

36. Dubitaverunt etiam angeli cum resurgeret Christus, dubitaverunt Potestates coelorum videntes quod caro in coelum ascenderet. Denique dicebant: Quis est iste Rex gloriae? Et cum alii dicerent: Tollite portas Principis vestri, et elevamini portae aeternales, et introibit Rex gloriae; alii dubitabant dicentes: Quis est iste Rex gloriae (Psal. XXIII, 8, 9)? In Esaia quoque habes dubitantes virtutes coelorum dixisse: Quis est iste qui ascendit ex Edom, rubor vestimentorum ejus ex Bosor, speciosus in stola candida (Esai. LXIII, 1)?

37. Christus autem videns Ecclesiam suam in vestimentis candidis, pro qua ipse, ut habes in Zachariae libro prophetae (Zach. III, 3), sordida vestimenta susceperat, vel animam regenerationis lavacro mundam atque ablutam, dicit: Ecce formosa es, proxima mea, ecce es formosa, oculi tui sicut columbae (Cant. IV, 1); in cujus specie Spiritus sanctus descendit de coelo (Luc. III, 22). Formosi oculi sicut columbae, quia in ejus specie Spiritus sanctus descendit de coelo.

38. Et infra: Dentes tui sicut grex tonsarum, quae ascenderunt de lavacro, quae omnes geminos creant, et infecunda non est in eis; ut resticula coccinea labia tua (Cantic. IV, 2, 3). Non mediocris ista laudatio. Primum dulci comparatione tonsarum; capras enim et in altis pasci sine periculo novimus, et in praeruptis securas cibum capere: deinde cum tondentur, deonerari superfluis. Harum gregi comparatur Ecclesia, multas in se habens animarum virtutes, quae per lavacrum superflua peccata deponant, quae mysticam fidem et moralem gratiam deferant Christo, quae crucem Domini Jesu loquantur.

39. In iis formosa est Ecclesia. Unde ad eam Verbum Deus dicit: Tota formosa es, proxima mea; et reprehensio non est in te; quia culpa demersa est. Ades huc a Libano, Sponsa, ades huc a Libano: transibis, et pertransibis a principio fidei (Ibid., 7, 8); eo quod renuntians mundo transierit saeculum, pertransierit ad Christum. Et iterum dicit ad eam Deus Verbum: Quid

pulchra et suavis facta es charitas in deliciis tuis? Statura tua similis facta est palmae, et ubera tua botris (Cant. VII, 6, 7).

40. Cui respondet Ecclesia: Quis dabit te, frater, mihi lactentem ubera matris meae? Inveniens te foris, osculabor te: et quidem non spernent me. Assumam te, et inducam te in domum matris meae, et in secretum ejus quae concepit me. Docebis me (Cant. VIII, 1, 2). Vides quemadmodum delectata munere gratiarum, ad interiora cupit mysteria pervenire, et omnes sensus suos consecrare Christo? Adhuc quaerit, adhuc suscitat charitatem, et suscitari sibi eam poscit a filiabus Hierusalem, quarum gratia, hoc est, animarum fidelium, Sponsum in amorem sui uberiorem desiderat provocari.

41. Unde Dominus Jesus et ipse invitatus tantae studio charitatis, pulchritudine decoris et gratiae; quod nulla jam in ablutis delicta sorderent, dicit ad Ecclesiam: Pone me ut signaculum in cor tuum, ut sigillum in brachium tuum (Ibid., 6); hoc est, decora es, proxima mea, tota formosa es, nihil tibi deest. Pone me ut signaculum in cor tuum; quo fides tua pleno fulgeat sacramento. Opera quoque tua luceant, et imaginem Dei praeferant, ad cujus imaginem facta es. Charitas tua nulla persecutione minuatur, quam multa aqua excludere, flumina undare non possint (Ibid. 7).

42. Unde repete quia accepisti signaculum spiritale, spiritum sapientiae et intellectus, spiritum consilii atque virtutis, spiritum cognitionis atque pietatis, spiritum sancti timoris (Esai. XI, 2): et serva quod accepisti. Signavit te Deus Pater, confirmavit te Christus Dominus; et dedit pignus Spiritus in cordibus tuis, sicut Apostolica lectione didicisti (II Cor. V, 2).

CAPUT VIII

De mystico Dominici altaris convivio: quod ne quispiam minoris faciat, ostenditur Synagogae sacris antiquius esse; cum in sacrificio Melchisedech expressum fuerit: ipso autem manna longe praestantius, cum sit corpus Christi; ac inter utrumque perelegans comparatio instituitur.

43. His abluta plebs dives insignibus, ad Christi contendit altaria, dicens: Et introibo ad altare Dei, ad Deum qui laetificat juventutem meam (Psal. XLII, 4); depositis enim inveterati erroris exuviis, renovata in aquilae juventute, coeleste illud festinat adire convivium. Venit igitur, et videns sacrosanctum altare compositum, exclamans ait: Parasti in conspectu meo mensam. Hanc loquentem inducit David dicens: Dominus pascit me, et nihil mihi deerit: in loco pascuae ibi me collocavit. Super aquam refectionis educavit me (Psal. XXII, 1, 2). Et infra: Nam etsi ambulem in medio umbrae mortis, non timebo mala; quoniam tu mecum es. Virga tua et baculus tuus, ipsa me consolata sunt. Parasti in conspectu meo mensam adversus eos qui tribulant me. Impinguasti in oleo caput meum, et poculum tuum inebrians quam praeclarum est!

44. Nunc illud consideremus, ne quis forte visibilia videns (quoniam quae sunt invisibilia, non videntur, nec possunt humanis oculis comprehendi) dicat forte: Judaeis Deus manna pluit, pluit coturnices (Exod. XVI, 13): Ecclesiae autem illi dilectae haec sunt quae praeparavit; de quibus dictum est: Quod oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit, quae praeparavit Deus diligentibus eum (I Cor. II, 9). Ergo ne quis hoc dicat, summo studio volumus comprobare quod et

antiquiora sunt sacramenta Ecclesiae quam Synagogae, et praestantiora quam manna est.

45. Antiquiora docet lectio Genesis quae decursa est (Gen. XIV, 18); Synagoga enim ex lege Moysi principium sumpsit (Exod. XXXIV, 1 et seq.): Abraham vero longe anterior, qui victis hostibus, et nepote proprio recepto. cum potiretur victoria; tunc illi occurrit Melchisedech, et protulit ea quae Abraham veneratus accepit. Non Abraham protulit, sed Melchisedech; qui inducitur sine patre, sine matre, neque initium dierum, neque finem habens, similis autem Filio Dei: de quo ait Paulus ad Hebraeos: Quia manet sacerdos in perpetuum (Hebr. VII et seq.); qui interpretatione Latina dicitur rex justitiae, rex pacis.

46. Non agnoscis quis iste sit? Potest homo esse rex justitiae, cum ipse vix justus sit? Potest esse rex pacis, cum vix possit esse pacificus? Sine matre secundum divinitatem; quia ex Patre Deo genitus est, unius substantiae cum Patre: sine patre secundum incarnationem, qui natus ex Virgine est: initium et finem non habens, quia ipse est initium et finis omnium, primus et novissimus. Non igitur humani, sed divini est muneris sacramentum quod accepisti, ab eo prolatum qui benedixit fidei patrem Abraham, illum cujus gratiam et gesta miraris.

47. Probatum est antiquiora esse Ecclesiae sacramenta, nunc cognosce potiora. Revera (De Consec. dist. 2, c. Revera) mirabile est quod manna Deus pluerit patribus, et quotidiano coeli pascebantur alimento. Unde dictum est: Panem angelorum manducavit homo (Psal. LXXVII, 25). Sed tamen panem illum qui manducaverunt, omnes in deserto mortui sunt: ista autem esca quam accipis, iste panis vivus qui descendit de coelo, vitae aeternae substantiam subministrat; et quicumque hunc manducaverit, non morietur in aeternum: et est corpus Christi.

48. Considera nunc (De Consec. dist. 2, c. Revera, § Considera) utrum praestantior sit panis angelorum, an caro Christi, quae utique corpus est

vitae. Manna illud e coelo, hoc supra coelum; illud coeli, hoc Domini coelorum: illud corruptioni obnoxium, si in diem alterum servaretur; hoc alienum ab omni corruptione, quod quicumque religiose gustaverit, corruptionem sentire non poterit. Illis aqua de petra fluxit (Exod. XVII, 6), tibi sanguis e Christo (Joan.VI, 55 et seq.): illos ad horam satiavit aqua, te sanguis diluit in aeternum. Judaeus bibit, et sitit: tu cum biberis, sitire non poteris: et illud in umbra, hoc in veritate.

49. Si illud quod miraris, umbra est; quantum istud est, cujus et umbram miraris! Audi quia umbra est quae apud patres facta est: Bibebant, inquit, de consequenti eos petra: petra autem erat Christus. Sed non in pluribus eorum complacitum est Deo; nam prostrati sunt in deserto (I Cor. X, 4, 5). Haec autem in figura facta sunt nostra. Cognovisti praestantiora; potior est enim lux quam umbra, veritas quam figura, corpus auctoris quam manna de coelo.

CAPUT IX

NE QUIS EXTERNA perculsus specie, in fide fluctuet, plurimis exemplis, quibus mutatam aut victam fuisse naturam constat, in medium allatis, e pane veram Christi carnem fieri evincit. Postremo nonnullis quae ad effectus ejus, utentium dispositiones ac similia pertinent, figurate propositis, tractatum claudit.

50. Forte dicas: Aliud video, quomodo tu mihi asseris quod Christi corpus accipiam? Et hoc nobis adhuc superest ut probemus. Quantis igitur utimur exemplis! Probemus non hoc esse quod natura formavit, sed quod benedictio consecravit: majoremque vim esse benedictionis quam naturae; quia benedictione etiam natura ipsa mutatur.

51. Virgam tenebat Moyses, projecit eam, et facta est serpens (Exod. IV, 3, 4). Rursus prehendit caudam serpentis, et in virgae naturam revertit. Vides igitur prophetica gratia bis mutatam esse naturam et serpentis et virgae? Currebant Aegypti flumina puro aquarum meatu, subito de fontium venis sanguis coepit erumpere; et non erat potus in fluviis (Exod. VII, 20 et seq.). Rursus a prophetae prece cruor cessavit fluminum, aquarum natura remeavit. Circumclusus undique erat populus Hebraeorum, hinc Aegyptiis vallatus, inde mari clausus: virgam levavit Moyses, separavit se aqua, et in murorum specie congelavit, atque inter undas via pedestris apparuit (Exod. XIV, 21 et seq.). Jordanis retrorsum conversus contra naturam in sui fontis revertit exordium (Jos. III, 16). Nonne claret naturam vel maritimorum fluctuum vel fluvialis cursus esse mutatam? Sitiebat populus patrum, tetigit Moyses petram, et aqua de petra fluxit. Numquid non praeter naturam operata est gratia, ut aquam vomeret petra, quam non habebat natura?

Merrha fluvius amarissimus erat, ut sitiens populus bibere non posset. Misit Moyses lignum in aquam, et amaritudinem suam aquarum natura deposuit (Exod. XV, 23 et seq.), quam infusa subito gratia temperavit. Sub Elisaeo propheta uni ex filiis prophetarum excussum est ferrum de securi, et statim mersum est. Rogavit Elisaeum, qui amiserat ferrum: misit etiam Elisaeus lignum in aquam, et ferrum natavit (IV Reg. VI, 6). Utique et hoc praeter naturam factum cognoscimus; gravior est enim ferri species, quam aquarum liquor.

52. Advertimus igitur majoris esse virtutis gratiam quam naturam, et adhuc tamen propheticae benedictionis numeramus gratiam? Quod si tantum valuit humana benedictio, ut naturam converteret (III Reg. XVIII, 38); quid dicimus de ipsa consecratione divina, ubi verba ipsa Domini Salvatoris operantur? Nam sacramentum istud quod accipis, Christi sermone conficitur. Quod si tantum valuit sermo Eliae, ut ignem de coelo deponeret: non valebit Christi sermo, ut species mutet elementorum? De totius mundi operibus legisti: Quia ipse dixit, et facta sunt: ipse mandavit, et creata sunt, (Psal. CXLVIII, 5.De Consec., dist. 2, c. In quibus, § Cujus clare) sermo ergo Christi qui potuit ex nihilo facere quod non erat, non potest ea quae sunt, in id mutare, quod non erant? Non enim minus est novas rebus dare, quam mutare naturas.

53. Sed quid argumentis utimur? Suis utamur exemplis, incarnationisque exemplo astruamus mysterii veritatem. Numquid naturae usus praecessit, cum Jesus Dominus ex Maria nasceretur? Si ordinem quaerimus, viro mixta femina generare consuevit. Liquet igitur quod praeter naturae ordinem Virgo generavit. Et hoc quod conficimus corpus, ex Virgine est: quid hic quaeris naturae ordinem in Christi corpore, cum praeter naturam sit ipse Dominus Jesus partus ex Virgine? Vera utique caro Christi, quae crucifixa est, quae sepulta est: vere ergo carnis illius sacramentum est.

54. Ipse clamat Dominus Jesus: Hoc est corpus meum (Matth. XXVI, 26). Ante benedictionem verborum coelestium alia species nominatur, post consecrationem corpus significatur (De Consec. dist. 10, § Haec et his). Ipse dicit sanguinem suum. Ante consecrationem aliud dicitur, post consecrationem sanguis nuncupatur. Et tu dicis: Amen, hoc est, verum est. Quod os loquitur, mens interna fateatur: quod sermo sonat, affectus sentiat.

55. His igitur sacramentis pascit Ecclesiam suam Christus, quibus animae firmatur substantia: meritoque videns profectum ejus gratiae continentem, dicit ad eam: Quam decora facta sunt ubera tua, soror mea sponsa! Quam decora facta sunt a vino: et odor vestimentorum tuorum super omnia aromata! Favus distillans labia tua, o sponsa, mel et lac sub lingua tua, et odor vestimentorum tuorum sicut odor Libani. Hortus conclusus, soror mea sponsa, hortus conclusus, fons signatus (Cant. IV, 10 et seq.). Quo significat signatum debere apud te manere mysterium, ne violetur operibus malae vitae, atque adulterio castitatis, ne divulgetur quibus non convenit, ne garrula loquacitate dispergatur in perfidos. Bona ergo debet esse fidei tuae custodia, ut intemerata vitae ac silentii integritas perseveret.

56. Unde et Ecclesia altitudinem servans mysteriorum coelestium, rejicit a se graviores venti procellas, et invitat vernantis gratiae suavitatem: et sciens quod hortus suus Christo displicere non possit, ipsum advocat Sponsum dicens: Exsurge aquilo, et veni auster: perfla hortum meum, et defluant unguenta mea (Ibid., 16). Descendat frater meus in hortum suum, et edat fructum pomiferarum suarum (Cant. V, 1). Bonas enim arbores et fructiferas habet, quae radices suas tinxerint sacri fontis irriguo, et in bonos fructus novae fecunditatis germine pullulaverint; ut non jam prophetica caedantur securi, sed Evangelica ubertate fecundentur (Matth. III, 10).

57. Denique fertilitate earum etiam Dominus delectatus respondet: Ingressus sum in hortum meum, soror mea Sponsa: vindemiavi myrrham

meam cum unguentis meis, manducavi cibum meum cum melle meo, bibi potum meum cum lacte meo (Cant. V, 1). Quare cibum et potum dixerit, fidelis intellige. Illud autem non dubium, quod in nobis ipse manducat et bibit, sicut in nobis legisti quia in carcere esse se dicit (Matth. XXV, 36).

58. Unde et Ecclesia videns tantam gratiam, hortatur filios suos, hortatur proximos, ut ad sacramenta concurrant, dicens: Edite proximi mei, et bibite, et inebriamini, fratres mei (Cant. V, 1). Quid edamus, quid bibamus, alibi tibi per Prophetam Spiritus sanctus expressit dicens: Gustate et videte quoniam suavis est Dominus: beatus vir qui sperat in eo (Psal. XXXIII, 9). In illo sacramento (De Consec. dist. 2, cap., In illo sacram.) Christus est; quia corpus est Christi: non ergo corporalis esca, sed spiritalis est. Unde et Apostolus de typo ejus ait: Quia patres nostri escam spiritalem manducaverunt, et potum spiritalem biberunt (ICor. X, 3); corpus enim Dei corpus est spiritale: corpus Christi corpus est divini Spiritus; quia Spiritus Christus, ut legimus: Spiritus ante faciem nostram Christus Dominus (Thren. IV, 20). Et in Petri Epistola habemus: Christus pro nobis mortuus est (I Pet. II, 21). Denique cor nostrum esca ista confirmat, et potus iste laetificat cor hominis, ut Propheta memoravit (Psal. CIII, 15).

59. Unde adepti omnia, sciamus regeneratos nos esse: nec dicamus, quomodo regenerati sumus? Numquid in ventrem matris nostrae introivimus, et renati sumus? non agnosco usum naturae. Sed nullus hic naturae ordo, ubi excellentia gratiae est. Denique non semper usus naturae generationem facit: generatum ex Virgine Christum Dominum confitemur, et naturae ordinem denegamus. Non enim ex viro Maria concepit: sed de Spiritu sancto in utero accepit, ut dicit Matthaeus: Quia inventa est in utero habens de Spiritu sancto (Matth. I, 18). Si ergo superveniens Spiritus sanctus in Virginem, conceptionem operatus est, et generationis munus implevit: non utique dubitandum est quod superveniens in fontem, vel super eos qui baptismum consequuntur, veritatem regenerationis operetur.

De paenitentia

CONTENTS

LIBER PRIMUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.
CAPUT VII.
CAPUT VIII.
CAPUT IX.
CAPUT X.
CAPUT XI.
CAPUT XII.
CAPUT XIII.
CAPUT XIV.
CAPUT XV.
CAPUT XVI.
CAPUT XVII.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.

CAPUT VII.
CAPUT VIII.
CAPUT IX.
CAPUT X.
CAPUT XI.

LIBER PRIMUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

MODERATIONIS LAUS. QUAM necessaria sit ea virtus praefectis Ecclesiae, potissimum Dominicae charitatis ac mansuetudinis exemplo demonstrari. Ab hac ergo cum desciverint Novatiani, eos pro Christi discipulis habendos non esse: quorum superbia et inclementia castigatur. 1. Si virtutum finis ille est maximus, qui plurimorum spectat profectum, moderatio prope omnium pulcherrima est: quae ne ipsos quidem quos damnat, offendit; et quos damnaverit, dignos solet facere absolutione. Denique sola est, quae Domini quaesitam sanguine Ecclesiam propagaverit, imitatrix beneficii coelestis, et redemptionis universorum salubri fine temperans, quem ferre possint aures hominum, mentes non refugere, non pavere animi.

2. Etenim qui studet humanae infirmitatis emendare vitia, ipsam infirmitatem suis debet sustinere, et quodammodo pensare humeris (Luc. XV, 5), non abjicere. Nam pastor ille Evangelicus lassam ovem vexisse legitur, non abjecisse (De Poenit. dist. I, c. Serpens, § Nam pastor). Et Salomon ait: Noli justus esse nimium (Eccl. VII, 17); debet enim justitiam temperare moderatio. Nam quemadmodum se tibi curandum praebeat, quem

390 fastidio habeas; qui contemptui se, non compassioni medico suo putet futurum? 3. Ideo Dominus Jesus compassus nobis est; ut ad se vocaret, non ut deterreret. Mitis venit, venit humilis. Denique ait: Venite ad me omnes, qui laboratis, et onerati estis, et ego vos reficiam (Matth. XI, 28). Reficit ergo Dominus Jesus, non excludit, neque abjicit: meritoque tales discipulos elegit, qui Dominicae voluntatis interpretes, plebem Dei colligerent, non repudiarent. Unde liquet eos inter Christi discipulos non

esse habendos, qui dura pro mitibus, superba pro humilibus sequenda opinantur: et cum ipsi quaerant Domini misericordiam, aliis eam denegant; ut sunt doctores Novatianorum, qui mundos se appellant. 4. Quid his superbius, cum Scriptura dicat: quia nemo mundus a peccato, nec unius diei infans (Job. XIV, 4); et David clamet: A delicto meo munda me (Psal. L, 2)? Sanctiores isti quam David, de cujus nasci familia Christus incarnationis elegit mysterio, cujus posteritas aula coelestis est, utero virginali suscipiens mundi Redemptorem? Quid autem durius, quam ut indicant poenitentiam, quam non relaxent; cum utique veniam negando, incentivum auferant poenitentiae? Nemo enim potest bene agere poenitentiam, nisi qui speraverit indulgentiam (De Poenit., dist. 1, cap. Nemo potest).

CAPUT II.

QUOD NOVATIANI DICUNT se non nisi lapsis negare communionem, hoc neque cum Scriptura, neque cum sua ipsorum doctrina congruere: quod vero divinae potestatis reverentiam praetexunt, eos hoc ipso in illam esse injurios; cum is injuriam inferat, qui creditum sibi munus aut ejus partem nolit exercere: caeterum ligandi et solvendi jus quod haeresi non potest attribui, pulchre vindicari ab Ecclesia, quippe quae Spiritu sancto id acceperit, in quem isti superbe agunt.

5. Sed negant his oportere reddi communionem, qui praevaricatione lapsi sunt. Si unum tantum crimen exciperent sacrilegii, cui veniam negarent, dure quidem, sed tamen divinis tantum redargui viderentur sententiis, assertionibus tamen suis convenirent; Dominus enim crimen nullum excepit, qui peccata donavit omnia. At cum omnia peccata Stoicorum quodam more paribus putent aestimanda mensuris, et aeque eum qui gallum, ut aiunt, gallinaceum, atque illum qui patrem suffocaverit, perpetuo asserant coelestibus abdicandos mysteriis; quomodo unius criminis objiciunt reos, cum indignissimum esse non possint etiam ipsi negare, ut paucorum poena perveniat ad multos? 6. [Alias cap. II.] Sed aiunt se Domino deferre reverentiam, cui soli remittendorum criminum potestatem reservent. Immo nulli majorem injuriam faciunt, quam qui ejus volunt mandata rescindere, commissum munus refundere. Nam cum ipse in Evangelio suo dixerit Dominus Jesus: Accipite Spiritum sanctum; quorum remiseritis peccata, remittuntur eis: et quorum detinueritis, detenta erunt (Joan. XX, 22, 23); quis est ergo qui magis honorat, utrum qui mandatis obtemperat, an qui resistit? 7. Ecclesia in utroque servat obedientiam, ut

peccatum et alliget et relaxet: haeresis in altero immitis, in altero inobediens; vult ligare, quod non resolvat: non vult solvere, quod ligavit; in quo se sua damnat sententia. Dominus

392 enim par jus et solvendi esse voluit et ligandi, qui utrumque pari conditione permisit (De Poenit., dist. 1, cap. Verbum Dei, § Dominus). Ergo qui solvendi jus non habet, nec ligandi habet. Sicut enim secundum Dominicam sententiam, qui ligandi jus habet, et solvendi habet: ita istorum assertio se ipsam strangulat; ut quia solvendi sibi jus negant, negare debeant et ligandi. Quomodo igitur potest alterum licere, alterum non licere? Quibus donatum utrumque est, aut utrumque licere manifestum est, aut utrumque non licere certum est. Ecclesiae utrumque licet, haeresi utrumque non licet; jus enim hoc solis permissum sacerdotibus est. Recte igitur hoc Ecclesia vindicat, quae veros sacerdotes habet: haeresis vindicare non potest, quae sacerdotes Dei non habet. Non vindicando autem ipsa de se pronuntiat, quod cum sacerdotes non habeat, jus sibi vindicare non debeat sacerdotale. Ita impudenti contumacia pudentem cernimus confessionem. 8. Specta etiam illud, quoniam qui Spiritum sanctum accepit, et solvendi peccati potestatem et ligandi accepit. Sic enim scriptum est: Accipite Spiritum sanctum; quorum remiseritis peccata, remittuntur: et quorum detinueritis, detenta erunt (Joan XX, 22, 23). Ergo qui solvere non potest peccatum, non habet Spiritum sanctum. Munus Spiritus sancti est officium sacerdotis, jus autem Spiritus sancti in solvendis ligandisque criminibus est; quomodo igitur munus ejus vindicant, de cujus diffidunt jure et potestate? 9. Quid! quod insolentiores sunt. Nam cum ad misericordiam promptior quam ad severitatem sit Spiritus Dei; quod ait se velle, id nolunt: quod nolle, hoc agunt; cum vindicare judicis sit, remittere misericordis. Tolerabilius igitur, Novatiane, remitteres, quam ligares; aliud enim quasi delinquendi parcus usurpares, aliud quasi aerumnae compassus ignosceres.

CAPUT III.

IISDEM NOVATIANIS VENIAM gravioribus tantum criminibus abs se denegari opponentibus, respondet S. Doctor hac sententia ab illis sectae suae parentem rursus damnari, et offendi ipsummet Deum, qui peccatorum quorumlibet remittendorum fecit potestatem: sed majoribus delictis majorem quoque poenitentiam adhibendam esse. Adjicit autem ipsos in hoc perversos sese praebere, quod hujusmodi culparum distinctio severitatis materiam Deo relinquat: cujus misericordiam in incarnatione Christi adeo mirabiliter emicantem imitari detrectant.

10. Sed aiunt se, exceptis gravioribus criminibus, relaxare veniam levioribus. Non hoc quidem auctor vestri erroris Novatianus, qui nemini poenitentiam dandam putavit; ea scilicet contemplatione, ut quod ipse non posset solvere, non ligaret; ne ligando sperari a se faceret solutionem. In eo igitur patrem vestrum propria damnatis sententia, qui distinctionem peccatorum facitis, quae solvenda a vobis putetis, et quae sine remedio esse arbitremini: sed Deus distinctionem non facit, qui misericordiam suam promisit omnibus, et relaxandi licentiam sacerdotibus suis sine ulla exceptione concessit (De Poenit., dist. 1, cap. Deus). Sed qui culpam exaggeraverit, exaggeret etiam poenitentiam; majora enim crimina majoribus abluuntur fletibus. Ita nec Novatianus probatur, qui veniam interclusit omnibus: nec vos imitatores ejusdem et condemnatores; quia ibi minuitis studia poenitentiae, ubi augeri oportet; quia graviora peccata majoribus sustentanda fulcris docuit Christi misericordia. 11. Quae autem ista perversitas est, ut vobis vindicetis possibilia concessu: Deo, ut ipsi dicitis, impossibilia reservetis? Hoc est sibi eligere causas ignoscendi, Deo

materiam saeviendi relinquere. Et ubi est illud: Sit autem Deus verax, omnis autem homo mendax, sicut scriptum est: ut justificeris in sermonibus tuis, et vincas cum judicaris (Rom. III, 4)? Ut agnoscamus igitur Deum misericordiae magis indulgentem esse, quam severitatis tenacem, ipse ait: Misericordiam malo, quam sacrificium (Ose. VI, 6). Quomodo igitur vestrum potest acceptum esse sacrificium Deo, qui negatis misericordiam; cum ipse dicat nolle se mortem peccatoris, sed correctionem (Ezech. XVIII, 32) ? 12. Cujus interpres Apostolus ait: Quia Deus Filium suum mittens in similitudinem carnis peccati, et de peccato damnavit peccatum in carne; ut justificatio Legis impleretur in nobis (Rom. VIII, 3, 4). Non in similitudinem carnis ait; quia Christus veritatem suscepit carnis humanae, non similitudinem: neque in similitudinem peccati ait; quia peccatum non fecit, sed peccatum pro nobis factus est: sed venit in similitudinem carnis peccati (II Cor. V, 2), hoc est, suscepit similitudinem carnis peccatricis;

394 ideo similitudinem, quia scriptum est: Et homo est, et quis agnoscet eum (Jerem. XVII, 3)? Homo erat in carne secundum hominem, qui agnosceretur: virtute supra hominem, qui non agnosceretur; ita et hic carnem habet nostram, sed carnis hujus vitia non habet. 13. Non enim sicut omnis homo est, ex virili erat et feminea permixtione generatus: sed natus de Spiritu sancto et de Virgine (Matth. I, 18), immaculatum corpus susceperat, quod non solum nulla vitia maculaverant, sed nec generationis aut conceptionis concretio injuriosa fuscaverat (S. Aug. lib. II, cont. Jul. Pelag., in princ. et fin.; lib II de Pec. orig., c. 40; et l. IV, contra duas Epist. Pet. c. 11). Nam omnes homines sub peccato nascimur, quorum ipse ortus in vitio est, sicut habes lectum, dicente David: Ecce enim in iniquitatibus conceptus sum, et in delictis peperit me mater mea (Psal. L, 5). Ideo Pauli caro corpus mortis erat, sicut ipse ait: Quis me liberabit de corpore mortis hujus (Rom. VII, 24)? Christi autem caro damnavit peccatum, quod nascendo non sensit, quod moriendo crucifixit; ut in carne nostra esset

justificatio per gratiam, ubi erat ante colluvio per culpam. 14. Quid ergo dicemus ad haec, nisi quod dixit Apostolus: Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos? Qui Filio proprio non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit eum; quomodo non etiam cum illo omnia nobis donavit? Quis accusabit adversus electos Dei? Deus qui justificat, quis est qui condemnet? Christus qui mortuus est, immo qui et resurrexit, qui est in dextera Dei, qui etiam interpellat pro nobis (Rom. VIII, 31 et seq.). Pro quibus ergo Christus interpellat, eos Novatianus accusat. Quos Christus ad salutem redemit, eos Novatianus damnat ad mortem. Quibus Christus dicit: Tollite jugum meum super vos, et discite a me quia mitis sum (Matth. XI, 29); Novatianus dicit: Immitis sum. Quibus Christus dicit; Invenietis requiem animabus vestris; jugum enim meum suave est, et onus meum leve est (Ibid., 30); his grave onus, et durum imponit jugum Novatianus.

CAPUT IV.

PERGIT DIVINAM PROBARE misericordiam, eamque majorem esse quam severitatem Evangelici testimonii expositione ostendit. Eos vero qui Christum negaverunt coram hominibus, non eadem omnes ratione habendos esse, athletarum exemplo palam facit.

15. Quam propensus igitur ad misericordiam sit Dominus Jesus, licet ista satis instruant; tamen etiam ipse te doceat, qui cum adversus impressionem persecutionis instruere nos vellet, ait: Nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus, animam autem non possunt occidere: sed potius eum timete, qui potest animam et corpus mittere in gehennam (Matth. X, 28). Et infra: Omnis ergo qui confessus me fuerit coram hominibus, confitebor et ego eum coram Patre meo, qui est in coelis: qui autem negaverit me coram hominibus, negabo et ego eum coram Patre meo, qui est in coelis (Ibid., 32, 33).

395 16. Ubi confitetur, pro omnibus confitetur, omnes complectitur: ubi negat, non omnes negat. Sicut enim supra habet: Omnis qui me confessus fuerit, confitebor et ego eum, hoc est, omnem: consequens erat ut infra quoque sic redderet: Omnis autem qui negaverit me. Sed ne omnes negare videretur, ita subjecit: Qui autem negaverit me coram hominibus, negabo et ego eum. Gratiam promittit omnibus, non omnibus minatur injuriam. Quod est miserationis, exaggerat: quod ultionis, extenuat. 17. Atque ita scriptum est non solum in eo libro, qui secundum Matthaeum scribitur Evangelii Domini Jesu: sed etiam in eo lectum est quem secundum Lucam reperimus (Luc. XII, 8); ut scias non otiose id posuisse utrumque. 18. [Alias cap. III.] Diximus quid scriptum sit, colligamus sententiam: Omnis, inquit, qui me confessus fuerit (Math. X, 32), id est, ex quacumque vita, ex quocumque

statu qui confessus me fuerit, habebit me remuneratorem confessionis suae. Cum dicitur, Omnis, nullus a remuneratione, qui fuerit confessus, excluditur. Non similiter, omnis qui negaverit, negabitur; potest enim fieri ut aliquis victus suppliciis, sermone Deum neget, et corde adoret (De Poenit., dist. I, cap. Potest fieri). 19. Numquid eadem causa est ejus qui sponte negat, et ejus quem tormenta inclinaverint ad sacrilegium, non voluntas? Quam autem indignum, cum apud homines valeat certaminis gratia, ut apud Deum non valere asseratur! Nam saepe in hoc athletarum saeculari certamine etiam victos quorum fuerint certamina probata, vulgus hominum cum victoribus coronare consuevit; maxime quos viderit forte dolo aut fraude victoria exclusos. Christus ergo athletas suos quos viderit gravibus paulisper cessisse suppliciis, sine venia patietur manere? 20. Numquid non habebit rationem laboris, qui etiam quos projicit, non in aeternum projicit? Dicit enim David: Non in aeternum projiciet Deus (Psal. LXXVI, 8); et contra hunc audiemus haeresim dicentem: Projicit in aeternum? Nec in finem, inquit, misericordiam suam abscidet a generatione in generationem, aut obliviscetur misereri Deus (Ibid. 9, 10), clamat Propheta: et sunt qui divinae miserationis quaedam inducant oblivia?

CAPUT V.

OBJECTIONI AB IMMUTABILITATE Dei petitae respondetur, allatis Scripturae testimoniis, quibus misericordiam emergentibus e volutabro suo peccatoribus Deus promittit: additurque indulgentiam iis parari propensiorem, qui quodammodo inviti deliquerunt, quod eleganti bello captorum exemplo, et ipsiusmet diaboli prosopopaeia illustratur.

21. Sed aiunt ideo se ista asserere, ne mutabilem Deum facere videantur; si his

396 quibus fuerit iratus, ignoscat. [Alias cap. IV.] Quid ergo? Repudiabimus divina oracula, et opiniones istorum sequemur? Sed non Deus alienis assertionibus, sed suis aestimandus est vocibus. Quod enim promptius edere possumus insigne ejus misericordiae, quam quod ipse per prophetam Osee, quibus tamquam iratus minabatur, continuo tamquam reconciliatus indulget? Ait enim: Quid tibi faciam, Ephraem, aut quid faciam tibi, Juda? Misericordia vestra, etc. (Ose. VI, 4). Et infra: Quomodo te constituam? Velut Adama efficiam te, et sicut Seboim (Ose. XI, 8). In ipsa indignatione velut patrio quodam affectu haeret, quomodo ad poenam tradat errantem: etsi Judaeus meretur, Deus tamen adhuc secum examinat. Sed continuo (De Poenit., dist. I, cap. Sed contin.) qui dixerat: Sicut Adama faciam te, et sicut Seboim; quae duae urbes ex vicinia Sodomorum parilis excidii traxere consortium: Conversum est, inquit, cor meum in eo ipso, conturbata est poenitentia mea: non faciam secundum iracundiam furoris mei (Ose. XI, 8, 9). 22. Nonne apparet quod ideo nobis peccantibus indignetur Dominus Jesus, ut indignationis suae nos terrore convertat? Indignatio ergo ejus non ultionis exsecutio, sed magis absolutionis est

operatio; sic enim dixit: Si conversus ingemueris, salvus eris (Esai XXX, 15). Exspectat gemitus nostros, sed temporales, ut remittat perpetuos: exspectat lacrymas nostras, ut profundat pietatem suam. Sic in Evangelio, viduae matris lacrymis compassus, filium ejus resuscitavit (Luc. VII, 13). Exspectat conversionem nostram, ut revertatur et ipse ad gratiam: quae, si nullus lapsus nobis irreperet, in nobis perseveraret: sed quia peccatis nostris contrahimus offensam, indignatur, ut humiliemur: humiliamur, ut digni simus magis miseratione quam poena. 23. Doceat te certe Hieremias dicens: Quia non repellet in aeternum Dominus; quoniam cum humiliaverit, miserebitur secundum multitudinem misericordiae suae: qui non humiliavit toto corde suo, neque repulit filios hominum (Thren. III, 31, 32). Hoc certe in Threnis Hieremiae legimus, et ex his, vel caeteris quae sequuntur advertimus quia ideo humiliat sub pedibus suis omnes vinctos terrae, ut judicium ejus declinemus (Psal. CXII, 7). Sed nec toto corde humiliat peccatorem usque ad terram, qui etiam de terra suscitat inopem, et de stercore erigit pauperem; non enim ex toto corde humiliat, qui se veniae reservat. 24. Quod si non ex toto corde omnem humiliat peccatorem, quanto magis non ex toto corde humiliat eum, qui non ex toto corde peccavit! Nam sicut dixit de Judaeis: Populus hic labiis me honorat, cor autem eorum longe est a me (Esa. XXIX, 13; Matth. XV, 8); fortasse et de aliquibus lapsis dicat: Isti labiis me negarunt, sed corde mecum sunt. Vicit eos poena, non avertit perfidia. Sine causa autem

397 his aliqui veniam negant, quorum fidem eousque confessus persecutor est, ut eam studeret expugnare tormentis. Negarunt semel, sed quotidie confitentur: negarunt sermone, sed confitentur gemitibus, confitentur ejulationibus, confitentur fletibus, confitentur liberis, non coactis vocibus. Cesserunt quidem ad tempus diaboli tentationi: sed etiam diabolus postea recessit ab his, quos sibi vindicare non potuit. Cessit eorum fletibus, cessit poenitentiae: quos invaserat alienos, perdidit suos. 25. Nonne

ita istud est, ac si quis captivum victae urbis populum abducat? Captivus ducitur, sed invitus: qui in alienas terras necessitate contendat, intimo tamen non migret affectu, patriam secum animo vehat, quaerat copiam quemadmodum revertatur. Quid ergo? Cum hujuscemodi revertitur, num est aliquis qui persuadeat non recipiendum? minore scilicet honore, sed studio propensiore, ne habeat in quo insultet adversarius. Si armato ignoscis, qui pugnare potuit; non ignoscis ei, in quo sola pugnabat fides? 26. Ipsius diaboli de hujusmodi lapsis si requiramus sententiam, nonne videtur dicere: Populus hic labiis me honorat, cor autem eorum longe est a me? Quomodo enim mecum est, qui non recedit a Christo? Sine causa autem me colere videntur, qui doctrinam Jesu custodiunt: ego autem putabam quod meam docerent. Plus damnant, dum comperta deserunt. Certe Jesus in his amplius gloriatur, dum recipit revertentes. Exsultant omnes angeli; quia gaudium majus est in coelo super uno peccatore poenitentiam agente, quam in nonaginta et novem justis qui non indigent poenitentia (Luc. XV, 7). De me in coelo, de me in terris triumphus sumitur. Nihil Christo perit, quando hi qui ad me cum fletu venerant, cum desiderio ad Ecclesiam revertuntur: et horum exemplo etiam de meis periclitor, qui didicerint nihil hic esse, ubi homines praesentibus provocantur praemiis; et plurimum illic, ubi gemitus, lacrymae, jejunia meis epulis praeferuntur.

CAPUT VI.

NOVATIANOS DUM PECCATORES a Christi convivio excludunt, non pii Samaritani, sed superbi legisperiti nec non sacerdotis atque levitae, qui reprehenduntur in Evangelio, imitatores esse, immo iisdem etiam inclementiores.

27. [Alias cap. V.] Hos ergo, Novatiani, excluditis? Quid est enim aliud excludere, nisi spem veniae denegare? Sed neque semivivum illum derelictum a latronibus Samaritanus praeteriit: et vulnera ejus oleo vinoque curavit, prius infundens oleum quo foveret: supra jumentum

398 suum imposuit vulneratum, in quo ejus peccata vexit omnia (Luc. X, 33, 34); nec ovem pastor despexit errantem (Luc. XV, 4). 28. Vos autem dicitis: Noli me tangere. Vos dicitis volentes justificare vos ipsos: Non est proximus noster, superbiores quam legisperitus ille qui Christum tentare cupiebat; ille enim dixit: Quis est meus proximus (Luc. X, 29)? Ille interrogat, vos negatis; sicut sacerdos ille descendentes, et sicut levita praeterientes, quem curandum suscipere debuistis, nec recipientes hospitio, pro quo Christus du onumeravit aera, cujus te proximum fieri Christus jubet, ut facias in eum misericordiam. Ipse enim est proximus, quem non solum conformis natura conjunxerit, sed etiam misericordia copulaverit. Ab eo te alienum superbia facis, extollens te frustra inflatus mente carnis tuae, et non tenens caput. Si enim caput teneres, adverteres non tibi eum deserendum, pro quo Christus mortuus est. Si caput teneres, adverteres corpus omne compaginando potius quam solvendo, in incrementum Dei per copulam charitatis, et redemptionem crescere peccatoris. 29. Cum igitur fructum omnem aufertis poenitentiae, quid aliud dicitis, nisi hoc: Nemo de

vulneratis nostrum ingrediatur hospitium: nemo sanetur in nostra Ecclesia? Apud nos non curantur aegroti: sani sumus, medicum non habemus necessarium; quia ipse ait: Non opus est sanis medicus, sed his qui male habent (Matth. IX, 12).

CAPUT VII.

CHRISTUM UT OMNES ad coenam suam invitet obtestatus, Novatianos nec ipsos ad eam ingredi, nec aliis ingressum permittere significat, quod Ecclesia sancta non imitatur. Deinde eosdem haereticos cum Christo, qui omnes salvos fieri cupiat, partem habere non posse planum facit.

30. [Alias cap. VI.] Ergo, Domine Jesu, ad Ecclesiam tuam totus adveni, quoniam Novatianus excusat. Novatianus dicit: Juga boum emi (Luc. XIV, 19), qui jugum Christi suave non suscipit, et onus grave collo imponit suo, quod portare non queat. Novatianus servos tuos a quibus invitabatur, tenuit, et contumelia affectos occidit quos iterati baptismatis labe inquinavit. Mitte ergo ad exitus viarum, et collige bonos et malos (Luc, XIV, 21): et debiles, et caecos, et claudos introduc in Ecclesiam tuam. Jube impleatur domus tua: introduc omnes ad coenam tuam; quia quem tu vocaveris, dignum facies, si sequatur. Ille sane rejicitur, qui non habuerit vestem nuptialem, hoc est, amictum charitatis, velamen gratiae. Mitte, inquam, ad universos. 51. Non excusat Ecclesia tua a coena tua, excusat Novatianus. Non dicit familia tua: Sana

399 sum, medicum non requiro; sed dicit: Sana me, Domine, et sanabor: salva me, et salvabor (Jerem. XVII, 14). Denique Ecclesiae tuae species est in illa, quae accessit retro, et tetigit fimbriam vestimenti tui, dicens intra se: Quia si tetigero vestimentum ejus, salva ero (Matth. IX, 21). Haec ergo Ecclesia confitetur vulnera sua, haec curari cupit. 32. Et tu quidem, Domine, omnes cupis sanare, sed non omnes curari volunt. Non vult Novatianus, qui se putat esse sanum. Tu, Domine, aegrum te esse dicis, et in minimo nostram sentis infirmitatem, dicens: Aeger eram, et visitastis me

(Matth. XXV, 36): Novatianus illum minimum visitare nescit, in quo tu desideras visitari. Tu dicis Petro (De Poenit., dist. I, c. Potest fieri, § Dicis Petro) excusanti, ne ei pedes lavares: Nisi lavero tibi pedes, non habebis partem mecum (Joan. XIII, 8). Quod ergo isti possunt consortium tecum habere, qui claves regni non suscipiunt, negantes quod dimittere peccata debeant? 33. Quod quidem recte de se fatentur; non habent enim Petri haereditatem, qui Petri sedem non habent, quam impia divisione discerpunt: sed hoc improbe, quod etiam in Ecclesia donari peccata negant posse, cum Petro dictum sit: Tibi dabo claves regni coelorum, et quaecumque ligaveris super terram, erunt ligata et in coelo: et quaecumque solveris super terram, erunt soluta et in coelis (Matth. XVI, 19); cum et ipse vas electionis Dominicae dicat: Si cui autem quid donastis, et ego; nam et ego quod donavi, propter vos in persona Christi (II Cor. II, 10). Cur igitur Paulum legunt, si eum tam impie arbitrabantur errasse, ut jus sibi vindicaret Domini sui? Sed vindicavit acceptum, non usurpavit indebitum.

CAPUT VIII.

QUANTA DISCIPULIS SUIS Christus contulerit. Novatianos dum manus imponunt ac baptismum conferunt, a se ipsis redargui; quippe quod eadem auctoritate peccata remittantur in poenitentia atque in baptismate. Ad extremum eorum tumor maxime Dominico exemplo castigatur.

34. [Alias cap. VII.] Vult Dominus plurimum posse discipulos suos, vult a servulis suis ea fieri in nomine suo, quae faciebat ipse positus in terris (Joan. XIV, 12). Denique ait: Et majora his facietis (Matth. X, 8). Dedit ut mortuos suscitarent. Et cum ipse Saulo reddere posset usum videndi, eum tamen ad Ananiam discipulum suum misit; ut ejus benedictione Saulo refunderentur oculi, quos amiserat (Act. IX, 7). Petrum quoque secum in mari jussit ambulare, et quia titubavit, reprehendit illico, eo quod doni gratiam fidei pusillitate minuisset (Matth. XIV, 29). Dedit etiam discipulis ut lux mundi essent per gratiam (Matth. V, 14), qui erat ipse lux mundi. Et quia descensurus esset e coelo, et in coelum ascensurus, Eliam ad coelum levavit (IV Reg. II, 11), inde eum in terris complacito redditurus tempore. Baptizaturus quoque in Spiritu sancto et igne (Matth. III, 11)

400 per Joannem baptismatis sacramenta praemisit. 35. Omnia denique donavit discipulis suis, de quibus ait: In nomine meo daemonia ejicient, linguis loquentur novis, serpentes tollent; et si mortiferum quid biberint, non eis nocebit: supra aegros manus imponent, et bene habebunt (Marc. XVI, 17, 18). Omnia ergo dedit, sed nulla in his hominis potestas est, ubi divini muneris gratia viget. 36. Cur ergo manus imponitis, et benedictionis opus creditis, si quis forte revaluerit aegrotus? Cur praesumitis aliquos a colluvione diaboli per vos mundari posse? Cur baptizatis, si per hominem

peccata dimitti non licet? In baptismo utique remissio peccatorum omnium est: quid interest, utrum per poenitentiam, an per lavacrum hoc jus sibi datum sacerdotes vindicent? Unum in utroque mysterium est. 37. Sed dicis quia in lavacro operatur mysteriorum gratia. Quid in poenitentia? Nonne Dei nomen operatur? Quid ergo? Ubi vultis, vindicatis vobis Dei gratiam: ubi vultis, repudiatis? Sed hoc insolentis arrogantiae, non sancti timoris est; ut fastidio vobis sint, qui volunt agere poenitentiam. Perpeti videlicet flentium lacrymas non potestis. Non ferunt oculi vestri vilia vestimentorum, illuviem sordidatorum, superbo oculo et tumido corde delicati mei, indignanti voce dicentes singuli: Nolite me tangere, quia mundus sum. 38. Dicit quidem Dominus ad Mariam Magdalenam: Noli me tangere (Joan. XX, 17); sed non dixit, quia mundus sum, qui mundus erat: tu audes, Novatiane, mundum te dicere, qui etsi operibus mundus esses, hoc solo verbo fieres immundus? Esaias dicit: O miser ego, et compunctus corde; quia cum sim homo, et immunda labia habeam, in medio quoque populi immunda labia habentis habitem (Esai. VI, 5)! et tu dicis, mundus sum, cum mundus non sit, ut scriptum est, nec unius diei infans (Job. XIV, 4)? David dicit: Et a delicto meo munda me (Psal. L, 4), quem utique misericordem saepe Domini justificavit gratia: tu mundus, cum tam injustus sis, ut non miserearis; ut festucam in oculo fratris tui videas, trabem autem quae in oculo tuo est, non consideres (Matth. VII, 3)? Immundus enim apud Deum omnis iniquus. Quid autem injustius, quam ut velis tibi dimitti peccata tua, cum roganti ipse non putes remittenda? Quid injustius, quam ut te justifices, in quo damnas alterum; cum graviora committas? 39. Denique remissionem celebraturus peccatorum nostrorum Dominus Jesus dicenti sibi Joanni: Ego a te debeo baptizari, et tu venis ad me! respondit: Sine modo; sic enim decet nos implere omnem justitiam (Matth. III, 14, 15). Et Dominus quidem venit ad peccatorem, cum peccatum ipse non haberet; et baptizari voluit, cui

mundari necesse non erat: vos quis ferat, qui putatis vobis opus non esse mundari per poenitentiam;

401 quia mundatos vos esse dicitis per gratiam, quasi jam peccare vobis impossibile sit?

CAPUT IX.

SCRIPTURAE VERBIS, SI autem in Dominum peccaverit homo, quis orabit pro eo? collatione similium locorum ostenditur non significari neminem rogaturum, sed dignum deprecatorem inquirendum esse, quales fuerunt Moyses ac Jeremias, quorum precibus populo Israelitico pepercisse Deus legitur.

40. [Alias cap. VIII.] Sed dicitis: Scriptum est: Si peccaverit homo in hominem, orabunt pro eo ad Dominum: si autem in Dominum peccaverit homo, quis orabit pro eo (I Reg. II, 25)? Primum, ut supra jam dixi, tunc te ista paterer objicere, si solis praevaricantibus non relaxares poenitentiam. Tamen quid scrupuli ista affert quaestio? Non enim scriptum est: Nullus orabit pro eo: sed, Quis orabit, hoc est, quis ille sit, qui in tali causa orare possit, quaeritur, non excluditur. 41. Denique habes in psalmo decimo quarto: Domine, quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo, aut quis requiescet in monte sancto suo (Psal. XIV, 1)? Non enim nullus, sed probatus habitabit: nec hoc dicit quod nemo requiescat, sed requiescat electus. Ut scias hoc esse verum, non multo post in psalmo vigesimo tertio ait: Quis ascendet in montem Domini, aut quis stabit in loco sancto ejus (Psal. XXIII, 3)? id est, non quicumque de vulgo, nec plebeiae vilitatis aliquis; sed vitae egregiae, singularisque meriti. Et ut scias quia cum quis dicitur, non intelligitur nullus, sed aliquis significatur, cum dixisset: Quis ascendet in montem Domini? subjecit: Innocens manibus, et mundo corde, qui non accipit in vano animam suam (Ibid., 4). Et alibi: Quis sapiens, et intelliget haec (Ose. XIV, 10)? Numquid dicit quia nullus intelliget? Et in Evangelio: Quis fidelis dispensator et prudens, quem constituet Dominus super familiam suam, ut

det illis in tempore tritici mensuram (Luc. XII, 42)? Et ut comprehendas quia de eo dixit, qui utique est, non de eo qui non est, subjunxit: Beatus ille servus, quem cum venerit Dominus, invenerit sic facientem (Ibid., 43). Et illud ita opinor dictum: Deus, quis similis tibi (Psal. LXXXII, 1)? non utique nullus; quia imago Patris Filius est (De Poenit. dist. 1, c. Si sacerdos, § Deus). 42. Similiter igitur accipiendum: Quis orabit pro eo (Hebr. I, 3)? hoc est, singularis vitae aliquis debet orare pro eo, qui peccavit in Dominum. Quo major culpa, eo majora sunt quaerenda suffragia (I Reg. II, 25). Non enim quicumque de vulgo pro Judaeorum populo, sed Moyses rogavit, quando

402 vituli caput fidei immemores adoraverunt (Exod. XXXII, 31). Numquid erravit Moyses? Atqui non erravit, qui quod rogavit, et meruit et impetravit. Quid enim talis affectus non impetraret, quando se objecit pro populo, dicens: Et nunc si dimittis illis peccatum, dimitte; sin autem, dele me de libro vitae (Ibid., 32)? Vides quia non tamquam deliciosus intercessor, et fastidii plenus sibi consulat, ne offensionem contrahat, quod Novatianus metuere se dicit: sed magis omnium memor, sui immemor, offendere non timebat ipse, ut plebem ab offensionis periculo exueret et liberaret. 43. Merito ergo scriptum est: Quis orabit pro eo? hoc est, talis qualis Moyses, qui se offerat pro peccantibus: talis qualis Hieremias, cui prophetae cum esset dictum a Domino Deo nostro: Noli orare pro populo isto (Jerem. VII, 16); tamen oravit, et veniam meruit. Denique intercessione prophetica, et obsecratione tanti vatis inflexus Dominus dicit ad Hierusalem; quoniam ea quoque poenitentiam pro delictis egerat, dicens: Domine omnipotens, Deus Israel, anima in angustiis, et spiritus anxius clamat ad te: audi, Domine, et miserere (Baruch. III, 1, 2). Et jubet luctus vestimenta deponi, et abjici gemitus poenitentiae; sic enim scriptum est in fine libri: Exue te, Hierusalem, stola luctus et vexationis tuae, et indue te decorem ejus, quae a Deo data est tibi gloria in aeternum (Baruch. V, 1).

CAPUT X.

JOANNEM NON ABSOLUTE ac simpliciter prohibuisse ne pro sontibus peccati ad mortem fieret oratio; cum pro similibus Moysen, Jeremiam ac Stephanum orasse non ignoraverit; et ipse quoque iisdem veniam significaverit non denegandam.

44. [Alias cap. IX.] Tales igitur deprecatores in delictis maximis sunt requirendi; nam si quicumque de populo orent, non exaudiuntur. 45. Unde nec illa quaestio vestra quidquam poterit afferre ponderis, quam sumitis de epistola Joannis dicentis: Qui scit fratrem suum peccare peccatum non ad mortem, petat, et dabit illi vitam Deus; quia non peccat ad mortem. Est peccatum ad mortem, non de illo dico, ut oret (I Joan. V, 16); non enim ad Moysen et Hieremiam loquebatur, sed ad populum, qui suorum peccatorum alium precatorem deberet adhibere: cui satis est si pro levioribus delictis Deum precetur, graviorum veniam justorum orationibus reservandam putet. Nam (De Poenit. dist. 1, c. Si sacerdos, § Nam quomodo) quomodo Joannes diceret

403 non orandum pro delicto graviore, qui legisset Moysen rogasse et impetrasse; ubi erat praevaricatio voluntaria: qui sciret etiam Hieremiam rogasse (Jerem. XIV, 13). 46. Quomodo Joannes diceret non orandum pro peccato quod esset ad mortem, qui ipse in Apocalypsi scripsit mandatum Angelo Ecclesiae Pergami (Apoc. II, 12)? Habes illic tenentes doctrinam Balaam, qui docebat Balaac mittere scandalum coram filiis Israel, manducare immolata, et fornicari; ita et tu habes tenentes doctrinam Nicolaitarum, similiter age poenitentiam: caeterum venio tibi cito. Vides quod Deus qui poenitentiam exigit, veniam polliceatur! Denique et ibi dicit:

Qui habet aures, audiat quid Spiritus dicat Ecclesiis: Vincenti dabo manducare manna absconditum (Apoc. II, 7). 47. Nonne ipse Joannes cognoverat Stephanum pro persecutoribus suis, qui Christi nomen audire non poterant, deprecatum; cum de ipsis a quibus lapidabatur diceret: Domine, ne statuas illis hoc peccatum (Act. VII, 59)? Cujus precationis effectum in Apostolo videmus; Paulus enim qui lapidantium Stephanum vestimenta servabat (Act. IX, 15), non multo postea per gratiam Christi factus est apostolus, qui fuerat ante persecutor.

CAPUT XI.

SUPERIOR JOANNIS SENTENTIA illustratur alio ejusdem testimonio, quo credentibus in Christum salus promittitur. Unde arguuntur Novatiani ut qui lapsis fidem suadeant, quibus negent veniam. Additur multos martyrum post lapsum duplicem gratiam consecutos esse; nec non pii Samaritani exemplo declaratur eos in quibus vel tenuissima fides spiret, non deserendos.

48.

[Alias cap. X.] Ergo quia de Joannis generali epistola sermo est, ipsius Joannis in Evangelio scripta interrogemus, utrum cum vestra interpretatione conveniant. Scribit enim dixisse Dominum: Quia sic dilexit Deus hunc mundum, ut Filium suum unigenitum daret; ut omnis qui credit in eum, non pereat, sed habeat vitam aeternam (Joan. III, 16). Si quem ergo lapsum revocare cupias; ut credat, an ut non credat, hortaris? Utique ut credat. Sed qui credit juxta Domini sententiam, habebit vitam aeternam. Quomodo ergo prohibebis orare pro eo, cui aeterna vita debetur? cum divinae sit gratiae fides, sicut Apostolus in divisionibus gratiarum docet, quia alii datur in eodem Spiritu fides (I Cor. XII, 9); et discipuli Domino dicant: Adauge nobis fidem (Luc. XVII, 5). Qui ergo fidem habet, habet vitam: qui vitam habet, non est utique exclusus a venia. Omnis, inquit, qui credit in eum, non pereat. Cum omnis dicitur, nullus excluditur, nullus excipitur; non enim excipit eum qui lapsus est, si tamen postea bene credat.

49. Plurimos comperimus se denuo reformasse post lapsum, et pro nomine Dei passos: num possumus his martyrum consortia negare, quibus

Dominus Jesus non negavit? Audemus

404 igitur dicere non esse his vitam redditam, quibus Christus coronam reddidit? Sicut ergo post lapsum plerisque si patiantur, corona redditur; ita si credant, et fides redditur. Quae fides Dei donum est; sicut habes scriptum: Quia a Deo vobis datum est, non solum ut credatis in eum, sed etiam ut pro illo patiamini (Philip. I, 29). Numquid is qui Dei donum habet, potest non habere indulgentiam? 50. Non una autem, sed duplex gratia est, ut omnis qui credit, et patiatur pro Domino Jesu. Habet igitur qui credit suam gratiam: habet autem alteram, si fides ejus passionibus coronetur. Neque enim priusquam pateretur Petrus, sine gratia fuit: sed ubi passus est, acquisivit alteram. Et plerique qui non habuerunt gratiam, ut pro Jesu paterentur; habuerunt tamen gratiam, ut in Jesum crederent. 51. Ideo dicitur: Ut omnis qui credit in eum, non pereat (Joan. XX, 31). Omnis, inquit, hoc est, ex quocumque statu, ex quocumque lapsu, si credat, perire non timeat. Potest enim fieri ut aliquem de Hierusalem descendentem in Hiericho (Luc. X, 33), hoc est de martyrii certamine relapsum in istius vitae cupiditatem saecularemque gratiam, vulneratum a latronibus, hoc est, a persecutoribus, et semivivum derelictum Evangelicus ille Samaritanus inveniat, qui nostrarum custos animarum est (Samaritanus enim custos dicitur), et non praetereat eum, sed curet et sanet.

52, Fortasse ideo non praeterit eum, quia aliquid in eo vitale agnoscit; unde is possit vitam resumere. Nonne vobis videtur ille qui lapsus est, semivivus esse, si vitale aliquid fides spiret? Nam qui penitus Deum ex suo corde abjicit, ille mortuus est. Qui ergo non penitus abjicit, sed per impressionem tormentorum ad tempus negavit, semivivus est. Aut si mortuus est, cur ei dicitis, agendam poenitentiam, qui jam curari non potest? Si semivivus est, infunde oleum et vinum, non vinum sine oleo, scilicet quod et foveat et remordeat. Tolle eum in jumentum tuum, trade stabulario, duo aera ad ejus curam impende, esto ei proximus (Ibid.,

XXXIV, 35). Proximus autem esse non potes, nisi facias misericordiam; nemo enim potest dici proximus, nisi qui curaverit, non occiderit. Si autem vis dici proximus, dicit tibi Christus: Vade, et tu fac similiter (Ibid., 37).

CAPUT XII.

LOCIS EX JOANNIS Evangelio jam citatis alius indidem adjungitur. Tum servandorum Dei mandatorum necessitatem objicientibus facile respondetur non ei soli qui semper, sed etiam ei qui post lapsum illa servaverit, vitam promitti. Quod ubi ex Davide comprobatum est, quamdam tamen esse inter utrumque differentiam declaratur.

53. [Alias cap. XI.] Aliud simile consideremus: Qui credit in Filium, habet vitam aeternam: qui autem non credit Filio, non videbit vitam, sed ira

405 Dei manet super eum (Joan. III, 16). Quod manet utique jam coepit, et ex delicto aliquo coepit; quia ante non credidit. Ubi ergo quis credit, ira Dei discedit, vita autem accedit (Ibid., 36). Credere ergo in Christum, lucrum vitae est; qui enim credit in eum, non judicatur. 54. Sed referunt hoc loco quoniam is qui credit in Christum, custodire debeat sermonem ejus; sic enim aiunt scriptum, dicente Domino: Ego lux in hunc mundum veni, ut omnis qui credit in me, in tenebris non maneat: et si quis audierit sermonem meum, et custodierit eum, ego non judico eum (Joan. XII, 46, 47). Ille non judicat, et tu judicas? Ille dicit: Ut qui credit in me, in tenebris non maneat, hoc est, et si fuerit in tenebris, non permaneat in eis, errorem emendet, culpam corrigat, custodiat mandata mea; dixi enim: Nolo mortem peccatoris, sed correctionem (Ezech. XXXIII, 11). Dixi supra: Quoniam qui in me credit, non judicatur; et hoc custodio: Non enim veni, ut judicem mundum, sed ut salvetur mundus per me (Joan. III. 17). Libenter ignosco (De Poenit., dist. 1, cap. Libenter), prompte indulgeo: Misericordiam malo, quam sacrificium (Ose. VI, 6); quia per sacrificium justus commendatur, per misericordiam peccator redimitur. Non veni vocare justos, sed

peccatores (Matth. IX, 13). In Lege sacrificium, in Evangelio misericordia est: Lex per Moysen data est, per me gratia (Joan. I, 17). Quid hoc evidentius? 55. Denique et subter ait: Qui spernit me, et non accipit verba mea, habet qui judicet eum (Joan. XII, 48). Num tibi videtur accipere verba Christi, qui se non correxerit? Profecto non videtur. Qui ergo corrigit se, accipit verbum ejus, hoc est enim verbum ejus, ut se unusquisque revocet a culpa. Aut excludas igitur necesse est hanc ejus sententiam: aut si negare non potes, acquiescas. 56. Oportet eum quoque mandata custodire Dominica, qui peccare desinat, delictis renuntiet. Non ergo de eo debes interpretari dictum, qui semper custodierit; si enim hoc sensisset, addidisset, semper: non addendo autem, de eo pronuntiavit, qui quod audivit, custodierit: audivit autem ut corrigeret errorem: custodivit igitur quod audivit. 57. [Alias cap. XII.] Quam vero durum sit ut ad poenam vocetur perpetuam, qui vel postea custodit Domini mandata, ipse te doceat, qui etiam non custodientibus mandata sua veniam non denegavit, sicut habes in psalmi corpore: Si justitias meas profanaverint, et mandata mea non custodierint; visitabo in virga iniquitates eorum, et in flagellis delicta eorum: misericordiam autem meam non disperdam ab eis (Psal. LXXXVIII, 32, 33). Omnibus igitur promittit misericordiam. 58. Sed ne sine judicio hanc esse misericordiam putetis, est discretio inter eos qui perpetuam detulerint obedientiam mandatis coelestibus, et inter eos qui aliquando vel errore, vel necessitate lapsi sint. Et ne nostro circumscribi te argumento putes, Christi judicium accipe; etenim ait: Si sciens servus voluntatem domini sui non fecit, vapulabit multis: si autem nescivit,

406 vapulabit paucis (Luc. XII, 47, 48). Uterque igitur si credat, recipitur, quia castigat omnem filium Deus, quem recipit (Hebr. XII, 6): et quem castigat, morti utique non tradit; quia scriptum est: Castigans castigavit me Dominus, et morti non tradidit me (Psal. CXVII, 18).

CAPUT XIII.

QUI PECCATUM AD mortem fecerint, non deserendos, sed poenitentiae subjiciendos ex Paulo docetur. Quid sit tradi Satanae in interitum carnis, et quam hoc optandum. Satanam corpori debilitates inferre, sed eas in spiritus utilitatem converti; unde magna Dei elucet potentia, qua illum ut sibi noceat, et nobis prosit, cogit invitum.

59. Denique Paulus docet non deserendos eos qui peccatum ad mortem fecerint, sed potius lacrymarum panibus, et potu coercendos flebili; ita tamen ut ipsa moderata esset tristitia. Hoc enim significat: Potum dabis eis in lacrymis in mensura (Psal. LXXIX, 6); ut ipsa moestitia mensuram habeat, ne forte abundantiore tristitia absorbeatur (II Cor. II, 5 et seq.), qui agit poenitentiam, sicut scripsit ad Corinthios: Quid vultis? In virga veniam ad vos, an in charitate, spirituque mansuetudinis (I Cor. IV, 21)? Sed nec virga gravis est, quoniam legerat: Tu quidem percuties eum virga, animam autem ejus a morte liberabis (Prov. XXIII, 14). 60. Quid esset in virga venire, docet invectio fornicationis, accusatio incesti, reprehensio tumoris, quod inflati essent, quos magis lugere oporteret; postremo condemnatio rei, ut tolleretur a consortio communionis, et traderetur adversario, non ad interitum animae, sed carnis (I Cor. V, 1 et seq.). Sicut enim Dominus in animam sancti Job potestatem non dedit, sed in carnem ejus permisit licentiam (Job II, 6); ita et hic traditur Satanae in interitum carnis, ut serpens terram ejus lingeret, animae non noceret (Mich. VII, 17). 61. Moriatur ergo caro nostra cupiditatibus, sit captiva, sit subdita, nec legi mentis nostrae repugnet, sed bonae servituti subjecta moriatur; sicut in Paulo qui castigabat corpus suum (I Cor. IX, 27), ut servituti redigeret; quo

probabilior fieret praedicatio, is lex carnis ejus cum lege mentis congrueret et conveniret. Interit enim caro, cum sapientia ejus transit in spiritum; ut jam non quae carnis sunt, sapiat, sed quae sunt spiritus. Utinam videam infirmari carnem meam! utinam non trahar captivus in legem peccati! utinam non in carne vivam, sed in fide Christi (Rom. VII, 23)! Et ideo major in infirmitate corporis gratia, quam in salute. Denique et Paulum quem multum dilexit (Galat. II, 20), noluit liberare ab infirmitate carnis, cui petenti ut discederet a se infirmitas, respondit: Sufficit tibi gratia mea; nam virtus in infirmitate perficitur (I Cor. XII, 8, 9). Et Paulus plus sibi in infirmitatibus placet, dicens: Cum infirmor, tunc potens sum (Ibid., 10); consummatur enim carnis infirmitatibus animae fortitudo. 62. [Alias cap. XIII]. Explanavimus Pauli sententiam; nunc verba ipsa consideremus, qua ratione dixerit

407 quod tradiderit eum Satanae in interitum carnis; quia tentator noster diabolus est. Nam debilitates membris singulis infert, et aegritudines toti solet movere corpori. Denique percussit sanctum Job ulcere malo a pedibus usque ad caput, quia in potestate acceperat interitum carnis ejus, dicente Deo: Ecce trado tibi eum, tantummodo animam ejus custodi (Job II, 6). Hoc iisdem verbis Apostolus transtulit; dicens quod tradiderit hujusmodi hominem Satanae in interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus sit in die Domini nostri Jesu Christi (I Cor. V, 5). 63. Magna potestas, magna gratia, quae imperat diabolo, ut se ipse destruat. Se enim destruit, cum hominem quem tentando supplantare studet, ex infirmo fortiorem efficit; quia dum carnem debilitat, mentem ejus corroborat. Aegritudo enim carnis (De Poenit., dist. 1, cap. Potest, § Aegritudo) peccatum repellit: luxuria autem carnis culpam adolet. 64. Illuditur ergo diabolus, ut se ipse morsu suo vulneret, et contra se armet, quem debilitandum putavit. Sic et sanctum Job magis amavit, posteaquam vulneravit: qui totum corpus diris perfusus ulceribus, diaboli quidem morsum pertulit, sed venena non sensit. Et ideo bene ei dictum est:

Adduces draconem in hamo, illudes eum sicut avem: ligabis eum sicut passerem puer, imponens super eum manum (Job XL, 24). 65. Vides quemadmodum a Paulo illudatur, ut in cavernam ejus, sicut puer ille propheticus (Esai. XI, 8, 9), manum mittat, et nihil serpens noceat ei, de latebris eruat eum, de veneno ejus faciat spiritale antidotum; ut quod venenum est, medicamentum fiat: venenum est ad interitum carnis, medicamentum fit ad salutem spiritus. Quod enim nocet corpori, juvat spiritum (De Poenit, dist. 1, cap. Potest, § Quod nocet). 66. Manducet ergo terram meam serpens, dentem carni infigat, conterat corpus, dicat Dominus et de me: Trado tibi eum, tantummodo animam ejus custodi (Job II, 6). Quanta vis Christi, ut custodia hominis imperetur etiam ipsi diabolo, qui semper vult nocere. Dominum ergo Jesum nobis propitiemus: imperante Christo, et diabolus ipse fit praedae suae custos, vel invitus mandatis obsecundat coelestibus: et quamvis immitis, tamen mansuetis obsequitur imperiis. 67. Sed quid ego commendo obsequium ejus? Sit ille semper malus, ut sit bonus Deus semper, qui malitiam ejus nobis in gratiam convertit. Vult nocere ille, sed non potest, si Christus obsistat: carnem ulcerat, sed custodit animam: terram devorat, sed reservat spiritum. Denique scriptum est: Tunc lupi et agni simul pascentur: leo et bos paleam manducabunt, serpens autem terram ut panem: et non nocebunt, neque vastabunt

408 in monte sancto meo, dicit Dominus (Esai. XI, 6 et seq.). Damnati enim serpentis haec est sententia: Erit tibi terra cibus (Gen. III, 14). Quae terra? Ea utique de qua dictum est: Terra es, et in terram ibis (Ibid., 19).

CAPUT XIV.

QUOD SUPRA DIXERIT Ambrosius carnem ad interitum Satanae traditam a serpente comedi, hoc ita demum docet fieri, si anima carnalibus cupiditatibus liberetur. Quamobrem multa praecipit ad oculorum mentisque custodiam necessaria: quae castissimi Josephi exemplo firmat: dehinc omnes ad retia quibus in voluptatis ignem trahimur, declinanda hortatus; ne timeamus quominus a serpente caro nostra edatur, suadet.

68. Hanc terram serpens manducat, si propitius est nobis Dominus Jesus, ut non compatiatur anima carnis debilitati, non accendatur vapore carnis, et calore membrorum. Bonum est nubere magis quam uri (I Cor. VII, 9); est enim flamma quae interna urit (Prov. VI, 27). Unde hunc ignem non alligemus in sinu mentis, et recessu pectoris, ne interioris nostri uramus exuvias, et forense hoc nostrae animae vestimentum, velamenque carnale edax libidinis flamma consumat, sed transeamus per ignem (Esai. XLIII, 2). Et si quis incidit amoris incendium, transiliat, et transeat: non alliget adulterinam cupiditatem vinculis cogitationum, nullos sibi nodos assiduae nexu meditationis astringat; non intendat saepius in formam mulieris meretricis, nec adolescentula ad vultum juvenis oculos levet. Et si fortuitu aspexit, et capta est; quanto magis capietur, si curiosa aspexit! 69. Vel consuetudo nos doceat. Ideo velamine obnubit caput suum mulier, ut etiam in publico tuta verecundia sit: non facile vultus ejus adolescentis oculis occurrat, nuptiali velamine tecta sit; ne vel fortuitis occursibus pateat ad vulnus vel alienum, vel suum: sed utrumque suum vulnus est. Quod si tegmine caput velat (I Cor. XI, 5 et seq.), ne temere aut videatur, aut videat (dum enim caput velatur, vultus absconditur), quanto magis velare se debet

pudoris tegmine, ut etiam in publico habeat suum ipsa secretum! 70. Verum esto, inciderit oculus, sed non intendat affectus. Non enim vidisse crimen est, sed cavendum ne origo sit criminis. Videt carnalis oculus, sed premat cordis oculos, maneat mentis verecundia. Habemus moralem et indulgentem Dominum; dixit quidem propheta: Nolo intendas in formam mulieris fornicariae; sed tamen Dominus dixit: Qui viderit mulierem ad concupiscendum eam, jam adulteravit eam in corde suo (Prov. V, 2). Non dixit: Si quis viderit,

409 adulteravit; sed: Si quis ad concupiscendum viderit, non aspectum obligavit, sed affectum quaesivit. Bonus tamen pudor, qui ipsos corporis oculos sic premere consuevit, ut saepe non videamus etiam quod videmus. Etenim specie aspicere videmur, quidquid occurrerit; sed si non misceatur animi intentio, hic quoque secundum carnis officium noster aspectus vanescit; ita plus videmus animo, quam corpore. 71. Et si viderit caro ignem, non alligemus ignem in sinu, hoc est, in secreto mentis, animique arcano. Non implicemus ignem hunc ossibus, non ipsi nobis nodos injiciamus; non misceamus sermonem aliquem cum hujusmodi, unde exaestuet ignis adulterinus. Sermo juvenculae nodus adolescentium est: verba adolescentis vincula sunt amoris. 72. Vidit hunc ignem Joseph, quando eum adulterii cupida mulier allocuta est (Gen. XXXIX, 7); voluit eum capere sermone, misit laqueos labiorum suorum, sed pudicum virum ligare non potuit. Solvit enim vincula mulieris vox pudoris, sermo gravitatis, habena cautelae, fidei custodia, castimoniae disciplina. Capere igitur eum retibus suis impudica non potuit: misit manum, et apprehendit vestem ejus, ut nodo stringeret. Verba petulantis mulieris cupiditatum retia sunt, manus ejus amoris nodus est (Prov. VII, 21): sed nec retibus capi potuit mens pudica, nec nodo: excussa vestis, solutus est nodus; et ideo quia non alligavit ignem in sinu mentis suae, non combussit corpus suum. 73. [Alias cap. XIV.] Vides ergo, quia animus noster culpae est auctor? Itaque

innocens caro, sed plerumque peccati ministra. Ergo non te vincat formae concupiscentia. Multa retia tenduntur a diabolo, multi laquei. Oculus meretricis laqueus amatoris est. Ipsi nobis oculi nostri retia sunt; et ideo scriptum est: Neque capiaris oculis tuis (Prov. VI, 25). Ipsi nobis ergo tendimus retia, quibus involvimur et implicamur. Ipsi nobis vincula nectimus, sicut legimus: Quia vinculis peccatorum suorum unusquisque constringitur (Prov. VI, 2). 74. Et ideo transeamus ignem adolescentiae, ardoremque juvenilis aetatis: transeamus aquam, non remaneamus in aqua; ne flumina nos profunda concludant. Transeamus magis, ut et nos dicamus: Torrentem pertransivit anima nostra (Psal. CXXIII, 5); qui enim transit, salvus est. Denique Dominus sic ait: Si transeas per aquam, tecum sum, flumina te non concludent (Esai. XLIII, 2); et Propheta dicit: Vidi impium superexaltatum ultra cedros Libani: et transivi, et ecce non erat (Psal. XXXVI, 35, 36). Transi saecularia, et cecidisse aspicies altitudines impiorum. Moyses quoque transiens saecularia flumina, vidit visum magnum, et ait: Transiens videbo hoc visum (Exod. III, 3); si enim fuisset in corporis vitiis et saeculi istius lubricis voluptatibus, tanta non vidisset mysteria. 75. Transeamus ergo et nos ignem hunc libidinis, quem timens Paulus, sed nobis timens, qui castigando corpus suum, fecerat ut jam

410 non timeret sibi, dicit nobis: Fugite fornicationem (I Cor. VI, 18). Fugiamus ergo tamquam sequentem, quae non post nos, sed in nobis sequitur nosmetipsos. Ergo videamus diligenter, ne dum illam fugimus, nobiscum eam portemus. Volumus enim plerumque fugere, sed si non penitus eam de nostro excutimus animo, tollimus eam magis, quam relinquimus. Transiliamus ergo eam, ne nobis dicatur: Ambulate in igne flammae vestrae, quem accendistis vobis (Esai. L, 11). Quoniam sicut ille qui alligat ignem in sinu vestimenta comburit (Prov. VI, 27); sic qui ambulat super ignem, pedes comburat necesse est; quoniam scriptum est: Ambulabit quis super carbones ignis, pedes autem non comburet (Prov. I,

28)? 76. Gravis ignis est, et ideo non demus illi alimenta luxuriae. Pascitur libido conviviis, nutritur deliciis, vino accenditur, ebrietate inflammatur. Graviora his sunt fomenta verborum, quae vino quodam Sodomitanae vitis mentem inebriant. Caveamus tamen et hujus abundantiam vini; ubi enim caro inebriatur, mens titubat, animus vacillat, cor fluctuat. Et ideo ad utrumque utile praeceptum est, quo monetur Timotheus: vino modico utere propter frequentes tuas infirmitates (I Tim. V, 23). Cum calet corpus, trahit vaporem: cum alget morbi frigore caro, refrigeratur anima tua: cum dolet corpus tuum, tristis est mens tua, sed tristitia tua in gaudium veniet. 77. Noli ergo timere si manducetur caro tua, anima tua non devoratur. Ideo David non timere se dicit; quia carnem ejus, non animam inimici edebant, sicut legimus: Dum appropinquant super me nocentes, ut edant carnes meas: qui tribulant me inimici mei, ipsi infirmati sunt, et ceciderunt (Psal. XXVI, 2). Ruinam igitur solam facit sibi serpens; ideo serpenti traditur, qui a serpente elisus est; ut quem dejecit, hunc erigat: et fiat ruina serpentis hominis resurrectio. Satanam autem corporalis hujus contritionis et carnalis auctorem debilitatis Scriptura ostendit, Paulo dicente: Datus est mihi stimulus carnis meae angelus Satanae, qui me colaphizet, ut non extollar (II Cor. XII, 7). Sic ergo curare Paulus didicit, quemadmodum ipse sanatus est.

CAPUT XV.

REDIENS A DIGRESSIONE, quid sit venire in virga vel in spiritu mansuetudinis docet. Sequestrandum graviter lapsum, sed eum Apostoli exemplo sacris reddendum, ubi piae plebis oratione atque lacrymis fuerit expiatus. Expurgari vetus fermentum, cum litterae durities mollioris explicationis farina temperatur. Quomodo Ecclesiae farina omnes conspergi ac cibo charitatis pasci debeant; ne similes evadant invidi illius fratris, quem aemulantur Novatiani, quorum tumor illic notatur.

78. Bonus itaque doctor dum promittit alterum de duobus, utrumque donavit. Venit in virga, quia a communione sacra convictum removit. Et bene dicitur tradi satanae, qui separatur a Christi corpore. Venit

411 etiam in charitate, spirituque mansuetudinis, vel quia sic tradidit, ut spiritum ejus salvum faceret, vel quia eum quem ante sequestraverat postea sacramentis reddidit. 79. Nam et sequestrari oportet graviter lapsum, ne modicum fermentum totam massam corrumpat: et expurgandum est vetus fermentum, vel in singulis vetus homo, hoc est, exterior homo cum actibus suis, vel in populo inveteratus peccatis, vitiisque concretus. Et bene dixit expurgandum, non projiciendum: quod enim expurgatur, non totum judicatur inutile; ideo enim purgatur, ut utile ab inutili separetur: quod autem projicitur, nihil in se utile habere creditur. 80. [Alias cap. XV.] Jam tunc igitur Apostolus reddendum sacramentis judicavit coelestibus, si purgari se ipse vellet. Et bene ait: Expurgate; velut enim operibus quibusdam totius populi purgatur, et plebis lacrymis abluitur, qui orationibus et fletibus plebis redimitur a peccato, et in homine mundatur interiore. Donavit enim Christus Ecclesiae suae, ut unum per omnes

redimeret, quae Domini Jesu meruit adventum, ut per unum omnes redimerentur. 81. Hic sensus Pauli est, quem verba obscuriorem faciunt. Consideremus ipsum Apostoli sermonem: Expurgate, inquit, vetus fermentum; ut sitis nova conspersio, sicut estis azymi (I Cor. V, 7). Sive quod tota Ecclesia suscipiat onus peccatoris, cui compatiendum et fletu, et oratione, et dolore est: et quasi fermento ejus se totam conspergat; ut per universos ea quae superflua sunt in aliquo poenitentiam agente, virilis misericordiae aut compassionis velut collativa quadam admixtione, purgentur. Sive ut illa mulier Evangelica docet (Luc. XIII, 21), quae typum praetendit Ecclesiae, eo quod fermentum abscondat in farina sua, donec fermentetur totum; ut mundum omne sumatur. 82. Docuit me Dominus in Evangelio quid sit fermentum, dicens: Non intelligitis quia non de pane dixi: Attendite a fermento Pharisaeorum et Sadducaeorum (Matth. XVI, 11)? Tunc, inquit, intellexerunt quia non dixit a panibus, sed a doctrina Pharisaeorum et Sadducaeorum attenderent sibi. Hoc ergo fermentum, hoc est, doctrinam Pharisaeorum,

412 et disputationem Sadducaeorum abscondit Ecclesia in farina sua; cum litteram legis duriorem spiritali interpretatione mollivit, et velut mola quadam suae disputationis infregit, proferens velut de folliculis litterarum mysteriorum interna secreta, et resurrectionis fidem astruens; qua Dei misericordia praedicatur, qua reparari vita creditur mortuorum. 83. Non absurda autem videtur ad hunc locum assumptio comparationis hujus. Siquidem regnum coelorum est peccatoris redemptio: et ideo farina Ecclesiae conspergamur omnes boni et mali, ut simus omnes nova conspersio. Ne quis autem vereretur, ne fermenti vitiosioris admixtio massam decoloraret, ideo dixit: Ut sitis nova conspersio, sicut estis azymi (I Cor. V, 7); hoc est, tales conspersio vos reddet, qualis erat innocentiae vestrae pura sinceritas. Ita si misereamur, non fuscamur peccato alieno: sed redemptionem ejus acquirimus nostrae gratiae; ut qualis erat puritas,

perseveret. Et ideo addidit: Etenim pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus (Ibid.), hoc est, passio Domini omnibus profuit, et peccatoribus donavit redemptionem, quos flagitii poenituit admissi. 84. Itaque epulemur bonum cibum, poenitentiam gerentes, laeti redemptione; nullus enim cibus est benevolentia et pietate dulcior: epulis nostris atque laetitiae nulla de peccatore servato invidia admisceatur; ne se ipse a domo Patris, quemadmodum expositus in Evangelio invidus ille frater, excludat, qui fratrem receptum doluit, quem in perpetuum gaudebat exclusum (Luc. XV, 28). 85. Cujus vos similes esse, Novatiani, non potestis negare, qui ideo, ut dicitis, in Ecclesiam non convenitis, quia per poenitentiam tributa spes fuerat his qui lapsi sunt, revertendi. Sed hoc praetentum est specie. Caeterum episcopatus amissi dolore succensus Novatianus schisma composuit. 86. Sed non intelligitis quia de vobis quoque prophetavit Apostolus, et vobis dicit: Et vos inflati estis, et non magis luctum habuistis; ut tollatur de medio vestrum, qui hoc opus fecit (I Cor. V, 2)? Utique tunc penitus tollitur, cum aboletur peccatum ejus; non enim excludendum ab Ecclesia dicit Apostolus, qui suadet esse purgandum.

CAPUT XVI.

NOVATIANI CUM APOSTOLO comparantur. Quam pulchre illis conveniat Domini verbum: Nescitis cujus spiritus estis. Poenitentiae studium ab eis exstingui, dum ejus fructum e medio tollunt. Hoc pacto Christi promissis privari peccatores; qui tamen non cito admittendi ad mysteria. Denique poenitentium quorumdam exempla proponuntur.

87. Cum igitur apostolus peccatum remiserit, qua vos auctoritate dimittendum negatis? Quis reverentior Christi, Novatianus, an Paulus? Sed noverat Paulus Dominum misericordem; noverat Dominum Jesum severitate magis discipulorum offensum, quam misericordia (II Cor. II, 10). 88. Denique Jacobum et Joannem dicentes quod ignem de coelo peterent, qui consumeret eos, qui Dominum recipere nolebant, confutavit Jesus dicens: Nescitis cujus spiritus estis; Filius enim hominis non venit animas hominum perdere, sed salvas facere (Luc. IX, 55, 56). Et illis quidem dixit: Nescitis cujus spiritus estis, qui ipsius erant spiritus; vobis autem dicit: Non estis spiritus mei, qui meam clementiam non tenetis, qui meam refutatis misericordiam; qui excluditis poenitentiam, quam ego per apostolos meos praedicari volui in nomine meo. 89. Frustra enim dicitis vos praedicare poenitentiam, qui tollitis fructum poenitentiae (Luc. XXIV, 47). Homines enim ad aliquod studium aut praemiis aut fructibus incitantur: omne autem studium torpescit dilatione. Et ideo Dominus ut praesentium fructu cumularetur devotio discipulorum,

414 dixit quoniam qui dimisisset omnia sua, et Deum secutus esset, septies tantum reciperet et hic et in futurum (Matth. XIX, 29). Prius hic promisit, ut fastidia dilationis auferret: addidit et in futurum, ut hic disceres

credere in futurum quoque solvenda tibi praemia. Remuneratio igitur praesentium, testimonium futurorum est. 90. Si quis igitur occulta crimina habens, propter Christum tamen studiose poenitentiam egerit; quomodo ista recipit, si ei communio non refunditur? Volo veniam reus speret, petat eam lacrymis, petat gemitibus, petat populi totius fletibus; ut ignoscatur, obsecret: et cum secundo et tertio fuerit dilata ejus communio, credat remissius se supplicasse, fletus augeat, miserabilior postea revertatur, teneat pedes brachiis, osculetur osculis, lavet fletibus, nec dimittat; ut de ipso dicat Dominus Jesus: Remissa sunt peccata ejus multa; quoniam dilexit multum (Luc. VII, 47). 91. Cognovi quosdam in poenitentia sulcasse vultum lacrymis, exarasse continuis fletibus genas, stravisse corpus suum calcandum omnibus; jejuno ore semper et pallido, mortis speciem spiranti in corpore praetulisse.

CAPUT XVII.

SEVERITATI PIETATEM ADDENDAM esse, quod Apostolus praestitisse ostenditur in Corinthio. Hunc baptismate contra Novatianorum cavillos initiatum fuisse astruitur. Quibus additur non destructionem, sed castigationem carnis, per vocem interitum significari, quod etiam terrae similitudine confirmatur.

92. Quid exspectamus ut mortui mereantur veniam, qui mortem sibi intulerunt,

415 cum viverent? Satis est, inquit, ei qui talis est, objurgatio haec quae fit a pluribus; ita ut e contrario magis donetis et consolemini; ne forte abundantiore tristitia absorbeatur (II Cor. II, 6). Si satis ad condemnationem est objurgatio, quae fit a pluribus, satis est quoque ad remissionem peccati obsecratio, quae fit a pluribus. Moralis magister et nostrae fragilitatis conscius, et pietatis divinae interpres, vult donari peccatum, vult consolationem adhiberi; ne tristitia poenitentem taedio longae dilationis absorbeat. 93. Ideo ergo donavit apostolus, nec solum donavit, sed etiam confirmari in eum charitatem voluit. Qui charus est, non habet duritiam, sed mansuetudinem. Nec solum donavit ipse, sed voluit etiam omnes donare, et se propter alios donasse dixit; ne multi propter unum diutius contristarentur. Si cui, inquit, donastis, et ego; nam et ego propter vos in persona Christi, ut non circumveniamur a Satana; nec enim versutias ejus ignoramus (Ibid., 10). Recte potest serpentem cavere, qui ejus potest versutias non ignorare, quae multae ad nocendum sunt. Vult semper nocere, semper circumvenire; ut mortem inferat: sed debemus cavere ne remedium nostrum fiat ejus

triumphus; circumvenimur enim ab eo, si per nimiam tristitiam pereat, qui potest liberari per indulgentiam. 94.

Et ut sciremus quia de baptizato dicit, addidit: Scripsi vobis in epistola, ne commisceamini fornicariis hujus mundi (I Cor. V, 9). Et infra subjunxit: Nunc autem scripsi vobis, non commisceri, si quis frater nominatur fornicator,

416 aut avarus, aut idolis serviens (Ibid., 11). Quos simul junxit ad poenam, simul voluit etiam ad veniam pertinere. Si quis autem talis est, inquit, cum hoc nec cibum sumas (Ibid.). Quam severus pertinacibus, quam indulgens rogantibus! Adversum illos Christi armatur injuria, his Christi invocatio suffragatur.

95. At ne quis forte eo moveatur, quia scriptum est: Tradidi hujusmodi hominem Satanae in interitum carnis (Ibid., 5), et dicat: Quomodo potuit ad veniam pertinere, cujus omnis interierat caro; cum manifestum sit in utroque redemptum hominem, in utroque salvari: neque animam sine carne, neque carnem sine anima, cum sibi sint gestorum operum consortiis copulatae, sine consortio vel poenae esse vel praemii? Is sibi responsum hoc habeat, quod interitus non consummatam absumptionem carnis significet, sed castigationem. Sicut enim mortuus peccato, Deo vivit: ita illecebrae carnis intereunt, et cupiditatibus suis moritur caro: ut castitati caeterisque bonis operibus reviviscat. 96. Et quod aptius exemplum, quam de matre sumamus? Namque ipsa de qua assumpti sumus, terra, intermisso exercitio cultuque, videtur deserta: et aut vinetis quibus consitus est ager, aut oleis moritur; succum tamen proprium velut quamdam sui animam non amittit. Denique repetita cultione, et creditis seminibus, quibus habilis aestimatur, feracior assurgit fructibus. Non ergo alienum si etiam nostra caro interire sic dicitur; ut repressa magis, quam absumpta credatur.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

AMBROSIUS LIBRI SUPERIORIS praeceptis nova subtexurus, necessitatem mature agendi poenitentiam allegorice insinuat, quam et suadet agendam: deinde illius forma in Apostolo imitationi proposita, varios ejusdem fructus strictim proponit.

1.

Etsi non pauca quae ad cohortationem poenitentiae proficiant, scripta sint in libro superiore; tamen cum adjici possint complura, ne velut semesas verborum nostrorum epulas reliquisse videamur, inceptum persequamur convivium.

2. Agenda est enim poenitentia non solum sollicite, sed etiam mature: ne forte Evangelicus ille paterfamilias qui arborem ficum plantavit in vinea sua, veniat; et quaerens fructum in ea, si non invenerit, dicat cultori vineae: Succide illam. Ut quid etiam terram occupat (Luc. XIII, 7)? Et nisi cultor vineae interveniat dicens: Domine, remitte illam et hoc anno, usque dum fodiam circa illam; et mittam cophinum stercoris: et si

416 quidem fecerit fructum; sin autem, excidatur ficulnea (Ibid., 8, 9). 3. Stercoremus ergo et nos agrum hunc quem possidemus, et imitemur laboriosos agricolas, quos non pudet fimo pingui satiare terram, et immundo cinere agrum aspergere, ut fructus uberiores colligant. 4. Et quemadmodum stercoremus, docet Apostolus dicens: Et aestimo omnia ut stercora, ut Christum lucrifaciam (Philip. III, 8); qui per infamiam et bonam famam meruit Christo placere. Legerat enim quod Abraham dum se stercus et cinerem fatetur, summa humilitate invenit Dei gratiam (Gen. XVIII, 3).

Legerat quod Job in stercore sedens omnia quae amiserat, recuperavit (Job. XXIV). Legerat prophetante David, quod Deus de terra suscitat inopem, et de stercore erigit pauperem (Psal. CXII, 7). 5. Et nos ergo non erubescamus fateri Domino peccata nostra? Pudor est ut unusquisque crimina sua prodat: sed ille pudor agrum suum arat, spinas tollit perpetuas, sentes amputat, fructus adolet, quos inter mortuos

417 esse credebat. Sequere illum qui bene arando agrum suum, fructus quaesivit aeternos. Maledicimur, inquit, et benedicimus: persecutionem patimur, et sustinemus: blasphemamur, et obsecramus: tamquam purgamenta hujus mundi facti sumus (I Cor. IV, 12, 13). Si et tu sic araveris, seminabis spiritalia. Ara, ut peccatum auferas, fructum acquiras. Ille aravit, ut persecutoris in se eradicaret affectum. Quid plus potuit nobis conferre Christus ad studium correctionis, quam ut converteret, et daret nobis ex persecutore doctorem?

CAPUT II.

APOSTOLICUM LOCUM AB haereticis contra poenitentiam objectum solvit, eumque de baptismatis iteratione intelligendum cum singularum illius partium expositione, tum praemissa ibidem legalium baptismatum mentione ostendit; quamvis subjungat eo quoque illum posse referri, ut quod impossibile sit hominibus, Deo impossibile nequaquam habeatur.

6. Cum igitur tam evidenti et ipsius Apostoli, et scriptorum ejus exemplo redarguantur, tamen adhuc obniti volunt, et auctoritatem aiunt Apostolicae sibi suffragari sententiae, allegantes scriptum ad Hebraeos: Impossibile est enim hos qui semel illuminati sunt, et gustaverunt donum coeleste, et participes facti sunt Spiritus sancti, et bonum gustaverunt Dei verbum, virtutesque futuri saeculi, lapsos iterum renovari in poenitentiam, rursus crucifigentes Filium Dei, et ostentatione triumphantes (Heb. VI, 4 et seq.). 7. Numquid Paulus adversus factum suum praedicare potuit? Donavit Corinthio peccatum per poenitentiam (II Cor. II, 10); quomodo hic potuit sententiam suam ipse reprehendere? Ergo quia non potuit quod aedificaverat destruere, non contrarium dixisse eum, sed diversum advertimus. Quod enim contrarium est, se ipsum impugnat: quod diversum est, distinctam solet habere rationem. Ita autem contrarium non est, ut alterum suffragetur alteri. Etenim quia de remittenda praedicavit poenitentia, debuit et de iis qui iterandum putant baptismum, non silere: et prius sollicitudinem nobis auferri oportuit, ut sciremus etiam post baptismum, si qui peccarent, donari eis posse peccatum; ne spe veniae destitutos iterandi baptismatis opinio vana perverteret: deinde iterandum non esse baptisma rationabili disputatione suadendum fuit. 8. De baptismate

autem dictum verba ipsa declarant, quibus significavit impossibile esse lapsos renovari in poenitentiam; per lavacrum enim renovamur, per quod renascimur, sicut ipse Paulus dicit: Consepulti enim sumus cum illo per baptismum in mortem, ut quemadmodum surrexit Christus ex mortuis per gloriam Patris, ita et

418 nos in novitate vitae ambulemus (Rom. VI, 4). Et alibi: Renovamini spiritu mentis vestrae, et induite novum hominem, qui secundum Deum creatus est (Ephes. IV, 23, 24). Et alibi: Renovabitur sicut aquilae juventus tua (Psal. CII, 3): quod etiam aquila, cum fuerit mortua, ex suis reliquiis renascitur, sicut per baptismatis sacramentum, cum fuerimus peccato mortui, renascimur Deo, ac reformamur. Unum ergo baptisma docet, sicut alibi: Una fides; unum, inquit, baptisma (Ephes. IV, 5). 9. Illud quoque evidens, quod in eo qui baptizatur, crucifigitur Filius Dei; quia non potuit caro nostra abolere peccatum, nisi crucifixa esset in Christo Jesu. Denique scriptum est, quia quicumque baptizati sumus in Christo Jesu, in mortem ipsius baptizati sumus (Rom. VI, 3). Et infra: Si enim complantati sumus similitudini mortis ejus, simul et resurrectionis erimus, scientes quia vetus homo noster simul confixus est cruci (Ibid., 5, 6.). Et ad Colossenses ait: Consepulti ei per baptismum, in quo et consurrexistis (Coloss. II, 12). Quod ideo scriptum est, ut credamus quia ipse crucifigitur in nobis; ut per illum peccata nostra mundentur, ut ipse chirographum nostrum affigat cruci, qui solus potest donare delicta. Ipse in nobis principatus et potestates triumphat; quoniam de ipso scriptum est: Principatus et potestates ostentavit, triumphans eos in semetipso (Coloss. II, 15). 10. Ergo quod ait in hac epistola quae scribitur ad Hebraeos, impossibile esse lapsos renovari in poenitentiam, rursus crucifigentes Filium Dei, et ostentatione triumphantes (Hebr. VI, 6), eo spectat, ut de baptismo dictum credamus, in quo crucifigimus Filium Dei in nobis; ut per illum nobis mundus crucifigatur, qui quadam triumphamus specie, dum similitudinem mortis ejus

assumimus, qui principatus et potestates in sua cruce ostentavit ac triumphavit; ut in mortis ejus similitudinem nos quoque de principatibus quorum jugum deponimus, triumphemus. Semel autem crucifixus est Christus, semel peccato mortuus; et ideo unum, non plura baptismata. 11. Quid, quod et supra doctrinam baptismorum praemisit? Et quia multa erant baptismata in lege, merito reprehendit illos qui perfecta dimittant, et principium verbi requirant. Docet nos scire oportere destructa esse universa legis baptismata, unum baptisma esse in Ecclesiae sacramentis. Hortatur autem nos, ut relinquentes initium verbi, ad perfectum tendamus: Et hoc faciemus, inquit, si quidem permiserit Deus (Hebr. VI, 3); non potest enim sine favore Dei aliquis esse perfectus. 12. Possem quidem etiam illud dicere ei, qui hoc de poenitentia dictum putat; quia quae impossibilia sunt apud homines, possibilia sunt apud Deum: et potens est Deus quando vult donare nobis peccata, etiam quae putamus non posse concedi. Et ideo quod nobis impossibile

419 impetratu videtur, Deo donare possibile est. Nam et impossibile videbatur, ut peccatum ablueret aqua: denique Naaman Syrus lepram suam mundari per aquam posse non credidit. Sed quod impossibile erat, fecit Deus esse possibile, qui tantam nobis donavit gratiam (IV Reg. V, 11). Similiter impossibile videbatur per poenitentiam peccata dimitti: concessit hoc Christus apostolis suis, quod ab apostolis ad sacerdotum officia transmissum est (Joan. XX, 22). Factum est igitur possibile quod impossibile videbatur. Sed tamen de baptismo dictum, ne quis iteraret, vera ratione persuadet.

CAPUT III.

SUPERIOREM SOLUTIONEM CONFIRMAT proposita ex Evangelio prodigi parabola, cujus singulas partes exponens, easdem contra Novatianas assertiones ita convertit, ut inde necessario deducat etiam gravissimi criminis reo, siquidem digne poenituerit, reconciliationem non denegandam.

13. Neque enim Apostolus contra evidentem Christi doctrinam veniret, qui de peccatore poenitentiam agente comparationem posuit eo quod peregre profectus acceptam a patre omnem substantiam devoraverit vivendo luxuriose, et postea panem patris desideraverit, cum vesceretur siliquis: et meruit stolam, annulum, calceamentum, immolationem quoque vituli, quae speciem habet passionis Dominicae, per quam coeleste sacramentum nobis donatur (Luc. XV, 13 et seq.). 14. Bene dicitur quia peregre profectus est, qui erat a sacris altaribus separatus; hoc est enim ab Jerusalem illa quae in coelo est, civico quodam et domestico sanctorum separari domicilio. Unde et apostolus ait: Ergo jam non estis advenae atque peregrini, sed cives sanctorum et domestici Dei (Ephes. II, 9). 15. Et consumpsit, inquit, substantiam suam. Merito consumpsit eam, cujus fides in operibus claudicabat: Fides enim eorum quae sperantur, substantia est, rerum argumentum non apparentium (Heb. XI, 1). Et bona substantia fides, in qua spei est nostrae patrimonium. 16. Nec mirum si fame peribat, qui divino alimento egebat; cujus desiderio compulsus: Surgam, inquit, et ibo ad patrem meum, et dicam illi: Pater, peccavi in coelum, et coram te (Luc. XV, 18.) Nonne advertitis id evidenter nobis expositum, quod emerendi gratia sacramenti ad precandum impellimur; et hoc auferre vultis, propter quod agitur poenitentia? Tolle gubernatori perveniendi spem, et in mediis

fluctibus incertus errabit. Tolle luctatori coronam, lentus jacebit in stadio. Tolle piscatori capiendi efficaciam, desinit jactare retia. Quomodo ergo potest qui famen patitur animae suae, studiosius Deum precari, si sacram desperet alimoniam? 17. Peccavi, inquit, in coelum et coram te.

420 Fatetur utique peccatum ad mortem, ne quem vos agentem cujuslibet criminis poenitentiam jure excludi putaretis; quando is qui in coelum peccavit, vel in regnum coeleste, vel in animam suam, quod est peccatum ad mortem; et peccavit eoram Deo, cui soli dicitur: Tibi soli peccavi et malum coram te feci (Psal. L, 6). 18. Tam cito veniam meretur, ut venienti et adhuc longe posito occurrat pater, osculum tribuat, quod insigne est sacrae pacis: stolam proferri jubeat, quae vestis est nuptialis, quam si quis non habuerit, a convivio nuptiali excluditur: det annulum in manu ejus, quod est fidei pignus, et sancti spiritus signaculum: calceamenta deferri praecipiat (Exod. XII, 11); celebraturus enim pascha Domini, epulaturus agnum, tectum debet adversus omnes incursus bestiarum spiritalium, morsusque serpentis habere vestigium: vitulum praecipiat occidi; quia Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus (I Cor. V, 7). Etenim quotiescumque sanguinem Domini sumimus, mortem Domini annuntiamus (I Cor. XI, 26). Sicut ergo semel pro omnibus immolatus est, ita quotiescumque peccata donantur, corporis ejus sacramentum suminus, ut per sanguinem ejus fiat peccatorum remissio (De Poenit., dist. I, c. Potest fieri, § Sicut semel). 19. Ergo evidentissime Domini praedicatione mandatum est etiam gravissimi criminis reis, si ex toto corde, et manifesta confessione peccati poenitentiam gerant, sacramenti coelestis refundendam gratiam. Unde nihil vobis ad excusationem resedisse certum est.

CAPUT IV.

ALIAM OBJECTIONEM EX blasphemia in Spiritum sanctum petitam retorquet in ipsos Novatianos; ostenditque per eam blasphemiam intelligi debere fidem non rectam: quod ubi Petri adversus Simonem magum sententia, nec non Evangelico testimonio confirmavit, eosdem haereticos ad reditum in Ecclesiam cohortatur, ac tantam Domini clementiam esse asserit, ut Judae traditori veniam si apud Christum poenituisset, non fuisset denegaturus.

20. Perlatum est tamen ad nos, etiam illud vos objicere solere, quod dicatis scriptum esse: Omne peccatum et blasphemia remittetur hominibus: Spiritus autem blasphemiae non remittetur hominibus. Et quicumque dixerit verbum contra Filium hominis, remittetur ei: qui autem dixerit contra Spiritum sanctum, non remittetur ei, neque in hoc saeculo, neque in futuro (Matth. XII, 31 et seq). Quo exemplo omnis assertio vestra destruitur et absolvitur; scriptum est enim: Omne peccatum et blasphemia remittetur hominibus. Cur igitur non remittitis? Cur alligatis vincula, quae non solvitis? Cur nodos nectitis, quos non relaxatis? Remittite caeteris: agite de iis, quos peccantes in Spiritum sanctum Evangelica auctoritate in perpetuum astringi putatis.

421 21. Et tamen quos astringat, consideremus, repetentes superiora lectionis ipsius, ut evidentius comprehendamus. Dicebant Judaei: Hic non ejicit daemonia nisi in Beelzebub principe daemoniorum. Respondit Jesus: Omne regnum divisum contra se destruetur, et omnis civitas vel domus divisa contra se, non stabit; si enim Satanas Satanam ejicit, adversum se divisus est: quomodo ergo stabit regnum ejus? Quod si ego in Beelzebub

ejicio daemonia, filii vestri in quo ejiciunt (Matt. XII, 24 et seq.)? 22. De his utique expressum videmus, qui Dominum Jesum in Beelzebub ejicere daemonia loquebantur, quibus sic respondit Dominus, quod Satanae haereditas in iis esset, qui Satanae compararent Salvatorem omnium, et in regno diaboli constituerent gratiam Christi. Et ut cognosceremus quia de hac dixit blasphemia, adjunxit: Progenies viperarum, quomodo potestis bona loqui, cum sitis mali? Hos ergo qui haec loquuntur, negat ad veniam pertinere. 23. Denique (Decr. ca. I, q. 1, cap. Petrus) Petrus Simoni, qui magicae artis consuetudine depravatus, putasset quod gratiam Christi per impositionem manus, atque infusionem Spiritus sancti compararet pecunia, ait: Non est tibi pars, neque sors in hac fide; quia cor tuum non est rectum apud Deum. Poenitentiam itaque age ab hac nequitia tua, et precare Dominum, si forte remittatur tibi haec recordatio cordis tui; in obligatione enim iniquitatis, et amaritudine fellis video te esse (Act. VIII, 21 et seq.). Vides quod hunc magica vanitate blasphemantem in Spiritu sancto Apostolica auctoritate condemnet; et eo magis quia puram conscientiam fidei non habebat: et tamen non interclusit ei spem veniae, quem invitavit ad poenitentiam? 24.

Responsum est igitur a Domino blasphemiae Pharisaeorum; et ideo (De Poenit., dist. I, c. Iis potestatis) his potestatis suae gratiam negat, quae in remissione peccatorum est, qui coelestem ejus potestatem diabolico fultam suffragio vindicarent. Eos quoque asserit diabolico uti spiritu, qui separarent Ecclesiam Domini; ut omnium temporum haereticos et schismaticos comprehenderet, quibus indulgentiam negat, quod omne peccatum circa singulos est, hoc in universos. Soli enim sunt qui volunt solvere Christi gratiam, qui Ecclesiae

422 membra discerpunt, propter quam passus est Dominus Jesus, Spiritusque sanctus datus est nobis.

25. Denique ut sciatis quia de dispersoribus dicit, sic habemus scriptum: Qui non est mecum, contra me est: et qui non colligit mecum, dispergit (Matt. XII, 30). Et ut sciremus de his dictum, statim subjunxit: Ideo dico vobis: omne peccatum et blasphemia remittetur hominibus, Spiritus autem blasphemiae non remittetur hominibus (Ibid., 31). Cum dicit: Ideo dico vobis: nonne evidenter hoc prae caeteris a nobis intelligi voluit? Meritoque adjunxit: Arbor bona bonos fructus facit, mala autem arbor malos fructus facit (Matth. VII, 17); congregatio enim mala bonum facere fructum non potest. Arbor itaque congregatio est, fructus bonae arboris filii Ecclesiae sunt. 26. Et ideo revertimini ad Ecclesiam, si qui vos separastis impie. Omnibus enim conversis pollicetur veniam; quia scriptum est: Omnis quicumque invocaverit nomen Domini, salvus erit (Joel II, 32). Denique etiam Judaeorum populus qui dicebat de Domino Jesu: Daemonium habet (Joan. VIII, 48); qui dicebat: In Beelzebub ejicit daemonia (Luc. XI, 15); qui crucifixit Dominum Jesum, Petri praedicatione vocatur ad baptismum, ut sceleris tanti merita deponat. 27. [Alias cap. V.] Sed quid mirum (De Poenit., dist. I, c. Iis potestatis, § quid mirum), si salutem negatis aliis, qui vestram recusatis, licet illi nihil differant, qui a vobis poenitentiam petunt. Arbitror enim quod etiam Judas potuisset tanta Dei miseratione non excludi a venia, si poenitentiam non apud Judaeos, sed apud Christum egisset. Peccavi, inquit, quod tradiderim sanguinem justum (Matth. XXVII, 54). Responderunt: Quid ad nos? Tu videris. Quae vox alia vestra est, cum etiam minoris peccati reus vobis factum proprium confitetur? Quid respondetis aliud, nisi hoc: Quid ad nos? Tu videris. Hunc sermonem laqueus sequitur: eo feraliore poena, quo culpa est minor. 28. Sed si isti non convertuntur, vel vos revertimini, qui lapsu vario de innocentiae fideique praecelso fastigio decidistis. Bonum dominum habemus, qui velit donare omnibus, qui te per prophetam vocavit dicens: Ego sum, ego sum qui deleo iniquitates; et memor non ero: tu autem memor esto, et judicemur (Esai. XLIII, 25).

CAPUT V.

QUOD SIMONI MAGO veniam a Petro affirmate promissam negant, refertur primo eum apostolum propter cognitam magi illius perfidiam dubia locutione uti potuisse: secundo autem apte ad causam per adverbium forte affirmationem etiam significari ex pluribus veteris Testamenti locis, ex profanorum auctorum usu, denique ex ipsis evangelistis confirmatur. Deinde addit apostolos poenitentiam cujus a Davide fructus ostenduntur, ad nos transmisisse. Postremo exemplum adducit Ephraemitarum, ad quorum instar poenitentiam nostram agendam tradit, ut ei divina misericordia et sacramenta concedantur.

29.

Referunt tamen quaestionem de verbis apostoli Petri. Quia dixit: Ne forte (Act. VIII, 22), putant non confirmasse Petrum, ut agenti poenitentiam peccatum remitteretur. Sed considerent de quo loquatur, hoc est, de Simone, qui non ex fide crederet, sed dolum cogitaret. Denique et Dominus dicenti ei, cujus non plenam sinceritatem videret: Sequar te, ait: Vulpes foveas habent (Matth. VIII, 20). Quem ergo Dominus ante baptismum prohibuit sequi, quoniam fraudulentum videbat; miraris si post baptismum praevaricantem non absolvit apostolus, quem in obligatione iniquitatis manere pronuntiavit?

30. Sed hoc illis responsum sit. Ego autem nec Petrum dubitasse dico, nec verbi unius praejudicio tantam causam strangulandam arbitror. Nam si putant dubitasse Petrum, numquid et Deus dubitavit? qui ait ad Jeremiam Prophetam: Sta in atrio domus Domini, et responsum dabis omni Judae, iis

qui veniunt adorare in domo Domini, omnia verba quae constitui tibi respondere illis, noli auferre verbum: forsitan audient, et avertentur (Jerem. XXVI, 2, 3). Dicant ergo et Deum ignorasse quid esset futurum. 31. Sed non ignorantia eo verbo exprimitur, sed in Scripturis divinis frequens hujusmodi consuetudo advertitur; eo quod simplex sit elocutio. Siquidem et ad Ezechielem dicit Dominus: Fili hominis, mittam ego te ad domum Israel, ad eos qui me exacerbaverunt ipsi, et patres eorum usque in hodiernum, et dices ad eos: Haec dicit Dominus, si forte audient et terrebuntur (Ezech. II, 4, 5). Nesciebat ergo eos posse aut non posse converti? Non ergo semper dubitantis ista est elocutio. 32. Denique ipsi sapientes saeculi, qui omnem

424 gloriam suam statuunt in expressione verborum, quod Latine forte dicimus, Graece τάχα non ubique pro dubitatione posuerunt. Aiunt itaque dixisse primum suorum poetam Ἦ τάχα χήρα ἔσομαι, quod est: Cito vidua ero. Et alibi: τάχα γάρ σε κατακτανέουσιν Ἀχαιοὶ πάντες ἐφορμηθέντες (Homer. lib. III Iliad.). Non enim dubitaret in omnibus simul insurgentibus, unum facile ab universis posse prosterni. 33. Sed nos nostris magis quam alienis utamur. Denique habes in Evangelio quia ipse Filius de Patre ait (cum misisset servos ad vineam suam, et occidissent). dixisse Patrem: Mittam Filium meum dilectissimum, forsitan ipsum verebuntur (Matth. XXI, 37). Et alibi ex sua persona Filius ait: Neque me scitis, neque Patrem meum. Si enim me sciretis, et Patrem meum forsitan sciretis (Joan. VIII, 19). 34. Si ergo his verbis usus est Petrus, quibus Deus usus est sine praejudicio scientiae suae; cur non accipiamus et Petrum his usum sermonibus sine suae fidei praejudicio? Neque enim poterat dubitare de Christi munere, qui sibi solvendorum peccatorum dederat potestatem (Matth. XVI, 19); praesertim cum versutiis haereticorum locum non deberet relinquere, qui ideo volunt spem hominum destituere, ut iterandi baptismatis apud desperantes facilius inducant persuasionem. 35. Sed apostoli hoc habentes, secundum Christi magisterium poenitentiam

docuerunt; spoponderunt veniam, culpam relaxaverunt, sicut et docuit David dicens: Beati quorum remissae sunt iniquitates, et quorum tecta sunt peccata. Beatus vir cui non imputavit Dominus peccatum (Psal. XXXI, 1, 2). Utrumque enim beatum dixit, et cujus iniquitas remittitur per lavacrum, et cujus peccatum tegitur operibus bonis. Qui enim agit poenitentiam, non solum diluere lacrymis debet peccatum suum, sed etiam emendatioribus factis operire et tegere delicta superiora, ut non ei imputetur peccatum (De Poenit., dist. I, c. Iis potestatis, § Qui agit). 36. Ergo tegamus lapsus nostros posterioribus factis, mundemus fletibus; ut audiat nos Dominus Deus noster ingemiscentes, sicut audivit lacrymantem Ephraem, quemadmodum scriptum est, dicente Deo: Audiens audivi Ephraem lacrymantem (Jerem. XXXI, 18). Et ipsa verba Ephraem lamentantis expressit dicens: Castigasti me, et castigatus sum, sicut vitulus non sum edoctus (Ibid.). Vitulus enim ludit, et praesepia deserit; et ideo Ephraem sicut vitulus non est edoctus, longe positus a praesepi, quia praesepe Domini deseruit,

425 et Jeroboam secutus, vitulos adoravit (Tob. I, 5), quod prophetia futurum per Aaron indicaverat, sic lapsurum populum Judaeorum. Ideoque agens poenitentiam dicit: Converte me, et convertar; quia tu es Dominus Deus meus. Quia in novissimo captivitatis meae poenitentiam egi: et postquam cognovi, ingemui super dies confusionis, et subjectus sum tibi; quia accepi opprobrium, et demonstravi te (Jerem. XXXI, 19). 37. [Alias cap. VI.] Advertimus quomodo agenda sit poenitentia, quibus sermonibus, quibus fletibus; ut peccati dies, dies confusionis appelletur; confusio est enim, quando Christus negatur. 38. Et ideo subjiciamus nos Deo, et non subditi simus peccato: et delictorum nostrorum memoriam recensentes, tamquam opprobrium crubescamus; non velut quamdam gloriam praedicemus, sicut quidam expugnata pudicitia, et oppressa justitia gloriantur: et tanta fiat conversio, ut qui Deum non agnoscebamus, ipsi eum jam aliis demonstremus: motus autem Dominus tali conversione nostra,

respondeat: A juventute mea dilectus mihi est filius Ephraem, puer in deliciis; quoniam eo quod sermones mei in ipso sunt, memoria memor ero ejus; propterea festinavi super illum, misericordia miserebor ejus, dicit Dominus (Jerem. XXXI, 20). 39. Quam autem misericordiam nobis polliceatur, infra ostendit dicens: Inebriavi omnem animam sitientem, et omnem animam esurientem satiavi. Ideo exsurrexi, et vidi, et somnus meus mihi dulcis est (Ibid., 25, 26). Advertimus quod peccantibus Dominus sacramenta promittat sua; et ideo omnes convertamur ad Dominum.

CAPUT VI.

A FIDE VEL innocentia lapsos denuo hortaturus ad poenitendum, ex Esaia quid eos a Deo exspectare, quidve ipsosmet praestare oporteat, docet. Hinc memorata Christi adversus Judaeos proverbiali reprehensione, per ejus occasionem saltationes et choreas perstringens, idem proverbium ad spiritalem traducit intellectum. Deinde ex Jeremia poenitentiam suscipiente pro Jerusalem, quas conditiones ea virtus requirat, aperit. Denique ut quantae sit efficaciae haec illa medicina, clarius exhibeat, qui eadem vel pro se vel pro aliis uti voluerint, multos numerat.

40. Sed si isti non convertuntur, vel vos revertimini, qui lapsu vario de innocentiae fideique praecelso fastigio decidistis. Bonum Dominum habemus qui velit donare omnibus, qui te per prophetam vocavit dicens: Ego sum, ego sum qui deleo iniquitates tuas, et memor non ero: tu autem memor esto, ut judicemur (Esai. XLIII, 25). Ego, inquit, memor non ero: tu autem memor esto,

426 hoc est: Non revoco illa, quaecumque delicta donavi tibi, velut quadam oblivione tecta sint: tu autem memor esto. Ego, inquit, memor non ero propter gratiam, tu memor esto propter correctionem: memor esto, ut scias donatum esse peccatum; ne glorieris quasi innocens, ne te justificando, plus ingraves: sed si vis justificari, fatere delictum tuum. Solvit enim criminum nexus verecunda confessio peccatorum. 41. Vides quid a te exigat Deus tuus, ut memor sis ejus quam accepisti gratiae, et non glorieris quasi non acceperis. Vides qua remissionis pollicitatione te provocet ad confitendum: vide ne reluctando mandatis coelestibus, in indevotionem Judaeorum incidias, quibus dicit Dominus Jesus: Cantavimus vobis, et non

saltastis: lamentavimus, et non plorastis (Luc. VII, 32). 42. Vilis sermo, sed non vile mysterium. Et ideo cavendum ne quis vulgari quadam sermonis hujus deceptus interpretatione, putet nobis saltationis lubricae histrionicos motus, et scenae deliramenta mandari; haec etiam in adolescentula aetate vitiosa sunt: sed saltationem mandavit, quam saltavit David ante arcam Domini. Totum enim decet, quidquid defertur religioni; ut nullum obsequium quod proficiat ad cultum et observantiam Christi, erubescamus. 43. Non ergo illa deliciarum comes, atque luxuriae praedicatur saltatio, sed qua unusquisque corpus attollat impigrum, nec humi pigra jacere membra, vel tardis sinat torpere vestigiis. Saltabat spiritaliter Paulus, cum se pro nobis extenderet, et posteriora obliviscens, priora appetens, contenderet ad bravium Christi. Tu quoque cum ad baptismum venis, manus elevare, pedes quibus ad aeterna conscendas, velociores habere moneris (Phil. III, 13, 14). Haec saltatio fidei socia, gratiae comes. 44. Hoc est ergo mysterium: Cantavimus vobis, novi utique canticum Testamenti: et non saltastis, hoc est, non elevastis animam ad spiritalem gratiam. Lamentavimus, et non plorastis, hoc est, non egistis poenitentiam. Et ideo derelictus est Judaeorum populus; quia nec egit poenitentiam, et gratiam refutavit. Per Joannem poenitentia, per Christum gratia. Istam quasi Dominus donat, illam quasi servus annuntiat. Utrumque igitur Ecclesia custodit, ut et consequatur gratiam, et non abjiciat poenitentiam; gratia enim munus largientis est, poenitentia delinquentis remedium. 45. Scivit Jeremias magnum remedium esse poenitentiae, quam in Threnis suis suscepit pro Jerusalem, et ipsam inducit agentem Jerusalem

427 dicens: Plorans ploravit in nocte, et lacrymae ejus in maxillis ejus, nec est qui consoletur eam ab omnibus qui diligunt eam. Viae Sion lugent (Thren. I, 2). Et adjecit: In his ergo fleo, oculi mei caligaverunt a fletu, quia elongavit a me, qui me consolabatur (Thren. I, 16). Advertimus quod hunc malorum suorum acerbissimum cumulum arbitrabatur, quia deerat qui

consolaretur moerentem. Quomodo ergo vos ipsam consolationem aufertis, qui spem relaxandae negatis poenitentiae? 46. Sed audiant qui agunt poenitentiam, quomodo agere debeant, quo studio, quo affectu, qua mentis intentione, qua intimorum concussione viscerum, qua cordis conversione: Vide, inquit, Domine, quia tribulor, venter meus turbatus est a fletu meo, conversum est cor meum in me (Ibid., 20). 47. Cognovisti intentionem animi, fidem mentis cognosce, et habitum corporis. Sederunt, inquit, in terra, tacuerunt seniores filiae Sion, et imposuerunt terram super caput suum, praecinxerunt se cilicio, deduxerunt in terram principes, virgines Jerusalem defecerunt in lacrymis, oculi mei caligaverunt, turbatus est venter meus, effusa est in terra gloria mea (Thren. II, 10, 11). 48. Sic flevit et Ninive populus, et denuntiatum excidium civitatis evasit (Jonae III, 5); tanta est enim poenitentiae medicina, ut mutare videatur suam Deus sententiam. In te est igitur ut evadas: vult rogari Dominus, vult de se sperari, vult sibi supplicari. Homo es, et vis rogari, ut ignoscas, et putas Deum tibi non roganti ignoscere? 49. Ipse Dominus Jerusalem flevit (Luc. XIX, 41), ut quia ipsa flere nolebat, Domini lacrymis ad veniam pertineret. Ipse nos flere vult, ut evadere possimus, sicut habes scriptum in Evangelio: Filiae Jerusalem, nolite me flere, sed vos ipsas flete (Luc. XXIII, 28). 50. Flevit David, et meruit ut mortem populi pereuntis divina removeret misericordia (II Reg. XXIV, 10); quando tribus sibi propositis optionibus, eam tamen in qua majorem Domini miserationem experiretur, elegit. Quid erubescis tu peccata tua flere; cum Deus etiam prophetas jusserit flere pro populis? 51. Denique et Ezechiel jussus est flere Jerusalem, et accepit librum, in cujus capite scripta erat: Lamentatio, et melos et vae (Ezech. II, 9), duo tristia et unum delectabile; quoniam ille salvus erit in futurum, qui in hoc saeculo plus fleverit: Cor enim sapientium in domo luctus, et cor stultorum in domo epularum (Eccl. VII, 5). Et ipse Dominus ait: Beati qui nunc fletis; quia ridebitis (Luc. VI, 21).

CAPUT VII.

AD FLENDA ET confitenda peccata hortatur, asserens peccatoris et Ecclesiae lacrymis Christum excitari, ut illum justificet: quod accommodata Lazari suscitati historia mire illustrat. Ubi postquam ostendit Novatianos Judaeorum de interficiendo Lazaro cogitantium successores esse, perfectam cujuscumque peccati justificationem per odorem unguenti a Maria in Christi pedes effusi expressam docet: rursusque eosdem haereticos in Judae, cum caeteri gauderent, invidentis persona signatos monstrat.

52.

Fleamus igitur ad tempus, ut exsultemus in aeternum. Timeamus Dominum, praeveniamus eum confitendo peccata nostra, corrigamus lapsus nostros, emendemus errorem; ne et de nobis dicatur: Heu me, anima mea! quia periit reverens a terra, et qui corrigat in hominibus non est (Mich. VII, 2).

53. Quid vereris apud bonum dominum tuas iniquitates fateri? Dic, inquit, iniquitatis tuas, ut justificeris (Esai. XLIII, 26). Adhuc reo culpae justificationis praemia proponuntur; ille enim justificatur, qui proprium crimen sponte agnoverit: denique justus in exordio sermonis accusator est sui (Prov. XVIII, 17). Novit omnia Dominus, sed exspectat vocem tuam; non ut puniat, sed ut ignoscat: non vult ut insultet tibi diabolus, et celantem peccata tua arguat. Praeveni accusatorem tuum: si te ipse accusaveris, accusatorem nullum timebis: si te detuleris ipse, etsi mortuus fueris, revivisces. 54. Veniet ad monumentum tuum Christus, et si viderit flere pro te Martham boni feminam ministerii, flere Mariam quae attente audiebat verbum Dei, sicut sancta Ecclesia quae optimam partem sibi elegit;

movebitur misericordia, cum viderit in tuo obitu lacrymas plurimorum, et dicet: Ubi posuistis eum (Joan. XI, 34)? hoc est, in quo reorum statu est, in quo poenitentium ordine. Videam quem fletis; ut lacrymis suis ipse me moveat. Videam si jam peccato ei cujus venia poscitur, defunctus est. 55. Dicet ei plebs: Veni, et vide (Ibid.). Quid est, veni? Hoc est, veniat peccatorum remissio, veniat defunctorum vita, mortuorum resurrectio, veniat et in hunc peccatorem regnum tuum. 56. Veniet, et levari lapidem jubebit, quem cervicibus peccatoris lapsus imposuit. Potuit removere lapidem imperio sermonis; jubenti enim Christo etiam insensibilis solet natura obedire: poterat tacita vi operationis occultae transferre saxum sepulcri in cujus passione remotis

429 subito lapidibus, plurima defunctorum sepulcra patuerunt: sed hominibus jussit ut removerent lapidem; in veritate quidem, ut increduli crederent quod videbant, et aspicerent resurgentem mortuum: in typo autem, quod nobis donaret ut levaremus delictorum onera, moles quasdam reorum. Nostrum est onera removere; illius est resuscitare, illius educere de sepulcris exutos vinculis. 57. Videns itaque grave onus peccatoris, illacrymat Dominus Jesus; solam enim flere non patitur Ecclesiam. Compatitur dilectae suae, et dicit defuncto: Veni foras (Joan. XI, 43), hoc est: Qui jaces in tenebris conscientiae, et delictorum tuorum sordibus, quodam reorum carcere, exi foras, delictum proprium prode, ut justificeris: Ore enim confessio fit ad salutem (Rom. X, 10). 58. Si confessus fueris, a Christo vocatus, claustra rumpentur, et omnia solventur vincula, etiam si corruptelae corporeae fetor gravis sit. Quatriduum enim habebat ille, cujus fetebat in tumulo caro: cujus autem caro non vidit corruptionem, triduo fuit in sepulcro; carnis enim vitia nescivit, quae ex quatuor constat elementorum substantiis. Quantuslibet ergo (De Poenit., dist. I, cap. Quantuslibet) mortui fetor sit, aboletur omnis, ubi sacrum redoleverit unguentum: et resurgit defunctus, et solvi jubentur ejus vincula, qui adhuc in peccato est: tollitur

velamen de facie ejus, quod veritatem gratiae quam acceperat, obumbrabat. Sed quia venia donatus est, revelare faciem, aperire vultum jubetur: non habet enim quod erubescat, cui peccatum remissum est. 59. In tanta vero Domini gratia, tantoque divini muneris miraculo, cum oporteret universos laetari, commovebantur impii, et adversus Christum concilium congregabant: Lazarum quoque interficere volebant (Joan. XI, 47). Nonne merito eorum successores vos fore cognoscitis, quorum duritiae haeredes estis (Joan. XII, 10)? Nam et vos indignamini, et contra Ecclesiam congregatis concilium; quia videtis mortuos in Ecclesia reviviscere, et peccatorum indulta venia resuscitari. Itaque quod in vobis est, per invidiam rursus vultis interficere suscitatos. 60. Sed Jesus non revocat beneficia, immo cumulo liberalitatis amplificat: revisit sollicite resuscitatum, et celebratae resurrectionis gratia laetus ad coenam venit, quam ei sua praeparavit Ecclesia, in qua ille qui fuerat mortuus, unus inter discumbentes cum Christo invenitur. 61. Tunc mirantur omnes qui vident puro utique obtutu mentis, qui invidere non norunt; tales enim Ecclesia filios habet. Mirantur, ut dixi quomodo ille qui jacebat in tumulo heri et nudiustertius (Ibid., 3), unus sit de discumbentibus cum Domino Jesu. 62. Ipsa Maria mittit unguentum in pedes Domini Jesu. Ideo forte in pedes, quia unus de infimis ereptus est morti; omnes enim corpus Christi sumus, sed alii forte superiora membra sunt (I Cor. X, 17). Os erat Christi Apostolus, qui dicebat: Experimentum quaeritis ejus, qui in me loquitur Christus (II Cor. XIII, 3).

430 Os ejus prophetae, per quos loquebatur futura: utinam et ego pes ejus esse merear, et mittat in me Maria unguentum suum pretiosum, et ungat, et peccatum extergat! 63. [Alias cap. VIII.] Quod igitur de Lazaro legimus, in unoquoque debemus converso peccatore credere: qui licet fetorem habeat, tamen fidei pretioso emundatur unguento: tantum enim gratiae fides habet, ut ubi ante diem fetebat mortuus, illic bono odore tota

repleatur domus. 64. Fetebat Corinthia domus, quando scriptum est de ea: Auditur inter vos fornicatio, et talis fornicatio, qualis nec inter gentes (I Cor. V, 1). Fetor erat, quia modicum fermentum totam massam corruperat. Coepit bene olere, cum dicitur: Si cui quid donastis, et ego. Nam et ego quod donavi, propter vos in persona Christi (II Cor. II, 10). Itaque, liberato peccatore, factum est in ea gaudium magnum, et redoluit domus tota suavitate gratiae. Unde bene conscius Apostolus quod omnes Apostolicae remissionis perfudisset unguento, ait: Christi bonus odor sumus Deo in his, qui salvi fiunt (Ibid., 15). 65. Hujus igitur effusione unguenti laetantur omnes, solus Judas contradicit (Joan. XII, 4). Ergo et nunc qui praevaricator est, contradicit; reprehendit, qui proditor: sed a Christo ipse reprehenditur, qui Dominicae remedium mortis ignorat, et tantae mysterium sepulturae non intelligit. Ideo enim et passus et mortuus est Dominus, ut nos redimeret a morte. Hoc excellentissimum indicat pretium suae mortis, quo peccator absolvitur, et in novam assumitur gratiam; ut veniant et mirentur omnes quomodo cum Christo recumbat, et laudantes Deum, dicant: Manducemus et epulemur; quia hic mortuus erat, et revixit: perierat, et inventus est (Luc. XV, 24). Si quis autem infidelis objecerit, quare cum publicanis et peccatoribus manducat; respondetur ei: Non opus est sanis medicus, sed his qui male habent (Matth. IX, 12).

CAPUT VIII.

AD CONFESSIONEM ET lacrymas urgere pergens ad se convertit orationem. Et ubi significavit desiderium emundandorum Domini pedum instar evangelicae mulieris, in cujus actione traditam poenitentiae formam dicit; si quis tamen hujus exemplaris perfectionem non assequatur, nihilominus Christum ad sepulcrum illius accessurum. Eum ut se in suo invisat ac resuscitet demississimo animo rogat; maxime vero ut det condolere peccatoribus, quorum delicta suis ipsius leviora esse persuasum habet. Non ergo insultandum iis pro quibus mortuus est Christus, a quo inter stipulas quas non negligit, se quoque colligi desiderat.

66. Ostende igitur medico vulnus tuum, ut sanari possis. Etsi non monstraveris, novit: sed a te expetit audire vocem tuam. Absterge lacrymis cicatrices tuas. Sic peccatum mulier illa in Evangelio (Matth. IX, 22), fetoremque sui erroris abstersit, sic culpam diluit; cum Jesu pedes lacrymis lavat. 67. Utinam mihi quoque pedum tuorum lutum,

431 Jesu, reserves, quos dum in me deambulas, inquinasti? Utinam sordes vestigiorum tuorum detergendas mihi offeras, quas ego actu meo tuis affixi gressibus! Sed unde mihi aqua viva, qua pedes tuos possim lavare? Si aquam non habeo, habeo lacrymas, quibus dum pedes tuos lavo, utinam me ipsum diluam! Unde mihi, ut de me dicas: Dimissa sunt ejus peccata multa, quoniam dilexit multum (Luc. VII, 47)? Plus debuisse me fateor, et plus dimissum mihi qui de forensium strepitu jurgiorum, et a publicae terrore administrationis ad sacerdotium vocatus sum; et ideo vereor ne ingratus inveniar, si minus diligam, cui plus dimissum est (Ibid., 44). 68. Sed non omnes mulierem istam aequare possunt, quae etiam Simoni, qui prandium

Domino dabat, merito praelata est: quae omnibus qui volunt veniam promereri, magisterium praestitit osculando pedes Christi, lacrymis lavando, tergendo crinibus, ungendo unguento. 69. In osculo insigne charitatis est; et ideo dicit Dominus Jesus: Osculetur me ab osculo oris sui (Cant. I, 1). Capilli quid significant, nisi ut noveris, inclinata omni infularum dignitate saecularium, obsecrandam indulgentiam; ut ad terram flens te ipse prosternas, ut humi jacens moveas misericordiam? In unguento quoque bonae conversionis exprimitur odor. Rex nempe erat David, et dicebat: Lavabo per singulas noctes lectum meum, lacrymis meis stratum meum rigabo (Psal. VI, 7). Et ideo tantam gratiam meruit, ut ex ejus familia virgo eligeretur, quae nobis partu proprio Christum ederet. Ideo et ista in Evangelio praedicatur mulier. 70. Tamen si hanc aequare non possumus, scit Dominus Jesus et infirmis subvenire, ubi non est quae possit parare convivium, quae deferre unguentum (Joan. XII, 7), quae fontem aquae vivae secum portare. Venit ipse ad sepulcrum. 71. Utinam ergo ad hoc monumentum meum digneris accedere (Joan. XI, 34), Domine Jesu, tuis me lacrymis laves; quoniam durioribus oculis non habeo tantas lacrymas, ut possim mea lavare delicta! Si illacrymaveris pro me, salvus ero: si dignus fuero lacrymis tuis, fetorem abstergo delictorum omnium: si fuero dignus ut paulisper illacrymes, vocabis me de monumento hujus corporis, et dices: Exi foras (Ibid., 43), ut non intra corporis hujus angustias inclusae teneantur cogitationes meae: sed egrediantur ad Christum, in lumine versentur; ut non cogitem opera tenebrarum,

432 sed opera lucis. Qui enim peccatum cogitat, intra suam conscientiam studet se ipse includere. 72. Voca ergo foras servum tuum. Quamvis ligatus vinculis peccatorum meorum, vinctos habeam pedes, innexas manus, et cogitationibus et operibus mortuis jam sepultus; te vocante, liber egrediar, et inveniar unus de discumbentibus in convivio tuo, et domus tua pretioso replebitur unguento; siquidem redimere dignatus es, custodieris. Dicetur

enim: Ecce ille non in Ecclesiae nutritus sinu, non edomitus a puero, sed raptus a tribunalibus, abductus de vanitatibus saeculi hujus, a praeconis voce ad psalmistae assuefactus canticum, in sacerdotio manet non virtute sua, sed Christi gratia, et inter convivas mensae coelestis recumbit. 73. Serva, Domine, munus tuum, custodi donum quod contulisti etiam refugienti. Ego enim sciebam quod non eram dignus vocari episcopus; quoniam dederam me saeculo huic: sed gratia tua sum quod sum. Et sum quidem minimus omnium episcoporum et infimus merito; tamen quia et ego laborem aliquem pro sancta Ecclesia tua suscepi, hunc fructum tuere; ne quem perditum vocasti ad sacerdotium, eum sacerdotem perire patiaris. Ac primum da ut condolere norim peccantibus affectu intimo; haec enim summa virtus, quia scriptum est: Et non gaudebis super filios Juda in die perditionis eorum, et ne magna loquaris in die tribulationis eorum (Abdi., 12): sed quotiescumque peccatum alicujus lapsi exponitur, compatiar: nec superbe increpem, sed lugeam et defleam; ut dum alium fleo, me ipsum defleam dicens: Justificata est magis Thamar, quam ego (Gen. XXXVIII, 26). 74. Fortasse adolescentula lapsa sit, occasionibus quae delictorum fomites sunt, decepta ac praecipitata sit; peccamus et seniores. Repugnat in nobis lex hujus carnis, legi mentis nostrae, et captivos nos trahit in peccatum, ut faciamus quod nolumus (Rom. VII, 23). Illi de aetate suppetit excusatio, mihi jam nulla; illa enim debet discere nos docere. Ergo justificata est magis Thamar, quam ego (I Tim. VI, 10). 75. Incusamus alicujus avaritiam, recordemur si nihil ipsi avare fecimus: et si fecimus, quoniam radix est malorum avaritia, et tamquam sub terra occulte in nostro serpit corpore, dicamus singuli: Justificata est magis Thamar, quam ego.

433 76. Si commoti fuerimus in quemquam graviter, leviorem causam laicus habet quam episcopus, eo quod commotus egerit aliquid; retractemus nobiscum, et dicamus: Justificatus est magis iste, qui commotionis arguitur, quam ego. Haec enim si dicamus, ipsi nobis cavemus; ne dicat nobis

Dominus Jesus, aut quisquam de discipulis ejus: Festucam in oculo fratris tui vides; trabem autem quae in oculo tuo est, non vides. Hypocrita, ejice primum trabem de oculo tuo, et tunc videbis ejicere festucam de oculo fratris tui (Matth. VII, 4, 5). 77. Non ergo crubescamus dicere graviorem nostram culpam esse, quam ejus quem arguendum putamus; quia dixit hoc Judas qui arguebat Thamar; et recordatus suam ipse culpam, ait: Justificata est magis Thamar, quam ego (Gen. XXXVIII, 26). In quo et altitudo mysterii est, et morale praeceptum: et ideo culpae ejus deputatum non est; quia ipse se accusavit prius, quam ab aliis accusaretur. 78. Non ergo gaudeamus super alicujus peccato, sed magis lugeamus; quia scriptum est: Noli supergaudere mihi, inimica mea; quia cecidi: sed resurgam; quoniam si sedero in tenebris, Dominus illuminabit me. Iram Domini sustinebo, quia peccavi ei; donec justificet causam meam, et faciat judicium meum, et educat me ad lumen, et videbo justitiam ejus: et videbit inimica mea, et cooperietur confusione, quae dicit ad me: Ubi est Dominus Deus tuus? Oculi mei videbunt eam, et erit in conculcationem sicut tutum in via (Mich. VII, 8 et seq.). Nec immerito, quoniam qui lapsu alieno gaudet, diaboli gaudet victoria. Et ideo doleamus magis cum audimus perisse hominem, pro quo Christus mortuus est, qui nec in messe stipulam negligit. 79. Atque utinam hanc stipulam in messe, hoc est, inanem avenam fructus mei non abjiciat, sed colligat, sicut ait quidam: Heu me, quia factus sum sicut qui colligit stipulam in messe, et racemum in vindemia (Mich. VII, 1)! ut vel primitiva manducet in me gratiae suae, etsi posteriora non approbet.

CAPUT IX.

QUO PACTO FIDES ad poenitentiam necessaria? Quot etiam solvendi subsidia cuique suppetant? Orationem, fletus ac jejunia pecuniis potiora esse. Quod ubi exemplis confirmavit, additoque ad veniam liberalitatem multum valere, sed fidei cunjunctam, vitia ejusdem liberalitatis nonnulla refert. His alios quosdam poenitentiae jungit defectus, eorum nempe vel qui statim reconciliari expetunt de solito luxu nihil remittentes, vel qui poenitentiam in sola sacramentorum abstinentia locant, vel demum qui spe poenitentiae effunduntur in libidines.

80. Ergo et agendam poenitentiam, et tribuendam veniam credere nos convenit;

434 ut veniam tamen tamquam ex fide speremus, non tamquam ex debito; aliud est enim mereri, aliud praesumere. Tamquam ex syngrapho fides impetrat: praesumptio autem arroganti est propior, quam roganti. Prius solve quod debitum est; ut quod speraveris, impetrare merearis. Solve boni affectum debitoris, ut versuram non facias, sed fidei tuae censu contracti nominis fenus evacues. 81. Plura solvendi habet subsidia, qui Deo quam is qui homini debet. Homo pecuniam pro pecunia reposcit, quae non semper debitori praesto est: Deus affectum exigit, qui in tua potestate est. Nemo pauper est qui Deo debet, nisi qui se ipsum pauperem fecerit. Et si non habet quae vendat, habet quae solvat. Oratio, lacrymae, jejunia, debitoris boni census est, multoque uberior, quam si quis ex pretiis fundorum pecuniam sine fide deferat. 82. Denique pauper erat Ananias, cum vendito agro, pecuniam deferret ad apostolos; unde nec solvere se potuit, sed implicavit (Act. V, 1, 2). Dives illa vidua quae duo aera minuta in

gazophylacium misit, de qua dictum est: Haec vidua paupercula plus omnibus misit (Luc. XXI, 2). Non enim pecuniam Deus, sed fidem quaerit. 83. [Alias cap. IX.] Neque ego abnuo liberalitatibus in pauperes factis posse minui peccatum; sed si fides commendet expensas. Quid enim prodest collatio patrimonii sine gratia charitatis? 84. Sunt qui ad jactantiam solam decorem largitatis affectent; ut eo se probatos vulgo videri velint, quod sibi nihil reliquerint: sed dum praesentis saeculi mercedem requirunt, non recondunt futuri; et quia hic perceperunt mercedem suam, illic sperare non possunt. 85. Sunt qui opes suas tumultuario mentis impulsu, non judicio perpetuo, ubi Ecclesiae contulerunt, postea revocandas putarunt: quibus nec prima merces rata est, nec secunda; quia nec prima judicium habuit, et secunda habuit sacrilegium (17, q. 4, c. Sunt qui opes). 86. Sunt quos poenituerit opes suas divisisse pauperibus: sed eos qui poenitentiam agunt, hoc solum poenitere non debet, ne ipsius poenitentiae agant poenitentiam. Nam plerique futuri supplicii metu peccatorum suorum conscii, poenitentiam petunt, et cum acceperint, publicae supplicationis revocantur pudore. Hi videntur malorum petiisse poenitentiam agere bonorum. 87. Nonnulli ideo poscunt poenitentiam, ut statim sibi reddi communionem velint. Hi non tam se solvere cupiunt, quam sacerdotem ligare; suam enim conscientiam culpa non exuunt, et sacerdotis induunt, cui praeceptum est: Nolite sanctum dare canibus, neque miseritis margaritas

435 vestras ante porcos; hoc est, immundis impuritatibus sacrae communionis non impertienda consortia. 88. Itaque videas eos mutata veste incedere, quos lugere et gemere oportebat; quia vestem illam ablutionis et gratiae sordidarunt: feminas autem margaritis onerare aures, curvare cervices, quas bene Christo, non auro, inclinarent: quae se ipsas flere debebant, quod margaritam quae de coelo est, perdiderunt. 89. Sunt etiam qui arbitrentur hoc esse poenitentiam, si abstineant a sacramentis coelestibus. Hi saeviores in se judices sunt, qui poenam praescribunt sibi,

declinant remedium, quos vel poenam suam conveniebat dolere; quia coelesti fraudarentur gratia (De Poenit., dist. I, cap. Sunt qui arbitrentur). 90. Alii proposita spe agendae poenitentiae, licentiam sibi delinquendi propagatam putant; cum poenitentia remedium peccati sit, non peccandi incentivum. Vulneri enim medicamentum necessarium est, non vulnus medicamento; quia propter vulnus medicamentum quaeritur, non propter medicamentum vulnus desideratur. Infirma deinde spes quae committitur tempori; cum omne tempus incertum sit, omni spes tempori non sit superstes.

CAPUT X.

UT PUDOR QUO revocantur a publica poenitentia fontes, depellatur, profanorum agendi ratione proposita, utilitatem precum ab omni Ecclesia simul emissarum, ac lugentium sanctorum exempla promit. Tum reprehensis qui eamdem poenitentiam ducunt saepius iterandam, quam difficulter bene agatur, quove modo exsequenda sit, explicat.

91. An quisquam ferat ut erubescas Deum rogare, qui non erubescis rogare hominem? et pudeat te Deo supplicare, quem non lates; cum te non pudeat peccata tua homini, quem lateas, confiteri? An testes precationis et conscios refugis, cum si homini satisfaciendum sit, multos necesse est ambias, obsecres, ut dignentur intervenire; ad genua te ipse prosternas, osculeris vestigia, filios offeras culpae adhuc ignaros, paternae etiam veniae precatores?

436 Hoc ergo in Ecclesiae facere fastidis, ut Deo supplices, ut patrocinium tibi ad obsecrandum sanctae plebis requiras; ubi nihil est quod pudori esse debeat, nisi non fateri, cum omnes simus peccatores: ubi ille laudabilior, qui humilior; ille justior, qui sibi abjectior. 92. Fleat pro te (De Poenit., dist. I, cap. Fleat) mater Ecclesia, et culpam tuam lacrymis lavet, videat te Christus moerentem, ut dicat: Beati tristes, quia gaudebitis (Luc. VI, 21). Amat ut pro uno multi rogent. Denique in Evangelio motus viduae lacrymis, quia plurimi pro ea flebant, filium ejus resuscitavit (Luc. VII, 13). Ideo citius exaudivit Petrum, ut Dorcas resurgeret (Act. IX, 36); quia pauperes mortem mulieris ingemiscebant. Ideo ipsi Petro statim remisit, quia amarissime flevit. Et tu si amarissime fleas, Christus ad te respiciet, culpa discedet (Luc. XXII, 62). Usus enim doloris ablegat luxuriam

criminis, erroris delicias. Ita dum dolemus admissa, admittenda excludimus, et fit quaedam de condemnatione culpae disciplina innocentiae. 93. Nihil ergo te revocet a poenitentia, haec tibi communis cum sanctis est: utinamque imitanda talis, qualis sanctorum deploratio. David manducabat sicut panem cinerem, et potum suum cum lacrymis temperabat (Psal. CI, 10); ideo nunc amplius gaudet, quia amplius flevit: Per exitus aquarum descenderunt, inquit, oculi mei (Psal. CXVIII, 136). 94. Joannes multum ploravit, et revelata sibi dicit Christi mysteria (Apoc. V, 4). At vero illa mulier, quae cum esset in peccatis, et deberet flere, gaudebat, et veste purpurea atque coccinea operiebatur, et auro se multo et pretiosis lapidibus ornabat, aeterni fletus nunc luget aerumnam (Apoc. XVII, 4). 95. Merito reprehenduntur (De Poenit., dist. 3, c. Reperiuntur) qui saepius agendam poenitentiam putant; quia luxuriantur in Christo. Nam si vere agerent poenitentiam, iterandam postea non putarent; quia sicut unum baptisma, ita una poenitentia, quae tamen publice agitur; nam quotidiani nos debet poenitere peccati: sed haec delictorum leviorum, illa graviorum. 96. Facilius autem (De Poenit., dist. I, c. Sunt qui, § Facilius) inveni qui innocentiam servaverint, quam qui congrue egerint poenitentiam. An quisquam illam poenitentiam putat, ubi acquirendae ambitio dignitatis, ubi vini

437 effusio, ubi ipsius copulae conjugalis usus? Renuntiandum saeculo est: somno ipsi minus indulgendum, quam natura postulat; interpellandus est gemitibus, interrumpendus est suspiriis, sequestrandus orationibus: vivendum ita, ut vitali huic moriamur usui, se ipsum sibi homo abneget, et totus mutetur: sicut quemdam adolescentem fabulae ferunt propter amores meretricios peregre profectum, et abolito amore regressum, postea veteri occurrisse dilectae, quae ubi se non interpellavit, mirata putaverit non recognitam, rursus occurrens dixerit: Ego sum; responderit ille: Sed ego non sum ego. 97. Unde bene Dominus ait: Qui vult post me venire, abneget semetipsum sibi, et tollat crucem suam, et sequatur me (Matth. XVI, 24).

Etenim qui mortui et sepulti in Christo sunt, non debent iterum velut viventes de hoc mundo decernere. Ne tetigeritis, inquit, nec attaminaveritis quae sunt omnia ad corruptelam ipso usu (Coloss. II, 20), eo quod ipse hujus vitae usus corruptela sit integritatis.

CAPUT XI.

UBI PRAEMISIT QUOMINUS ad mortem usque baptismus rejiciatur, in causa esse poenitentiam; eos a quibus ipsa procrastinatur, allatis Scripturae testimoniis urget. Subjungit tamen tum agendam illam non esse, cum adhuc fervent cupiditates, at quoad eaedem resederint, exspectandum.

98. Bona ergo poenitentia, quae si non esset, omnes ad senectutem differrent ablutionis gratiam. Quibus satis responsi est quia melius est ut habeam quod sarciam, quam non habeam quod vestiar: sed sicut semel assuta redintegrantur, ita frequenter suta solvuntur. 99. Eos autem qui poenitentiam differunt, satis ipse Dominus admonuit dicens: Poenitentiam agite; appropinquavit enim regnum coelorum (Matth. IV, 17). Nescimus ergo qua hora fur venerit, nescimus an proxima nocte a nobis nostra reposcatur anima. Adam (De Poenit., dist. I, c. Adam) post culpam statim de paradiso Deus ejecit, non distulit: sed statim separavit a deliciis, ut ageret poenitentiam: statim tunicam vestivit pelliceam, non sericam (Gen. III, 21). 100. Quid enim est quod differas? An ut plura peccata committas? Ergo quia Deus

438 bonus est, ideo tu malus, et divitias bonitatis ejus et patientiae contemnis (Rom. II, 4)? Sed bonitas Domini magis ad poenitentiam te debet adducere. Ideo ad omnes sanctus David dicit: Venite adoremus, et procidamus ante eum, et ploremus ante Dominum nostrum, qui fecit nos (Psal. XCIV, 6). De peccatore autem sine poenitentia mortuo, quia nihil aliud superest nisi graviter moerere, nisi flere, habes plorantem ipsum et dicentem: Filius meus Abessalon, filius meus Abessalon (II Reg. XVIII, 33). Qui enim penitus est mortuus, sine ulla exceptione defletur. 101. De his

autem qui exsules atque peregrini limitum paternorum, quos lex Moysi sancta praescripsit, mundanis implicabuntur erroribus, audis canentem: Super flumina Babylonis illic sedimus et flevimus, dum recordaremur Sion (Psal. CXXXVI, 1). Inducit enim lapsorum gemitus, in ipso temporum praesentium et rerum labentium adhuc positos statu debere resipiscere; eorum videlicet exemplo, qui propter peccati pretium deducti erant in captivitatis aerumnam. 102. Nihil est autem (De Poenit., dist. I, c. Sunt qui, § Nihil est) quod tam summo dolori sit, quam ut unusquisque positus sub captivitate peccati, recordetur unde lapsus sit, atque unde deciderit; eo quod ad corporea atque terrena ab illa speciosa ac pulchra divinae cognitionis intentione deflexerit. 103. Sic habes Adam abscondentem se, ubi Deum cognovit esse praesentem, et quaesitum latere voluisse, et vocatum a Domino ea voce quae latentis morderet affectum, hoc est: Adam, ubi es (Gen. III, 9)? Hoc est, cur te abscondis? cur lates? cur fugis eum, quem videre desiderabas? Ita gravis culpa est conscientiae, ut sine judice ipsa se puniat, et velare se cupiat; et tamen apud Deum nuda sit. 104. Et ideo nemo in peccato positus arrogare sibi debet auctoritatem aut usurpationem sacramentorum (De Poenit., dist. I, c. Sunt qui, § Nemo); quia scriptum est: Peccasti, quiesce (Gen. IV, 10). Quod in praesenti psalmo David dicit: In salicibus (De Poenit., dist. 3, c. In salicibus), inquit, in medio ejus suspendimus organa nostra; et infra: Quomodo cantabimus canticum Domini in terra aliena (Psal. CXXXVI, 1, 2)? Si enim caro menti repugnat, nec subdita est animi gubernaculo, et mentis imperio, aliena est terra quae non domatur exercitio cultoris, et ideo non potest fructus charitatis, patientiae, ac pacis afferre. Melius

439 est ergo tunc quiescere, cum exercere non queas opera poenitentiae; ne in ipsa poenitentia fiat, quod postea indigeat poenitentia. Quae si semel fuerit usurpata, nec jure celebrata, nec prioris fructum obtinet, et auferet usum posterioris (De Poenit., dist. III, c. Si quis, § Poenitentia). 105. Sane

et cum caro repugnat, mens ad Deum debet esse intenta: et si opera non sequuntur, fides non deserat: et si impugnant vel carnis illecebrae, vel potestates adversariae, maneat mens Deo dedita (Rom. VII, 23). Tunc enim maxime urgemur, cum caro cedit: et sunt qui vehementer incumbant miserae animae, quaerentes omne auferre praesidium. Unde illud est: Exinanite, exinanite usque ad fundamentum in ea (Psal. CXXXVI, 7). 106. Quam miseratus David ait: Filia Babylonis misera (Ibid., 8). Misera utique, quia Babylonis filia est, quae Dei filia esse desivit. Cui tamen

440 medicum invitat, dicens: Beatus qui tenebit, et allidet parvulos tuos ad petram (Ibid., 9), hoc est, qui infirmas et lubricas cogitationes elidat ad Christum, qui omnes irrationabiles motus sui reverentia et disceptatione comminuat; ut si adulterimo quis amore raptatur, excludat ignem, copulamque meretricis, et se studio suo abdicet, ut Christum acquirat. 107. Didicimus ergo (De Poenit., dist. 1, c. Sunt qui, § Didicimus) et agendam poenitentiam, et eo agendam tempore quo culpae defervescat luxuria: et in captivitate peccati positos, reverentiores nos, non usurpatores esse debere. Nam si Moysi propius accedere gestienti, ut cognitionem mysterii coelestis hauriret, dicitur: Solve calceamentum pedum tuorum (Exod. III, 5); quanto magis nos animae nostrae pedes exuere vinculis corporalibus, et gressus omnes mundi istius nexu debemus absolvere?

De virginibus

CONTENTS

LIBER PRIMUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.
CAPUT VII.
CAPUT VIII.
CAPUT IX.
CAPUT X.
CAPUT XI.

LIBER II

CAPUT I.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.

LIBER III

CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.

CAPUT VI.
CAPUT VII.

LIBER PRIMUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

AMBROSIUS AB UNOQUOQUE verborum talentorumque suorum reddendam Deo rationem intelligens, ad scribendum mentem appellit; tum recensitis aliquot divinae misericordiae exemplis, provocat sese ad bene sperandum: sed mox illi officio imparem se esse confessus, ut secum tamquam cum evangelica ficu agatur, optat; quo tamen os censoribus opprimat suis, sperare se testatur verba sibi non defutura, qui loquatur Christum.

1. Si, iuxta coelestis sententiam veritatis (Matth. XII, 36) , verbi totius, quodcumque otiosum fuerimus locuti, habemus praestare rationem: vel si unusquisque servus credita sibi talenta gratiae spiritalis, quae nummulariis dividenda forent, ut crescentibus multiplicarentur usuris, intra terram suam vel quasi timidus fenerator, vel quasi avarus possessor absconderit (Matth. XXV, 14 et seq.) , non mediocrem, domino revertente, offensam incidet; iure nobis verendum est, quibus licet ingenium tenue, necessitas tamen maxima eloquia Dei credita populi fenerare mentibus, ne vocis quoque nostrae poscatur usura: praesertim cum studium a nobis Dominus, non profectum requirat. Unde scribendi aliquid sententia fuit. Maiore siquidem pudoris periculo auditur vox nostra quam legitur; liber enim non erubescit.

2. Et quidem ingenio diffisus, sed divinae misericordiae provocatus exemplis, sermonem meditari audeo; nam, volente Deo, etiam asina locuta est (Num. XXII, 28) . Quod si mihi sub istius saeculi oneribus constituto assistat angelus, ego quoque muta diu ora laxabo; potest enim solvere impedimenta imperitiae, qui in illa asina solvit naturae. In arca veteris Testamenti virga floruit sacerdotis (Num. XVII, 8): facile Deo ut in sancta

Ecclesia de nostris quoque nodis flos germinet. Cur autem desperandum quod Dominus loquatur in hominibus, qui est locutus in sentibus (Exod. III, 4 et seq.) ? Deus nec rubum est dedignatus. Atque utinam meas quoque illuminet spinas! Erunt fortassis qui etiam in nostris sentibus aliquem mirentur lucere fulgorem, erunt quos spina nostra non urat; erunt quibus de rubo audita vox nostra solvat de pedibus calceamentum, ut impedimentis corporalibus exuatur mentis incessus.

3. Sed haec sanctorum merita virorum. Utinam me sub illa infructuosa (Ioan. I, 48) adhuc ficu iacentem ex aliqua Iesus parte respiceret! ferret quoque post triennium fructus et nostra ficus (Luc. XIII, 6 et seq.) . Sed unde tantum peccatoribus spei? Utinam saltem ille Evangelicus Dominicae cultor vineae ficum nostram fortasse iam iussus excidere, remittat illam et hoc anno, usque dum fodiat, et mittat cophinum stercoris; ne forte de terra suscitet inopem, et de stercore erigat pauperem! Beati qui sub vite et olea equos suos alligant (Gen. XLIX, 11) , laborum cursus suorum luci et laetitiae consecrantes: me ficus adhuc, id est, illecebrosa deliciarum obumbrat prurigo mundi, humilis ad altitudinem, fragilis ad laborem, mollis ad usum, sterilis ad fructum.

4. Ac fortasse miretur aliquis cur scribere audeo, qui loqui nequeo. Et tamen si repetamus quae legimus in Evangelicis Scripturis (Luc. I, 63, 64) et sacerdotalibus factis, ac nobis sanctus Zacharias propheta documento sit, inveniet esse quod vox non explicet, et stylus signet. Quod si nomen Ioannis reddidit patri vocem, ego quoque desperare non debeo quod vocem licet mutus accipiam, si loquar Christum: cuius quidem generationem iuxta propheticum dictum quis enarrabit (Esai. LIII, 8) ? Et ideo quasi servus, Domini familiam praedicabo; immaculatus enim Dominus immaculatam sibi familiam etiam in hoc pleno colluvionum fragilitatis humanae corpore consecravit.

CAPUT II.

DOCET LIBRI SUI auspicato proferri exordium, cum natalis dies esset virginis, beatae Agnetis videlicet: quam a nomine, a pudore, a martyrio elegantissime commendat: sed potissimum ab aetate; quippe quae annos duodecim nata, terrores, promissa, cruciatus, mortem denique ipsam virili prorsus constantia devicerit.

5. Et bene procedit, ut quoniam hodie natalis est virginis, de virginibus sit loquendum, et a praedicatione liber sumat exordium. Natalis est virginis, integritatem sequamur. Natalis est martyris, hostias immolemus. Natalis est sanctae Agnes, mirentur viri, non desperent parvuli; stupeant nuptae, imitentur innuptae. Sed quid dignum de ea loqui possumus, cuius ne nomen quidem vacuum luce laudis fuit? Devotio supra aetatem, virtus supra naturam; ut mihi videatur non hominis habuisse nomen, sed oraculum martyris, quo indicavit quid esset futura.

6. Habeo tamen unde mihi subsidium comparetur. Nomen virginis titulus est pudoris. Appellabo martyrem, praedicabo virginem. Satis prolixa laudatio est, quae non quaeritur, sed tenetur. Facessant igitur ingenia, eloquentia conticescat, vox una praeconium est. Hanc senes, hanc iuvenes, hanc pueri canant. Nemo est laudabilior, quam qui ab hominibus laudari potest. Quot homines, tot praecones, qui martyrem praedicant, dum loquuntur.

7. Haec duodecim annorum martyrium fecisse traditur. Quo detestabilior crudelitas, quae nec minusculae pepercit aetati: immo magna vis fidei, quae etiam ab illa testimonium invenit aetate. Fuitne in illo corpusculo vulneri locus? Et quae non habuit quo ferrum reciperet, habuit quo ferrum vinceret.

At istius aetatis puellae torvos etiam vultus parentum ferre non possunt, et acu districta solent puncta flere, quasi vulnera. Haec inter cruentas carnificum impavida manus, haec stridentium gravibus immobilis tractibus catenarum, nunc furentis mucroni militis totum offerre corpus, mori adhuc nescia, sed parata: vel si ad aras invita raperetur, tendere Christo inter ignes manus, atque in ipsis sacrilegis focis tropaeum Domini signare victoris: nunc ferratis colla manusque ambas inserere nexibus: sed nullus tam tenuia membra poterat nexus includere.

8. Novum martyrii genus? Nondum idonea poenae, et iam matura victoriae: certare difficilis, facilis coronari: magisterium virtutis implevit, quae praeiudicium vehebat aetatis. Non sic ad thalamum nupta properaret, ut ad supplicii locum laeta successu, gradu festina virgo processit, non intorto crine caput compta, sed Christo: non flosculis redimita, sed moribus. Flere omnes, ipsa sine fletu. Mirari plerique quod tam facile vitae suae prodiga, quam nondum hauserat, iam quasi perfuncta donaret. Stupere universi, quod iam divinitatis testis existeret, quae adhuc, arbitra sui per aetatem esse non posset. Effecit denique ut ei de Deo crederetur, cui de homine adhuc non crederetur. Quia quod ultra naturam est, de auctore naturae est.

9. Quanto terrore egit carnifex ut timeretur, quantis blanditiis ut suaderet! quantorum vota ut sibi ad nuptias perveniret! At illa: Et haec Sponsi iniuria est exspectare placiturum. Qui me sibi prior elegit, accipiet. Quid, percussor, moraris? Pereat corpus quod amari potest oculis quibus nolo. Stetit, oravit, cervicem inflexit. Cerneres trepidare carnificem, quasi ipse addictus fuisset: tremere percussoris dextram, pallere ora alieno timentis periculo, cum puella non timeret suo. Habetis igitur in una hostia duplex martyrium, pudoris et religionis. Et virgo permansit, et martyrium obtinuit.

CAPUT III.

ARIIS E CAPITIBUS virginitatis laudes petuntur, sed hinc imprimis quod e coelo Verbum elicere in terram ipsa meruerit; unde postea eius studium quod sub antiquo foedere in paucis floruerat, propagatum est in innumeris.

10. Invitat nunc integritatis amor, et tu, soror sancta, vel mutis tacita moribus, ut aliquid de virginitate dicamus; ne veluti transitu quodam perstricta videatur, quae principalis est virtus. Non enim ideo laudabilis virginitas, quia et in martyribus reperitur, sed quia ipsa martyres faciat.

11. Quis autem humano eam possit ingenio comprehendere, quam nec natura suis inclusit legibus? Aut quis naturali voce complecti, quod supra usum naturae sit? E coelo accersivit quod imitaretur in terris. Nec immerito vivendi sibi usum quaesivit e coelo, quae sponsum sibi invenit in coelo. Haec nubes, aera, angelos, sideraque transgrediens, Verbum Dei in ipso sinu Patris invenit, et toto hausit pectore. Nam quis tantum cum invenerit, relinquat boni? Unguentum enim exinanitum est nomen tuum: propterea adolescentulae dilexerunt te, et attraxerunt te (Cant. I, 1) . Postremo non meum est illud, quoniam quae non nubent, neque nubentur, erunt sicut angeli in coelo (Matth. XXII, 30) . Nemo ergo miretur si angelis comparentur, quae angelorum Domino copulantur. Quis igitur neget hanc vitam fluxisse de coelo, quam non facile invenimus in terris, nisi postquam Deus in haec terreni corporis membra descendit (IV Reg. II, 11) ? Tunc in utero virgo concepit, et Verbum caro factum est, ut caro fieret Deus (Matth. XVII, 3) .

12. Dicet aliquis: Sed etiam Elias nullis corporei coitus fuisse permixtus cupiditatibus invenitur. Ideo ergo curru raptus ad coelum, ideo cum Domino apparet in gloria, ideo Dominici venturus est praecursor adventus (Malac.

IV, 3) . Et Maria tympanum sumens pudore virgineo choros duxit (Exod. XV, 20) . Sed considerate cuius illa speciem tunc gerebat. Nonne Ecclesiae, quae religiosos populi coetus qui carmina divina concinerent, immaculato virgo spiritu copulavit? Nam etiam templo Hierosolymis fuisse legimus virgines deputatas. Sed quid Apostolus dicit? Haec autem in figura contingebant illis, ut essent indicia futurorum (I Cor. X, 11) ; figura enim in paucis est, vita in pluribus.

13. At vero posteaquam Dominus in corpus hoc veniens, contubernium divinitatis et corporis sine ulla concretae confusionis labe sociavit, tunc toto orbe diffusus corporibus humanis vitae coelestis usus inolevit. Hoc illud est quod ministrantes in terris angeli (Matth. IV, 11) declararunt futurum genus, quod ministerium Domino immaculati corporis obsequiis exhiberet. Haec est coelestis illa militia, quam laudantium exercitus angelorum promittebat in terris. Habemus ergo auctoritatem vetustatis a saeculo, plenitudinem professionis a Christo.

CAPUT IV.

NEGATUR VIRGINITATIS DECUS in ethnicis ullis umquam exstitisse, puta in Vestalibus sacris deae Phrygiae ac Liberi patris, atque etiam in philosophis: ubi et de Pythagorea virgine, in qua tametsi laudatur animi magnitudo, continentia tamen desideratur; cum utraque in nostris virginibus emineat.

14. Certe non est hoc mihi commune cum gentibus, non populare cum barbaris, non cum caeteris animantibus usitatum: cum quibus etsi unum eumdemque vitalem aeris huius carpimus spiritum, vulgarem terreni corporis participamus statum, generandi quoque non discrepamus usu; hoc solo tamen naturae parilis convicia declinamus, quod virginitas affectatur a gentibus, sed consecrata violatur: incursatur a barbaris, nescitur a reliquis.

15. Quis mihi praetendit Vestae virgines et Palladis sacerdotes? Qualis ista est non morum pudicitia, sed annorum: quae non perpetuitate, sed aetate praescribitur! Petulantior est talis integritas, cuius corruptela seniori servatur aetati. Ipsi docent virgines suas non debere perseverare, nec posse, qui virginitati finem dederunt. Qualis autem est illa religio, ubi pudicae adolescentes iubentur esse, impudicae anus? Sed nec illa pudica est, quae lege retinetur: et illa impudica, quae lege dimittitur. O mysteria! o mores! ubi necessitas imponitur castitati, auctoritas libidini datur. Itaque nec casta est, quae metu cogitur: nec honesta, quae mercede conducitur: nec pudor ille, qui intemperantium oculorum quotidiano expositus convicio, flagitiosis aspectibus verberatur. Conferuntur immunitates, offeruntur pretia; quasi non hoc maximum petulantiae sit indicium, castitatem vendere. Quod pretio

promittitur, pretio solvitur: pretio addicitur, pretio annumeratur. Nescit redimere castitatem, quae vendere solet.

16. Quid de sacris Phrygiis loquar, in quibus impudicitia disciplina est, atque utinam sexus fragilioris! Quid de orgiis Liberi, ubi religionis mysterium est incentivum libidinis? Qualis igitur potest ibi vita esse sacerdotum, ubi colitur stuprum deorum? Non habent igitur sacram virginem.

17. Videamus ne forte aliquam vel philosophiae praecepta formaverint, quae magisterium sibi omnium solet vindicare virtutum. Pythagorea quaedam una ex virginibus celebratur fabula, cum a tyranno cogeretur secretum prodere, ne quid in se ad extorquendam confessionem vel tormentis liceret, morsu linguam abscidisse, atque in tyranni faciem despuisse; ut qui interrogandi finem non faciebat, non haberet quam interrogaret.

18. Eadem tamen forti animo, sed tumenti utero, exemplum taciturnitatis et proluvium castitatis, victa est cupiditatibus, quae tormentis vinci nequivit. Igitur quae mentis potuit tegere secretum, corporis non texit opprobrium. Vicit naturam, sed non tenuit disciplinam. Quam vellet in voce munimentum sui pudoris existere! Eoque fortasse erudierat illam patientia, ut culpam negaret. Non igitur invicta undique; nam et tyrannus, licet non potuerit invenire quod interrogabat, tamen quod non interrogabat, invenit.

19. Quanto nostrae virgines fortiores, quae vincunt etiam quas non vident potestates: quibus non tantum de carne et sanguine, sed etiam de ipso mundi principe saeculique rectore victoria est! Aetate utique Agnes minor, sed virtute maior, triumpho numerosior, constantia confidentior, non sibi linguam propter metum abstulit, sed propter tropaeum reservavit. Nihil enim habuit quod prodi timeret, cuius non erat criminosa sed religiosa confessio. Itaque illa secretum tantummodo celavit; haec probavit Dominum, quem quia aetas nondum poterat confiteri, natura confessa est.

CAPUT V.

VIRGINITATIS PATRIAM COELUM esse, auctorem vero Dei Filium: qui cum virgo esset ante virginem, ex virgine tamen editus virginem Ecclesiam duxit uxorem. Ab ipsa susceptos nos omnes esse, cuius dotes nonnullae commemorantur. Eiusdem filias hinc praecellere quod virginitas non subiiciatur praecepto, quodque ad pietatis cultum facultatem suppeditet quam expeditissimam.

20. In laudationibus solet patria praedicari et parentes; ut commemoratione auctoris dignitas successionis exaggeretur: ego licet laudationem non susceperim virginitatis, sed expressionem; ad rem tamen pertinere arbitror, ut quae sit ei patria, quis auctor, appareat. Ac prius ubi sit patria definiamus. Si enim ibi est patria, ubi genitale domicilium: in coelo profecto est patria castitatis. Itaque hic advena, ibi incola est.

21. Quid autem est castitas virginalis, nisi expers contagionis integritas? Atque eius auctorem quem possumus aestimare, nisi immaculatum Dei Filium, cuius caro non vidit corruptionem, divinitas non est experta contagionem? Videte igitur quanta virginitatis merita sint. Christus ante virginem, Christus ex virgine; a Patre quidem natus ante saecula, sed ex virgine natus ob saecula. Illud naturae suae, hoc nostrae utilitatis est. Illud erat semper, hoc voluit.

22. Spectate et aliud virginitatis meritum: Christus virginis sponsus, et si dici potest, Christus virgineae castitatis; virginitas enim Christi, non virginitatis est Christus. Virgo est ergo quae nupsit, virgo quae nos suo utero portavit, virgo quae genuit, virgo quae proprio lacte nutrivit, de qua legimus: Quanta fecit virgo Hierusalem! Non deficient de petra ubera,

neque nix a Libano, aut declinabit aqua valido vento quae portatur (Ierem. XVIII, 13 et seq.) . Qualis est haec virgo quae Trinitatis fontibus irrigatur: cui de petra fluunt aquae, non deficiunt ubera, mella funduntur? Petra autem est iuxta Apostolum Christus. Ergo a Christo non deficiunt ubera, claritas a Deo, flumen ab Spiritu. Haec est Trinitas quae Ecclesiam suam irrigat, Pater, Christus, et Spiritus.

23. Sed et iam a matre descendamus ad filias. De virginibus, inquit sanctus Apostolus, praeceptum Domini non habeo (I Cor. X, 4) . Si Doctor gentium non habuit, habere quis potuit? Et praeceptum quidem non habuit, sed habuit exemplum. Non enim imperari potest virginitas, sed optari; nam quae supra nos sunt, in voto magis quam in magisterio sunt. Sed volo vos, inquit, sine sollicitudine esse. Nam qui sine uxore est, sollicitus est quae Domini sunt, quomodo placeat Deo . . . et virgo cogitat quae Domini sunt, ut sit sancta corpore et spiritu. Nam quae nupta est, cogitat quae mundi sunt, quomodo placeat viro suo (I Cor. VII, 32-34).

CAPUT VI.

SANCTUS VIR A se minime damnari matrimonium contestatus, tamen ut bona mulierum ac virginum inter se componat, primo quae mala fecunditatem comitentur, puta dolores pariendi, molestias educandi, addictam viro servitutem, nimiam formae atque ornamentorum curam, proponit: tum illis opponit maiorem virginum formae gratiam felicioremque fecunditatem; quibus eas Ecclesiae perquam similes fieri asseverat.

24. Non ego quidem dissuadeo matrimonium, sed virginitatis attexo beneficium. Qui infirmus est, inquit, olera manducet (Rom. XIV, 2) . Aliud exigo, aliud admiror. Alligatus es uxori? Noli quaerere solutionem. Solutus es ab uxore? Ne quaesieris uxorem (I Cor. VII, 27) . Hoc praeceptum est copulatis. De virginibus autem quid ait? Et qui matrimonio iungit virginem suam, bene facit: et qui non iungit, melius facit (Ibid., 38) . Illa non peccat, si nubat: haec si non nubat, aeterna est. Ibi remedium infirmitatis, hic gloria castitatis. Illa non reprehenditur, ista laudatur.

25. Conferamus, si placet, bona mulierum cum ultimis virginum. Iactet licet fecundo se mulier nobilis partu: quo plures generaverit, plus laborat. Numeret solatia filiorum, sed numeret pariter et molestias. Nabit et plorat. Qualia sunt vota, quae flentur! Concipit et gravescit. Prius utique impedimentum fecunditas incipit afferre, quam fructum. Parturit, et aegrotat. Quam dulce pignus quod a periculo incipit, et in periculis desinit, prius dolori futurum, quam voluptati! Periculis emitur, nec pro arbitrio possidetur.

26. Quid recenseam nutriendi molestias, instituendi et copulandi? Felicium sunt istae miseriae. Habet mater haeredes, sed auget dolores. Nam

de adversis non oportet dicere, ne sanctissimorum parentum animi contremiscant. Vide, mi soror, quam grave sit pati, quod non oportet audiri. Et haec in praesenti saeculo. Venient autem dies, quando dicant: Beatae steriles, et ventres qui non genuerunt (Luc. XXIII, 29) . Filiae enim huius saeculi generantur, et generant: filia autem regni abstinet a voluptate viri, et a voluptate carnis; ut sit sancta corpore et spiritu.

27. Quid ergo famulatus graves et addicta viris servitia replicem feminarum, quas ante iussit Deus servire quam servos (Gen. III, 16) ? Quae eo prosequor, ut indulgentius obsequantur; quibus hoc si probae, merces est charitatis: si improbae, poena delicti.

28. Hinc (Cf. S. Aug. lib. IV, de Doctr. Christ. ca) illa nascuntur incentiva vitiorum, ut quaesitis coloribus ora depingant, dum viris displicere formidant, et de adulterio vultus meditantur adulterium castitatis. Quanta hic amentia, effigiem mutare naturae, picturam quaerere; et dum verentur maritale iudicium, prodere suum! Prior enim de se pronuntiat, quae cupit mutare quod nata est. Ita dum aliis studet placere, prius sibi ipsa displicet. Quem iudicem, mulier, veriorem requirimus deformitatis tuae, quam te ipsam, quae videri times! Si pulchra es, quid absconderis? Si deformis, cur te formosam esse mentiris, nec tuae conscientiae, nec alieni gratiam erroris habitura? Ille enim alteram diligit, tu alteri vis placere. Et irasceris si amet aliam, qui adulterare in te docetur? Mala magistra es iniuriae tuae. Lenocinari enim refugit, etiam quae passa lenonem est; ac licet vilis mulier, non alteri tamen, sed sibi peccat: tolerabilioraque propemodum in altero crimina sunt; ibi enim pudicitia, hic natura adulteratur.

29. Iam quanto pretio opus est, ne etiam pulchra displiceat! Hinc pretiosa collo dependent monilia, inde per humum vestis trahitur aurata. Emitur igitur haec species, an habetur? Quid, quod etiam ad odorem variae adhibentur illecebrae! Gemmis onerantur aures, oculis color alter infunditur.

Quid ibi remanet suum, ubi tam multa mutantur? Sensus suos amittit mulier, et vivere posse se credit?

30. Vos vero, beatae virgines, quae talia tormenta potius quam ornamenta nescitis: quibus pudor sanctus verecunda suffusus ora, et bona castitas est decori: non humanis addictae oculis, alieno errore merita vestra pensatis. Habetis sane et vos vestrae militiam pulchritudinis, cui virtutis militat forma, non corporis: quam nulla exstinguit aetas, nulla eripere mors potest, nulla aegritudo corrumpere. Solus formae arbiter petatur Deus, qui etiam in corpore minus pulchro diligat animas pulchriores. Non uteri onus notum, non dolor partus; et tamen numerosior soboles piae mentis, quae omnes pro liberis habet: fecunda successoribus, sterilis orbitatibus, nescit funera, novit haeredes.

31. Sic sancta Ecclesia immaculata coitu, fecunda partu, virgo est castitate, mater est prole. Parturit itaque nos virgo non viro plena, sed spiritu. Parit nos virgo non cum dolore membrorum, sed cum gaudiis angelorum. Nutrit nos virgo non corporis lacte, sed Apostoli (I Cor. III, 2) , quo infirmam adhuc crescentis populi lactavit aetatem. Quae igitur nupta plures liberos habet quam sancta Ecclesia, quae virgo est sacramentis, mater est populis, cuius fecunditatem etiam Scriptura testatur dicens: Quoniam plures filii desertae magis quam eius quae habet virum (Esai. LIV, 1) ? Nostra virum non habet, sed habet sponsum; eo quod sive Ecclesia in populis, sive anima in singulis, Dei verbo, sine ullo flexu pudoris, quasi sponso innubit aeterno, effeta iniuriae, feta rationis.

CAPUT VII.

PARENTES UT AD virginitatem filias instituant, hortatur, eisque quot molestiae nascantur ex voluptate quam illi quaerunt in nepotibus, ponit ob oculos. Negat tamen a se prohiberi nuptias; quin immo illas contra haereticos earumdem adversarios tuetur: caeterum ipsis virginitatem anteponens, quanta sit virginum sponsi pulchritudo, quibusve ab eo muneribus illae donentur, explicat: tum expositis in eam rem Canticorum locis aliquot, inde morum ac virtutum praecepta exprimit virginum conditioni accommodata.

32. Audistis, parentes, quibus erudire virtutibus, quibus instituere disciplinis filias debeatis; ut habere possitis quarum meritis vestra delicta redimantur. Virgo Dei donum est, munus parentis, sacerdotium castitatis. Virgo matris hostia est, cuius quotidiano sacrificio vis divina placatur. Virgo individuum pignus parentum, quae non dote sollicitet, non emigratione destituat, non offendat iniuriis.

33. Sed nepotes aliquis habere desiderat, et avi nomen acquirere. Primum suos tradit, dum quaerit alienos: deinde certis defraudari incipit, dum sperat incertos: confert opes proprias, et adhuc poscitur; nisi dotem solvat, exigitur: si diu vivat, onerosus est. Emere istud est generum, non acquirere, qui parentibus filiae vendat aspectus. Ideone tot mensibus gestatur utero, ut in alienum transeat potestatem? Ideo commendandae virginis cura suscipitur, ut citius parentibus auferatur?

34. Dicet aliquis: Ergo dissuades nuptias? Ego vero suadeo, et eos damno qui dissuadere consuerunt; ut pote qui Sarae ac Rebeccae et Rachel, caeterarumque veterum coniugia feminarum pro documentis singularium

virtutum recensere soleam. Qui enim copulam damnat, damnat et filios: et ductam per successionum seriem generis societatem damnat humani. Nam quemadmodum duratura in saeculum aetas succedere posset aetati, nisi gratia nuptiarum procreandae studium sobolis incitaret? Aut quomodo praedicari potest quod immaculatus Isaac ad altaria Dei victima paternae pietatis accessit (Gen. XXI, 2) , quod Israel humano situs in corpore Deum vidit (Gen. XXXII, 27) , et religiosum populo dedit nomen, quorum originem damnat? Unum sane habent homines licet sacrilegi, quod in his etiam a sapientissimis probetur; quia coniugia damnando, profitentur se non debuisse nasci.

35. Non itaque dissuadeo nuptias, sed fructus sacratae virginitatis enumero. Paucarum quippe hoc munus est, illud omnium. Nec potest esse virginitas, nisi habeat unde nascatur. Bona cum bonis comparo, quo facilius quid praestet, eluceat. Neque meam ullam sententiam affero, sed eam repeto, quam edidit Spiritus sanctus per prophetam: Melior est, inquit, sterilitas cum virtute (Sap. IV, I) .

36. Primum enim quod nupturae prae caeteris concupiscunt, ut sponsi decore se iactent, eo necesse est impares sacris se fateantur esse virginibus, quibus solis contingit dicere: Speciosus forma prae filiis hominum, diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis (Psal. XLIV, 3) . Quis est iste sponsus? Non vilibus addictus obsequiis, non caducis superbus divitiis: sed cuius sedes in saeculum saeculi. Filiae regum in honore eius. Astitit regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato, varietate circumamicta virtutum. Audi igitur, filia, et vide, et inclina aurem tuam, et obliviscere populum tuum et domum patris tui; quoniam concupivit Rex speciem tuam, quia ipse est Deus tuus (Ibid., 30 et seq.) .

37. Et adverte quantum tibi Spiritus sanctus Scripturae divinae testificatione detulerit, regnum, aurum, pulchritudinem: regnum, vel quia sponsa es regis aeterni, vel quia invictum animum gerens, ab illecebris

voluptatum non captiva haberis, sed quasi regina dominaris: aurum, quia sicut illa materies examinata igne pretiosior est, ita corporis species virginalis Spiritui consecrata divino, formae suae acquirit augmentum: pulchritudinem vero quis potest maiorem existimare decore eius, quae amatur a Rege, probatur a Iudice, dicatur Domino, consecratur Deo: semper sponsa, semper innupta; ut nec amor finem habeat, nec damnum pudor.

38. Haec profecto vera pulchritudo est, cui nihil deest, quae sola meretur audire a Domino: Tota es formosa, proxima mea, et reprehensio non est in te. Sponsa, veni huc a Libano, veni huc a Libano, transibis et pertransibis a principio fidei, a capite Sanir et Hermon, a latibulis leonum, a montibus pardorum (Cant. IV, 7, 8) . Quibus indiciis ostenditur perfecta, et irreprehensibilis virginalis animae pulchritudo, altaribus consecrata divinis, inter occursus et latibula spiritalium bestiarum non inflexa mortalibus, sed intenta mysteriis Dei meruisse dilectum, cuius ubera plena laetitiae: Vinum enim laetificat cor hominis (Psal. CIII, 15).

39. Odor, inquit, vestimentorum tuorum super omnia aromata (Cant. IV, 10) . Et infra: Et odor vestimentorum tuorum sicut odor Libani (Ibid., 11) . Vide quem nobis tribuas, virgo, processum. Primus enim odor tuus super omnia aromata, quae in Salvatoris missa sunt sepulturam (Ioan. XIX, 39) ; et emortuos corporis motus, membrorumque redolet obiisse delicias. Secundus odor tuus sicut odor Libani, Dominici corporis integritatem, virgineae florem castitatis exhalat.

CAPUT VIII.

LOCUM SEQUENTEM CANTICORUM, Favus distillans, etc. , sic edisserit, ut inde ansam arripiat cum apibus sacras virgines comparandi.

40. Favum itaque mellis tua opera componant (Cant. IV, 11); digna enim virginitas quae apibus comparetur: sic laboriosa, sic pudica, sic continens. Rore pascitur apis, nescit concubitus, mella componit. Ros quoque virginis est sermo divinus; quia sicut ros, Dei verba descendunt. Pudor virginis est intemerata natura. Partus virginis fetus est labiorum, expers amaritudinis, fertilis suavitatis. In commune labor, communis est fructus.

41. Quam te velim, filia, imitratricem esse huius apiculae cui cibus flos est, ore soboles legitur, ore componitur! Hanc imitare tu, filia. Verba tua nullum doli velamen obtendant, nullum habeant fraudis involucrum; ut et puritatem habeant, et gravitatis plena sint.

42. Meritorum quoque tuorum tibi aeterna posteritas tuo ore pariatur. Nec soli tibi, sed etiam pluribus congreges, (qui scis enim quando a te anima tua reposcatur?) ne receptacula horreorum frumentis coacervata dimittens, nec vitae tuae usui profutura, nec meritis, rapiaris eo quo thesaurum tuum ferre non possis. Dives igitur esto, sed pauperibus; ut naturae participes tuae, participes sint etiam facultatum.

43. Florem quoque tibi demonstro carpendum, illum utique qui dixit: Ego flos campi, et lilium convallium. Tamquam lilium in medio spinarum (Cant. II, 1, 2); quod est evidentis indicii, spiritalium nequitiarium sentibus virtutes obsideri; unde nemo fructum referat, nisi qui cautus accedat.

- CAPUT VIII*.

Pergit alios e Canticis canticorum locos aptare subiecto argumento, et primum virginem ad Christum inquirendum exhortatus, ubinam ille inveniatur, exponit: tum descripta eiusdem secundum utramque naturam praestantia, quibus ab eo perfectionibus Sponsa exornetur, quibusve muniatur praesidiis, aperit: postremo eamdem cum angelis ob castitatem confert, nec non illi eorum parti quos e coelo intemperantia deturbavit, praefert.

44. Sume igitur alas, virgo, sed spiritus; ut supervoles vitia, si contingere cupis Christum: In altis habitat, et humilia respicit (Psal. CXII, 5) ; et species eius sicut cedrus Libani, qui comam nubibus, radicem terris inserit. Principium enim eius e coelo, posteriora eius in terris, fructus coelo proximos edit. Scrutare diligentius tam bonum florem, necubi eum in pectoris tui convalle reperias; humilibus enim frequenter inhalatur.

45. Amat generari in hortis, in quibus eum Susanna dum deambularet, invenit: mori prius, quam violari parata (Dan. XIII, 7) . Qui sint autem horti, ipse demonstrat dicens: Hortus conclusus, soror mea Sponsa, hortus conclusus, fons signatus (Cant. IV, 12) ; eo quod in hortis huiusmodi impressa signaculis imagine Dei, sinceri fontis unda resplendeat; ne volutabris spiritalium bestiarum sparsa coeno fluenta turbentur. Hinc ille murali septus spiritu pudor clauditur, ne pateat ad rapinam. Itaque sicut hortus furibus inaccessus vitem redolet, flagrat oleam, rosam renidet; ut in vite religio, in olea pax, in rosa pudor sacratae virginitatis inolescat. Hic est odor quem Iacob patriarcha flagravit, quando meruit audire: Ecce odor filii mei sicut odor agri pleni (Gen. XXVII, 27) . Nam licet plenus omnibus fere fructibus patriarchae sancti fuerit ager; ille tamen fruges maiore virtutis labore generavit, hic flores.

46. Accingere itaque, virgo, et si vis huiuscemodi tibi ut hortus aspiret, propheticis eum claude praeceptis. Pone custodiam ori tuo, et ostium circumstantiae labiis tuis (Psal. CXL, 3) ; ut etiam tu possis dicere:

Tamquam malus in lignis nemoris, ita fraternus meus in medio filiorum. In umbra eius concupivi et sedi, et fructus eius dulcis in faucibus meis (Cant. II, 3) . Inveni quem dilexit anima mea, tenui eum, et non relinquam (Cant. III, 4) . Descendit fraternus meus in hortum suum, ut manducet fructum pomorum suorum (Cant. V, 1) . Veni, fraterne mi, exeamus in agrum (Cant. VII, 11) . Pone me ut sigillum in cor tuum, et velut signaculum super brachium tuum (Cant. VIII, 6) . Fraternus meus candidus et rubeus (Cant. V, 10) . Decet enim ut plene noveris, virgo, quem diligis, atque omne in eo et ingenitae divinitatis et assumptae mysterium incorporationis agnoscas. Candidus merito, quia patris splendor: rubeus, quia partus est virginis. Color in eo fulget et rutilat utriusque naturae. Memento tamen antiquiora in eo divinitatis insignia, quam corporis sacramenta; quia non coepit a virgine, sed qui erat, venit in virginem.

47. Ille discretus a militibus, ille lancea vulneratus (Matth. XXVII, 29 et seq.) , ut nos sacri vulneris cruore sanaret, respondebit tibi profecto (est enim mitis et humilis corde (Ioan. XIX, 34) , blandus aspectu): Exsurge, Aquilo, et veni, Auster, aspira hortum meum, et fluant aromata mea (Cant. IV, 16) . Ex omnibus enim partibus mundi odor sacratae religionis inolevit, dilectaeque virginis membra flagrarunt. Formosa es, proxima mea, ut bona opinio: pulchra, ut Hierusalem (Cant. VI, 3) . Non caduci itaque corporis pulchritudo vel morbo peritura, vel senio; sed nullis obnoxia casibus opinio bonorum numquam moritura meritorum, virginibus est decori.

48. Et quoniam non humanis iam, sed coelestibus, quorum vitam vivis in terris, digna es comparari: accipe a Domino praecepta quae serves. Pone me ut sigillum, inquit, in cor tuum, et velut signaculum super brachium tuum (Cant. VIII, 6) : quo signatiora prudentiae tuae factorumque documenta promantur, in quibus figura Dei Christus eluceat, qui paternae ambitum exaequans naturae, totum quidquid a Patre divinitatis assumpsit, expressit. Unde etiam apostolus Paulus in Spiritu nos dicit esse signatos (Ephes. I, 13)

; quoniam Patris imaginem habemus in Filio, sigillum Filii habemus in Spiritu. Hac Trinitate signati caveamus diligentius, ne quod accepimus pignus in cordibus nostris, aut morum levitas, aut ullius adulterii fraus resignet.

49. Sed facessat hic sacris virginibus metus, quibus tanta praesidia tribuit primum Ecclesia, quae tenerae prolis sollicita successu, ipsa quasi murus abundantibus in modum turrium increscit uberibus, donec soluto obsidionis hostilis incursu, pacem validae iuventuti, maternae praesidio virtutis, acquirat (Cant. VIII, 10) . Unde et Propheta ait: Fiat pax in virtute tua, et abundantia in turribus tuis (Psal. CXXI, 7) .

50. Tum ipse pacis Dominus postquam validioribus brachiis commissa sibi vineta complexus, palmites suos gemmare conspexerit, vultu praesule, nascentibus fructibus auras temperat, sicut ipse testatur dicens: Vinea mea est in conspectu meo, mille Salomoni, et ducenti qui servant fructum eius (Cant. VIII, 12) .

51. Supra ait: Sexaginta potentes in circumitu propaginis eius, strictis armatos ensibus, et eruditos praeliaribus disciplinis (Cant. III, 7, 8) ; hic mille et ducentos. Crevit numerus, ubi crevit et fructus; quia quo sanctior quisque, eo communitior. Sic Elisaeus propheta exercitus angelorum praesidia sibi adesse monstravit (IV Reg. VI, 17) : sic Iesus Nave ducem militiae coelestis agnovit (Iosue V, 14) . Possunt igitur fructum in nobis custodire, qui possunt etiam militare pro nobis. Vobis autem, virgines sanctae, speciale praesidium est, quae intemerato pudore sacrum Domini servatis cubile. Neque mirum si pro vobis angeli militant, quae angelorum moribus militatis. Meretur eorum praesidium castitas virginalis, quorum vitam meretur.

52. Et quid pluribus exsequar laudem castitatis? Castitas etiam angelos fecit. Qui eam servavit, angelus est: qui perdidit, diabolus. Hinc religio etiam nomen accepit. Virgo est, quae Deo nubit: meretrix, quae deos fecit.

Nam de resurrectione quid dicam, cuius praemia iam tenetis? In resurrectione autem neque nubent, neque ducent uxores: sed erunt sicut angeli, inquit, in coelo (Matth. XXII, 30) . Quod nobis promittitur, vobis praesto est, votorumque nostrorum usus apud vos. De hoc mundo estis, et non estis in hoc mundo. Saeculum vos habere meruit, tenere non potuit.

53. Quam praeclarum autem angelos propter intemperantiam suam in saeculum cecidisse de coelo, virgines propter castimoniam in coelum transisse de saeculo? Beatae virgines, quas non illecebra sollicitat corporum, non colluvio praecipitat voluptatum! Cibus parcimoniae, potus abstinentiae docet vitia nescire, qui docet causas nescire vitiorum. Causa peccandi etiam iustos saepe decepit. Hinc populus Dei postquam sedit manducare et bibere, Deum negavit (Exod. XXXII, 6) . Hinc Loth concubitus filiarum ignoravit, et pertulit (Gen. XIX, 33) . Hinc inversis vestigiis filii Noe patris quondam pudenda texerunt (Gen. IX, 22) : quae procax vidit, modestus erubuit, pius texit, offensurus si et ipse vidisset. Quanta vini est vis, ut quem diluvia non nudaverunt, vina nudarent!

CAPUT IX.

ULTIMA VIRGINITATIS LAUS proponitur, avaritiae nimirum immunitas. Huius occasione sanctus Praesul sorori in mentem revocat, quanta sit illius felicitas quae non cogatur luxui atque vanitati, quibus nupturae mancipantur, morem gerere.

54. Quid illud? Quantae felicitatis est, quod nulla vos habendi cupiditas inflammat? Pauper quod habes poscit, quod non habes non requirit. Fructus laboris tui thesaurus est inopi, et duo aera si sola sint, census est largientis.

54 *. Audi ergo, soror, quantis careas. Nam cavere quid debeas, nec meum est docere, nec tuum discere; perfectae enim virtutis usus magisterium non desiderat, sed informat. Cernis ut pomparum ferculis similis incedat, quae se componit ut placeat, omnium in se vultus et ora convertens, eo ipso quo studet placere, deformior; prius enim populo displicet, quam placeat viro. At in vobis reiecta decoris cura plus decet: et hoc ipsum quod vos non ornatis, ornatus est.

55. Cerne laceras vulneribus aures, et depressae onera miserare cervicis. Non sunt allevamenta poenarum discrimina metallorum. Hinc collum catena constringit, inde pedem compes includit. Nihil refert auro corpus oneretur an ferro. Sic cervix premitur, sic gravatur incessus. Nil pretium iuvat; nisi quod vos mulieres, ne pereat vobis poena, trepidatis. Quid interest, utrum aliena sententia, an vestra vos damnet? Hinc vos etiam miserabiliores quam qui publico iure damnantur, quod illi optant exui, vos ligari.

56. Quam vero miserabilis illa conditio, quod tamquam mancipii forma venalis, nuptura licitatur; ut qui pretio vicerit, emat. Tolerabilius tamen

mancipia veneunt, quae saepe sibi dominos eligunt: virgo si eligat, crimen est; si non eligat, contumelia. Quae quamvis pulchra sit et decora, et timet et cupit videri: cupit, ut se charius vendat: timet, ne hoc ipsum dedeceat quod videtur. Quanta autem votorum ludibria, et ad procorum eventus suspecti metus, ne pauper illudat, ne dives fastidiat, ne pulcher irrideat, ne nobilis spernat!

CAPUT X.

OBIICIENTIBUS FREQUENTIUM AMBROSII ad virginitatem exhortationum nullum fructum esse ut satisfaciat, adducit exempla cum aliarum virginum, tum Mauritanensium ac Bononiensium: sed harum imprimis virtutes ac propagandae virginitatis ardorem laudat.

57. Dicet aliquis: Tu nobis quotidie virginum canis laudes. Quid faciam qui eadem quotidie cantito, et proficio nihil? Sed non mea culpa. Denique de Placentino sacrandae virgines veniunt, de Bononiensi veniunt, de Mauritania veniunt, ut hic velentur. Magnam rem videtis. Hic tracto, et alibi persuadeo. Si ita est, alibi tractemus, ut vobis persuadeamus.

58. Quid, quod etiam qui me non audiunt, sequuntur: qui audiunt, non sequuntur? Nam plerasque virgines cognovi velle, et prohiberi etiam prodire a matribus, et quod est gravius, viduis, cum quibus hic mihi sermo est. Nempe si hominem vellent amare filiae vestrae, per leges possent eligere quem vellent. Quibus igitur hominem eligere licet, Deum non licet?

59. Contuemini quam dulcis pudicitiae fructus sit, qui barbaricis quoque inolevit affectibus. Ex ultimis infra ultraque Mauritaniae partibus deductae virgines hic sacrari gestiunt; et cum sint omnes familiae in vinculis, pudicitia tamen nescit esse captiva. Profitetur regnum aeternitatis, quae moeret iniuriam servitutis.

60. Nam quid de Bononiensibus virginibus loquar, fecundo pudoris agmine, quae mundanis se deliciis abdicantes, sacrarium virginitatis incolunt? Sine contubernali sexu, contubernali pudore provectae ad vicenarium numerum, et centenarium fructum, relictoque parentum hospitio, tendunt in tabernaculis Christi, indefessae milites castitatis: nunc

canticis spiritalibus personant, nunc victum operibus exercent, liberalitati quoque subsidium manu quaerunt.

61. Quod si investigandi virgines inoleverit odor (namque prae caeteris speculandi venatum pudoris explorant), totis curarum vestigiis praedam latentem usque ad ipsa cubilia persequuntur: aut si liberior alicuius volatus affulserit, totis omnes videas assurgere alis, concrepare pennis, emicare plausu; ut casto pudicitiae choro cingant volantem, donec albenti delectata comitatu, in plagas pudoris et indaginem castitatis domus patriae oblita, succedat.

CAPUT XI.

UT OPTABILE SIT virgini favere parentes suos, eam tamen laude maiori dignam esse, quam iis reluctantibus divinus amor ad hoc propositum instigaverit. Non timendam igitur nec vim parentum nec patrimonii iacturam; quod memorabili nobilis ac piae virginis facto confirmatur.

62. Bonum itaque si virgini studia parentum quasi flabra pudoris aspirent: sed illud gloriosius, si tenerae ignis aetatis etiam sine veteribus nutrimentis sponte se rapiat in fomitem castitatis. Dotem negabunt parentes: sed habes divitem sponsum cuius contenta thesauro, patriae successionis emolumenta non quaeras. Quanto dotalibus praestat compendiis casta paupertas!

63. Et tamen quam audistis aliquando propter studium integritatis, legitimae factam successionis extorrem? Contradicunt parentes: sed volunt vinci. Resistunt primo, quia credere timent: indignantur frequenter, ut discas vincere: abdicationem minantur, ut tentent si potes damnum saeculi non timere: quaesitis blandiuntur illecebris, ut videant si variarum mollire te non queat blanditia voluptatum. Exerceris, virgo, dum cogeris. Et haec tibi prima certamina, anxia parentum vota proponunt. Vince prius, puella, pietatem. Si vincis domum, vincis saeculum.

64. Sed esto maneant vos damna patrimonii: nonne caducarum et fragilium dispendia facultatum futura coeli regna compensant? Quamquam si verbis coelestibus credimus, nemo est qui reliquerit domum, aut parentes, aut fratres, aut uxorem, aut filios, propter regnum Dei, et non recipiat septies tantum in hoc tempore: in saeculo autem venturo vitam aeternam possidebit (Matth. XIX, 29) . Crede fidem tuam Deo: quae homini

pecuniam credis, fenerare Christo. Bonus depositae spei custos multiplicatis fidei tuae talentum solvit usuris. Non fallit veritas, non circumscribit iustitia, non decipit virtus. Quod si non creditis oraculo, vel exemplis credite.

65. Memoriae nostrae puella dudum nobilis in saeculo, nunc nobilior Deo, cum urgeretur ad nuptias a parentibus et propinquis, ad sacrosanctum altare confugit. Quo enim melius virgo, quam ubi sacrificium virginitatis offertur? Ne is quidem finis audaciae. Stabat ad aram Dei pudoris hostia, victima castitatis: nunc capiti dexteram sacerdotis imponens, precem poscens, nunc iustae impatiens morae, ac summum altari subiecta verticem. Num melius, inquit, maforte me quam altare velabit, quod sanctificat ipsa velamina? Plus talis decet flammeus, in quo caput omnium Christus quotidie consecratur. Quid agitis vos, propinqui? quid exquirendis adhuc nuptiis sollicitatis animum? Iamdudum provisas habeo. Sponsum offertis? Meliorem reperi. Quaslibet exaggerate divitias, iactate nobilitatem, praedicate potentiam: habeo eum cui nemo se comparet, divitem mundo, potentem imperio, nobilem coelo. Si talem habetis, non refuto optionem: si non reperitis, non providetis mihi, parentes, sed invidetis.

66. Silentibus caeteris, unus abruptius: Quid si, inquit, pater tuus viveret, innuptam te manere pateretur? Tum illa maiori religione, moderatiore pietate: Et ideo fortasse deficit, ne quis impedimentum possit afferre. Quod ille responsum de patre, de se oraculum, maturo sui probavit exitio. Ita caeteri eadem sibi quisque metuentes, favere coeperunt, qui impedire quaerebant: nec dispendium debitarum attulit virginitas facultatum, sed etiam emolumentum integritatis accepit. Habetis, puellae, devotionis praemium: parentes, cavete offensionis exemplum.

LIBER II

CAPUT I.

AMBROSIUS HOC LIBRO virginum mores instituendos esse cum agnosceret, cur exemplorum viam sibi proposuerit, docet: inde praesumptionis invidia abs se quam modestissime derivata, cur scripto potius quam voce id aggressus sit, monet.

1. Superiore libro quantum virginitatis munus sit, voluimus (non enim potuimus) explicare; ut per se coelestis gratia muneris invitet legentem. Secundo libro virginem institui decet, et tamquam competentium praeceptorum magisteriis erudiri.

2. Sed quoniam nos infirmi ad monendum sumus, et impares ad docendum (debet enim is qui docet supra eum qui docetur excellere), ne vel susceptum deseruisse munus, vel nobis arrogasse amplius videremur, exemplis potius quam praeceptis putavimus imbuendam: licet amplius proficiatur exemplo; quoniam nec difficile quod iam factum est aestimatur, et utile quod probatum, et religiosum quod haereditario quodam paternae virtutis usu in nos est successione transfusum.

3. Quod si quis nos praesumptionis arguit, arguat potius sedulitatis; quia rogantibus virginibus ne hoc quidem putavi negandum. Malui enim me in periculum deduci pudoris, quam non obsequi voluntati earum, quarum studiis etiam Deus noster placido se indulget assensu.

4. Sed neque praesumptio notari potest, quoniam cum haberent unde discerent, affectum potius quam magisterium quaesiverunt meum: et excusari sedulitas; quoniam cum haberent auctoritatem martyris ad observantiam disciplinae, non superfluum iudicavi, si nostri sermonis

blanditiam derivarem ad professionis illecebram. Ille docere facilis, qui severo vitia coercet affectu: nos qui docere non possumus, blandiamur.

5. Et quoniam pleraeque absentes nostri desiderabant sermonis usum, volumen hoc condidi: quo profectae ad se vocis meae munus tenentes, deesse non crederent, quem tenerent. Sed proposita persequamur.

CAPUT II.

VIRGINIBUS EXEMPLUM MARIAE proponitur, cuius variae virtutes enumerantur, castitas, humilitas, vitae asperitas, secessus amor; quae quidem virtus ubi testimonio Evangelico probata est, inde etiam eius pietas erga propinquas, discendi sedulitas, atque adeundi templi studium commendatur. Narratur denique quemadmodum illa tot muneribus exornata, innumeris virginibus obviam ventura sit, nec sine magnifico triumpho ad thalamum Sponsi, et coelestia altaria quibus ob castitatem similes fuere, deductura.

6. Sit igitur vobis tamquam in imagine descripta virginitas vita Mariae, de qua velut speculo refulgeat species castitatis et forma virtutis. Hinc sumatis licet exempla vivendi, ubi tamquam in exemplari magisteria expressa probitatis, quid corrigere, quid effingere, quid tenere debeatis, ostendunt.

7. Primus discendi ardor nobilitas est magistri. Quid nobilius Dei matre? quid splendidius ea, quam Splendor elegit? quid castius ea quae corpus sine corporis contagione generavit? Nam de caeteris eius virtutibus quid loquar? Virgo erat (Cf. S. Aug. lib. IV de Doct. Christ. c. 21) non solum corpore, sed etiam mente, quae nullo doli ambitu sincerum adulteraret affectum: corde humilis, verbis gravis, animi prudens, loquendi parcior, legendi studiosior: non in incerto divitiarum, sed in prece pauperum spem reponens: intenta operi, verecunda sermone, arbitrum mentis solita non hominem, sed Deum quaerere: nullum laedere, bene velle omnibus, assurgere maioribus natu, aequalibus non invidere, fugere iactantiam, rationem sequi, amare virtutem. Quando ista vel vultu laesit parentes? quando dissensit a

propinquis? quando fastidivit humilem? quando derisit debilem? quando vitavit inopem; eos solos solita coetus virorum invisere, quos misericordia non erubesceret, neque praeteriret verecundia? Nihil torvum in oculis, nihil in verbis procax, nihil in actu inverecundum: non gestus fractior, non incessus solutior, non vox petulantior; ut ipsa corporis species simulacrum fuerit mentis, figura probitatis. Bona quippe domus in ipso vestibulo debet agnosci, ac primo praetendat ingressu nihil intus latere tenebrarum; ut mens nostra nullis repagulis corporalibus impedita, tamquam lucernae lux intus posita foris luceat.

8. Quid ego exsequar ciborum parcimoniam, officiorum redundantiam: alterum ultra naturam superfuisse, alterum pene ipsi naturae defuisse: illic nulla intermissa tempora, hic congeminatos ieiunio dies? Et siquando reficiendi successisset voluntas, cibus plerumque obvius, qui mortem arceret, non delicias ministraret. Dormire non prius cupiditas quam necessitas fuit; et tamen cum quiesceret corpus, vigilaret animus: qui frequenter in somnis aut lecta repetit, aut somno interrupta continuat, aut disposita gerit, aut gerenda praenuntiat.

9. Prodire domo nescia, nisi cum ad Ecclesiam conveniret, et hoc ipsum cum parentibus, aut propinquis. Domestico operosa secreto, forensi stipata comitatu; nullo meliore tamen sui custode quam se ipsa: quae incessu affatuque venerabilis, non tam vestigium pedis tolleret, quam gradum virtutis attolleret. Ut tamen alios habeat virgo membrorum custodes suorum, morum autem suorum se habeat ipsa custodem: plures erunt de quibus discat, si ipsa se doceat quae virtutes magistras habet: quia quidquid egerit, disciplina est. Sic Maria intendebat omnibus, quasi a pluribus moneretur: sic omnia implebat virtutis officia, ut non tam disceret, quam doceret.

10. Talem hanc evangelista monstravit (Luc I, 27) , talem angelus reperit, talem Spiritus sanctus elegit. Quid enim in singulis morer, ut eam parentes dilexerint, extranei praedicaverint, quae digna fuit ex qua Dei Filius

nasceretur? Haec ad ipsos ingressus angeli inventa domi in penetralibus, sine comite, ne quis intentionem abrumperet, ne quis obstreperet; neque enim comites feminas desiderabat, quae bonas cogitationes comites habebat. Quin etiam tum sibi minus sola videbatur, cum sola esset. Nam quemadmodum sola, cui tot libri adessent; tot archangeli, tot prophetae?

11. Denique et Gabriel eam ubi revisere solebat, invenit: et angelum Maria quasi virum specie mota trepidavit, quasi non incognitum audito nomine recognovit (Ibid., 28 et seq.) . Ita peregrinata est in viro, quae non est peregrinata in Angelo; ut agnoscas aures religiosas, oculos verecundos. Denique salutata obmutuit, et appellata respondit: sed quae primo turbaverat affectum, postea promisit obsequium.

12. Quam vero religiosa in propinquas fuerit, Scriptura divina significat (Ibid., 45) . Nam et humilior facta est, ubi se a Deo cognovit electam, et statim ad cognatam suam in montana processit: non utique ut exemplo crederet, quae iam crediderat oraculo: Beata enim, inquit, quae credidisti (Ibid., 56) . Et tribus cum ea mensibus mansit. Tanti autem intervallo temporis non fides quaeritur, sed pietas exhibetur. Et hoc posteaquam in utero parentis exsiliens puer matrem Domini salutavit, prius compos devotionis, quam naturae.

13. Inde tot sequentibus signis, cum sterilis pareret, virgo conciperet, loqueretur mutus, adoraret magus, exspectaret Simeon, sidera nuntiarent, Maria mobilis ad introitum, immobilis ad miraculum: Conservabat, inquit, haec omnia in corde suo (Luc. II, 19) . Quamvis mater Domini, discere tamen praecepta Domini desiderabat: et quae Deum genuerat, Deum tamen scire cupiebat.

14. Quid, quod annis quoque omnibus ibat in Hierusalem solemni die paschae, et ibat cum Ioseph? (Ibid., 41.) Ubique in virgine comes singularum virtutum est pudor. Hic individuus debet esse virginitati, sine

quo non potest esse virginitas. Nec ad templum igitur Maria sine pudoris sui custode processit.

15. Haec est imago virginitatis. Talis enim fuit Maria, ut eius unius vita omnium sit disciplina. Si igitur auctor non displicet, opus probemus; ut quaecumque sibi eius exoptat praemium, imitetur exemplum. Quantae in una virgine species virtutum emicant? Secretum verecundiae, vexillum fidei, devotionis obsequium: virgo intra domum, comes ad ministerium, mater ad templum.

16. O quantis illa virginibus occurret, quantas complexa ad Dominum trahet, dicens: Haec thorum filii mei, haec thalamos nuptiales immaculato servavit pudore! Quemadmodum eas ipse Dominus commendabit Patri; nimirum illud repetens suum: Pater sancte, istae sunt quas custodivi tibi, in quibus Filius hominis caput reclinans quievit; peto ut ubi ego sum, et ipsae sint mecum (Ioan XVII, 24) . Sed si non solis sibi debent prodesse, quae non solis vixerunt sibi: haec parentes, haec redimat fratres. Pater iuste, mundus me non cognovit, istae autem me cognoverunt, et mundum cognoscere noluerunt (Ibid., 25) .

17. Quae pompa illa, quanta angelorum laetitia plaudentium, quod habitare mereatur in coelo, quae coelesti vita vixit in saeculo! Tunc etiam Maria tympanum sumens, choros virginales excitabit cantantes Domino quod per mare saeculi sine saecularibus fluctibus transierunt (Exod. XV, 20) . Tunc unaquaeque exsultabit dicens: Et introibo ad altare Dei mei, et ad Deum qui laetificat iuventutem meam (Psal. XLII, 4) . Immolo Deo sacrificium laudis, et reddo Altissimo vota mea (Psal. XLIX, 14) .

18. Neque enim dubitaverim vobis patere altaria Dei, quarum mentes altaria confidenter dixerim, in quibus quotidie pro redemptione corporis Christus immolatur. Nam si corpus virginis Dei templum est, animus quid est, qui tamquam membrorum cineribus exagitatis, sacerdotis aeterni redopertus manu, vaporem divini ignis exhalat? Beatae virgines, quae tam

immortali spiratis gratia, ut horti floribus, ut templa religione, ut altaria sacerdote!

CAPUT III.

UT MARIA VITAE informandae, sic Thecla mortis obeundae exemplar dicitur. Hanc a bestiis ad quas damnata fuerat, non solum nihil passam, sed e contrario cultam et adoratam esse. At ne quas superiora exempla deterreant, recentius quoddam narrandum proponitur.

19. Ergo sancta Maria disciplinam vitae informet, Thecla doceat immolari: quae copulam fugiens nuptialem, et sponsi furore damnata, naturam etiam bestiarum virginitatis veneratione mutavit. Namque parata ad feras, cum aspectus quoque declinaret virorum, ac vitalia ipsa saevo offerret leoni, fecit ut qui impudicos detulerant oculos, pudicos referrent.

20. Cernere erat lingentem pedes bestiam cubitare humi, muto testificantem sono quod sacrum virginis corpus violare non posset. Ergo adorabat praedam suam bestia: et propriae oblita naturae, naturam induerat quam homines amiserant. Videres quadam naturae transfusione homines feritatem indutos, saevitiam imperare bestiae: bestiam exosculantem pedes virginis, docere quid homines deberent. Tantum habet virginitas admirationis, ut eam etiam leones mirentur. Non impastos cibus flexit, non citatos impetus rapuit, non stimulatos ira exasperavit, non usus decepit assuetos, non feros natura possedit. Docuerunt religionem dum adorant martyrem: docuerunt etiam castitatem, dum virgini nihil aliud nisi plantas exosculantur, demersis in terram oculis, tamquam verecundantibus, ne mas aliquis vel bestia virginem nudam videret.

21. Dicet aliquis: Cur exemplum attulisti Mariae, quasi reperiri queat matrem Domini quae possit imitari? Cur etiam Theclae, quam gentium Doctor instituit? Da huiuscemodi doctorem, si discipulam requiris.

Huiuscemodi recens vobis exemplum profero, ut intelligatis Apostolum non unius esse doctorem, sed omnium.

CAPUT IV.

ANTIOCHENA VIRGO, CUM sacrificare idolis recusaret, ad lupanar damnata, inde militis christiani opera, mutatis inter se vestibus, sine ullo pudoris damno evadit; at cum ille propterea duceretur ad supplicium, haec e vestigio rediens, constanter de palma cum eodem contendit, qua tandem uterque donati sunt.

22. Antiochiae nuper virgo quaedam fuit fugitans publici visus: sed quo magis virorum evitabat oculos, eo amplius incendebat. Pulchritudo enim audita nec visa plus desideratur, duobus stimulis cupiditatum, amoris et cognitionis: dum et nihil occurrit quod minus placeat, et plus putatur esse quod placeat, quod non iudex oculus explorat, sed animus amator exoptat. Itaque sancta virgo, ne diutius alerentur potiendi spe cupiditates, integritatem pudoris professa, sic restinxit improborum faces, ut non iam amaretur, sed proderetur.

23. Ecce persecutio. Puella fugere nescia, certe pavida, ne incideret insidiatores pudoris, animum ad virtutem paravit: tam religiosa, ut mortem non timeret: tam pudica, ut exspectaret. Venit coronae dies. Maxima omnium exspectatio. Producitur puella, duplex professa certamen, et castitatis, et religionis. Sed ubi viderunt constantiam professionis, metum pudoris, paratam ad cruciatus, erubescentem ad aspectus, excogitare coeperunt quemadmodum specie castitatis religionem tollerent; ut cum id abstulissent quod erat amplius, etiam id eriperent quod reliquerant. Aut sacrificare virginem, aut lupanari prostitui iubent. Quomodo deos suos colunt, qui sic vindicant: aut quemadmodum ipsi vivunt, qui ita iudicant?

24. Hic puella non quod de religione ambigeret; sed de pudore trepidaret, ipsa secum: Quid agimus? Hodie aut martyr, aut virgo: altera in nobis invidetur corona. Sed nec virginis nomen agnoscitur, ubi virginitatis auctor negatur. Nam quemadmodum virgo, si meretricem colas: quemadmodum virgo, si adulteros diligas, quemadmodum virgo, si amorem petas? Tolerabilius est (22, q. 5, cap. Tolerabilius) mentem virginem quam carnem habere. Utrumque bonum, si liceat: si non liceat, saltem non homini castae, sed Deo simus. Et Rahab meretrix fuit, sed postquam Deo credidit, salutem invenit. (Iosue II, 9 et seq.) . Et Iudith se, ut adultero placeret, ornavit (Iudith. IX, 1 et seq.) ; quae tamen quia hoc religione, non amore faciebat, nemo eam adulteram iudicavit. Bene successit exemplum. Nam si illa quae se commisit religioni, et pudorem servavit et patriam; fortassis et nos servando religionem, servabimus etiam castitatem. Quod si Iudith pudicitiam religioni praeferre voluisset, perdita patria, etiam pudicitiam perdidisset.

25. Itaque talibus informata exemplis, simul animo tenens verba Domini, quibus ait: Quicumque perdiderit animam suam propter me, inveniet eam (Marc. X, 39); flevit, tacuit, ne eam vel loquentem adulter audiret: nec pudoris elegit iniuriam, sed Christi recusavit. Aestimate utrum adulterare potuerit corpus, quae nec vocem adulteravit.

26. Iamdudum verecundatur oratio mea, et quasi adire gestorum seriem criminosam atque explanare formidat. Claudite aurem, virgines. Ducitur puella Dei ad lupanar. Sed aperite aurem, virgines. Christi virgo prostitui potest, adulterari non potest. Ubicumque virgo Dei est, templum Dei est: nec lupanaria infamant castitatem, sed castitas etiam loci abolet infamiam.

27. Fit ingens petulantium concursus ad fornicem. Discite martyrum miracula, sanctae virgines, dediscite locorum vocabula. Clauditur intus columba, strepunt accipitres foris: certant singuli, quis praedam primus invadat. At illa manibus ad coelum levatis, quasi ad domum venisset

orationis, non ad libidinis diversorium: Christe, inquit, qui domuisti Danieli virgini feros leones (Dan. XIV, 39) , potes etiam domare hominum feras mentes. Chaldaeis roravit ignis (Dan. III, 50) , Iudaeis se unda suspendit (Exod. XIV, 21) , misericordia tua, non natura sua. Susanna ad supplicium genu fixit, et de adulteris triumphavit (Dan. XIII, 42) : aruit dextera quae templi tui dona violavit (III Reg. XIII, 4) : nunc templum ipsum attrectatur tuum; ne patiaris incestum sacrilegii, qui non passus es furtum. Benedicatur et nunc nomen tuum; ut quae ad adulterium veni, virgo discedam.

28. Vix compleverat precem, et ecce vir militis specie terribilis irrupit. Quemadmodum eum virgo tremuit, cui populus tremens cessit? Sed non illa immemor lectionis: Et Daniel, inquit, supplicium Susannae spectaturus advenerat: et quam populus damnavit, unus absolvit (Dan. XIII, 45 et seq.) . Potest et in hoc lupi habitu ovis latere. Habet et Christus milites suos, qui etiam legiones habet (Matth. XXVI, 53) . Aut fortasse percussor intravit. Ne vereare, anima, talis solet martyres facere. O virgo, fides tua te salvam fecit!

29. Cui miles: Ne, quaeso, paveas, soror. Frater huc veni salvare animam, non perdere. Serva me, ut ipsa serveris. Quasi adulter ingressus, si vis, martyr egrediar. Vestimenta mutemus; conveniunt mihi tua, et mea tibi: sed utraque Christo. Tua vestis me verum militem faciet, mea te virginem. Bene tu vestieris, ego melius exuar, ut me persecutor agnoscat. Sume habitum, qui abscondat feminam: trade, qui consecret martyrem. Induere chlamidem quae occultet membra virginis, servetque pudorem. Sume pileum quod tegat crines, abscondat ora. Solent erubescere qui lupanar intraverint. Sane cum egressa fueris, ne respicias retro, memor uxoris Loth quae naturam suam, quia impudicos licet castis oculis respexit, amisit (Gen. XIX, 26) . Nec vereare ne quid pereat sacrificio. Ego pro te hostiam Deo reddo, tu pro me militem Christo. Habes bonam militiam castitatis, quae stipendiis militat sempiternis: Ioricam iustitiae, quae spiritali munimine corpus includat: scutum fidei, quo vulnus repellas: galeam salutis; ibi enim

est praesidium nostrae salutis, ubi Christus: quoniam mulieris caput vir, virginis Christus.

30. Et inter haec verba chlamydem exuit. Suspectus tamen adhuc habitus et persecutoris et adulteri. Virgo cervicem, chlamydem miles offerre. Quae pompa illa, quae gratia, cum in lupanari de martyrio certarent! Addantur personae, miles et virgo, hoc est, dissimiles inter se natura, sed Dei miseratione consimiles; ut compleatur oraculum: Tunc lupi et agni simul pascentur (Esai. LXV, 25) . Ecce agna et lupus non solum pascuntur simul, sed etiam immolantur. Quid plura? Mutato habitu, evolat puella de laqueo, iam non suis alis, ut pote quae spiritalibus ferebatur: et (quod nulla umquam viderunt saecula) egreditur de lupanari virgo, sed Christi.

31. At illi qui videbant oculis, et non videbant, ceu raptores ad agnam, ceu lupi fremere ad praedam. Unus qui erat immodestior, introivit. Sed ubi hausit oculis rei textum: Quid hoc, inquit, est? Puella ingressa est, vir videtur. Ecce non fabulosum illud cerva pro virgine, sed quod verum est, miles ex virgine. At etiam audieram et non credideram, quod aquam Christus in vinum convertit (Ioan. II, 9) : iam mutare coepit et sexus. Recedamus hinc, dum adhuc qui fuimus, sumus. Numquid et ipse mutatus sum, qui aliud cerno, quam credo? Ad lupanar veni, cerno vadimonium: et tamen mutatus egrediar, pudicus exibo, qui adulter intravi.

32. Indicio rei, quia debebatur tanto corona victori, damnatus est pro virgine, qui pro virgine comprehensus est. Ita de lupanari non solum virgo, sed etiam martyres exierunt. Fertur puella ad locum supplicii cucurrisse, certasse ambos de nece, cum ille diceret: Ego sum iussus occidi, te absolvit sententia, quando me tenuit. At illa clamare coepit: Non ego te mortis vadem elegi, sed praedem pudoris optavi. Si pudor quaeritur, manet sexus: si sanguis exposcitur, fideiussorem non desidero, habeo unde dissolvam. In me lata ista sententia, quae pro me lata est. Certe si pecuniae te fideiussorem dedissem; et absente me, iudex tuum censum feneratori

adiudicasset; eadem me sententia convenires, meo patrimonio solverem tuos nexus. Si recusarem, quis me indignam indigna morte censeret? Quanto maior est capitis huius usura! Moriar innocens, ne moriar nocens. Nihil hic medium est: hodie aut rea ero tui sanguinis, aut martyr mei. Si cito redii, quis me audet excludere? Si moram feci, quis audet absolvere? Plus legibus debeo, rea non solum fugae meae, sed etiam caedis alienae. Sufficiunt membra morti, quae non sufficiebant iniuriae. Est in virgine vulneri locus, qui non erat contumeliae. Ego opprobrium declinavi, non martyrium. Tibi cessi vestem, non professionem mutavi. Quod si mihi praeripis mortem, non redemisti me, sed circumvenisti. Cave, quaeso, ne contendas, cave ne contradicere audeas. Noli eripere beneficium, quod dedisti. Dum mihi hanc sententiam negas, illam restituis superiorem. Sententia enim sententia superiore mutatur. Si posterior me non tenet, tenet superior. Possumus uterque satisfacere sententiae, si me prius patiaris occidi. In te non habent aliam quam exerceant, poenam: in virgine obnoxius pudor est. Itaque gloriosior eris, si videaris de adultera martyrem fecisse, quam de martyre adulteram reddidisse.

33. Quid exspectatis? Duo contenderunt, et ambo vicerunt: nec divisa est corona, sed addita. Ita sancti martyres invicem sibi beneficia conferentes, altera principium martyrio dedit, alter effectum.

CAPUT V.

AMICORUM DUORUM E secta Pythagorea memorabile factum cum laude recensetur; superiori tamen ostenditur esse postponendum: ubi etiam de Dionysii in spoliandis idolis irrisione, nec non de deorum in tolerandis illius sacrilegiis infirmitate disseritur, posita ex adverso quam Deus olim coepit de Ieroboam, severa ultione.

34. At etiam philosophorum gymnasia Damonem et Pythiam Pythagoreos in coelum ferunt, quorum unus cum esset morti adiudicatus, commendandorum suorum tempus poposcit: tyrannus autem astutissimus, quod reperiri non posse existimaret, petivit ut sponsorem daret, qui pro se feriretur, si ipse faceret moram. Quid de duobus praeclarius, nescio. Utrumque praeclarum. Alter mortis vadem invenit, alter se obtulit. Itaque dum reus moram supplicio faceret, fideiussor vultu sereno mortem non recusavit. Cum duceretur, amicus revertitur, cervicem substituit, colla subiecit. Tunc admiratus tyrannus chariorem philosophis amicitiam quam vitam fuisse; petivit ut ipse ab his quos damnaverat, in amicitiam reciperetur. Tantam virtutis esse gratiam, ut et tyrannum inclinaret.

35. Digna laude, sed minora nostris. Nam illic ambo viri; hic una virgo, quae primo etiam sexum vinceret: illi amici, isti incogniti: illi tyranno uni se obtulerunt, isti tyrannis pluribus, hoc etiam crudelioribus, quod ille pepercit, isti occiderunt: inter illos in uno obnoxia necessitas, in his amborum voluntas libera. Hoc quoque isti prudentiores, quod illis studii sui finis amicitiae gratia, istis corona martyrii; illi enim certaverunt hominibus, isti Deo.

36. Et quoniam rei istius fecimus mentionem, par est contexere quid de diis suis senserit, quo magis infirmos iudicetis, quos irrident sui. Namque is cum venisset in templum Iovis, amictum aureum quo operiebatur simulacrum eius, detrahi iussit, imponi laneum, dicens aurum hyeme frigidum, aestate onerosum esse. Sic deum irrisit suum, ut nec onus ferre posse, nec frigus putaret. Idem cum Aesculapii barbam vidisset auream, tolli imperavit, incongruum esse appellans ut filius barbam haberet, patre non habente. Idem simulacris tenentibus aureas pateras ademit, allegans accipere se debere, quod dii darent: Quoniam haec sunt vota, inquit, hominum, ut a diis quae bona sunt, adipiscantur: nihil autem auro melius: quod tamen si malum est, habere deos non debere: si bonum est, habere magis homines debere, qui uti scirent.

37. Ita ludibrio habiti sunt, ut neque Iupiter vestem suam defendere potuerit, nec barbam Aesculapius, nec Apollo pubescere adhuc coeperit, neque omnes qui dicuntur dii, retrahere potuerint pateras quas tenebant: non tam furti reatum timentes, quam sensum non habentes. Quis igitur eos colat, qui nec defendere se quasi dii, nec abscondere quasi homines possunt?

38. At in templo Dei nostri cum Ieroboam, rex sceleratissimus, dona quae pater eius posuerat, auferret, ac super sanctum altare libaret idolis; nonne dextera eius quam tetendit, aruit, nec sua ei quae invocabat, idola profuerunt? Deinde conversus ad Dominum, rogavit veniam, statimque manus eius quae aruerat sacrilegio, sanata est religione (III Reg. XIII, 2 et seq.) . Tam maturum in uno et misericordiae divinae et indignationis exemplum exstitit, ut sacrificanti subito dextera adimeretur, poenitenti venia daretur.

CAPUT VI.

LIBRI SECUNDI CONCLUSIO, qua testatur Auctor modestissimus, si quid hactenus boni scripserit, id totum in virginum merita referendum: sui autem officii fuisse asseverat, antequam severiora traderet praecepta, earam animos orationis atque exemplorum suavitate mulcere; quod et humano usu, et divinorum codicum auctoritate demonstrat.

39. Haec ego vobis, sanctae virgines, nondum triennalis sacerdos munuscula paravi, licet usu indoctus, sed vestris edoctus moribus. Quantus etenim adolescere usus potuit tam parva initiatae religionis aetate? Si quos hic flores cernitis, de vestrae vitae collectos legite sinu. Non sunt haec praecepta virginibus, sed de virginibus exempla. Vestrae virtutis effigiem nostra depinxit oratio, vestrae gravitatis imaginem quasi in speculo quodam sermonis istius cernitis refulgere. Vos si quam nostro gratiam inhalastis ingenio, vestrum est quidquid iste redolet liber. Et quoniam quot homines, tot sententiae: si quid defaecatum est in sermone nostro, omnes legant: si quid decoctum, maturiores probent: si quid modestum, pectoribus inhaereat, genas pingat: si quid florulentum, aetas florulenta non improbet.

40. Debuimus sponsae excitare amorem; scriptum est enim: Diliges Dominum Deum tuum (Deut. VI, 5) . Debuimus in nuptiis calamistris quibusdam crines saltem orationis ornare; scriptum est enim: Plaude manu, et percute pede (Ezech. XXI, 14) . Debuimus perpetuos spargere thalamos rosis. Etiam in his coniugiis temporalibus nubenti prius plauditur, quam imperatur; ne ante dura offendant imperia, quam blanditiis amor fotus inolescat.

41. Equorum vis plausae sonitum discit amare cervicis, ne recuset iugum. Denique prius assuescitur verbo lasciviae, quam verbere disciplinae. Ast ubi colla subdiderit iugo; et habena constringit, et stimulus urget, et compares trahunt, et iugalis invitat. Sic etiam virgo nostra debuit prius amore pio ludere, aurea thori coelestis fulcra mirari in ipso vestibulo nuptiarum, et postes frondium sertis cernere coronatos, et chori strepentis interius haurire delicias; ne se prius Dominico iugo timefacta subduceret, quam vocata inclinaret.

42. Veni igitur huc a Libano, Sponsa, veni huc a Libano, transibis et pertransibis (Cant. IV, 8) . Saepius euim nobis iste versiculus recantandus est; ut vel Dominicis vocata verbis, sequatur, si qua non credit humanis. Hoc nos magisterium non invenimus, sed accepimus; sic instituit mystici carminis doctrina coelestis: Osculetur me ab osculis oris sui, quia ubera tua super vinum, et odor unguentorum tuorum super omnia aromata. Unguentum exinanitum est nomen tuum (Cant. I, 1, 2) . Totus iste deliciarum locus ludum sonat, plausum excitat, amorem provocat. Ideo, inquit, adolescentulae dilexerunt, et attraxerunt te: retro odorem unguentorum tuorum curramus: Induxit me Rex in tabernaculum suum (Ibid., 3) . Ab osculis coepit, ut ad tabernaculum perveniret.

43. At illa tam patiens duri laboris, exercitataeque virtutis, ut aperiat manu claustra, in agrum exeat, in castellis maneat; in principio tamen retro odorem currit unguenti: mox cum in tabernaculum venerit unguentum mutatur a castellis. Denique quo vadit, vide: Si murus, inquit, est, aedificemus super eum turres argenteas (Cant. VIII, 9) . Quae ludebat osculis, iam turres erigit; ut pretiosis sanctorum turrita fastigiis, non solum hostiles frustretur incursus, verum etiam bonorum propugnacula struat tuta meritorum.

LIBER III

- CAPUT 1.

Liberii Marcellinam dato virginitatis velamine consecrantis refertur oratio: cuius exordium tum a frequentia confluentium ad illius Sponsi nuptias, a quo ipsos pascendos narrat, deducit: tum a convenientia diei quo ex virgine natus est Christus, ad cuius amorem eleganti perfectionum eius descriptione illam inflammat.

1. Quoniam quae habuimus superioribus duobus libris digessimus, tempus est, soror sancta, ea quae mecum conferre soles, beatae memoriae Liberii praecepta revolvere; ut quo vir sanctior, eo sermo accedat gratior. Namque is, cum Salvatoris natali ad apostolum Petrum virginitatis professionem vestis quoque mutatione signares, (quo enim melius die, quam quo virgo posteritatem acquisivit?) astantibus etiam puellis Dei compluribus quae certarent invicem de tua societate: Bonas, inquit, filia, nuptias desiderasti. Vides quantus ad natalem Sponsi tui populus convenerit, ut nemo impastus recedit? Hic est qui rogatus ad nuptias aquam in vina convertit (Ioan. II, 9) . In te quoque sincerum sacramentum conferet virginitatis, quae prius eras obnoxia vilibus naturae materialis elementis. Hic est qui quinque panibus et duobus piscibus quatuor millia populi in deserto pavit (Luc. IX, 13 et seq.) . Plures potuit, si plures iam tunc qui pascerentur, fuissent. Denique ad tuas nuptias plures vocavit: sed iam non panis ex hordeo, sed corpus ministratur e coelo.

2. Hodie quidem secundum hominem homo natus ex virgine, sed ante omnia generatus ex Patre: qui matrem corpore, virtute referat patrem. Unigenitus in terris, unigenitus in coelo: Deus ex Deo, partus ex virgine:

iustitia de Patre, virtus de potente, lumen ex lumine: non impar generantis, non potestate discretus: non Verbi extensione, aut prolatione confusus, ut cum Patre mixtus, sed ut a Patre generationis iure distinctus sit: ipse est fraternus tuus, sine quo nec coelestia, nec marina, nec terrestria, consistunt (Cant. V, 1) . Verbum Patris bonum, quod erat, inquit, in principio: habes eius aeternitatem. Et erat, inquit, apud Patrem (Ioan. I, 1 et seq.) : habes indiscretam a Patre, inseparabilemque virtutem. Et Deus erat Verbum: habes ingenitam eius divinitatem; de compendio enim tibi fides est haurienda.

3. Hunc, filia, dilige, quia bonus est: Nemo enim bonus nisi unus Deus (Luc. XVIII, 19) . Si enim non dubitatur quia Deus Filius, Deus autem bonus est: utique non dubitatur, quia Deus bonus Filius. Hunc, inquam, dilige. Ipse est quem Pater genuit ante Luciferum, ut aeternum: ex utero generavit (Psal. CIX, 3) , ut Filium: ex corde eructavit (Psal. XLIV, 2) , ut Verbum. Ipse est in quo complacuit Pater (Matth. XVII, 5) : ipse est Patris brachium, quia creator est omnium: Patris sapientia (Coloss. II, 3) , quia ex Dei ore processit: Patris virtus (Cor. I, 30) , quia divinitatis in eo corporaliter habitat plenitudo. Quem Pater ita diligit, ut in sinu portet, ad dexteram locet, ut sapientiam discas, virtutem noveris.

4. Si igitur virtus Dei Christus, numquid aliquando sine virtute Deus? Numquid aliquando sine Filio Pater? Si semper ntique Pater, utique semper et Filius. Perfecti ergo patris perfectus est Filius. Nam qui virtuti derogat, ei derogat, cuius est virtus. Inaequalitatem non recipit perfecta divinitas. Dilige igitur, quem Pater diligit: honorifica, quem honorificat Pater: Qui enim non honorificat Filium, non honorificat Patrem. Et qui negat Filium, nec Patrem habet (Ioan. V, 23) . Haec quantum ad fidem.

CAPUT II.

VIRGINIS INSTITUTIONEM AGGREDITUR, quae in potu et cibo ratio servanda, et quo pacto motus animae cohibendi sint, praecipiens: qua occasione ubi fabulosam Hippolyti necem ac suscitationem retulit suggillavitque, postremo calidiores escas et convivia vitanda monet.

5. Sed interdum etiam cum fides tuta sit, iuventus suspecta est. Modico itaque vino utere, ne infirmitatem corporis augeas, non ut voluptatem excites; incendunt enim pariter duo, vinum et adolescentia. Infrenent etiam teneram aetatem ieiunia, et parcimonia cibi retinaculis quibusdam indomitas cohibeat cupiditates. Ratio revocet, mitiget spes, restringat metus. Nam qui moderari nescit cupiditatibus, is sicut equis raptatus indomitis, volvitur, obteritur, laniatur, affligitur.

6. Quod aliquando iuveni ob amorem Dianae contigisse proditur. Sed poeticis mendaciis coloratur fabula, ut Neptunus praelati rivalis dolore incitatus, equis dicatur furorem immisisse, quo eius magna potentia praedicetur, quod iuvenem non virtute vicit, sed fraude decepit. Unde etiam sacrificium quotannis instaurant Dianae, ut equus ad eius immoletur aras. Quam virginem dicunt, quae (id quod etiam meretrices erubescere solent) amare potuit non amantem. Sed habeant per me licet fabulae suae auctoritatem; quia licet scelestum utrumque, minus tamen sit iuvenem amore adulterae sic flagrasse ut periret, quam duos, ut ipsi dicunt, deos de adulterio certasse: Iovem autem dolorem scortantis filiae in medicum vindicasse adulteri, quod eius curarit vulnera, qui Dianam in silvis adulteraverit, venatricem sane optimam non ferarum, sed libidinum, sed ferarum etiam, ut nuda venaretur.

7. Dent igitur Neptuno dominatum furoris, ut astruant crimen incesti amoris. Dent Dianae regnum in silvis quas incolebat, ut confirment adulterium quod gerebat. Dent Aesculapio quod mortuum reformaverit, dummodo profiteantur quod fulminatus ipse non evaserit. Dent etiam Iovi fulmina quae non habuit, ut testificentur quae habuit opprobria. Sed a fabulis ad propositum revertamur.

8. Escis quoque omnibus quae gignant membris calorem, parce utendum puto; carnes enim etiam aquilas volantes deponunt. In vobis quoque ales interior illa, de qua legimus: Renovabitur sicut aquila iuventus tua (Psal. CII, 5) , sublime tenens, virgineo praepes volatu, superfluae carnis nesciat appetentiam. Conviviorum devitandae celebritates, fugiendae salutationes.

CAPUT III.

HORTATUR AD FUGIENDAS visitationes, ad servandum pudorem, nec non ad silentium exemplo Mariae per mysteriorum celebrationem praebendum: ea gratia ethnici adolescentis facto, et profani poetae dicto memoratis, sancti cuiusdam sacerdotis miraculum adiungit.

9. Ipsas visitationes in iunioribus esse parciores volo, si forte deferendum sit parentibus aut aequalibus. Teritur enim officiis pudor, audacia emicat, risus subrepit, modestia solvitur, dum affectatur urbanitas: interroganti non respondere, infantia: respondere, fabula est. Deesse igitur sermonem virgini, quam superesse malim. Nam si mulieres etiam de rebus divinis in Ecclesia iubentur tacere, domi viros suos interrogare (I Cor. XIV, 34) : de virginibus quid cautum putamus, in quibus pudor ornat aetatem, taciturnitas commendat pudorem?

10. An vero mediocre pudoris exemplum est, quod Rebecca cum veniret ad nuptias, et sponsum vidisset, velamen accepit (Gen. XXIV, 65) ; ne prius videretur, quam iungeretur? Et utique pulchra virgo non decori timuit, sed pudori. Quid Rachel; quemadmodum extorto osculo, flevit et gemuit: nec flere desisset, nisi proximum cognovisset (Gen. XXIX, 11, 12) ? Ita et pudoris servavit officium, et pietatis non omisit affectum. Quod si viro dicitur: Virginem ne consideres, ne quando scandalizet te (Eccli. IX, 5) ; quid dicendum est sacratae virgini, quae si amet, animo peccat, si amatur, et facto?

11. Maxima est virtus tacendi, praesertim in Ecclesia. Nulla te divinarum sententia fugiet lectionum, si aurem admoveas, vocem premas. Nullum ex ore verbum quod revocare velis, proferas: sed parcior loquendi fiducia sit.

Copiosum quippe in multiloquio peccatum. Homicidae dictum est: Peccasti, quiesce (Prov. X, 19) , ne peccaret amplius: sed virgini dicendum est: Quiesce, ne pecces. Conservabat enim Maria, ut legimus, omnia in corde suo quae de Filio dicebantur (Luc. II, 19) : et tu cum legitur aliquid quo Christus aut venturus annuntiatur, aut venisse ostenditur; noli fabulando obstrepere, sed mentem admove. An quidquam est indignius, quam oracula divina circumstrepi, ne audiantur, ne credantur, ne revelentur: circumsonare sacramenta confusis vocibus, ut impediatur oratio pro salute deprompta omnium?

12. Gentiles idolis suis reverentiam tacendo deferunt. Unde illud exemplum proditur: Alexandro sacrificante Macedonum rege, puerulum barbarum qui ei lumen accenderet, excepisse ignem brachio, atque adusto corpore, mansisse immobilem, nec dolorem prodidisse gemitu, nec tacito poenam indicasse fletu. Tanta in puero barbaro fuit disciplina reverentiae, ut natura vinceretur. Atque ille non deos, qui nulli erant, sed regem timebat. Quid enim timeret eos, quos si idem ignis contigisset, arsissent?

13. Quanto melius quod quidam in convivio patris adolescens iubetur ne meretricios amores indiciis insolentibus prodat? Et tu in mysterio, Dei virgo, gemitus, screatus, tussis, risus abstine. Quod ille in convivio potest, tu in mysterio non potes? Voce virginitas prima signetur, claudat ora pudor, debilitatem excludat religio, instituat consuetudo naturam. Virginem mihi prius gravitas sua nuntiet, pudore obvio, gradu sobrio, vultu modesto; et praenuntia integritatis anteeant signa virtutis. Non satis probabilis virgo est quae requiritur, cum videtur.

14. Frequens sermo est, cum plurima ranarum murmura religiosae auribus plebis obstreperent, sacerdotem Dei praecepisse ut conticescerent, ac reverentiam sacrae deferrent orationi; tunc subito circumfusos strepitus quievisse. Silent igitur paludes, homines non silebunt? Et irrationabile animal per reverentiam recognoscit, quod per naturam ignorat: hominum

tanta est immodestia, ut plerique deferre nesciant mentium religioni, quod deferunt aurium voluptati?

CAPUT IV.

RECITATA LIBERII EXHORTATIONE, sororis virtutes laudat Ambrosius, maxime vero ieiunium illius, quod tamen ut tantisper remittat, alternisque exercitiis mentem colat, hortatur, adductis in eam rem exemplis elegantissimis. Praeterea ipsam ad preces frequentandas, orationem Dominicam et psalmos noctu etiam repetendos, recitandumque antelucanis horis symbolum urget.

15. Haec tecum sanctae memoriae Liberius: quae apud alios maiora veris, apud te minora exemplis; ita omnem disciplinam non solum virtute adaequasti, sed etiam aemulatione vicisti. Namque ieiunium in praeceptis habemus, sed singulorum dierum: tu autem multiplicatis noctibus ac diebus, innumera tempora sine cibo transigis; et siquando rogaris ut cibum sumas, paulisper deponas codicem, respondes illico: Non in pane solo vivit homo, sed in omni verbo Dei (Matth. IV, 4) . Ipse epularum usus cibis obviis; ut edendi fastidio ieiunium desideretur: potus e fonte, fletus in prece, somnus in codice.

16. Haec iunioribus convenere annis, donec mens aevi matura canesceret: ast ubi domiti trophaeum corporis virgo sustulerit, moderandum labori, ut magistra suppari servetur aetati. Cito fecundis onerata palmitibus emeritae aetatis vitis crepat, nisi aliquando reprimatur. Eadem tamen donec adolescit, exuberet, et inveterata putetur; ne silvescat sarmentis, aut fetu nimio exanimata moriatur. Bonus agricola optimam vitem et fotu terrae cohibet, et defendit a frigore, et ne meridiano sole uratur, explorat. Agrum quoque vicibus exercet: vel si non patitur otiosum, diversa alternat semina, mutatis ut fetibus arva requiescant. Tu quoque, virgo veterana, pectoris tui

colles diversis saltem seminibus sere, nunc alimoniis mediocribus, nunc ieiuniis parcioribus, lectione, opere, prece; ut mutatio laboris induciae sint quietis.

17. Non totus messem generat ager. Hinc de collibus vineta consurgunt, illic purpurascentes cernas olivas, hic olentes rosas. Saepe etiam relictis aratris, ipse validus agricola digito solum scalpit, ut florum deponat radices: et asperis manibus quibus luctantes inter vineta flectit iuvencos, molliter ovium pressat ubera. Eo quippe melior ager est, quo numerosior fructus. Ergo et tu boni agricolae exemplum secuta, non perennibus ieiuniis tamquam depressis vomeribus humum tuam findas. Floreat in hortis tuis rosa pudoris, lilium mentis, et irriguum sacri sanguinis violaria bibant fontem. Vulgo hoc ferunt: Quod velis prolixe facere, aliquando ne feceris. Debet esse aliquid, quod Quadragesimae diebus addatur: sed ita, ut nihil ostentationis causa fiat, sed religionis.

18. Oratio quoque nos Deo crebra commendet. Si enim propheta dicit: Septies in die laudem dixi tibi (Psal. CXVIII, 164) , qui regni erat necessitatibus occupatus; quid nos facere oportet, qui legimus: Vigilate et orate, ne intretis in tentationem (Matth. XXVI, 41) ? Certe solemnes orationes cum gratiarum actione sunt deferendae, cum e somno surgimus, cum prodimus, cum cibum paramus sumere, cum sumpserimus, et hora incensi, cum denique cubitum pergimus.

19. Sed etiam in ipso cubili volo psalmos cum oratione Dominica frequenti contexas vice, vel cum evigilaveris, vel antequam corpus sopor irriget; ut te in ipso quietis exordio rerum saecularium cura liberam, divina meditantem somnus inveniat. Denique etiam qui primus philosophiae ipsius nomen invenit, quotidie priusquam cubitum iret, tibicinem iubebat molliora canere, ut anxia curis saecularibus corda mulceret. Sed ille, sicut is qui laterem lavat, saecularia saecularibus frustra cupiebat abolere; magis enim se oblinibat luto, qui remedium a voluptate quaerebat: nos autem

terrenorum vitiorum colluvione detersa, ab omni inquinamento carnis mentium interna mundemus.

20. Symbolum quoque specialiter debemus tamquam nostri signaculum cordis antelucanis horis quotidie recensere: quo etiam cum horremus aliquid, animo recurrendum est. Quando enim sine militiae sacramento, miles in tentorio, bellator in praelio?

CAPUT V.

AD LACRYMAS FUNDENDAS hortatus Davidis versiculo, vocem lectum docet hic simpliciter accipi posse, vel figurate, ut corpus nostrum significet: quam acceptionem probat et confirmat. Quomodo Christus corpus doloris susceperit, stratumque versaverit in infirmitate? Omnia in honorem Christi referenda, et spiritali laetitia exsultandum, non autem illa, quae in conviviis insaniens Ioanni Baptistae mortem intulit.

21. Iam illud quis non ad nostram institutionem dictum intelligat, quod ait sanctus Propheta: Lavabo per singulas noctes lectum meum, lacrymis meis stratum meum rigabo (Psal. VI, 7) ? Nam sive lectum iuxta litteram intelligas, tantam ubertatem ostendit profundi oportere lacrymarum; ut lavetur lectus, stratum rigetur fletibus obsecrantis: fletus enim praesentium, merces est futurorum; quoniam beati qui fletis, ipsi enim ridebitis (Luc. VI, 21) : sive pro corpore accipiamus propheticum dictum, delicta corporis poenitentiae lacrymis abluamus. Fecit enim sibi lectum Salomon ex lignis Libani, columnae eius erant argenteae, acclinatorium eius aureum, dorsum eius gemmatum stratum (Cant. III, 9, 10) . Quis est iste lectus, nisi nostri corporis species? Namque in gemmis aerii species fulgoris ostenditur, in auro ignis, aqua in argento, terra per lignum: ex quibus corpus humanum quatuor constat elementis, in quo nostra recubat anima; si non aspero montium, non humi arido expers quietis existat, sed sublimis a vitiis, ligno fulta requiescat. Unde etiam David dicit: Dominus opem ferat illi super lectum doloris eius (Psal. XL, 4) . Nam lectus doloris esse qui potest, cum dolere non possit, qui non habeat sensum? Corpus autem doloris sicut

corpus est mortis eius: Infelix ego homo, quis me liberabit de corpore mortis huius (Rom. VII, 24) ?

22. Et quoniam versiculum induximus, in quo Dominici corporis fecimus mentionem; ne quem forte perturbet legentem quod Dominus corpus suscepit doloris, recordetur quia Lazari mortem et doluit et flevit (Ioan. XI, 35) , et in passione est vulneratus, atque ex vulnere sanguis et aqua exivit (Ioan. XIX, 34) , spiritumque exhalavit. Aqua ad lavacrum, sanguis ad potum, spiritus ad resurrectionem. Unus enim Christus est nobis spes, fides, charitas: spes in resurrectione, fides in lavacro, charitas in sacramento.

23. Tamen ut corpus suscepit doloris, ita etiam stratum in infirmitate versavit (Ps. XL, 4) ; quia convertit in commodum carnis humanae. Nam passione infirmitas est soluta, mors resurrectione. Et tamen moerere pro saeculo, gaudere debetis in Domino: tristes ad poenitentiam, alacres ad gratiam; licet et flere cum flentibus, et gaudere cum gaudentibus oportere gentium Doctor salutari praeceptione praescripserit (Rom. XII, 15) .

24. Verum qui penitus enodare cicatricem omnem desiderat quaestionis, ad eumdem confugiat Apostolum: Omne, inquit, quodcumque facitis in verbo aut in facto in nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi, gratias agentes Deo Patri per ipsum (Coloss. III, 17) . Omnia ergo dicta nostra factaque referamus ad Christum, qui vitam fecit ex morte, et lucem creavit ex tenebris. Namque ut corpus aegrotum nunc calidioribus fovetur, nunc frigidioribus temperatur; remediorumque mutatio, si iuxta praeceptum fiat medici, salutaris est: si contra mandatum usurpetur, languoris augmentum est; ita medico nostro quidquid penditur Christo, remedium est: quidquid usurpatur, incommodum.

25. Debet igitur bene consciae mentis esse laetitia, non inconditis comessationibus, non nuptialibus excitata symphoniis; ibi enim intuta verecundia, illecebra suspecta est, ubi comes deliciarum est extrema saltatio. Ab hac virgines Dei procul esse desidero. Nemo enim, ut dixit

quidam saecularium doctor, saltat sobrius, nisi insanit. Quod si iuxta sapientiam saecularem, saltationis aut temulentia auctor est, aut amentia; quid divinarum Scripturarum cautum putamus exemplis cum Ioannes praenuntius Christi, saltatricis optione iugulatus, exemplo sit plus nocuisse saltationis illecebram, quam sacrilegi furoris amentiam?

CAPUT VI.

MENTIONE SANCTI PRAECURSORIS inductus, omnia caedis eius adiuncta quam eloquentissime describit et amplificat, ut a saltatione impiorumque conviviis deterreat.

26. Et quoniam talis viri non strictim praetereunda est recordatio, interest ut quis, et a quibus, et quam ob causam, quomodo, et quo tempore sit occisus, advertere debeamus. Ab adulteris iustus occiditur, et a reis in iudicem capitalis sceleris poena convertitur. Deinde praemium saltatricis mors est prophetae. Postremo (quod etiam omnes barbari horrere consueverunt) inter epulas atque convivia consummandae crudelitatis profertur edictum: et a convivio ad carcerem, de carcere ad convivium feralis flagitii circumfortur obsequium. Quanta in uno facinore sunt crimina!

27. Exstruitur regifico luxu ferale convivium, et explorato quando maior solito turba convenerit, reginae filia intimis mandata secretis, in conspectu virorum saltatura producitur (Marc. VI, 21) . Quid enim potuit de adultera discere, nisi damnum pudoris? An quidquam est tam pronum ad libidines, quam inconditis motibus ea quae vel natura abscondit, vel disciplina velavit, membrorum operta nudare, ludere oculis, rotare cervicem, comam spargere? Merito inde in iniuriam divinitatis proceditur. Quid enim ibi verecundiae potest esse, ubi saltatur, strepitur, concrepatur?

28. Tunc rex, inquit, delectatus, dixit puellae, ut peteret a rege quod vellet. Deinde iuravit quod vel dimidium regni, si petisset, concederet (Ibid., 22, 23) . Vide quemadmodum saeculares ipsi de saecularibus suis iudicant potestatibus, ut pro saltatione etiam regna donentur. Puella autem

admonita a matre sua, poposcit afferri sibi in disco caput Ioannis. Quod dicit: Rex contristatus est (Ibid., 25 et seq.) ; non poenitentia regis, sed confessio iniquitatis est: quam divinae habet consuetudo sententiae, ut qui gesserunt impia, ipsi propria confessione se damnent. Sed propter discumbentes, inquit. Quid indignius quam ut homicidium fieri iuberet, ne discumbentibus displiceret? Et propter ius, inquit, iurandum. O religionem novam! Tolerabilius peierasset. Unde non immerito Dominus in Evangelio iubet non esse iurandum, ne sit causa periurii; ne sit necessitas delinquendi. Itaque ne iusiurandum violaretur, percutitur innocens (Matth. V, 34) . Quid prius horrescam nescio. Tolerabiliora periuria, quam sacramenta sunt tyrannorum.

29. Quis non cum e convivio ad carcerem cursare videret, putaret prophetam iussum esse dimitti? Quis, inquam, cum audisset natalem esse Herodis, solemne convivium, puellae optionem eligendi quod vellet datam, missum ad Ioannis absolutionem non arbitraretur? Quid crudelitati cum deliciis? quid cum funeribus voluptati? Rapitur ad poenam propheta convivali tempore, convivali praecepto, quo non cuperet vel absolvi: perimitur gladio, caput eius affertur in disco (Marc. VI, 27 et seq.) . Hoc crudelitati ferculum debebatur, quo insatiata epulis feritas vesceretur.

30. Intuere, rex acerbissime, tuo spectacula digna convivio. Porrige dexteram, ne quid saevitiae tuae desit; ut inter digitos tuos rivi defluant sancti cruoris. Et quoniam non exsaturari epulis fames, non restingui poculis potuit inauditae saevitiae sitis; bibe sanguinem scaturientibus adhuc venis exsecti capitis profluentem. Cerne oculos in ipsa morte sceleris tui testes, adversantes conspectum deliciarum. Clauduntur lumina non tam mortis necessitate, quam horrore luxuriae. Os aureum illud exsangue, cuius sententiam ferre non poteras, conticescit, et adhuc times. Lingua tamen, quae solet etiam post mortem officium servare viventis, palpitante licet

motu, damnabat incestum. Portatur hoc caput ad Herodiadem: laetatur, exsultat, quasi crimen evaserit; quia iudicem trucidavit.

31. Quid dicitis vos, sanctae feminae? Videtis quid docere, quid etiam dedocere filias debeatis? Saltat, sed adulterae filia. Quae vero pudica, quae casta est, filias suas religionem doceat, non saltationem. Vos autem, graves et prudentes viri, discite detestabilium hominum epulas vitare. Si talia sunt convivia, qualia iudicia perfidorum?

CAPUT VII.

QUAERENTI MARCELLINAE QUID sentiendum de illis, qui ne in persecutorum manus deveniant, sibi vim inferunt, respondet; eoque Pelagiae virginis, nec non eiusdem matris ac sororum exemplum oculis subiicit, singulari elegantia descriptum: quibus beatae Sotheris ex qua ipse cum Marcellina ducebant originem, martyrium adiicit.

32. Iam ad finem orationis velapandenti bene suggeris, soror sancta, quid de earum meritis existimandum sit, quae se praecipitavere ex alto, vel in fluvium demerserunt, ne persecutorum inciderent manus; cum Scriptura divina vim sibi Christianam prohibeat inferre. Et quidem de virginibus in necessitate custodiae constitutis enodem habemus assertionem, cum martyrii exstet exemplum.

33. Sancta Pelagia apud Antiochiam quondam fuit, annorum fere quindecim, soror virginum, et ipsa virgo. Haec primo domi classico persecutionis inclusa, cum se a praedonibus fidei vel pudoris circumsideri videret, absente matre et sororibus, vacua praesidio, sed Deo plenior: Quid agimus, inquit, nisi prospicias, captiva virginitatis? Et votum est, et metus est mori; quia mors non excipitur, sed adsciscitur. Moriamur si licet, vel si nolunt licere, moriamur. Deus remedio non offenditur, et facinus fides ablevat. Certe si vim ipsam nominis cogitemus, quae vis voluntaria? Illa magis est vis, mori velle, nec posse. Nec difficultatem veremur. Quis enim est qui vult mori, et non possit; cum sint ad mortem tam proclives viae? Iam enim sacrilegas aras praecipitata subvertam, et accensos focos cruore restinguam. Non timeo ne dextera deficiens non peragat ictum, ne pectus se dolore subducat. Nullum peccatum carni relinquam. Non verebor, ne desit

gladius. Possumus mori nostris armis, possumus mori sine carnificis beneficio, matris in gremio.

34. Fertur ornasse caput, nuptialem induisse vestem; ut non ad mortem ire diceres, sed ad sponsum. Ast ubi detestandi persecutores ereptam sibi viderunt praedam pudoris, matrem et sorores coeperunt quaerere. Verum illae spiritali volatu iam campum castitatis tenebant, cum subito hinc persecutoribus imminentibus, inde torrente fluvio exclusae a fuga, inclusae ad coronam: Quid veremur, inquiunt? Ecce aqua, quis nos baptizari prohibet (Act. VIII, 36) ? Et hoc baptisma est, quo peccata donantur, regna quaeruntur. Et hoc baptisma est, post quod nemo delinquit. Excipiat nos aqua, quae regenerare consuevit. Excipiat nos aqua, quae virgines facit. Excipiat nos aqua, quae coelum aperit, infirmos tegit, mortem abscondit, martyres reddit. Te, rerum conditor, precamur, Deus, ne exanimata spiritu corpora vel unda dispergat; ne mors separet funera, quarum vitam non separavit affectus: sed sit una constantia, una mors, una etiam sepultura.

35. Haec effatae, et suspenso paululum incinctum sinu, quo pudorem tegerent, nec gressum impedirent, consertis manibus tamquam choros ducerent, in medium progrediuntur alveum; ubi unda torrentior, ubi profundum abruptius, illo vestigium dirigentes. Nulla pedem retulit, nulla suspendit incessum, nulla tentavit ubi gressum figeret: anxiae cum terra occurreret, offensae vado, laetae profundo. Videres piam matrem stringentem nodo manus, gaudere de pignore, timere de casu, ne sibi filias vel fluctus auferret. Has tibi, inquit, hostias, Christe, immolo praesules castitatis, duces itineris, comites passionis.

36. Sed quis iure miretur tantam viventibus fuisse constantiam, cum etiam defunctae immobilem stationem corporum vindicaverint? Non cadaver unda nudavit, non rapidi cursus fluminis volutarunt. Quin etiam sancta mater licet sensu carens, pietatis tamen adhuc servabat amplexum: et religiosum quem strinxerat, nodum nec in morte laxabat; ut quae religioni

debitum solverat, pietate haerede moreretur. Nam quas ad martyrium iunxerat, usque ad tumulum vindicabat.

37. Sed quid alienigenis apud te, soror, utor exemplis, quam haereditariae castitatis inspirata successio parentis infusione martyris erudivit? Unde enim didicisti, quae non habuisti unde disceres, constituta in agro, nulla socia virgine, nullo informata doctore? Non ergo discipulam, quod fieri sine magisterio non potest, sed haeredem virtutis egisti.

38. Qui enim fieri posset ut sancta Sotheris tibi non esset mentis auctor, cui auctor est generis? Quae persecutionis aetate, servilibus quoque contumeliis ad fastigium passionis evecta, etiam vultum ipsum qui inter cruciatus totius corporis liber esse consuevit iniuriae, et spectare potius tormenta quam perpeti, carnifici dedit: tam fortis et patiens, ut cum teneras poenae offerret genas, prius carnifex caedendo defecerit, quam martyr iniuriae cederet. Non vultum inflexit, non ora convertit: non gemitum, non lacrymam dedit. Denique cum caetera poenarum genera vicisset, gladium quem quaerebat, invenit.

Sermo contra Auxentium de basilicis tradendis

[POPULI OB IMPERIALEM iussum sollicitudinem levaturus, responsum suum exponit, additque ad consistorium se non ivisse, quod basilicae traditionem esset veritus. Tum adversariis ad disceptandum in ecclesia provocatis, negat se armis exterreri: suoque de sacris vasis responso memorato, paratum se ad certamina esse testatur. Eludi non posse dei decretum, nec praesidium ipsius superari, sed in servis suis pati eumdem velle. Cum ipse antea non fuerit captus, liquere quam inaniter haeretici tumultuentur. Deinde ubi Nabuthae historiam, et Christi ingressum in Ierusalem rei praesenti accomodavit, Auxentii perstringit crudelem legem, solutisque Arianorum obiectionibus, libenter se coram populo disputaturum praedicat: Auxentium vero iam a paganis, quos in iudices elegerat, damnatum, sicut et a Paulo et Christo ipso. Quod idem haereticus ad Caesarem provocaret, eum oblitum anni superioris: et [Arianos], dum servis Christi conflant invidiam, multo peiores esse Iudaeis: ecclesiam enim non Caesaris, sed Christi praeferre imaginem. Sub quae ubi pauca de suo responso et hymnis adiecit, se non inoboedientem, at imperatorem ecclesiae filium, et Auxentium plusquam Iudaeum esse declarat.]

1. Video vos praeter solitum subito esse turbatos atque asservantes mei; miror quod hoc fit, nisi forte quia per tribunos me vidistis alii, audistis alii imperiali mandato esse conventum, ut quo vellem abirem hinc et si qui vellent sequendi potestatem haberent. Metuistis ergo ne ecclesiam

desererem et dum saluti meae timeo vos relinquerem? Sed quid et ipse mandaverim potuistis advertere: deserendae ecclesiae mihi voluntatem subesse non posse, quia plus dominum mundi quam saeculi huius imperatorem timerem, sane si me vis aliqua abduceret ab ecclesia, carnem meam exturbari posse non mentem, paratum me esse, ut si ille faceret quod solet esse regiae potestatis, ego subirem quod sacerdotis esse consuevit.

2. Quid ergo turbamini? Volens numquam vos deseram, coactus repugnare non novi. Dolere potero, potero flere, potero gemere; adversus arma milites Gothos quoque lacrimae meae arma sunt, talia enim munimenta sunt sacerdotis. Aliter nec debeo nec possum resistere. Fugere autem et relinquere ecclesiam non soleo, ne quis gravioris poenae metu factum interpretetur. Scitis et vos ipsi quod imperatoribus soleam deferre non cedere, suppliciis me libenter offerre nec metuere quae parantur.

3. Utinam essem securus quod ecclesia haereticis minime traderetur! Ad palatium imperatoris irem libenter, si hoc congrueret sacerdotis officio, ut in palatio magis certarem quam in ecclesia. Sed in consistorio non reus solet Christus esse sed iudex. Causam fidei in ecclesia agendam quis abnuat? Si quis confidit, huc veniat; inclinatum iam vel imperatoris iudicium, quod lata lege patefecit, quod impugnat fidem, vel sperata ambientium quorundam studia non requirat. Non committo ut quisquam vendat iniuriam Christi.

4. Circumfusi milites, armorum crepitus, quibus vallata est ecclesia, fidem non terrent meam, sed mentem exagitant, ne dum me tenetis, perniciosum aliquid vestrae oboriatur saluti. Ego enim iam didici non timere, sed vobis timere plus coepi. Sinite, quaeso, vestrum sacerdotem congredi; habemus adversarium qui lacessit, adversarius enim noster diabolus, sicut leo rugiens circuit quaerens quem devoret, ut apostolus dixit {I Pet. 5, 8}. Accepit sine dubio, accepit - non fallimur sed admonemur - temptandi huiusmodi potestatem, ne forte corporis mei vulneribus possim a fidei intentione revocari. Legistis et vos quia multis his temptavit sanctum Iob diabolus, ad

postremum potestatem huiusmodi petiit et accepit, ut temptaret corpus eius, quod perfudit ulceribus.

5. Cum esset propositum, ut ecclesiae vasa iam traderemus, hoc responsi reddidi: me si de meis aliquid posceretur, aut fundus aut domus aut aurum aut argentum, id quod mei iuris esset libenter offerre, templo dei nihil posse decerpere nec tradere illud quod custodiendum non tradendum acceperim; deinde consulere me etiam imperatoris saluti, quia nec mihi expediret tradere nec illi accipere; accipiat enim vocem liberi sacerdotis, si vult sibi esse consultum, recedat a Christi iniuria.

6. Haec plena humilitatis sunt et ut arbitror plena affectus eius quem imperatori debet sacerdos. Sed quia lucta nobis est non solum adversus carnem et sanguinem sed etiam quod gravius est adversus spiritalia nequitiae quae sunt in caelestibus {Ephes. 6, 12}, temptator ille diabolus per ministros suos certamen auget et vulneribus corporis mei experiendum arbitratur. Scio, fratres, vulnera haec, quae pro Christo excipimus, non esse vulnera; quibus vita non amittitur sed propagatur. Sinite, quaeso, esse certamen, spectatores vos esse decet. Considerate quia si quem habet civitas vel athletam vel alterius nobilis artis peritum, optat offerre certamini. Cur in maioribus rebus repudiatis quod in minoribus velle consuestis? Non metuit arma, non barbaros, qui mortem non timet, qui nulla carnis voluptate retinetur.

7. Certe si dominus huic nos certamini deputavit, frustra pervigiles tot noctibus et diebus custodias exhibuistis, implebitur Christi voluntas. Omnipotens enim noster est dominus Iesus, haec est fides nostra; et ideo quod fieri mandat, implebitur nec convenit vos divinae obviare sententiae.

8. Audistis quod hodie lectum sit: Pullum sibi asinae salvator per apostolos iussit adduci mandavitque, ut si quis resisteret diceretur: Dominus operam eius desiderat {Luc. 19, 35}. Quid si et nunc pullum istum asinae hoc est eius animalis quod gravem sarcinam portare consuevit, sicut est

humana conditio, cui dicitur: Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis et ego vos reficiam, tollite iugum meum, quia leve est {Mt. 11, 28-30}, quid si, inquam, pullum istum ad se modo iussit adduci missis apostolis illis, qui iam exuti corpore incomprehensibilem oculis nostris angelorum speciem gerunt? Nonne si ab aliquo resistatur dicent: Dominus operam eius desiderat? {Luc. 19, 31} Si resistat vel vitae huius cupiditas, si resistat caro et sanguis, si resistat conversatio corporalis, quia aliquibus forsitan grati videmur. Sed qui nos hic diligit, multo amplius diliget, si sinat fieri hostiam Christi, quia dissolvi et cum Christo esse multo melius, etsi manere in carne magis necessarium propter vos {Phil. 1, 23sq.}. Nihil est ergo quod vereamini, fratres dilectissimi; scio enim quia quicquid passus fuero, pro Christo patiar. Et legi quod eos timere non debeam, qui possunt carnem occidere, et audivi dicentem: Qui perdiderit animam suam propter me inveniet eam {Mt. 10, 39}.

9. Ergo si vult dominus certum est quod nullus obsistat. Quod si adhuc nostra differt certamina quid veremini? Servum Christi non custodia corporalis sed domini providentia saepire consuevit.

10. Turbati estis quia apertas repperistis geminas fores, quas captus oculis quidam, dum hospitium proprium repetit, patefecisse memoratur. In quo cognoscite quod nihil suffragetur humana custodia. Ecce unus qui videndi munus amisit, solvit vestra universa munimina, et custodias lusit; dominus autem suae misericordiae custodiam non amisit. Nonne ante biduum, ut meministis, etiam illud repertum est quod a parte laeva basilicae ingressus quidam pervius fuit, quem putabatis clausum esse atque munitum? Saepserunt nempe armati basilicam, explorabant hos atque illos aditus; caecitate perfusi sunt, ut quod apertum erat videre non possent, itaque per plurimas noctes quod apertum fuerit non ignoratis. Desinite ergo sollicitari, quia hoc erit, quod Christus iubet, et quod esse expedit.

11. Denique exempla vobis legis proferam. Helisaeus quaerebatur a rege Syriae, missus erat exercitus qui eum caperet, circumvallatus erat undique; coepit timere eius servulus quia servulus erat, hoc est non erat liberae mentis et liberae potestatis. Petivit aperiri eius oculos sanctus propheta et ait: «Respice et vide quanto plures sint pro nobis quam contra nos.» Et respexit et vidit angelorum milia {cf. IV Reg. 6, 12-17}. Advertitis igitur quod servulos Christi hi magis custodiant qui non videntur quam qui videntur. Sed et illi si custodiunt vestris custodiunt orationibus advocati; legistis nempe eos ipsos qui Helisaeum quaerebant ingressos esse Samariam ad eum ipsum quem capere gestiebant, cui non solum non potuerunt nocere sed ipsius adversus quem venerant intercessione servati sunt {cf. IV Reg. 6, 18-23}.

12. Petrus quoque apostolus utriusque rei vobis edat exemplum {cf. Act. 12, 3-10}. Nam ubi eum Herodes quaesivit et cepit, recepit in carcerem, non enim recesserat dei servulus sed steterat timoris ignarus; orabat pro eo ecclesia, sed apostolus in carcere quiescebat quod est indicium non timentis; missus est angelus qui dormientem excitaret, per quem Petrus productus e carcere mortem ad tempus evasit.

13. Idem Petrus postea victo Simone, cum praecepta dei populo seminaret, doceret castimoniam, excitavit animos gentilium; quibus eum quaerentibus Christianae animae deprecatae sunt, ut paulisper cederet, et quamvis esset cupidus passionis tamen contemplatione populi precantis inflexus est; rogabatur enim ut ad instituendum et confirmandum populum se reservaret. Quid multa? Nocte muros egredi coepit et videns sibi in porta Christum occurrere urbemque ingredi ait: «Domine, quo venis?» Respondit Christus: «Venio iterum crucifigi» {cf. Actus Petri cum Simone vel Actus Vercellenses, ed. Lipsius-Bonnet I, 45-103}. Intellexit Petrus ad suam crucem divinum pertinere responsum; Christus enim non poterat iterum crucifigi, qui carnem passione susceptae mortis exuerat: quod enim mortuus

est mortuus est semel, quod autem vivit vivit deo {Rom. 6, 10}. Intellexit ergo Petrus quod iterum Christus crucifigendus esset in servulo itaque sponte remeavit; interrogantibus Christianis responsum reddidit statimque correptus per crucem suam honorificavit dominum Iesum. {cf. Eus. hist. eccl. 2, 14sq.; Heges. hist. 3, 2}

14. Videtis igitur quod in servulis suis pati velit Christus. Quid si et huic servulo dicit: Illum volo manere, tu autem me sequere {Ioh. 21, 22} et de hac arbore gustare vult fructum? Nam si illius cibus erat ut faceret voluntatem patris {Ioh. 4, 34}, itidem cibus illius est ut nostris passionibus epuletur. Nonne ut de ipso domino sumamus exemplum, quando voluit passus est et cum quaereretur inventus est, quando autem hora non venerat passionis {cf. Ioh. 7, 30}, per medium quaerentium transibat et videntes eum tenere non poterant? Quod utique evidenter ostendit quia quando dominus vult, unusquisque invenitur et capitur, quod autem differt, etiamsi quaerentium occurrat oculis, non tenetur.

15. Ego ipse non cottidie vel visitandi gratia prodibam, vel pergebam ad martyres? Non regiam palatii praetexebam eundo atque redeundo? Et tamen nemo me tenuit, cum exturbandi me haberent, ut prodiderunt postea, voluntatem, dicentes: «Exi de civitate et vade quo vis». Exspectabam, fateor, magnum aliquid aut gladium pro Christi nomine aut incendium, at illi delicias mihi pro passionibus obtulerunt, sed athleta Christi non delicias sed passiones suas exigit. Nemo ergo vos turbet, quod aut carrum praeparaverunt aut dura, ut videbatur sibi, Auxentii ipsius, qui se dicit episcopum, ore iactata.

16. Plerique narrabant percussores praemissos, poenam mortis esse decretam. Nec illa timeo et ista non desero. Quo enim abibo, ubi non omnia plena gemitus sint atque lacrimarum, quando per ecclesias iubentur eici catholici sacerdotes, resistentes gladio feriri, curiales proscribi omnes, nisi mandatum impleverint? Et haec episcopi manu scripta et ore dictata, qui se

ut probaret doctissimum vetus non omisit exemplum; legimus enim in propheta quod viderit falcem volantem {cf. Zach. 5, 2}: hanc imitatus Auxentius gladium volantem per omnes urbes direxit. Et satanas transfigurat se in angelum lucis et in malum imitatur eius potentiam {II Cor. 11, 14}.

17. Tu, domine Iesu, uno momento mundum redemisti, Auxentius uno momento tot populos quod in ipso est trucidabit alios gladio, alios sacrilegio. Mihi basilicam petit cruento ore, sanguinolentis manibus. Cui bene praesens respondit lectio: Peccatori autem dixit deus: Quare tu enarras iustitias meas? {Ps. 49, 16} id est, non convenit paci et furori, non convenit Christo et Belial {cf. II Cor. 6, 15}. Meministis etiam quod lectum sit hodie Nabuthae sanctum virum possessorem vineae suae interpellatum petitione regia, ut vineam suam daret, ubi rex succisis vitibus holus vile sereret, eumque respondisse: Absit ut ego patrum meorum tradam hereditatem {III Reg. 21, 3}; regem contristatum esse, quod sibi esset alienum ius relatione iusta negatum, sed muliebri consilio deceptum ⟨Nabuthae⟩ morte in agrum venisse; sancus enim Nabuthae vites suas vel proprio cruore defendit {cf. III Reg. 21, 1-13}. Si ille vineam non tradidit suam, nos trademus ecclesiam Christi?

18. Quid igitur a me responsam est contumaciter? Dixi enim conventus: «Absit a me ut tradam Christi hereditatem.» Si ille patrum hereditatem non tradidit, ego tradam Christi hereditatem? Sed et hoc addidi: «Absit ut tradam hereditatem patrum hoc est hereditatem Dionysii {Dionysius episcopus Mediolanenis ab a. 351; qui a. 355 ab imperatore Valente una cum Eusebio episcopo Vercellensi in exilium expulsus est, quod in synodo Mediolanensi a. 355 habita Athanasii condemnationi subscribere recusavit} qui in exilio in causa fidei defunctus est, hereditatem Eustorgii confessoris {episcopus Mediolanensis a. 344 - ca. 350}, hereditatem Mirocletis {hic a. 313 concilio Romano in causa Caeciliani interfuit}, atque omnium retro

fidelium episcoporum.» Respondi ego, quod sacerdotis est; quod imperatoris est faciat imperator. Prius est ut animam mihi quam fidem auferat.

19. Ac cui tradam? Praesens lectio evangelii docere nos debet quid petatur, a quibus petatur. Audistis nempe legi quod, cum Christus pullum asinae sederet, clamabant pueruli et moleste ferebant Iudaei {cf. Luc. 19, 35-45}. Denique interpellaverunt dominum Iesum dicentes ut faceret eos tacere; respondit: Si hi tacebunt, lapides clamabunt {ibid., 40}. Deinde ingressus templum eiecit nummularios et cathedras et columbas vendentes in templo dei. Lectio nempe ista nulla nostra dispositione recitata sed casu est, quae praesentibus bene aptatur temporibus. Semper ergo Christi laudes verbera perfidorum sunt. Et nunc cum laudatur Christus, dicunt haeretici quia seditio commovetur, dicunt haeretici quia his mors parabatur; et vere mortem habent in laudibus Christi. Quomodo enim laudes eius ferre possunt, cuius infirmitatem praedicant? Itaque et hodie cum laudatur Christus, Arrianorum amentia verberatur.

20. Geraseni praesentiam Christi ferre non poterant {cf. Luc. 8, 37}, isti peiores Gerasenis nec laudationem Christi sustinere possunt. Vident puerulos Christi gloriam concinentes, quia scriptum est: Ex ore infantium et lactantium perfecisti laudem {Ps. 8, 3}. Irrident istam aetatulam plenam fidei cum dicunt: Ecce quid clamant? Sed respondit his Christus: Si hi tacuerint lapides clamabunt {Luc. 19, 38}, hoc est fortiores clamabunt, clamabunt et iuvenes, clamabunt et maturiores, clamabunt et senes, isti lapides ad illum iam solidati lapidem, de quo scriptum est: Lapidem quem reprobaverunt aedificantes hic factus est in caput anguli {Ps. 117, 22}.

21. His igitur laudationibus invitatus templum suum Christus ingreditur et flagellum prendit et eicit de templo nummularios {cf. Ioh. 2, 15}. Non patitur enim in suo templo pecuniae esse vernaculos, non patitur in suo templo esse eos qui vendant cathedras. Quid sunt cathedrae nisi honores?

Quid sunt columbae nisi simplices mentes vel animae fidem candidam et puram sequentes? Ego ergo inducam in templum quem Christus excludit? Iubetur enim exire qui dignitates vendit et honores, iubetur enim exire qui vendere vult simplices mentes fidelium.

22. Ergo Auxentius eicitur, Mercurinus excluditur. Unum portentum est duo nomina. Etenim ne cognosceretur quis esset, mutavit sibi vocabulum, ut quia hic fuerat Auxentius episcopus Arrianus, ad decipiendam plebem quam ille tenuerat se vocaret Auxentium. Mutavit ergo vocabulum, sed perfidiam non mutavit; exuit lupum et induit lupum. Nihil prodest quod mutavit nomen, quid sit agnoscitur. Alius in Scythiae partibus dicebatur, alius hic vocatur, nomina pro regionibus habet. Habet ergo iam duo nomina et si hinc alio perrexerit, habebit et tertium. Quomodo enim patietur ut maneat ei vocabulum ad tanti sceleris indicium? Minora fecit in Scythia et ita erubuit ut mutaret vocabulum; sceleratiora hic ausus est et volet quocumque perrexerit nomine suo prodi? Tantorum populorum sanguinem manu sua scribet et poterit consistere animo?

23. Paucos excludebat dominus Iesus de templo suo, Auxentius nullum reliquit. De templo suo Iesus flagello eicit, Auxentius gladio, Iesus flagello, Mercurinus securi. Pius dominus flagello exturbat sacrilegos, nequam persequitur pios ferro. De quo bene dixistis hodie: Leges suas secum ferat. Feret etiamsi nolit, feret conscientiam suam, etsi non fert cartulam, feret sanguine inscriptam animam suam, etsi atramento inscriptam epistolam non feret. Scripta est, Iuda, culpa tua graffio ferreo et ungue adamantino et scripta in pectore tuo {Ier. 17, 1}, hoc est ibi scripta unde processit.

24. Is mihi etiam audet mentionem facere tractandi, plenus sanguinis, plenus cruoris? Qui quos non potuerit sermone decipere, eos gladio putat esse feriendos, cruentas leges ore dictans, manu scribens et putans quod lex fidem possit hominibus imperare. Non audivit et id quod hodie dictum est: Quoniam non iustificatur homo ex operibus legis {Gal. II, 16}, ait: Per

legem legi mortuus sum ut deo vivam {ibid., 19}, id est per legem spiritalem interpretationi legis est mortuus corporali. Et nos per legem domini nostri Iesu Christi moriamur huic legi, quae sancit decreta perfidiae. Non lex ecclesiam congregavit sed fides Christi, lex enim non est ex fide; iustus autem ex fide vivit {Gal. 3, 11}. Iustum ergo fides, non lex facit; quia non est per legem iustitia, sed per fidem Christi. Qui autem fidem repudiat, et legis iura praescribit, ipse se testatur iniustum, quia iustus ex fide vivit.

25. Hanc ergo legem quisquam sequatur, qua firmatur Ariminense concilium, in quo creatura dictus est Christus? Sed aiunt: Misit deus filium suum factum ex muliere, factum sub lege {Gal. 4, 4}; ergo factum legunt hoc est creatum. Nonne hoc ipsum considerant quod proposuerunt, quia factus dicitur Christus sed ex muliere hoc est secundum partum virginis factus est, qui secundum divinam generationem ex patre natus est? Et legerunt et hodie quia Christus nos redemit de maledicto legis, factus pro nobis maledictum {Gal. 3, 13}. Numquid maledictum Christus secundum divinitatem est? Sed quare maledictum dicatur apostolus te docet dicens: Quia scriptum est: Maledictus omnis qui pependit in ligno {ibid.; Deut. 21, 23}, hoc est qui in carne sua nostram carnem, in suo corpore nostras infirmitates et nostra maledicta suscepit ut crucifigeret; non enim ille maledictus sed in te maledictus. Denique habes alibi: Qui peccatum non cognovit sed pro nobis peccatum factus est, quia nostra peccata suscepit ut sacramento suae passionis aboleret {II Cor. 5, 21}.

26. Haec ego, fratres, coram ipso apud vos plenius disputarem, sed certus gnaros vos esse fidei vestrum refugit examen et gentiles quosdam quattuor aut quinque ferme homines elegit cognitores sibi, si tamen aliquos elegit: quos vellem adesse in coetu omnium, non ut de Christo iudicent sed ut maiestatem audiant Christi. Tamen illi iam de Auxentio pronuntiarunt cui tractanti cotidie non crediderunt. Quae maior eius condemnatio quam quod

sine adversario apud iudices suos victus est? Ergo et ipsorum sententiam contra Auxentium iam tenemus.

27. Et in eo quod gentes elegit iure damnandus est, quia apostoli praecepta dimisit cum apostolus dicat: Audet aliquis vestrum adversus alterum habens negotium iudicari apud iniquos et non apud sanctos? Aut nescitis quoniam sancti de hoc mundo iudicabunt? {I Cor. 6, 1sq.} Et infra ait: Sic non est inter vos sapiens quisquam qui possit iudicare inter fratres, sed frater cum fratre iudicio contendit et hoc apud infideles? {ibid. 5sq.} Vides quia quod ille obtulit contra auctoritatem apostoli sit. Vos eligite utrum Auxentium an Paulum sequi debeamus magistrum.

28. Sed quid dicam de apostolo, cum ipse dominus clamet per prophetam: Audite me, populus meus, qui scitis iudicium, quorum in corde lex mea est {Is. 51, 7}. Deus dicit: Audite me, populus meus, qui scitis iudicium, Auxentius dicit: «Nescitis iudicium». Videtis quia iam deum contemnit in vobis qui sententiam caelestis refutat oraculi? Audite me, inquit, populus meus, dicit dominus, non dicit: Audite, gentes, non dicit: Audite, Iudaei. Iam enim populus dei qui fuerat Iudaeorum quia populus erroris est factus, et qui populus erroris erat populus dei esse coepit quia in Christum credidit. Iste ergo populus iudicat cuius in corde lex divina est non humana, lex non atramento scripta sed spiritu dei vivi, non in carta exarata, sed in corde signata, lex gratiae, non cruoris {II Cor. 3, 3}. Quis igitur vobis iniuriam facit, qui recusat vestram an qui eligit audientiam?

29. Conclusus undique ad versutiam patrum suorum confugit. De imperatore vult invidiam commovere, dicens iudicare debere adolescentem catechuminum sacrae lectionis ignarum et in consistorio iudicare, quasi vero superiore anno quando ad palatium sum petitus, cum praesentibus primatibus ante consistorium tractaretur, cum imperator basilicam vellet eripere, ego tunc aulae contemplatione regalis infractus sim, constantiam non tenuerim sacerdotis aut imminuto iure discesserim? Nonne meminerunt

quod ubi me cognovit populus palatium petisse ita irruit, ut vim eius ferre non possent, quando se comiti militari cum expeditis ad fugandam multitudinem egresso obtulerunt omnes se neci pro fide Christi? Non tunc rogatus sum, ut populum multo sermone mulcerem, sponderem fidem quod basilicam ecclesiae nullus invaderet? Et cum pro beneficio meum sit officium postulatum, tamen quod populus ad palatium venisset mihi invidia commota est. In hanc igitur invidiam me redire desiderant.

30. Revocavi populum et tamen invidiam non evasi; quam quidem invidiam ego temperandam arbitror non timendam. Quid enim timeamus pro Christi nomine? Nisi forte illud movere me debet quod aiunt: «Ergo non debet imperator unam basilicam accipere ad quam procedat, et plus vult Ambrosius posse quam imperator, ut imperatori prodeundi facultatem neget?» Quod cum dicunt apprehendere sermones nostros gestiunt, sicut Iudaei qui Christum versuto sermone temptabant dicentes: Magister, licet tributum dare Caesari an non? {Mt. 22, 17} Semperne de Caesare servulis dei invidia commovetur? Et hoc ad calumniam sibi arcessit impietas, ut imperiale nomen obtendat? Et isti possunt dicere quod eorum non habeant sacrilegium quorum imitantur magisterium?

31. Et tamen videte quanto peiores Arriani sint, quam Iudaei. Illi quaerebant utrum solvendum putaret Caesari ius tributi, isti imperatori volunt dare ius ecclesiae. Sed ut perfidi suum sequuntur auctorem ita et nos quae nos dominus et auctor noster docuit respondeamus. Considerans enim Iesus dolum Iudaeorum {ibid., 18-21} dixit ad eos: Quid me temptatis, ostendite mihi denarium. Et cum dedissent dixit: Cuius imaginem habet et inscriptionem? Respondentes dixerunt: Caesaris. Et ait illis Iesus: Reddite quae sunt Caesaris Caesari et quae dei sunt deo. Ergo et ego dico illis qui mihi obiciunt: Ostendite mihi denarium. Iesus Caesaris denarium vidit et ait: Reddite Caesari quae Caesaris sunt et quae dei sunt deo. Numquid de ecclesiae basilicis occupandis possunt denarium offerre Caesaris?

32. Sed in ecclesia unam imaginem novi hoc est imaginem dei invisibilis de qua dixit deus: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram {Gen. 1, 26}; illam imaginem de qua scriptum est quia Christus splendor gloriae et imago substantiae eius {Hebr. 1, 3}. In ista imagine patrem cerno, sicut dixit ipse dominus Iesus: Qui me videt videt et patrem {Ioh. 14, 9}. Non enim haec imago a patre est separata, quae unitatem me docuit trinitatis dicens: Ego et pater unum sumus {Ioh. 10, 30}, et infra: Omnia quaecumque habet pater mea sunt {Ioh. 16, 15}. Et de spiritu sancto dicens quia spiritus Christi sit et de Christo accepit sicut scriptum est: Ille de meo accipiet et annuntiabit vobis {ibid., 14}.

33. Quid igitur non humiliter responsum a nobis est? Si tributum petit non negamus. Agri ecclesiae solvunt tributum; si agros desiderat imperator, potestatem habet vindicandorum; nemo nostrum intervenit. Potest pauperibus collatio populi redundare, non faciant de agris invidiam, tollant eos si libitum est imperatori, non dono sed non nego. Aurum quaerunt, possum dicere: «Argentum et aurum non quaero», sed invidiam faciunt quia aurum erogatur. Nec ego hanc invidiam perhorresco. Habeo aerarios, aerarii mei pauperes Christi sunt, hunc novi congregare thesaurum. Utinam hoc mihi semper crimen ascribant, quia aurum pauperibus erogatur! Quod si obiciunt quod defensionem ab his requiram non nego sed etiam ambio. Habeo defensionem sed in orationibus pauperum. Caeci illi et claudi, debiles et senes robustis bellatoribus fortiores sunt. Denique munera pauperum deum obligant quia scriptum est: Qui largitur pauperi deo fenerat {Prov. 19, 17}. Praesidia bellatorum divinam saepe gratiam non merentur.

34. Hymnorum quoque meorum carminibus deceptum populum ferunt, plane nec hoc abnuo. Grande carmen istud est quo nihil potentius; quid enim potentius quam confessio trinitatis, quae cottidie totius populi ore celebratur? Certatim omnes student fidem fateri, patrem et filium et

spiritum sanctum norunt versibus praedicare. Facti sunt igitur omnes magistri, qui vix poterant esse discipuli.

35. Quid igitur obaudientius potest esse quam ut Christi sequamur exemplum, qui specie inventus ut homo humiliavit semetipsum factus oboediens usque ad mortem? {Phil. 2, 7sq.} Denique omnes per oboedientiam liberavit: Sicut enim per inoboedientiam unius hominis peccatores constituti sunt plurimi ita et per unius oboedientiam iusti constituentur multi {Rom. 5, 19}. Si ergo ille oboediens, accipiant oboedientiae magisterium cui nos inhaeremus dicentes his qui nobis de imperatore invidiam faciunt: «Solvimus quae sunt Caesaris Caesari et quae sunt dei deo» {cf. Mt. 22, 21}. Tributum Caesaris est, non negatur, ecclesia dei est, Caesari utique non debet addici, quia ius Caesaris esse non potest dei templum.

36. Quod cum honorificentia imperatoris dictum nemo potest negare. Quid enim honorificentius quam ut imperator ecclesiae filius esse dicatur? Quod cum dicitur sine peccato dicitur, cum gratia dicitur. Imperator enim intra ecclesiam non supra ecclesiam est; bonus enim imperator quaerit auxilium ecclesiae, non refutat. Haec ut humiliter dicimus ita constanter exponimus. Sed incendia aliqui, gladium deportationem minantur. Didicimus Christi servuli non timere, non timentibus numquam est gravis terror; denique scriptum est: Sagittae infantium factae sunt plagae eorum {Ps. 63, 8}.

37. Satis igitur propositis responsum videtur. Nunc illos interrogo quod Salvator interrogavit: Baptismum Iohannis de caelo est an ex hominibus? {Luc. 20, 4} et non potuerunt respondere ei Iudaei; si baptismum Iohannis non solverunt Iudaei, Auxentius solvit baptismum Christi? Non enim istud ex hominibus est baptismum sed de caelo, quod detulit nobis consilii magni angelus {cf. Is. 9, 6} ut iustificemur deo. Cur igitur rebaptizandos Auxentius fideles populos putat baptizatos in nomine trinitatis, cum apostolus dicat: Una fides unum baptisma {Eph. 4, 5}, et se hominum dicit

adversarium esse non Christi cum consilium dei spernat et condemnet baptismum, quod Christus nobis ad redimenda nostra peccata donavit {cf. Luc. 7, 30}.

Hymni

CONTENTS

HYMNUS I
HYMNUS II
HYMNUS III
HYMNUS IV
HYMNUS V
HYMNUS VI
HYMNUS VII
HYMNUS VIII
HYMNUS IX
HYMNUS X
HYMNUS XI
HYMNUS XII

HYMNUS I

Aeterne rerum conditor,
Noctem diemque qui regis,
Et temporum das tempora,
Ut alleves fastidium,

Praeco diei jam sonat,
Noctis profundae pervigil,
Nocturna lux viantibus,
A nocte noctem segregans.

Hoc excitatus Lucifer,
Solvit polum caligine,
Hoc omnis errorum chorus,
Viam nocendi deserit.

Hoc nauta vires colligit,
Pontique mitescunt freta,
Hoc ipsa petra Ecclesiae
Canente, culpam diluit.

Surgamus ergo strenue,
Gallus jacentes excitat,
Et somnolentos increpat,
Gallus negantes arguit.

Gallo canente, spes redit,
Aegris salus refunditur,
Mucro latronis conditur,
Lapsis fides revertitur.

Jesu, labantes respice,
Et nos videndo corrige;
Si respicis, lapsus cadunt,
Fletuque culpa solvitur.

Tu lux refulge sensibus,
Mentisque somnum discute:
Te nostra vox primum sonet,
Et vota solvamus tibi.

HYMNUS II

Deus creator omnium,
Polique rector, vestiens
Diem decoro lumine,
Noctem soporis gratia.

Artus solutos ut quies
Reddat laboris usui,
Mentesque fessas allevet,
Luctusque solvat anxios.

Grates peracto jam die,
Et noctis exortu preces,
Votis, reos ut adjuves,
Hymnum canentes solvimus.

Te cordis ima concinant,
Te vox canora concrepet,
Te diligat castus amor,
Te mens adoret sobria.

Ut cum profunda clauserit
Diem caligo noctium,
Fides tenebras nesciat,
Et nox fide reluceat.

Dormire mentem ne sinas,
Dormire culpa noverit,
Custos fides refrigerans,
Somni vaporem temperet.

Exuta sensu lubrico,
Te cordis alta somnient;
Nec hostis invidi dolo
Pavor quietos suscitet.

Christum rogemus et Patrem,
Christi Patrisque Spiritum,
Unum potens per omnia
Fove precantes Trinitas.

HYMNUS III

Jam surgit hora tertia,
Qua Christus ascendit crucem,
Nil insolens mens cogitet,
Intendat affectum precis.

Qui corde Christum suscipit,
Innoxium sensum gerit:
Votisque praestat sedulis,
Sanctum mereri Spiritum.

Haec hora qua finem dedit
Diri veterno criminis,
Mortisque regnum diluit,
Culpamque ab aevo sustulit.

Hinc jam beata tempora
Coepere Christi gratia:
Fide replevit veritas
Totum per orbem Ecclesias.

Celso triumphi vertice,
Matri loquebatur suae:
En filius, mater, tuus;
Apostole, en mater tua.

Praetenta nuptae foedera
Alto docens mysterio;
Ne virginis partus sacer
Matris pudorem laederet.

Cui fidem coelestibus
Jesus dedit miraculis:
Nec credidit plebs impia;
Qui credidit, salvus erit.

Nos credimus natum Deum,
Partumque Virginis sacrae,
Peccata qui mundi tulit,
Ad dexteram sedens Patris.

HYMNUS IV

Veni, redemptor gentium,
Ostende partum Virginis,
Miretur omne saeculum:
Talis decet partus Deum.

Non ex virili semine,
Sed mystico spiramine,
Verbum Dei factum caro,
Fructusque ventris floruit.

Alvus tumescit Virginis,
Claustrum pudoris permanet,
Vexilla virtutum micant,
Versatur in templo Deus.

Procedens de thalamo suo,
Pudoris aula regia,
Geminae Gigas substantiae,
Alacris ut currat viam.

Egressus ejus a Patre,
Regressus ejus ad Patrem;
Excursus usque ad inferos,
Recursus ad sedem Dei.

Aequalis aeterno Patri
Carnis tropaeo accingere
Infirma nostri corporis
Virtute firmans perpeti.

Praesepe jam fulget tuum,
Lumenque nox spirat novum,
Quod nulla nox interpolet,
Fideque jugi luceat.

HYMNUS V

Illuminans Altissimus
Micantium astrorum globos,
Pax, vita, lumen, veritas,
Jesu fave precantibus.

Seu mystico baptismate
Fluenta Jordanis retro
Conversa quondam tertio
Praesente sacraris die.

Seu stella partum Virginis
Coelo micans signaveris;
Et hac adoratum die
Praesepe Magos duxeris.

Vel hydriis plenis aquae
Vini saporem infuderis:
Hausit minister conscius,
Quod ipse non impleverat.

Aquas colorari videns,
Inebriare flumina;
Mutata elementa stupent
Transire in usus alteros.

Sic quinque millibus viris
Dum quinque panes dividis,
Edentium sub dentibus
In ore crescebat cibus.

Multiplicabatur magis
Dispendio panis suo:
Quis haec videns mirabitur
Juges meatus fontium?

Inter manus frangentium
Panis rigatur profluus:
Intacta quae non fregerant,
Fragmenta subrepunt viris.

HYMNUS VI

Orabo mente Dominum,
Orabo simul spiritu;

Ne vox sola Deo canat,
Sensusque noster alibi
Ductus, aberret fluctuans,
Vanis praeventus casibus.

HYMNUS VII

Splendor Paternae gloriae,
De luce lucem proferens,
Primordiis lucis novae
Diem dies illuminans.

Verusque sol illabere,
Micans nitore perpeti,
Jubarque sancti Spiritus
Infunde nostris sensibus.

Votis vocemus et Patrem,
Patrem perennis gloriae,
Patrem potentis gratiae,
Culpam releget lubricam.

Informet actus strenuos,
Dentes retundat invidi,
Casus secundet asperos,
Donet gerendi gratiam.

Mentem gubernet et regat,
Casto fideli corpore,
Fides calore ferveat,
Fraudis venena nesciat.

Christusque nobis sit cibus,
Potusque noster sit fides,
Laeti bibamus sobriam
Ebrietatem Spiritus.

Laetus dies hic transeat,
Pudor sit ut diluculum,
Fides velut meridies,
Crepusculum mens nesciat.

Aurora cursus provehit,
Aurora totus prodeat
In Patre totus Filius
Et totus in Verbo Pater.

HYMNUS VIII

Aeterna Christi munera,
Et martyrum victorias,
Laudes ferentes debitas,
Laetis canamus mentibus.

Ecclesiarum principes,
Belli triumphales duces,
Coelestis aulae milites,
Et vera mundi lumina.

Terrore victo saeculi,
Spretisque poenis corporis,
Mortis sacrae compendio,
Vitam beatam possident.

Traduntur igni martyres,
Et bestiarum dentibus,
Armata saevit ungulis
Tortoris insani manus,

Nudata pendent viscera,
Sanguis sacratus funditur,
Sed permanent immobiles
Vitae perennis gratia.

Devota sanctorum fides,
Invicta spes credentium;
Perfecta Christi charitas,
Mundi triumphat principem.

In his Paterna gloria,
In his voluntas Filii,
Exsultat in his Spiritus,
Coelum repletur gaudiis.

Te nunc, Redemptor, quaesumus,
Ut ipsorum consortio
Jungas precantes servulos,
In sempiterna saecula. Amen.

HYMNUS IX

Somno refectis artubus,
Spreto cubili surgimus,
Nobis, Pater, canentibus
Adesse te deposcimus.

Te lingua primum concinat,
Te mentis ardor ambiat;
Ut actuum sequentium
Tu, sancte, sis exordium.

Cedant tenebrae lumini,
Et nox diurno sideri;
Ut culpa quam nox intulit,
Lucis labascat munere.

Precamur iidem supplices,
Noxas ut omnes amputes;
Ne ore te canentium
Lauderis in perpetuum.

Praesta, Pater piissime,
Patrique compar unice,
Cum Spiritu paraclito
Regnans per omne saeculum.

HYMNUS X

Consors paterni luminis,
Lux ipse lucis, et dies,
Noctem canendo rumpimus,
Assiste postulantibus.

Aufer tenebras mentium,
Fuga catervas daemonum:
Expelle somnolentiam,
Ne pigritantes obruat.

Sic, Christe, nobis omnibus
Indulgeas credentibus;
Ut prosit exorantibus,
Quod praecinentes psallimus.

HYMNUS XI

O Lux beata Trinitas,
Et principalis unitas,
Jam sol recedit igneus,
Infunde lumen cordibus.

Te mane laudum carmine,
Te deprecamur vespere,
Te nostra supplex gloria,
Per cuncta laudet saecula.

HYMNUS XII

Fit porta Christi pervia,
Referta plena gratia,
Transitque Rex, et permanet,
Clausa, ut fuit, per saecula.

Genus superni luminis,
Processit aula virginis,
Sponsus, redemptor, conditor,
Suae gigas Ecclesiae.

Honor matris et gaudium,
Immensa spes credentium,
Per atra mortis pocula,
Resolvit nostra crimina.

De sacramentis (Pseudo Ambrose)

CONTENTS

LIBER PRIMUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.
CAPUT VII.

LIBER TERTIUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.

LIBER QUARTUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.

CAPUT VI.

LIBER QUINTUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.

LIBER SEXTUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.

LIBER PRIMUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

UBI PRAEMISIT ACTURUM se de sacramentis, quae prius explicata non oportuit, accedit ad mysterium apertionis, quam a Christo in surdi ac muti curatione signatam docet.

1. De sacramentis quae accepistis, sermonem adorior, cujus rationem non oportuit ante praemitti; in christiano enim viro prima est fides. Ideo et Romae fideles dicuntur qui baptizati sunt: et pater noster Abraham ex fide justificatus est, non ex operibus (Rom. IV, 3). Ergo accepistis baptismum, credidistis. Nefas est enim me aliud aestimare; neque enim vocatus esses ad gratiam, nisi dignum te Christus sua gratia judicasset.

2. Ergo quid egimus sabbato? Nempe apertionem: quae mysteria celebrata sunt apertionis, quando tibi aures tetigit sacerdos et nares. Quod significat in Evangelio Dominus noster Jesus Christus, cum ei oblatus esset surdus et mutus, et tetigit aures ejus et os ejus: aures, quia surdus erat; os, quia mutus, et ait: Ephpheta (Marc. VII, 34). Hebraicum verbum est, quod Latine dicitur adaperire. Ideo ergo tibi sacerdos aures tetigit, ut aperirentur aures tuae ad sermonem, et ad alloquium sacerdotis.

3. Sed dicis mihi: Quare nares? Ibi quia mutus erat, os tetigit; ut quia loqui non poterat sacramenta coelestia, vocem acciperet a Christo. Et ibi, quia vir; hic, quia mulieres baptizantur, et non eadem puritas servi, quanta et Domini (cum enim ille peccata concedat, huic peccata donentur, quae potest esse comparatio?), ideo propter gratiam operis et muneris (De Consec., dist. 4, c. Propter gloriam) non os tangit episcopus, sed nares; ut bonum odorem accipias pietatis aeternae, et ut dicas: Christi enim bonus odor sumus Deo, quemadmodum 350 dixit Apostolus sanctus (II Cor. II, 15); et sit in te fidei devotionisque plena fragrantia.

CAPUT II.

UNCTIONEM ATHLETAE CHRISTIANI exponit, quem ut excitet ad servandam fidem abrenuntiationis, testium quibus praesentibus ea facta est, dignitatem amplificat; ac demum rei lucem addit exemplo.

4. Venimus ad fontem (De Consec., dist. 4, c. Venisti ad fontem), ingressus es: considera quos videris, quid locutus sis considera, repete diligenter. Occurrit tibi levita, occurrit presbyter: unctus es quasi athleta Christi, quasi luctam hujus saeculi luctaturus, professus es luctaminis tui certamina. Qui luctatur, habet quod speret: ubi certamen, ibi corona. Luctaris in saeculo, sed coronaris a Christo, et pro certaminibus saeculi coronaris? Nam etsi in coelo praemium, hic tamen meritum praemii collocatur.

5. Quando te interrogavit: Abrenuntias diabolo et operibus ejus, quid respondisti? Abrenuntio. Abrenuntias saeculo et voluptatibus ejus, quid respondisti? Abrenuntio. Memor esto sermonis tui, et nunquam tibi excidat tuae series cautionis. Si chirographum homini dederis, teneris obnoxius, ut pecuniam ejus accipias: teneris astrictus, et reluctantem te fenerator astringit; si recusas, vadis ad judicem, atque illic tua cautione convinceris.

6 et 7. Ubi promiseris considera, vel quibus promiseris. Levitam vidisti, sed minister est Christi. Vidisti illum ante altaria ministrare. Ergo chirographum tuum tenetur non in terra, sed in coelo. Considera ubi capias sacramenta coelestia. Si hic corpus est Christi, hic et angeli constituti sunt. Ubi corpus, ibi et aquilae, legisti in Evangelio (Matth. XXIV, 28). Ubi corpus Christi, ibi et aquilae volare consuerunt; ut terrena fugiant, coelestia petant. Quare hoc dico? Quia et homines angeli 351 quicumque annuntiant

Christum, et in angelorum adscisci videntur locum. Quomodo? Accipe Baptistae rationem. Joannes natus erat ex viro et muliere; attamen audi quia angelus est et ipse: Ecce mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam, et praeparabit viam tuam ante te (Matth. XI, 10). Accipe aliud Malachiae prophetae: Quia labia sacerdotis custodiunt scientiam, et legem exquirunt ex ore ipsius; angelus est enim Dei omnipotentis (Malac. II, 7). Haec ideo dicuntur, ut sacerdotis gloriam praedicemus, non ut aliquid personalibus meritis arrogetur.

8. Ergo abrenuntiasi mundo, abrenuntiasti saeculo, esto sollicitus. Qui pecuniam debet, semper cautionem suam considerat: et tu qui fidem debes Christo, fidem serva, quae multo pretiosior quam pecunia est; Fides enim aeternum patrimonium est, pecunia temporale. Et tu ergo semper recordare quid promiseris; et eris cautior. Si teneas promissionem tuam, tenebis et cautionem tuam.

CAPUT III.

LICET FONTEM ATQUE ministros tantum viderint neophyti, majora tamen esse quae non videntur, auctor ostendit.

9. Deinde accessisti propius: vidisti fontem, vidisti et sacerdotem supra fontem. Nec hoc possum dubitare, quod in animum vestrum non potuerit cadere, quod cecidit in illum Syrum Naaman (IV Reg. V, 11 et seq.); quia etsi mundatus est, tamen ante dubitavit. Quare? Dicam, accipe. 10. Ingressus es, vidisti aquam, vidisti sacerdotem, vidisti levitam. Ne forte aliquis dixerit: Hoc est totum? Immo est totum. Vere totum, ubi tota innocentia, tota pietas, tota gratia, tota sanctificatio. Vidisti quae videre potuisti oculis tui corporis, et humanis conspectibus: non vidisti illa quae operantur; quia non videntur. Illa multo majora sunt quae non videntur, quam quae videntur; quoniam quae videntur, temporalia sunt: quae non videntur, aeterna (II Cor. IV, 18).

CAPUT IV.

SACRAMENTA CHRISTIANORUM DIVINIORA et priora esse quam Judaeorum: atque inibi de vocis pascha significatu.

11. Ergo dicamus primum, tene cautionem vocis meae, et exige. Miramur mysteria Judaeorum, quae patribus nostris data sunt, primum vetustate sacramentorum, deinde sanctitate praestantia. Illud promitto quod diviniora 352 et priora sacramenta sunt Christianorum quam Judaeorum. 12. Quid praecipuum quam quod per mare transiit Judaeorum populus? ut de baptismo interim loquamur. Attamen qui transierunt Judaei, mortui sunt omnes in deserto. Caeterum (De Consec., dist. 4, c. Per aquam baptismi) qui per hunc fontem transit, hoc est a terrenis ad coelestia; hic est enim transitus, ideo pascha, hoc est, transitus ejus, transitus a peccato ad vitam, a culpa ad gratiam, ab inquinamento ad sanctificationem: qui per hunc fontem transit, non moritur, sed resurgit.

CAPUT V.

In historia leprosi Naaman signatum esse aquam illam, quae Christi gratiam habeat, solam sanare. Christum baptizari voluisse tantum propter nos. Quamobrem Spiritus sanctus in columbae specie apparens, in illum non prius descenderit, quam idem ille aquam Jordanis esset ingressus: quonamve modo istic adfuerit tota Trinitas.

13. Naaman ergo leprosus erat, puella quaedam ait uxori illius: Dominus meus si vult mundari, vadat in terram Israel, et ibi inveniet eum, qui possit ei lepram tollere. Dixit illa dominae suae, uxor marito, Naaman regi Syriae, qui eum quasi acceptissimum sibi misit ad regem Israel. Audivit rex Israel quod missus esset ad eum cujus lepram mundaret, et scidit vestem suam. Tunc Elisaeus propheta mandat ei: Quid est quod scidisti vestem, quasi non sit Deus potens, qui mundet leprosum? Mitte illum ad me. Misit illum; cui advenienti ait propheta: Vade in Jordanem, merge, et sanaberis.

14. Ille coepit cogitare secum et dicere: Hoc est totum? Veni de Syria in terram Judaeam, et dicitur mihi: Vade et descende in Jordanem, merge, et sanaberis; quasi flumina meliora non sint in patria mea. Dixerunt ergo ei servi: Domine, quare non facis verbum prophetae? Magis fac et experire. Tunc ille ivit in Jordanem, mersit, et surrexit sanus (IV Reg. V, 1 et seq.).

15. Quid ergo significat? Vidisti aquam: sed non aqua omnis sanat (De Consec., dist. 4, cap. Per aquam, § Non omnis); sed aqua sanat, quae habet gratiam Christi. Aliud est elementum, aliud consecratio: aliud opus, aliud operatio. Aqua opus est, operatio Spiritus sancti est. Non sanat aqua, nisi Spiritus descenderit, et aquam illam consecraverit; sicut legisti quod cum Dominus noster Jesus Christus formam baptismatis daret, venit ad Joannem,

et ait illi Joannes: Ego a te debeo baptizari, et tu venis ad me! Respondit illi Christus: Sine modo. Sic enim decet nos implere 353 omnem justitiam (Matth. III, 14, 15). Vide quia omnis justitia in baptismate constituta est.

16. Ergo quare Christus descendit, nisi ut caro ista mundaretur, caro quam suscepit de nostra conditione? Non enim ablutio peccatorum suorum Christo necessaria erat, qui peccatum non fecit: sed nobis erat necessaria, qui peccato manemus obnoxii. Ergo si propter nos baptismum, nobis forma est constituta, fidei nostrae forma proposita est.

17. Descendit Christus, Joannes astabat qui baptizabat, et ecce quasi columba Spiritus sanctus descendit. Non columba descendit, sed quasi columba. Memento quid dixerim: Christus carnem suscepit, non sicut carnem; sed carnis istius veritatem, veram carnem Christus suscepit: Spiritus autem sanctus non in veritate columbae, sed in specie columbae descendit de coelo. Ergo vidit Joannes, et.credidit.

18. Descendit Christus, descendit et Spiritus sanctus (De Consec., dist. 4, c. Per aquam, § Descendit). Quare prior Christus descendit, postea Spiritus sanctus; cum forma baptismatis et usus hoc habeat, ut ante fons consecretur, et tunc descendat qui baptizandus est? Nam ubi primum ingreditur sacerdos, exorcismum facit secundum creaturam aquae, invocationem postea et precem defert; ut sanctificetur fons, et adsit praesentia Trinitatis aeternae: Christus autem ante descendit, secutus est Spiritus. Qua ratione? Ut non quasi ipse egere Dominus Jesus sanctificationis mysterio videretur: sed sanctificaret ipse, sanctificaret et Spiritus.

19. Ergo descendit in aquam Christus, et Spiritus sanctus sicut columba descendit (Matth. III, 16). Pater quoque Deus e coelo locutus est. Habes praesentiam Trinitatis.

CAPUT VI.

IN MARI RUBRO baptismi figuram praecessisse partium singularum accommodatione demonstratur. Idem quoque sed paucioribus verbis, ostenditur in diluvio: post quod absoluto primo sermone, sequens promittitur.

20. In mari autem Rubro figuram istius baptismatis exstitisse ait Apostolus dicens: 354 Quia patres nostri omnes baptizati sunt in nube et in mari (I Cor. X, 1, 2). Et subdidit: Haec autem omnia in figura facta sunt illis (Ibid., 6): illis in figura, sed nobis in veritate. Tunc Moyses virgam tenebat, conclusus erat populus Judaeorum; instabat Aegyptius cum armis ex una parte, et ex altera parte mari claudebantur Hebraei; neque maria transire poterant, neque in hostem recurrere: murmurare coeperunt (Exod. XIV, 21 et seq.).

21. Vide, non te provocet quia exauditi sunt. Etsi exaudivit Dominus, tamen culpa non carent, qui murmuraverunt. Tuum est ubi constringeris, credere quod evadas, non murmurare: invocare, rogare, non querelam expromere.

22. Tenebat virgam Moyses, et ducebat populum Hebraeorum in nocte, in columna lucis, in die in columna nubis. Lux quid est nisi veritas; quia apertum et plenum lumen effundit? Columna lucis quid est, nisi Christus Dominus, qui tenebras infidelitatis depulit, lucem veritatis et gratiae spiritalis affectibus infudit humanis? At vero columna nubis est Spiritus sanctus. In mari erat populus, et praeibat columna lucis: deinde sequebatur columna nubis, quasi umbratio Spiritus sancti. Vides quod per Spiritum sanctum et per aquam typum baptismatis demonstraverit.

23. In diluvio quoque fuit jam tunc figura baptismatis, et adhuc utique non erant mysteria Judaeorum. Si ergo hujus baptismatis forma praecessit, vides superiora mysteria Christianorum, quam fuerint Judaeorum. 24. Sed interim secundum fragilitatem vocis nostrae, et secundum temporis rationem satis sit hodie etiam de sacro fonte libasse mysteria. Crastina die, si Dominus dederit loquendi potestatem vel copiam, plenius intimabo. Opus est ut sanctitas vestra aures paratas habeat, promptiorem animum; ut ea quae nos colligere possumus de serie Scripturarum, et vobis intimaverimus, tenere possitis, ut habeatis gratiam Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti. Cui Trinitati perpetuum est regnum a saeculis, et nunc et semper, et in omnia saecula saeculorum.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

355.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

RESUMIT EXPLICATIONEM DILUVII, quo figuratum esse asserit verum baptismum; ubi de aliis baptismis pauca subjungit.

1. In diluvio quoque figuram baptismatis praecessisse hesterno coepimus disputare. Quid est diluvium (Gen. VII, 23), nisi in quo justus ad seminarium justitiae reservatur, peccatum moritur? Ideo Dominus ut vidit hominum pullulare delicta, justum solum cum sua progenie reservavit; aquam autem supra montes quoque exire praecepit. Et ideo in illo diluvio omnis corruptela carnis interiit, sola justi prosapia et forma permansit. Nonne hoc est diluvium, quod est baptisma; quo peccata omnia diluuntur, sola justi mens et gratia resuscitatur?

2. Multa sunt genera baptismatum, sed unum baptisma, clamat Apostolus (Ephes. IV, 5). Quare? Sunt baptismata gentium, sed non sunt baptismata. Lavacra sunt, baptismata esse non possunt. Caro lavatur, non culpa diluitur; immo in illo lavacro contrahitur. Erant autem baptismata Judaeorum, (Marc. VII, 8), alia superflua, alia in figura. Et figura ipsa nobis proficit, quia veritatis est nuntia.

CAPUT II.

PISCINAE PROBATICAE AB angelo commotae, ac ei qui primus in illam descendisset, sanitatem restituentis; itemque paralytici ad Christum responsio edisseruntur.

3. Quid lectum est heri? Angelus, inquit, secundum tempus descendebat in piscinam, et quotiescumque descendisset angelus, movebatur aqua; et qui prior descendisset, sanabatur ab omni languore quocumque tenebatur. (Joan. V, 4) Quod significat figuram venturam Domini nostri Jesu Christi. 4. Angelus quare? Ipse est enim magni consilii Angelus (Esai. IX, 6). Secundum tempus, quod ad horam novissimam servabatur; ut in occasu ipso diem deprehenderet, et differret occasum. Quotiescumque ergo descendisset angelus, movebatur aqua. Dicis fortasse: Quare modo non movetur? Audi quare? Signa incredulis, fides credentibus (I Cor. XIV, 22). 5. Qui prior descendisset, sanabatur ab omni infirmitate. Qui est prior, tempore, an honore? Utrumque intellige. Si tempore, prior qui descendisset, sanabatur ante, hoc est, de populo 356 Judaeorum magis quam de populo nationum. Si honore, qui prior descendisset, hoc est, qui haberet Dei metum, studium justitiae, gratiam charitatis, castitatis affectum; ipse magis sanabatur. Tamen tunc temporis unus sanabatur, tunc, inquam, temporis in figura qui prior descendisset, solus curabatur. Quanto major est gratia Ecclesiae, in qua omnes salvantur, quicumque descendunt? 6. Sed videte mysterium. Venit Dominus noster Jesus Christus ad piscinam, multi aegri jacebant. Et facile ibi multi aegri jacebant, ubi unus tantummodo curabatur. Deinde ait ad illum paralyticum: Descende. Ait ille: Hominem non habeo (Joan. V, 7). Vide ubi baptizaris. Unde sit baptisma, nisi de cruce Christi, de

morte Christi? Ibi est omne mysterium, quia pro te passus est. In ipso redimeris, in ipso salvaberis.

7. Hominem, inquit, non habeo; hoc est, quia per hominem mors, et per hominem resurrectio mortuorum (I Cor. XIX, 21). Non poterat descendere, non poterat salvari, qui non credebat quod Dominus noster Jesus carnem suscepisset ex Virgine. Hic autem qui opperiebatur mediatorem Dei et hominum, hominem Jesum Christum, exspectans eum de quo dictum est: Et mittet Dominus hominem qui salvos faciat eos (Esai. XIX, 4); dicebat: Hominem non habeo; et ideo ad sanitatem meruit pervenire, quia credebat in advenientem. Melior tamen et perfectior fuisset, si credidisset jam venisse quem sperabat esse venturum.

CAPUT III.

NONNULLIS EX HISTORIA Naaman enarratis, alias aliquot ejusdem sacramenti figuras perstringit.

8. Nunc vide singula. Diximus figuram praecessisse in Jordane, quando Naaman leprosus ille mundatus est. Puella illa ex captivis (IV Reg. V, 5) quae est, nisi quae speciem habebat Ecclesiae, et figuram representabat? Captivus enim erat populus nationum, captivus erat, non dico captivitatem sub hoste aliquo populo constitutam: sed eam captivitatem dico quae major est, quando diabolus cum suis saevo dominatur imperio, et captiva sibi colla subjicit peccatorum. 9. Ergo habes unum baptisma, aliud in diluvio, habes tertium genus, quando in mari Rubro baptizati sunt patres, habes quartum genus in piscina, quando movebatur aqua. Nunc te consulo utrum credere debeas quia habes 357 praesentiam Trinitatis in hoc baptismate, quo baptizatur in Ecclesia.

CAPUT IV.

ALIAS DUAS BAPTISMATIS figuras; in ferro quod ad preces Elisaei natavit, nec non in fonte qui, misso ligno, dulcis factus est, proponit Auctor.

10. Idem itaque Dominus noster Jesus Christus in Evangelio suo dicit ad Apostolos: Ite, baptizate omnes gentes in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti (Matth. XXVIII, 19). Sermo hic Salvatoris est.

11. Dic mihi, o homo! Invocavit Elias de coelo ignem, et descendit ignis de coelo (III Reg. XVIII, 38). Invocavit Elisaeus Domini nomen, et de aqua ferrum securis ascendit quod demersum fuerat (IV Reg. VI, 6). Ecce aliud genus baptismatis. Quare? Quia omnis homo ante baptismum quasi ferrum premitur atque demergitur: ubi baptizatus fuerit, non tamquam ferrum, sed tamquam jam levior fructuosi ligni species elevatur. Ergo et hic figura altera. Securis erat qua caedebantur ligna. Cecidit manubrium de securi, hoc est, ferrum demersum est. Filius prophetae nescivit quid faceret: sed hoc solum scivit, ut rogaret Elisaeum prophetam, et remedium postularet. Tunc ille lignum misit, et ferrum levatum est. Vides ergo quod in cruce Christi omnium hominum levatur infirmitas?

12. Aliud, etsi non ordinem tenemus; quis enim possit omnia gesta comprehendere Christi? sicut apostoli dixerunt (Joan. XXI, 25). Moyses cum venisset in desertum, et sitisset populus, et venisset ad Merrha fontem, et bibere vellet aquam: quia ubi primum hausit, amaritudinem sensit, et coepit bibere non posse; ideo Moyses misit lignum in fontem, et coepit aqua quae antea erat amara, dulcescere (Exod. XV, 23 et seq.)

13. Quid significat, nisi quia omnis creatura corruptelae obnoxia, aqua amara est omnibus. Etsi ad tempus suavis est, etsi ad tempus jucunda;

amara tamen est, quae non potest auferre peccatum. Ubi biberis, sities: ubi potus coeperis suavitatem, iterum amaritudinem senties. Amara ergo aqua: sed ubi crucem Christi, ubi acceperis coeleste sacramentum, incipit esse dulcis et suavis: et merito dulcis, in qua culpa revocatur. Ergo si in figura tantum valuerunt baptismata, quanto amplius valet baptisma in veritate?

CAPUT V.

AD PRECES SACERDOTIS adesse Trinitatem et colligit e superioribus, et ex figuris corporeis quibus in Christum atque in discipulos Spiritus sanctus illapsus dicitur, confirmat.

14. Nunc ergo consideremus. Venit sacerdos (De Consec., dist. 4, cap. Venit sacerdos), precem dicit ad fontem, invocat 358 Patris nomen, praesentiam Filii et Spiritus sancti: utitur verbis coelestibus. Coelestia verba quae? Christi sunt, quod baptizemus in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Si ergo ad hominum sermonem, ad invocationem sancti aderat praesentia Trinitatis, quanto magis ibi adest, ubi sermo operatur aeternus? Vultis scire quia descendit Spiritus? Audisti quia quasi columba descendit (Matth. III, 16). Quare quasi columba? Ut increduli vocarentur ad fidem. In principio signum debuit esse, in posterioribus debet esse perfectio.

15. Accipe aliud: Post mortem Domini nostri Jesu Christi apostoli erant in uno loco, et orabant in die pentecostes; et subito factus est magnus sonus, quasi cum vi magna Spiritus ferretur, et visae sunt linguae dispersae, sicut ignis (Act. II., 2, 3). Quid hoc significat, nisi descensum Spiritus sancti, qui se voluit incredulis etiam corporaliter demonstrare, hoc est, corporaliter per signum, spiritaliter per sacramentum? Ergo manifestum testimonium ejus adventus, nobis autem fidei jam praerogativa defertur; quia in principio signa incredulis fiebant, nobis jam in plenitudine Ecclesiae non signo, sed fide veritas colligenda est.

CAPUT VI.

CUM IN HOMINES mortis sententia propter peccatum lata fuisset, baptismus ad eosdem resuscitandos inventus astruitur.

16. Nunc disputemus quid sit quod dicitur baptisma. Venisti ad fontem, descendisti in eum, attendisti summum sacerdotem, levitas et presbyterum in fonte vidisti. Quid est baptismum?

17. In principio Deus noster hominem fecit, ut si peccatum non gustaret, morte non moreretur. Peccatum contraxit, factus est obnoxius morti, ejectus est de paradiso. Sed Dominus qui sua vellet beneficia permanere, et insidias omnes abolere serpentis, rescindere quoque omne quod nocuit; primum quidem sententiam tulit in hominem: Terra es, et in terram ibis (Gen. III, 19); et morti hominem fecit obnoxium. Erat divina sententia, solvi humana conditione non poterat. Remedium datum est, ut homo moreretur, et resurgeret. Quare? Ut illud quod ante damnationis loco cesserat, loco cederet beneficii. Quid illud est nisi mors? Quaeris quomodo? Quia mors interveniens finem facit peccati. Quando enim morimur, utique peccare desistimus. Satisfactum ergo sententiae videbatur, quia homo qui factus fuerat ut viveret, si tamen non peccaret, incipiebat mori. Sed ut Dei perpetua gratia perseveraret, mortuus est homo: sed Christus invenit resurrectionem, id est, ut redintegraret coeleste beneficium, quod fraude fuerat serpentis amissum. Utrumque ergo 359 pro nobis; quia et mors finis est peccatorum, et resurrectio naturae est reformatio. 18. Verumtamen ne in hoc saeculo diaboli fraus vel insidiae praevalerent, inventum est baptisma. De quo baptismate audi quid dicat Scriptura, immo Filius Dei, quia Pharisaei qui noluerunt baptizari baptismo Joannis, consilium Dei

spreverunt (Luc. VII, 30). Ergo baptismum consilium Dei est. Quanta est gratia, ubi est consilium Dei?

19. Audi ergo: nam ut in hoc quoque saeculo nexus diaboli solveretur, inventum est quomodo homo vivus moreretur, et vivus resurgeret. Quid est vivus? Hoc est vita corporis vivens, cum veniret ad fontem, et mergeretur in fontem. Quid est aqua, nisi de terra? Satisfit ergo sententiae coelesti sine mortis stupore. Quod mergis, solvitur sententia illa: Terra es, et in terram ibis (Gen. III, 19); impleta sententia, locus est beneficio remedioque coelesti. Ergo aqua de terra, possibilitas autem vitae nostrae non admittebat ut terra operiremur, et de terra resurgeremus. Deinde non terra lavat, sed aqua lavat; ideo fons quasi sepultura est.

CAPUT VII.

TRIPLICIS INTERROGATIONIS ET immersionis exemplum in trina responsione Petri exstitisse. Quare cum tota Trinitas peccata dimittat, dicitur unum nomen esse in quo salvari nos oporteat; et qua ratione Christo in baptismo commoriamur, atque ungamur in vitam aeternam?

20. Interrogatus es: Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem? Dixisti: Credo, et mersisti, hoc est, sepultus es. Iterum interrogatus es: Credis in Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, et in crucem ejus? Dixisti: Credo, et mersisti; ideo et Christo es consepultus: qui enim Christo consepelitur, cum Christo resurgit. Tertio interrogatus es: Credis et in Spiritum sanctum? Dixisti: Credo, tertio mersisti? ut multiplicem lapsum superioris aetatis absolveret trina confessio. 21. Denique ut vobis afferamus exemplum, sanctus apostolus Petrus posteaquam in passione 360 Domini lapsus videretur infirmitate conditionis humanae; qui antea negaverat, postea ut illum lapsum aboleret et solveret, tertio interrogatur a Christo, si Christum amaret; tunc ille dicit: Tu nosti, Domine, quia amo te (Joan. XXI, 15 et seq.). Tertio dixit, ut tertio absolveretur. 22. Sic ergo peccatum dimittit Pater, sicut dimittit Filius, sic et Spiritus sanctus. In uno autem nomine baptizari nos jussit, hoc est, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Noli mirari quia dixit unum nomen ubi est, una substantia, una divinitas, una majestas. Hoc est nomen de quo dictum est: In quo oportet omnes salvos fieri (Act. IV, 12) In hoc nomine omnes salvati estis, redditi estis ad gratiam vitae.

23. Clamat ergo Apostolus, sicut audistis in lectione praesenti: Quoniam quicumque baptizatur, in morte Jesu baptizatur (Rom. VI, 3 et seq.). Quid

est in morte? Ut quomodo Christus mortuus est, sic et tu mortem degustes: quomodo Christus mortuus est peccato, et Deo vivit; ita et tu superioribus illecebris peccatorum mortuus sis per baptismatis sacramentum, et surrexeris per gratiam Christi. Mors ergo est, sed non in mortis corporalis veritate, sed in similitudine; cum enim mergis, mortis suscipis et et sepulturae similitudinem: crucis illius accipis sacramentum, quod in cruce Christus pependit, et clavis confixum est ejus corpus. Tu ergo cum crucifigeris, Christo adhaeres, clavis Domini nostri Jesu Christi adhaeres; ne te diabolus possit abstrahere. Teneat te clavus Christi, quem revocat humanae conditionis infirmitas.

24. Ergo mersisti (De Consec. dist. 4, cap. Mersisti), venisti ad sacerdotem: quid tibi dixit? Deus, inquit, Pater omnipotens qui te regeneravit ex aqua et Spiritu sancto, concessitque tibi peccata tua, ipse te ungat in vitam aeternam. Vide ubi unctus es: in vitam, inquit, aeternam. Noli hanc vitam illi vitae anteferre. Verbi gratia, si exsurgat inimicus aliquis, si velit tibi fidem tuam auferre, si minatur mortem, ut praevaricetur quisquam, vide quid eligas: noli eligere illud in quo non es unctus, sed elige illud in quo unctus es; ut vitam aeternam vitae praeferas temporali. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

LIBER TERTIUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

QUARE IN BAPTISMO demersi ac vivificati recipiant unguentum in capite, et quid sit regeneratio: qua ratione etiam nos piscis in mari saeculi hujus imitari naturam oporteat? Item de mysterio lotionis pedum, cujus licet usus in Ecclesia Romana non obtineat, utilitas haud parva declaratur.

1. Hesterno die de fonte disputavimus, cujus species veluti quaedam sepulcri forma est; in quem, credentes in Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum, recipimur et demergimur et surgimus, hoc est, resuscitamur. Accipis autem μύρον, hoc est, unguentum supra caput (De Consec. dist. 8, c. Accepisti myst.). Quare supra caput? Quia sensus sapientis in capite ejus, Salomon ait (Eccles. II, 14); friget enim sapientia sine gratia: sed ubi gratiam acceperit sapientia, tunc opus ejus incipit esse perfectum. Haec regeneratio dicitur.

2. Quid est regeneratio? Habes in Actibus apostolorum (Act. XIII, 33), quod ille versiculus qui dicitur in psalmo secundo: Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te, ad resurrectionem spectare videatur. Namque sanctus apostolus Petrus in Actibus apostolorum sic interpretatus est, quod tunc quando resurrexit Filius a mortuis, Patris vox resulta verit: Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te (Psal. II, 7). Unde et primogenitus a mortuis dicitur. Ergo resurrectio quid est, nisi quando de morte ad vitam resurgimus? Sic ergo et in baptismate, quoniam similitudo mortis est, sine dubio dum mergis et resurgis, similitudo fit resurrectionis. Recte itaque secundum interpretationem apostoli Petri sicut illa resurrectio regeneratio fuit, ita et ista resurrectio regeneratio est. 3. Sed quid dicis quia in aquam mergis? Ideo peregrinaris, ideo te dubitatio tenet? Legimus quidem: Producat terra ex se fructum germinantem (Gen. II, 11). Similiter et de aquis legisti: Producant

aquae animantia (Ibid, 20), et nata sunt animantia. Illa quidem in principio creaturae: sed tibi reservatum est, 362 ut aqua te regeneret ad gratiam, sicut alia generavit ad vitam. Imitare illum piscem qui minorem quidem adeptus est gratiam; tamen debet tibi esse miraculo. In mari est, et super undas est: in mari est, et super fluctus natat. In mari tempestas furit, stridunt procellae: sed piscis natat, non demergitur; quia natare consuevit. Ergo et tibi hoc saeculum mare est. Habet diversos fluctus, undas graves, saevas tempestates. Et tu esto piscis, ut saeculi te unda non mergat. Pulchre autem Pater dicit ad Filium: Ego hodie genui te (Psal. II, 7), hoc est, quando redemisti populum, quando ad coeli regnum vocasti, quando implesti voluntatem meam, probasti meum esse te Filium.

4. Ascendisti de fonte, quid secutum est? Audisti lectionem. Succinctus summus sacerdos, licet enim et presbyteri fecerint, tamen exordium ministerii a summo est sacerdote. Succinctus, inquam, summus sacerdos pedes tibi lavit. Quod est istud mysterium? Audisti utique quia Dominus cum lavisset discipulis aliis pedes, venit ad Petrum, et ait illi Petrus: Tu mihi lavas pedes (Joan. XIII, 8)? Hoc est, tu dominus servo lavas pedes? tu immaculatus mihi lavas pedes? tu auctor coelorum mihi lavas pedes? Habes hoc et alibi: Venit ad Joannem, et ait illi Joannes: Ego a te debeo baptizari, et tu venis ad me (Matth. III, 14)? Ego sum peccator, et tu venis ad me peccatorem, ut tua quasi peccata deponas, qui peccatum non feceris? Vide omnem justitiam, vide humilitatem, vide gratiam, vide sanctificationem: Nisi lavero, inquit, tibi pedes, non habebis mecum partem. 5. Non ignoramus quod Ecclesia Romana hanc consuetudinem non habeat, cujus typum in omnibus sequimur et formam: hanc tamen consuetudinem non habet, ut pedes lavet. Vide ergo, forte propter multitudinem declinavit. Sunt tamen qui dicant et excusare conentur, quia hoc non in mysterio faciendum est, non 363 in baptismate, non in regeneratione: sed quasi hospiti pedes lavandi sint. Aliud est humilitatis, aliud sanctificationis. Denique audi quia

mysterium est et sanctificatio: Nisi lavero tibi pedes, non habebis mecum partem (Joan. XIII, 8). Hoc ideo dico, non quod alios reprehendam, sed mea officia ipse commendem. In omnibus cupio sequi Ecclesiam Romanam: sed tamen et nos homines sensum habemus; ideo quod alibi rectius servatur, et nos rectius custodimus. 6. Ipsum sequimur apostolum Petrum, ipsius inhaeremus devotioni. Ad hoc Ecclesia Romana quid respondet? Utique ipse auctor est nobis hujus assertionis Petrus apostolus, qui sacerdos fuit Ecclesiae Romanae. Ipse Petrus ait: Domine, non solum pedes, sed etiam manus et caput (Ibid., 9). Vide fidem. Quod ante excusavit, humilitatis fuit: quod postea obtulit, devotionis et fidei. 7. Respondit illi Dominus, quia dixerat manus et caput: Qui lavit, non necesse habet iterum lavare, nisi ut solos pedes lavet (Ibid., 10). Quare hoc? Quia in baptismate omnis culpa diluitur. Recedit ergo culpa: sed quia Adam supplantatus a diabolo est (Gen. III, 6), et venenum ei effusum est supra pedes, ideo lavas pedes; ut in ea parte in qua insidiatus est serpens, majus subsidium sanctificationis accedat, quo postea te supplantare non possit. Lavas ergo pedes, ut laves venena serpentis. Ad humilitatem quoque proficit, ut in mysterio non erubescamus, quod dedignamur in obsequio.

CAPUT II.

BAPTIZATUM CONSIGNARI SPIRITU sancto, ad quem cum spectent omnes virtutes, quodam tamen praecipuo jure septem pertinent: eidem baptizato ubi ad altare accesserit, oculos caeci in Joannis Evangelio descripti instar, luto liniri, per quod peccatorum confessio significatur: quo loco iis qui peccatores esse se negant, confutatis, oculos hac impositione luti ad videnda spiritalia aperiri demonstrat.

8. Sequitur spiritale signaculum quod audistis hodie legi (De Consec., dist. 4, c. Accepisti, § Sequitur); quia post fontem superest ut perfectio fiat; quando ad invocationem sacerdotis Spiritus sanctus infunditur, Spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, Spiritus consilii atque virtutis, Spiritus cognitionis atque pietatis, Spiritus sancti timoris: septem quasi virtutes Spiritus (Esai. XI, 2). 9. Et omnes quidem virtutes ad Spiritum pertinent: sed istae quasi cardinales sunt, quasi principales. Quid enim tam principale, quam pietas? 364 quid tam principale, quam cognitio Dei? quid tam principale, quam virtus? quid tam principale, quam consilium Dei? quid tam principale, quam timor Dei? sicut timor saeculi infirmitas, ita timor Dei magna est fortitudo. 10. Istae sunt septem virtutes quando consignaris. Nam ut ait Apostolus sanctus: Quia multiformis est, inquit, sapientia Dei nostri (Ephes. III, 10). Et ut multiformis est sapientia Dei, ita multiformis est Spiritus sanctus, qui habet diversas variasque virtutes. Unde et Deus virtutum dicitur: quod aptari potest Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto. Sed hoc alterius disputationis, alterius est temporis.

11. Post haec quid sequitur? Venire habes ad altare (Ps. LXXIX, 5). Quoniam venisti, videre habes quae ante non videbas, hoc est, mysterium

quod legisti in Evangelio; si tamen non legisti, certe audisti. Caecus obtulit se Salvatori ut curaretur: et ille qui alios verbo tantum et sermone curabat, et refundebat imperio lumen oculorum; tamen in libro Evangelii qui scribitur secundum Joannem, qui vere prae caeteris vidit magna mysteria, et designavit, et declaravit; mysterium hoc in illo voluit praefigurare. Omnes quidem sancti evangelistae, omnes apostoli praeter proditorem, omnes sancti; tamen sanctus Joannes qui ultimus scripsit Evangelium, quasi necessarius requisitus et electus a Christo, majore quadam tuba fudit aeterna mysteria. Quidquid locutus est, mysterium est. Alius dixit caecum curatum, dixit Matthaeus, dixit Lucas, dixit Marcus: solus Joannes quid ait? Tulit lutum, et linivit super oculos ejus, et dixit ei: Vade in Siloam. Et exsurgens ivit, et lavit, et venit videns (Joan. IX, 6, 7). 12. Considera et tu oculos cordis tui. Videbas quae corporalia sunt, corporalibus oculis: sed quae sacramentorum sunt, cordis oculis adhuc videre non poteras. Ergo quando dedisti nomen tuum, tulit lutum, et linivit super oculos tuos. Quid significat? Ut peccatum tuum fatereris, ut conscientiam tuam recognosceres, ut poenitentiam ageres delictorum, hoc est, sortem humanae generationis agnosceres. Nam etiamsi non confiteatur peccatum, qui venit ad baptismum, tamen hoc ipso implet confessionem omnium peccatorum, quod baptizari petit, ut justificetur, hoc est, ut a culpa ad gratiam transeat.

13. Nolite otiosum putare. Sunt quidam, scio certe aliquem fuisse qui diceret, cum illi diceremus: In hac aetate magis baptizari debes, dicebat ille: Quare baptizor? Peccatum non habeo. 365 Numquid peccatum contraxi? Hic lutum non habuit, quod ei Christus non leverat, hoc est, non ei aperuerat oculos; nullus enim homo sine peccato.

14. Ergo agnoscit se hominem, qui confugit ad baptismum Christi. Itaque et tibi imposuit lutum, hoc est, verecundiam, prudentiam, considerationem fragilitatis tuae; et dixit tibi: Vade in Siloam. Quid est Siloas? Quod interpretatur, inquit, missus, hoc est: Vade ad illum fontem in quo crux

Domini praedicatur: vade ad illum fontem in quo omnium Christus redemit errores. 366 15. Isti, lavisti, venisti ad altare, videre coepisti, quae ante non videras; hoc est, per fontem Domini et praedicationem Dominicae passionis tunc aperti sunt oculi tui: qui ante corde videbaris esse caecatus, coepisti lumen sacramentorum videre. Ergo, fratres dilectissimi, venimus usque ad altare, ad tractatum uberiorem. Et ideo quia id temporis est, disputationem integram non possumus incipere: quia prolixior tractatus est, satis sit quod dictum est hodie; et crastina die, si Domino placet, de sacramentis ipsis tractabimus.

LIBER QUARTUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

SECUNDUM VETERIS LEGIS Tabernaculum, et quae moris erat ibi servari, ad baptisterium baptismique effectus adaptantur. 1. In veteri Testamento sacerdotes frequenter in primum tabernaculum intrare consueverant: in secundum tabernaculum semel in anno summus intrabat sacerdos (Levit. XVI, 2 et seq.). Quod evidenter ad Hebraeos recolens, seriem veteris Testamenti explanat apostolus Paulus (Hebr. IX, 1 et seq.). Erat autem in secundo tabernaculo manna, erat etiam virga Aaron quae aruit, et postea refloruit, erat et thymiamaterium.

2. Quo spectat hoc? Ut intelligatis quid sit secundum tabernaculum, in quod vos introduxit sacerdos, in quod semel in anno summus sacerdos intrare consuevit, hoc est, ad baptisterium, ubi virga Aaron floruit (Num. XVII, 8). Ante arida erat, postea refloruit: et tu aridus eras, et coepisti in fonte irriguo reflorescere. Arueras peccatis, arueras erroribus atque delictis: sed fructum jam afferre coepisti, plantatus secus decursus aquarum. 3. Sed forte dicas: Quid hoc ad populum, si virga sacerdotis aruerat, et refloruit? Populus ipse quis est nisi sacerdotalis? Quibus dictum est: Vos autem genus electum, regale sacerdotium, gens sancta, ut ait apostolus Petrus (I Petr. II, 9). Unusquisque ungitur in sacerdotium, ungitur et in regnum: sed spiritale regnum est, et sacerdotium spiritale.

4. In secundo quoque tabernaculo est thymiamaterium (Hebr. IX, 4), quod bonum odorem flagrare consuevit; ita et vos jam bonus odor Christi estis, jam nulla in vobis sors delictorum, nullus odor gravioris erroris.

CAPUT II.

Humanam in baptismo conditionem admirationi esse ipsis Angelis; hanc enim per illum ad innocentiae ac juventutis gratiam revocari.

5. Sequitur ut veniatis ad altare. Coepistis venire: spectarunt angeli, viderunt vos 366 advenientes, et humanam conditionem illam, quae ante peccatorum tenebroso squalore sordebat, aspexerunt subito refulgere. Ideoque dixerunt: Quae est haec quae ascendit a deserto dealbata (Cant. VIII, 5)? Mirantur ergo et angeli. Vis scire quia mirantur? Audi ergo apostolum Paulum dicentem ea nobis esse collata, quae concupiscunt et angeli videre (I Petr. I, 12). Et iterum: Quod oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit . . . . . quae praeparavit Deus diligentibus se (I Cor. II, 9). 6. Deinde quid acceperis recognosce. Sanctus David propheta hanc gratiam in figura vidit et concupivit. Vis scire quia concupierit? Iterum audi dicentem: Asperges me hyssopo, et mundabor: lavabis me, et super nivem dealbabor (Ps. L, 9). Quare? Quia nix, quamvis sit candida, cito aliqua sorde nigrescit atque corrumpitur: ista gratia quam accepisti, si teneas quod accepisti, erit diuturna atque perpetua.

7. Veniebas ergo desiderans ad altare, utpote qui tantam gratiam videras; veniebas desiderans ad altare, quo acciperes sacramentum. Dicat anima tua: Et introibo ad altare Dei mei, ad Deum qui laetificat juventutem meam (Ps. XLII, 4). Deposuisti peccatorum senectutem, sumpsisti gratiae juventutem: hoc praestiterunt tibi sacramenta coelestia. Denique iterum audi dicentem David: Renovabitur sicut aquilae juventus tua (Ps. CII, 5). Bona aquila esse coepisti, quae coelum petis; terrena fastidis. Bonae aquilae circa altare: Ubi

enim corpus, ibi et aquilae (Matth. XXIV, 28). Forma corporis altare est, et corpus Christi est in altari: aquilae vos estis, renovatae ablutione delicti.

CAPUT III.

Ostensurus auctor sacramenta nostra quam Judaeorum tum antiquiora tum diviniora esse, priorem partem conficit instituta inter Melchisedech atque Abraham comparatione; ubi illum et mysteriorum nostrorum auctorem et Christi figuram exstitisse planum facit.

8. Venisti ad altare, vidisti sacramenta posita super altare, et ipsam quidem 367 miratus es creaturam; tamen creaturam solemnem et notam. 9. Forte aliquis dixerit: Judaeis Deus tantam gratiam praestitit, manna illis pluit e coelo (Exod. XVI, 13): quid plus dedit fidelibus suis, quid plus tribuit iis quibus plus promisit? 10. Accipe quae dico, anteriora esse mysteria Christianorum quam Judaeorum, et diviniora esse sacramenta Christianorum quam Judaeorum. Quomodo? Accipe. Judaei quando esse coeperunt? Ex Juda utique pronepote Abrahae; aut, si vis et sic intelligere, ex Lege, id est quando Judaei Legem accipere meruerunt. Ergo ex pronepote Abrahae Judaei dicti sunt, aut a tempore sancti Moysis. Et si tunc Deus Judaeis murmurantibus manna pluit e coelo, tibi autem sacramentorum horum figura praecessit, quando Abraham erat, quando vernaculos trecentos decem et octo collegit, et tibi persecutus est adversarios, de captivitate eruens nepotem suum; tunc victor venit, occurrit illi Melchisedech sacerdos, et obtulit ei panem et vinum (Gen. XIV, 18). Quis habuit panem et vinum? Abraham non habuit. Sed quis habuit? Melchisedech. Ipse ergo auctor sacramentorum (Hebr. VII, 1 et seq.). Quis est Melchisedech? Qui significatur rex justitiae, rex pacis. Quis est iste rex justitiae? Numquid homo quisquam potest rex esse justitiae? Quis ergo rex

justitiae, nisi justitia Dei, qui est Dei pax, Dei sapientia? Qui potuit dicere: Pacem meam do vobis, pacem meam relinquo vobis (Joan. XIV, 27).

11. Ergo primo intellige sacramenta haec quae accipis, anteriora esse quam sint Moysi sacramenta, quaecumque Judaei habere se dicunt; et prius coepisse populum Christianum, quam coepisse populum Judaeorum: sed nos in praedestinatione, illum in nomine. 12. Obtulit ergo Melchisedech panem et vinum. Quis est Melchisedech? Sine patre, inquit, sine matre, sine generationis ordine, neque initium dierum, neque finem vitae habens: hoc habet ad Hebraeos epistola. Sine patre, inquit, et sine matre est. Similis cui? Filio Dei. Sine matre 368 natus est Dei Filius generatione coelesti, quia ex solo Deo Patre natus est: et iterum sine patre natus est, quando natus ex Virgine est; non enim ex virili semine generatus est: sed natus de Spiritu sancto (Matth. I, 20) et virgine Maria, utero editus virginali, similis per omnia Filio Dei. Sacerdos quoque erat Melchisedech; quia et Christus sacerdos, cui dicitur: Tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech (Psal. CIX, 4).

CAPUT IV.

Ut persuadeat hoc sacramentum divinius habendum quam manna, ex pane ipsummet Christi corpus ejusdem Christi sermone fieri asseverat: quod postquam allatis variis effectibus, quibus ejusdem sermonis efficacitas claret, confirmavit; cur sanguis sub aliena specie detur, causam reddit.

13. Ergo auctor sacramentorum quis est, nisi Dominus Jesus? De coelo ista sacramenta venerunt; consilium enim omne de coelo est. Vere autem magnum et divinum miraculum quod populo pluit Deus manna de coelo, et non laborabat populus, et manducabat. 14. Tu forte dicis: Meus panis est usitatus. Sed panis iste panis est ante verba sacramentorum (De Consec., dist. 2, c. Panis est): ubi accesserit consecratio, de pane fit caro Christi. Hoc igitur astruamus. Quomodo potest qui panis est, corpus esse Christi? Consecratione. Consecratio autem quibus verbis est, cujus sermonibus? Domini Jesu. Nam et reliqua omnia quae dicuntur in superioribus, a sacerdote dicuntur, laudes Deo deferuntur, oratio petitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro caeteris: ubi venitur ut conficiatur venerabile sacramentum, jam non suis sermonibus utitur sacerdos, sed utitur sermonibus Christi. Ergo sermo Christi hoc conficit sacramentum. 15. Quis est sermo Christi: Nempe is quo facta sunt omnia. Jussit Dominus, et factum est coelum: jussit Dominus, et facta est terra: jussit Dominus, et facta sunt maria. Jussit Dominus, et omnis creatura generata est (Gen. I, 1 et seq.). Vides ergo 369 quam operatorius sit sermo Christi. Si ergo tanta vis est in sermone Domini Jesu, ut inciperent esse quae non erant, quanto magis operatorius est, ut sint quae erant, et in aliud commutentur? Coelum non erat, mare non erat, terra non erat; sed audi dicentem David: Ipse dixit, et facta sunt: ipse mandavit,

et creata sunt (Psal. CXLVIII, 5). 16. Ergo tibi ut respondeam, non erat corpus Christi ante consecrationem: sed post consecrationem dico tibi quia jam corpus est Christi. Ipse dixit, et factum est: ipse mandavit, et creatum est. Tu ipse eras, sed eras vetus creatura: postea quam consecratus es, nova creatura, esse coepisti. Vis scire quam nova creatura? Omnis, inquit, in Christo nova creatura (II Cor. V, 17).

17. Accipe ergo quemadmodum sermo Christi creaturam omnem mutare consueverit, et mutet, cum vult, instituta naturae. Quomodo requiris? Accipe, et primo omnium de generatione ejus sumamus exemplum. Consuetudo est ut non generetur homo, nisi ex viro et muliere, et consuetudine conjugali: sed quia voluit Dominus, quia hoc elegit sacramentum, de Spiritu sancto et Virgine natus est Christus, hoc est, mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Jesus (I Tim. II, 5). Vides ergo quia contra instituta et ordinem natus est, homo est natus ex Virgine?

370 18. Accipe aliud. Urgebatur populus Judaeorum ab Aegyptiis, interclusus erat mari: divino imperio virga Moyses tetigit aquas, et se unda divisit; non utique secundum suae naturae consuetudinem, sed secundum gratiam coelestis imperii (Exod. XIV, 21 et seq.). Accipe aliud. Sitiebat populus, venit ad fontem: amarus erat fons, misit lignum sanctus Moyses in fontem, et factus est dulcis fons, qui amarus erat; hoc est, mutavit consuetudinem naturae suae, accepit dulcedinem gratiae (Exod. XV, 23 et seq.). Accipe et quartum exemplum. Ceciderat ferrum securis in aquas, quasi ferrum sua consuetudine demersum est: misit lignum Elisaeus, statim ferrum elevatum est, et aquis supernatavit (IV Reg. VI, 6): utique contra consuetudinem ferri; est enim materies gravior, quam aquarum est elementum.

19. Ex his igitur omnibus non intelligis quantum operetur sermo coelestis? Si operatus est in fonte terreno, si operatus est sermo coelestis in aliis rebus, non operatur in coelestibus Sacramentis? Ergo didicisti quod ex

pane corpus fiat Christi, et quod vinum et aqua in calicem mittitur: sed fit sanguis consecratione verbi coelestis (De Consec., dist. 2, c. Panis, § Ergo, et § Sed forte). 20. Sed forte dicis: Speciem sanguinis non video. Sed habet similitudinem: sicut enim mortis similitudinem sumpsisti, ita etiam similitudinem 371 pretiosi sanguinis bibis; ut nullus horror cruoris sit, et pretium tamen operetur redemptionis. Didicisti ergo quia quod accipis, corpus est Christi.

CAPUT V.

IPSIS DOMINI VERBIS corpus ac sanguinem ejus consecrari et vere confici; proindeque hinc bene colligi prae manna excellere hoc sacramentum, cujus veritas consignatur per vocem, Amen.

21. Vis scire quia verbis coelestibus consecratur (De Consec., dist. 2, c. Panis, § Vis scire)? Accipe quae sunt verba. Dicit sacerdos: Fac nobis, inquit, hanc oblationem ascriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilem: quod figura est corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Qui pridie quam pateretur, in sanctis manibus suis accepit panem, respexit in coelum ad te, sancte Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus, gratias agens, benedixit, fregit, fractumque apostolis suis et discipulis suis tradidit dicens: Accipite, et edite ex hoc omnes; hoc est enim corpus meum, quod pro multis confringetur (Luc. XXII, 19). 22. Similiter etiam calicem postquam coenatum est, pridie quam pateretur, accepit, respexit in coelum ad te, sancte Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus, gratias agens, benedixit, apostolis suis et discipulis suis tradidit, dicens: Accipite, et bibite ex hoc omnes; hic est enim sanguis meus (Matth. XXVI, 27, 28). Vide illa omnia. Illa verba evangelistae sunt usque ad Accipite, sive corpus, sive sanguinem. Inde verba sunt Christi: Accipite, et bibite ex hoc omnes; hic est enim sanguis meus. Et vide singula. 23. Qui pridie, inquit, quam pateretur, in sanctis manibus suis accepit panem. Antequam consecretur, panis est; ubi autem verba Christi accesserint, corpus est Christi. Denique audi dicentem: Accipite, et edite ex eo omnes; hoc est enim corpus meum. Et ante verba Christi, calix est vini, et aquae plenus: ubi verba Christi operata fuerint, ibi sanguis Christi efficitur, qui plebem redemit. Ergo videte quantis generibus potens est sermo Christi

universa convertere. Deinde ipse Dominus Jesus testificatur nobis quod corpus suum accipiamus et sanguinem. Numquid debemus de ejus fide et testificatione dubitare? 372

24. Jam redi mecum ad propositionem meam. Magnum quidem et venerabile, quod manna Judaeis pluit e coelo (Exod. XVI, 13): sed intellige. Quid est amplius, manna de coelo, an corpus Christi? Corpus utique Christi, qui auctor est coeli. Deinde manna qui manducavit, mortuus est: qui manducaverit hoc corpus, fiet ei remissio peccatorum, et non morietur in aeternum (De Consec., dist. 2, c. Ante, § Qui manduc.) 25. Ergo non otiose dicis tu: Amen, jam in spiritu confitens quod accipias corpus Christi. Dicit tibi sacerdos: Corpus Christi; et tu dicis: Amen, hoc est, verum. Quod confitetur lingua, teneat affectus.

CAPUT VI.

EXCELLENTIA SACRAMENTI HUJUS inde probata, quod per illud Dominica passio renovetur, sermonem finit, de materia proximis diebus a se tractanda strictim praemonens.

26. Ut scias autem hoc esse sacramentum, hujus figura ante praecessit. Deinde quantum sit sacramentum, cognosce. Vide quid dicat: Quotiescumque hoc feceritis, toties commemorationem mei facietis, donec iterum adveniam (I Cor. XI, 26). 27. Et sacerdos dicit: Ergo memores gloriosissimae ejus passionis, et ab inferis resurrectionis, et in coelum ascensionis, offerimus tibi hanc immaculatam hostiam, rationabilem hostiam, incruentam hostiam, hunc panem sanctum, et calicem vitae aeternae: et petimus et precamur, ut hanc oblationem suscipias in sublimi altari tuo per manus angelorum tuorum, sicut suscipere dignatus es munera pueri tui justi Abel, et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos Melchisedech.

28. Ergo quotiescumque accipis, quid tibi dicit Apostolus? Quotiescumque accipimus, mortem Domini annuntiamus (De Consec., dist. 2, c. Si quotiesc.). Si mortem annuntiamus, annuntiamus remissionem peccatorum. Si quotiescumque effunditur sanguis, in remissionem peccatorum funditur; debeo illum semper accipere, ut semper mihi peccata dimittantur. Qui semper pecco, semper debeo habere medicinam. 29. Interim et hodie quantum potuimus, explanavimus: sed crastina die sabbato et Dominica de orationis ordine dicemus, quemadmodum possumus. Dominus Deus noster conservet vobis gratiam quam dedit, et oculos quos vobis aperuit, plenius illuminare dignetur per unigenitum Filium suum

regem ac salvatorem Dominum Deum nostrum, per quem sibi, et cum quo sibi est laus, honor, gloria, magnificentia, potestas cum Spiritu sancto, a saeculis, et nunc, et semper, et in omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

LIBER QUINTUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

PRIMUM REPETIT QUOD jam ante dictum est sacramenti, atque adeo ipsius Christi figuram in Melchisedech ejusque sacrificio praecessisse: tum duplicem causam cur aqua in calice admisceatur, in medium profert. 1. Hesterno sermo noster ac tractatus usque ad sancti altaris sacramenta deductus est. Et cognovimus sacramentorum istorum figuram Abrahae temporibus praecessisse, quando obtulit sacrificium sanctus Melchisedech (Gen. XIV, 18), neque initium, neque finem habens dierum. Audi, homo, quid dicat Paulus apostolus ad Hebraeos. Ubi sunt qui Filium Dei dicunt esse de tempore Melchisedech? Dictum est, quia neque initium, neque finem dierum habet: si Melchisedech non habet initium dierum, num Christus habere potuit (Hebr. VII, 1 et seq.)? Sed non est plus figura quam veritas. Vides ergo quia ipse primus et novissimus (Apoc. I, 8). Primus, quia auctor est omnium: novissimus, non quod finem inveniat, sed quod universa concludat.

2. Diximus ergo quod in altari constituatur calix et panis. In calicem quid mittitur? Vinum. Et quid aliud? Aqua (De Consec., dist. 2, c. In calicem. Exod. XVII, 6). Sed tu mihi dicis: Quomodo ergo Melchisedech panem et vinum obtulit? Quid sibi vult admixtio aquae? Rationem accipe. 3. Primum omnium figura quae ante praecessit tempore Moysi, quid habet? Quia cum sitiret populus Judaeorum, et murmuraret quod aquam invenire non possent, jussit Deus Moysi ut tangeret petram de virga. Tetigit petram, et petra undam maximam fudit, sicut Apostolus ait: Bibebant autem de spiritali consequenti eos petra: petra autem erat Christus (I Cor. X, 4). Non immobilis petra quae populum sequebatur. Et tu bibe, ut te Christus sequatur. Vide mysterium. Moyses, hoc est, propheta: virga, hoc est,

verbum Dei. 374 Sacerdos verbo Dei tangit petram, et fluit aqua, et bibit populus Dei. Tangit ergo sacerdos, redundat aqua in calice, salit in vitam aeternam, et bibit populus Dei, qui Dei gratiam consecutus est. Didicisti ergo hoc. 4. Accipe et aliud. In tempore Dominicae passionis cum sabbatum magnum instaret, quia vivebat Dominus noster Jesus Christus vel latrones, missi sunt qui percuterent eos: venientes autem invenerunt defunctum Dominum Jesum Christum; tunc unus de miltiibus lancea tetigit latus ejus, et de latere ejus aqua fluxit et sanguis (Joan. XIX, 33 et seq.). Quare aqua? quare sanguis? Aqua, ut emundaret: sanguis, ut redimeret. Quare de latere? Quia unde culpa, inde gratia. Culpa per feminam, gratia per Dominum Jesum Christum (De Consec., dist. 2, c. In calicem, § De latere).

CAPUT II.

QUEMADMODUM QUI MUNDATUS fuerit, et invitetur a Christo, et ipse ad inaestimabilem sacramenti suavitatem aspiret, mystica quorumdam e Canticis locorum interpretatione ostenditur.

5. Venisti ad altare, vocat te Dominus Jesus, vel animam tuam, vel Ecclesiam, et ait: Osculetur me ab osculis oris sui (Cant. I, 1). Vis ad Christum aptare? Nihil gratius. Vis ad animam tuam? Nihil jucundius.

6. Osculetur me. Vides te mundum esse ab omni peccato, quia delicta detersa sunt; ideo te sacramentis coelestibus dignum judicat et ideo invitat ad coeleste convivivum: Osculetur me ab osculis oris sui. 7. Tamen propter sequentia anima tua, vel humana conditio, vel Ecclesia videns se ab omnibus mundatam esse peccatis, et dignam quae ad altare Christi possit accedere (quid est enim altare, nisi forma corporis Christi) vidit sacramenta mirabilia, et ait: Osculetur me ab osculis 375 oris sui, hoc est, osculum mihi Christus infigat. 8. Quare? Quia meliora ubera tua super vinum (Cant. I, 1); hoc est, meliores sensus, meliora sacramenta tua super vinum. Super illud vinum, quod etsi suavitatem habet, laetitiam habet, gratiam habet; tamen in illo laetitia saecularis, in te autem jucunditas est spiritalis. Jam tunc ergo Salomon inducit nuptias vel Christi et Ecclesiae, vel spiritus et carnis et animae. 9. Et addidit: Unguentum exinanitum est nomen tuum, propterea adolescentulae dilexerunt te (Ibid., 2). Quae sunt istae adolescentulae, nisi animae singulorum, quae deposuerunt istius corporis senectutem, renovatae per Spiritum sanctum?

10. Attrahe nos, post odorem unguentorum tuorum curremus (Ibid., 3). Vide quid dicat. Non potes sequi Christum, nisi ipse te attrahat. Denique ut

scias: Cum exaltatus, inquit, fuero, omnia traham ad me ipsum (Joan. XII, 32). 11. Induxit me Rex in cubiculum suum. Graecus: In promptuarium suum, et in cellarium suum, habet. Ubi bona libamina, ubi boni odores, ubi mella suavia, ubi fructus diversi, ubi epulae variae; ut plurimis epulis tuum prandium condiatur.

CAPUT III.

QUAM UBERES AD eos qui Dominicum corpus acceperint, fructus redeant; et quonam modo Ecclesiae de convivarum multitudine gestienti respondeat Christus: quantam denique fideles ex Aegyptiaca servitute reduces in hac esca sentiant jucunditatem.

12. Ergo venisti ad altare, accepisti corpus Christi. Audi iterum quae sacramenta es consecutus. Audi dicentem sanctum David; et ille in Spiritu haec mysteria praevidebat, et laetabatur, et nihil sibi abesse dicebat. Quare? Quia qui acceperit corpus Christi, non esuriet in aeternum. 13. Quoties audisti vicesimum secundum psalmum, et non intellexisti? Vide quemadmodum aptus sit coelestibus sacramentis (De Consec., dist. 2, c. In calicem, § Audi psalmum): Dominus pascit me, et nihil mihi deerit, in loco pascuae ibi me collocavit. Super aquam refectionis educavit me, animam meam convertit. Deduxit me super semitas justitiae propter nomen suum. Nam etsi ambulem in medio umbrae mortis, non timebo mala; quoniam tu mecum es. Virga tua et baculus tuus; ipsa me consolata sunt (Psal. XXII, 1 et seq.). Virga imperium, baculus passio est, hoc est, aeterna divinitas Christi, sed etiam passio corporalis: illa creavit, haec redemit. Parasti in conspectu meo mensam adversus 376 eos qui tribulant me. Impinguasti in oleo caput meum; et poculum meum inebrians quam praeclarum est. 14. Venistis ergo ad altare, accepistis gratiam Christi, sacramenta estis coelestia consecuti. Gaudet Ecclesia redemptione multorum, et astare sibi familiam candidatam spiritali exsultatione laetatur. Habes hoc in Canticis canticorum. Laetata invocat Christum, paratum habens convivium, quod dignum coelesti epulatione videatur. Ideoque ait: Descendat frater meus in hortum suum, et

capiat fructum pomiferarum suarum (Cant. V, 1). Quae sunt istae pomiferae? Lignum aridum factus eras in Adam: sed nunc per gratiam Christi pomiferae arbores pullulatis.

15. Libenter accipit Dominus Jesus, et dignatione coelesti respondit Ecclesiae suae: Descendi, inquit, in hortum, vindemiavi myrrham cum unguentis meis: manducavi panem meum cum melle meo, et bibi vinum meum cum lacte meo. Edite, inquit, fratres mei, et inebriamini (Ibid.). 16. Vindemiavi myrrham cum unguentis meis. Quae est ista vindemia? Cognoscite vineam, et agnoscetis vindemiam. Vineam, inquit, ex Aegypto transtulisti (Psal. LXXIX, 9), hoc est populum Dei. Vos estis vinea, vos estis vindemia: quasi vinea plantati, quasi vindemia fructum dedistis. Vindemiavi myrrham cum unguentis meis, hoc est, in odorem quem accepistis.

17. Manducavi panem meum cum melle meo. Vides quod in hoc pane nulla sit amaritudo, sed omnis suavitas sit? Bibi vinum meum cum lacte meo. Vides hujusmodi esse laetitiam, quae nullius peccati sordibus polluatur? Quotiescumque enim bibis, remissionem accipis peccatorum, et inebriaris in spiritu (De Consec., dist. 2, c. In calicem, § Quotiescumque). Unde et Apostolus ait: Nolite inebriari vino . . . sed implemini Spiritu sancto (Ephes. V, 18); vino enim qui inebriatur, vacillat et titubat: Spiritu qui inebriatur, radicatus in Christo est. Et ideo praeclara ebrietas, quae sobrietatem mentis operatur. Haec sunt quae de sacramentis breviter percurrimus.

CAPUT IV.

Ut novos fideles instituat orandi forma, propositam ipsis instar speculi Dominicam orationem paucis exponit.

18. Nunc quid superest, nisi oratio? Et nolite putare mediocris esse virtutis scire quemadmodum oretis. Apostoli sancti dicebant ad Dominum Jesum: Domine, doce nos orare, quemadmodum Joannes docuit discipulos suos. 377 Tunc ait Dominus orationem: Pater noster qui es in coelis: sanctificetur nomen tuum: adveniat regnum tuum: fiat voluntas tua, sicut in coelo et in terra: panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie: et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris: et ne nos patiaris induci in tentationem, sed libera nos a malo (Luc. XI, 1 et seq.). Vides quam brevis oratio, et omnium plena virtutum: primus sermo quantae sit gratiae!

19. O homo! faciem tuam non audebas ad coelum attollere, oculos tuos in terram dirigebas, et subito accepisti gratiam Christi, omnia tibi peccata dimissa sunt. Ex malo servo factus es bonus filius; ideo praesume, non de operatione tua, sed de Christi gratia: gratia enim salvati estis (Ephes. II, 5), Apostolus ait. Non ergo hic arrogantia est, sed fides: praedicare quod acceperis non est superbia, sed devotio. Ergo attolle oculos ad Patrem, qui te per lavacrum genuit: ad Patrem qui te per Filium redemit, et dic: Pater noster. Bona praesumptio, sed moderata. Patrem dicis quasi filius: sed noli tibi specialiter aliquid vindicare. Solius Christi specialis est Pater, nobis omnibus in commune est Pater; quia illum solum genuit, nos creavit. Dic ergo et tu per gratiam: Pater noster; ut filius esse merearis. Ecclesiae contuitu et consideratione te ipse commenda. 20. Pater noster, qui es in

coelis. Quid est in coelis? Audi Scripturam dicentem: Excelsus super omnes coelos Dominus (Psal. CXII, 4). Et ubique habes quod super coelos coelorum Dominus sit, quasi non in coelis et angeli, quasi non in coelis et Dominationes. Sed in illis coelis, de quibus dictum est: Coeli enarrant gloriam Dei (Psal. XVIII, 2). Coelum est ibi, ubi cessavit culpa; coelum est ibi, ubi flagitia feriantur: coelum est ibi, ubi nullum mortis est vulnus.

21. Pater noster, qui es in coelis: sanctificetur nomen tuum. Quid est, sanctificetur? Quasi optemus ut sanctificetur ille qui ait: Estote sancti, quia ego sanctus sum (Levit. XIX, 2), quasi aliquid ei ex nostra precatione sanctificationis accedat. Non, sed sanctificetur in nobis, ut ad nos ejus possit sanctificatio pervenire. 378 22. Pater noster, qui es in coelis: sanctificetur nomen tuum: veniat regnum tuum. Quasi non aeternum sit Dei regnum. Ipse Jesus dicit: Ego in hoc natus sum (Joan. XVIII, 37); et tu dicis Patri: Veniat regnum tuum (Luc. XVII, 21); quasi non venerit. Sed tunc venit regnum Dei, quando ejus estis gratiam consecuti (De Consec., dist. 2, c. In calicem, § Fiat voluntas). Ipse enim ait: Regnum Dei intra vos est.

23. Veniat regnum tuum: fiat voluntas tua sicut in coelo et in terra: panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie. Sanguine Christi pacificata sunt omnia, vel in coelo, vel in terra: sanctificatum est coelum, dejectus est diabolus. Ubi versatur? Ubi et homo, quem ille decepit. Fiat voluntas tua, hoc est, sit pax in terra, quemadmodum in coelo.

24. Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie. Memini sermonis mei cum de sacramentis tractarem (Sup. lib. IV, cap. 4). Dixi vobis quod ante verba Christi quod offertur, panis dicatur: ubi Christi verba deprompta fuerint, jam non panis dicitur, sed corpus appellatur (De Consec., dist. 2, c. In calicem, § Dixi vobis). Quare ergo in oratione Dominica quae postea sequitur, ait: Panem nostrum (Joan. VI, 35)? Panem quidem dixit, sed ἐπιούσιον, hoc est supersubstantialem. Non iste panis est, qui vadit in corpus: sed ille panis vitae aeternae, qui animae nostrae substantiam fulcit

(De Consec. dist. 2, c. Non iste panis). Ideo Graece ἐπιούσιος dicitur: Latinus autem hunc panem quotidianum dixit quem Graeci dicunt advenientem; quia Graeci dicunt τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν advenientem diem. Ergo quod Latinus dixit, et quod Graecus, utrumque utile videtur: Graecus utrumque uno sermone significavit, Latinus quotidianum dixit.

25. Si quotidianus est panis, cur post annum illum sumis, quemadmodum Graeci in Oriente facere consuerunt. Accipe quotidie, quod quotidie tibi prosit. Sic vive, ut quotidie merearis accipere. Qui non meretur quotidie accipere, non meretur post annum accipere. Quomodo Job sanctus pro filiis suis offerebat quotidie sacrificium (Job, I, 5) ne forte aliquid vel in corde, vel in sermone peccassent? Ergo tu audis quod quotiescumque offertur sacrificium, mors Domini, resurrectio Domini, elevatio 379 Domini significetur, et remissio peccatorum: et panem istum vitae non quotidianum assumis (I Cor. XI, 26)? Qui vulnus habet, medicinam requirit. Vulnus est, quia sub peccato sumus: medicina est coeleste et venerabile sacramentum. 26. Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie. Quotidie si accipis, quotidie tibi hodie est. Si tibi hodie est Christus, tibi quotidie resurgit. Quomodo? Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te (Psal. II, 7). Hodie ergo est, quando Christus resurgit. Heri et hodie ipse est, apostolus Paulus ait (Hebr. XIII. 8). Sed et alibi ait: Nox praecessit, dies autem appropinquavit (Rom. XIII, 12): nox hesterna praecessit, dies hodiernus appropinquavit.

27. Sequitur: Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Debitum quid est, nisi peccatum? Ergo si non acciperes alieni fenoris pecuniam, non egeres; et ideo peccatum tibi imputatur. Habuisti pecuniam, cum qua dives nascereris. Dives eras, ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei factus (Gen. I, 26): perdidisti quod habebas, hoc est, humilitatem, dum arrogantiam desideras vindicare: perdidisti pecuniam, sicut Adam nudus est factus (Gen. III, 7): accepisti a diabolo debitum, quod non erat necessarium. Et ideo qui eras liber in Christo, debitor factus es

diaboli. 380 Cautionem tuam tenebat inimicus, sed eam Dominus crucifixit, et suo cruore delevit (Coloss. II, 14): abstulit debitum tuum, reddidit libertatem.

28. Bene ergo ait: Et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Vide quid dicas: Quomodo ego dimitto, sic et tu dimitte mihi? Si dimiseris, bene convenis, ut dimittatur tibi. Si non dimittis, quomodo eum convenis, ut dimittatur tibi. 29. Et ne patiaris induci nos in tentationem, sed libera nos a malo. Vide quid dicat: Et ne patiaris induci nos in tentationem, quam ferre non possumus. Non dicit: Non inducas in tentationem, sed quasi athleta talem vult tentationem, quam ferre possit humana conditio; et unusquisque a malo, hoc est, ab inimico, a peccato liberetur. 30. Potens est autem Dominus qui abstulit peccatum vestrum, et delicta vestra donavit, tueri et custodire vos adversum diaboli adversantis insidias; ut non vobis obrepat inimicus, qui culpam generare consuevit. Sed qui Deo se committit, diabolum non timet; Si enim Deus pro nobis, qui contra nos (Rom. VIII, 31)? Ipsi ergo laus et gloria a saeculis, et nunc, et semper, et in omnia saecula saeculorum, Amen.

LIBER SEXTUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

Cum Christi vera caro et verus sanguis in sacramento sint divini scilicet Verbi omnipotentia consecrati, et aliena specie, ne offensionem pariant, tecti; ex hoc intelligi nos divinae substantiae in illo alimento esse participes. 1. Sicut verus est Dei Filius Dominus noster Jesus Christus, non quemadmodum homines per gratiam, sed quasi Filius ex substantia Patris; ita vera caro, sicut ipse dixit, quam accipimus, et verus ejus est potus (De Consec., dist 2, c. Sicut est verus).

2. Sed forte dicas (quod dixerunt tunc temporis etiam discipuli Christi audientes dicentem (Joan. VI, 54): Nisi quis manducaverit carnem meam, et biberit sanguinem meum, non manebit in me, 380 nec habebit vitam aeternam); forte dicas: Quomodo vera? Qui similitudinem video, non video sanguinis veritatem (De Consec. dist. 2, c. Forte dicas). 3. Primo omnium dixi tibi (Sup. lib. IV, cap. 4) de sermone Christi qui operatur, ut possit mutare et convertere genera instituta naturae (Joan. VI, 67). Deinde ubi non tulerunt sermonem Christi discipuli ejus, audientes quod carnem suam daret manducare, et sanguinem suum daret bibendum, recedebant; solus tamen Petrus dixit: Verba vitae aeternae habes, et ego a te quomodo recedam (Ibid., 69)? Ne igitur plures hoc dicerent, veluti quidam esset horror cruoris, sed maneret gratia redemptionis; ideo in similitudinem quidem accipis sacramentum, sed vere naturae gratiam virtutemque consequeris. 381 4. Ego sum, inquit, panis vivus qui de coelo descendi (Ibid., 41). Sed caro non descendit e coelo, hoc est, carnem in terris assumpsit ex Virgine. Quomodo ergo descendit panis e coelo, et panis vivus? Quia idem Dominus noster Jesus Christus consors est et divinitatis et corporis: et tu qui accipis carnem,

divinae ejus substantiae in illo participaris alimento (De Cons. dist. 2, c. Sicut est verus, § Ego sum).

CAPUT II.

In sacramentis omnibus Trinitatis operationem, divinarumque personarum aequalitatem adverti posse, ubi obiter perstringitur error Arianorum.

5. Ergo accepisti de sacramentis, plenissime cognovisti omnia, quod baptizatus es in nomine Trinitatis. In omnibus quae egimus, servatum est mysterium Trinitatis. Ubique Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, una operatio, una sanctificatio; etsi quaedam veluti specialia esse videantur. 6. Quomodo? Deus qui te unxit, et signavit te Dominus, et posuit Spiritum sanctum in corde tuo (II Cor. I, 21, 22). Accepisti ergo Spiritum sanctum in corde tuo. Accipe aliud, quia quemadmodum Spiritus sanctus in corde, ita etiam Christus in corde. Quomodo? Habes hoc in Canticis canticorum Christum dicentem ad Ecclesiam: Pone me sicut signaculum in corde tuo, sicut signaculum in brachiis tuis (Can. VIII. 6). 7. Ergo unxit te Deus, signavit te Christus. Quomodo? Quia ad crucis ipsius signatus es formam, ad illius passionem: accepisti signaculum ad illius similitudinem; ut ad ipsius formam resurgas, ad ipsius vivas figuram, qui peccato crucifixus est, et Deo vivit: et tuus homo vetus in fonte demersus, peccato crucifixus est, sed Deo resurrexit (Rom. VI, 4 et seq.). 8. Deinde habes alibi speciale, quod te vocaverit Deus, in baptismate autem quasi specialiter concrucifigeris Christo. Deinde quasi specialiter, quando accipis spiritale signaculum, vide distinctionem personarum esse, sed connexum omne mysterium Trinitatis. 9. Deinde quid Apostolus tibi dixit, ut lectum est nudius tertius? Divisiones autem gratiarum sunt, idem autem Spiritus. Divisiones ministeriorum sunt, idem autem Dominus. Divisiones operationum sunt, idem autem Deus, qui

operatur omnia in omnibus (I Cor. XII, 4 et seq.). Omnia, inquit, operatur Deus. Sed et de Spiritu Dei lectum est: Unus utque idem Spiritus dividens singulis prout vult (Ibid., 21). Audi Scripturam dicentem quia dividit Spiritus pro voluntate sua, non pro obsequio. Ergo dividit vobis Spiritus gratiam prout vult, non prout jubetur; et maxime quia Spiritus Dei, Spiritus Christi est. Et illud tenete ipsum esse Spiritum sanctum, ipsum Spiritum Dei, ipsum Spiritum Christi, ipsum Spiritum paraclitum. 382 10. Ariani putant se derogare sancto Spiritui, si dicant illum Spiritum paraclitum. Quid est paraclitus, nisi consolator? Quasi non et de Patre lectum sit, quia ipse est Deus consolationis (II Cor. I, 3). Vides ergo quia in eo derogandum putant Spiritui sancto, in quo Patris aeterni potestas pio praedicatur affectu.

CAPUT III.

ORANDI RATIONEM TRADITURUS, Christi atque Apostoli verba inter se conciliat, cubiculum quo de loquitur Christus, de secreto cordis ac silentio interpretandum esse declarans.

11. Nunc quomodo orare debeamus accipite. Multae virtutes orationis sunt. Ubi orare debeamus non est mediocre, nec mediocris quaestio. Ait apostolus: Volo autem viros orare in omni loco, levantes puras manus sine ira et disceptatione (I Tim. I, 8). Et Dominus dicit in Evangelio: Tu autem cum oras, intra in cubiculum tuum; et clauso ostio, ora Patrem tuum (Matth. VI, 6). Non tibi videtur esse contrarium, ut dicat Apostolus: In omni loco ora; et Dominus dicat: Intra in cubiculum tuum, et ora? Sed non est contrarium. Hoc ergo absolvamus: deinde quomodo debeas incipere orationem, et quo ordine distinguere, quid subtexere, quid allegare, quemadmodum claudere orationem, deinde pro quo orare debeas: haec omnia dicamus. 12. Primo ubi orare debeas. Aliud Paulus videtur dicere, aliud Dominus. Numquid potnit Paulus contra Christi docere praecepta? Non utique. Qua ratione? Quia non contrarius, sed interpres est Christi: Imitatores, inquit, mei estote, sicut et ego Christi. Quid ergo? Potes ubique orare, et in cubiculo tuo semper orare. Habes ubique cubiculum tuum. Etsi inter gentes, inter Judaeos positus sis; habes tamen ubique tuum secretum. Cubiculum tuum mens tua est. In populo licet positus, tamen in interiore homine arcanum tuum secretumque conservas.

13. Tu autem, cum oras, intra in cubiculum tuum. Bene ait, intra; ne sic ores quomodo Judaeus, cui dicitur: Populus hic labiis me honorat, cor autem eorum longe est a me (Esai. IX, 13). Non ergo de labiis tantummodo

tua procedat oratio. Animo totus intende, intra in recessum pectoris tui, totus ingredere. Non te perfunctorium videat ille, cui te placere desideras. Videat quia ex corde oras ut te ex corde orantem dignetur audire. 14. Tu autem cum oras, intra in cubiculum tuum. Habes hoc et alibi: Ambula, populus meus, et intra in recessus tuos, claude ostium tuum, abscondere pusillum, donec transeat ira Domini (Esai. XXVI, 20). Hoc locutus est Dominus per prophetam: in Evangelio autem dixit: Tu autem cum oras, intra in cubiculum tuum; et clauso ostio, ora Patrem tuum. 15. Quid est clauso ostio? Audi quod ostium habeas, quod debeas claudere, quando oras. 383 Utinam mulieres audirent! Audisti jam; sanctus David docuit te dicens: Pone, Domine, custodiam ori meo, et ostium circuitus labiis meis (Psal. CXL, 3). Est alibi ostium, quod ait apostolus Paulus dicens: Ut aperiatur, inquit, mihi ostium verbi ad loquendum mysterium Christi (Coloss. IV, 3); hoc est, quando oras, noli sermone clamare, nec diffundere orationem tuam, nec jactare per populos. In secreto tuo ora, securus quod te in secreto possit audire, qui omnia videt, atque audit universa. Et ora Patrem tuum in abscondito, qui audit te in abscondito deprecantem.

CAPUT IV.

QUARE SECRETO POTIUS orandum sit, quam cum vociferatione: quare etiam viri in omni loco orare debeant, non autem mulieres: quonamve spectent voces subjectae: levantes puras manus, etc.

16. Quid prosit autem interrogemus, qua ratione secreto magis orare debeamus, quam cum vociferatione. Audi: de consuetudine hominum sumamus exemplum. Si aliquem rogas, qui cito audit, non opus putas esse clamorem (F. pro clamore): sensim rogas voce moderata. Si surdum aliquem roges, nonne incipis vociferari, ut te ille possit audire? Qui ergo clamat, putat quod aliter Deus non possit nisi clamantem audire; et cum rogat cum, ejus derogat potestati: qui autem in silentio orat, fidem defert, et confitetur quod Deus scrutator cordis et renis sit (Psal. VII, 10), et orationem tuam ante ille audiat, quam tuo ore fundatur. 17. Ergo videamus: Volo autem viros orare in omni loco (I Tim. II, 8). Qua ratione viros dixit? Utique communis oratio est et mulieribus et viris. Quod non invenio, nisi forte sanctus Apostolus ideo viros dixit, ne mulieres usurparent, et male intelligerent in omni loco, et inciperent ubique clamare, quas in Ecclesia sustinere non possumus.

18. Volo autem viros, hoc est, qui possint servare praeceptum, orare in omni loco, levantes puras manus. Quid est, levantes puras manus? Numquid debes in oratione tua crucem Domini gentibus demonstrare? Illud quidem signum virtutis est, non pudoris. Est tamen quomodo possis orare, nec figuram demonstres, sed actus tuos leves. Si vis operari operationem tuam, leva puras manus per innocentiam. Leva eas non quotidie: semel levasti, non opus est ut iterum leves. 19. Volo autem in omni loco viros orare,

levantes puras manus sine ira et disceptatione. Nihil verius: Ira, inquit, perdit etiam sapientes (Prov. XV, 1). Ideo omni tempore, quantum fieri potest, Christianus vir iracundiam debet temperare, et maxime quando ad orationem accedit; ne 384 perturbet animum tuum indignatio irae, ne quidam furor impediat orationem tuam: sed magis placido accede pectore. Quid enim irasceris? Servus peccavit? Tu accedis ad orationem, ut tua tibi delicta donentur, et al indignaris. Hoc est, sine ira.

CAPUT V.

De inordinata orantium disceptatione, et qua modestia mulieres orare oporteat: item de inchoatione orationis, ejusque medio ac fine; cum iterata Dominicae orationis expositione, quae tractatum ducit ad umbilicos.

20. Nunc de disceptatione videamus. Plerumque negotiator venit ad orationem, aut avarus: alter de pecunia cogitat, alter de lucro, alter de honore, alter de cupiditate; et putat quod eum Deus possit audire. Et ideo quando oras, divina humanis praeferre te convenit. 21. Similiter et mulieres, inquit, volo orare non jactantes se in ornamentis, neque in margaritis, ait apostolus Paulus (I Tim. II, 9). Sed et apostolus Petrus: Mulieris, inquit, gratia plurimum valet, ut viri ejus convertatur affectus per uxoris suae bonam conversationem, et incredulus se convertat ad gratiam Christi (I Petr. III, 1, 2). Hoc valet mulieris gravitas et pudicitia, et ejus bona conversatio, ut virum suum vocet ad fidem et devotionem, quod et prudentis viri sermo frequenter operatur. Ergo mulier, inquit, non in ornatu capillorum, non in tortis crinibus ornamentum suum habeat, sed in oratione ex corde puro; ubi est absconditus cordis homo, qui semper est apud Deum locuples (Ibid. 3, 4). Habes ergo in quo sis dives. In Christo divitiae tuae pudicitiae sunt et castitatis infulae, fides, devotio, et misericordia. Hi sunt thesauri justitiae, sicut propheta memoravit (Esai. XXXIII, 6).

22. Deinde unde debeas incipere. Dic mihi, si velis hominem rogare, et sic incipias: Da mihi, ecce illud quod te peto; nonne arrogans videtur oratio? Et ideo inchoari oratio debet a Dei laude, ut roges omnipotentem Deum, cui possibilia sunt omnia, qui habet voluntatem praestandi. Sequitur obsecratio, sicut Apostolus docuit dicens: Obsecro ergo primum fieri

orationes, obsecrationes, postulationes, gratiarum actiones (I Tim. II, 1). Prima ergo oratio laudem debet habere Dei: secunda supplicationem; tertia postulationem: quarta gratiarum actionem. Non debes quasi famelicus ad cibum de cibo primum incipere, sed ante a laudibus Dei. 23. Unde et oratores isti sapientes hanc habent disciplinam, ut judicem fautorem sibi praestent: incipiunt a laudibus ejus, ut benevolum sibi faciant cognitorem. Deinde paulatim incipit rogare judicem ut patienter dignetur audire. 385 Audet tertio postulationem suam depromere, quid petat exprimere. Quarto quomodo coepit a laudibus Dei, sic debet in laudem desinere.

24. Habes hoc in oratione Dominica: Pater nostri qui es in coelis (Matth. VI, 9). Laus Dei est, quod pater praedicatur: in eo pietatis gloria. Laus Dei, quia in coelis habitat, non in terris. Pater noster qui es in coelis, sanctificetur nomen tuum, id est, ut sanctificet servos suos; nomen enim illius sanctificatur in nobis, quando praedicantur homines christiani. Ergo optantis est, sanctificetur nomen tuum. Adveniat regnum tuum (Ibid., 10). Postulatio, ut in nobis sit regnum Christi. Si Deus in nobis regnat, locum habere adversarius non potest. Culpa non regnat, peccatum non regnat: sed regnat virtus, regnat pudicitia, regnat devotio. Deinde: Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in coelo et in terra. Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie (Ibid., 11). Haec postulatio maxima est eorum quae postulantur. Et dimitte, inquit, nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris (Ibid., 12). Ideo quotidie accipe, ut quotidie debito tuo indulgentiam petas. Et ne patiaris non induci in tentationem: sed libera nos a malo (Ibid., 13). Quid sequitur? Audi quid dicat sacerdos: per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, in quo tibi est, cum quo tibi est honor, laus, gloria, magnificentia, potestas cum Spiritu sancto a saeculis, et nunc, et semper, et in omnia saecula saeculorum, Amen.

25. Aliud: Psalmorum David licet unus libellus sit, habens eas virtutes orationis quas supra diximus (Sup., num. 22); 386 tamen plerumque et in

uno psalmo omnes istae orationis partes inveniuntur, quomodo in octavo psalmo invenimus. Denique sic coepit: Domine, Dominus noster, quam admirabile est nomen tuum in universa terra (Psal. VIII, 2)! Oratio ergo prima. Deinde obsecratio: Quoniam videbo coelos tuos, opera digitorum tuorum: hoc est, coelos videbo, lunam et stellas, quas tu fundasti (Ibid., 4). Utique non coelum dicit videbo, sed videbo coelos, in quibus incipit albescere gratia et splendor coelestis. Hos sibi coelos tunc promittebat Propheta dari, qui coelestem gratiam a Domino mererentur. Lunam et stellas quas tu fundasti: lunam Ecclesiam, stellas vocat sanctos coelesti gratia refulgentes. Deinde vide postulationem ejus: Quid est homo quod meministi ejus: aut filius hominis, quoniam visitas eum? Minorasti eum paulo minus ab angelis, gloria et honore coronasti eum, et constituisti eum super opera manuum tuarum (Ibid., 6, 7). Et alia gratiarum actio: Omnia subjecisti sub pedibus ejus, oves et boves universas, insuper et pecora campi, etc. (Ibid., 8 et seq.).

26. Docuimus pro captu nostro forsitan quod non didicimus; et ut potuimus, expressimus. Sanctitas vestra institutis sacerdotalibus informata, laboret tenere quod accepit a Deo: y et oblatio sicut hostia pura, in vobis semper suum signaculum recognoscat, ut et ipsi ad gratiam et ad praemia virtutum pervenire possitis, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum; cui est gloria, honor, laus, perpetuitas a saeculis, et nunc, et semper, et in omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

The Dual Texts

Roman ruins in Milan: the Columns of San Lorenzo — Ambrose was the Governor of Aemilia-Liguria in northern Italy until 374, when he became the Bishop of Milan.

Ruins of Roman Mediolanum: the Imperial palace, Milan

Dual Latin and English Texts

Translated by H. de Romestin, E. de Romestin and H. T. F. Duckworth

In this section, readers can view a section by section text of Ambrose's works, alternating between the original Latin and its English translation.

CONTENTS

De officiis ministrorum (On the Duties of the Clergy)
De spiritu sancto (On the Holy Spirit)
De excessu fratris sui Satyri (On the Decease of His Brother Satyrus)
De fide ad Gratianum Augustum (Exposition of the Christian Faith)
De mysteriis (On the Mysteries)
De paenitentia (Concerning Repentance)
De virginibus (Concerning Virgins)
Sermo contra Auxentium de basilicis tradendis (Sermon against Auxentius)

De officiis ministrorum (On the Duties of the Clergy)

CONTENTS

LIBER PRIMUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.
CAPUT VII.
CAPUT VIII.
CAPUT IX.
CAPUT X.
CAPUT XI.
CAPUT XII.
CAPUT XIII.
CAPUT XIV.
CAPUT XV.
CAPUT XVI.
CAPUT XVII.
CAPUT XVIII.
CAPUT XIX.
CAPUT XX.
CAPUT XXI.
CAPUT XXII.
CAPUT XXIII.
CAPUT XXIV.
CAPUT XXV.

CAPUT XXVI.
CAPUT XXVII.
CAPUT XXVIII.
CAPUT XXIX.
CAPUT XXX.
CAPUT XXXI.
CAPUT XXXII.
CAPUT XXXIII.
CAPUT XXXIV.
CAPUT XXXV.
CAPUT XXXVI.
CAPUT XXXVII.
CAPUT XXXVIII.
CAPUT XXXIX.
CAPUT XL.
CAPUT XLI.
CAPUT XLII.
CAPUT XLIII.
CAPUT XLIV.
CAPUT XLV.
CAPUT XLVI.
CAPUT XLVII.
CAPUT XLVIII.
CAPUT XLIX.
CAPUT L.

LIBER SECUNDUS

CAPUT I.
CAPUT II.

CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.
CAPUT VII.
CAPUT VIII.
CAPUT IX.
CAPUT X.
CAPUT XI.
CAPUT XII.
CAPUT XIII.
CAPUT XIV.
CAPUT XV.
CAPUT XVI.
CAPUT XVII.
CAPUT XVIII.
CAPUT XIX.
CAPUT XX.
CAPUT XXI.
CAPUT XXII.
CAPUT XXIII.
CAPUT XXIV.
CAPUT XXV.
CAPUT XXVI.
CAPUT XXVII.
CAPUT XXVIII.
CAPUT XXIX.
CAPUT XXX.

LIBER TERTIUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.
CAPUT VII.
CAPUT VIII.
CAPUT IX.
CAPUT X.
CAPUT XI.
CAPUT XII.
CAPUT XIII.
CAPUT XIV.
CAPUT XV.
CAPUT XVI.
CAPUT XVII.
CAPUT XVIII.
CAPUT XIX.
CAPUT XX.
CAPUT XXI.
CAPUT XXII.
CONCLUSIO.

LIBER PRIMUS.

BOOK I.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

EPISCOPI PROPRIUM MUNUS, docere: sibi autem discendum esse, ut doceat; immo etiam docendum quod non didicerit, aut saltem et discendum simul, et docendum.

CHAPTER 1.

A Bishop's special office is to teach; St. Ambrose himself, however, has to learn in order that he may teach; or rather has to teach what he has not learned; at any rate learning and teaching with himself must go on together.

1. Non arrogans videri arbitror, si inter filios suscipiam affectum docendi; cum ipse humilitatis magister dixerit: Venite, filii, audite me; timorem Domini docebo vos (Psal. XXXIII, 12). In quo licet et humilitatem verecundiae ejus spectare et gratiam. Dicendo enim, timorem Domini, qui 2 communis videtur esse omnibus, expressit insigne verecundiae. Et tamen cum ipse timor initium sapientiae sit, et effector beatitudinis (quoniam timentes Deum beati sunt), praeceptorem se sapientiae edocendae, et demonstratorem beatitudinis adipiscendae, evidenter significavit.

1. I think I shall not seem to be taking too much on myself, if, in the midst of my children, I yield to my desire to teach, seeing that the master of humility himself has said: Come, you children, hearken unto me: I will teach you the fear of the Lord. Wherein one may observe both the humility and the grace of his reverence for God. For in saying the fear of the Lord, which seems to be common to all, he has described the chief mark of reverence for God. As, however, fear itself is the beginning of wisdom and the source of blessedness — for they that fear the Lord are blessed — he

has plainly marked himself out as the teacher for instruction in wisdom, and the guide to the attainment of blessedness.

2. Et nos ergo ad imitandam verecundiam seduli, ad conferendam gratiam non usurpatores, quae illi Spiritus infudit sapientiae, ea per illum nobis manifestata, et visu comperta atque exemplo, vobis quasi liberis tradimus; cum jam effugere non possimus officium docendi, quod nobis refugientibus imposuit sacerdotii necessitudo: Dedit enim Deus quosdam quidem apostolos, quosdam autem prophetas, alios vero evangelistas, alios autem pastores et doctores (Ephes. IV, 11).

2. We therefore, being anxious to imitate his reverence for God, and not without justification in dispensing grace, deliver to you as to children those things which the Spirit of Wisdom has imparted to him, and which have been made clear to us through him, and learned by sight and by example. For we can no longer now escape from the duty of teaching which the needs of the priesthood have laid upon us, though we tried to avoid it: For God gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers. Ephesians 4:11

3. Non igitur mihi apostolorum gloriam vindico. 3 Quis enim hoc, nisi quos ipse Filius elegit Dei? Non prophetarum gratiam, non virtutem evangelistarum, non pastorum circumspectionem: sed tantummodo intentionem et diligentiam circa Scripturas divinas opto assequi, quam ultimam posuit Apostolus inter officia sanctorum, et hanc ipsam ut docendi studio possim discere. Unus enim verus magister est, qui solus non didicit quod omnes doceret: homines autem discunt prius quod doceant, et ab illo accipiunt quod aliis tradant.

3. I do not therefore claim for myself the glory of the apostles (for who can do this save those whom the Son of God Himself has chosen?); nor the

grace of the prophets, nor the virtue of the evangelists, nor the cautious care of the pastors. I only desire to attain to that care and diligence in the sacred writings, which the Apostle has placed last among the duties of the saints; 1 Corinthians 12:10 and this very thing I desire, so that, in the endeavour to teach, I may be able to learn. For one is the true Master, Who alone has not learned, what He taught all; but men learn before they teach, and receive from Him what they may hand on to others.

4. Quod ne ipsum quidem mihi accidit. Ego enim raptus de tribunalibus atque administrationis infulis ad sacerdotium, docere vos coepi, quod ipse non didici. Itaque factum est ut prius docere inciperem, quam discere. Discendum igitur mihi simul et docendum est; quoniam non vacavit ante discere.

4. But not even this was the case with me. For I was carried off from the judgment seat, and the garb [*infulis*] of office, to enter on the priesthood, and began to teach you, what I myself had not yet learned. So it happened that I began to teach before I began to learn. Therefore I must learn and teach at the same time, since I had no leisure to learn before.

CAPUT II.

MULTIPLEX LOQUENDO INCURRI periculum, cujus remedium Scriptura in silentio demonstrat esse positum.

CHAPTER 2.

Manifold dangers are incurred by speaking; the remedy for which Scripture shows to consist in silence.

5. Quid autem prae caeteris debemus discere, quam tacere, ut possimus loqui: ne prius me vox condemnet mea, quam absolvat aliena; scriptum est enim: Ex verbis tuis condemnaberis (Matth. XII, 37). Quid opus est igitur ut properes periculum suscipere condemnationis, loquendo; cum tacendo possis esse tutior? Quamplures vidi loquendo peccatum incidisse, vix quemquam tacendo: ideoque tacere nosse quam loqui difficilius est. Scio loqui plerosque, cum tacere nesciant. Rarum est tacere quemquam, cum sibi loqui nihil prosit. Sapiens est ergo qui novit tacere. Denique Sapientia Dei dixit: Dominus dedit mihi linguam eruditionis, quando oporteat sermonem dicere (Esai. L, 4). Merito ergo sapiens qui a Domino accipit, quo tempore sibi loquendum sit. Unde bene ait Scriptura: Homo sapiens tacebit usque ad tempus (Eccli. XX, 7).

5. Now what ought we to learn before everything else, but to be silent, that we may be able to speak? Lest my voice should condemn me, before that of another acquit me; for it is written: By your words you shall be condemned. Matthew 12:37 What need is there, then, that you should hasten to undergo the danger of condemnation by speaking, when you can be more safe by keeping silent? How many have I seen to fall into sin by speaking, but

scarcely one by keeping silent; and so it is more difficult to know how to keep silent than how to speak. I know that most persons speak because they do not know how to keep silent. It is seldom that any one is silent even when speaking profits him nothing. He is wise, then, who knows how to keep silent. Lastly, the Wisdom of God said: The Lord has given to me the tongue of learning, that I should know when it is good to speak. Justly, then, is he wise who has received of the Lord to know when he ought to speak. Wherefore the Scripture says well: A wise man will keep silence until there is opportunity. Sirach 20:7

6. Ideo sancti Domini, qui scirent quia vox hominis plerumque peccati annuntiatio est, et initium erroris humani, sermo est hominis, amabant tacere. Denique sanctus Domini ait: Dixi custodiam vias meas, ut non delinquam in lingua mea (Psal. XXXVIII, 2). Sciebat enim et legerat divinae esse protectionis, ut homo a linguae suae flagello absconderetur, et a conscientiae suae testimonio (Job V, 21). Verberamur enim tacito cogitationis nostrae opprobrio; et judicio conscientiae: verberamur etiam vocis nostrae verbere, cum loquimur ea quorum sono caeditur animus noster, et mens consauciatur. Quis autem est qui mundum cor a peccatorum habeat colluvione, aut non delinquat in lingua sua? Et ideo quia neminem videbat sanctum os servare posse ab immunditia sermonis, ipse sibi silentio legem imposuit innocentiae; 4 ut tacendo culpam declinaret, quam vix effugere posset loquendo.

6. Therefore the saints of the Lord loved to keep silence, because they knew that a man’s voice is often the utterance of sin, and a man’s speech is the beginning of human error. Lastly, the Saint of the Lord said: I said, I will take heed to my ways, that I offend not in my tongue. For he knew and had read that it was a mark of the divine protection for a man to be hid from the scourge of his own tongue, Job 5:21 and the witness of his own conscience.

We are chastised by the silent reproaches of our thoughts, and by the judgment of conscience. We are chastised also by the lash of our own voice, when we say things whereby our soul is mortally injured, and our mind is sorely wounded. But who is there that has his heart clean from the impurities of sin, and does not offend in his tongue? And so, as he saw there was no one who could keep his mouth free from evil speaking, he laid upon himself the law of innocency by a rule of silence, with a view to avoiding by silence that fault which he could with difficulty escape in speaking.

7. Audiamus ergo cautionis magistrum: Dixi, custodiam vias meas, hoc est, dixi mihi, tacito cogitationis praecepto indixi mihi, ut custodirem vias meas. Aliae sunt viae quas debemus sequi, aliae quas custodire: sequi vias Domini, custodire nostras; ne in culpam dirigant. Potes autem custodire, si non cito loquaris. Lex dicit: Audi, Israel, Dominum Deum tuum (Deut. VI, 3). Non dixit, loquere, sed audi. Ideo Eva lapsa est, quia locuta est viro, quod non audierat a Domino Deo suo. Prima vox Dei dicit tibi: Audi. Si audias, custodis vias tuas: et si lapsus es, cito corrigis. In quo enim corrigit juvenior viam suam, nisi in custodiendo verba Domini (Psal. CXVIII, 9)? Tace ergo prius, et audi, ut non delinquas in lingua tua.

7. Let us hearken, then, to the master of precaution: I said, I will take heed to my ways; that is, I said to myself: in the silent biddings of my thoughts, I have enjoined upon myself, that I should take heed to my ways. Some ways there are which we ought to follow; others as to which we ought to take heed. We must follow the ways of the Lord, and take heed to our own ways, lest they lead us into sin. One can take heed if one is not hasty in speaking. The law says: Hear, O Israel, the Lord your God. Deuteronomy 6:4 It said not: Speak, but Hear. Eve fell because she said to the man what she had not heard from the Lord her God. The first word from God says to you: Hear! If you hear, take heed to your ways; and if you have fallen, quickly amend

your way. For: Wherein does a young man amend his way; except in taking heed to the word of the Lord? Be silent therefore first of all, and hearken, that you fail not in your tongue.

8. Grave malum ut aliquis ore suo condemnetur. Etenim si pro otioso verbo reddet unusquisque rationem (Matth. XII, 36), quanto magis pro verbo impuritatis et turpitudinis! Graviora enim sunt verba praecipitationis quam otiosa. Ergo, si pro otioso verbo ratio poscitur, quanto magis pro sermone impietatis poena exsolvitur!

8. It is a great evil that a man should be condemned by his own mouth. Truly, if each one shall give account for an idle word, Matthew 12:36 how much more for words of impurity and shame? For words uttered hastily are far worse than idle words. If, therefore, an account is demanded for an idle word, how much more will punishment be exacted for impious language?

CAPUT III.

NON PERPETUUM NEC otiosum esse debere silentium: et quo pacto custodia cordi ac ori contra inordinatos affectus adhibenda sit.

CHAPTER 3.

Silence should not remain unbroken, nor should it arise from idleness. How heart and mouth must be guarded against inordinate affections.

9. Quid igitur? Mutos nos esse oportet? Minime. Est enim tempus tacendi, et est tempus loquendi (Eccles. III, 7). Deinde si pro otioso verbo reddimus rationem, videamus ne reddamus et pro otioso silentio. Est enim et negotiosum silentium; ut erat Susannae, quae plus egit tacendo, quam si esset locuta (Dan. XIII, 3). Tacendo enim apud homines, locuta est Deo: nec ullum majus indicium suae castitatis invenit, quam silentium. Conscientia loquebatur, ubi vox non audiebatur: nec quaerebat pro se hominum judicium, quae habebat Domini testimonium. Ab illo igitur volebat absolvi, quem sciebat nullo modo posse falli. Ipse Dominus in Evangelio (Matth. XXVI, 63) tacens operabatur salutem hominum. Recte ergo David non silentium sibi indixit perpetuum, sed custodiam.

9. What then? Ought we to be dumb? Certainly not. For: there is a time to keep silence and a time to speak. Ecclesiastes 3:7 If, then, we are to give account for an idle word, let us take care that we do not have to give it also for an idle silence. For there is also an active silence, such as Susanna’s was, who did more by keeping silence than if she had spoken. For in keeping silence before men she spoke to God, and found no greater proof of her chastity than silence. Her conscience spoke where no word was heard,

and she sought no judgment for herself at the hands of men, for she had the witness of the Lord. She therefore desired to be acquitted by Him, Who she knew could not be deceived in any way. Yea, the Lord Himself in the Gospel worked out in silence the salvation of men. Matthew 26:63 David rightly therefore enjoined on himself not constant silence, but watchfulness.

10. Custodiamus ergo cor nostrum, custodiamus os nostrum; utrumque enim scriptum est: hic, ut os custodiamus, alibi tibi dicitur: Omni custodia serva cor tuum (Prov. IV, 23). Si custodiebat David, tu non custodies? Si immunda labia habebat Esaias, qui dixit: O miser ego, quoniam compunctus sum, quia cum sim homo, et immunda labia habeam (Esai. VI, 5): si propheta Domini immunda habebat labia, quomodo nos munda habemus?

10. Let us then guard our hearts, let us guard our mouths. Both have been written about. In this place we are bidden to take heed to our mouth; in another place you are told: Keep your heart with all diligence. Proverbs 4:23 If David took heed, will you not take heed? If Isaiah had unclean lips — who said: Woe is me, for I am undone, for I am a man, and have unclean lips Isaiah 6:5 — if a prophet of the Lord had unclean lips, how shall we have them clean?

11. Et cui, nisi unicuique nostrum scriptum est: Sepi possessionem tuam spinis . . . et argentum 5 et aurum tuum alliga, et ori tuo fac ostium et vectem, et verbis tuis jugum et stateram (Eccli. XXVIII, 28, 29)? Possessio tua mens tua est: aurum tuum cor tuum est: argentum tuum eloquium tuum est: Eloquia Domini, eloquia casta, argentum igne examinatum (Psal. XI, 7). Bona etiam possessio mens bona. Denique possessio pretiosa homo mundus. Sepi ergo hanc possessionem, et circumvallato cogitationibus, munito spinis, sollicitudinibus; ne in eam irruant, et captivam ducant irrationabiles corporis passiones, ne incursent motus graves, ne diripiant vindemiam ejus, transeuntes viam. Custodi interiorem hominem tuum. Noli

eum quasi vilem negligere ac fastidire, quia pretiosa possessio est. Et merito pretiosa, cujus fructus non caducus et temporalis, sed stabilis atque aeternae salutis est. Cole ergo possessionem tuam, ut sint tibi agri.

11. But for whom was it written, unless it was for each one of us: Hedge your possession about with thorns, and bind up your silver and gold, and make a door and a bar for your mouth, and a yoke and a balance for your words? Sirach 28:24-25 Your possession is your mind, your gold your heart, your silver your speech: The words of the Lord are pure words, as silver tried in the fire. A good mind is also a good possession. And, further, a pure inner life is a valuable possession. Hedge in, then, this possession of yours, enclose it with thought, guard it with thorns, that is, with pious care, lest the fierce passions of the flesh should rush upon it and lead it captive, lest strong emotions should assault it, and, overstepping their bounds, carry off its vintage. Guard your inner self. Do not neglect or contemn it as though it were worthless, for it is a valuable possession; truly valuable indeed, for its fruit is not perishable and only for a time, but is lasting and of use for eternal salvation. Cultivate, therefore, your possession, and let it be your tilling ground.

12. Alliga sermonem tuum, ne luxuriet, ne lasciviat, et multiloquio peccata sibi colligat. Sit restrictior, et ripis suis coerceatur. Cito lutum colligit amnis exundans. Alliga sensum tuum, non sit remissus ac defluus, ne dicatur de te: Non est malagma apponere, neque oleum, neque alligaturam (Esai. I, 6). Habet suas habenas mentis sobrietas, quibus regitur et gubernatur.

12. Bind up your words that they run not riot, and grow wanton, and gather up sins for themselves in too much talking. Let them be rather confined, and held back within their own banks. An overflowing river quickly gathers mud. Bind up also your meaning; let it not be left slack and unchecked, lest

it be said of you: There is no healing balsam, nor oil, nor bandage to apply. Sobriety of mind has its reins, whereby it is directed and guided.

13. Sit ori tuo ostium, ut claudatur ubi oportet: et obseretur diligentius; ne quis in iracundiam excitet vocem tuam, et contumeliam rependas contumeliae. Audisti hodie lectum: Irascimini et nolite peccare (Psal. IV, 5). Ergo etsi irascimur, quia affectus naturae est, non potestatis; malum sermonem non proferamus de ore nostro, ne in culpam ruamus: sed jugum sit verbis tuis et statera, hoc est, humilitas atque mensura; ut lingua tua menti subdita sit. Restringatur habenae vinculis, frenos habeat suos, quibus revocari possit ad mensuram: sermones proferat libra examinatos justitiae: ut sit gravitas in sensu, in sermone pondus, atque in verbis modus.

13. Let there be a door to your mouth, that it may be shut when need arises, and let it be carefully barred, that none may rouse your voice to anger, and thou pay back abuse with abuse. You have heard it read today: Be angry and sin not. Therefore although we are angry (this arising from the motions of our nature, not of our will), let us not utter with our mouth one evil word, lest we fall into sin; but let there be a yoke and a balance to your words, that is, humility and moderation, that your tongue may be subject to your mind. Let it be held in check with a tight rein; let it have its own means of restraint, whereby it can be recalled to moderation; let it utter words tried by the scales of justice, that there may be seriousness in our meaning, weight in our speech, and due measure in our words.

CAPUT IV.

EADEM CUSTODIA PROSPICITUR, ne a pravis motibus, sed a recta ratione prodeat oratio: in qua potissimum nobis diabolus insidiatur.

CHAPTER 4.

The same care must be taken that our speech proceed not from evil passions, but from good motives; for here it is that the devil is especially on the watch to catch us.

14. Haec si custodiat aliquis, fit mitis, mansuetus, modestus. Custodiendo enim os suum, et retinendo linguam suam, nec prius loquendo quam interroget, et expendat atque examinet verba sua, si dicendum hoc, si dicendum adversus hunc, si tempus sermonis hujus est: is profecto exercet modestiam, ac mansuetudinem, et patientiam; ut non ex indignatione et ira in sermonem erumpat, non alicujus passionis indicium det in verbis suis, non ardorem libidinis flammare in sermone suo indicet, 6 et inesse dictis suis stimulos iracundiae: ne sermo postremo qui commendare interiora debet, vitium aliquod esse in moribus, aperiat et prodat.

14. If any one takes heed to this, he will be mild, gentle, modest. For in guarding his mouth, and restraining his tongue, and in not speaking before examining, pondering, and weighing his words — as to whether this should be said, that should be answered, or whether it be a suitable time for this remark — he certainly is practising modesty, gentleness, patience. So he will not burst out into speech through displeasure or anger, nor give sign of any passion in his words, nor proclaim that the flames of lust are burning in his language, or that the incentives of wrath are present in what he says. Let

him act thus for fear that his words, which ought to grace his inner life, should at the last plainly show and prove that there is some vice in his morals.

15. Tunc enim maxime insidiatur adversarius, quando videt nobis passiones aliquas generari: tunc fomites movet, laqueos parat. Unde non immerito, sicut audisti hodie legi, Propheta dicit: Quia ipse liberavit me de laqueo venantium et a verbo aspero (Psal. XC, 3). Symmachus irritationis verbum dixit, alii perturbationis. Laqueus adversarii est sermo noster: sed etiam ipse non minus adversarius nobis. Loquimur plerumque quod excipiat inimicus, et quasi nostro gladio nos vulneret. Quanto tolerabilius est alieno gladio, quam nostro perire!

15. For then especially does the enemy lay his plans, when he sees passions engendered in us; then he supplies tinder; then he lays snares. Wherefore the prophet says not without cause, as we heard read today: Surely He has delivered me from the snare of the hunter and from the hard word. Symmachus said this means the word of provocation; others the word that brings disquiet. The snare of the enemy is our speech — but that itself is also just as much an enemy to us. Too often we say something that our foe takes hold of, and whereby he wounds us as though by our own sword. How far better it is to perish by the sword of others than by our own!

16. Explorat ergo adversarius nostra arma, et concutit sua tela. Si viderit moveri me, inserit aculeos suos, ut seminaria jurgiorum excitet. Si emisero verbum indecorum, laqueum suum stringit. Interdum mihi quasi escam proponit vindictae possibilitatem; ut dum vindicari cupio, ipse me inseram laqueo, et nodum mortis astringam mihi. Si quis ergo hunc adversarium sentit praesentem esse, tunc magis custodiam adhibere debet ori suo, ne det locum adversario: sed non multi hunc vident.

16. Accordingly the enemy tests our arms and clashes together his weapons. If he sees that I am disturbed, he implants the points of his darts, so as to raise a crop of quarrels. If I utter an unseemly word, he sets his snare. Then he puts before me the opportunity for revenge as a bait, so that in desiring to be revenged, I may put myself in the snare, and draw the death-knot tight for myself. If any one feels this enemy is near, he ought to give greater heed to his mouth, lest he make room for the enemy; but not many see him.

CAPUT V.

CONTRA VISIBILEM ETIAM adversarium, cum nos instigat, utendum silentio, cujus unius ope superiores evadimus, et humilitatem quae exhibenda adversus omnes, conservamus.

CHAPTER 5.

We must guard also against a visible enemy when he incites us by silence; by the help of which alone we can escape from those greater than ourselves, and maintain that humility which we must display towards all.

17. Sed etiam ille cavendus est, qui videri potest, quicumque irritat, quicumque incitat, quicumque exasperat, quicumque incentiva luxuriae aut libidinis suggerit. Quando ergo aliquis nobis conviciatur, lacessit, ad violentiam provocat, ad jurgium vocat: tunc silentium exerceamus, tunc muti fieri non erubescamus. Peccator est enim qui nos provocat, qui injuriam facit, et nos similes sui fieri desiderat.

17. But we must also guard against him who can be seen, and who provokes us, and spurs us on, and exasperates us, and supplies what will excite us to licentiousness or lust. If, then, any one reviles us, irritates, stirs us up to violence, tries to make us quarrel; let us keep silence, let us not be ashamed to become dumb. For he who irritates us and does us an injury is committing sin, and wishes us to become like himself.

18. Denique si taceas, si dissimules, solet dicere: Quid taces? Loquere, si audes. Sed non audes: mutus es, elinguem te feci. Si ergo taceas, plus rumpitur: victum sese putat, irrisum, posthabitum atque illusum. Si

respondeas, superiorem se factum arbitratur, quia parem invenit. Si enim taceas, dicetur: Ille conviciatus est, hunc contempsit iste. Si referas contumeliam, dicetur: Ambo conviciati sunt. Uterque condemnatur, nemo absolvitur. Ergo illius est studium, ut irritet, ut similia illi loquar, similia agam: justi est autem dissimulare, nihil loqui, tenere bonae fructum conscientiae, plus committere bonorum judicio, quam criminantis insolentiae, 7 contentum esse gravitate morum suorum. Hoc est enim silere a bonis; quia bene sibi conscius, falsis non debet moveri: nec aestimare plus ponderis in alieno esse convicio, quam in suo testimonio.

18. Certainly if you are silent, and hide your feelings, he is likely to say: Why are you silent? Speak if you dare; but you dare not, you are dumb, I have made you speechless. If you are silent, he is the more excited. He thinks himself beaten, laughed at, little thought of, and ridiculed. If you answer, he thinks he has become the victor, because he has found one like himself. For if you are silent, men will say: That man has been abusive, but this one held him in contempt. If you return the abuse, they will say: Both have been abusive. Both will be condemned, neither will be acquitted. Therefore it is his object to irritate, so that I may speak and act as he does. But it is the duty of a just man to hide his feelings and say nothing, to preserve the fruit of a good conscience, to trust himself rather to the judgment of good men than to the insolence of a calumniator, and to be satisfied with the stability of his own character. For that is: To keep silence even from good words; since one who has a good conscience ought not to be troubled by false words, nor ought he to make more of another’s abuse than of the witness of his own heart.

19. Ita fit ut etiam humilitatem custodiat. Si autem nolit humilior videri, talia tractat, et dicit ipse secum: Hic ergo ut me contemnat, et in conspectu meo loquatur talia adversum me, quasi non possim ego ei aperire os meum?

Cur non etiam ergo dicam, in quibus eum moestificare possim? Hic ergo ut mihi injurias faciat, quasi vir non sim, quasi vindicare me non possim? Hic ut me criminetur, quasi ego non possim graviora in eum componere?

19. So, then, let a man guard also his humility. If, however, he is unwilling to appear too humble, he thinks as follows, and says within himself: Am I to allow this man to despise me, and say such things to my face against me, as though I could not open my mouth before him? Why should I not also say something whereby I can grieve him? Am I to let him do me wrong, as though I were not a man, and as though I could not avenge myself? Is he to bring charges against me as though I could not bring together worse ones against him?

20. Qui talia dicit, non est mitis atque humilis, non est sine tentatione. Tentator eum exagitat, ipse ei tales opiniones inserit. Plerumque adhibet hominem, atque apponit nequam spiritus, qui haec illi dicat: sed tu in petra fixum vestigium tene. Etsi servus convicium dicat, justus tacet; etsi infirmus contumeliam faciat, justus tacet: etsi pauper criminetur, justus non respondet. Haec sunt arma justi, ut cedendo vincat. Sicut periti jaculandi cedentes solent vincere, et fugientes gravioribus sequentem vulnerare ictibus.

20. Whoever speaks like this is not gentle and humble, nor is he without temptation. The tempter stirs him up, and himself puts such thoughts in his heart. Often and often, too, the evil spirit employs another person, and gets him to say such things to him; but do thou set your foot firm on the rock. Although a slave should abuse, let the just man be silent, and if a weak man utter insults, let him be silent, and if a poor man should make accusations, let him not answer. These are the weapons of the just man, so that he may conquer by giving way, as those skilled in throwing the javelin are wont to

conquer by giving way, and in flight to wound their pursuers with severer blows.

CAPUT VI.

HAC IN RE silentium atque humilitatem David imitanda esse, ne digni videamur injuria.

CHAPTER 6.

In this matter we must imitate David's silence and humility, so as not even to seem deserving of harm.

21. Quid enim opus est moveri, cum audimus convicia? Cur non imitamur dicentem: Obmutui, et humiliatus sum, et silui a bonis (Psal. XXXVIII, 3)? An hoc dixit tantummodo, non etiam fecit David? Immo et fecit (II Reg. XVI, 6 et seq.). Nam cum ei conviciaretur Semei filius Jemini, tacebat David: et quamvis septus armatis, non retorquebat convicium, non ultionem quaerebat, eousque ut dicenti sibi Sarviae filio quod vindicare in eum vellet, non permiserit. Ibat ergo tamquam mutus et humiliatus, ibat tacens, nec movebatur, cum vir appellaretur sanguinis, qui erat conscius propriae mansuetudinis. Non ergo movebatur conviciis, cui abundabat bonorum operum conscientia.

21. What need is there to be troubled when we hear abuse? Why do we not imitate him who says: I was dumb and humbled myself, and kept silence even from good words? Or did David only say this, and not act up to it? No, he also acted up to it. For when Shimei the son of Gera reviled him, David was silent; and although he was surrounded with armed men he did not return the abuse, nor sought revenge: nay, even when the son of Zeruiah spoke to him, because he wished to take vengeance on him, David did not permit it. He went on as though dumb, and humbled; he went on in silence;

nor was he disturbed, although called a bloody man, for he was conscious of his own gentleness. He therefore was not disturbed by insults, for he had full knowledge of his own good works.

22. Itaque is qui cito injuria movetur, facit se dignum videri contumelia, dum vult ea indignus probari. Melior est itaque qui contemnit injuriam, quam qui dolet; qui enim contemnit, quasi non sentiat, ita despicit: qui autem dolet, quasi senserit, torquetur

22. He, then, who is quickly roused by wrong makes himself seem deserving of insult, even while he wishes to be shown not to deserve it. He who despises wrongs is better off than he who grieves over them. For he who despises them looks down on them, as though he feels them not; but he who grieves over them is tormented, just as though he actually felt them.

CAPUT VII.

QUAM PULCHRE PROOEMII loco usurpatus fuerit psalmus XXXVIII, quo inductus Vir sanctus de Officiis scribere constituit: idque potiori jure quam olim Cicero ad filium, et quam ob causam.

CHAPTER 7.

How admirably Psalm xxxix. [xxxviii.] takes the place of an introduction. Incited thereto by this psalm the saint determines to write on duties. He does this with more reason even than Cicero, who wrote on this subject to his son. How, further, this is so.

23. Neque improvide ad vos filios meos scribens, hujus psalmi prooemio (Psal. XXXVIII, 1) usus sum. Quem psalmum propheta David sancto Idithum canendum dedit, ego vobis tenendum suadeo, delectatus ejus sensu profundo et virtute sententiarum. Advertimus enim ex his quae breviter libavimus, et silendi patientiam, et opportunitatem loquendi, et in posterioribus (Ibid., 8) contemptum divitiarum, quae maxima virtutum fundamenta sunt, hoc psalmo doceri. Dum igitur hunc psalmum considero, successit animo de Officiis scribere.

23. Not without thought did I make use of the beginning of this psalm, in writing to you, my children. For this psalm which the Prophet David gave to Jeduthun to sing, I urge you to regard, being delighted myself with its depth of meaning and the excellency of its maxims. For we have learned in those words we have just shortly touched upon, that both patience in keeping silence and the duty of awaiting a fit time for speaking are taught in this psalm, as well as contempt of riches in the following verses, which

things are the chief groundwork of virtues. Whilst, therefore, meditating on this psalm, it has come to my mind to write on the Duties.

24. De quibus etiamsi quidam Philosophiae studentes scripserint, ut Panaetius, et filius ejus apud Graecos, Tullius apud Latinos; non alienum duxi a nostro munere, ut etiam ipse scriberem. Et sicut Tullius ad erudiendum filium, ita ego quoque ad vos informandos filios meos; neque enim minus vos diligo quos in Evangelio genui, quam si conjugio suscepissem. Non enim vehementior est natura ad diligendum, quam gratia. Plus certe diligere debemus quos perpetuo nobiscum putamus futuros, quam quos in hoc tantum saeculo. Illi degeneres nascuntur frequenter, qui dedeceant patrem: vos ante elegimus, ut diligamus. Itaque illi necessitate diliguntur, quae non satis idonea atque diuturna est ad perpetuitatem diligendi magistra: vos judicio, quo magnum charitatis pondus ad vim diligendi adjungitur, probare quos diligas, et diligere quos elegeris.

24. Although some philosophers have written on this subject — Panætius, for instance, and his son among the Greek, Cicero among the Latin, writers — I did not think it foreign to my office to write also myself. And as Cicero wrote for the instruction of his son, so I, too, write to teach you, my children. For I love you, whom I have begotten in the Gospel, no less than if you were my own true sons. For nature does not make us love more ardently than grace. We certainly ought to love those who we think will be with us for evermore than those who will be with us in this world only. These often are born unworthy of their race, so as to bring disgrace on their father; but you we chose beforehand, to love. They are loved naturally, of necessity, which is not a sufficiently suitable and constant teacher to implant a lasting love. But you are loved on the ground of our deliberate choice, whereby a great feeling of affection is combined with the strength of our love: thus one tests what one loves and loves what one has chosen.

CAPUT VIII.

NOMEN OFFICII, NON solum philosophis, sed etiam scriptoribus sacris usitatum esse; et unde hoc deductum?

CHAPTER 8.

The word Duty has been often used both by philosophers and in the holy Scriptures; from whence it is derived.

25. Ergo quoniam personae conveniunt, videamus utrum res ipsa conveniat scribere de Officiis: et utrum hoc nomen philosophorum tantummodo scholae aptum sit, an etiam in Scripturis reperiatur divinis. Pulchre itaque dum legimus hodie Evangelium (quasi adhortaretur ad scribendum) Spiritus sanctus obtulit nobis lectionem, qua confirmaremur etiam in nobis Officium dici posse. Nam cum Zacharias sacerdos obmutuisset in templo, et loqui non posset: Factum est, inquit, ut impleti sunt dies Officii ejus, abiit in domum suam (Luc. I, 23). Legimus igitur Officium dici a nobis posse. 9

25. Since, therefore, the person concerned is one fit to write on the Duties, let us see whether the subject itself stands on the same ground, and whether this word is suitable only to the schools of the philosophers, or is also to be found in the sacred Scriptures. Beautifully has the Holy Spirit, as it happens, brought before us a passage in reading the Gospel today, as though He would urge us to write; whereby we are confirmed in our view, that the word *officium*, duty, may also be used with us. For when Zacharias the priest was struck dumb in the temple, and could not speak, it is said: And it came to pass that as soon as the days of his duty [*officii*] were

accomplished, he departed to his own house. We read, therefore, that the word *officium*, duty, can be used by us.

26. Nec ratio ipsa abhorret, quandoquidem Officium ab efficiendo dictum putamus, quasi efficium: sed propter decorem sermonis una immutata littera, officium nuncupari: vel certe, ut ea agas, quae nulli officiant, prosint omnibus.

26. And this is not inconsistent with reason, since we consider that the word *officium* (duty) is derived from *efficere* (to effect), and is formed with the change of one letter for the sake of euphony; or at any rate that you should do those things which injure [*officiant*] no one, but benefit all.

CAPUT IX.

OFFICIUM AB HONESTO et utili, nec non ab amborum inter se comparatione desumi: sed a Christianis nihil quod ad futuram vitam non conferat, honestum aut utile agnosci; atque adeo non supervacaneum fore hunc de Officio tractatum.

CHAPTER 9.

A duty is to be chosen from what is virtuous, and from what is useful, and also from the comparison of the two, one with the other; but nothing is recognized by Christians as virtuous or useful which is not helpful to the future life. This treatise on duty, therefore, will not be superfluous.

27. Officia autem ab honesto et utili duci existimaverunt, et de iis duobus eligere quid praestet: deinde incidere ut duo concurrant honesta, et duo utilia; et quaeratur quid honestius, et quid utilius. Primum igitur in tres partes Officium dividitur: honestum, et utile, et quid praestantius. Deinde haec tria in quinque genera diviserunt, in duo honesta, et duo utilia, et eligendi judicium. Prima pertinere dicunt ad decus honestatemque vitae, secunda ad vitae commoda, copias, opes, facultates: de iis eligendis subesse judicium. Haec illi.

27. The philosophers considered that duties were derived from what is virtuous and what is useful, and that from these two one should choose the better. Then, they say, it may happen that two virtuous or two useful things will clash together, and the question is, which is the more virtuous, and which the more useful? First, therefore, duty is divided into three sections: what is virtuous, what is useful, and what is the better of two. Then, again,

these three are divided into five classes; that is, two that are virtuous, two that are useful, and, lastly, the right judgment as to the choice between them. The first they say has to do with the moral dignity and integrity of life; the second with the con veniences of life, with wealth, resources, opportunities; while a right judgment must underlie the choice of any of them. This is what the philosophers say.

28. Nos autem nihil omnino nisi quod deceat et honestum sit, futurorum magis quam praesentium metimur formula: nihilque utile nisi quod ad vitae illius aeternae prosit gratiam definimus, non quod ad delectationem praesentis. Neque aliqua commoda in facultatibus et copiis opum constituimus: sed incommoda haec putamus, si non rejiciantur; eaque oneri cum sint aestimari magis, quam dispendio cum erogantur.

28. But we measure nothing at all but that which is fitting and virtuous, and that by the rule of things future rather than of things present; and we state nothing to be useful but what will help us to the blessing of eternal life; certainly not that which will help us enjoy merely the present time. Nor do we recognize any advantages in opportunities and in the wealth of earthly goods, but consider them as disadvantages if not put aside, and to be looked on as a burden, when we have them, rather than as a loss when expended.

29. Non superfluum igitur scriptionis nostrae est opus, quia Officium diversa aestimamus regula atque illi aestimaverunt. Illi saeculi commoda in bonis ducunt, nos haec etiam in detrimentis; quoniam qui hic recipit bona, ut ille dives, illic cruciatur: et Lazarus qui mala hic pertulit, illic consolationem invenit (Luc. XVI, 25). Deinde qui illa non legunt, nostra legent si volent: qui non sermonum supellectilem, neque artem dicendi; sed simplicem rerum exquirunt gratiam.

29. This work of ours, therefore, is not superfluous, seeing that we and they regard duty in quite different ways. They reckon the advantages of this life among the good things, we reckon them among the evil things; for he who receives good things here, as the rich man in the parable, is tormented there; and Lazarus, who endured evil things here, there found comfort. Luke 16:25 Lastly, those who do not read their writings may read ours if they will — if, that is, they do not require great adornment of language or a skilfully-treated subject, but are satisfied with the simple charm of the subject itself.

CAPUT X.

PRIUS SACRIS LITTERIS decorum quam in philosophorum libris frequentatum esse: Pythagoram silentii sui legem mutuatum a Davide: sed hujus tamen praestare disciplinam; cum primum officium sit loquendi modus.

CHAPTER 10.

What is seemly is often found in the sacred writings long before it appears in the books of the philosophers. Pythagoras borrowed the law of his silence from David. David's rule, however, is the best, for our first duty is to have due measure in speaking.

30. Decorum autem in nostris Scripturis primo constitui loco (quod Graece πρέπον 10 dicitur) instruimur et docemur, legentes: Te decet hymnus, Deus, in Sion (Psal. LXIV, 2): vel Graece, Σοὶ πρέπει ὑμνὸς ὦ Θεὸς, ἐν Σίων. Et Apostolus ait: Loquere quae decent sanam doctrinam (Tit. II, 1). Et alibi: Decebat autem eum per quem omnia, et propter quem omnia, multis filiis in gloriam adductis, ducem salutis eorum per passionem consummari (Hebr. II, 10).

30. We are instructed and taught that what is seemly is put in our Scriptures in the first place. (In Greek it is called πρέπον.) For we read: A Hymn beseems You, O God, in Sion. In Greek this is: Σοί πρέπει ὕμνος ὁ θεὸς ἐν Σιών . And the Apostle says: Speak the things which become sound doctrine. Titus 2:1 And elsewhere: For it beseemed Him through Whom are all things and for Whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to

make the Captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings. Hebrews 2:10

31. Numquid prior Panaetius, numquid Aristoteles, qui et ipse disputavit de Officio, quam David; cum et ipse Pythagoras, qui legitur Socrate antiquior, prophetam secutus David (Psal. XXXVIII, 2 et seq.), legem silentii dederit suis? Sed ille ut per quinquennium discipulis usum inhiberet loquendi: David autem non ut naturae munus imminueret; sed ut custodiam proferendi sermonis doceret. Et Pythagoras quidem ut non loquendo loqui doceret, David ut loquendo magis disceremus loqui. Quomodo enim sine exercitio doctrina, aut sine usu profectus?

31. Was Panætius or Aristotle, who also wrote on duty, earlier than David? Why, Pythagoras himself, who lived before the time of Socrates, followed the prophet David's steps and gave his disciples a law of silence. He went so far as to restrain his disciples from the use of speech for five years. David, on the other hand, gave his law, not with a view to impair the gift of nature, but to teach us to take heed to the words we utter. Pythagoras again made his rule, that he might teach men to speak by not speaking. But David made his, so that by speaking we might learn the more how to speak. How can there be instruction without exercise, or advance without practice?

32. Qui disciplinam bellicam vult assequi, quotidie exercetur armis, et tamquam in procinctu positus praeludit praelium, et velut coram posito praetendit hoste: atque ad peritiam viresque jaculandi, vel suos explorat lacertos, vel adversariorum declinat ictus, et vigilanti exit obtutu. Qui navim in mari regere gubernaculis studet, vel remis ducere, prius in fluvio praeludit. Qui canendi suavitatem et vocis affectant praestantiam, prius sensim canendo vocem excitant. Et qui viribus corporis, legitimoque luctandi certamine coronam petunt, quotidiano usu palaestrae durantes membra, nutrientes patientiam, laborem assuescunt.

32. A man wishing to undergo a warlike training daily exercises himself with his weapons. As though ready for action he rehearses his part in the fight and stands forth just as if the enemy were in position before him. Or, with a view to acquiring skill and strength in throwing the javelin, he either puts his own arms to the proof, or avoids the blows of his foes, and escapes them by his watchful attention. The man that desires to navigate a ship on the sea, or to row, tries first on a river. They who wish to acquire an agreeable style of singing and a beautiful voice begin by bringing out their voice gradually by singing. And they who seek to win the crown of victory by strength of body and in a regular wrestling match, harden their limbs by daily practice in the wrestling school, foster their endurance, and accustom themselves to hard work.

33. Haec ipsa natura nos in parvulis docet, quod prius sonos meditantur loquendi, ut loqui discant. Itaque sonus exercitatio quaedam et palaestra vocis est. Ita ergo et qui volunt discere cautionem loquendi, quod naturae est, non negent: quod custodiae est, exerceant; ut qui in specula sunt, speculando intendant, non dormiendo. Omnis enim res propriis ac domesticis exercitiis augetur.

33. Nature herself teaches us this in the case of infants. For they first exercise themselves in the sounds of speech and so learn to speak. Thus these sounds of speech are a kind of practice, and a school for the voice. Let those then who want to learn to take heed in speaking not refuse what is according to nature, but let them use all watchful care; just as those who are on a watchtower keep on the alert by watching, and not by going to sleep. For everything is made more perfect and strong by exercises proper and suitable to itself.

34. Ergo David tacebat non semper, sed pro tempore: non jugiter, neque omnibus; sed irritanti adversario, provocanti peccatori non respondebat. Et,

sicut alibi ait (Psal. XXXVII, 13, 14), loquentes vanitatem, et cogitantes dolum, non audiebat quasi surdus, et quasi mutus non aperiebat illis os suum; quia et alibi habes: Noli respondere imprudenti ad imprudentiam ejus, ne similis illi fias (Prov. XXVI, 4).

34. David, therefore, was not always silent, but only for a time; not perpetually nor to all did he refuse to speak; but he used not to answer the enemy that provoked him, the sinner that exasperated him. As he says elsewhere: As though he were deaf he heard not them that speak vanity and imagine deceit: and as though he were dumb he opened not his mouth to them. Again, in another place, it is said: Answer not a fool according to his folly, lest you also be like to him. Proverbs 26:4

35. Primum igitur officium est loquendi modus. Hoc sacrificium laudis Deo dependitur, 11 hoc reverentia exhibetur, cum Scripturae divinae leguntur, hoc honorantur parentes. Scio loqui plerosque, cum tacere nesciant. Rarum est tacere quemquam, cum sibi non prosit loqui. Sapiens ut loquatur, multa prius considerat, quid dicat, aut cui dicat, quo in loco, et tempore. Est ergo et tacendi et loquendi modus: est etiam facti modus. Pulchrum igitur tenere mensuram officii.

35. The first duty then is to have due measure in our speech. In this way a sacrifice of praise is offered up to God; thus a godly fear is shown when the sacred Scriptures are read; thus parents are honoured. I know well that many speak because they know not how to keep silence. But it is not often any one is silent when speaking does not profit him. A wise man, intending to speak, first carefully considers what he is to say, and to whom he is to say it; also where and at what time. There is therefore such a thing as due measure in keeping silence and also in speaking; there is also such a thing as a due measure in what we do. It is a glorious thing to maintain the right standard of duty.

CAPUT XI.

OFFICIUM OMNE, AUT medium, aut perfectum esse Scripturae testimoniis ostenditur: cui subjungitur misericordiae laus, atque ad eam exhortatio.

CHAPTER 11.

It is proved by the witness of Scripture that all duty is either ordinary or perfect. To which is added a word in praise of mercy, and an exhortation to practise it.

36. Officium autem omne aut medium, aut perfectum est, quod aeque Scripturarum auctoritate probare possumus. Habemus etenim in Evangelio dixisse Dominum: Si vis in vitam aeternam venire, serva mandata. Dixit ille? Quae? Jesus autem dixit illi: Non homicidium facies, non adulterabis, non facies furtum, non falsum testimonium dices: honora patrem et matrem: et, Diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum (Matth. XIX, 17 et seq.). Haec sunt media officia, quibus aliquid deest.

36. Every duty is either ordinary or perfect, a fact which we can also confirm by the authority of the Scriptures. For we read in the Gospel that the Lord said: If you will enter into life, keep the commandments. He says: Which? Jesus said to him: You shall do no murder, You shall not commit adultery, You shall not steal, You shall not bear false witness, Honour your father and your mother, You shall love your neighbour as yourself. These are ordinary duties, to which something is wanting.

37. Denique dicit illi adolescens: Omnia haec custodivi a juventute mea, quid adhuc mihi deest? Ait illi Jesus: Si vis perfectus esse, vade, vende

omnia bona tua, et da pauperibus, et habebis thesaurum in coelo, et veni, sequere me (Ibid., XX, 21). Et supra (Matth. V, 44, 45) ita est scriptum, ubi diligendos inimicos, et orandum dicit pro calumniantibus et persequentibus nos, et benedicere maledicentes; hoc nos facere debemus, si volumus perfecti esse, sicut Pater noster qui in coelo est, qui super bonos et malos solem jubet radios suos fundere, et pluvia et rore terras universorum sine ulla discretione pinguescere. Hoc est igitur perfectum officium, quod κατόρθωμα dixerunt Graeci, quo corriguntur omnia, quae aliquos potuerunt lapsus habere.

37. Upon this the young man says to Him: All these things have I kept from my youth up, what lack I yet? Jesus said to him: If you will be perfect, go and sell all your goods and give to the poor, and you shall have treasure in heaven; and come and follow Me. Matthew 19:20-21 And earlier the same is written, where the Lord says that we must love our enemies, and pray for those that falsely accuse and persecute us, and bless those that curse us. Matthew 5:44 This we are bound to do, if we would be perfect as our Father Who is in heaven; Who bids the sun to shed his rays over the evil and the good, and makes the lands of the whole universe fertile with rain and dew without any distinction. Matthew 5:45 This, then, is a perfect duty (the Greeks call it κατόρθωμα), whereby all things are put right which could have any failings in them.

38. Bona etiam misericordia, quae et ipsa perfectos facit, quia imitatur perfectum Patrem. Nihil tam commendat Christianam animam quam misericordia. Primum in pauperes, ut communes judices partus naturae, quae omnibus ad usum generat fructus terrarum; ut quod habes, largiaris pauperi, et consortem et conformem tuum adjuves. Tu nummum largiris, ille vitam accipit: tu pecuniam das, ille substantiam suam aestimat. Tuus denarius, census illius est.

38. Mercy, also, is a good thing, for it makes men perfect, in that it imitates the perfect Father. Nothing graces the Christian soul so much as mercy; mercy as shown chiefly towards the poor, that you may treat them as sharers in common with you in the produce of nature, which brings forth the fruits of the earth for use to all. Thus you may freely give to a poor man what you have, and in this way help him who is your brother and companion. You give silver; he receives life. You give money; he considers it his fortune. Your coin makes up all his property.

39. Ad haec plus ille tibi confert, cum sit debitor salutis. Si nudum vestias, te ipsum induis justitiam. Si peregrinum sub tectum inducas tuum, si suscipias egentem: ille tibi acquirit sanctorum amicitias et aeterna tabernacula. Non mediocris ista gratia. Corporalia seminas, et recipis spiritalia. Miraris judicium Domini de sancto Job? Mirare virtutem ejus, qui poterat dicere: 12 Oculus eram caecorum, pes claudorum. Ego eram infirmorum pater, velleribus agnorum meorum calefacti sunt humeri eorum. Foris non habitabat peregrinus: ostium autem meum omni venienti patebat (Job XXIX, 15, 16). Beatus plane, de cujus domo numquam vacuo sinu pauper exivit; neque enim quisquam magis beatus, quam qui intelligit super pauperis necessitatem et infirmi atque inopis aerumnam. In die judicii habebit salutem a Domino, quem habebit suae debitorem misericordiae.

39. Further, he bestows more on you than thou on him, since he is your debtor in regard to your salvation. If you clothe the naked, you clothe yourself with righteousness; if you bring the stranger under your roof, if you support the needy, he procures for you the friendship of the saints and eternal habitations. That is no small recompense. You sow earthly things and receive heavenly. Do you wonder at the judgment of God in the case of holy Job? Wonder rather at his virtue, in that he could say: I was an eye to the blind, and a foot to the lame. I was a father to the poor. Their shoulders

were made warm with the skins of my lambs. The stranger dwelt not at my gates, but my door was open to every one that came. Job 29:15-16 Clearly blessed is he from whose house a poor man has never gone with empty hand. Nor again is any one more blessed than he who is sensible of the needs of the poor, and the hardships of the weak and helpless. In the day of judgment he will receive salvation from the Lord, Whom he will have as his debtor for the mercy he has shown.

CAPUT XII.

NE QUIS AB exercenda misericordia revocetur, ostenditur Deum curare actus hominum, et quemlibet improbum in ipsa opum affluentia miserum esse Jobi auctoritate demonstratur.

CHAPTER 12.

To prevent any one from being checked in the exercise of mercy, he shows that God cares for human actions; and proves on the evidence of Job that all wicked men are unhappy in the very abundance of their wealth.

40. Sed plerique revocantur ab officio dispensatricis misericordiae, dum putant hominis actus non curare Dominum, aut nescire eum quid in occultis geramus, quid teneat nostra conscientia: aut judicium ejus nequaquam justum videri, quando peccatores divitiis abundare vident, gaudere honoribus, sanitate, liberis: contra autem, justos inopes degere, inhonoros, sine liberis, infirmos corpore, luctu frequenti.

40. But many are kept back from the duty of showing active mercy, because they suppose that God does not care about the actions of men, or that He does not know what we do in secret, and what our conscience has in view. Some again think that His judgment in no wise seems to be just; for they see that sinners have abundance of riches, that they enjoy honours, health, and children; while, on the other hand, the just live in poverty and unhonoured, they are without children, sickly in body, and often in grief.

41. Nec mediocris ea quaestio, quando quidem tres illi reges amici Job, propterea eum peccatorem pronuntiabant, quia inopem factum ex divite,

orbatum liberis ex fecundo parente, perfusum ulceribus, inhorrentemque vibicibus, exaratum vulneribus a capite usque ad pedes videbant (Job. IV, 3, 11, 14 et seq.). Quibus hanc sanctus Job proponit assertionem: Si ego propter peccata mea haec patior, Cur impii vivunt? Inveteraverunt autem, et in divitiis semen eorum secundum voluntatem, filii eorum in oculis, domus ipsorum abundant, timor autem nusquam: Flagellum autem a Domino non est in ipsis (Job XXI, 7 et seq.).

41. That is no small point. For those three royal friends of Job declared him to be a sinner, because they saw that he, after being rich, became poor; that after having many children, he had lost them all, and that he was now covered with sores and was full of weals, and was a mass of wounds from head to foot. But holy Job made this declaration to them: If I suffer thus because of my sins, why do the wicked live? They grow old also in riches, their seed is according to their pleasure, their children are before their eyes, their houses are prosperous; but they have no fear; there is no scourge from the Lord on them. Job 21:7-9

42. Haec videns infirmus corde exagitatur, et studium avertit suum. Cujus dicturus sermones, ante sanctus praemisit Job, dicens: Portate me, ego autem loquar, deinde videte me. Nam et si arguor, quasi homo arguor. Portate ergo onus sermonum meorum (Ibid., 1 et seq.). Dicturus enim sum quod non probo: sed ad vos redarguendos proferam sermonis iniquos. Aut certe; quia ita est versus. Quid autem? Numquid ab homine arguor? hoc est, homo me non potest redarguere quia peccavi, etsi argui dignus sum; quia non ex evidenti culpa me arguitis, sed ex injuriis aestimatis merita delictorum. Videns ergo infirmus abundare injustos successibus prosperis, se autem alteri, dicit Domino: Discede a me, vias tuas scire nolo (Ibid., 14). Quid prodest, quia servivimus ipsi: aut quae utilitas, quia occurrimus ipsi? In manibus ipsorum omnia bona, opera autem impiorum non videt.

42. A faint-hearted man, seeing this, is disturbed in mind, and turns his attention away from it. Holy Job, when about to speak in the words of such a one, began thus, saying: Bear with me, I also will speak; then laugh at me. For if I am found fault with, I am found fault with as a man. Bear, therefore, the burden of my words. For I am going to say (he means) what I do not approve; but I shall utter wrong words to refute you. Or, to translate it in another way: How now? Am I found fault with by a man? That is: a man cannot find fault with me because I have sinned, although I deserve to be found fault with; for you do not find fault with me on the ground of an open sin, but estimate what I deserve for my offenses by the extent of my misfortunes. Thus the faint-hearted man, seeing that the wicked succeed and prosper, while he himself is crushed by misfortune, says to the Lord: Depart from me, I desire not the knowledge of Your ways. Job 21:14 What good is it that we serve Him, or what use to hasten to Him? In the hands of the wicked are all good things, but He sees not their works.

43. Laudatur in Platone, quod in Politia sua 13 posuit eum qui contra justitiam disputandi partes recepisset, postulare veniam dictorum quae non probaret, et veri inveniendi atque examinandae disputationis gratia, illam sibi impositam personam dicere. Quod eousque Tullius probavit, ut ipse in libris quos scripsit de Republica, in eam sententiam dicendum putaverit.

43. Plato has been greatly praised, because in his book on the State, he has made the person who undertook the part of objector against justice to ask pardon for his words, of which he himself did not approve; and to say that that character was only assumed for the sake of finding out the truth and to investigate the question at issue. And Cicero so far approved of this, that he also, in his book which he wrote on the Commonwealth, thought something must be said against that idea.

44. Quanto antiquior illis Job, qui haec primus reperit, nec eloquentiae phalerandae gratia, sed veritatis probandae, praemittenda aestimavit? Statimque ipse quaestionem enodem reddidit, subjiciens quod exstinguatur lucerna impiorum, et futura sit eorum eversio (Job. XXI, 17): non falli Deum doctorem sapientiae et disciplinae, sed esse veritatis judicem (Ibidem, 22): et ideo non secundum forensem abundantiam aestimandam beatitudinem singulorum; sed secundum interiorem conscientiam, quae innocentium et flagitiosorum merita discernit, vera atque incorrupta poenarum praemiorumque arbitra. Moritur innocens in potestate simplicitatis suae, in abundantia propriae voluntatis, sicut adipe repletam animam gerens (Ibid., 23 et seq.). At vero peccator quamvis foris abundet, deliciis diffluat, et odoribus fragret, in amaritudine animae suae vitam exigit, et ultimum diem claudit, nihil secum eorum quae epulatus fuerit, boni referens: nihil secum auferens, nisi scelerum suorum pretia.

44. How many years before these did Job live! He was the first to discover this, and to consider what excuses had to be made for this, not for the sake of decking out his eloquence, but for the sake of finding out the truth. At once he made the matter plain, stating that the lamp of the wicked is put out, that their destruction will come; Job 21:17 that God, the teacher of wisdom and instruction, is not deceived, but is a judge of the truth. Therefore the blessedness of individuals must not be estimated at the value of their known wealth, but according to the voice of their conscience within them. For this, as a true and uncorrupted judge of punishments and rewards, decides between the deserts of the innocent and the guilty. The innocent man dies in the strength of his own simplicity, in the full possession of his own will; having a soul filled as it were with marrow. Job 21:24 But the sinner, though he has abundance in life, and lives in the midst of luxury, and is redolent with sweet scents, ends his life in the bitterness of his soul, and brings his last day to a close, taking with him none of those good things

which he once enjoyed — carrying away nothing with him but the price of his own wickedness.

45. Haec cogitans nega, si potes, divini esse judicii remunerationem. Ille suo affectu beatus, hic miser: ille suo judicio absolutus, hic reus: ille in exitu laetus, hic moerens. Cui absolvi potest, qui nec sibi innocens est? Dicite, inquit, mihi, ubi est protectio tabernaculorum ejus (Job XXI, 28)? Signum ejus non invenietur. Vita etenim facinorosi, ut somnium. Aperuit oculos, transivit requies ejus, evanuit delectatio: licet ipsa quae videtur, etiam dum vivunt, impiorum requies in inferno sit: viventes enim in inferna descendunt.

45. In thinking of this, deny if you can that a recompense is paid by divine judgment. The former feels happy in his heart, the latter wretched; that man on his own verdict is guiltless, this one a criminal; that man again is happy in leaving the world, this man grieves over it. Who can be pronounced guiltless that is not innocent in the sight of his own conscience? Tell me, he says, where is the covering of his tabernacle; his token will not be found. Job 21:28 The life of the criminal is as a dream. He has opened his eyes. His repose has departed, his enjoyment has fled. Nay, that very repose of the wicked, which even while they live is only seeming, is now in hell, for alive they go down into hell.

46. Vides convivium peccatoris, interroga conscientiam ejus. Nonne gravius omnibus fetet sepulcris? Intueris laetitiam ejus, et salubritatem miraris corporis filiorum atque opum abundantiam: introspice ulcera et vibices animae ejus, et cordis moestitudinem. Nam de opibus quid loquar, cum legeris: Quia non in abundantia est vita ejus (Luc. XII, 15): cum scias quia etsi tibi videatur dives, sibi pauper est, et tuum judicium 14 suo refellat? De multitudine quoque filiorum, et de indolentia quid loquar; cum se ipse lugeat, et sine haerede futurum judicet, cum imitatores sui successores suos

esse nolit? Nulla enim haereditas peccatoris. Ergo impius ipse sibi poena est: justus autem ipse sibi gratia; et utrique aut bonorum aut malorum operum merces ex se ipso solvitur.

46. You see the enjoyments of the sinner; but question his conscience. Will he not be more foul than any sepulchre? You behold his joy, you admire the bodily health of his children, and the amount of his wealth; but look within at the sores and wounds of his soul, the sadness of his heart. And what shall I say of his wealth, when you read, For a man’s life consists not in the abundance of the things which he possesses? Luke 12:15 When you know, that though he seems to you to be rich, to himself he is poor, and in his own person refutes your judgment? What also shall I say of the number of his children and of his freedom from pain — when he is full of grief and decides that he will have no heir, and does not wish that those who copy his ways should succeed him? For the sinner really leaves no heir. Thus the wicked man is a punishment to himself, but the upright man is a grace to himself — and to either, whether good or bad, the reward of his deeds is paid in his own person.

CAPUT XIII.

REFELLUNTUR PHILOSOPHORUM OPINIONES qui Deo vel mundi totius, vel alicujus ex ejus partibus curam abjudicant.

CHAPTER 13.

The ideas of those philosophers are refuted who deny to God the care of the whole world, or of any of its parts.

47. Sed revertamur ad propositum, ne divisionem factam praeteriisse videamur, quia occurrimus opinioni eorum qui videntes sceleratos quosque divites, laetos, honoratos, potentes, cum plerique justorum egeant, atque infirmi sint, putant vel nihil Deum curare de nobis, ut Epicurei dicunt: vel nescire actus hominum, ut flagitiosi putant: vel si scit omnia, iniquum esse judicem; ut bonos egere patiatur, abundare improbos. Nec superfluus velut quidam excursus fuit, ut opinioni hujusmodi ipsorum affectus responderet, quos beatos judicant, cum ipsi se miseros putent. Arbitratus enim sum quod ipsi sibi facilius quam nobis crederent.

47. But let us return to our point, lest we seem to have lost sight of the break we made in answering the ideas of those who, seeing some wicked men, rich, joyous, full of honours, and powerful, while many upright men are in want and are weak — suppose therefore that God either cares nothing about us (which is what the Epicureans say), or that He is ignorant of men's actions as the wicked say — or that, if He knows all things, He is an unjust judge in allowing the good to be in want and the wicked to have abundance. But it did not seem out of place to make a digression to meet an idea of this kind and to contrast it with the feelings of those very persons whom they

consider happy — for they think themselves wretched. I suppose they would believe themselves more readily than us.

48. Quo decurso, proclive aestimo, ut refellam caetera. Et primo eorum assertionem, qui Deum putant curam mundi nequaquam habere, sicut Aristoteles asserit usque ad lunam ejus descendere providentiam. Et quis operator negligat operis sui curam? Quis deserat et destituat quod ipse condendum putavit? Si injuria est regere, nonne est major injuria fecisse; cum aliquid non fecisse nulla injustitia sit, non curare quod feceris, summa inclementia?

48. After this digression I consider it an easy matter to refute the rest — above all the declaration of those who think that God has no care whatever for the world. For instance, Aristotle declares that His providence extends only to the moon. But what workman is there who gives no care to his work? Who would forsake and abandon what he believes himself to have produced? If it is derogatory to rule, is it not more so to have created? Though there is no wrong involved in not creating anything, it is surely the height of cruelty not to care for what one has created.

49. Quod si aut Deum creatorem suum abnegant, aut ferarum et bestiarum se haberi numero censent: quid de illis dicamus, qui hac se condemnant injuria? Per omnia Deum ire ipsi asserunt, et omnia in virtute ejus consistere, vim et majestatem ejus per omnia elementa penetrare, terras, coelum, maria: et putant injuriam ejus, si mentem hominis qua nihil nobis ipse praestantius dedit, penetret, et divinae majestatis ingrediatur scientia?

49. But if some deny God to be the Creator, and so count themselves among the beasts and irrational creatures, what shall we say of those who condemn themselves to such indignity? They themselves declare that God pervades all things, that all depend upon His power, that His might and majesty

penetrate all the elements — lands, heaven, and seas; yet they think it derogatory to Him to enter into man's spirit, which is the noblest thing He has given us, and to be there with the full knowledge of the divine Majesty.

50. Sed horum magistrum velut ebrium, et 15 voluptatis patronum, ipsi qui putantur sobrii, irrident philosophi? Nam de Aristotelis opinione quid loquar, qui putat Deum suis contentum esse finibus, et praescripto regni modo degere, ut poetarum loquuntur fabulae, qui mundum inter tres ferunt esse divisum; ut alii coelum, alii mare, alii inferna coercenda imperio, sorte obvenerint: eosque cavere ne usurpata alienarum partium sollicitudine, inter se bellum excitent. Similiter ergo asserit quod terrarum curam non habeat, sicut maris vel inferni non habet. Et quomodo ipsi excludunt quos sequuntur, poetas?

50. But philosophers who are held to be reasonable laugh at the teacher of these ideas as besotted and licentious. But what shall I say of Aristotle's idea? He thinks that God is satisfied with His own narrow bounds, and lives within the prescribed limits of His kingdom. This, however, is also what the poets' tales tell us. For they relate that the world is divided between three gods, so that it has fallen to the lot of one to restrain and rule heaven, to another the sea, and to a third the lower regions. They have also to take care not to stir up war one with the other by allowing thoughts and cares about the belongings of others to take hold of them. In the same way, Aristotle also declares that God has no care for the earth, as He has none for the sea or the lower regions. How is it that these philosophers shut out of their ranks the poets whose footsteps they follow?

CAPUT XIV.

DEI COGNITIONEM NIHIL fugere et Scripturarum testimoniis, et solis comprobatur exemplo, qui licet creatura sit, tamen vel lumine, vel calore cuncta penetrat.

CHAPTER 14.

Nothing escapes God's knowledge. This is proved by the witness of the Scriptures and the analogy of the sun, which, although created, yet by its light or heat enters into all things.

51. Sequitur illa responsio, utrum Deum, si operis sui cura non praeterierit, praetereat scientia. Ergo qui plantavit aurem, non audit: qui finxit oculum, non videt, non considerat?

51. Next comes the answer to the question, whether God, not having failed to show care for His work, now fails to have knowledge of it? Thus it is written: He that planted the ear, shall He not hear? He that made the eye, shall He not regard?

52. Non praeteriit haec vana opinio sanctos prophetas. Denique David inducit eos loquentes, quos superbia inflatos asserit. Quid enim tam superbum, quam cum ipsi sub peccato sint, alios indigne ferant peccatores vivere, dicentes: Usquequo peccatores, Domine, usquequo peccatores gloriabuntur (Psal. XCIII, 3)? Et infra: Et dixerunt. Non videbit Dominus, neque intelliget Deus Jacob. Quibus respondet propheta dicens: Intelligite nunc insipientes in populo, et stulti aliquando sapite. Qui plantavit aurem, non audit: et qui finxit oculum, non considerat? Qui corripit gentes, non

arguit, qui docet hominem scientiam? Dominus scit cogitationes hominum, quoniam vanae sunt (Ibid. 7 et seq.). Qui ea quaecumque vana sunt deprehendit, ea quae sancta sunt, nescit, et ignorat quod ipse fecit? Potest opus suum ignorare artifex? Homo est, et in opere suo latentia deprehendit; et Deus opus suum nescit? Altius ergo profundum in opere, quam in auctore. Et fecit aliquid quod supra se esset, cujus meritum ignoraret auctor, cujus affectum nesciret arbiter? Haec illis.

52. This false idea was not unknown to the holy prophets. David himself introduces men to speak whom pride has filled and claimed for its own. For what shows greater pride than when men who are living in sin think it unfit that other sinners should live, and say: Lord, how long shall the ungodly, how long shall the ungodly triumph? And later on: And yet they say, the Lord shall not see: neither shall the God of Jacob regard it. Whom the prophet answers, saying: Take heed, you unwise among the people: O you fools, when will you understand? He that planted the ear, shall He not hear? Or He that made the eye, shall He not see? He that rebukes the nations, shall He not punish? — He that teaches man knowledge? The Lord knows the thoughts of man that they are vain. Does He Who discerns whatsoever is vain not know what is holy, and is He ignorant of what He Himself has made? Can the workman be ignorant of his own work? This one is a man, yet he discerns what is hidden in his work; and God — shall He not know His own work? Is there more depth, then, in the work than in its author? Has He made something superior to Himself; the value of which, as its Author, He was ignorant of, and whose condition He knew not, though He was its Director? So much for these persons.

53. Caeterum nobis satis est ipsius testimonium, qui ait: Ego sum scrutans corda et renes (Jerem. XVII, 10). Et in Evangelio ait Dominus Jesus: Quid cogitatis mala in cordibus vestris (Luc. V, 22)? Sciebat enim quod

cogitarent mala. Denique Evangelista testatur dicens: Sciebat enim Jesus cogitationes eorum (Luc. VI, 8).

53. But we are satisfied with the witness of Him Who says: I search out the heart and the reins. Jeremiah 17:10 In the Gospel, also, the Lord Jesus says: Why do you think evil in your hearts? For He knew they were thinking evil. Matthew 9:4 The evangelist also witnesses to this, saying: For Jesus knew their thoughts. Luke 6:8

54. Quorum non poterit satis movere opinio, si facta eorum consideremus. Nolunt supra se esse judicem, quem nihil fallat: nolunt ei dare occultorum scientiam, qui metuunt occulta sua prodi. Sed etiam Dominus sciens opera eorum, tradidit eos in tenebras. In nocte, inquit, erit fur. Et oculus adulteri servabit tenebras, dicens: Non considerabit me oculus: et latibulum personae posuit suae (Job XXIV, 14, 15). 16 Omnis enim qui lucem fugit, diligit tenebras, studens latere, cum Deum latere non possit, qui intra profundum abyssi, et intra hominum mentes non solum tractata, sed etiam volvenda cognoscit. Denique et ille qui dicit in Ecclesiastico: Quis videt me? Et tenebrae cooperiunt me, et parietes, quem vereor (Eccli. XXIII, 25, 26)? quamvis in lecto suo positus haec cogitet, ubi non putaverit, comprehenditur. Et erit, inquit, dedecus, quod non intellexerit timorem Dei (Ibid., 31).

54. The idea of these people will not trouble us much if we look at their actions. They will not have Him to be judge over them, Whom nothing deceives; they will not grant to Him the knowledge of things hidden, for they are afraid their own hidden things may be brought to light. But the Lord, also, knowing their works, has given them over unto darkness. In the night, he says, he will be as a thief, and the eye of the adulterer will watch for the darkness, saying, No eye shall see me; he has covered up his face. Job 24:14-15 For every one that avoids the light loves darkness, seeking to

be hid, though he cannot be hid from God, Who knows not only what is transacted, but also what will be thought of, both in the depths of space and in the minds of men. Thus, again, he who speaks in the book Ecclesiasticus says: Who sees me? The darkness has covered me, and the walls have hidden me; whom do I fear? Sirach 23:18 But although lying on his bed he may think thus, he is caught where he never thought of it. It shall be, it says, a shame to him because he knew not what the fear of the Lord was. Sirach 23:31

55. Quid autem tam stolidum, quam putare quod Deum quidquam praetereat; cum sol qui minister luminis est, etiam abdita penetret, et in fundamenta domus vel secreta conclavia vis caloris ejus irrumpat? Quis neget verna temperie tepefieri interiora terrarum, quas glacies hiberna constrinxerit? Norunt ergo arborum occultam vim caloris vel frigoris, adeo ut radices arborum aut urantur frigore, aut fotu solis virescant. Denique ubi clementia coeli arriserit, varios terra se fundit in fructus.

55. But what can be more foolish than to suppose that anything escapes God’s notice, when the sun which supplies the light enters even hidden spots, and the strength of its heat reaches to the foundations of a house and its inner chambers? Who can deny that the depths of the earth, which the winter’s ice has bound together, are warmed by the mildness of spring? Surely the very heart of a tree feels the force of heat or cold, to such an extent that its roots are either nipped with the cold or sprout forth in the warmth of the sun. In short, wherever the mildness of heaven smiles on the earth, there the earth produces in abundance fruits of different kinds.

56. Si igitur radius solis fundit lumen suum super omnem terram, et in ea quae clausa sunt, se inserit, nec vectibus ferreis aut gravium valvarum obicibus, quominus penetret, impeditur; quomodo non potest intelligibilis Dei splendor in cogitationes hominum et corda semet quae ipse creavit,

inserere: sed ea quae ipse fecit, non videt, et fecit ut meliora sint quae facta sunt, et potentiora, quam ipse est qui ea fecit, ut possint quando volunt, cognitionem sui operatoris latere? Tantam ergo virtutem et potestatem inseruit mentibus nostris; ut eam comprehendere cum velit, ipse non possit?

56. If, then, the sun's rays pour their light over all the earth and enter into its hidden spots; if they cannot be checked by iron bars or the barrier of heavy doors from getting within, how can it be impossible for the Glory of God, which is instinct with life, to enter into the thoughts and hearts of men that He Himself has created? And how shall it not see what He Himself has created? Did He make His works to be better and more powerful than He Himself is, Who made them (in this event) so as to escape the notice of their Creator whenever they will? Did He implant such perfection and power in our mind that He Himself could not comprehend it when He wished?

CAPUT XV.

QUIBUS DISPLICET QUOD bonis male, et malis bene sit, eis Lazari exemplo et Pauli auctoritate ostenditur post vitam poenas ac praemia reservari.

CHAPTER 15.

Those who are dissatisfied with the fact that the good receive evil, and the evil good, are shown by the example of Lazarus, and on the authority of Paul, that punishments and rewards are reserved for a future life.

57. Duo absolvimus et, ut arbitramur, non incongrue nobis hujusmodi cecidit disputatio. Tertium genus quaestionis residet hujusmodi: cur peccatores abundent opibus et divitiis, epulentur jugiter, sine moerore, sine luctu; justi autem egeant, et afficiantur aut conjugum amissione, aut liberorum? Quibus satisfacere debuit illa Evangelii parabola, quod dives bysso et purpura induebatur, et epulas copiosas exhibebat quotidie: pauper autem plenus ulcerum de mensa ejus colligebat reliquias. Post obitum vero utriusque, pauper erat in sinu Abrahae requiem habens, dives in suppliciis (Luc. XVI, 25). Nonne evidens est meritorum aut praemia aut supplicia post mortem manere?

57. We have fully discussed two questions; and this discussion, as we think, has not turned out quite unfavourably for us. A third question yet remains; it is this: Why do sinners have abundance of wealth and riches, and fare sumptuously, and have no grief or sorrow; while the upright are in want, and are punished by the loss of wives or children? Now, that parable in the Gospel ought to satisfy persons like these; for the rich man was clothed in

purple and fine linen, and dined sumptuously every day; but the beggar, full of sores, used to gather the crumbs of his table. After the death of the two, however, the beggar was in Abraham's bosom in rest; the rich man was in torment. Is it not plain from this that rewards and punishments according to deserts await one after death?

58. Et recte, quia in certamine labor est, post certamen aliis victoria, aliis ignominia. Numquid priusquam cursus conficiatur, palma cuiquam datur, aut defertur corona? Merito Paulus: Certamen, inquit, bonum certavi, cursum consummavi, fidem servavi: quod reliquum est, reposita est mihi corona justitiae, quam reddet mihi Dominus 17 in illa die, justus judex: non solum autem mihi, sed etiam his qui diligunt adventum ejus (II Tim. IV, 7, 8). In illa, inquit, die reddet, non hic. Hic autem in laboribus, in periculis, in naufragiis, quasi athleta bonus decertabat; quia sciebat quoniam per multas tribulationes oportet nos introire in regnum Dei. Ergo non potest quis praemium accipere, nisi legitime certaverit; nec est gloriosa victoria, nisi ubi fuerint laboriosa certamina.

58. And surely this is but right. For in a contest there is much labour needed — and after the contest victory falls to some, to others disgrace. Is the palm ever given or the crown granted before the course is finished? Paul writes well; He says: I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day; and not to me only, but unto all them also that love His appearing. 2 Timothy 4:7-8 In that day, he says, He will give it — not here. Here he fought, in labours, in dangers, in shipwrecks, like a good wrestler; for he knew how that through much tribulation we must enter into the kingdom of God. Acts 14:22 Therefore no one can receive a reward, unless he has striven lawfully; nor is the victory a glorious one, unless the contest also has been toilsome.

CAPUT XVI.

CONFIRMATO QUOD SUPRA de praemiis et poenis dictum fuerat, subjungitur non mirum esse si quibus merces in futuro non destinatur, hic illi non laborent neque confligant: additurque ideo temporalia bona ipsis concedi, ne qua relinquatur excusatio.

CHAPTER 16.

To confirm what has been said above about rewards and punishments, he adds that it is not strange if there is no reward reserved for some in the future; for they do not labour here nor struggle. He goes on to say also that for this reason temporal goods are granted to these persons, so that they may have no excuse whatever.

59. Nonne injustus est, qui ante dat praemium, quam certamen fuerit absolutum? Ideoque Dominus in Evangelio ait: Beati pauperes spiritu, quoniam ipsorum est regnum coelorum (Matth. V, 3). Non dixit: Beati divites, sed pauperes. Inde incipit beatitudo judicio divino, ubi aerumna aestimatur humana. Beati qui esuriunt, quia ipsi saturabuntur. Beati qui lugent, quoniam ipsi consolationem habebunt. Beati misericordes, quoniam ipsis miserebitur Deus. Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt. Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam, quoniam ipsorum est regnum coelorum. Beati estis, cum vobis maledicent, et persequentur, et dicent omne malum adversum vos, propter justitiam. Gaudete et exsultate quoniam merces vestra copiosa est in coelo (Ibid., 5 et seq.). Futuram, non praesentem: in coelo, non in terra mercedem promisit esse reddendam. Quid alibi poscis, quod alibi debetur? quid praepropere coronam exigis,

antequam vincas? quid detergere pulverem? quid requiescere cupis? quid epulari gestis, antequam stadium solvatur? Adhuc populus spectat, adhuc athletae in scammate sunt, et tu jam otium petis.

59. Is not he unjust who gives the reward before the end of the contest? Therefore the Lord says in the Gospel: Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Matthew 5:3 He said not: Blessed are the rich, but the poor. By the divine judgment blessedness begins there whence human misery is supposed to spring. Blessed are they that hunger, for they shall be filled; Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted; Blessed are the merciful, for God will have mercy on them; Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God; Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven; Blessed are you when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you for righteousness' sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for plentiful is your reward in heaven. A reward future and not present — in heaven, not on earth — has He promised shall be given. What further do you expect? What further is due? Why do you demand the crown with so much haste, before you conquer? Why do you desire to shake off the dust and to rest? Why do you long to sit at the feast before the course is finished? As yet the people are looking on, the athletes are in the arena, and thou — do you already look for ease?

60. Sed forte dicas: Cur impii laetantur? cur luxuriantur? cur etiam ipsi non mecum laborant? Quoniam qui non subscripserint ad coronam, non tenentur ad laborem certaminis: qui in stadium non descenderint, non se perfundunt oleo, non oblinunt pulvere. Quos manet gloria, exspectat injuria. Unguentati spectare solent, non decertare: non solem, aestus, pulverem, imbresque perpeti. Dicant ergo et ipsis athletae: Venite, nobiscum laborate. Sed

respondebunt spectatores: Nos hic interim de vobis judicamus: vos autem sine nobis coronae, si viceritis, gloriam vindicabitis.

60. Perhaps you say, Why are the wicked joyous? Why do they live in luxury? Why do they not toil with me? It is because they who have not put down their names to strive for the crown are not bound to undergo the labours of the contest. They who have not gone down into the race-course do not anoint themselves with oil nor get covered with dust. For those whom glory awaits trouble is at hand. The perfumed spectators are wont to look on, not to join in the struggle, nor to endure the sun, the heat, the dust, and the showers. Let the athletes say to them: Come, strive with us. The spectators will but answer: We sit here now to decide about you, but you, if you conquer, will gain the glory of the crown and we shall not.

61. Isti igitur qui in deliciis, qui in luxuria, rapinis, quaestibus, honoribus, studia posuerunt sua, spectatores magis sunt quam praeliatores. Habent lucrum laboris, fructum virtutis 18 non habent. Fovent otium, astutia et improbitate aggerant divitiarum acervos: sed exsolvent, seram licet, nequitiae suae poenam. Horum requies in infernis, tua vero in coelo: horum domus in sepulcro, tua in paradiso. Unde pulchre vigilare eos in tumulo Job dixit (Job. XXI, 32); quia soporem quietis habere non possunt, quem ille dormivit, qui resurrexit.

61. They, then, who have devoted themselves to pleasures, luxury, robbery, gain, or honours are spectators rather than combatants. They have the profit of labour, but not the fruits of virtue. They love their ease; by cunning and wickedness they heap up riches; but they will pay the penalty of their iniquity, though it be late. Their rest will be in hell, yours in heaven; their home in the grave, yours in paradise. Whence Job said beautifully that they watch in the tomb, Job 21:32 for they cannot have the calm of quiet rest which he enjoys who shall rise again.

62. Noli igitur ut parvulus sapere, ut parvulus loqui, ut parvulus cogitare, ut parvulus vindicare ea quae sunt posterioris aetatis. Perfectorum est corona. Exspecta, ut veniat quod perfectum est, quando non per speciem in aenigmate, sed facie ad faciem formam ipsam redopertae veritatis possis agnoscere. Tunc qua causa ille dives fuerit, qui erat improbus et raptor alieni, qua causa potens alius, qua causa ille abundaverit liberis, ille fultus honoribus, revelabitur.

62. Do not, therefore, understand, or speak, or think as a child; nor as a child claim those things now which belong to a future time. The crown belongs to the perfect. Wait till that which is perfect has come, when you may know — not through a glass as in a riddle, but face to face 1 Corinthians 13:12 — the very form of truth made clear. Then will be made known why that person was rich who was wicked and a robber of other men’s goods, why another was powerful, why a third had many children, and yet a fourth was loaded with honours.

63. Fortasse ut dicatur raptori: Dives eras, qua causa aliena rapiebas? Egestas non compulit, inopia non coegit. Nonne ideo te divitem feci, ut excusationem habere non possis? Dicatur etiam potenti: Cur non adfuisti viduae, orphanis quoque injuriam patientibus? Numquid tu infirmus eras? Numquid non poteras subvenire? Ideo te feci potentem, ut non inferres violentiam, sed repelleres. Non tibi scriptum est: Eripe injuriam accipientem (Eccli. IV, 9)? Non tibi scriptum est: Pauperem, et egenum de manu peccatoris liberate (Psal. LXXXI, 4)? Dicatur etiam abundanti: Liberis, et honoribus cumulavi te, salubritatem corporis concessi tibi; cur non secutus es praecepta mea? Famule meus, quid feci tibi, aut quid contristavi te? Nonne ego tibi liberos dedi, honores contuli, salutem donavi; cur me negabas? Cur aestimabas quod ad scientiam meam quae gereres non

pervenirent: cur tenebas dona mea, despiciebas mandata mea (Mich. VI, 3 et seq.).

63. Perhaps all this happens that the question may be asked of the robber: You were rich, so why did you seize on the goods of others? Need did not force you, poverty did not drive you to it. Did I not make you rich, that you might have no excuse? So, too, it may be said to a person of power: Why did you not aid the widow, the orphans also, when enduring wrong? Were you powerless? Could you not help? I made you for this purpose, not that you might do wrong, but that you might check it. Is it not written for you Save him that endures wrong? Sirach 4:9 Is it not written for you: Deliver the poor and needy out of the hand of the sinner? It may be said also to the man who has abundance of good things: I have blessed you with children and honours; I have granted you health of body; why did you not follow my commands? My servant, what have I done to you, or how have I grieved you? Was it not I that gave you children, bestowed honours, granted health to you? Why did you deny me? Why did you suppose that your actions would not come to my knowledge? Why did you accept my gifts, yet despise my commands?

64. Denique de Juda proditore haec colligere licet, qui et apostolus inter duodecim electus est, et loculos pecuniarum quas pauperibus erogaret, commissos habebat, ne videretur aut quasi inhonorus, aut quasi egenus Dominum prodidisse. Et ideo ut justificaretur in eo Dominus, haec ei contulit; ut non quasi injuria exasperatus, sed quasi praevaricatus gratiam, majori esset offensae obnoxius.

64. We can gather the same from the example of the traitor Judas. He was chosen among the Twelve Apostles, and had charge of the money bag, to lay it out upon the poor, John 12:6 that it might not seem as though he had betrayed the Lord because he was unhonoured or in want. Wherefore the

Lord granted him this office, that He might also be justified in him; he would be guilty of a greater fault, not as one driven to it by wrong done to him, but as one misusing grace.

CAPUT XVII.

ADOLESCENTIS OFFICIA, ET exempla eidem aetati accommoda proponuntur.

CHAPTER 17.

The duties of youth, and examples suitable to that age, are next put forth.

65. Quoniam igitur et poenam improbitati, et virtuti fore praemium satis claruit, de Officiis aggrediamur dicere; quae nobis ab adolescentia spectanda sunt, ut cum aetate accrescant simul. Est igitur bonorum adolescentium timorem Dei habere, deferre parentibus, honorem habere senioribus, castitatem tueri, 19 non aspernari humilitatem, diligere clementiam ac verecundiam, quae ornamento sunt minori aetati. Ut enim in senibus gravitas, in juvenibus alacritas; ita in adolescentibus verecundia, velut quadam dote commendatur naturae.

65. Since it has been made sufficiently plain that there will be punishment for wickedness and reward for virtue, let us proceed to speak of the duties which have to be borne in mind from our youth up, that they may grow with our years. A good youth ought to have a fear of God, to be subject to his parents, to give honour to his elders, to preserve his purity; he ought not to despise humility, but should love forbearance and modesty. All these are an ornament to youthful years. For as seriousness is the true grace of an old man, and ardour of a young man, so also is modesty, as though by some gift of nature, well set off in a youth.

66. Erat Isaac Dominum timens, utpote Abrahae indoles, deferens patri usque adeo, ut adversus paternam voluntatem nec mortem recusaret (Gen. XXII, 9 et seq.). Joseph quoque cum somniasset quod sol et luna et stellae adorarent eum, sedulo tamen obsequio deferebat patri (Gen. XXXVII, 6 et seq.): castus ita ut ne sermonem quidem audire vellet nisi pudicum: humilis usque ad servitutem, verecundus usque ad fugam, patiens usque ad carcerem, remissor injuriae usque ad remunerationem. Cujus tanta verecundia fuit, ut comprehensus a muliere, vestem in manibus ejus fugiens mallet relinquere, quam verecundiam deponere (Gen. XXXIX, 8 et seq.). Moyses quoque et Hieremias electi a Domino, ut oracula Dei praedicarent populo, quod poterant per gratiam, excusabant per verecundiam (Exod. IV, 10; Jerem. I, 6).

66. Isaac feared the Lord, as was indeed but natural in the son of Abraham; being subject also to his father to such an extent that he would not avoid death in opposition to his father’s will. Genesis 22:9 Joseph also, though he dreamed that sun and moon and stars made obeisance to him, yet was subject to his father’s will with ready obedience. Genesis 37:9 So chaste was he, he would not hear even a word unless it were pure; humble was he even to doing the work of a slave, modest, even to taking flight, enduring, even to bearing imprisonment, so forgiving of wrong as even to repay it with good. Whose modesty was such, that, when seized by a woman, he preferred to leave his garment in her hands in flight, rather than to lay aside his modesty. Genesis 39:12 Moses, Exodus 4:10 also, and Jeremiah, Jeremiah 1:6 chosen by the Lord to declare the words of God to the people, were for avoiding, through modesty, that which through grace they could do.

CAPUT XVIII.

DE PARTIBUS VERECUNDIAE: quemadmodum sermonem ac silentium temperet, pudicitiam comitetur, preces nostras Deo commendet, motibus corporeis moderetur; ubi refertur historia de duobus clericis observatu minime indigna: tum subnectitur qua ratione componendus ex eadem virtute incessus, quantave cautio ne quid inverecundum ore proferatur, aut detegatur in corpore, adhibenda sit: et haec omnia exemplis appositissimis illustrantur.

CHAPTER 18.

On the different functions of modesty. How it should qualify both speech and silence, accompany chastity, commend our prayers to God, govern our bodily motions; on which last point reference is made to two clerics in language by no means unsuited to its object. Further he proceeds to say that one's gait should be in accordance with that same virtue, and how careful one must be that nothing immodest come forth from one's mouth, or be noticed in one's body. All these points are illustrated with very appropriate examples.

67. Pulchra igitur virtus est verecundiae, et suavis gratia, quae non solum in factis, sed etiam in ipsis spectatur sermonibus; ne modum progrediaris loquendi, ne quid indecorum sermo resonet tuus. Speculum enim mentis plerumque in verbis refulget. Ipsum vocis sonum librat modestia, ne cujusquam offendat aurem vox fortior. Denique in ipso canendi genere prima disciplina verecundia est: immo etiam in omni usu loquendi; ut

sensim quis aut psallere, aut canere, aut postremo loqui incipiat; ut verecunda principia commendent processum.

67. Lovely, then, is the virtue of modesty, and sweet is its grace! It is seen not only in actions, but even in our words, so that we may not go beyond due measure in speech, and that our words may not have an unbecoming sound. The mirror of our mind often enough reflects its image in our words. Sobriety weighs out the sound even of our voice, for fear that too loud a voice should offend the ear of any one. Nay, in singing itself the first rule is modesty, and the same is true in every kind of speech, too, so that a man may gradually learn to praise God, or to sing songs, or even to speak, in that the principles of modesty grace his advance.

68. Silentium quoque ipsum, in quo est reliquarum virtutum otium, maximus actus verecundiae est. Denique si aut infantiae putatur aut superbiae, probro datur: si verecundiae, laudi ducitur. Tacebat in periculis Suzanna, et gravius verecundiae, quam vitae damnum putabat, nec arbitrabatur periculo pudoris tuendam salutem. Deo soli loquebatur (Dan. XIII, 35), cui poterat casta verecundia eloqui: refugiebat ora intueri virorum; est enim et in oculis verecundia, ut nec videre viros femina, nec videri velit.

68. Silence, again, wherein all the other virtues rest, is the chief act of modesty. Only, if it is supposed to be a sign of a childish or proud spirit, it is accounted a reproach; if a sign of modesty, it is reckoned for praise. Susanna was silent in danger, and thought the loss of modesty was worse than loss of life. She did not consider that her safety should be guarded at the risk of her chastity. To God alone she spoke, to Whom she could speak out in true modesty. She avoided looking on the face of men. For there is also modesty in the glance of the eye, which makes a woman unwilling to look upon men, or to be seen by them.

69. Neque vero quisquam solius hanc laudem 20 castitatis putet. Est enim verecundia pudicitiae comes, cujus societate castitas ipsa tutior est. Bonus enim regendae castitatis pudor est comes: qui si se praetendat ad ea quae prima pericula sunt, pudicitiam temerari non sinat. Hic primus in ipso cognitionis ingressu, Domini matrem commendat legentibus, et tamquam testis locuples, dignam quae ad tale munus eligeretur, astruit: quod in cubiculo, quod sola, quod salutata ab angelo tacet, et mota est in introitu ejus, quod ad virilis sexus speciem peregrinam turbatur aspectus Virginis (Luc. I, 20 et seq.). Itaque quamvis esset humilis, prae verecundia tamen salutantem non resalutavit, nec ullum responsum retulit, nisi ubi de suscipienda Domini generatione cognovit; ut qualitatem effectus disceret, non ut sermonem referret.

69. Let no one suppose that this praise belongs to chastity alone. For modesty is the companion of purity, in company with which chastity itself is safer. Shame, again, is good as a companion and guide of chastity, inasmuch as it does not suffer purity to be defiled in approaching even the outskirts of danger. This it is that, at the very outset of her recognition, commends the Mother of the Lord to those who read the Scriptures, and, as a credible witness, declares her worthy to be chosen to such an office. For when in her chamber, alone, she is saluted by the angel, she is silent, and is disturbed at his entrance, and the Virgin’s face is troubled at the strange appearance of a man’s form. And so, though she was humble, yet it was not because of this, but on account of her modesty, that she did not return his salutation, nor give him any answer, except to ask, when she had learned that she should conceive the Lord, how this should be. She certainly did not speak merely for the sake of making a reply.

70. In ipsa oratione nostra multum verecundia placet, multum conciliat gratiae apud Deum nostrum. Nonne haec praetulit Publicanum, et

commendavit enim qui nec oculos suos audebat ad coelum levare? Ideo justificatur magis Domini judicio, quam ille Pharisaeus, quem deformavit praesumptio (Luc. XVIII, 13, 14). Ideoque oremus in incorruptione quieti et modesti spiritus, qui est ante Deum locuples, ut ait Petrus (I Petr. III, 4). Magna igitur modestia, quae cum sit etiam sui juris remissior, nihil sibi usurpans, nihil vindicans, et quodammodo intra vires suas contractior, dives est apud Deum, apud quem nemo dives. Dives est modestia, quia portio Dei est. Paulus quoque orationem deferri praecepit cum verecundia et sobrietate. Primam hanc et quasi praeviam vult esse orationis futurae, ut non glorietur peccatoris oratio: sed quasi colore pudoris obducta, quo plus defert verecundiae de recordatione delicti, hoc uberiorem mereatur gratiam (Tim. II, 9).

70. In our very prayers, too, modesty is most pleasing, and gains us much grace from our God. Was it not this that exalted the publican, and commended him, when he dared not raise even his eyes to heaven? Luke 18:13-14 So he was justified by the judgment of the Lord rather than the Pharisee, whom overweening pride made so hideous. Therefore let us pray in the incorruptibility of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price, 1 Peter 3:4 as St. Peter says. A noble thing, then, is modesty, which, though giving up its rights, seizing on nothing for itself, laying claim to nothing, and in some ways somewhat retiring within the sphere of its own powers, yet is rich in the sight of God, in Whose sight no man is rich. Rich is modesty, for it is the portion of God. Paul also bids that prayer be offered up with modesty and sobriety. 1 Timothy 2:9 He desires that this should be first, and, as it were, lead the way of prayers to come, so that the sinner’s prayer may not be boastful, but veiled, as it were, with the blush of shame, may merit a far greater degree of grace, in giving way to modesty at the remembrance of its fault.

71. Est etiam in ipso motu, gestu, incessu tenenda verecundia. Habitus enim mentis in corporis statu cernitur. Hinc homo cordis nostri absconditus, aut levior, aut jactantior, aut turbidior: aut contra gravior, et constantior, et purior, et maturior aestimatur. Itaque vox quaedam est animi, corporis motus.

71. Modesty must further be guarded in our very movements and gestures and gait. For the condition of the mind is often seen in the attitude of the body. For this reason the hidden man of our heart (our inner self) is considered to be either frivolous, boastful, or boisterous, or, on the other hand, steady, firm, pure, and dependable. Thus the movement of the body is a sort of voice of the soul.

72. Meministis, filii, quemdam amicum, cum sedulis se videretur commendare officiis; hoc solo tamen in clerum a me non receptum, quod gestus ejus plurimum dedeceret: alterum quoque cum in clero reperissem, jussisse me ne umquam praeiret mihi; quia velut quodam insolentis incessus verbere oculos feriret meos. Idque dixi, cum redderetur post offensam muneri. Hoc solum excepi, nec fefellit sententia; uterque enim ab Ecclesia recessit, ut qualis incessu prodebatur, talis perfidia animi demonstraretur. Namque alter Arianae infestationis tempore, fidem deseruit: alter pecuniae studio, ne judicium subiret sacerdotale, se nostrum negavit. 21 Lucebat in illorum incessu imago levitatis, species quaedam scurrarum percursantium.

72. You remember, my children, that a friend of ours who seemed to recommend himself by his assiduity in his duties, yet was not admitted by me into the number of the clergy, because his gestures were too unseemly. Also that I bade one, whom I found already among the clergy, never to go in front of me, because he actually pained me by the seeming arrogance of his gait. That is what I said when he returned to his duty after an offense committed. This alone I would not allow, nor did my mind deceive me. For

both have left the Church. What their gait betrayed them to be, such were they proved to be by the faithlessness of their hearts. The one forsook his faith at the time of the Arian troubles; the other, through love of money, denied that he belonged to us, so that he might not have to undergo sentence at the hands of the Church. In their gait was discernible the semblance of fickleness, the appearance, as it were, of wandering buffoons.

73. Sunt etiam qui sensim ambulando imitantur histrionicos gestus, et quasi quaedam fercula pomparum, et statuarum motus nutantium, ut quotiescumque gradum transferunt, modulos quosdam servare videantur.

73. Some there are who in walking perceptibly copy the gestures of actors, and act as though they were bearers in the processions, and had the motions of nodding statues, to such an extent that they seem to keep a sort of time, as often as they change their step.

74. Nec cursim ambulare honestum arbitror, nisi cum causa exigit alicujus periculi, vel justa necessitas. Nam plerumque festinantes anbelos videmus torquere ora, quibus si causa desit festinationis necessariae, naevus est justae offensionis. Sed non de his dico, quibus rara properatio ex causa nascitur: sed quibus jugis et continua in naturam vertitur. Nec in illis ego tamquam simulacrorum effigies probo, nec in istis tamquam excussorum ruinas.

74. Nor do I think it becoming to walk hurriedly, except when a case of some danger demands it, or a real necessity. For we often see those who hurry come up panting, and with features distorted. But if there is no reason for the need of such hurry, it gives cause for just offense. I am not, however, talking of those who have to hurry now and then for some particular reason, but of those to whom, by the yoke of constant habit, it has become a second nature. In the case of the former I cannot approve of their slow solemn

movements, which remind one of the forms of phantoms. Nor do I care for the others with their headlong speed, for they put one in mind of the ruin of outcasts.

75. Est etiam gressus probabilis, in quo sit species auctoritatis, gravitatisque pondus, tranquillitatis vestigium; ita tamen si studium desit atque affectatio, sed motus sit purus ac simplex; nihil enim fucatum placet. Motum natura informet. Si quid sane in natura vitii est, industria emendet; ut ars desit, non desit correctio.

75. A suitable gait is that wherein there is an appearance of authority and weight and dignity, and which has a calm collected bearing. But it must be of such a character that all effort and conceit may be wanting, and that it be simple and plain. Nothing counterfeit is pleasing. Let nature train our movements. If indeed there is any fault in our nature, let us mend it with diligence. And, that artifice may be wanting, let not amendment be wanting.

76. Quod si etiam ista spectantur altius, quanto magis cavendum est ne quid turpe ore exeat; hoc enim graviter coinquinat hominem. Non enim cibus coinquinat, sed injusta obtrectatio, sed verborum obscoenitas. Haec etiam vulgo pudori sunt. In nostro vero officio nullum verbum quod inhoneste cadat, non incutiat verecundiam. Et non solum nihil ipsi indecorum loqui, sed ne aurem quidem debemus hujusmodi praebere dictis: sicut Joseph ne incongrua suae audiret verecundiae, veste fugit relicta (Gen. XXXIX, 12); quoniam quem delectat audire, alterum loqui provocat.

76. But if we pay so much attention to things like these, how much more careful ought we to be to let nothing shameful proceed out of our mouth, for that defiles a man terribly. It is not food that defiles, but unjust disparagement of others and foul words. These things are openly shameful. In our office indeed must no word be let fall at all unseemly, nor one that

may give offense to modesty. But not only ought we to say nothing unbecoming to ourselves, but we ought not even to lend our ears to words of this sort. Thus Joseph fled and left his garment, that he might hear nothing inconsistent with his modesty. Genesis 39:12 For he who delights to listen, urges the other on to speak.

77. Intelligere quoque quod turpe sit, pudori maximo est. Spectare vero si quid hujusmodi fortuitu accidat, quanti horroris est! Quod ergo in aliis displicet, numquid potest in se ipso placere? nec ipsa natura nos docet? quae perfecte quidem omnes partes nostri corporis explicavit; ut et necessitati consuleret, et gratiam venustaret. Sed tamen eas quae decorae ad aspectum forent, in quibus formae apex quasi in arce quadam locatus, et figurae suavitas, et 22 vultus specie semineret, operandique usus esset paratior, obvias atque apertas reliquit: eas vero in quibus esset naturalis obsequium necessitatis, ne deforme sui praeberent spectaculum, partim tamquam in ipso amandavit atque abscondit corpore, partim docuit et suasit tegendas.

77. To have full knowledge of what is foul is in the highest degree shameful. To see anything of this sort, if by chance it should happen, how dreadful that is! What, therefore, is displeasing to us in others, can that be pleasing in ourselves? Is not nature herself our teacher, who has formed to perfection every part of our body, so as to provide for what is necessary and to beautify and grace its form? However she has left plain and open to the sight those parts which are beautiful to look upon; among which, the head, set as it were above all, and the pleasant lines of the figure, and the appearance of the face are prominent, while their usefulness for work is ready to hand. But those parts in which there is a compliance with the necessities of nature, she has partly put away and hidden in the body itself,

lest they should present a disgusting appearance, and partly, too, she has taught and persuaded us to cover them.

78. Nonne igitur ipsa natura est magistra verecundiae? Cujus exemplo modestia hominum (quam a modo scientiae quid deceret appellatam arbitror) id quod in hac nostri corporis fabrica abditum reperit, operuit et texit; ut ostium illud quod ex transverso faciendum in arca illa Noe justo dictum est (Gen. 6, 16); in qua vel Ecclesiae, vel nostri figura est corporis: per quod ostium egeruntur reliquiae ciborum. Ergo naturae opifex sic nostrae studuit verecundiae, sic decorum illud et honestum in nostro custodivit corpore, ut ductus quosdam atque exitus cuniculorum nostrorum post tergum relegaret, atque ab aspectu nostro averteret, ne purgatio ventris visum oculorum offenderet. De quo pulchre Apostolus ait: Quae videntur, inquit, membra corporis infirmiora, necessariora sunt: et quae putamus ignobiliora esse membra corporis, his abundantiorem honorem circumdamus: et quae inhonesta sunt nostra, honestatem abundantiorem habent (I Cor. XII, 23). Etenim imitatione naturae industria auxit gratiam. Quod alio loco etiam altius interpretati sumus (Lib. I de Noe et Arca, ca), ut non solum abscondamus ab oculis, verum etiam quae abscondenda accepimus, eorum indicia ususque membrorum suis appellationibus nuncupare indecorum putemus.

78. Is not nature herself then a teacher of modesty? Following her example, the modesty of men, which I suppose is so called from the mode of knowing what is seemly, has covered and veiled what it has found hid in the frame of our body; like that door which Noah was bidden to make in the side of the ark; Genesis 6:16 wherein we find a figure of the Church, and also of the human body, for through that door the remnants of food were cast out. Thus the Maker of our nature so thought of our modesty, and so guarded what was seemly and virtuous in our body, as to place what is

unseemly behind, and to put it out of the sight of our eyes. Of this the Apostle says well: Those members of the body which seem to be more feeble are necessary, and those members of the body which we think to be less honourable, upon these we bestow more abundant honour, and our uncomely parts have more abundant comeliness. 1 Corinthians 12:22-23 Truly, by following the guidance of nature, diligent care has added to the grace of the body. In another place I have gone more fully into this subject, and said that not only do we hide those parts which have been given us to hide, but also that we think it unseemly to mention by name their description, and the use of those members.

79. Denique si casu aperiantur hae partes, confunditur verecundia: si studio, impudentia aestimatur. Unde et filius Noe Cham offensam retulit, quia nudatum videns patrem risit: qui autem operuerunt patrem, acceperunt benedictionis gratiam (Gen. IX, 22 et seq.). Ex quo mos vetus et in urbe Roma, et in plerisque civitatibus fuit, ut filii puberes cum parentibus, vel generi cum soceris non lavarent, ne paternae reverentiae auctoritas minueretur: licet plerique se et in lavacro quantum possunt tegant; ne vel illic ubi nudum totum est corpus, hujusmodi intecta sit portio.

79. And if these parts are exposed to view by chance, modesty is violated; but if on purpose, it is reckoned as utter shamelessness. Wherefore Ham, Noah’s son, brought disgrace upon himself; for he laughed when he saw his father naked, but they who covered their father received the gift of a blessing. Genesis 9:22 For which cause, also, it was an ancient custom in Rome, and in many other states as well, that grown-up sons should not bathe with their parents, or sons-in-law with their fathers-in-law, in order that the great duty of reverence for parents should not be weakened. Many, however, cover themselves so far as they can in the baths, so that, where the whole body is bare, that part of it at least may be covered.

80. Sacerdotes quoque veteri more, sicut in Exodo legimus, brachas accipiebant, sicut ad 23 Mosen dictum est a Domino: Et facies illis brachas lineas, ut tegatur turpitudo pudoris. A lumbis usque ad femora erunt, et habebit eas Aaron et filii ejus, cum intrabunt in tabernaculum Testimonii: et cum accedent sacrificare ad aram Sanctuarii, et non inducent super se peccatum, ne moriantur (Exod. XVIII, 42, 43). Quod nonnulli nostrorum servare adhuc feruntur: plerique spiritali interpretatione ad cautionem verecundiae et custodiam castitatis, dictum arbitrantur.

80. The priests, also, under the old law, as we read in Exodus, wore breeches, as it was told Moses by the Lord: And you shall make them linen breeches to cover their shame: from the loins even to the thighs they shall reach, and Aaron and his sons shall wear them, when they enter into the tabernacle of witness, and when they come unto the altar of the holy place to offer sacrifice, that they lay not sin upon themselves and die. Exodus 28:42-43 Some of us are said still to observe this, but most explain it spiritually, and suppose it was said with a view to guarding modesty and preserving chastity.

CAPUT XIX.

DECORUM QUOMODO DESCRIBATUR ab Oratore: an et quantum ad virtutem conferat formositas: postremo qua cura ne quid affectatum aut effeminatum in nobis appareat, efficiendum?

CHAPTER 19.

How should seemliness be represented by a speaker? Does beauty add anything to virtue, and, if so, how much? Lastly, what care should we take that nothing conceited or effeminate be seen in us?

81. Delectavit me diutius in partibus demorari verecundiae; quia ad vos loquebar, qui aut bona ejus ex vobis recognoscitis, aut damna ignoratis. Quae cum sit omnibus aetatibus, personis, temporibus et locis apta, tamen adolescentes, juvenilesque annos maxime decet.

81. It has given me pleasure to dwell somewhat at length on the various functions of modesty; for I speak to you who either can recognize the good that is in it in your own cases, or at least do not know its loss. Fitted as it is for all ages, persons, times, and places, yet it most beseems youthful and childish years.

82. In omni autem servandum aetate, ut deceat quod agas et conveniat, et quadret sibi ordo vitae tuae. Unde Tullius etiam ordinem putat in illo decore servari oportere: idque positum dicit in formositate, ordine, ornatu ad actionem apto: quae difficile ait loquendo explicari posse, et ideo satis esse intelligi.

82. But at every age we must take care that all we do is seemly and becoming, and that the course of our life forms one harmonious and complete whole. Wherefore Cicero thinks that a certain order ought to be observed in what is seemly. He says that this lies in beauty, order, and in appointment fitted for action. This, as he says, it is difficult to explain in words, yet it can be quite sufficiently understood.

83. Formositatem autem cur posuerit, non satis intelligo; quamvis ille etiam vires corporis laudet. Nos certe in pulchritudine corporis locum virtutis non ponimus, gratiam tamen non excludimus; quia verecundia et vultus ipsos solet pudore obfundere, gratioresque reddere. Ut enim artifex in materia commodiore melius operari solet, sic verecundia in ipso quoque corporis decore plus eminet; ita tamen ut etiam ipse non sit affectatus decor corporis: sed naturalis, simplex, neglectus magis quam expetitus, non pretiosis et albentibus adjutus vestimentis sed communibus; ut honestati vel necessitati nihil desit, nihil accedat nitori. 24

83. Why Cicero should have introduced beauty, I do not quite understand; though it is true he also speaks in praise of the powers of the body. We certainly do not locate virtue in the beauty of the body, though, on the other hand, we do recognize a certain grace, as when modesty is wont to cover the face with a blush of shame, and to make it more pleasing. For as a workman is wont to work better the more suitable his materials are, so modesty is more conspicuous in the comeliness of the body. Only the comeliness of the body should not be assumed; it should be natural and artless, unstudied rather than elaborated, not heightened by costly and glistening garments, but just clad in ordinary clothing. One must see that nothing is wanting that one’s credit or necessity demands, while nothing must be added for the sake of splendour.

84. Vox ipsa non remissa, non fracta, nihil femineum sonans, qualem multi gravitatis specie simulare consuerunt, sed formam quamdam et regulam ac succum virilem reservans. Hoc est enim pulchritudinem vivendi tenere, convenientia cuique sexui et personae reddere. Hic ordo gestorum optimus, hic ornatus ad omnem actionem accommodus. Sed ut molliculum et infractum aut vocis sonum, aut gestum corporis non probo; ita neque agrestem ac rusticum. Naturam imitemur: ejus effigies, formula disciplinae, forma honestatis est.

84. The voice, too, should not be languid, nor feeble, nor womanish in its tone — such a tone of voice as many are in the habit of using, under the idea of seeming important. It should preserve a certain quality, and rhythm, and a manly vigour. For all to do what is best suited to their character and sex, that is to attain to beauty of life. This is the best order for movements, this the employment fitted for every action. But as I cannot approve of a soft or weak tone of voice, or an effeminate gesture of the body, so also I cannot approve of what is boorish and rustic. Let us follow nature. The imitation of her provides us with a principle of training, and gives us a pattern of virtue.

CAPUT XX.

AD CONSERVANDAM VERECUNDIAM intemperantium hominum consortia, convivia extraneorum, ac mulierum commercia vitanda: sed otium nostrum domi in piis honestisque studiis insumendum.

CHAPTER 20.

If we are to preserve our modesty we must avoid fellowship with profligate men, also the banquets of strangers, and intercourse with women; our leisure time at home should be spent in pious and virtuous pursuits.

85. Habet sane suos scopulos verecundia, non quos ipsa invehit, sed quos saepe incurrit; si intemperantium incidamus consortia, qui sub specie jucunditatis venenum infundunt bonis. Hi si assidui sunt, et maxime in convivio, ludo ac joco, enervant gravitatem illam virilem. Caveamus itaque ne dum relaxare animum volumus, solvamus omnem harmoniam, quasi concentum quemdam bonorum operum; usus enim cito inflectit naturam.

85. Modesty has indeed its rocks — not any that she brings with her, but those, I mean, which she often runs against, as when we associate with profligate men, who, under the form of pleasantry, administer poison to the good. And the latter, if they are very constant in their attendance at banquets and games, and often join in jests, enervate that manly gravity of theirs. Let us then take heed that, in wishing to relax our minds, we do not destroy all harmony, the blending as it were of all good works. For habit quickly bends nature in another direction.

86. Unde quam prudenter factis convenire ecclesiasticis, et maxime ministrorum officiis arbitror, declinare extraneorum convivia: vel ut ipsi hospitales sitis peregrinantibus, vel ut ea cautione nullus sit opprobrio locus. Convivia quippe extraneorum occupationes habent, tum etiam epulandi produnt cupiditatem. Subrepunt etiam fabulae frequenter de saeculo ac voluptatibus: claudere aures non potes, prohibere, putatur superbiae. Subrepunt etiam praeter voluntatem pocula. Melius est tuae domui semel excuses, quam alienae frequenter: et ut ipse sobrius surgas, tamen ex aliena insolentia condemnari non debet praesentia tua.

86. For this reason I think that what ye wisely do is befitting to the duties of clerics, and especially to those of the priesthood — namely, that you avoid the banquets of strangers, but so that you are still hospitable to travellers, and give no occasion for reproach by reason of your great care in the matter. Banquets with strangers engross one's attention, and soon produce a love for feasting. Tales, also, of the world and its pleasures often creep in. One cannot shut one's ears; and to forbid them is looked on as a sign of haughtiness. One's glass, too, even against one's will, is filled time after time. It is better surely to excuse oneself once for all at one's own home, than often at another's. When one rises sober, at any rate one's presence need not be condemned by the insolence of another.

87. Viduarum ac virginum domos, nisi visitandi gratia, 25 juniores adire non est opus: et hoc cum senioribus, hoc est, vel cum episcopo, vel si gravior est causa, cum presbyteris. Quid necesse est ut demus saecularibus obtrectandi locum? Quid opus est ut illae quoque visitationes crebrae accipiant auctoritatem? Quid si aliqua illarum forte labatur? cur alieni lapsus subeas invidiam? Quam multos etiam fortes illecebra decepit! Quanti non dederunt errori locum, et dederunt suspicioni!

87. There is no need for the younger clergy to go to the houses of widows or virgins, except for the sake of a definite visit, and in that case only with the elder clergy, that is, with the bishop, or, if the matter be somewhat important, with the priests. Why should we give room to the world to revile? What need is there for those frequent visits to give ground for rumours? What if one of those women should by chance fall? Why should you undergo the reproach of another's fall? How many even strong men have been led away by their passions? How many are there who have not indeed yielded to sin, but have given ground for suspicion?

88. Cur non illa tempora, quibus ab Ecclesia vacas, lectioni impendas? Cur non Christum revisas, Christum alloquaris, Christum audias? Illum alloquimur cum oramus, illum audimus cum divina legimus oracula. Quid nobis cum alienis domibus? Una est domus, quae omnes capit. Illi potius ad nos veniant, qui nos requirunt. Quid nobis cum fabulis? Ministerium altaribus Christi, non obsequium hominibus deferendum recepimus.

88. Why do you not spend the time which you have free from your duties in the church in reading? Why do you not go back again to see Christ? Why do you not address Him, and hear His voice? We address Him when we pray, we hear Him when we read the sacred oracles of God. What have we to do with strange houses? There is one house which holds all. They who need us can come to us. What have we to do with tales and fables? An office to minister at the altar of Christ is what we have received; no duty to make ourselves agreeable to men has been laid upon us.

89. Humiles nos esse decet, mites, mansuetos, graves, patientes, modum tenere in omnibus; ut nullum vitium esse in moribus vel tacitus vultus, vel sermo annuntiet.

89. We ought to be humble, gentle, mild, serious, patient. We must keep the mean in all things, so that a calm countenance and quiet speech may show that there is no vice in our lives.

CAPUT XXI.

IRACUNDIAM PRIUSQUAM ORIATUR, praecavendam; si oborta fuerit, reprimendam ac mitigandam: si nec id assequi valuerimus linguam saltem a conviciis coercendam; ut sint motus nostri puerilium commotionum similes. Dictum Architae memoratur, ostenditurque Davidem ipsi hac in re factis et scriptis praeivisse.

CHAPTER 21.

We must guard against anger, before it arises; if it has already arisen we must check and calm it, and if we cannot do this either, at least we should keep our tongue from abuse, so that our passions may be like boys' quarrels. He relates what Architas said, and shows that David led the way in this matter, both in his actions and in his writings.

90. Caveatur iracundia, aut si praecaveri non potest, cohibeatur; mala enim illex peccati indignatio est: quae ita animum perturbat, ut rationi non relinquat locum. Primum est igitur, si fieri potest, ut morum tranquillitas usu quodam, affectione, proposito, in naturam vertatur. Deinde quoniam ita plerumque motus infixus est naturae ac moribus, ut evelli atque evitari non queat: si praevideri potuerit, ratione reprimatur. Aut si prius occupatus fuerit animus ab indignatione, quam consilio prospici ac provideri potuerit, ne occuparetur: meditare quomodo motum animi tui vincas, iracundiam temperes. Resiste irae, si potes: cede, si non potes; quia scriptum est: Date locum irae (Rom. XII, 19).

90. Let anger be guarded against. If it cannot, however, be averted, let it be kept within bounds. For indignation is a terrible incentive to sin. It disorders

the mind to such an extent as to leave no room for reason. The first thing, therefore, to aim at, if possible, is to make tranquillity of character our natural disposition by constant practice, by desire for better things, by fixed determination. But since passion is to a large extent implanted in our nature and character, so that it cannot be uprooted and avoided, it must be checked by reason, if, that is, it can be foreseen. And if the mind has already been filled with indignation before it could be foreseen or provided against in any way, we must consider how to conquer the passion of the mind, how to restrain our anger, that it may no more be so filled. Resist wrath, if possible; if not, give way, for it is written: Give place to wrath. Romans 12:19

91. Jacob fratri indignanti pie cessit (Gen. XXVII, 42 et seq.), et Rebeccae, id est, patientiae instructus consilio, abesse maluit et peregrinari, quam excitare fratris indignationem; et tunc redire, cum fratrem mitigatum putaret. Et ideo tantam apud Deum invenit gratiam. Quibus deinde obsequiis, quantis muneribus fratrem ipsum reconciliavit sibi; ut ille praereptae benedictionis non meminisset, meminisset delatae satisfactionis (Gen. XXXII, 3 et seq.)!

91. Jacob dutifully gave way to his brother when angry, and to Rebecca; that is to say, taught by counsels of patience, he preferred to go away and live in foreign lands, rather than to arouse his brother’s anger; and then to return only when he thought his brother was appeased. Genesis 27:42 Thus it was that he found such great grace with God. With what offers of willing service, with what gifts, did he reconcile his brother to himself again, so that he should not remember the blessing which had been taken away from him, but should only remember the reparation now offered?

92. Ergo si praevenerit et praeoccupaverit mentem tuam iracundia, et ascenderit in te, non relinquas locum tuum. Locus tuus patientia est, 26 locus tuus sapientia est, locus tuus ratio est, locus tuus sedatio indignationis

est. Aut si te contumacia respondentis moverit, et perversitas impulerit ad indignationem: si non potueris mitigare mentem, reprime linguam tuam. Sic enim scriptum est: Cohibe linguam tuam a malo, et labia tua ne loquantur dolum. Deinde inquire pacem, et sequere eam (Psal. XXXIII, 14, 15). Pacem illam sancti Jacob vide, qua tu primum sedato animum: si non praevalueris, frenos linguae impone tuae: deinde reconciliationis studium non praetermittas. Haec oratores saeculi de nostris usurpata in suis posuere libris: sed ille sensus hujus habet gratiam, qui prior dixit.

92. If, then, anger has got the start, and has already taken possession of your mind, and mounted into your heart, forsake not your ground. Your ground is patience, it is wisdom, it is reason, it is the allaying of indignation. And if the stubbornness of your opponent rouses you, and his perverseness drives you to indignation: if you can not calm your mind, check at least your tongue. For so it is written: Keep your tongue from evil, and your lips that they speak no guile. Seek peace and pursue it. See the peace of holy Jacob, how great it was! First, then, calm your mind. If you can not do this, put a restraint upon your tongue. Lastly, omit not to seek for reconciliation. These ideas the speakers of the world have borrowed from us, and have set down in their writings. But he who said it first has the credit of understanding its meaning.

93. Vitemus ergo, aut temperemus iracundiam; ne sit ejus aut in laudibus exceptio, aut in vitiis exaggeratio. Non mediocre est mitigare iracundiam: non inferius quam omnino non commoveri. Hoc nostrum est, naturae illud. Denique commotiones in pueris innoxiae sunt, quae plus habent gratiae, quam amaritudinis. Et si cito pueri inter se moventur, facile sedantur, et majori suavitate in se recurrunt. Nesciunt se subdole artificioseque tractare. Nolite hos contemnere pueros, de quibus Dominus ait: Nisi conversi fueritis, et efficiamini sicut puer iste, non intrabitis in regnum coelorum

(Matth. XVIII, 3). Itaque et ipse Dominus, hoc est, Dei virtus, sicut puer, cum malediceretur, non remaledixit: cum percuteretur non repercussit (I Petr. II, 23). Ita ergo te compara, ut quasi puer injuriam non teneas, malitiam non exerceas: omnia a te innocenter proficiscantur. Non consideres quid ab aliis in te revertatur. Locum tuum serva, simplicitatem et puritatem tui pectoris custodi. Noli respondere irato ad iracundiam ejus, sive imprudenti ad imprudentiam. Cito culpa culpam excutit. Si lapides teras, nonne ignis erumpit?

93. Let us then avoid or at any rate check anger, so that we may not lose our share of praise, nor yet add to our list of sins. It is no light thing to calm one's anger. It is no less difficult a thing than it is not to be roused at all. The one is an act of our own will, the other is an effect of nature. So quarrels among boys are harmless, and have more of a pleasant than a bitter character about them. And if boys quickly come to quarrel one with the other, they are easily calmed down again, and quickly come together with even greater friendliness. They do not know how to act deceitfully and artfully. Do not condemn these children, of whom the Lord says: Unless you are converted and become as this child, you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Matthew 18:3 So also the Lord Himself, Who is the Power of God, as a Boy, when He was reviled, reviled not again, when He was struck, struck not back. 1 Peter 2:23 Set then your mind on this — like a child never to keep an injury in mind, never to show malice, but that all things may be done blamelessly by you. Regard not the return made you by others. Hold your ground. Guard the simplicity and purity of your heart. Answer not an angry man according to his anger, nor a foolish man according to his folly. One fault quickly calls forth another. If stones are rubbed together, does not fire break forth?

94. Ferunt gentiles, ut in majus omnia verbis extollere solent Architae Tarentini dictum philosophi, quod ad villicum suum dixerit: O te infelicem, quem afflictarem, nisi iratus essem! Sed jam David et armatam dexteram in indignatione compresserat (I Reg. XXV, 32). Et quanto plus est non remaledicere, quam non vindicare? Et bellatores adversus Nabal ad ultionem paratos, Abigail deprecatione revocaverat. Unde advertimus tempestivis quoque intercessionibus non solum cedere nos, sed etiam delectari oportere. Eo usque autem delectatus est, ut benediceret intervenientem, quod ab studio vindictae revocatus foret.

94. The heathen — (they are wont to exaggerate everything in speaking) — make much of the saying of the philosopher Archytas of Tarentum , which he spoke to his bailiff: O you wretched man, how I would punish you, if I were not angry. But David already before this had in his indignation held back his armed hand. How much greater a thing it is not to revile again, than not to avenge oneself! The warriors, too, prepared to take vengeance against Nabal, Abigail restrained by her prayers. From whence we perceive that we ought not only to yield to timely entreaties, but also to be pleased with them. So much was David pleased that he blessed her who intervened, because he was restrained from his desire for revenge.

95. Jam dixerat de inimicis suis: Quoniam declinaverunt in me iniquitatem, et in ira molesti erant mihi (Psal. LIV, 4). Audiamus turbatus in ira quid dixerit: Quis dabit mihi pennas sicut columbae, et volabo, et requiescam (Ibid., 7)? Illi ad iracundiam provocabant, hic tranquillitatem eligebat.

95. Already before this he had said of his enemies: For they cast iniquity upon me, and in their wrath they were grievous to me. Let us hear what he said when overwhelmed in wrath: Who will give me wings like a dove, and I will flee away and be at rest. They kept provoking him to anger, but he sought quietness.

96. Jam dixerat: Irascimini, et nolite peccare (Psal. IV, 5). Moralis magister, qui naturalem affectum inflectendum magis ratione doctrinae, quam extirpandum 27 noverat, moralia docet; hoc est, Irascimini ubi culpa est, cui irasci debeatis. Non potest enim fieri, ut non rerum indignitate moveamur: alioquin non virtus, sed lentitudo et remissio judicatur. Irascimini ergo ita, ut a culpa abstineatis. Vel sic: Si irascimini, nolite peccare, sed vincite ratione iracundiam. Vel certe sic: Si irascimini, vobis irascamini, quia commoti estis, et non peccabitis. Qui enim sibi irascitur, quia cito commotus est, desinit irasci alteri: qui autem vult iram suam justam probare, plus inflammatur, et cito in culpam cadit. Melior est autem secundum Salomonem (Prov. XVI, 32), qui iracundiam continet, quam qui urbem capit; quia ira etiam fortes decipit.

96. He had also said: Be angry and sin not. The moral teacher who knew that the natural disposition should rather be guided by a reasonable course of teaching, than be eradicated, teaches morals, and says: Be angry where there is a fault against which you ought to be angry. For it is impossible not to be roused up by the baseness of many things; otherwise we might be accounted, not virtuous, but apathetic and neglectful. Be angry therefore, so that you keep free from fault, or, in other words: If you are angry, do not sin, but overcome wrath with reason. Or one might put it thus: If you are angry, be angry with yourselves, because you are roused, and you will not sin. For he who is angry with himself, because he has been so easily roused, ceases to be angry with another. But he who wishes to prove his anger is righteous only gets the more inflamed, and quickly falls into sin. Better is he, as Solomon says, that restrains his anger, than he that takes a city, Proverbs 16:32 for anger leads astray even brave men.

97. Cavere igitur debemus, ne in perturbationes prius incidamus, quam animos nostros ratio componat; exanimat enim mentem plerumque aut ira,

aut dolor, aut formido mortis, et improviso percellit ictu. Ideo praevenire pulchrum est cogitatione, quae volvendo mentem exerceat; ne repentinis excitetur commotionibus, sed jugo quodam rationis et habenis astricta mitescat.

97. We ought therefore to take care that we do not get into a flurry, before reason prepares our minds. For oftentimes anger or distress or fear of death almost deprives the soul of life, and beats it down by a sudden blow. It is therefore a good thing to anticipate this by reflection, and to exercise the mind by considering the matter. So the mind will not be roused by any sudden disturbance, but will grow calm, being held in by the yoke and reins of reason.

CAPUT XXII.

DE COGITATIONIBUS, ET appetitu: deque decoro sermonis in confabulatione, ac disceptatione servando.

CHAPTER 22.

On reflection and passion, and on observing propriety of speech, both in ordinary conversation and in holding discussions.

98. Sunt autem gemini motus, hoc est, cogitationum et appetitus: alteri cogitationum, alteri appetitus: non confusi, sed discreti et dispares. Cogitationes verum exquirere, et quasi emolere muneris habent: appetitus ad aliquid impellit agendum atque excitat. Itaque ipso genere naturae suae et cogitationes tranquillitatem sedationis infundunt, et appetitus motum agendi excutit. Ita ergo informati simus, ut bonarum rerum subeat animum cogitatio: appetitus rationi obtemperet (si vere ut illud decorum custodiamus, animum volumus intendere) ne rationem excludat rei alicujus affectus: sed ratio quid honestati conveniat, examinet.

98. There are two kinds of mental motions — those of reflection and of passion. The one has to do with reflection, the other with passion. There is no confusion one with the other, for they are markedly different and unlike. Reflection has to search and as it were to grind out the truth. Passion prompts and stimulates us to do something. Thus by its very nature reflection diffuses tranquillity and calm; and passion sends forth the impulse to act. Let us then be ready to allow reflection on good things to enter into our mind, and to make passion submit to reason (if indeed we

wish to direct our minds to guard what is seemly), lest desire for anything should shut out reason. Rather let reason test and see what befits virtue.

99. Et quoniam ad conservationem decori 28 spectare diximus, ut sciamus in factis dictisve quis modus: prior autem ordo loquendi quam faciendi est; sermo in duo dividitur, in colloquium familiare, et in tractatum, disceptationemque fidei atque justitiae. In utroque servandum, ne sit aliqua perturbatio: sed tamquam mitis et placidus, et benevolentiae plenus et gratiae, sine ulla sermo ducatur contumelia. Absit pertinax in familiari sermone contentio; quaestiones enim magis excitare inanes, quam utilitatis aliquid afferre solet. Disceptatio sine ira, suavitas sine amaritudine sit, monitio sine asperitate, hortatio sine offensione. Et sicut in omni actu vitae id cavere debemus, ne rationem nimius animi motus excludat, sed teneamus consilii locum: ita etiam in sermone formulam eam teneri convenit, ne aut ira excitetur, aut odium, aut cupiditatis nostrae, aut ignaviae aliqua exprimamus indicia.

99. And since we have said that we must aim at the observance of what is seemly, so as to know what is the due measure in our words and deeds, and as order in speech rather than in action comes first; speech is divided into two kinds: first, as it is used in friendly conversation, and then in the treatment and discussion of matters of faith and justice. In either case we must take care that there is no irritation. Our language should be mild and quiet, and full of kindness and courtesy and free from insult. Let there be no obstinate disputes in our familiar conversations, for they are wont only to bring up useless subjects, rather than to supply anything useful. Let there be discussion without wrath, urbanity without bitterness, warning without sharpness, advice without giving offense. And as in every action of our life we ought to take heed to this, in order that no overpowering impulse of our mind may ever shut out reason (let us always keep a place for counsel), so,

too, ought we to observe that rule in our language, so that neither wrath nor hatred may be aroused, and that we may not show any signs of our greed or sloth.

100. Sit igitur sermo hujusmodi de Scripturis maxime. Quid enim magis nos oportet loqui, quam de conversatione optima, adhortatione observationis, disciplinae custodia. Habeat caput ejus rationem et finis modum. Sermo enim taediosus iram excitat. Quam vero indecorum, ut cum omnis confabulatio habere soleat incrementum gratiae, habeat naevum offensionis?

100. Let our language be of this sort, more especially when we are speaking of the holy Scriptures. For of what ought we to speak more often than of the best subject of conversation, of its exhortation to watchfulness, its care for good instruction? Let us have a reason for beginning, and let our end be within due limits. For a speech that is wearisome only stirs up anger. But surely it is most unseemly that when every kind of conversation generally gives additional pleasure, this should give cause of offense!

101. Tractatus quoque de doctrina fidei, de magisterio continentiae, de disceptatione justitiae, adhortatione diligentiae, non unus semper, sed ut se dederit lectio, nobis et arripiendus est, et prout possumus, prosequendus: neque nimium prolixus, neque cito interruptus; ne vel fastidium derelinquat, vel desidiam prodat atque incuriam. Oratio pura, simplex, dilucida, atque manifesta, plena gravitatis et ponderis: non affectata elegantia, sed non intermissa gratia.

101. The treatment also of such subjects as the teaching of faith, instruction on self-restraint, discussion on justice, exhortation to activity, must not be taken up by us and fully gone into all at one time, but must be carried on in course, so far as we can do it, and as the subject-matter of the passage

allows. Our discourse must not be too lengthy, nor too soon cut short, for fear the former should leave behind it a feeling of aversion, and the latter produce carelessness and neglect. The address should be plain and simple, clear and evident, full of dignity and weight; it should not be studied or too refined, nor yet, on the other hand, be unpleasing and rough in style.

CAPUT XXIII.

JOCOS ETSI NONNUMQUAM honesti sint, tamen in ecclesiasticis viris omnino proscribendos: vocem autem puram ac simplicem esse oportere.

CHAPTER 23.

Jests, although at times they may be quite proper, should be altogether banished among clerics. The voice should be plain and frank.

102. Multa praeterea de ratione dicendi dant praecepta saeculares viri, quae nobis praetereunda arbitror, ut de jocandi disciplina. 29 Nam licet interdum honesta joca ac suavia sint, tamen ab ecclesiastica abhorrent regula; quoniam quae in Scripturis sanctis non reperimus, ea quemadmodum usurpare possumus?

102. Men of the world give many further rules about the way to speak, which I think we may pass over; as, for instance, the way jesting should be conducted. For though at times jests may be proper and pleasant, yet they are unsuited to the clerical life. For how can we adopt those things which we do not find in the holy Scriptures?

103. Cavenda enim etiam in fabulis, ne inflectant gravitatem severioris propositi. Vae vobis, qui ridetis, quia flebitis (Luc. VI, 21)! ait Dominus: et nos ridendi materiam requirimus, ut hic ridentes, illic fleamus? Non solum profusos, sed omnes etiam jocos declinandos arbitror; nisi forte plenum suavitatis et gratiae sermonem esse, non indecorum est.

103. We must also take care that in relating stories we do not alter the earnest purpose of the harder rule we have set before us. Woe unto you that

laugh, for you shall weep, Luke 6:25 says the Lord. Do we seek for something to laugh at, that laughing here we may weep hereafter? I think we ought to avoid not only broad jokes, but all kinds of jests, unless perchance it is not unfitting at the time for our conversation to be agreeable and pleasant.

104. Nam de voce quid loquar, quam simplicem et puram esse satis arbitror: canoram autem esse naturae est, non industriae. Sit sane distincta pronuntiationis modo, et plena succi virilis; ut agrestem ac subrusticum fugiat sonum, non ut rythmum affectet scenicum, sed mysticum servet.

104. In speaking of the voice, I certainly think it ought to be plain and clear. That it should be musical is a gift of nature, and is not to be won by exertion. Let it be distinct in its pronunciation and full of a manly vigour, but let it be free from a rough and rustic twang. See, too, that it does not assume a theatrical accent, but rather keeps true to the inner meaning of the words it utters.

CAPUT XXIV.

TRIA IN VITAE actibus observanda, nimirum ut rationi appetitus subjiciatur, ut in studiis justa servetur moderatio, denique ut suo quaeque tempore atque ordine gerantur. Quae omnia in sanctis veteris Testamenti viris adeo praefulserunt, ut manisfestum sit eos cardinalibus, quas vocant, virtutibus egregie instructos fuisse.

CHAPTER 24.

There are three things to be noticed in the actions of our life. First, our passions are to be controlled by our reason; next, we ought to observe a suitable moderation in our desires; and, lastly, everything ought to be done at the right time and in the proper order. All these qualities shone forth so conspicuously in the holy men of Old Testament time, that it is evident they were well furnished with what men call the cardinal virtues.

105. De ratione dicendi satis dictum puto, nunc de actione vitae quid congruat, consideremus. Tria autem in hoc genere spectanda cernimus: unum, ut rationi appetitus non reluctetur; hoc enim solummodo possunt officia nostra illi decoro convenire. Si enim appetitus rationi obediat, facile id quod deceat in omnibus officiis conservari potest. Deinde ne majore studio quam res ipsa est quae suscipitur, vel minore: aut parvam magno ambitu suscepisse, aut magnam inferiore destituisse videamur. Tertium de moderatione studiorum, operumque nostrorum: de ordine quoque rerum et de opportunitate temporum, non dissimulandum puto.

105. I think I have said enough on the art of speaking. Let us now consider what beseems an active life. We note that there are three things to be

regarded in connection with this subject. One is, that passion should not resist our reason. In that way only can our duties be brought into line with what is seemly. For if passion yields to reason we can easily maintain what is seemly in our duties. Next, we must take care lest, either by showing greater zeal or less than the matter we take up demands, we look as though we were taking up a small matter with great parade or were treating a great matter with but little care. Thirdly, as regards moderation in our endeavours and works, and also with regard to order in doing things and in the right timing of things, I think that everything should be open and straightforward.

106. Sed primum illud quasi fundamentum est omnium, ut appetitus rationi pareat: secundum et tertium idem est, hoc est, in utroque moderatio. Vacat enim apud nos speciei liberalis, quae pulchritudo habetur, et dignitatis contemplatio. Sequitur de ordine rerum, et de opportunitate temporum. Ac per hoc tria sunt, quae videamus utrum in aliquo sanctorum consummata possimus docere.

106. But first comes that which I may call the foundation of all, namely, that our passions should obey our reason. The second and third are really the same — moderation in either case. There is room with us for the survey of a pleasing form, which is accounted beauty, and the consideration of dignity. Next follows the consideration of the order and the timing of things. These, then, are the three points, and we must see whether we can show them in perfection in any one of the saints.

107. Primum ipse pater Abraham, qui ad magisterium futurae successionis informatus et instructus est, jussus, exire de terra sua, et de cognatione sua, et de domo patris sui (Gen. XII, 1 et seq.); nonne multiplicatae necessitudinis praestrictus affectu, tamen appetitum rationi obedientem praebuit? Quem enim terrae suae, cognationis, domus quoque propriae gratia non delectaret? Et hunc ergo mulcebat suorum suavitas, sed imperii

coelestis 30 et remunerationis aeternae consideratio movebat amplius. Nonne considerabat uxorem imbecillem ad labores, teneram ad injurias, decoram ad incentiva insolentium, sine summo non posse duci periculo? Et tamen subire omnia, quam excusare consultius dijudicavit. Deinde cum descenderet in Aegyptum, monuit ut diceret se sororem esse, non uxorem ipsius.

107. First there is our father Abraham, who was formed and called for the instruction of generations to come. When bidden to go forth from his own country and kindred and from his father's house, though bound and held back by many ties of relationship, did he not give proof that in him passion was subject to reason? Who does not delight in the sweet charms of his native land, his kindred, and his own home? Their sweetness then delighted him. But the thought of the heavenly command and of an eternal reward influenced him more. Did he not reflect that he could not take his wife with him without the greatest danger, unused as she was to hardships, and so tender to bear insults, and so beautiful as to be likely to arouse the lust of profligate men? Yet he decided somewhat deliberately to undergo all this rather than to escape it by making excuses. Lastly, when he had gone into Egypt, he advised her to say she was his sister, not his wife.

108. Adverte, quanti appetitus. Timebat uxoris pudori, timebat propriae saluti, suspectas habebat Aegyptiorum libidines; et tamen praevaluit apud eum ratio exsequendae devotionis. Consideravit enim quod Dei favore ubique tutus esse posset, offenso autem Domino, etiam domi non posset illaesus manere. Vicit igitur appetitum ratio, et obedientem sibi praestitit.

108. See here what passions are at work! He feared for the chastity of his wife, he feared for his own safety, he had his suspicions about the lust of the Egyptians, and yet the reasonableness of performing his duty to God prevailed with him. For he thought that by the favour of God he could be

safe everywhere, but if he offended the Lord he could not abide unharmed even at home. Thus reason conquered passion, and brought it into subjection to itself.

109. Capto nepote, non perterritus neque tot regum turbatus populis, bellum repetit: victoria potitus, praedae partem cujus ipse fuit auctor, recusavit (Gen. XIV, 14 et seq.). Promisso quoque sibi filio, cum consideraret emortui corporis sui vires depositas, sterilitatem conjugis, et supremam senectutem, etiam contra usum naturae Deo credidit (Gen. XV, 6).

109. When his nephew was taken captive, Genesis 14:14 without being terrified or dismayed at the hordes of so many kings, he resumed the war. And after the victory was gained he refused his share of the spoil, which he himself had really won. Also, when a son was promised him, though he thought of the lost vigour of his body, now as good as dead, and the barrenness of his wife, and his own great age, he believed God, though it was against the law of nature.

110. Adverte convenire omnia. Appetitus non defuit, sed repressus est: animus aequalis gerendis, qui nec magna pro vilibus, nec minora pro magnis duceret, moderatio pro negotiis, ordo rerum, opportunitas temporum, mensura verborum. Fide primus, justitia praecipuus, in praelio strenuus, in victoria non avarus, domi hospitalis, uxori sedulus.

110. Note how everything meets together here. Passion was not wanting, but it was checked. Here was a mind equable in action, which neither treated great things as unimportant or little things as great. Here there was moderation in different affairs, order in things, fitness of occasion, due measure in words. He was foremost in faith, conspicuous in virtue, vigorous in battle, in victory not greedy, at home hospitable, and to his wife attentive.

111. Sanctum quoque ejus nepotem Jacob delectabat domi securum degere: sed mater voluit peregrinari, ut daret fraternae iracundiae locum (Gen. XXVII, 24 et seq.). Vicit appetitum consilii salubritas. Exsul domo, profugus a parentibus, ubique tamen convenientem mensuram negotiis tenuit, et temporibus opportunitatem reservavit. Acceptus domi parentibus, ut alter maturitate provocatus obsequii benedictionem daret, alter amore pio propenderet (Gen. XXV, 34). Fraterno quoque judicio praelatus, cum cibum suum fratri cedendum putasset: delectabatur utique alimento secundum naturam, sed secundum pietatem cessit petito. Pastor domino gregis fidus, socero gener sedulus, impiger in labore, in convivio parcus, in satisfactione praevius, in remuneratione largus (Gen. XXXI, 6 et seq.). Denique sic fraternam mitigavit iracundiam; ut cujus verebatur inimicitias, adipisceretur gratiam (Gen. XXXIII, 1).

111. Jacob also, his holy grandson, loved to pass his time at home free from danger; but his mother wished him to live in foreign parts, and so give place to his brother’s anger. Sound counsels prevailed over natural feelings. An exile from home, banished from his parents, yet everywhere, in all he did, he observed due measure, such as was fitting, and made use of his opportunities at the right time. So dear was he to his parents at home, that the one, moved by the promptness of his compliance, gave him his blessing, the other inclined towards him with tender love. In the judgment of his brother, also, he was placed first, when he thought that he ought to give up his food to his brother. For though according to his natural inclinations he wished for food, yet when asked for it he gave it up from a feeling of brotherly affection. He was a faithful shepherd of the flock for his master, an attentive son-in-law to his father-in-law; he was active in work, sparing in his meals, conspicuous in making amends, lavish in repaying. Nay, so well did he calm his brother’s anger that he received his favour, though he had feared his enmity. Genesis 33:4

112. Quid de Joseph loquar, qui utique habebat cupiditatem libertatis, et suscepit servitii necessitatem? Quam subditus in servitute, quam in virtute constans, quam benignus in carcere, sapiens in interpretatione, in potestate moderatus, in ubertate providus, in fame justus, ordinem laudis rebus adjungens, et opportunitatem temporibus, aequitatem populis officii sui moderatione dispensans (Gen. XXXIX, 1 et seq.) ?

112. What shall I say of Joseph? Genesis xxxix He certainly had a longing for freedom, and yet endured the bonds of servitude. How meek he was in slavery, how unchanging in virtue, how kindly in prison! Wise, too, in interpreting, and self-restrained in exercising his power! In the time of plenty was he not careful? In the time of famine was he not fair? Did he not praiseworthily do everything in order, and use opportunities at their season; giving justice to his people by the restraining guidance of his office?

113. Job quoque juxta secundis, atque adversis rebus irreprehensibilis, patiens, gratus Deo atque acceptus, vexabatur doloribus, sed se consolabatur (Job. II, 3 et seq.). 31

113. Job also, both in prosperity and adversity, was blameless, patient, pleasing, and acceptable to God. He was harassed with pain, yet could find consolation.

114. David etiam fortis in bello, patiens in adversis, in Hierusalem pacificus, in victoria mansuetus, in peccato dolens, in senectute providus, rerum modos, vices temporum per singularum sonos servavit aetatum; ut mihi videatur non minus vivendi genere, quam canendi suavitate praedulcis immortalem Deo sui fudisse meriti cantilenam (I Reg. XVII).

114. David also was brave in war, patient in time of adversity, peaceful at Jerusalem, in the hour of victory merciful, on committing sin repentant, in his old age foreseeing. He preserved due measure in his actions, and took

his opportunities as they came. He has set them down in the songs of succeeding years; and so it seems to me that he has by his life no less than by the sweetness of his hymns poured forth an undying song of his own merits to God.

115. Quod his viris principalium virtutum officium defuit? Quarum primo loco constituerunt prudentiam, quae in veri investigatione versatur, et scientiae plenioris infundit cupiditatem: secundo justitiam, quae suum cuique tribuit, alienum non vindicat, utilitatem propriam negligit, ut communem aequitatem custodiat: tertio fortitudinem, quae et in rebus bellicis excelsi animi magnitudine, et domi eminet, corporisque praestat viribus: quarto temperantiam, quae modum, ordinemque servat omnium, quae vel agenda, vel dicenda arbitramur.

115. What duty connected with the chief virtues was wanting in these men? In the first place they showed prudence, which is exercised in the search of the truth, and which imparts a desire for full knowledge; next, justice, which assigns each man his own, does not claim another’s, and disregards its own advantage, so as to guard the rights of all; thirdly, fortitude, which both in warfare and at home is conspicuous in greatness of mind and distinguishes itself in the strength of the body; fourthly, temperance, which preserves the right method and order in all things that we think should either be done or said.

CAPUT XXV.

EXPOSITO CUR DUCTUM non fuerit a memoratis virtutibus exordium, easdem in veteribus Patribus exstitisse pressius demonstratur.

CHAPTER 25.

A reason is given why this book did not open with a discussion of the above-mentioned virtues. It is also concisely pointed out that the same virtues existed in the ancient fathers.

116. Haec forsitan aliquis dicat primo loco poni oportuisse, quoniam ab his quatuor virtutibus nascuntur officiorum genera. Sed hoc artis est, ut primo officium definiatur, postea certa in genera dividatur. Nos autem artem fugimus, exempla majorum proponimus: quae neque obscuritatem afferunt ad intelligendum, neque ad tractandum versutias. Sit igitur nobis vita majorum disciplinae speculum, non calliditatis commentarium: imitandi reverentia, non disputandi astutia.

116. Perhaps, as the different classes of duties are derived from these four virtues, some one may say that they ought to have been described first of all. But it would have been artificial to have given a definition of duty at the outset, and then to have gone on to divide it up into various classes. We have avoided what is artificial, and have put forward the examples of the fathers of old. These certainly offer us no uncertainty as regards our understanding them, and give us no room for subtlety in our discussion of them. Let the life of the fathers, then, be for us a mirror of virtue, not a mere collection of shrewd and clever acts. Let us show reverence in following them, not mere cleverness in discussing them.

117. Fuit igitur in sancto Abraham primo loco prudentia, de quo dicit Scriptura: Credidit Abraham Deo, et reputatum est illi ad justitiam (Gen. XV, 6). Nemo enim prudens, qui Deum nescit. Denique insipiens dixit quia non est Deus (Psal. XIII, 1); nam sapiens non diceret. Quomodo enim sapiens qui non requirit auctorem suum, qui dicit lapidi: Pater meus es tu (Jerem II, 27): qui dicit diabolo, ut Manichaeus: Auctor meus es tu? Quomodo sapiens Arianus, qui mavult imperfectum auctorem habere atque degenerem, quam verum atque perfectum? Quomodo sapiens Marcion atque Eunomius, qui malunt Deum malum quam bonum habere? Quomodo sapiens, qui Deum suum non timet? Initium enim sapientiae timor Domini (Psal. CX, 9). Et alibi habes: Sapientes non declinant de ore Domini, sed tractant 32 in confessionibus suis (Prov. XXIV, 7). Simul quoque dicente Scriptura: Reputatum est ei ad justitiam; alterius virtutis ei gratiam detulit.

117. Prudence held the first place in holy Abraham. For of him the Scriptures say: Abraham believed God, and that was counted to him for righteousness; Genesis 15:6 for no one is prudent who knows not God. Again: The fool has said, There is no God; Psalm 14:1 for a wise man would not say so. How is he wise who looks not for his Maker, but says to a stone: You are my father? Jeremiah 2:27 Who says to the devil as the Manichæan does: You are the author of my being? How is Arius wise, who prefers an imperfect and inferior creator to one who is a true and perfect one? How can Marcion or Eunomius be wise, who prefer to have an evil rather than a good God? And how can he be wise who does not fear his God? For: The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. Psalm 111:10 Elsewhere, too, it stands: The wise turn not aside from the mouth of the Lord, but come near Him in their confession of His greatness. So when the Scripture says: It was counted to him for righteousness, that brought to him the grace of another virtue.

118. Primi igitur nostri definierunt prudentiam in veri consistere cognitione. Quis enim illorum ante Abraham, David, Salomonem? Deinde justitiam spectare ad societatem generis humani. Denique David ait: Dispersit, dedit pauperibus, justitia ejus manet in aeternum. Justus miseretur, justus commodat (Psal. CXI, 9). Sapienti et justo totus mundus divitiarum est. Justus communia pro suis habet, sua pro communibus. Justus se ipsum, priusquam alios, accusat. Ille enim justus, qui nec sibi parcit, et occulta sua latere non patitur. Vide quam justus Abraham. In senectute susceperat filium per repromissionem (Gen. XXII, 3 et seq.), reposcenti Domino negandum ad sacrificium, quamvis unicum, non putavit.

118. The chief among ourselves have stated that prudence lies in the knowledge of the truth. But who of them all excelled Abraham, David, or Solomon in this? Then they go on to say that justice has regard to the whole community of the human race. So David said: He has dispersed abroad and given to the poor, His righteousness remains forever. The just man has pity, the just man lends. The whole world of riches lies at the feet of the wise and the just. The just man regards what belongs to all as his own, and his own as common property. The man just accuses himself rather than others. For he is just who does not spare himself, and who does not suffer his secret actions to be concealed. See now how just Abraham was! In his old age he begot a son according to promise, and when the Lord demanded him for sacrifice he did not think he ought to refuse him, although he was his only son. Genesis 22:3

119. Adverte hic omnes virtutes quatuor in uno facto. Fuit sapientiae, Deo credere, nec filii gratiam anteferre auctoris praecepto: fuit justitiae, acceptum reddere: fuit fortitudinis, appetitum ratione cohibere. Ducebat hostiam pater, interrogabat filius, tentabatur affectus patrius, sed non vincebatur. Repetebat filius appellationem paternam, compungebat paterna

viscera, sed non minuebat devotionem. Accedit et quarta virtus, temperantia. Tenebat justus et pietatis modum, et exsecutionis ordinem. Denique dum sacrificio necessaria vehit, dum ignem adolet, dum filium ligat, dum gladium educit, hoc immolandi ordine meruit, ut filium reservaret.

119. Note here all these four virtues in one act. It was wise to believe God, and not to put love for his son before the commands of his Creator. It was just to give back what had been received. It was brave to restrain natural feelings by reason. The father led the victim; the son asked where it was: the father's feelings were hardly tried, but were not overcome. The son said again: My father, and thus pierced his father's heart, though without weakening his devotion to God. The fourth virtue, temperance, too, was there. Being just he preserved due measure in his piety, and order in all he had to carry out. And so in bringing what was needed for the sacrifice, in lighting the fire, in binding his son, in drawing the knife, in performing the sacrifice in due order; thus he merited as his reward that he might keep his son.

120. Quid sapientius sancto Jacob, qui Deum vidit facie ad faciem, et meruit benedictionem (Gen. XXXII, 1 et seq.)? Quid justius, qui ea quae acquisierat, oblatis muneribus cum fratre divisit? Quid fortius, qui cum Deo luctatus est? Quid modestius eo qui modestiam ita et locis et temporibus deferebat, ut filiae injuriam mallet praetexere conjugio, quam vindicare; eo quod inter alienos positus amori potius consulendum, quam odia colligenda censebat?

120. Is there greater wisdom than holy Jacob's, who saw God face to face and won a blessing? Genesis 32:29-30 Can there be higher justice than his in dividing with his brother what he had acquired, and offering it as a gift? Genesis 33:8 What greater fortitude than his in striving with God? Genesis

32:24-26 What moderation so true as his, who acted with such moderation as regards time and place, as to prefer to hide his daughter's shame rather than to avenge himself? Genesis 34:5 For being set in the midst of foes, he thought it better to gain their affections than to concentrate their hate on himself.

121. Noe quam sapiens, qui tantam fabricavit arcam (Gen. VI, 14 et seq.)! Quam justus, qui ad semen omnium reservatus, solus ex omnibus et praeteritae generationis superstes est factus, et auctor futurae, mundo potius et universis magis quam sibi natus! Quam fortis, ut diluvium vinceret! Quam temperans, ut diluvium toleraret! quando introiret, qua moderatione degeret, quando corvum, quando columbam dimitteret, quando 33 reciperet revertentes, quando exeundi opportunitatem captaret, agnosceret?

121. How wise also was Noah, who built the whole of the ark! Genesis 6:14 How just again! For he alone, preserved of all to be the father of the human race, was made a survivor of past generations, and the author of one to come; he was born, too, rather for the world and the universe than for himself. How brave he was to overcome the flood! How temperate to endure it! When he had entered the ark, with what moderation he passed the time! When he sent forth the raven and the dove, when he received them on their return, when he took the opportunity of leaving the ark, with what moderation did he make use of these occasions!

CAPUT XXVI.

IN INQUIRENDA VERITATE contra sua praecepta peccasse philosophos: Moysen vero illis sapientiorem se praebuisse. Eo majori studio enitendum ad comparandam sapientiam, quo major est ipsius dignitas, ad quam omnes ipsa natura impelluntur.

CHAPTER 26.

In investigating the truth the philosophers have broken through their own rules. Moses, however, showed himself more wise than they. The greater the dignity of wisdom, the more earnestly must we strive to gain it. Nature herself urges us all to do this.

122. Itaque tractant in veri investigatione tenendum illud decorum, ut summo studio requiramus quid verum sit, non falsa pro veris ducere, non obscuris vera involvere, non superfluis vel implexis atque ambiguis occupare animum. Quid tam indecorum, quam venerari ligna, quod ipsi faciunt? Quid tam obscurum, quam de astronomia et geometria tractare, quod probant; et profundi aeris spatia metiri, coelum quoque et mare numeris includere: relinquere causas salutis, errores quaerere.

122. It is said, therefore, that in investigating the truth, we must observe what is seemly. We ought to look for what is true with the greatest care. We must not put forward falsehood for truth, nor hide the truth in darkness, nor fill the mind with idle, involved, or doubtful matters. What so unseemly as to worship a wooden thing, which men themselves have made? What shows such darkness as to discuss subjects connected with geometry and astronomy (which they approve of), to measure the depths of space, to shut

up heaven and earth within the limits of fixed numbers, to leave aside the grounds of salvation and to seek for error?

123. At non ille eruditus in omni sapientia Aegyptiorum Moyses probavit ista: sed illam sapientiam detrimentum et stultitiam judicavit, et aversus ab ea, intimo Deum quaesivit affectu; ideoque vidit, interrogavit, audivit loquentem. Quis magis sapiens quam ille quem docuit Deus, qui omnem sapientiam Aegyptiorum, omnesque artium potentias operis sui virtute evacuavit (Exod. III, 1 et seq.)? Non hic incognita pro cognitis habebat, hisque temere assentiebatur: quae duo in hoc maxime naturali atque honesto loco vitanda discant, qui sibi nec contra naturam esse, nec turpe judicant saxa adorare, et a simulacris auxilium petere, quae nihil sentiant.

123. Moses, learned as he was in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, Acts 7:22 did not approve of those things, but thought that kind of wisdom both harmful and foolish. Turning away therefrom, he sought God with all the desire of his heart, and thus saw, questioned, heard Him when He spoke. Exodus 3:4 Who is more wise than he whom God taught, and who brought to nought all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and all the powers of their craft by the might of his works? He did not treat things unknown as well known, and so rashly accept them. Yet these philosophers, though they do not consider it contrary to nature, nor shameful for themselves to worship, and to ask help from an idol which knows nothing, teach us that these two things mentioned in the words just spoken, which are in accordance both with nature and with virtue, ought to be avoided.

124. Quanto igitur excelsior virtus est sapientia, tanto magis enitendum arbitror, ut assequi eam possimus. Itaque ne quid contra naturam, ne quid turpe atque indecorum sentiamus, duo haec, id est, et tempus et diligentiam ad considerationem rerum examinandi gratia referre debemus. Nihil est enim quo magis homo caeteris animantibus praestet, quam quod rationis est

particeps, causas rerum requirit, generis sui auctorem investigandum putat, in cujus potestate vitae necisque nostrae potestas sit, qui mundum hunc suo nutu regat, cui sciamus rationem esse reddendam nostrorum actuum. Nihil est enim quod magis proficiat ad vitam honestam, quam ut credamus eum jadicem futurum, quem et occulta non fallant, et indecora offendant, et honesta delectent.

124. The loftier the virtue of wisdom is, the more I say we ought to strive for it, so that we may be able to attain to it. And that we may have no ideas which are contrary to nature, or are disgraceful, or unfitting, we ought to give two things, that is, time and care, to considering matters for the sake of investigating them. For there is nothing in which man excels all other living creatures more than in the fact that he has reason, seeks out the origin of things, thinks that the Author of his being should be searched out. For in His hand is our life and death; He rules this world by His nod. And to Him we know that we must give a reason for our actions. For there is nothing which is more of a help to a good life than to believe that He will be our judge, Whom hidden things do not escape, and unseemly things offend, and good deeds delight.

125. Omnibus igitur hominibus inest secundum naturam humanam verum investigare, quae 34 nos ad studium cognitionis et scientiae trahit, et inquirendi infundit cupiditatem. In quo excellere universis pulchrum videtur, sed pancorum est assequi: qui volvendo cogitationes, consilia examinando, non mediocrem impendunt laborem; ut ad illud beate honesteque vivendum pervenire possint, atque operibus appropinquare. Non enim qui dixerit, inquit, mihi: Domine, Domine, intrabit in regnum coelorum, sed qui fecerit ea quae dico (Matth. VII, 21). Nam studia scientiae sine factis, haud scio an etiam involvant magis.

125. In all men, then, there lies, in accordance with human nature, a desire to search out the truth, which leads us on to have a longing for knowledge and learning, and infuses into us a wish to seek after it. To excel in this seems a noble thing to mankind; but there are only few who attain to it. And they, by deep thought, by careful deliberation, spend no little labour so as to be able to attain to that blessed and virtuous life, and to approach its likeness in their actions. For not he that says to Me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that does those things that I say. Matthew 7:21 To have a desire for knowledge without actions to correspond — well! I do not know whether that carries anything more with it.

CAPUT XXVII.

PRIMUM OFFICII FONTEM esse prudentiam, ex qua derivatae tres aliae virtutes, ita cum ea atque inter se connexae sunt, ut ab invicem divelli ac separari nequeant.

CHAPTER 27.

The first source of duty is prudence, from whence spring three other virtues; and they cannot be separated or torn asunder, since they are mutually connected one with the other.

126. Primus igitur Officii fons prudentia est. Quid enim tam plenum officii, quam deferre Auctori studium atque reverentiam? Qui tamen fons et in virtutes derivatur caeteras; neque enim potest justitia sine prudentia esse, cum examinare quid justum, quidve injustum sit, non mediocris prudentiae sit; summus in utroque error. Qui enim justum judicat injustum, injustum vero justum, exsecrabilis apud Deum. Ut quid abundant justitiae imprudenti? Salomon ait (Prov. XVII, 15, 16). Neque iterum prudentia sine justitia est; pietas enim in Deum initium intellectus. Quo advertimus illud ab hujus saeculi translatum magis quam inventum sapientibus; quia pietas fundamentum est omnium virtutum.

126. The first source of duty, then, is prudence. For what is more of a duty than to give to the Creator all one's devotion and reverence? This source, however, is drawn off into other virtues. For justice cannot exist without prudence, since it demands no small amount of prudence to see whether a thing is just or unjust. A mistake on either side is very serious. For he that says a just man is unjust, or an unjust man is just, is accursed with God.

Wherefore does justice abound unto the wicked? says Solomon. Nor, on the other hand, can prudence exist without justice, for piety towards God is the beginning of understanding. On which we notice that this is a borrowed rather than an original idea among the worldly wise, for piety is the foundation of all virtues.

127. Justitiae autem pietas est prima in Deum, secunda in patriam, tertia in parentes, item in omnes: quae et ipsa secundum naturae est magisterium. Siquidem ab ineunte aetate ubi primum sensus infundi coeperit, vitam amamus tamquam Dei munus, patriam, parentesque diligimus, deinde aequales quibus sociari cupimus. Hinc charitas nascitur, quae alios sibi praefert, non quaerens quae sua sunt, in quibus est principatus justitiae.

127. But the piety of justice is first directed towards God; secondly, towards one's country; next, towards parents; lastly, towards all. This, too, is in accordance with the guidance of nature. From the beginning of life, when understanding first begins to be infused into us, we love life as the gift of God, we love our country and our parents; lastly, our companions, with whom we like to associate. Hence arises true love, which prefers others to self, and seeks not its own, wherein lies the pre-eminence of justice.

128. Omnibus quoque animantibus innascitur, primum salutem tueri, cavere quae noceant, expetere quae prosint, ut pastum, ut latibula quibus se a periculo, imbribus, sole defendant, quod est prudentiae. Succedit quoque ut omnium genera animantium congregabilia natura sint: primo generis sui ac formae consortibus, tum etiam caeteris; ut videmus boves armentis, equos gregibus, et maxime pares paribus delectari: cervos quoque cervis, et plerumque 35 hominibus adjungi. Jam de procreandi studio et sobole, vel etiam generantium amore, quid loquar, in quo est forma justitiae praecipua?

128. It is ingrained in all living creatures, first of all, to preserve their own safety, to guard against what is harmful, to strive for what is advantageous. They seek food and converts, whereby they may protect themselves from dangers, storms, and sun — all which is a mark of prudence. Next we find that all the different creatures are by nature wont to herd together, at first with fellows of their own class and sort, then also with others. So we see oxen delighted to be in herds, horses in droves, and especially like with like, stags, also, in company with stags and often with men. And what should I say on their desire to have young, and on their offspring, or even on their passions, wherein the likeness of justice is conspicuous?

129. Liquet igitur et has, et reliquas cognatas sibi esse virtutes. Siquidem et fortitudo (23, quaest. 3, c. Fortitudo) quae vel in bello tuetur a barbaris patriam, vel domi defendit infirmos, vel a latronibus socios, plena sit justitiae: et scire quo consilio defendat atque adjuvet, captare etiam temporum et locorum opportunitates, prudentiae ac modestiae sit: et temperantia ipsa sine prudentia modum scire non possit: opportunitatem noscere, et secundum mensuram reddere, sit justitiae: et in omnibus istis magnanimitas necessaria sit, et quaedam fortitudo mentis, plerumque et corporis; ut quis quod velit, possit implere.

129. It is clear, then, that these and the remaining virtues are related to one another. For courage, which in war preserves one’s country from the barbarians, or at home defends the weak, or comrades from robbers, is full of justice; and to know on what plan to defend and to give help, how to make use of opportunities of time and place, is the part of prudence and moderation, and temperance itself cannot observe due measure without prudence. To know a fit opportunity, and to make return according to what is right, belongs to justice. In all these, too, large-heartedness is necessary,

and fortitude of mind, and often of body, so that we may carry out what we wish.

CAPUT XXVIII.

SOCIETATEM CONSTARE JUSTITIA et beneficentia: illius partes duas ultionem et privatam possessionem a Christianis non agnosci: quod vero de rerum communitate ac mutuo auxilio tradunt Stoici, hoc eos e Scripturis sacris mutuatos esse. Quantus justitiae splendor, et quinam scopuli accessum ad illam praepediant.

CHAPTER 28.

A community rests upon justice and good-will. Two parts of the former, revenge and private possession, are not recognized by Christians. What the Stoics say about common property and mutual help has been borrowed from the sacred writings. The greatness of the glory of justice, and what hinders access to it.

130. Justitia igitur ad societatem generis humani, et ad communitatem refertur. Societatis enim ratio dividitur in duas partes, justitiam et beneficentiam, quam eamdem liberalitatem et benignitatem vocant: justitia mihi excelsior videtur, liberalitas gratior: illa censuram tenet, ista bonitatem.

130. Justice, then, has to do with the society of the human race, and the community at large. For that which holds society together is divided into two parts — justice and good-will, which also is called liberality and kindness. Justice seems to me the loftier, liberality the more pleasing, of the two. The one gives judgment, the other shows goodness.

131. Sed primum ipsum quod putant philosophi justitiae munus, apud nos excluditur. Dicunt enim illi eam primam esse justitiae formam, ut nemini quis noceat, nisi lacessitus injuria: quod Evangelii auctoritate vacuatur (Luc. IX, 56); vult enim Scriptura, ut sit in nobis spiritus Filii hominis, qui venit conferre gratiam, non inferre injuriam.

131. But that very thing is excluded with us which philosophers think to be the office of justice. For they say that the first expression of justice is, to hurt no one, except when driven to it by wrongs received. This is put aside by the authority of the Gospel. For the Scripture wills that the Spirit of the Son of Man should be in us, Who came to give grace, not to bring harm. Luke 9:56

132. Deinde formam justitiae putaverunt, ut quis communia, id est, publica pro publicis habeat, privata pro suis. Ne hoc quidem secundum naturam, natura enim omnia omnibus in commune profudit. Sic enim Deus generari jussit omnia ut pastus omnibus communis esset, et terra foret omnium quaedam communis possessio. Natura igitur jus commune generavit, usurpatio jus fecit privatum. Quo in loco aiunt placuisse Stoicis, quae in terris gignantur, omnia ad usus hominum creari: homines autem hominum causa esse generatos; ut ipsi inter se aliis alii prodesse possint.

132. Next they considered it consonant with justice that one should treat common, that is, public property as public, and private as private. But this is not even in accord with nature, for nature has poured forth all things for all men for common use. God has ordered all things to be produced, so that there should be food in common to all, and that the earth should be a common possession for all. Nature, therefore, has produced a common right for all, but greed has made it a right for a few. Here, too, we are told that the Stoics taught that all things which are produced on the earth are created for

the use of men, but that men are born for the sake of men, so that mutually one may be of advantage to another.

133. Unde hoc, nisi de nostris Scripturis dicendum assumpserunt? Moyses enim scripsit, quia dixit Deus: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem nostram et secundum similitudinem, et habeat potestatem piscium maris, et volatilium coeli, et pecorum, 36 et omnium repentium super terram (Gen. I, 26). Et David ait: Omnia subjecisti sub pedibus ejus, oves et boves universas, insuper et pecora campi: volucres coeli, et pisces maris (Psal. VIII, 8, 9). Ergo omnia subjecta esse homini de nostris didicerunt, et ideo censent propter hominem esse generata.

133. But whence have they got such ideas but out of the holy Scriptures? For Moses wrote that God said: Let us make man in our image, after our likeness, and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth. Genesis 1:26 And David said: You have put all things under his feet; all sheep and oxen, yea, and the beasts of the field, the fowls of the air, and the fishes of the sea. So these philosophers have learned from our writings that all things were made subject to man, and, therefore, they think that all things were produced also for man’s sake.

134. Hominem quoque hominis causa generatum esse in libris Moysi reperimus, dicente Domino: Non est bonum esse hominem solum, faciamus ei adjutorium simile sibi (Gen II, 18). Ad adjumentum ergo mulier data est viro, quae generaret; ut homo homini adjumento foret. Denique antequam mulier formaretur, dictum est de Adam: Non est inventus adjutor similis illi (Ibid., 20); adjumentum enim homo nisi de homine habere non poterat. Ex omnibus igitur animantibus nullum animal simile, et ut absolute dicamus, nullus adjutor hominis inventus est: muliebris igitur sexus adjutor exspectabatur.

134. That man was made for the sake of man we find stated also in the books of Moses, when the Lord says: It is not good that man should be alone, let us make him an helpmeet for him. Genesis 2:18 Thus the woman was given to the man to help him. She should bear him children, that one man might always be a help to another. Again, before the woman was formed, it was said of Adam: There was not found an help-meet for him. Genesis 2:20 For one man could not have proper help but from another. Amongst all the living creatures, therefore, there was none meet for him, or, to put it plainly, none to be his helper. Hence a woman was looked for to help him.

135. Ergo secundum Dei voluntatem, vel naturae copulam, invicem nobis esse auxilio debemus, certare officiis, velut in medio omnes utilitates ponere, et ut verbo Scripturae utar, adjumentum ferre alter alteri, vel studio, vel officio, vel pecunia, vel operibus, vel quolibet modo; ut inter nos societatis augeatur gratia. Nec quisquam ab officio vel periculi terrore revocetur: sed omnia sua ducat, vel adversa vel prospera. Denique sanctus Moyses pro populo patriae bella suscipere gravia non reformidavit, nec regis potentissimi trepidavit arma, nec barbaricae immanitatis expavit ferociam: sed abjecit salutem suam, ut plebi redderet libertatem.

135. Thus, in accordance with the will of God and the union of nature, we ought to be of mutual help one to the other, and to vie with each other in doing duties, to lay all our advantages as it were before all, and (to use the words of Scripture) to bring help one to the other from a feeling of devotion or of duty, by giving money, or by doing something, at any rate in some way or other; so that the charm of human fellowship may ever grow sweeter among us, and none may ever be recalled from their duty by the fear of danger, but rather account all things, whether good or evil, as their own concern. Thus holy Moses feared not to undertake terrible wars for his

people’s sake, nor was he afraid of the arms of the mightiest kings, nor yet was he frightened at the savagery of barbarian nations. He put on one side the thought of his own safety so as to give freedom to the people.

136. Magnus itaque justitiae splendor, quae aliis potius nata quam sibi, communitatem et societatem nostrane adjuvat: excelsitatem tenet; ut suo judicio omnia subjecta habeat, opem aliis ferat, pecuniam conferat, officia non abnuat, pericula suscipiat aliena.

136. Great, then, is the glory of justice; for she, existing rather for the good of others than of self, is an aid to the bonds of union and fellowship among us. She holds so high a place that she has all things laid under her authority, and further can bring help to others and supply money; nor does she refuse her services, but even undergoes dangers for others.

137. Quis non cuperet hanc virtutis arcem tenere, nisi prima avaritia infirmaret atque inflecteret tantae virtutis vigorem? Etenim dum augere opes, aggregare pecunias, occupare terras possessionibus cupimus, praestare divitiis; justitiae formam exuimus, beneficentiam communem amisimus. Quomodo enim potest justus esse, qui studet eripere alteri, quod sibi quaerat?

137. Who would not gladly climb and hold the heights of this virtue, were it not that greed weakens and lessens the power of such a virtue? For as long as we want to add to our possessions and to heap up money, to take into our possession fresh lands, and to be the richest of all, we have cast aside the form of justice and have lost the blessing of kindness towards all. How can he be just that tries to take from another what he wants for himself?

138. Potentiae quoque cupiditas, formam justitiae virilem effeminat? Quomodo enim potest pro aliis intervenire, qui alios sibi subjicere conatur:

et infirmo adversus potentes opem ferre, qui ipse gravem libertati affectat potentiam?

138. The desire to gain power also enervates the perfect strength and beauty of justice. For how can he, who attempts to bring others under his own power, come forward on behalf of others? And how can a man help the weak against the strong, when he himself aspires to great power at the cost of liberty?

CAPUT XXIX.

JUSTITIAM IN BELLO etiam atque ipsis hostibus servari oportere Moysis ac Elisaei exemplis ostenditur: ab Hebraeis mutuo veteres accepisse, ut hostes appellarent nomine molliori: denique justitiae fundamentum in fide esse, ac formam in Ecclesia.

CHAPTER 29.

Justice should be observed even in war and with enemies. This is proved by the example of Moses and Elisha. The ancient writers learned in turn from the Hebrews to call their enemies by a gentler term. Lastly, the foundation of justice rests on faith, and its symmetry is perfect in the Church.

139. Quanta autem justitia sit ex hoc intelligi potest, quod nec locis, nec personis, nec temporibus excipitur, quae etiam hostibus reservatur; ut si constitutus sit cum hoste aut locus aut dies praelio, adversus justitiam putetur aut loco praevenire, aut tempore. Interest enim utrum aliquis pugna aliqua et conflictu gravi capiatur, an superiore gratia, vel aliquo eventu. Siquidem vehementioribus hostibus et infidis, et his qui amplius laeserint, vehementior refertur ultio; ut de Madianitis qui per mulieres suas plerosque peccare fecerant ex plebe Judaeorum, unde et Dei in populum patrum iracundia effusa est. Et ideo factum est ut nullum Moyses victor superesse pateretur (Num. XXXI, 3 et seq.): Gabaonitas autem qui fraude magis quam bello tentaverant plebem patrum, non expugnaret Jesus; sed conditionis impositae afficeret injuria (Josue IX, 20 et seq.). Syros vero Elisaeus, quos obsidentes in civitatem induxerat, momentanea caecitate percussos, ut quo ingrederentur videre non possent, volenti regi Israel percutere non

acquiesceret dicens: Non percuties quos non captivasti in lancea et in gladio tuo: pone eis panem et aquam, ut manducent et bibant, et remittantur et eant ad dominum suum (IV Reg. VI, 14 et seq.); ut humanitate provocati gratiam repraesentarent. Denique postea in terram Israel venire piratae Syriae destiterunt.

139. How great a thing justice is can be gathered from the fact that there is no place, nor person, nor time, with which it has nothing to do. It must even be preserved in all dealings with enemies. For instance, if the day or the spot for a battle has been agreed upon with them, it would be considered an act against justice to occupy the spot beforehand, or to anticipate the time. For there is some difference whether one is overcome in some battle by a severe engagement, or by superior skill, or by a mere chance. But a deeper vengeance is taken on fiercer foes, and on those that are false as well as on those who have done greater wrongs, as was the case with the Midianites. Numbers xxxi For they had made many of the Jewish people to sin through their women; for which reason the anger of the Lord was poured out upon the people of our fathers. Thus it came about that Moses when victorious allowed none of them to live. On the other hand, Joshua did not attack the Gibeonites, who had tried the people of our fathers with guile rather than with war, but punished them by laying on them a law of bondage. Joshua ix Elisha again would not allow the king of Israel to slay the Syrians when he wished to do so. He had brought them into the city, when they were besieging him, after he had struck them with instantaneous blindness, so that they could not see where they were going. For he said: You shall not smite those whom you have not taken captive with your spear and with your sword. Set before them bread and water, that they may eat and drink and return and go to their own home. Incited by their kind treatment they should show forth to the world the kindness they had received. Thus (we read) there came no more the bands of Syria into the land of Israel.

140. Si ergo etiam in bello justitia valet, quanto magis in pace servanda est? Et hanc gratiam propheta his detulit, qui ad eum corripiendum venerant. Sic enim legimus, quod in obsidionem ejus miserat rex Syriae exercitum suum, cognito quod Elisaeus esset, qui consiliis et argumentationibus ejus obviaret omnibus. Quem videns exercitum Giezi servus prophetae, de salutis periculo trepidare coepit. Cui dixit propheta: Noli timere, quoniam plures nobiscum sunt, quam cum illis. Et rogante propheta ut aperirentur oculi servo suo, aperti sunt. Et vidit itaque Giezi totum montem equis repletum et curribus in circuitu Elisaei. Quibus descendentibus ait propheta: Percute, Deus, caecitate exercitum Syriae. Quo impetrato, dixit ad Syros: Venite post me, et ducam vos ad hominem quem quaeritis. Et viderunt Elisaeum, quem corripere gestiebant: et videntes, tenere non poterant. Liquet 38 igitur etiam in bello fidem et justitiam servari oportere, nec illud decorum esse posse, si violetur fides.

140. If, then, justice is binding, even in war, how much more ought we to observe it in time of peace. Such favour the prophet showed to those who came to seize him. We read that the king of Syria had sent his army to lie in wait for him, for he had learned that it was Elisha who had made known to all his plans and consultations. And Gehazi the prophet’s servant, seeing the army, began to fear that his life was in danger. But the prophet said to him: Fear not, for they that be with us are more than they that be with them. And when the prophet asked that the eyes of his servant might be opened, they were opened. Then Gehazi saw the whole mountain full of horses and chariots round about Elisha. As they came down to him the prophet says: Smite, O God, the army of Syria with blindness. And this prayer being granted, he says to the Syrians: Follow me, and I will bring you to the man whom you seek. Then saw they Elisha, whom they were endeavouring to lay hold of, and seeing him they could not hold him fast. It is clear from this

that faith and justice should be observed even in war; and that it could not but be a disgraceful thing if faith were violated.

141. Denique etiam adversarios molli veteres appellatione nominabant, ut peregrinos vocarent; hostes enim antiquo ritu peregrini dicebantur. Quod aeque etiam ipsum de nostris assumptum dicere possumus; adversarios enim suos Hebraei Allophylos, hoc est, alienigenas Latino appellabant vocabulo. Denique in libro Regnorum primo sic legimus: Et factum est in diebus illis, convenerunt alienigenae in pugnam ad Israel (I Reg. IV, 1).

141. So also the ancients used to give their foes a less harsh name, and called them strangers. For enemies used to be called strangers after the customs of old. This too we can say they adopted from our writings; for the Hebrews used to call their foes allophyllos, that is, when put into Latin, alienigenas (of another race). For so we read in the first book of Kings: It came to pass in those days that they of another race put themselves in array against Israel.

142. Fundamentum ergo est justitiae fides; justorum enim corda meditantur fidem: et qui se justus accusat, justitiam supra fidem collocat; nam tunc justitia ejus apparet, si vera fateatur. Denique et Dominus per Esaiam: Ecce, inquit, mitto lapidem in fundamentum Sion (Esai. XXVIII, 18), id est, Christum in fundamenta Ecclesiae. Fides enim omnium, Christus: Ecclesia autem quaedam forma justitiae est. Commune jus omnium: in commune orat, in commune operatur, in commune tentatur. Denique qui se ipsum sibi abnegat; ipse justus, ipse dignus Christo est. Ideo et Paulus fundamentum posuit Christum (I Cor. III, 11), ut supra eum opera justitiae locaremus; quia fides fundamentum est: in operibus autem aut malis iniquitas, aut bonis justitia est.

142. The foundation of justice therefore is faith, for the hearts of the just dwell on faith, and the just man that accuses himself builds justice on faith, for his justice becomes plain when he confesses the truth. So the Lord says through Isaiah: Behold, I lay a stone for a foundation in Sion. Isaiah 28:16 This means Christ as the foundation of the Church. For Christ is the object of faith to all; but the Church is as it were the outward form of justice, she is the common right of all. For all in common she prays, for all in common she works, in the temptations of all she is tried. So he who denies himself is indeed a just man, is indeed worthy of Christ. For this reason Paul has made Christ to be the foundation, so that we may build upon Him the works of justice, 1 Corinthians 3:11 while faith is the foundation. In our works, then, if they are evil, there appears unrighteousness; if they are good, justice.

CAPUT XXX.

De beneficentia et ejus partibus benevolentia et liberalitate: quomodo illae simul jungendae sint; quaenamve adjuncta, ut liberalitatem cum laude ac merito quis exerceat, requirantur?

CHAPTER 30.

On kindness and its several parts, namely, good-will and liberality. How they are to be combined. What else is further needed for any one to show liberality in a praiseworthy manner.

143. Sed jam de beneficentia loquamur, quae dividitur etiam ipsa in benevolentiam et liberalitatem. Ex his igitur duobus constat beneficentia, ut sit perfecta. Non enim satis est bene velle (Dist. 86, c. Non satis), sed etiam bene facere: nec satis est iterum bene facere, nisi id ex bono fonte, hoc est, bona voluntate proficiscatur: Hilarem enim datorem diligit Deus (II Cor. IX, 7). Nam si invitus facias, quae tibi merces est? Unde Apostolus generaliter: Si volens hoc ago, mercedem habeo: si invitus, dispensatio mihi credita est (I Cor. IX, 17). In Evangelio quoque multas disciplinas accepimus justae liberalitatis.

143. Now we can go on to speak of kindness, which breaks up into two parts, goodwill and liberality. Kindness to exist in perfection must consist of these two qualities. It is not enough just to wish well; we must also do well. Nor, again, is it enough to do well, unless this springs from a good source even from a good will. For God loves a cheerful giver. 2 Corinthians 9:7 If we act unwillingly, what is our reward? Wherefore the Apostle, speaking generally, says: If I do this thing willingly, I have a reward, but if

unwillingly, a dispensation is given unto me. 1 Corinthians 9:17 In the Gospel, also, we have received many rules of just liberality.

144. Pulchrum est igitur bene velle, et eo largiri consilio, ut prosis, non ut noceas. Nam si luxurioso ad luxuriae effusionem, adultero ad mercedem adulterii largiendum putes; non est beneficentia ista, ubi nulla est benevolentia. Officere enim istud est, non prodesse alteri, si 39 largiaris ei qui conspiret adversus patriam, qui congregare cupiat tuo sumptu perditos, qui impugnent Ecclesiam. Non est haec probabilis liberalitas, si adjuves eum qui adversus viduam et pupillos gravi decernit jurgio, aut vi aliqua possessiones eorum eripere conatur.

144. It is thus a glorious thing to wish well, and to give freely, with the one desire to do good and not to do harm. For if we were to think it our duty to give the means to an extravagant man to live extravagantly, or to an adulterer to pay for his adultery, it would not be an act of kindness, for there would be no good-will in it. We should be doing harm, not good, to another if we gave him money to aid him in plotting against his country, or in attempting to get together at our expense some abandoned men to attack the Church. Nor, again, does it look like liberality to help one who presses very hardly on widows and orphans, or attempts to seize on their property with any show of violence.

145. Non probatur largitas, si quod alteri largitur, alteri quis extorqueat: si injuste quaerat, et juste dispensandum putet; nisi forte ut ille Zacchaeus (Luc. XIX, 8), reddas prius quadruplum ei quem fraudaveris: et gentilitatis vitia fidei studio et credentis operatione compenses. Fundamentum igitur habeat liberalitas tua.

145. It is no sign of a liberal spirit to extort from one what we give to another, or to gain money unjustly, and then to think it can be well spent,

unless we act as Zacchæus Luke 19:8 did, and restore fourfold what we have taken from him whom we have robbed, and make up for such heathenish crimes by the zeal of our faith and by true Christian labour. Our liberality must have some sure foundation.

146. Hoc primum quaeritur, ut cum fide conferas, fraudem non facias oblatis; ne dicas te plus conferre, et minus conferas. Quid enim opus est dicere? Fraus promissi est: in tua potestate est largiri quod velis. Fraus fundamentum solvit, et opus corruit. Numquid Petrus ita indignatione efferbuit, ut Ananiam exstingui vellet, vel uxorem ejus (Act. V, 3 et seq.)? Sed exemplo eorum noluit perire caeteros.

146. The first thing necessary is to do kindness in good faith, and not to act falsely when the offering is made. Never let us say we are doing more, when we are really doing less. What need is there to speak at all? In a promise a cheat lies hid. It is in our power to give what we like. Cheating shatters the foundation, and so destroys the work. Did Peter grow angry only so far as to desire that Ananias and his wife should be slain? Acts 5:11 Certainly not. He wished that others, through knowing their example, should not perish.

147. Nec illa perfecta est liberalitas, si jactantiae causa magis quam misericordiae largiaris. Affectus tuus nomen imponit operi tuo: quomodo a te proficiscitur, sic aestimatur. Vides quam moralem judicem habeas. Te consulit, quomodo opus tuum suscipiat, mentem tuam prius interrogat. Nesciat, inquit, sinistra tua, quid faciat dextera tua (Matth. VI, 3). Non de corpore loquitur, sed etiam unanimus tuus, frater tuus quod facis nesciat; ne dum hic mercedem quaeris jactantiae, illic remunerationis fructum amittas. Perfecta autem est liberalitas, ubi silentio quis tegit opus suum, et necessitatibus singulorum occulte subvenit: quem laudat os pauperis, et non labia sua.

147. Nor is it a real act of liberality if you give for the sake of boasting about it, rather than for mercy's sake. Your inner feelings give the name to your acts. As it comes forth from you, so will others regard it. See what a true judge you have! He consults with you how to take up your work, and first of all he questions your mind. Let not, he says, your left hand know what your right hand does. Matthew 6:3 This does not refer to our actual bodies, but means: Let not him who is of one mind with you, not even your brother, know what you do, lest you should lose the fruit of your reward hereafter by seeking here your price in boastfulness. But that liberality is real where a man hides what he does in silence, and secretly assists the needs of individuals, whom the mouth of the poor, and not his own lips, praises.

148. Deinde perfecta liberalitas (Dist. 86, c. Non satis, § Perfecta liberalitas) fide, causa, loco, tempore commendatur; ut primum opereris circa domesticos fidei. Grandis culpa si, sciente te, fidelis egeat: si scias eum sine sumptu esse, famem tolerare, aerumnam perpeti, qui praesertim egere erubescat: si in causam ceciderit aut captivitatis suorum, aut calumniae, et non adjuves: si sit in carcere, et poenis, et suppliciis propter debitum aliquod justus excrucietur (nam etsi omnibus debetur misericordia, tamen justo amplius) si tempore afflictionis suae nihil a te impetret: si tempore periculi quo rapitur ad mortem, plus apud te pecunia tua valeat, quam vita morituri. De quo pulchre Job dixit: Benedictio perituri in me veniat (Job. XXIX, 13).

148. Perfect liberality is proved by its good faith, the case it helps, the time and place when and where it is shown. But first we must always see that we help those of the household of faith. Galatians 6:10 It is a serious fault if a believer is in want, and you know it, or if you know that he is without means, that he is hungry, that he suffer distress, especially if he is ashamed

of his need. It is a great fault if he is overwhelmed by the imprisonment or false accusation of his family, and you do not come to his help. If he is in prison, and — upright though he is — has to suffer pain and punishment for some debt (for though we ought to show mercy to all, yet we ought to show it especially to an upright man); if in the time of his trouble he obtains nothing from you; if in the time of danger, when he is carried off to die, your money seems more to you than the life of a dying man; what a sin is that to you! Wherefore Job says beautifully: Let the blessing of him that was ready to perish come upon me. Job 29:13

149. Personarum quidem Deus acceptor non est, quia novit omnia. Nos autem omnibus quidem debemus misericordiam: sed quia plerique fraude eam quaerunt, et affingunt aerumnam; 40 ideo ubi causa manifestatur, persona cognoscitur, tempus urget, largius se debet profundere misericordia. Non enim avarus Dominus est, ut plurimum quaerat. Beatus quidem qui dimittit omnia, et sequitur eum: sed et ille beatus est, qui quod habet, ex affectu facit. Denique duo aera viduae illius divitum muneribus praetulit (Luc. XXI, 3); quia totum illa quod habuit, contulit: illi autem ex abundantia partem exiguam contulerunt. Affectus igitur divitem collationem aut pauperem facit, et pretium rebus imponit. Caeterum Dominus non vult simul effundi opes, sed dispensari (Dist. 86, c. Dominus non vult): nisi forte ut Elisaeus boves suos occidit, et pavit pauperes ex eo quod habuit (III Reg. XIX, 21); ut nulla cura teneretur domestica, sed relictis omnibus, in disciplinam se propheticam daret.

149. God, indeed, is not a respecter of persons, for He knows all things. And we, indeed, ought to show mercy to all. But as many try to get help on false pretences, and make out that they are miserably off; therefore where the case is plain and the person well known, and no time is to be lost, mercy ought to be shown more readily. For the Lord is not exacting to demand the

utmost. Blessed, indeed, is he who forsakes all and follows Him, but blessed also is he who does what he can to the best of his powers with what he has. The Lord preferred the two mites of the widow to all the gifts of the rich, for she gave all that she had, but they only gave a small part out of all their abundance. Luke 21:3-4 It is the intention, therefore, that makes the gift valuable or poor, and gives to things their value. The Lord does not want us to give away all our goods at once, but to impart them little by little; unless, indeed, our case is like that of Elisha, who killed his oxen, and fed the people on what he had, so that no household cares might hold him back, and that he might give up all things, and devote himself to the prophetic teaching.

150. Est etiam illa probanda liberalitas (Dist. 86, c. Est probanda), ut proximos seminis tui non despicias, si egere cognoscas. Melius est enim ut ipse subvenias tuis, quibus pudor est ab aliis sumptum deposcere, aut alicui postulare subsidium necessitati: non tamen ut illi ditiores eo fieri velint, quod tu potes conferre inopibus; causa enim praestat, non gratia. Neque enim propterea te Domino dicasti, ut tuos divites facias: sed ut vitam tibi perpetuam fructu boni operis acquiras, et pretio miserationis peccata redimas tua. Putant se parum poscere? Pretium tuum quaerunt, vitae tuae fructum adimere contendunt, et se juste facere putant. Et accusat quod eum divitem non feceris, cum te ille velit aeternae vitae fraudare mercede.

150. True liberality also must be tested in this way: that we despise not our nearest relatives, if we know they are in want. For it is better for you to help your kindred who feel the shame of asking help from others, or of going to another to beg assistance in their need. Not, however, that they should become rich on what you could otherwise give to the poor. It is the facts of the case we must consider, and not personal feeling. You did not dedicate yourself to the Lord on purpose to make your family rich, but that you

might win eternal life by the fruit of good works, and atone for your sins by showing mercy. They think perhaps that they are asking but little, but they demand the price you should pay for your sins. They attempt to take away the fruits of your life, and think they are acting rightly. And one accuses you because you have not made him rich, when all the time he wished to cheat you of the reward of eternal life.

151. Consilium prompsimus, auctoritatem petamus. Primum neminem debet pudere, si ex divite pauper fiat, dum largitur pauperi; quia Christus pauper factus est, cum dives esset, ut omnes sua inopia ditaret. Dedit regulam quam sequamur, ut bona ratio sit exinaniti patrimonii; si quis pauperum famem repulit, inopiam sublevavit. Unde et consilium in hoc do, Apostolus dicit: Hoc enim vobis utile est, ut Christum imitemini (II Cor. VIII, 10). Consilium bonis datur, correptio errantes coercet. Denique quasi bonis dicit: Quia non tantum facere, sed et velle coepistis ab anno praeterito (Ibid.). Perfectorum utrumque est, non pars. Itaque docet et liberalitatem sine benevolentia, et benevolentiam sine liberalitate non esse perfectam. Unde ad perfectum hortatur, dicens: Nunc ergo et facere consummate, ut quemadmodum prompta est in vobis voluntas faciendi, ita sit et perficiendi ex eo quod habetis. Si enim voluntas prompta est, secundum id quod habet, acceptum est, non secundum quod non habet. Non enim ut aliis refectio sit, vobis autem angustia: sed ex aequalitate in hoc tempore, vestra abundantia ad illorum inopiam, ut illorum abundantia sit ad 41 vestram inopiam; ut fiat aequalitas, sicut scriptum est: Qui multum, non abundavit: et qui modicum, non minoravit (Ibid., 11 et seq.).

151. So far we have given our advice, now let us look for our authority. First, then, no one ought to be ashamed of becoming poor after being rich, if this happens because he gives freely to the poor; for Christ became poor when He was rich, that through His poverty He might enrich all. 2

Corinthians 8:9 He has given us a rule to follow, so that we may give a good account of our reduced inheritance; whoever has stayed the hunger of the poor has lightened his distress. Herein I give my advice, says the Apostle, for this is expedient for you, that you should be followers of Christ. 2 Corinthians 8:10 Advice is given to the good, but warnings restrain the wrong-doers. Again he says, as though to the good: For you have begun not only to do, but also to be willing, a year ago. 2 Corinthians 8:10 Both of these, and not only one, is the mark of perfection. Thus he teaches that liberality without good-will, and good-will without liberality, are neither of them perfect. Wherefore he also urges us on to perfection, saying: 2 Corinthians 8:11-15 Now, therefore, perform the doing of it; that as the will to do it was ready enough in you, so also there may be the will to accomplish it out of that which you have. For if the will be ready, it is accepted according to that a man has, and not according to that he has not. But not so that others should have plenty, and you should be in want: but let there be equality — your abundance must now serve for their want, that their abundance may serve for your want; that there may be equality, as it is written: He that gathered much had nothing over, and he that gathered little had no lack. Exodus 16:18

152. Advertimus quemadmodum et benevolentiam, et liberalitatem, et modum comprehendit, et fructum, atque personas. Ideo modum quia imperfectis dabat consilium, non enim patiuntur angustias, nisi imperfecti. Sed et si quis Ecclesiam nolens gravare in sacerdotio aliquo constitutus aut ministerio, non totum quod habet, conferat; sed operetur cum honestate quantum officio sat est, non mihi imperfectus videtur. Et puto quod hic augustiam non animi, sed rei familiaris dixerit.

152. We notice how the Apostle includes both good-will and liberality, as well as the manner, the fruits of right giving, and the persons concerned.

The manner certainly, for he gave advice to those not perfect: For only the imperfect suffer anxiety. But if any priest or other cleric, being unwilling to burden the Church, does not give away all that he has, but does honourably what his office demands, he does not seem to me to be imperfect. I think also that the Apostle here spoke not of anxiety of mind, but rather of domestic troubles.

153. De personis autem puto dictum: Ut vestra abundantia sit ad illorum inopiam, et illorum abundantia ad vestram inopiam; id est, ut populi abundantia sit bonae operationis ad illorum sublevandam alendi inopiam: et illorum abundantia spiritalis adjuvet in plebe inopiam meriti spiritalis, et conferat ei gratiam.

153. And I think it was with reference to the persons concerned that he said: that your abundance might serve for their want, and their abundance for your want. This means, that the abundance of the people might arouse them to good works, so as to supply the want of food of others; while the spiritual abundance of these latter might assist the want of spiritual merits among the people themselves, and so win them a blessing.

154. Unde exemplum optimum posuit: Qui multum, non abundavit: et qui modicum, non minuit. bene hortatur ad officium misericordiae omnes homines istud exemplum; quoniam et qui plurimum auri possidet, non abundat; quia nihil est quidquid in hoc saeculo est: et qui exiguum habet, non minuit; quia nihil est, quod amittit. Res sine dispendio est, quae tota dispendium est.

154. Wherefore he gave them an excellent example: He that gathered much had nothing over, and he that gathered little had no lack. That example is a great encouragement to all men to show mercy. For he that possesses much gold has nothing over, for all in this world is as nothing; and he that has

little has no lack, for what he loses is nothing already. The whole matter is without loss, for the whole of it is lost already.

155. Est etiam sic intellectus bonus: Qui plurimum habet, et si non donat, non abundat; quia quantumvis acquirat, eget semper, qui plus concupiscit: et qui exiguum habet, non minuit; quia non multum est quod pauperem pascit. Similiter ergo et ille pauper qui confert spiritalia pro pecuniariis, et si plurimum habeat gratiae, non abundat; non enim onerat gratia, sed allevat mentem.

155. We can also rightly understand it thus. He that has much, although he does not give away, has nothing over. For however much he gets, he always is in want, because he longs for more. And he who has little has no lack, for it does not cost much to feed the poor. In like manner, too, the poor person that gives spiritual blessings in return for money, although he has much grace, has nothing over. For grace does not burden the mind, but lightens it.

156. Sed etiam sic potest intelligi: Non abundas, o homo. Quantum est enim quod accepisti, etsi tibi multum est? Joannes quo nemo major est inter natos mulierum, inferior tamen erat eo, qui minor est in regno coelorum.

156. It can further be taken in this way: You, O man, have nothing over! For how much have you really received, though it may seem much to you? John, than whom none was greater among those born of woman, yet was less than he who is least in the kingdom of heaven. Matthew 11:11

157. Potest et sic: Non abundat Dei gratia corporaliter, quia spiritalis est. Quis potest ejus aut magnitudinem aut latitudinem comprehendere, quam non videt? Fides si fuerit sicut granum sinapis, montes transferre potest, et non tibi datur ultra granum sinapis. Si abundet in te gratia, non est verendum ne mens tua tanto munere incipiat extolli; quia multi sunt qui ab altitudine cordis sui gravius corruerunt, quam si nullam habuissent Domini

gratiam? Et qui parum habet, non minuit; quia non est corporeum ut dividatur: et quod parum videtur habenti, plurimum est cui nihil deest. 42

157. Or once more. The grace of God is never superabundant, humanly speaking, for it is spiritual. Who can measure its greatness or its breadth, which one cannot see? Faith, if it were as a grain of mustard seed, can transplant mountains — and more than a grain is not granted you. If grace dwelt fully in you, would you not have to fear lest your mind should begin to be elated at so great a gift? For there are many who have fallen more terribly, from spiritual heights, than if they had never received grace at all from the Lord. And he who has little has no lack, for it is not tangible so as to be divided; and what seems little to him that has is much to him that lacks.

158. Consideranda etiam in largiendo (Dist. 86, c. Consideranda) aetas atque debilitas, nonnumquam etiam verecundia, quae ingenuos prodit natales; ut senibus plus largiaris, qui sibi labore jam non queunt victum quaerere. Similiter et debilitas corporis, et haec juvanda promptius. Tum si quis ex divitiis cecidit in egestatem: et maxime si non vitio suo, sed aut latrociniis, aut proscriptione, aut calumniis, quae habebat, amisit.

158. In giving we must also take into consideration age and weakness; sometimes, also, that natural feeling of shame, which indicates good birth. One ought to give more to the old who can no longer supply themselves with food by labour. So, too, weakness of body must be assisted, and that readily. Again, if any one after being rich has fallen into want, we must assist, especially if he has lost what he had from no sin of his own, but owing to robbery or banishment or false accusation.

159. Sed forte dicat aliquis: Caecus uno loco sedet et praeteritur, et juvenis validus frequenter accipit. Et verum est, quia obrepit per importunitatem.

Non est illud judicii, sed taedii. Nam et Dominus ait in Evangelio (Luc, XI, 8) de eo qui jam clauserat ostium suum, si quis ostium ejus procacius pulset, quia surgit et dat illi propter importunitatem.

159. Perchance some one may say: A blind man sits here in one place, and people pass him by, while a strong young man often has something given him. That is true; for he comes over people by his importunity. That is not because in their judgment he deserves it, but because they are wearied by his begging. For the Lord speaks in the Gospel of him who had already closed his door; how that when one knocks at his door very violently, he rises and gives what is wanted, because of his importunity. Luke 11:8

CAPUT XXXI.

ACCEPTUM BENEFICIUM LARGIORI manu remetiendum terrae praecipitur exemplo: nec non adductus ad eamdem rem Salomonis de convivio locus, postea spiritali sensu exponitur.

CHAPTER 31.

A kindness received should be returned with a freer hand. This is shown by the example of the earth. A passage from Solomon about feasting is adduced to prove the same, and is expounded later in a spiritual sense.

160. Pulchrum quoque est propensiorem ejus haberi rationem, qui tibi aut beneficium aliquod, aut munus contulit, si ipse in necessitatem incidit. Quid enim tam contra officium, quam non reddere quod acceperis? Nec mensura pari, sed uberiore reddendum arbitror, et usum pensare beneficii; ut et tu subvenias, quantum ejus aerumnam repellas. Etenim superiorem non esse in referendo quam in conferendo beneficio, hoc est minorem esse, quoniam qui prior contulit, tempore superior est, humanitate prior.

160. It is also right that more regard should be paid to him who has conferred some benefit or gift upon you, if he ever is reduced to want. For what is so contrary to one’s duty as not to return what one has received? Nor do I think that a return of equal value should be made, but a greater. One ought to make up for the enjoyment of a kindness one has received from another, to such an extent as to help that person, even to putting an end to his needs. For not to be the better in returning than in conferring a kindness, is to be the inferior; for he who was the first to give was the first in point of time, and also first in showing a kind disposition.

161. Unde imitanda nobis est in hoc quoque natura terrarum, quae susceptum semen multiplicatiori solet numero reddere quam acceperit. Ideo tibi scriptum est: Sicut agricultura est homo insipiens, et tamquam vinea homo egens sensu. Si reliqueris eum, desolabitur (Prov. XXIV, 30, 31). Sicut agricultura ergo etiam sapiens, ut tamquam fenerata sibi majore mensura semina suscepta restituat. Terra ergo aut spontaneos fructus germinat, aut creditos uberiore cumulo refundit ac reddit. Utrumque debes quodam haereditario usu parentis, ne relinquaris sicut in foecundus ager. Esto tamen ut aliquis excusare possit quod non dederit, quomodo excusare potest quod non reddiderit? Non dare cuiquam vix licet, non reddere vero non licet.

161. Wherefore we must imitate the nature of the earth in this respect, which is wont to return the seed she has received, multiplied a thousand-fold. And so it is written: As a field is the foolish man, and as a vineyard is the man without sense. If you leave him, he will be made desolate. As a field also is the wise man, so as to return the seed given him in fuller measure, as though it had been lent to him on interest. The earth either produces fruits of its own accord, or pays back and restores, what it was entrusted with, in fruitful abundance. In both these ways a return is due from you, when you enter upon the use of your father’s possession, that you may not be left to lie as an unfruitful field. It may be that a man can make an excuse for not giving anything, but how can he excuse himself for not returning what was given? It is hardly right not to give anything; it is certainly not right to make no return for kindness done to oneself.

162. Ideo pulchre Salomon ait: Si sederis coenare ad mensam potentis, sapienter intellige ea quae apponuntur tibi: et mitte manum tuam sciens quod oportet te talia praeparare. Si autem insatiabilis es, 43 noli concupiscere escas ejus; haec enim obtinent vitam fallacem (Prov. XXIII, 1

et seq.). Quas nos imitari cupientes sententias, scripsimus. Conferre gratiam bonum est: at qui referre nescit, durissimus. Humanitatis exemplum ipsa terra suggerit. Spontane os fructus ministrat quos non severis, multiplicatum quoque reddit quod acceperit. Negare tibi pecuniam numeratam non licet, quomodo licet acceptam non referre gratiam? In proverbiis quoque habes, quod ita plurimum redhibitio ista gratiae apud Deum consuevit valere, ut etiam in die ruinae inveniat gratiam quando possunt praeponderare peccata. Et quid aliis utar exemplis, cum Dominus ipse remunerationem uberiorem sanctorum meritis in Evangelio polliceatur, atque exhortetur ut operemur bonum opus, dicens: Dimittite et dimittetur vobis; date et dabitur vobis; mensuram bonam, commotam, supereffluentem dabunt in sinum vestrum (Luc. VI, 37, 38)?

162. Therefore Solomon says well: When you sit to eat at the table of a ruler consider diligently what is before you, and put forth your hand, knowing that it behooves you to make such preparations. But if you are insatiable, be not desirous of his dainties, for they have but a deceptive life. I have written these words as I wish that we all should follow them. It is a good thing to do a service, but he who knows not how to return one is very hard. The earth herself supplies an example of kindliness. She provides fruits of her own accord, which thou did not sow; she also returns many-fold what she has received. It is not right for you to deny knowledge of money paid in to you, and how can it be right to let a service done go without notice? In the book of Proverbs also it is said: that the repayment of kindness has such great power with God, that through it, even in the day of destruction, a man may find grace, though his sins outweigh all else. And why need I bring forward other examples when the Lord Himself promises in the Gospel a fuller reward to the merits of the saints, and exhorts us to do good works, saying: Forgive, and you shall be forgiven; give, and it shall be

given unto you; good measure, shaken together and running over, shall men give into your bosom. Luke 6:37-38

163. Itaque et illud convivium Salomonis non de cibis, sed de operibus est bonis. Quo enim melius epulantur animi, quam bonis factis? Aut quid aliud tam facile potest justorum explere mentes, quam boni operis conscientia? Qui autem jucundior cibus, quam facere voluntatem Dei? Quem cibum sibi solum Dominus abundare memoravit, sicut scriptum est in Evangelio: Meus cibus est, ut faciam voluntatem Patris mei qui est in coelo (Joan. IV. 34).

163. But the feasting that Solomon speaks of has not to do with common food only, but it is to be understood as having to do with good works. For how can the soul be feasted in better wise than on good works; or what can so easily fill the mind of the just as the knowledge of a good work done? What pleasanter food is there than to do the will of God? The Lord has told us that He had this food alone in abundance, as it is written in the Gospel, saying: My food is to do the will of My Father which is in heaven. John 4:34

164. Hoc cibo delectemur, de quo ait Propheta: Delectare in Domino (Psal. XXXVI, 4). Hoc cibo delectantur; qui superiores delectationes mirabili ingenio comprehenderunt, qui possunt scire qualis sit illa munda et intelligibilis mentis delectatio. Edamus ergo panes sapientiae; et saturemur in verbo Dei; quia non in solo pane, sed in omni verbo Dei vita est hominis facti ad imaginem Dei. De poculo vero satis expresse dicit sanctus Job: Sicut terra exspectans pluviam, sic et isti sermones meos (Job. XXIX, 23).

164. In this food let us delight of which the prophet says: Delight in the Lord. Psalm 37:4 In this food they delight, who have with wonderful knowledge learned to take in the higher delights; who can know what that delight is which is pure and which can be understood by the mind. Let us

therefore eat the bread of wisdom, and let us be filled with the word of God. For the life of man made in the image of God consists not in bread alone, but in every word that comes from God. Matthew 4:4 About the cup, too, holy Job says, plainly enough: As the earth waits for the rain, so did they for my words. Job 29:23

CAPUT XXXII.

PRAEMISSO QUID GRATIAE ob memorati convivii fercula sit referendum, variae reddendi beneficii rationes recensetur; ubi et de benevolentiae laude, effectis atque ordine disseritur.

CHAPTER 32.

After saying what return must be made for the service of the above-mentioned feast, various reasons for repaying kindness are enumerated. Then he speaks in praise of good-will, on its results and its order.

165. Pulchrum est ergo ut divinarum Scripturarum humescamus alloquio, et quasi ros sic in nos Dei verba descendant. Cum igitur sederis ad illam mensam potentis, intellige quis sit iste potens: et in paradiso delectationis positus, atque in convivio sapientiae locatus, considera quae apponuntur tibi. Scripura divina convivium sapientiae est: singuli libri singula sunt fercula. 44 Intellige prius quae habeant ferculorum dapes, et tunc mitte manum; ut ea quae legis vel quae accipis a Domino Deo tuo, operibus exsequaris, et collatam in te gratiam officiis repraesentes: ut Petrus et Paulus, qui evangelizando vicem quamdam largitori muneris reddiderunt, ut possent singuli dicere: Gratia autem Dei sum quod sum, et gratia ejus egena in me non fuit: sed abundantius illis omnibus laboravi (I Cor. XV, 10).

165. It is therefore a good thing for us to be bedewed with the exhortations of the divine Scriptures, and that the word of God should come down upon us like the dew. When, therefore, you sit at the table of that great man, understand who that great man is. Set in the paradise of delight and placed at the feast of wisdom, think of what is put before you! The divine

Scriptures are the feast of wisdom, and the single books the various dishes. Know, first, what dishes the banquet offers, then stretch forth your hand, that those things which you read, or which you receive from the Lord your God, you may carry out in action, and so by your duties may show forth the grace that was granted you. Such was the case with Peter and Paul, who in preaching the Gospel made some return to Him Who freely gave them all things. So that each of them might say: By the grace of God I am what I am, and His grace in me was not in vain, but I laboured more abundantly than they all. 1 Corinthians 15:10

166. Alius ergo fructum accepti beneficii, ut aurum auro, argentum argento rependit: alius laborem, alius, haud scio an etiam locupletius, solum restituit affectum. Quid enim si reddendi nulla facultas suppetit? In beneficio referendo plus animus quam census operatur: magisque praeponderat benevolentia, quam possibilitas referendi muneris. Gratia enim in eo ipso quod habetur, refertur. Magna igitur benevolentia, quae etiam si nihil conferat, plus exhibet: et cum in patrimonio nihil habeat, largitur pluribus; idque facit sine ullo sui dispendio, et lucro omnium. Et ideo praestat benevolentia supra ipsam liberalitatem. Ditior haec moribus, quam illa muneribus; plures enim sunt qui indigent beneficio, quam qui abundant.

166. One repays the fruit of a service done him, and repays it, gold with gold, silver with silver. Another gives his labour. Another — and I do not know whether he does not do it in fuller measure — gives but the best wishes of his heart. But what if there is no opportunity to make a return at hand? If we wish to return a kindness, more depends on the spirit in which we do it than on the amount of our property, while people will think more of our good-will, than of our power to make a full return. For a kindness done is regarded in the light of what one has. A great thing, therefore, is good-will. For even if it has nothing to give, yet it offers the more, and though

there is nothing in its own possession, yet it gives largely to many, and does that, too, without loss to itself, and to the gain of the many. Thus good-will is better than liberality itself. It is richer in character than the other is in gifts; for there are more that need a kindness than there are that have abundance.

167. Est autem benevolentia etiam conjuncta liberalitati, a qua ipsa liberalitas proficiscitur, cum largitatis affectum sequitur largiendi usus: et separata atque discreta. Ubi enim deest liberalitas, benevolentia manet, communis quaedam parens omnium, quae amicitiam connectit et copulat: in consiliis fidelis, in prosperis laeta, in tristibus moesta; ut unusquisque benevolentis se magis quam sapientis credat consilio: ut David cum esset prudentior, Jonathae tamen junioris consiliis acquiescebat. Tolle ex usu hominum benevolentiam, tamquam solem e mundo tuleris, ita erit; quia sine ea usus hominum esse non potest ut peregrinanti monstrare viam, revocare errantem, deferre hospitium, (non igitur mediocris virtus, de qua sibi plaudebat Job dicens (Job. XXXI, 32): Foris autem non habitabat hospes, janua mea omni venienti patebat) aquam de aqua profluenti dare, lumen de lumine accendere. Benevolentia itaque in his est omnibus, tamquam fons aquae reficiens sitient em, et tamquam lumen quod etiam in aliis luceat, nec illis desit, qui de suo lumine aliis lumen accenderint.

167. But good-will also goes in conjunction with liberality, for liberality really starts from it, seeing that the habit of giving comes after the desire to give. It exists, however, also separate and distinct. For where liberality is wanting, there good-will abides — the parent as it were of all in common, uniting and binding friendships together. It is faithful in counsel, joyful in times of prosperity, and in times of sorrow sad. So it happens that any one trusts himself to the counsels of a man of good-will rather than to those of a wise one, as David did. For he, though he was the more farseeing, agreed to

the counsels of Jonathan, who was the younger. Remove good-will out of the reach of men, and it is as though one had withdrawn the sun from the world. For without it men would no longer care to show the way to the stranger, to recall the wanderer, to show hospitality (this latter is no small virtue, for on this point Job praised himself, when he said: At my doors the stranger dwelt not, my gate was open to every one who came), Job 31:32 nor even to give water from the water that flows at their door, or to light another's candle at their own. Thus good-will exists in all these, like a fount of waters refreshing the thirsty, and like a light, which, shining forth to others, fails not them who have given a light to others from their own light.

168. Est etiam illa benevolentiae liberalitas, ut si quod habes debitoris chirographum, scindens restituas, nihil a debitore consecutus debiti. Quod exemplo sui facere nos debere Job sanctus admonet (Ibid., 35 et seq.). Nam qui habet, non mutuatur: qui non habet, non liberat syngrapham. Quid igitur etiam si ipse non exigas, avaris haeredibus reservas, quam potes cum benevolentiae laude sine damno pecuniae repraesentare? 45

168. There is also liberality springing from good-will, that makes one tear up the bond of a debtor which one holds, without demanding any of the debt back from him. Holy Job bids us act thus by his own example. For he that has does not borrow, but he that has not does not put an end to the agreement. Why, then, if you have no need, do you save up for greedy heirs what you can give back immediately, and so get praise for good-will, and that without loss of money?

169. Atque ut plenius discutiamus; benevolentia a domesticis primum profecta personis, id est, a filiis, parentibus, fratribus, per conjunctionum gradus in civitatum pervenit ambitum, et de paradiso egressa mundum replevit. Denique cum in viro et femina benevolentem Deus posuisset affectum, dixit: Erunt ambo in una carne (Gen. II, 24), et in uno spiritu.

Unde se Eva serpenti credidit; quoniam quae benevolentiam acceperat, esse malevolentiam non opinabatur.

169. To go to the root of the matter — good-will starts first with those at home, that is with children, parents, brothers, and goes on from one step to another throughout the world. Having started from Paradise, it has filled the world. For God set the feeling of good-will in the man and woman, saying: They shall be one flesh, Genesis 2:24 and (one may add) one spirit. Wherefore Eve also believed the serpent; for she who had received the gift of good-will did not think there was ill-will.

CAPUT XXXIII.

BENEVOLENTIAM IN ECCLESIA maxime, et earumdem aut affinium virtutum hominibus perseverare.

CHAPTER 33.

Good-will exists especially in the Church, and nourishes kindred virtues.

170. Augetur benevolentia coetu Ecclesiae, fidei consortio, initiandi societate, percipiendae gratiae necessitudine, mysteriorum communione. Haec enim etiam appellationes necessitudinum, reverentiam filiorum, auctoritatem et pietatem patrum, germanitatem fratrum sibi vindicant. Multum igitur ad cumulandam spectat benevolentiam necessitudo gratiae.

170. Good-will expands in the body of the Church, by fellowship in faith, by the bond of baptism, by kinship through grace received, by communion in the mysteries. For all these bonds claim for themselves the name of intimacy, the reverence of children, the authority and religious care of parents, the relationship of brothers. Therefore the bonds of grace clearly point to an increase of good-will.

171. Adjuvant etiam parium studia virtutum. Siquidem benevolentia etiam morum facit similitudinem. Denique Jonathas filius regis imitabatur sancti David mansuetudinem, propter quod diligebat eum (I. Reg. XIX, 2 et seq.). Unde et illud: Cum sancto sanctus eris (Psal. XVII, 26), non solum ad conversationem, sed etiam ad benevolentiam derivandum videtur. Nam utique et filii Noe simul habitabant, et non erat in his morum concordia (Gen. IX, 22 et seq.). Habitabant etiam in domo patria Esau et Jacob, sed

discrepabant (Gen. XXV, 27). Non enim erat benevolentia inter eos, quae sibi praeferret alterum: sed magis contentio, quae praeriperet benedictionem (Gen. XXVII, 14 et seq.). Nam cum alter praedurus, alter mansuetus esset, inter dispares mores, et studia compugnantia, benevolentia esse non poterat. Adde quia sanctus Jacob paternae degenerem domus virtuti praeferre non poterat.

171. The desire to attain to like virtues also stands one in good stead; just as again good-will brings about a likeness in character. For Jonathan the king's son imitated the gentleness of holy David, because he loved him. Wherefore those words: With the holy you shall be holy, seem not only to be concerned with our ordinary intercourse, but also to have some connection with good-will. The sons of Noah indeed dwelt together, and yet their characters were not at all alike. Esau and Jacob also dwelt together in their father's house, but were very unlike. There was, however, no good-will between them to make the one prefer the other to himself, but rather a rivalry as to which should first get the blessing. Since one was so hard, and the other gentle, good-will could not exist as between such different characters and conflicting desires. Add to this the fact that holy Jacob could not prefer the unworthy in son of his father's house to virtue.

172. Nihil autem tam consociabile, quam cum aequitate justitia: quae velut compar et socia 46 benevolentiae, facit ut eos quos pares nobis credimus, diligamus. Habet autem in se benevolentia, etiam fortitudinem; nam cum amicitia ex benevolentiae fonte procedat, non dubitat pro amico gravia vitae sustinere pericula: Et si mala mihi, inquit, evenerint per illum, sustineo (Eccli. XXII, 31).

172. But nothing is so harmonious as justice and impartiality. For this, as the comrade and ally of good-will, makes us love those whom we think to be like ourselves. Again, good-will contains also in itself fortitude. For

when friendship springs from the fount of good-will it does not hesitate to endure the great dangers of life for a friend. If evils come to me through him, it says, I will bear them. Sirach 23:31

CAPUT XXXIV.

ALIA NONNULLA BENEVOLENTIAE commoda memorantur.

CHAPTER 34.

Some other advantages of goodwill are here enumerated.

173. Benevolentia etiam gladium iracundiae extorquere consuevit. Benevolentia facit ut amici vulnera utilia quam voluntaria inimici oscula sint (Prov. XXVII, 6). Benevolentia facit, ut unus fiat ex pluribus; quoniam si plures amici sint, unus fiunt, in quibus unus spiritus et una sententia est. Simul advertimus etiam correptiones in amicitia gratas esse, quae aculeos habent, dolorem non habent. Compungimur enim censoriis sermonibus, sed benevolentiae delectamur sedulitate.

173. Good-will also is wont to remove the sword of anger. It is also good-will that makes the wounds of a friend to be better than the willing kisses of an enemy. Proverbs 27:6 Goodwill again makes many to become one. For if many are friends, they become one; in whom there is but one spirit and one opinion. We note, too, that in friendship corrections are pleasing. They have their sting, but they cause no pain. We are pierced by the words of blame, but are delighted with the anxiety that good-will shows.

174. Ad summam, non omnibus eadem semper officia debentur, nec personarum semper, sed plerumque causarum et temporum praelationes sunt, ut vicinum quis interdum magis quam fratrem adjuverit. Quoniam et Salomon dicit: Melior vicinus in proximo, quam frater longe habitans (Ibid., 10). Et ideo plerumque amici se benevolentiae quisque committit, quam

fratris necessitudini. Tantum valet benevolentia, ut plerumque pignora vincat naturae.

174. To conclude, the same duties are not owed to all. Nor is regard ever paid to persons, though the occasion and the circumstances of the case are generally taken into consideration, so that one may at times have to help a neighbour rather than one’s brother. For Solomon also says: Better is a neighbour that is near than a brother far off. Proverbs 27:10 For this reason a man generally trusts himself to the good-will of a friend rather than to the ties of relationship with his brother. So far does good-will prevail that it often goes beyond the pledges given by nature.

CAPUT XXXV.

De fortitudine quae dividitur in bellicam atque domesticam: primam sine justitia et prudentia virtutem non esse: alteram maxime in tolerantia esse positam.

CHAPTER 35.

On fortitude. This is divided into two parts: as it concerns matters of war and matters at home. The first cannot be a virtue unless combined with justice and prudence. The other depends to a large extent upon endurance.

175. Satis copiose justitiae loco honesti naturam et vim tractavimus. Nunc de fortitudine tractemus, quae velut excelsior caeteris, dividitur in res bellicas et domesticas. Sed bellicarum rerum studium a nostro officio jam alienum 47 videtur, quia animi magis quam corporis officio intendimus: nec ad arma jam spectat usus noster, sed ad pacis negotia. Majores autem nostri, ut Jesus Nave, Hierobaal, Samson, David summam rebus quoque bellicis retulere gloriam.

175. We have discussed fully enough the nature and force of what is virtuous from the standpoint of justice. Now let us discuss fortitude, which (being a loftier virtue than the rest) is divided into two parts, as it concerns matters of war and matters at home. But the thought of warlike matters seems to be foreign to the duty of our office, for we have our thoughts fixed more on the duty of the soul than on that of the body; nor is it our business to look to arms, but rather to the affairs of peace. Our fathers, however, as Joshua, the son of Nun, Jerubbaal, Samson, and David, gained great glory also in war.

176. Est itaque fortitudo velut excelsior caeteris, sed numquam incomitata virtus; non enim seipsam committit sibi: alioquin fortitudo sine justitia iniquitatis materia est. Quo enim validior est, eo promptior ut inferiorem opprimat; cum in ipsis rebus bellicis justa bella an injusta sint, spectandum putetur.

176. Fortitude, therefore, is a loftier virtue than the rest, but it is also one that never stands alone. For it never depends on itself alone. Moreover, fortitude without justice is the source of wickedness. For the stronger it is, the more ready is it to crush the weaker, while in matters of war one ought to see whether the war is just or unjust.

177. Numquam David nisi lacessitus bellum intulit. Itaque prudentiam fortitudinis comitem habuit in praelio. Nam et adversus Goliam immani mole corporis virum singulari certamine dimicaturus, arma quibus oneraretur, respuit (I Reg. XVII, 40); virtus enim suis lacertis magis quam alienis integumentis nititur. Deinde eminus, quo gravius feriret, ictu lapidis hostem interemit. Postea numquam nisi consulto Domino (II Reg. V, 19 et seq.), bellum adorsus. Ideo in omnibus victor praeliis, usque ad summam senectutem manu promptus, bello adversum Titanas suscepto, ferocibus bellator miscebatur agminibus (II Reg. XXI, 15 et seq.) gloriae cupidus, incuriosus salutis.

177. David never waged war unless he was driven to it. Thus prudence was combined in him with fortitude in the battle. For even when about to fight single-handed against Goliath, the enormous giant, he rejected the armour with which he was laden. His strength depended more on his own arm than on the weapons of others. Then, at a distance, to get a stronger throw, with one cast of a stone, he slew his enemy. After that he never entered on a war without seeking counsel of the Lord. Thus he was victorious in all wars, and even to his last years was ready to fight. And when war arose with the

Philistines, he joined battle with their fierce troops, being desirous of winning renown, while careless of his own safety.

178. Sed non haec sola praeclara fortitudo est; sed etiam illorum gloriosam fortitudinem accipimus, qui per fidem magnitudine animi obstruxerunt leonum ora, exstinxerunt virtutem ignis, effugerunt aciem gladii, convaluerunt de infirmitate fortes (Hebr. XI, 33, 34): qui non comitatu et legionibus succincti communem cum multis victoriam, sed nuda virtute animi singularem de perfidis retulerunt triumphum. Quam insuperabilis Daniel, qui circa latera sua rugientes non expavit leones! Fremebant bestiae, et ille epulabatur (Dan. XIV, 38).

178. But this is not the only kind of fortitude which is worthy of note. We consider their fortitude glorious, who, with greatness of mind, through faith stopped the mouth of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong. Hebrews 11:33-34 They did not gain a victory in common with many, surrounded with comrades, and aided by the legions, but won their triumph alone over their treacherous foes by the mere courage of their own souls. How unconquerable was Daniel, who feared not the lions raging round about him. The beasts roared, while he was eating.

CAPUT XXXVI.

FORTITUDINIS OFFICIUM ALIUD esse, ut injuriam a debiliori depellamus: aliud ut non rectos animi motus coerceamus: aliud demum tum ut aspernemur humilia, tum ut honesta infracto animo prosequamur. Quae ab universis quidem Christianis, sed potissimum ab Ecclesiasticis viris praestanda demonstrantur.

CHAPTER 36.

One of the duties of fortitude is to keep the weak from receiving injury; another, to check the wrong motions of our own souls; a third, both to disregard humiliations, and to do what is right with an even mind. All these clearly ought to be fulfilled by all Christians, and especially by the clergy.

179. Non igitur in viribus corporis et lacertis tantummodo fortitudinis gloria est, sed magis in virtute animi: neque in inferenda (23, q. 2, c. Non in inferenda), sed in depellenda injuria lex virtutis est. Qui enim non repellit a socio injuriam, si potest, tam est in vitio, quam ille qui facit. Unde (Exod. II, 11 et seq.) sanctus Moyses hinc prius orsus est tentamenta bellicae fortitudinis. Nam cum vidisset Hebraeum ab Aegyptio injuriam accipientem, defendit; ita ut Aegyptium sterneret, atque in arena absconderet. Salomon quoque ait: Eripe eum qui ducitur ad mortem (Prov. XXIV, 10). 48

179. The glory of fortitude, therefore, does not rest only on the strength of one’s body or of one’s arms, but rather on the courage of the mind. Nor is the law of courage exercised in causing, but in driving away all harm. He who does not keep harm off a friend, if he can, is as much in fault as he who

causes it. Wherefore holy Moses gave this as a first proof of his fortitude in war. For when he saw an Hebrew receiving hard treatment at the hands of an Egyptian, he defended him, and laid low the Egyptian and hid him in the sand. Exodus 2:11 Solomon also says: Deliver him that is led to death. Proverbs 24:11

180. Unde igitur hoc vel Tullius, vel etiam Panaetius, aut ipse Aristoteles transtulerint, apertum est satis. Quamquam etiam his duobus antiquior dixerit Job: Salvum feci pauperem de manu potentis, et pupillum cui adjutor non erat, adjuvi. Benedictio perituri in me veniat (Job XXIX, 12, 13). Nonne hic fortissimus, qui tam fortiter pertulit impetus diaboli, et vicit eum virtute mentis suae? Neque vero de ejus dubitandum fortitudine, cui dicit Dominus: Accinge sicut vir lumbos tuos, suscipe altitudinem et virtutem: omnem autem injuriosum humiliato (Job. XL, 2). Apostolus quoque ait: Habetis fortissimam consolationem (Hebr. VI, 18). Est ergo fortis qui se in dolore aliquo consolatur.

180. From whence, then, Cicero and Panætius, or even Aristotle, got these ideas is perfectly clear. For though living before these two, Job had said: I delivered the poor out of the hand of the strong, and I aided the fatherless for whom there was no helper. Let the blessing of him that was ready to perish come upon me. Job 29:12-13 Was not he most brave in that he bore so nobly the attacks of the devil, and overcame him with the powers of his mind? Nor have we cause to doubt the fortitude of him to whom the Lord said: Gird up your loins like a man. Put on loftiness and power. Humble every one that does wrong. The Apostle also says: You have a strong consolation. Hebrews 6:18 He, then, is brave who finds consolation in any grief.

181. Et re vera jure ea fortitudo vocatur, quando unusquisque se ipsum vincit, iram continet, nullis illecebris emollitur atque inflectitur, non

adversis perturbatur, non extollitur secundis, et quasi vento quodam, variarum rerum circumfertur mutatione. Quid autem excelsius et magnificentius, quam exercere mentem, afficere carnem et in servitudinem redigere; ut obediat imperio, consiliis obtemperet, ut in adeundis laboribus impigre exsequatur propositum animi ac voluntatem?

181. And in very truth, rightly is that called fortitude, when a man conquers himself, restrains his anger, yields and gives way to no allurements, is not put out by misfortunes, nor gets elated by good success, and does not get carried away by every varying change as by some chance wind. But what is more noble and splendid than to train the mind, keep down the flesh, and reduce it to subjection, so that it may obey commands, listen to reason, and in undergoing labours readily carry out the intention and wish of the mind?

182. Haec igitur prima vis fortitudinis, quoniam in duobus generibus fortitudo spectatur animi. Primo, ut externa corporis pro minimis habeat, et quasi superflua despicienda magis quam expetenda ducat. Secundo, ut ea quae summa sunt, omnes quae res in quibus honestas et illud πρέπον cernitur, praeclara animi intentione usque ad affectum persequatur. Quid enim tam praeclarum, quam ut ita animum informes tuum ut, neque divitias, neque voluptates, neque honores in maximis constituas, neque in his studium omne conteras? Quod cum ita affectus animo fueris, necesse est illud honestum ac decorum praeponendum putes, illique mentem ita intendas tuam, ut quidquid acciderit quo frangi animi solent, aut patrimonii amissio, aut honoris immunitio, aut obtrectatio infidelium, quasi superior non sentias. Deinde ut te salutis ipsius pericula pro justitia suscepta non moveant.

182. This, then, is the first notion of fortitude. For fortitude of the mind can be regarded in two ways. First, as it counts all externals as very unimportant, and looks on them as rather superfluous and to be despised

than to be sought after. Secondly, as it strives after those things which are the highest, and all things in which one can see anything moral (or as the Greeks call it, πρέπον,) with all the powers of the mind. For what can be more noble than to train your mind so as not to place a high value on riches and pleasures and honours, nor to waste all your care on these? When your mind is thus disposed, you must consider how all that is virtuous and seemly must be placed before everything else; and you must so fix your mind upon that, that if anything happens which may break your spirit, whether loss of property, or the reception of fewer honours, or the disparagement of unbelievers, you may not feel it, as though thou were above such things; nay, so that even dangers which menace your safety, if undertaken at the call of justice, may not trouble you.

183. Haec vera fortitudo est, quam habet Christi athleta, qui, nisi legitimo certamine, non coronatur. An mediocre tibi videtur praeceptum fortitudinis: Tribulatio patientiam operatur, patientia probationem, probatio autem spem (II Cor VII, 5)? Vide quot certamina, et una corona. Quod praeceptum non dat, nisi qui est confortatus in Christo Jesu, cujus caro requiem non habebat. Afflictio undique: foris pugnae, intus timores. Et quamvis in periculis, in laboribus plurimis, in carceribus, in mortibus positus; animo tamen non frangebatur, sed praeliabatur, adeo ut potentior suis fieret infirmitatibus.

183. This is the true fortitude which Christ's warrior has, who receives not the crown unless he strives lawfully. 2 Timothy 2:5 Or does that call to fortitude seem to you but a poor one: Tribulation works patience, and patience, experience, and experience, hope? Romans 5:3-4 See how many a contest there is, yet but one crown! That call none gives, but he who was strengthened in Christ Jesus, and whose flesh had no rest. Affliction on all sides, fighting without and fears within. 2 Corinthians 7:5 And though in

dangers, in countless labours, in prisons, in deaths — he was not broken in spirit, but fought so as to become more powerful through his infirmities.

184. Itaque considera quemadmodum eos qui ad officia Ecclesiae accedunt, despicientiam rerum humanarum habere debere doceat. Si ergo 49 mortui estis cum Christo ab elementis hujus mundi, quid adhuc velut viventes de hoc mundo decernitis? Ne tetigeritis, ne attaminaveritis, ne gustaveritis, quae sunt omnia ad corruptelam ipso usu (Coloss. II, 20 et seq.). Et infra: Si ergo consurrexistis cum Christo, quae sursum sunt quaerite, non quae super terram (Coloss. III. 1). Et iterum: Mortificate ergo membra vestra, quae sunt super terram (Ibid., 5). Et haec quidem adhuc omnibus fidelibus: tibi autem, fili, contemptum divitiarum, profanarum quoque et anilium fabularum, suadet declinationem, nihil permittens nisi quod te exerceat ad pietatem; quia corporalis exercitatio nulli rei usui est: pietas autem ad omnia utilis.

184. Think, then, how he teaches those who enter upon their duties in the Church, that they ought to have contempt for all earthly things: If, then, you be dead with Christ from the elements of this world, why do ye act as though living in the world? Touch not, taste not, handle not, which all are to perish with the using. And further: If you then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, not those things which are on the earth. Colossians 3:1-2 And again: Mortify, therefore, your members which are on the earth. Colossians 3:5 This, indeed, is meant for all the faithful. But you, especially, my son, he urges to despise riches and to avoid profane and old wives fables — allowing nothing but this: Exercise yourself unto godliness, for bodily exercise profits a little, but godliness is profitable unto all things. 1 Timothy 4:8

185. Exerceat ergo te pietas ad justitiam, continentiam, mansuetudinem; ut fugias juvenilia opera, confirmatus et radicatus in gratia bonum fidei subeas certamen: non te implices negotiis saecularibus, quoniam Deo militas.

Etenim si is qui imperatori militat, a susceptionibus litium, actu negotiorum forensium, venditione mercium prohibetur humanis legibus; quanto magis qui fidei exercet militiam, ab omni usu negotiationis abstinere debet, agelluli sui contentus fructibus, si habet: si non habet, stipendiorum suorum fructu! Siquidem bonus testis est qui dicit: Juvenis fui, et senui, et non vidi justum derelictum, nec semen ejus quaerens panem (Psal. XXXVI, 25). Ea est enim tranquillitas animi et temperantia, quae neque studio quaerendi afficitur, neque egestatis metu angitur.

185. Let, then, godliness exercise you unto justice, continence, gentleness, that you may avoid childish acts, and that rooted and grounded in grace you may fight the good fight of faith. 1 Timothy 6:12 Entangle not yourself in the affairs of this life, for you are fighting for God. 2 Timothy 2:4 For if he who fights for the emperor is forbidden by human laws to enter upon lawsuits, to do any legal business, or to sell merchandise; how much more ought he who enters upon the warfare of faith to keep from every kind of business, being satisfied with the produce of his own little bit of land, if he has it? If he has not that, let him be content with the pay he will get for his service. Here is a good witness to this fact, who says: I have been young and now am old, yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread. That is the true rest and temperance of the mind which is not excited by the desire of gain, nor tormented by the fear of want.

CAPUT XXXVII.

SERVANDAM UT IN prosperis, ita et in adversis mentis aequalitatem: mala tamen interdum declinanda.

CHAPTER 37.

An even mind should be preserved in adversity as well as in prosperity. However, evil things must be avoided.

186. Ea est etiam quae dicitur vacuitas animi ab angoribus; ut neque in doloribus molliores simus, neque in prosperis elatiores. Quod si hi qui ad capescendam rempublicam adhortantur aliquos, haec praecepta dant, quanto magis nos qui ad officium Ecclesiae vocamur, talia debemus agere quae placeant Deo; ut 50 praetendat in nobis virtus Christi, et ita simus nostro probati imperatori, ut membra nostra arma justitiae sint, arma non carnalia in quibus peccatum regnet, sed arma fortia Deo quibus peccatum destruatur: moriatur caro nostra, ut in ea omnis culpa moriatur; et quasi ex mortuis viventes, novis resurgamus operibus ac moribus!

186. There is also that true freedom of the mind from vexation which makes us neither give way too much in our griefs, nor be too elated in prosperity. And if they who urge men to undertake the affairs of the state give such rules, how much more ought we who are called to do duty in the Church, to act thus and do those things which are pleasing to God, so that Christ's power may show itself forth in us. We too must prove ourselves to our Captain, so that our members may be the weapons of justice; not carnal weapons in which sin may reign, but weapons strong for God, whereby sin

may be destroyed. Let our flesh die, that in it every sin may die. And as though living again after death, may we rise to new works and a new life.

187. Haec sunt plena honesti et decori officii stipendia fortitudinis. Sed quia in omnibus quae agimus, non solum quid honestum, sed etiam quid possibile sit quaerimus, ne forte aggrediamur aliquid quod non possimus exsequi. Unde nos tempore persecutionis de civitate in civitatem concedere, immo ut verbo ipso utar, fugere (Matth. X, 23) vult Dominus; ne temere aliquis dum martyrii desiderat gloriam, offerat se periculis, quae fortasse caro infirmior, aut remissior animus ferre ac tolerare non queat.

187. These, then, are the services of fortitude; and full they are of virtuous and seemly duties. But in all that we do we must look to see, not only if it is virtuous, but whether it is possible, so that we may not enter upon anything that we cannot carry out. Wherefore the Lord, to use His own word, wills us to flee in the time of persecution from one city to another; Matthew 10:23 so that no one, while longing for the crown of martyrdom, may put himself in the way of dangers which possibly the weak flesh or a mind indulged could not bear and endure.

CAPUT XXXVIII.

ADVERSUS FUTURA INCOMMODA mentem exercitatione roborandam, nec non confirmandam praevidentia: et quae hic incurrant difficultates?

CHAPTER 38.

We must strengthen the mind against troubles to come, and build it up by looking out for them beforehand. What difficulties there are in doing this.

188. Nec rursus propter ignaviam cedere quis ac deserere fidem debet metu periculi. Qua gratia praeparandus est animus, exercenda mens, stabilienda ad constantiam, ut nullis perturbari animus possit terroribus, nullis frangi molestiis, nullis suppliciis cedere. Quae difficile quidem sustinentur: sed quia omnia supplicia graviorum suppliciorum vincuntur formidine, ideo si consilio firmes animum tuum, nec a ratione discedendum putes, et proponas divini judicii metum, perpetui supplicii tormenta, potes animi subire tolerantiam.

188. But again, no one must retire through cowardice, or give up his faith from fear of danger. With what grace must the soul be equipped, and the mind trained and taught to stand firm, so as never to be disturbed by any fears, to be broken by any troubles, or to yield to any torments! With what difficulty indeed are they borne! But as all pains seem less in the fear of greater pains, so also, if you build up your soul by quiet counsel, and determine not to go from your course, and lay before you the fear of divine judgment and the torment of eternal punishment, can you gain endurance of mind.

189. Hoc igitur diligentiae est, ut quis ita se comparet: illud ingenii, si quis potest vigore mentis praevidere quae futura sunt, et tamquam ante oculos locare quid possit accidere, et quid agere debeat, si ita acciderit, definire; interdum 51 duo et tria simul volvere animo, quae conjiciat aut singula aut conjuncta accidere posse, et aut singulis aut conjunctis disponere actus quos intelligat profuturos.

189. If a man thus prepares himself, he gives signs of great diligence. On the other hand it is a sign of natural ability, if a man by the power of his mind can foresee the future, and put as it were before his eyes what may happen, and decide what he ought to do if it should take place. It may happen, too, that he will think over two or three things at once, which he supposes may come either singly or together, and that he settles what he will do with them as he thinks will be to the most advantage, in the event of their coming either singly or together.

190. Fortis ergo est viri non dissimulare cum aliquid immineat, sed praetendere, et tamquam explorare de specula quadam mentis, et obviare cogitatione provida rebus futuris, ne forte dicat postea: Ideo ista incidi, quia non arbitrabar posse evenire. Denique nisi explorentur adversa, cito occupant. Ut in bello improvisus hostis vix sustinetur, et si imparatos inveniat, facile opprimit: ita animum mala inexplorata plus frangunt.

200. Therefore it is the duty of a brave man not to shut his eyes when anything threatens, but to put it before him and to search it out as it were in the mirror of his mind, and to meet the future with foreseeing thought, for fear he might afterwards have to say: This has come to me because I thought it could not come about. If misfortunes are not looked for beforehand, they quickly get a hold over us. In war an unexpected enemy is with difficulty resisted, and if he finds the others unprepared, he easily overcomes them; so evils unthought of readily break down the soul.

190. In his igitur duobus illa est animi excellentia, ut primum animus tuus bonis exercitus cogitationibus, mundo corde quod verum et honestum est videat: Beati enim mundo corde, quia ipsi etiam Deum videbunt (Matth. V, 8): atque id quod honestum est solum bonum judicet: deinde nullis perturbetur occupationibus, nullis cupiditatibus fluctuet.

200. In these two points, then, consists the excellency of the soul: so that your soul, trained in good thoughts, and with a pure heart, first, may see what is true and virtuous (for blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God), Matthew 5:8 and may decide that only to be good which is virtuous; and, next, may never be disturbed by business of any kind, nor get tossed about by any desires.

191. Neque vero id facile quisquam facit. Quid enim tam difficile quam dispicere tamquam ex arce aliqua sapientiae opes, aliaque omnia quae plerisque videntur magna et praecelsa? Deinde ut judicium tuum stabili ratione confirmes, et quae judicaveris levia, tamquam nihil profutura contemnas? Deinde ut si quid acciderit adversi, idque grave et acerbum putetur, ita feras, ut nihil praeter naturam accidisse putes, cum legeris: Nudus sum natus, nudus exibo. Quae Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit (Job I, 21); utique et filios amiserat et facultates. Servesque in omnibus personam sapientis et justi, sicut ille servavit qui ait: Sicut Domino placuit, ita factum est: sit nomen Domini benedictum (Ibid.). Et infra: Sicut una insipientium mulierum locuta es. Si bona suscepimus de manu Domini, quae mala sunt non sustinebimus (Job II, 10) ?

201. Not that this is an easy thing for any one. For what is so difficult as to discern, as though from some watchtower, the resources of wisdom and all those other things, which to most seem so great and noble? Again, what so difficult as to place one’s decision on fixed grounds, and to despise what one has decided to be worthless, as of no good? Or, once more, what so

difficult, when some misfortune has happened, and it is looked on as something serious and grieving, as to bear it in such a way that one considers it nothing beyond what is natural, when one reads: Naked was I born, naked shall I go forth. What the Lord gave, the Lord has taken away Job 1:21 (he who said this had lost children and possessions), and to preserve in all things the character of a wise and upright man, as he did who says: As the Lord pleased, so did He. Blessed be the name of the Lord. Job 1:21 And again: You speak as one of the foolish women speaks. Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil? Job 2:10

CAPUT XXXIX.

FORTITUDINEM ADVERSUS OMNIA vitia dimicare debere, praecipue adversus avaritiam: quod in sancto Job docetur factum.

CHAPTER 39.

One must show fortitude in fighting against all vices, especially against avarice. Holy Job teaches this lesson.

192. Non est igitur mediocris nec discreta a caeteris animi fortitudo, quae bellum cum virtutibus gerat: sed quae sola defendat ornamenta virtutum omnium, et judicia custodiat; et quae inexpiabili praelio adversus omnia vitia decernat, invicta ad labores, fortis ad pericula, rigidior adversus voluptates, dura adversus illecebras, quibus aurem deferre nesciat, nec (ut dicitur) ave dicat; pecuniam negligat, avaritiam fugiat tamquam labem quamdam, quae 52 virtutem effeminet. Nihil enim tam contrarium fortitudini, quam lucro vinci. Frequenter pulsis hostibus, et inclinata in fugam adversariorum acie, dum exuviis caesorum capitur praeliator, inter ipsos quos stravit, miserandus occubuit: et triumphis suis dejectae legiones dum spoliis occupantur, hostem in se revocaverunt, qui fugerat.

202. Fortitude of soul, then, is not an unimportant thing, nor is it cut off from the other virtues, for it wages war in conjunction with the virtues, and alone defends the beauty of all the virtues, and guards their powers of discernment, and fights against all vices with implacable hate. It is unconquerable as regards labours, brave to endure dangers, stern as against pleasures, hardened against allurements, to which it knows not how to lend an ear, nor, so to speak, to give a greeting. It cares not for money, and flies

from avarice as from a plague that destroys all virtue. For nothing is so much opposed to fortitude as when one allows oneself to be overcome by gain. Often when the enemy is repulsed and the hosts of the foe are turned to flight, has the warrior died miserably among those whom he has laid low, while he is busy with the spoils of the fallen; and the legions, while busy with their booty, have called back upon them the enemy that had fled, and so have been robbed of their triumph.

193. Fortitudo igitur tam immanem pestem repellat et proterat, nec tentetur cupiditatibus, nec frangatur metu; quia virtus sibi constat, ut fortiter omnia persequatur vitia, tamquam virtutis venena: iracundiam velut quibusdam propulset armis, quae tollat consilium, et tamquam aegritudinem vitet. Gloriae quoque caveat appetentiam, quae frequenter nocuit immoderatius expetita, semper autem usurpata.

203. Fortitude, then, must repulse so foul a plague and crush it down. It must not let itself be tempted by desires, nor shaken by fear. Virtue stands true to itself and bravely pursues all vices as though they were the poison of virtue. It must repel anger as it were with arms, for it removes counsel far off. It must avoid it as though it were some severe sickness. It must further be on its guard against a desire for glory, which often has done harm when sought for too anxiously, and always when it has been once attained.

194. Quid horum sancto Job vel in virtute defuit, vel in vitio obrepsit? Quomodo laborem aegritudinis, frigoris, famis pertulit? Quomodo despexit salutis periculum? Numquid rapinis divitiae coacervatae, de quibus tanta inopibus affluebant? Numquid avaritiam census, aut voluptatis studia cupiditatesque excitavit? Numquid trium regum injuriosa contentio, vel servorum contumelia in iram excussit? Numquid gloria sicut levem extulit, qui imprecabatur gravia sibi, si umquam vel non voluntariam celavisset culpam, vel reveritus esset multitudinem plebis, quominus annuntiaret eam

in conspectu omnium? Neque enim consentaneae sunt vitiis virtutes, sed sibi constant. Quis igitur tam fortis quam sanctus Job: cui secundus adjudicari potest, qui parem vix reperit?

204. What of all this was wanting in holy Job, or in his virtue, or what came upon him in the way of vice? How did he bear the distress of sickness or cold or hunger? How did he look upon the dangers which menaced his safety? Were the riches from which so much went to the poor gathered together by plunder? Did he ever allow greed for wealth, or the desire for pleasures, or lusts to rise in his heart? Did ever the unkind disputes of the three princes, or the insults of the slaves, rouse him to anger? Did glory carry him away like some fickle person when he called down vengeance on himself if ever he had hidden even an involuntary fault, or had feared the multitude of the people so as not to confess it in the sight of all? His virtues had no point of contact with any vices, but stood firm on their own ground. Who, then, was so brave as holy Job? How can he be put second to any, on whose level hardly one like himself can be placed?

CAPUT XL.

VIRTUTEM BELLICAM NOSTRIS etiam non defuisse, veterum exemplis, maximeque praeclaro Eleazari facto demonstratur.

CHAPTER 40.

Courage in war was not wanting in our forefathers, as is shown by the example of the men of old, especially by the glorious deed of Eleazar.

195. Sed fortasse aliquos bellica defixos gloria tenet, ut putent solam esse praeliarem fortitudinem; et ideo me ad haec deflexisse, quia illa nostris deforet. Quam fortis Jesus Nave, ut uno praelio quinque reges captos sterneret cum populis suis (Josue X, 5 et seq.)! Deinde cum adversum Gabaonitas urgeret praelium, et vereretur ne nox impediret victoriam, magnitudine mentis et fidei clamavit: Stet sol; et stetit, donec victoria consummaretur. Gedeon in trecentis viris de ingenti populo et acerbo hoste revexit triumphum (Judic. VII, 8 et seq.). Jonathas adolescens virtutem fecit in magno praelio (I Reg. XIV, 1 et seq.). Quid de Machabaeis loquar (I Mach. II, 35 et seq.) ?

205. But perhaps renown in war keeps some so bound to itself as to make them think that fortitude is to be found in battle alone, and that therefore I had gone aside to speak of these things, because that was wanting in us. But how brave was Joshua the Son of Nun, who in one battle laid low five kings together with their people! Joshua x Again, when he fought against the Gibeonites and feared that night might stop him from gaining the victory, he called out with deep faith and high spirit: Joshua 10:12 Let the sun stand still; and it stood still until the victory was complete. Gideon with three

hundred men gained a triumph over a great nation and a cruel foe. Judges vii Jonathan when a young man showed great courage in battle, and what shall I say about the Maccabees?

196. Sed prius de populo dicam Patrum, qui cum essent parati ad repugnandum pro templo 53 Dei, et pro legitimis suis, dolo hostium die lacessiti sabbati, maluerunt vulneribus offerre nuda corpora, quam repugnare, ne violarent sabbatum. Itaque omnes laeti se obtulerunt morti. Sed Machabaei considerantes quod hoc exemplo gens omnis posset perire, sabbato etiam, cum ipsi in bellum provocarentur, ulti sunt innocentium necem fratrum suorum. Unde postea stimulatus rex Antiochus, cum bellum accenderet per duces suos Lysiam, Nicanorem, Gorgiam, ita cum Orientalibus suis et Assyriis attritus est copiis, ut quadraginta et octo millia in medio campi a tribus millibus prosternerentur.

206. First, I will speak of the people of our fathers. They were ready to fight for the temple of God and for their rights, and when attacked on the Sabbath day by the craft of the enemy, willingly allowed wounds to be inflicted on their unprotected bodies, rather than to join in the fight, so that they might not defile the Sabbath. They all gladly gave themselves up to death. But the Maccabees thinking that then all the nation would perish, on the Sabbath also, when they were challenged to fight, took vengeance for the death of their innocent brethren. And afterwards when he had been roused by this to fresh exertions, King Antiochus, having begun the war afresh under the leadership of his generals Lysias, Nicanor, and Georgias, was so utterly crushed, together with his Eastern and Assyrian forces, that he left 48,000 lying on the battlefield, slain by an army of but 3,000 men.

197. Virtutem ducis Judae Machabaei de uno ejus milite considerate (I Machab. VI, 43 et seq.). Namque Eleazarus cum supereminentem caeteris elephantum, lorica vestitum regia, adverteret, arbitratus quod in eo esset

rex, cursu concitus in medium legionis se proripuit, et abjecto clypeo, utraque manu interficiebat, donec pervenit ad bestiam, atque intravit sub eam, et subjecto gladio interemit eam. Itaque cadens bestia oppressit Eleazarum, atque ita mortuus est. Quanta igitur virtus animi! Primo, ut mortem non timeret: deinde, ut circumfusus legionibus inimicorum, in confertos raperetur hostes, medium penetraret agmen, et contempta morte ferocior, abjecto clypeo, utraque manu vulneratae molem bestiae subiret ac sustineret: post infra ipsam succederet, quo pleniori feriret ictu; cujus ruina inclusus magis quam oppressus, suo est sepultus triumpho.

207. Mark the courage of the leader, Judas Maccabæus, as exemplified in the character of one of his soldiers. Eleazar, 1 Maccabbees 6:43 meeting with an elephant higher than all the rest, and with all the royal trappings upon it, and thinking that the king was on it, ran hastily and threw himself into the midst of the legion; and, casting away his shield, with both hands he slew those opposed to him until he reached the beast. Then he got beneath it, thrust in his sword and slew it. But the beast in falling crushed Eleazar and so killed him. What courage of mind was his then, first, in that he feared not death, next because, when surrounded by enemies, he was carried by it into the thickest of his foes and penetrated the very centre! Then, despising death, and casting away his shield, he ran beneath the huge beast, wounded it with both his hands, and let it fall upon him. He ran beneath it so as to give a more deadly blow. Enclosed by its fall, rather than crushed, he was buried in his own triumph.

198. Nec fefellit opinio virum, quamvis regius fefellerit habitus; tanto enim virtutis spectaculo defixi hostes inermem, occupatum incursare non ausi, post casum ruentis bestiae sic trepidaverunt, ut impares se omnes unius virtuti arbitrarentur. Denique rex Antiochus Lysiae filius, qui cum centum vinginti millibus hominum armatis venerat et cum triginta duobus

elephantis; ita ut ab ortu solis per singulas bestias velut montes quidam splendor armorum corusco, tamquam lampadibus ardentibus refulgeret, unius territus fortitudine, pacem rogaret. Itaque Eleazarus haeredem virtutis suae pacem reliquit. Sed haec triumphorum sint.

208. Nor was he deceived in his intention though he was deceived by the royal ornaments. For the enemy, startled at such an exhibition of valour, dared not rush upon this single unarmed man, held fast though he was. They were so terrified after the mischance of the slaughter of the beast, that they considered themselves altogether unequal to the valour of one. Nay, King Antiochus, son of Lysias, terrified at the fortitude of one, asked for peace. He had come to the war with 120,000 armed men and with 32 elephants, which glittered and gleamed with the sheen of arms like a line of burning lamps, as the sun rose upon them, marching along one by one, like very mountains for size. Thus Eleazar left peace as the heir of his courage. These are the signs of triumphs.

CAPUT XLI.

LAUDATA JUDAE AC Jonathae magnitudine animi, martyrum in tolerando constantia, quae pars non minima fortitudinis, ob oculos ponitur.

CHAPTER 41.

After praising Judas' and Jonathan's loftiness of mind, the constancy of the martyrs in their endurance of tortures, which is no small part of fortitude, is next brought before us.

199. Verum quia fortitudo non solum secundis rebus, sed etiam adversis probatur: spectemus nunc Judae Machabaei exitum (I Marc. IX, 8 et seq.). 54 Is enim post victum Nicanorem regis Demetrii ducem, securior adversus viginti millia exercitus regis, cum nongentis viris bellum adorsus, volentibus his cedere, ne multitudine opprimerentur, gloriosam magis mortem, quam turpem fugam suasit: Ne crimen, inquit, nostrae relinquamus gloriae. Itaque commisso praelio, cum a primo ortu diei in vesperam dimicaretur, dextrum cornu, in quo validissimam manum advertit hostium, aggressus facile avertit. Sed dum fugientes sequitur, a tergo vulneri locum praebuit: ita gloriosiorem triumphis locum mortis invenit.

209. But as fortitude is proved not only by prosperity but also in adversity, let us now consider the death of Judas Maccabæus. For he, after Nicanor, the general of King Demetrius, was defeated, boldly engaged 20,000 of the king's army with 900 men who were anxious to retire for fear of being overcome by so great a multitude, but whom he persuaded to endure a glorious death rather than to retire in disgraceful flight. Let us not leave, he says, any stain upon our glory. Thus, then, engaging in battle after having

fought from sunrise till evening, he attacks and quickly drives back the right wing, where he sees the strongest troop of the enemy to be. But while pursuing the fugitives from the rear he gave a chance for a wound to be inflicted. 1 Maccabbees 9:8 Thus he found the spot of death more full of glory for himself than any triumph.

200. Quid Jonatham fratrem ejus attexam; qui cum parva manu adversus exercitus regios pugnans, desertus a suis, et cum duobus tantum relictus reparavit bellum, avertit hostem, fugitantes suos ad societatem revocavit triumphi?

210. Why need I further mention his brother Jonathan, who fought against the king's force, with but a small troo Maccabbees 11:68 Though forsaken by his men, and left with only two, he retrieved the battle, drove back the enemy, and recalled his own men, who were flying in every direction, to share in his triumph.

201. Habes fortitudinem bellicam, in qua non mediocris honesti ac decori forma est; quod mortem servituti praeferat ac turpitudini. Quid autem de martyrum dicam passionibus? Et ne longius evagemur, non minores de superbo rege Antiocho Machabaei pueri revexerunt triumphos, quam parentes proprii. Siquidem illi armati, isti sine armis vicerunt (II Machab. VII, 1 et seq.). Stetit invicta septem puerorum cohors, regiis cincta legionibus: defecerunt supplicia, cesserunt tortores, non defecerunt martyres. Alius corium capitis exutus, speciem mutaverat, virtutem auxerat. Alius linguam jussus amputandam promere, respondit: Non solum Dominus audit loquentes, qui audiebat Moysen tacentem. (Exod. XIV, 15). Plus audit tacitas cogitationes suorum, quam voces omnium. Linguae flagellum times, flagellum sanguinis non times? Habet et sanguis vocem suam, qua clamat ad Deum, sicut clamavit in Abel (Gen. IV, 10).

211. Here, then, is fortitude in war, which bears no light impress of what is virtuous and seemly upon it, for it prefers death to slavery and disgrace. But what am I to say of the sufferings of the martyrs? Not to go too far abroad, did not the children of Maccabæus gain triumphs over the proud King Antiochus, as great as those of their fathers? The latter in truth were armed, but they conquered without arms. The company of the seven brothers stood unconquered, though surrounded by the legions of the king — tortures failed, tormentors ceased; but the martyrs failed not. One, having had the skin of his head pulled off, though changed in appearance, grew in courage. Another, bidden to put forth his tongue, so that it might be cut off, answered: The Lord hears not only those who speak, for He heard Moses when silent. He hears better the silent thoughts of His own than the voice of all others. Do you fear the scourge of my tongue — and do you not fear the scourge of blood spilled upon the ground? Blood, too, has a voice whereby it cries aloud to God — as it did in the case of Abel.

202. Quid de matre loquar, quae spectabat laeta filiorum quot funera tot trophaea, et morientium vocibus tamquam psallentium cantibus delectabatur, pulcherrimam ventris sui citharam in filiis cernens, et pietatis harmoniam omni lyrae numero dulciorem (II Machab. VII, 20 et seq.) ?

212. What shall I say of the mother 2 Maccabbees 7:20 who with joy looked on the corpses of her children as so many trophies, and found delight in the voices of her dying sons, as though in the songs of singers, noting in her children the tones of the glorious harp of her own heart, and a sweeter harmony of love than any strain of the lute could give?

203. Quid de bimulis loquar, qui ante palmam victoriae acceperunt, quam sensum naturae? Quid de sancta Agne, quae in duarum maximarum rerum posita periculo, castitatis et salutis, castitatem protexit, salutem cum immortalitate commutavit?

213. What shall I say of those two-year-old children of Bethlehem, Matthew 2:16 who received the palm of victory before they felt their natural life within them? What of St. Agnes, who when in danger as regards two great matters, that is, chastity and life, protected her chastity and exchanged life for immortality?

204. Non praetereamus etiam sanctum Laurentium, qui cum videret Xystum episcopum suum ad martyrium duci, flere coepit, non passionem illius, sed suam remansionem. Itaque his verbis appellare coepit: Quo progrederis sine filio, pater: quo, sacerdos sancte, sine diacono properas 55 tuo? Numquam sacrificium sine ministro offerre consueveras. quid in me ergo displicuit, pater? Num degenerem probasti? Experire certe utrum idoneum ministrum elegeris. Cui commisisti Dominici sanguinis consecrationem, cui consummandorum consortium sacramentorum, huic sanguinis tui consortium negas? Vide ne periclitetur judicium tuum, dum fortitudo laudatur. Abjectio discipuli detrimentum est magisterii. Quid! quod illustres et praestantes viri discipulorum certaminibus quam suis vincunt. Denique Abraham filium obtulit (Gen. XXII, 9), Petrus Stephanum praemisit (Act. VII, 57). Et tu, pater, ostende in filio virtutem tuam, offer quem erudisti, ut securus judicii tui comitatu nobili pervenias ad coronam.

214. And let us not pass by St. Lawrence, who, seeing Xystus his bishop led to martyrdom, began to weep, not at his sufferings but at the fact that he himself was to remain behind. With these words he began to address him: Where, father, are you going without your son? Where, holy priest, are you hastening without your deacon? Never were you wont to offer sacrifice without an attendant. What are you displeased at in me, my father? Have you found me unworthy? Prove, then, whether you have chosen a fitting servant. To him to whom you have entrusted the consecration of the Saviour’s blood, to whom you have granted fellowship in partaking of the

Sacraments, to him do you refuse a part in your death? Beware lest your good judgment be endangered, while your fortitude receives its praise. The rejection of a pupil is the loss of the teacher; or how is it that noble and illustrious men gain the victory in the contests of their scholars rather than in their own? Abraham offered his son, Peter sent Stephen on before him! Father, show forth your courage in your son. Offer me whom you have trained, that you, confident in your choice of me, may reach the crown in worthy company.

205. Tunc Xystus ait: Non ego te, fili, relinquo ac desero: sed majora tibi debentur certamina. Nos quasi senes levioris pugnae cursum recipimus: te quasi juvenem manet gloriosior de tyranno triumphus. Mox venies, flere desiste, post triduum me sequeris. Sacerdotem et levitam hic medius numerus decet. Non erat tuum sub magistro vincere, quasi adjutorem quaereres. Quid consortium passionis meae expetis? Totam tibi haereditatem ejus dimitto. Quid praesentiam meam requiris? Infirmi discipuli magistrum praecedant, fortes sequantur, ut vincant sine magistro, qui jam non indigent magisterio. Sic et Elias Elisaeum reliquit. Tibi ergo mando nostrae virtutis successionem.

215. Then Xystus said: I leave you not nor forsake you. Greater struggles yet await you. We as old men have to undergo an easier fight; a more glorious triumph over the tyrant awaits you, a young man. Soon shall you come. Cease weeping; after three days you shall follow me. This interval must come between the priest and his levite. It was not for you to conquer under the eye of your master, as though you needed a helper. Why do you seek to share in my death? I leave to you its full inheritance. Why do you need my presence? Let the weak disciples go before their master, let the brave follow him, that they may conquer without him. For they no longer

need his guidance. So Elijah left Elisha. To you I entrust the full succession to my own courage.

206. Talis erat contentio, digna sane de qua certarent sacerdos et minister, quis prior pateretur pro Christi nomine. In fabulis ferunt tragicis excitatos theatri magnos esse plausus, cum se Pylades Orestem diceret; Orestes, ut erat, Orestem se esse asseveraret: ille ut pro Oreste necaretur, Orestes ne Pyladem pro se pateretur necari. Sed illis non licebat vivere, quod uterque 56 esset parricidii reus: alter qui fecisset, alter qui adjuvisset. Hic Laurentium sanctum ad hoc nullus urgebat, nisi amor devotionis; tamen et ipse post triduum, cum illuso tyranno, impositus super craticulam exureretur: Assum est, inquit, versa et manduca. Ita animi virtute vincebat ignis naturam.

216. Such was their contention, and surely a worthy one, wherein priest and attendant strove as to who should be the first to suffer for the name of Christ. When that tragic piece is played, it is said there is great applause in the theatre as Pylades says he is Orestes, while Orestes declares that he is really himself. The former acted as he did, that he might die for Orestes, and Orestes, that he might not allow Pylades to be slain instead of himself. But it was not right that they should live, for each of them was guilty of parricide, the one because he had committed the crime, the other because he had helped in its commission. But here there was nothing to call holy Lawrence to act thus but his love and devotion. However, after three days he was placed upon the gridiron by the tyrant whom he mocked, and was burnt. He said: The flesh is roasted, turn it and eat. So by the courage of his mind he overcame the power of fire.

CAPUT XLII.

POTESTATES NON IRRITANDAS, neque adulationi praebendas aures.

CHAPTER 42.

The powers that be are not needlessly to be irritated. One must not lend one's ears to flattery.

207. Cavendum etiam reor, ne dum aliqui nimia gloriae ducuntur cupiditate, insolentius abutantur potestatibus, et plerumque aversos a nobis animos gentilium in studia persecutionis excitent, atque inflamment ad iracundiam. Itaque ut illi perseverare possint, et supplicia vincere, quantos perire faciunt?

217. I think we must take care, lest in being led on by too great a desire for glory, we should abuse the powers that be, and arouse the minds of the heathen, who are opposed to us, to desire persecution, and excite them to anger. How many do some cause to perish, that they themselves may continue to the end, and overcome their tortures!

208. Prospiciendum etiam ne adulantibus aperiamus aurem; emolliri enim adulatione, non solum fortitudinis non esse, sed etiam ignaviae videtur.

218. We must also look to it that we do not open our ears to flatterers. To allow oneself to be smoothed down by flattery seems to be a sign not only of want of fortitude, but a sign of actual cowardice.

CAPUT XLIII.

De temperantia et praecipuis ejus partibus, nimirum animi tranquillitate ac moderatione, honestatis cura, et decoris consideratione.

CHAPTER 43.

On temperance and its chief parts, especially tranquillity of mind and moderation, care for what is virtuous, and reflection on what is seemly.

209. Quoniam de tribus virtutibus diximus, restat ut de quarta virtute dicamus, quae temperantia ac modestia vocatur: in qua maxime tranquillitas animi, studium mansuetudinis, moderationis gratia, honesti cura, decoris consideratio spectatur et quaeritur.

219. As we have spoken of three of the virtues, there remains but the fourth for us to speak of. This is called temperance and moderation; wherein, before all else, tranquillity of mind, the attainment of gentleness, the grace of moderation, regard for what is virtuous, and reflection on what is seemly are sought and looked for.

210. Ordo igitur quidam vitae nobis tenendus est, ut a verecundia prima quaedam fundamenta ducantur: quae socia ac familiaris est mentis 57 placiditati, proterviae fugitans, ab omni aliena luxu, sobrietatem diligit, honestatem fovet, decorum illud requirit.

220. We must keep to a certain order in life, so that a foundation may be laid with our first feelings of modesty, for that is the friend and ally of calmness of mind. Avoiding over-confidence, averse to all excess, it loves sobriety, guards what is honourable, and seeks only what is seemly.

211. Sequatur conversationis electio, ut adjungamur probatissimis quibusque senioribus. Namque ut aequalium usus dulcior, ita senum tutior est, qui magisterio quodam et ductu vitae colorat mores adolescentium, et velut murice probitatis inficit. Namque si hi qui sunt ignari locorum, cum solertibus viarum iter adoriri gestiunt; quanto magis adolescentes cum senibus debent novum sibi iter vitae aggredi, quo minus errare possint, et a vero tramite virtutis deflectere! Nihil enim pulchrius quam eosdem et magistros vitae et testes habere.

221. Let choice of intercourse come next. Let us link ourselves with older men of approved goodness. For as the companionship of people of our own age is the pleasanter, so that of our elders is the safer. By their guidance and the conduct of their lives they give color to the character of younger men, and tinge them as it were with the deep purple of probity. For if they who are ignorant of a locality are very glad to take a journey in the company of skilled guides, how much more ought young men to enter on the path of life, which is new to them, in the company of old men; so that they may not go wrong, and turn aside from the true path of virtue. For nothing is better than to have the same men both to direct us in life, and also to be witnesses of how we live.

212. Quaerendum etiam in omni actu quid personis, quid temporibus conveniat atque aetatibus, quid etiam singulorum ingeniis sit accommodum. Saepe enim quod alterum decet, alterum non decet. Aliud juveni aptum, aliud seni: aliud in periculis, aliud in rebus secundis.

222. One must also in every action consider what is suitable for different persons, times, and ages, and what will also be in accordance with the abilities of individuals. For often what befits one does not befit another; one thing suits a youth, another an old man; one thing does in danger, another in good fortune.

213. Saltavit ante arcam Domini David (II Reg. VI, 14): non saltavit Samuel; nec ideo ille reprehensus, sed magis iste laudatus. Mutavit vultum contra regem, cui nomen Achis (I Reg. XXI, 13): at hoc si fecisset remota formidine quo minus cognosceretur, nequaquam levitatis reprehensione carere potuisset. Saul quoque vallatus choro prophetarum, etiam ipse prophetavit; et de solo quasi indigno memoratum est: Et Saul inter prophetas (I Reg. XIX, 24).

223. David danced before the ark of the Lord. Samuel did not dance; yet David was not blamed, while the other was praised. David changed his countenance before the king, whose name was Achish. 1 Samuel 21:13 If he had done this without any fear of being recognized, he would certainly not have escaped the charge of levity. Saul also, surrounded by the company of prophets, himself prophesied. Yet of him alone, as though he were unworthy, was it said: Is Saul also among the prophets? 1 Samuel 19:24

CAPUT XLIV.

OFFICIO SIBI CONGRUO quemque studere oportere: sed multos impediri paternorum imitatione studiorum; contra quam Ecclesiastici viri faciunt.

CHAPTER 44.

Every one ought to apply himself to the duties suited to his character. Many, however, are hindered by following their fathers' pursuits. Clerics act in a different way.

214. Unusquisque igitur suum ingenium noverit, et ad id se applicet, quod sibi aptum elegerit. Itaque quid sequatur, prius consideret. Noverit bona sua, sed etiam vitia cognoscat: aequalemque se judicem sui praebeat, ut bonis intendat, vitia declinet.

224. Each one knows his own powers. Therefore let each one apply himself to that which he has chosen as suitable to himself. But he must first consider what will be the consequences. He may know his good points, but he must know his faults also. He must also be a fair judge of himself, so as to aim at what is good and avoid what is bad.

215. Alius distinguendae lectioni aptior, alius psalmo gratior, alius exorcizandis qui malo laborant spiritu, sollicitior, alius sacrario oportunior habetur. Haec omnia spectet sacerdos, et quid cuique congruat, id officii deputet. Quo etenim unumquemque suum ducit ingenium, aut quod officium decet, id majore impletur gratia.

225. One is more fitted for the post of reader, another does better for the singing, a third is more solicitous for exorcising those possessed with an

evil spirit, another, again, is held to be more suited to have the charge of the sacred things. All these things a priest should look at. He should give each one that particular duty for which he is best fitted. For whither each one's bent of mind leads him, or whatever duty befits him, that position or duty is filled with greater grace.

216. Sed id cum in omni vita difficile, tum in 58 nostro actu difficillimum est. Amat enim unusquisque sequi vitam parentum. Denique plerique ad militiam feruntur, quorum militaverunt parentes, alii ad actiones diversas.

226. But as this is a difficult matter in every state of life, so in our case it is most difficult. For each one is wont to follow his parent's choice in life. Thus those whose fathers were in the army generally enter the army too. And others do the same with regard to the different professions.

217. In ecclesiastico vero officio nihil rarius invenias quam eum qui sequatur institutum patris: vel quia gravis deterret actus, vel quia in lubrica aetate difficilior abstinentia, vel quia alacri adolescentiae videtur vita obscurior; et ideo ad ea convertuntur studia, quae plausibiliora arbitrantur. Praesentia quippe plures quam futura praeferunt. Illi autem praesentibus, nos futuris militamus. Unde quo praestantior causa, eo debet esse cura attentior.

227. In the clerical office, however, nothing is more rare than to find a man to follow his father's footsteps, either because the difficulties of the work hold him back, or continence in the uncertain days of youth is too difficult to hold to, or the life seems to be too quiet for the activity of youth. So they turn to those pursuits which are thought to be more showy. Most, indeed, prefer the present to the future. They are fighting for the present, we for the future. Wherefore it follows that the greater the cause in which we are engaged, the more must our attention be devoted to it.

CAPUT XLV.

De pulchro et honesto: quid sit inter illa discriminis tam apud profanos auctores, quam sacros.

CHAPTER 45.

On what is noble and virtuous, and what the difference between them is, as stated both in the profane and sacred writers.

218. Teneamus igitur verecundiam, et eam quae totius vitae ornatum attollit modestiam. Non enim mediocre est rebus singulis modum servare, atque impartiri ordinem, in quo vere praelucet illud quod decorum dicitur: quod ita cum honesto jungitur, ut separari non queat. Siquidem et quod decet, honestum est, et quod honestum est, decet; ut magis in sermone distinctio sit, quam in virtute discretio. Differre enim ea inter se intelligi potest, explicari non potest.

228. Let us then hold fast modesty, and that moderation which adds to the beauty of the whole of life. For it is no light thing in every matter to preserve due measure and to bring about order, wherein that is plainly conspicuous which we call decorum, or what is seemly. This is so closely connected with what is virtuous, that one cannot separate the two. For what is seemly is also virtuous — and what is virtuous is seemly. So that the distinction lies rather in the words than in the things themselves. That there is a difference between them we can understand, but we cannot explain it.

219. Et ut conemur aliquid eruere distinctionis, honestas velut bona valetudo est, et quaedam salubritas corporis: decus autem tamquam

venustas et pulchritudo. Sicut ergo pulchritudo super salubritatem ac valetudinem videtur excellere, et tamen sine his esse non potest, neque ullo separari modo; quoniam nisi bona valetudo sit, pulchritudo esse ac venustas non potest: sic honestas decorum illud in se continet, ut ab ea profectum videatur, et sine ea esse non possit. Velut salubritas igitur totius operis actusque nostri honestas est, et sicut species est decorum, quod cum honestate confusum, opinione distinguitur. Nam etsi in aliquo videatur excellere, tamen in radice est honestatis, sed flore praecipuo, ut sine ea decidat, in ea floreat. Quid enim est honestas, nisi quae turpitudinem quasi mortem fugiat? Quid vero inhonestum, nisi quod ariditatem ac mortem afferat? Virente igitur substantia virtutis, decorum illud tamquam flos emicat, quia radix salva est: at vero propositi nostri radice vitiosa, nihil germinat

229. To make an attempt to get some sort of a distinction between them, we may say that what is virtuous may be compared to the good health and soundness of the body, while what is seemly is, as it were, its comeliness and beauty. And as beauty seems to stand above soundness and health, and yet cannot exist without them, nor be separated from them in any way — for unless one has good health, one cannot have beauty and comeliness — so what is virtuous contains in itself also what is seemly, so as to seem to start with it, and to be unable to exist without it. What is virtuous, then, is like soundness in all our work and undertaking; what is seemly is, as it were, the outward appearance, which, when joined with what is virtuous, can only be known apart in our thoughts. For though in some cases it seems to stand out conspicuous, yet it has its root in what is virtuous, though the flower is its own. Rooted in this, it flourishes; otherwise it fails and droops. For what is virtue, but to avoid anything shameful as though it were death? And what is the opposite of virtue, except that which brings barrenness and death? If, then, the essence of virtue is strong and vigorous, seemliness will

also quickly spring forth like a flower, for its root is sound. But if the root of its purpose is corrupt, nothing will grow out of it.

220. Habes hoc in nostris aliquanto expressius. Dicit enim David: Dominus regnavit, decorem induit (Psal. XCII, 1). Et Apostolus ait: Sicut in die, honeste ambulate (Rom. XIII, 13). Quod Graeci dicunt εὐσχημόνως, hoc autem proprie significat, bono habitu, bona specie. Deus ergo primum hominem cum conderet, bona habitudine, bona membrorum compositione formavit, et optimam ei speciem dedit. Remissionem non dederat peccatorum: sed posteaquam renovavit eum spiritu, et infudit ei gratiam, qui venerat in servi forma, et in hominis specie assumpsit decorem redemptionis humanae. Et ideo dixit Propheta: Dominus regnavit, decorem induit. Deinde alibi dicit: Te decet hymnus, Deus, in Sion (Psal. LXIV, 2); hoc est dicere: Honestum est ut te timeamus, te diligamus, te precemur, te honorificemus; scriptum est enim: Omnia vestra honeste fiant (I Cor. XIV, 40). Sed possumus et hominem timere, diligere, rogare, honorare: hymnus specialiter Deo dicitur. Hoc tamquam excellentius caeteris credere est decorum, quod deferimus Deo. Mulierem quoque in habitu ornato orare convenit: sed specialiter eam decet orare velatam, et orare promittentem castitatem cum bona conversatione (I Tim. II, 9, 10).

230. In our writings this is put somewhat more plainly. For David says: The Lord reigns, He is clothed with splendour. And the Apostle says: Walk honestly as in the day. Romans 13:13 The Greek text has ευσχημόνως — and this really means: with good clothing, with a good appearance. When God made the first man, He created him with a good figure, with limbs well set, and gave him a very noble appearance. He had not given him remission of sins. But afterwards He, Who came in the form of a servant, and in the likeness of man, renewed him with His Spirit, and poured His grace into his heart, and put on Himself the splendour of the redemption of the human

race. Therefore the Prophet said: The Lord reigns, He is clothed with splendour. And again he says: A hymn beseems You, O God, in Sion. That is: It is right and good to fear You, to love You, to pray to You, to honour You, for it is written: Let all things be done decently and in order. 1 Corinthians 14:40 But we can also fear, love, ask, honour men; yet the hymn especially is addressed to God. This seemliness which we offer to God we may believe to be far better than other things. It befits also a woman to pray in an orderly dress, 1 Timothy 2:9-10 but it especially beseems her to pray covered, and to pray giving promise of purity together with a good conversation.

CAPUT XLVI.

PROPONITUR BIFIDA DECORI divisio: tum postquam ostensum est quod secundum naturam sit, honestum: quod secus, turpe censendum; exemplis illustratur haec ipsa divisio.

CHAPTER 46.

A twofold division of what is seemly is given. Next it is shown that what is according to nature is virtuous, and what is otherwise must be looked on as shameful. This division is explained by examples.

221. Est igitur decorum quod praeeminet, cujus divisio gemina est. Nam est decorum quasi generale, quod per universitatem funditur honestatis, et quasi in toto spectatur corpore: est etiam speciale, quod in parte aliqua enitet. Illud generale ita est, ac si aequabilem formam atque universitatem honestatis in omni actu suo habeat concinentem; cum omnis sibi ejus vita consentit, nec in ulla aliqua re discrepat: hoc speciale, cum aliquem actum in suis habet virtutibus praeeminentem.

231. Seemliness, therefore, which stands conspicuous has a twofold division. For there is what we may call a general seemliness, which is diffused through all that is virtuous, and is seen, as one may say, in the whole body. It is also individual, and shows itself clearly in some particular part. The first has a consistent form and the perfection of what is virtuous harmonizing in every action. For all its life is consistent with itself, and there is no discrepancy in anything. The other is concerned when there is any special action done in a virtuous course of life.

222. Simul illud adverte quod et decorum est secundum naturam vivere, secundum naturam degere, et turpe est quod sit contra naturam. Ait enim Apostolus quasi interrogans: Decet mulierem non velatam orare Deum? Nec ipsa natura docet vos quod vir quidem si comam habeat, ignominia est illi; quoniam contra naturam est (I Cor. XI, 13)? Et iterum dicit: Mulier vero si capillos habeat, gloria est illi (Ibid. 15). Est enim secundum naturam, quoniam quidem capilli pro velamine sunt; hoc est enim naturale velamen. Personam igitur nobis et speciem natura ipsa dispensat, quam servare debemus: 60 utinamque et innocentiam ejus custodire possimus, nec acceptam nostra malitia mutaret!

232. At the same time let us note that it is seemly to live in accordance with nature, and to pass our time in accordance with it, and that whatever is contrary to nature is shameful. For the Apostle asks: Is it comely that a woman pray unto God uncovered; does not nature itself teach you that if a man have long hair, it is a shame unto him? For it is contrary to nature. And again he says: If a woman have long hair, it is a glory unto her. 1 Corinthians 11:13-14 It is according to nature, since her hair is given her for a veil, for it is a natural veil. Thus nature arranges for us both character and appearance, and we ought to observe her directions. Would that we could guard her innocence, and not change what we have received by our wickedness!

223. Habes hoc decorum generale, quia fecit Deus mundi istius pulchritudinem. Habes et per partes, quia cum faceret Deus lucem, et diem noctemque distingueret (Genes. I, 3 et seq.), cum conderet coelum, cum terras et maria separaret, cum solem et lunam et stellas constitueret lucere super terram, probavit singula. Ergo decorum hoc, quod in singulis mundi partibus elucebat, in universitate resplenduit, sicut probat Sapientia, dicens: Ego eram cui applaudebat . . . . . cum laetaretur orbe perfecto (Prov. VIII,

30, 31). Similiter ergo et in fabrica humani corporis grata est uniuscujusque membri portio: sed plus in commune compositio membrorum apta delectat, quod ita sibi quadrare et convenire videantur.

233. We have that general seemliness; for God made the beauty of this world. We have it also in its parts; for when God made the light, and marked off the day from the night, when He made heaven, and separated land and seas, when He set the sun and moon and stars to shine on the earth, He approved of them all one by one. Therefore this comeliness, which shone forth in each single part of the world, was resplendent in the whole, as the Book of Wisdom shows, saying: I existed, in whom He rejoiced when He was glad at the completion of the world. Likewise also in the building up of the human body each single member is pleasing, but the right adjustment of the members all together delights us far more. For thus they seem to be united and fitted in one harmonious whole.

CAPUT XLVII.

UT IN VITA nostra eluceat decorum illud, quid praestare nos oporteat, quosve appetitus refraenare?

CHAPTER 47.

What is seemly should always shine forth in our life. What passions, then, ought we to allow to come to a head, and which should we restrain?

224. Si quis igitur aequabilitatem universae vitae, et singularum actionum modos servet, ordinem quoque, et constantiam dictorum atque operum, moderationemque custodiat, in ejus vita decorum illud excellit, et quasi in quodam speculo elucet.

234. If any one preserves an even tenor in the whole of life, and method in all that he does, and sees there is order and consistency in his words and moderation in his deeds, then what is seemly stands forth conspicuous in his life and shines forth as in some mirror.

235. Accedat tamen suavis sermo, ut conciliet sibi affectum audientium, gratumque se vel familiaribus, vel civibus, vel, si fieri potest, omnibus praebeat. Neque adulantem se, neque adulandum cuiquam exibeat; alterum enim calliditatis est, vanitatis alterum.

235. There should be besides a pleasant way of speaking, so that we may win the good-will of those who hear us, and make ourselves agreeable to all our friends and fellow citizens, if possible. Let none show himself to be given to flattery, nor to be desirous of flattery from any one. The one is a mark of artfulness, the other of vanity.

226. Non despiciat quid de se unusquisque et maxime vir optimus sentiat; hoc enim modo discit bonis deferre reverentiam. Nam negligere bonorum judicia vel arrogantiae, vel dissolutionis est: quorum alterum superbiae ascribitur, alterum negligentiae.

236. Let no one ever look down on what another, least of all a good man, thinks of him, for thus he learns to give regard to the good. For to disregard the judgment of good men is a sign of conceitedness or of weakness. One of these arises from pride, the other from carelessness.

227. Caveat etiam motus animi sui; ipse enim sibi et observandus et circumspiciendus est: et ut adversum se cavendus, ita etiam de se tuendus. Sunt enim motus, in quibus est appetitus ille, qui quasi quodam prorumpit impetu; unde Graece ὁρμὴ dicitur quod vi quadam se repente proripiat. Non mediocris in his vis quaedam animi atque naturae est. Quae tamen vis gemina est, una in appetitu, altera in ratione posita, quae appetitum refrenet, et sibi obedientem praestet, et ducat quo velit: et tamquam sedulo magisterio edoceat quid fieri, quid evitari oporteat, ut bonae domitrici obtemperet.

237. We must also guard against the motions of our soul. The soul must always watch and look after itself, so as to guard itself against itself. For there are motions in which there is a kind of passion that breaks forth as it were in a sort of rush. Wherefore in Greek it is called ὁρμή, because it comes out suddenly with some force. In these there lies no slight force of soul or of nature. Its force, however, is twofold: on the one side it rests on passion, on the other on reason, which checks passion, and makes it obedient to itself, and leads it whither it will; and trains it by careful teaching to know what ought to be done, and what ought to be avoided, so as to make it submit to its kind tamer.

228. Solliciti enim debemus esse, ne quid timere aut incuriose geramus, aut quidquam 61 omnino cujus probabilem non possimus rationem reddere. Actus enim nostri causa, etsi non omnibus redditur, tamen ab omnibus examinatur. Nec vero habemus, in quo nos possimus excusare Nam etsi vis quaedam naturae in omni appetitu sit; tamen idem appetitus rationis subjectus est lege naturae ipsius, et obedit ei. Unde boni speculatoris est ita praetendere animo, ut appetitus neque praecurrat rationem, neque deserat; ne praecurrendo perturbet atque excludat, eamque deserendo destituat. Perturbatio tollit constantiam, destitutio prodit ignaviam, accusat pigritiam. Perturbata enim mente latius se ac longius fundit appetitus, et tamquam efferato impetu frenos rationis non suscipit, nec ulla sentit aurigae moderamina, quibus possit reflecti. Unde plerumque non solum animus exagitatur, amittitur ratio; sed etiam inflammatur vultus, vel iracundia, vel libidine: pallescit timore, voluptate se non capit, et nimia gestit laetitia.

238. For we ought to be careful never to do anything rashly or carelessly, or anything at all for which we cannot give a reasonable ground. For though a reason for our action is not given to every one, yet everybody looks into it. Nor, indeed, have we anything whereby we can excuse ourselves. For though there is a sort of natural force in every passion of ours, yet that same passion is subject to reason by the law of nature itself, and is obedient to it. Wherefore it is the duty of a careful watchman so to keep a lookout, that passion may not outrun reason nor utterly forsake it, lest by outstripping it confusion be caused, and reason be shut out, and come to nothing by such desertion. Disquiet destroys consistency. Withdrawal shows cowardice and implies indolence. For when the mind is disquieted passion spreads wide and far, and in a fierce outburst endures not the reins of reason and feels not the management of its driver so as to be turned back. Wherefore as a rule not only is the soul perturbed and reason lost, but one’s countenance gets

inflamed by anger or by lust. it grows pale with fear, it contains not itself in pleasure, and cannot bear joy.

229. Haec cum fiunt, abjicitur illa naturalis quaedam censura, gravitasque morum: nec teneri potest illa quae in rebus gerendis atque consiliis sola potest auctoritatem suam, atque illud quod deceat tenere, constantia.

239. When this happens, then that natural judgment and weight of character is cast aside, and that consistency which alone in deed and thought can keep up its own authority and what is seemly, can no longer be retained.

230. Gravior autem appetitus ex indignatione nimia nascitur, quam acceptae plerumque accendit injuriae dolor. De quo satis nos psalmi quem in praefatione posuimus (Cap. II. 6, 7), praecepta instruunt. Pulchre autem et hoc accidit, ut scripturi de Officiis, ea praefationis nostrae assertione uteremur quae et ipsa ad officii magisterium pertineret.

240. But fiercer passion springs from excessive anger, which the pain of some wrong received kindles within us. The monitions of the psalm which forms the opening of our subject instruct us on this point. Beautifully, then, has it come about that, in writing on duties, we used that declaration of our opening passage which also itself has to do with the direction of duty.

231. Sed quia supra, ut oportebat, perstrinximus quemadmodum unusquisque cavere possit, ne excitetur accepta injuria, verentes ne praefatio prolixior fieret, nunc de eo uberius disputandum arbitror. Locus enim opportunus est, ut in partibus temperantiae dicamus quemadmodum reprimatur iracundia.

241. But since (as was but right) we there only touched upon the matter, as to how each one ought to take care not to be disturbed when wrong is done him, for fear that our preliminary remarks should run to too great length, I

think that I will now discuss it a little more fully. For the occasion is opportune, as we are speaking on the different parts of temperance, to see how anger may be checked.

CAPUT XLVIII.

REPETITO COMPESCENDAE IRACUNDIAE argumento, tres eorum qui lacessuntur injuriis, ordines explicantur: ad quorum perfectissimum Apostolus ac David dicuntur pervenisse: ubi ex occasione quaedam hujus ac futurae vitae traduntur discrimina.

CHAPTER 48.

The argument for restraining anger is given again. Then the three classes of those who receive wrongs are set forth; to the most perfect of which the Apostle and David are said to have attained. He takes the opportunity to state the difference between this and the future life.

232. Tria itaque genera esse hominum injuriam accipientium in Scripturis divinis demonstrare volumus, si possumus. Unum est eorum quibus peccator insultat, conviciatur, inequitat. Iis quia deest justitia, pudor crescit, augetur dolor. Horum similes plurimi de meo ordine, de meo numero. Nam mihi infirmo si quis injuriam faciat, forsitan, licet infirmus, donem injuriam meam. Si crimen objiciat, 62 non sum tantus, ut sim contentus conscientia mea, etiamsi me ejus objecti alienum noverim: sed cupio abluere ingenui pudoris notam, tamquam infirmus. Ergo oculum pro oculo, et dentem pro dente exigo, et convicium convicio rependo.

242. We wish if we can to point out three classes of men who receive wrongs in holy Scripture. One of these forms the class of those whom the sinner reviles, abuses, rides over rough-shod. And just because justice fails them, shame grows, pain increases. Very many of my own order, of my own number, are like these. For if any one does me, who am weak, an injury,

perhaps, though I am weak, I may forgive the wrong done me. If he charges me with an offense I am not such an one as to be content with the witness of my own conscience, although I know I am clear of what he brings against me; but I desire, just because I am weak, to wash out the mark of my inborn shame. Therefore I demand eye for eye, and tooth for tooth, and repay abuse with abuse.

233. Si vero is sum qui proficiam, etsi nondum perfectus, non retorqueo contumeliam: etsi influat ille convicium, et inundet aures meas contumeliis, ego taceo, et nihil respondeo.

243. If, however, I am one who is advancing, although not yet perfect, I do not return the reproaches; and if he breaks out into abuse, and fills my ears with reproaches, I am silent and do not answer.

234. Si vero perfectus sim (verbi gratia loquor, nam veritate infirmus sum) si ergo perfectus sim, benedico maledicentem, sicut benedicebat et Paulus; qui ait: Maledicimur, et benedicimus (I Cor. IV, 12). Audierat enim dicentem: Diligite inimicos vestros, orate pro calumniantibus et persequentibus vos (Matth. V, 44). Ideo ergo Paulus persecutionem patiebatur, et sustinebat, quia vincebat et mitigabat humanum affectum propositae mercedis gratia; ut filius Dei fieret, si dilexisset inimicum.

244. But if I am perfect (I say this only by way of example, for in truth I am weak), if, then, I am perfect, I bless him that curses me, as Paul also blessed, for he says: Being reviled we bless. 1 Corinthians 4:12 He had heard Him Who says: Love your enemies, pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you. Matthew 5:44 And so Paul suffered persecution and endured it, for he conquered and calmed his human feelings for the sake of the reward set before him, namely, that he should become a son of God if he loved his enemies.

235. Tamen et sanctum David in hoc quoque genere virtutis imparem Paulo non fuisse edocere possumus. Qui primo quidem cum malediceret ei filius Semei (II Reg. XVI, 7 et seq.) et crimina objiceret, tacebat et humiliabatur, et silebat a bonis suis (Psal. XXXVIII, 3), hoc est bonorum operum conscientia: deinde expetebat maledici sibi, quia maledicto illo divinam acquirebat misericordiam.

245. We call show, too, that holy David was like to Paul in this same class of virtue. When the son of Shimei cursed him, and charged him with heavy offenses, at the first he was silent and humbled himself, and was silent even about his good deeds, that is, his knowledge of good works. Then he even asked to be cursed; for when he was cursed he hoped to gain divine pity.

236. Vide autem quomodo et humilitatem et justitiam et prudentiam emerendae a Domino gratiae reservaverit. Primo dixit: Ideo maledicit mihi, quia Dominus dixit illi ut maledicat (II Reg. XVI, 10). Habes humilitatem; quia ea quae divinitus imperantur, aequanimiter quasi servulus ferenda arbitrabatur. Iterum dixit: Ecce filius meus qui exivit de ventre meo, quaerit animam meam (Ibid., 11). Habes justitiam; si enim a nostris graviora patimur, cur indigne ferimus quae inferuntur ab alienis? Tertio ait: Dimitte illum ut maledicat; quoniam dixit illi Dominus, ut videat humiliationem meam, et retribuat mihi Dominus pro maledicto hoc (Ibid., 12). Nec solum conviciantem pertulit, sed etiam lapidantem et sequentem illaesum reliquit (II Reg. XIX, 22), quin etiam post victoriam petenti veniam libenter ignovit.

246. But see how he stored up humility and justice and prudence so as to merit grace from the Lord! At first he said: Therefore he cursed me, because the Lord has said to him that he should curse. Here we have humility; for he thought that those things which are divinely ordered were to be endured with an even mind, as though he were but some servant lad. Then he said: Behold my son, which came forth of my bowels, seeks my life. Here we

have justice. For if we suffer hard things at the hand of our own family, why are we angry at what is done to us by strangers? Lastly he says: Let him alone that he may curse, for the Lord has bidden him. It may be that the Lord will look on my humiliation and requite me good for this cursing. So he bore not only the abuse, but left the man unpunished when throwing stones and following him. Nay, more, after his victory he freely granted him pardon when he asked for it.

237. Quod ideo inserui, ut Evangelico spiritu sanctum David non solum inoffensum, sed etiam gratum fuisse convicianti docerem, et delectatum potius quam exasperatum injuriis, pro quibus mercedem sibi reddendam arbitrabatur. Sed tamen quamvis perfectus, adhuc perfectiora quaerebat. Incalescebat injuriae dolore, quasi homo: sed vincebat quasi bonus miles; tolerabat quasi athleta fortis. Patientiae autem finis, promissorum exspectatio, et ideo dicebat: Notum fac mihi, Domine, finem meum, et numerum dierum meorum, quis est, ut sciam quid desit mihi (Psal. XXXVIII, 5). 63 Finem illum quaerit promissorum coelestium, vel illum, quando unusquique surget in suo ordine: Primitiae Christus, deinde hi qui sunt Christi, qui in adventum ejus crediderunt, deinde finis (I Cor. XV, 23). Tradito enim regno Deo et Patri, et evacuatis omnibus potestatibus, ut Apostolus dixit, perfectio incipit. Hic ergo impedimentum, hic infirmitas etiam perfectorum, illic plena perfectio. Ideo et dies illos requirit vitae aeternae, qui sunt, non qui praetereunt; ut cognoscat quid sibi desit, quae terra sit repromissionis perpetuos fructus ferens, quae prima apud patrem mansio, quae secunda, quae tertia, in quibus pro ratione meritorum unusquisque requiescet.

247. I have written this to show that holy David, in true evangelical spirit, was not only not offended, but was even thankful to his abuser, and was delighted rather than angered by his wrongs, for which he thought some

return would be granted to him. But, though perfect, he sought something still more perfect. As a man he grew hot at the pain of his wrongs, but like a good soldier he conquered, he endured like a brave wrestler. The end and aim of his patience was the expectation of the fulfilment of the promises, and therefore he said: Lord, make me to know mine end and the measure of my days, what it is: that I may know what is wanting to me. He seeks, then, that end of the heavenly promises, when each one shall arise in his own order: Christ the firstfruits, then they that are Christ's who have believed in His coming. Then comes the end. 1 Corinthians 15:23 For when the kingdom is delivered up to God, even the Father, and all the powers are put down, as the Apostle says, then perfection begins. Here, then, is the hindrance, here the weakness of the perfect; there full perfection. Thus it is he asks for those days of eternal life which are, and not for those which pass away, so that he may know what is wanting to him, what is the land of promise that bears everlasting fruits, which is the first mansion in his Father's house, which the second, which the third, wherein each one will rest according to his merits.

238. Illa igitur nobis expetenda, in quibus perfectio, in quibus veritas est. Hic umbra, hic imago, illic veritas. Umbra in Lege, imago in Evangelio, veritas in coelestibus (Hebr. X. 1, et seq.). Ante agnus offerebatur, offerebatur et vitulus, nunc Christus offertur: sed offertur quasi homo, quasi recipiens passionem; et offert se ipse quasi sacerdos, ut peccata nostra dimittat: hic in imagine, ibi in veritate, ubi apud patrem pro nobis quasi advocatus intervenit. Hic ergo in imagine ambulamus, in imagine videmus: illic facie ad faciem, ubi plena perfectio; quia perfectio omnis in veritate est.

248. We then must strive for that wherein is perfection and wherein is truth. Here is the shadow, here the image; Hebrews 10:1 there the truth. The shadow is in the law, the image in the Gospel, the truth in heaven. In old

times a lamb, a Calf was offered; now Christ is offered. But He is offered as man and as enduring suffering. And He offers Himself as a priest to take away our sins, here in an image, there in truth, where with the Father He intercedes for us as our Advocate. Here, then, we walk in an image, we see in an image; there face to face where is full perfection. For all perfection rests in the truth.

CAPUT XLIX.

HIC SERVANDAM IN nobis virtutum imaginem, diaboli vero et vitiorum eradendam, ac in primis avaritiae: quae libertatem nobis adimit, variisque turbatos vanitatibus imagine Dei spoliat.

CHAPTER 49.

We must reserve the likeness of the virtues in ourselves. The likeness of the devil and of vice must be got rid of, and especially that of avarice; for this deprives us of liberty, and despoils those who are in the midst of vanities of the image of God.

239. Ergo dum hic sumus, servemus imaginem, ut ibi perveniamus ad veritatem. Sit in nobis imago justitiae, sit imago sapientiae; quia venietur ad illum diem. et secundum imaginem aestimabimur.

249. Whilst, then, we are here let us preserve the likeness, that there we may attain to the truth. Let the likeness of justice exist in us, likewise that of wisdom, for we shall come to that day and shall be rewarded according to our likeness.

240. Non inveniat in te adversarius imaginem suam, non rabiem, non furorem; in his enim imago nequitiae est. Adversarius enim diabolus sicut leo rugiens quaerit quem occidat, quem devoret. Non inveniat auri cupiditatem, non argenti acervos, non vitiorum simulacra; ne auferat tibi vocem libertatis. Vox enim libertatis illa est, ut dicas: Veniet hujus mundi princeps, et in me inveniet nihil (Joan. XIV, 30). Itaque si securus es quod nihil in te inveniat, cum venerit 64 perscrutari, dices illud quod dixit ad

Laban Jacob patriarcha: Cognosce si quid tuorum apud me est (Gen. XXXI, 32). Merito beatus Jacob, apud quem nihil Laban suum potuit reperire! Absconderat enim Rachel simulacra deorum ejus aurea et argentea.

250. Let not the adversary find his image in you, let him not find fury nor rage; for in these exists the likeness of wickedness. Our adversary the devil as a roaring lion seeks whom he may kill, whom he may devour. 1 Peter 5:8 Let him not find desire for gold, nor heaps of money, nor the appearance of vices, lest he take from you the voice of liberty. For the voice of true liberty is heard, when you can say: The prince of this world shall come, and shall find no part in me. John 14:30 Therefore, if you are sure that he will find nothing in you, when he comes to search through you, you will say, as the patriarch Jacob did to Laban: Know now if there is anything of yours with me. Genesis 31:32 Rightly do we account Jacob blessed with whom Laban could find naught of his. For Rachel had hidden the gold and silver images of his gods.

241. Itaque si sapientia, si fides, si contemptus saeculi, si gratia tua abscondat omnem perfidiam, beatus eris; quia non respicis in vanitates et insanias falsas (Psal. XXXIX, 5). An mediocre est tollere vocem adversario, ut arguendi te non possit habere auctoritatem? Itaque qui non respicit in vanitates, non conturbatur; qui enim respicit conturbatur, et vanissime quidem. Quid est enim congregare opes, nisi vanum; quia caduca quaerere vanum est satis? Cum autem congregaveris, qui scias an possidere liceat tibi?

251. If, then, wisdom, and faith, and contempt of the world, and spiritual grace, exclude all faithlessness, you will be blessed; for you regard not vanity and folly and lying. Is it a light thing to take away from your adversary the opportunity to speak, so that he can have no ground to make his complaint against you? Thus he who looks not on vanity is not

perturbed; but he who looks upon it is perturbed, and that, too, all to no purpose. Is it not a vain thing to heap up riches? For surely to seek for fleeting things is vain enough. And when you have gathered them, how do you know that you shall have them in possession?

242. Nonne vanum est ut mercator noctibus ac diebus conficiat iter, quo aggregare possit thesauri acervos, merces congreget, conturbetur ad pretium, ne forte minoris vendat quam emerit, aucupetur locorum pretia, et subito aut latrones in se invidia famosae negotiationis excitet, aut non exspectatis serenioribus flatibus, dum lucrum quaerit, naufragium impatiens morae incidat?

252. Is it not vain for a merchant to journey by night and by day, that he may be able to heap up treasures? Is it not vain for him to gather merchandise, and to be much perturbed about its price, for fear he might sell it for less than he gave? That he should strive everywhere for high prices, and thus unexpectedly call up robbers against himself through their envy at his much-vaunted business; or that, without waiting for calmer winds, impatient of delays, he should meet with shipwreck while seeking for gain?

243. Annon conturbatur etiam ille vane, qui summo labore coacervat, quod nesciat cui haeredi relinquat? Saepe quod avarus summa congesserit sollicitudine, praecipiti effusione dilacerat haeres luxuriosus: et diu quaesita turpis helluo, praesentium caecus, futuri improvidus, quadam absorbet voragine. Saepe etiam speratus successor invidiam partae acquirit haereditatis, et celeri obitu extraneis aditae successionis transcribit compendia.

253. And is not he, too, perturbed in vain who with great toil amasses wealth, though he knows not what heir to leave it to? Often and often all

that an avaricious man has got together with the greatest care, his spendthrift heir scatters abroad with headlong prodigality. The shameless prodigal, blind to the present, heedless of the future, swallows up as in an abyss what took so long to gather. Often, too, the desired successor gains but envy for his share of the inheritance, and by his sudden death hands over the whole amount of the succession, which he has hardly entered upon, to strangers.

244. Quid ergo vane araneam texis, quae inanis et sine fructu est, et tamquam casses suspendis inutiles divitiarum copias: quae etsi fluant, nihil prosunt; immo exuunt te imaginem Dei, et induunt terreni imaginem? Si tyranni aliquis imaginem habeat, nonne obnoxius est damnationi? Tu deponis imaginem aeterni imperatoris, et erigis in te imagiginem mortis. Ejice magis de civitate animae tuae imaginem diaboli, et attolle imaginem Christi. Haec in te fulgeat, in tua civitate, hoc est, anima resplendeat, quae oblitterat vitiorum imagines. De quibus ait David: Domine, in civitatetua, 65 ad nihilum deduces imagines eorum (Psal. LXXII, 20). Cum enim depinxerit Hierusalem Dominus ad imaginem suam, tunc adversariorum omnis imago deletur.

254. Why, then, do you idly spin a web which is worthless and fruitless? And why do you build up useless heaps of treasures like spiders' webs? For though they overflow, they are no good; nay, they denude you of the likeness of God, and put on you the likeness of the earthy. If any one has the likeness of the tyrant, is he not liable to condemnation? You lay aside the likeness of the Eternal King, and raise in yourself the image of death. Rather cast out of the kingdom of your soul the likeness of the devil, and raise up the likeness of Christ. Let this shine forth in you; let this glow brightly in your kingdom, that is, your soul, for it destroys the likeness of all vices. David says of this: O Lord, in Your kingdom you bring their

images to nothing. For when the Lord has adorned Jerusalem according to His own likeness, then every likeness of the adversary is destroyed.

CAPUT L.

LEVITAS A TERRENIS cupiditatibus maxime alienos esse debere. Quae sint illorum virtutes ex Apostolo, quantave in ipsis castimonia requiratur: item quae dignitas eorum atque officium, ad quod primariae virtutes sunt necessariae. Hasce ignotas non fuisse philosophis, sed in ordine illos peccavisse: nonnulla esse natura secundum officium, quae ob adjuncta fiant contra officium; unde colligitur quantas dotes postulet dignitas levitarum: quae sequitur verborum Moysis tribui leviticae benedicentis expositio.

CHAPTER 50.

The Levites ought to be utterly free from all earthly desires. What their virtues should be on the Apostle's own showing, and how great their purity must be. Also what their dignity and duty is, for the carrying out of which the chief virtues are necessary. He states that these were not unknown to the philosophers, but that they erred in their order. Some are by their nature in accordance with duty, which yet on account of what accompanies them become contrary to duty. From whence he gathers what gifts the office of the Levites demands. To conclude, he adds an exposition of Moses' words when blessing the tribe of Levi.

245. Quod si Evangelio Domini etiam populus ipse ad despicientiam opum informatus atque institutus est; quanto magis vos levitas oportet terrenis non teneri cupiditatibus, quorum Deus portio est? Nam cum divideretur a Moyse possessio terrena populo parum, excepit levitas Dominus a terrenae possessionis consortio, quod ipse illis esset funiculus haereditatis (Num. XVIII, 23). Unde ait David: Dominus pars haereditatis meae, et calicis mei

(Psal. XV, 5). Denique sic appellatur levita ipse meus, vel ipse pro me. Magnum ergo munus ejus, ut de eo Dominus dicat: Ipse meus; vel quemadmodum Petro dixit de statere in ore piscis reperto: Dabis eis pro me et pro te (Matth. XVII, 26). Unde et Apostolus cum episcopum dixisset debere esse sobrium, pudicum, ornatum, hospitalem, docibilem, non avarum, non litigiosum, domui suae bene praepositum, addidit: Diaconos similiter oportet esse graves, non bilingues, non multo vino deditos, non turpe lucrum sectantes, habentes mysterium fidei in conscientia pura (I Tim. III, 8). Et hi autem probentur primum, et sic ministrent, nullum crimen habentes

255. If, then, in the Gospel of the Lord the people themselves were taught and led to despise riches, Mark 10:23 how much more ought ye Levites no longer to be bound down by earthly desires. For your portion is God. For when their earthly possessions were portioned out by Moses to the people of our fathers, the Lord suffered not the Levites to have a share in that earthly possession, Numbers 18:23 for He Himself would be the strength of their inheritance. Wherefore David says: The Lord is the portion of mine inheritance and of my cup. Whence we get the name Levite, which means: Himself is mine, or Himself for me. Great, then, is his honour, that God should say of him: Himself is Mine. Or, as was said to Peter about the piece of money found in the fish's mouth: Give to them for Me and for you. Matthew 17:27 Wherefore the Apostle, when he said: A bishop should be sober, modest, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach, not covetous, nor a brawler, one that rules well his own house, also added: Likewise must the deacons be grave, not double-tongued, not given to much wine, not greedy of filthy lucre, holding the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience. And let them also first be proved, and so let them serve, being found blameless. 1 Timothy 3:2-10

246. Advertimus quanta in nobis requirantur: ut abstinens sit a vino minister Domini, ut testimonio bono fulciatur non solum fidelium, sed etiam ab his qui foris sunt. Decet enim actuum operumque nostrorum testem esse publicam existimationem, ne derogetur muneri; ut qui videt ministrum altaris congruis ornatum virtutibus, auctorem praedicet, et Dominum veneretur, qui tales servulos habeat. Laus enim Domini, ubi munda possessio, et innocens familiae disciplina.

256. We note how much is required of us. The minister of the Lord should abstain from wine, so that he may be upheld by the good witness not only of the faithful but also by those who are without. For it is right that the witness to our acts and works should be the opinion of the public at large, that the office be not disgraced. Thus he who sees the minister of the altar adorned with suitable virtues may praise their Author, and reverence the Lord Who has such servants. The praise of the Lord sounds forth where there is a pure possession and an innocent rule at home.

247. De castimonia autem quid loquar, quando una tantum (Dist. 26, Una tantum), nec repetita permittitur copula? Et in ipso ergo conjugio lex est non iterare conjugium, nec secundae conjugis sortiri conjunctionem. Quod plerisque mirum videtur, cur etiam ante baptismum iterati conjugii ad electionem muneris et ordinationis praerogativam impedimenta generentur; cum etiam delicta obesse non soleant, si lavacri remissa fuerint sacramento. Sed intelligere debemus quia baptismo culpa dimitti potest, lex aboleri non potest. In conjugio non culpa, sed lex est. Quod culpae est igitur in baptismate relaxatur: quod legis est in conjugio non solvitur. Quomodo autem potest hortator esse viduitatis qui ipse conjugia frequentaverit?

257. But what shall I say about chastity, when only one and no second union is allowed? As regards marriage, the law is, not to marry again, nor to seek union with another wife. It seems strange to many why impediment

should be caused by a second marriage entered on before baptism, so as to prevent election to the clerical office, and to the reception of the gift of ordination; seeing that even crimes are not wont to stand in the way, if they have been put away in the sacrament of baptism. But we must learn, that in baptism sin can be forgiven, but law cannot be abolished. In the case of marriage there is no sin, but there is a law. Whatever sin there is can be put away, whatever law there is cannot be laid aside in marriage. How could he exhort to widowhood who himself had married more than once?

248. Inoffensum autem exhibendum et immaculatum ministerium, nec ullo conjugali coitu violandum cognoscitis, qui integri corpore, incorrupto pudore, alieni etiam ab ipso consortio conjugali, sacri ministerii gratiam recepistis? Quod eo non praeterii, quia in plerisque abditioribus locis cum ministerium gererent, vel etiam sacerdotium, filios susceperunt: et id tamquam usu veteri defendunt, quando per intervalla dierum sacrificium deferebatur; et tamen castificabatur etiam populus per biduum aut triduum, ut ad sacrificium purus accederet, ut in veteri Testamento legimus (Exod. XIX, 10); et lavabant vestimenta sua. Si in figura tanta observantia, quanta 67 in veritate? Disce, sacerdos atque levita, quid sit lavare vestimenta tua, ut mundum corpus celebrandis exhibeas sacramentis. Si populus sine ablutione vestimentorum suorum prohibebatur accedere ad hostiam suam, tu illotus mente pariter et corpore audes pro aliis supplicare, audes aliis ministrare?

258. But ye know that the ministerial office must be kept pure and unspotted, and must not be defiled by conjugal intercourse; ye know this, I say, who have received the gifts of the sacred ministry, with pure bodies, and unspoiled modesty, and without ever having enjoyed conjugal intercourse. I am mentioning this, because in some out-of-the-way places, when they enter on the ministry, or even when they become priests, they

have begotten children. They defend this on the ground of old custom, when, as it happened, the sacrifice was offered up at long intervals. However, even the people had to be purified two or three days beforehand, so as to come clean to the sacrifice, as we read in the Old Testament. Exodus 19:10 They even used to wash their clothes. If such regard was paid in what was only the figure, how much ought it to be shown in the reality! Learn then, Priest and Levite, what it means to wash your clothes. You must have a pure body wherewith to offer up the sacraments. If the people were forbidden to approach their victim unless they washed their clothes, do you, while foul in heart and body, dare to make supplication for others? Do you dare to make an offering for them?

249. Non mediocre officium levitarum, de quibus dicit Dominus: Ecce eligo levitas de medio filiorum Israel pro omni primogenito aperiente vulvam filiis Israel: redemptiones eorum erunt isti, et erunt mihi levitae. Mihi enim sanctificavi primogenitum in terra Aegypti (Num. III, 12 et 13). Cognovimus quia non inter caeteros levitae computantur, sed omnibus praeferuntur, qui eliguntur ex omnibus, et sanctificantur; ut primogenita fructuum atque primitiae quae Domino deputantur, in quibus est votorum solutio, et redemptio peccatorum. Non accipies, inquit, eos inter filios Israel: sed constitues levitas super tabernaculum testimonii, et super omnia vasa ejus astare, et super quaecumque sunt in ipso. Ipsi tollant tabernaculam et omnia vasa ejus, et ipsi ministrent in eo, et in circuitu tabernaculi castra ipsi constituant, et promovendo, tabernaculum ipsi deponant levitae: et constituendo castra, rursum ipsum tabernaculum ipsi statuant. Alienigena quicumque accesserit, morte moriatur (Num. I, 49 et seq.).

259. The duty of the Levites is no light one, for the Lord says of them: Behold I have taken the Levites from among the children of Israel, instead of every first-born that opens the matrix among the children of Israel. These

shall be their redemption, and the Levites shall be Mine. For I hallowed unto Me all the first-born in the land of Egypt. Numbers 3:12-13 We know that the Levites are not reckoned among the rest, but are preferred before all, for they are chosen out of all, and are sanctified like the firstfruits and the firstlings which belong to the Lord, since the payment of vows and redemption for sin are offered by them. You shall not receive them, He says, among the children of Israel, but you shall appoint the Levites over the tabernacle of testimony, and over all the vessels thereof, and over all things that belong to it. They shall bear the tabernacle and all the vessels thereof, and they shall minister in it, and shall encamp round about the tabernacle. And when the tabernacle sets forward the Levites shall take it down, and when the camp is pitched they shall set up the tabernacle again. And the stranger that comes near shall surely be put to death. Numbers 1:49-51

250. Tu ergo electus es ex omni numero filiorum Israel, inter sacros fructus quasi primogenitus aestimatus, praepositus tabernaculo, ut praetendas in castris sanctitatis et fidei, ad quae si alienigena accesserit, morte morietur, positus ut operias arcam Testamenti. Non enim omnes vident alta mysteriorum, quia operiuntur a levitis; ne videant qui videre non debent, et sumant qui servare non possunt. Moyses denique circumcisionem vidit spiritualem: sed operuit eam, ut in signo circumcisionem praescriberet. Vidit azyma veritatis et sinceritatis, vidit passionem Domini: operuit azymis corporalibus azyma veritatis, operuit passionem Domini, agni vel vituli immolatione. Et boni levitae servaverunt mysterium, fidei suae tegmine; et tu mediocre putas quod commissum est tibi? Primum ut alta Dei videas, quod est sapientiae: deinde ut excubias pro populo deferas, quod est justitiae: castra defendas, tabernaculumque 68 tuearis, quod est fortitudinis: te ipsum continentem ac sobrium praestes, quod est temperantiae.

260. You, then, art chosen out of the whole number of the children of Israel, regarded as the firstfruits of the sacred offerings, set over the tabernacle so as to keep guard in the camp of holiness and faith, to which if a stranger approach, he shall surely die. You are placed there to watch over the Ark of the Covenant. All do not see the depths of the mysteries, for they are hid from the Levites, lest they should see who ought not to see, and they who cannot serve should take it up. Moses, indeed, saw the circumcision of the Spirit, but veiled it, so as to give circumcision only in an outward sign. He saw the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth; he saw the sufferings of the Lord, but he veiled the unleavened bread of truth in the material unleavened bread, he veiled the sufferings of the Lord in the sacrifice of a lamb or a calf. Good Levites have ever preserved the mystery entrusted to them under the protection of their own faith, and yet do you think little of what is entrusted to you? First, you shall see the deep things of God, which needs wisdom. Next, you must keep watch for the people; this requires justice. You must defend the camp and guard the tabernacle, which needs fortitude. You must show yourself continent and sober, and this needs temperance.

251. Haec virtutum genera principalia constituerunt etiam hi qui foris sunt: sed communitatis superiorem ordinem quam sapientiae judicaverunt; cum sapientia fundamentum sit, justitia opus sit, quod manere non potest, nisi fundamentum habeat. Fundamentum autem Christus est (I Cor. III, 11).

261. These chief virtues, they who are without have recognized, but they considered that the order resting on society was higher than that resting on wisdom; though wisdom is the foundation, and justice the building which cannot stand unless it have a foundation. The foundation is Christ. 1 Corinthians 3:11

252. Prima ergo fides, quae est sapientiae, ut Salomon dicit, secutus patrem: Initium sapientiae timor Domini (Prov. IX, 10). Et lex dicit: Diliges

Dominum Deum tuum, diliges proximum tuum (Deut. VI, 5). Pulchrum est enim ut gratiam tuam atque officia in societatem humani generis conferas. Sed primum illud decorum est, ut quod habes pretiosissimum, hoc est, mentem tuam, qua nihil habes praestantius, Deo deputes. Cum solveris auctori debitum, licet ut opera tua in beneficentiam et adjumenta hominum conferas, atque opem feras necessitatibus, aut pecunia, aut officio, aut etiam quocumque munere; quod late patet in vestro ministerio: pecunia, ut subvenias: debito, ut obligatum liberes: officio, ut servanda suscipias, quae metuat amittere, qui deponenda credidit.

262. First stands faith, which is a sign of wisdom, as Solomon says, in following his father: The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. And the law says: You shall love the Lord your God, you shall love your neighbour. Deuteronomy 6:5 It is a noble thing to do one’s kindnesses and duties towards the whole of the human race. But it is ever most seemly that you should give to God the most precious thing you have, that is, your mind, for you have nothing better than that. When you have paid your debt to your Creator, then you may labour for men, to show them kindness, and to give help; then you may assist the needy with money, or by some duty, or some service that lies in the way of your ministry; by money to support him; by paying a debt, so as to free him that is bound; by undertaking a duty, so as to take charge of a trust, which he fears to lose, who has put it by in trust.

253. Officium est igitur depositum servare ac reddere. Sed interdum commutatio fit, aut tempore, aut necessitate, ut non sit officium reddere quod acceperis; ut si quis contra patriam, opem Barbaris ferens, pecuniam apertus hostis reposcat: aut si cui reddas, cum adsit qui extorqueat: si furenti restituas, cum servare non queat: si insanienti gladium depositum non neges, quo se ille interimat, nonne solvisse contra officium est? Si furto

quaesita sciens suscipias, ut fraudetur qui amiserat, nonne contra officium est?

263. It is a duty, then, to take care of and to restore what has been entrusted to us. But meanwhile a change comes, either in time or circumstances, so that it is no longer a duty to restore what one has received. As, for instance, when a man demands back his money as an open enemy, to use it against his country, and to offer his wealth to barbarians. Or, if you should have to restore it, while another stood by to extort it from him by force. If you restore money to a raving lunatic when he cannot keep it; if you give up to a madman a sword once put by with you, whereby he may kill himself, is it not an act contrary to duty to pay the debt? Is it not contrary to duty to take knowingly what has been got by a thief, so that he who has lost it is cheated out of it?

254. Est etiam contra officium (22, quaest. 4, c. Est etiam) nonnumquam solvere promissum, sacramentum custodire: ut Herodes qui juravit quoniam quidquid petitus esset, daret filiae Herodiadis, et necem Joannis praestitit, ne promissum negaret (Matth. XIV, 7 et seq.). Nam de Jephthe quid dicam, qui immolavit filiam, quae sibi victori prima occurrerat, quo votum impleret, quod spoponderat, ut quidquid sibi primum occurrisset, offerret Deo (Judic. XI, 39)? Melius fuerat 69 nihil tale promittere, quam promissum solvere parricidio.

264. It is also sometimes contrary to duty to fulfil a promise, or to keep an oath. As was the case with Herod, who swore that whatever was asked he would give to the daughter of Herodias, and so allowed the death of John, that he might not break his word. And what shall I say of Jephthah, who offered up his daughter in sacrifice, she having been the first to meet him as he returned home victorious; whereby he fulfilled the vow which he had made that he would offer to God whatever should meet him first. It would

have been better to make no promise at all, than to fulfil it in the death of his daughter.

255. Haec quanti consilii sit prospicere, non ignoratis. Et ideo eligitur levita, qui sacrarium custodiat, ne fallatur consilio, ne fidem deserat, ne mortem timeat, ne quid intemperantius gerat, ut specie ipsa gravitatem praeferat: nec solum animum, sed etiam oculos continentes habere quem deceat; ne vel ipse frontem sobrietatis fortuitus violet occursus; quoniam: Qui viderit mulierem ad concupiscendam eam, adulteravit eam in corde suo (Matth. V, 28). Ita adulterium non solum facti colluvione, sed etiam aspectus intentione committititur.

265. You are not ignorant how important it is to look to this. And so a Levite is chosen to guard the sanctuary, one who shall never fail in counsel, nor forsake the faith, nor fear death, nor do anything extravagant, so that in his whole appearance he may give proof of his earnestness. For he ought to have not only his soul but even his eyes in restraint, so that no chance mishap may bring a blush to his forehead. For whosoever looks on a woman to desire her has already committed adultery with her in his heart. Matthew 5:28 Thus adultery is committed not only by actual committal of the foul deed, but even by the desire of the ardent gaze.

256. Magna haec videntur, ac nimis severa, sed in magno munere non superflua; quando tanta est levitarum gratia, ut de his Moyses in benedictionibus diceret: Date Levi viros ejus, date Levi manifestos ejus, date Levi sortem suffragii sui, et veritatem ejus viro sancto, quem tentaverunt in tentationibus, maledixerunt super 70 aquam contradictionis. Qui dicit patri suo et matri: Non novi te; et fratres suos non cognovit, et filios suos abdicavit: hic custodit verba tua, et testamentum tuum observavit (Deut. XXXIII, 8 et seq.).

266. This seems high and somewhat severe, but in a high office it is not out of place. For the grace of the Levites is such that Moses spoke of them as follows in his blessing: Give to Levi his men, give Levi his trusted ones, give Levi the lot of his inheritance, and his truth to the holy men whom they tempted in temptation, and reviled at the waters of contradiction. Who said to his father and mother, I know you not, and knew not his brethren, and renounced his children. He guarded Your word and kept Your testimony. Deuteronomy 33:8-9

257. Illi ergo viri ejus, et manifesti ejus, qui nihil in corde doli habeant, nihil fraudis occultent, sed verba ejus custodiant, et in corde suo conferant, sicut conferebat et Maria (Luc. II, 19): qui suos parentes officio suo non noverint praeferendos, qui violatores oderint castitatis, pudicitiae ulciscantur injuriam, noverint officiorum tempora; quod majus, quod minus sit, quod cui aptum tempori est, et ut id solum sequantur quod honestum est; sane ubi duo honesta, id quod honestius est, praeponendum putent; hi jure benedicti.

267. They, then, are His men, His trusty ones, who have no deceit in their hearts, hide no treachery within them, but guard His words and ponder them in their heart, as Mary pondered them; Luke 2:19 who know not their parents so as to put them before their duty; who hate the violators of chastity, and avenge the injury done to purity; and know the times for the fulfilling of their duty, as also which duty is the greater, which the lesser, and to what occasion each is suited. In all this they follow that alone which is virtuous. And who, where there are two virtuous duties, think that which is the more virtuous must come first. These are in truth rightly blessed.

268. Si quis ergo manifestet justitias Dei, incensum imponat: Benedic, Domine, virtutem ipsius, opera manuum ejus suscipe (Deut. XXXIII, 10); ut

gratiam prophaeticae benedictionis inveniat apud eum qui vivit et regnat in saecula saeculorum, Amen.

268. If any one makes known the just works of the Lord, and offers Him incense, then: Bless, O Lord, his strength; accept the work of his hands, Deuteronomy 33:11 that he may find the grace of the prophetic blessing with Him Who lives and reigns for ever and ever. Amen.

LIBER SECUNDUS

BOOK II.

CAPUT I.

VITAE BEATITUDINEM ACQUIRI honestate, quippe qua Christianus gloriam et favores hominum spernens, opera sua Deo soli placere in votis habet.

CHAPTER 1.

Happiness in life is to be gained by living virtuously, inasmuch as thus a Christian, while despising glory and the favour of men, desires to please God alone in what he does.

1. Superiore libro de officiis tractavimus, quae convenire honestati arbitraremur, in qua vitam beatam positam esse nulli dubitaverunt, quam Scriptura appellat vitam aeternam. Tantus enim splendor honestatus est, ut vitam beatam efficiant tranquillitas conscientiae, et securitas innocentiae. Et ideo sicut exortus sol lunae globum et caetera stellarum abscondit lumina, ita fulgor honestatis, ubi vero et incorrupto vibrat decore, caetera quae putantur bona secundum voluptatem corporis, 70 aut secundum saeculum clara et illustria, obumbrat.

1. In the first book we spoke of the duties which we thought befitted a virtuous life, whereon no one has ever doubted but that a blessed life, which the Scripture calls eternal life, depends. So great is the splendour of a virtuous life that a peaceful conscience and a calm innocence work out a happy life. And as the risen sun hides the globe of the moon and the light of the stars, so the brightness of a virtuous life, where it glitters in true pure glory, casts into the shade all other things, which, according to the desires of

the body, are considered to be good, or are reckoned in the eyes of the world to be great and noble.

2. Beata plane, quae non alienis aestimatur judiciis, sed domesticis percipitur sensibus, tamquam sui judex. Neque enim populares opiniones pro mercede aliqua requirit, neque pro supplicio pavet. Itaque quo minus sequitur gloriam, eo magis super eam eminet. Nam qui gloriam requirunt, his ea merces praesentium, umbra futurorum est, quae impediat vitam aeternam; quod in Evangelio scriptum est: Amen dico vobis, perceperunt mercedem suam (Matth. VI, 2); de his scilicet qui velut tuba canente, vulgare liberalitatem suam quam faciunt circa pauperes, gestiunt. Similiter et de jejunio quod ostentationis causa faciunt: Habent, inquit, mercedem suam.

2. Blessed, plainly, is that life which is not valued at the estimation of outsiders, but is known, as judge of itself, by its own inner feelings. It needs no popular opinion as its reward in any way; nor has it any fear of punishments. Thus the less it strives for glory, the more it rises above it. For to those who seek for glory, that reward in the shape of present things is but a shadow of future ones, and is a hindrance to eternal life, as it is written in the Scriptures: Verily, I say unto you, they have received their reward. Matthew 6:2 This is said of those who, as it were, with the sound of a trumpet desire to make known to all the world the liberality they exercise towards the poor. It is the same, too, in the case of fasting, which is done but for outward show. They have, he says, their reward.

3. Honestatis igitur est vel misericordiam facere, 71 vel jejunium deferre in abscondito; ut mercedem videaris a solo Deo tuo quaerere, non etiam ab hominibus. Nam qui ab hominibus quaerit, habet mercedem suam: qui autem a Deo, habet vitam aeternam: quam praestare non potest nisi auctor aeternitatis, sicut illud est: Amen, dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in paradiso

(Luc. XXIII, 43). Unde expressius Scriptura vitam aeternam appellavit eam quae sit beata; ut non hominum opinionibus aestimandum relinqueretur, sed divino judicio committeretur.

3. It therefore belongs to a virtuous life to show mercy and to fast in secret; that you may seem to be seeking a reward from your God alone, and not from men. For he who seeks it from man has his reward, but he who seeks it from God has eternal life, which none can give but the Lord of Eternity, as it is said: Verily, I say unto you, today shall you be with Me in Paradise. Luke 23:43 Wherefore the Scripture plainly has called that life which is blessed, eternal life. It has not been left to be appraised according to man’s ideas on the subject, but has been entrusted to the divine judgment.

CAPUT II.

VARIAE PHILOSOPHORUM DE beatitudine opiniones: eam in Dei cognitione ac bonorum operum studio consistere primum probatur ex Evangelio: tum ne a philosophis videatur hoc sumptum, prophetarum testimoniis confirmatur.

CHAPTER 2.

The different ideas of philosophers on the subject of happiness. He proves, first, from the Gospel that it rests on the knowledge of God and the pursuit of good works; next, that it may not be thought that this idea was adopted from the philosophers, he adds proofs from the witness of the prophets.

4. Itaque philosophi vitam beatam, alii in non dolendo posuerunt, ut Hieronymus: alii in rerum scientia, ut Herillus, qui audiens ab Aristotele et Theophrasto mirabiliter laudatam esse rerum scientiam, solam eam quasi summum bonum posuit; cum illi eam quasi bonum, non quasi solum bonum laudaverint. Alii voluptatem dixerunt, ut Epicurus: alii, ut Callipho, et post eum Diodorus, ita interpretati sunt, ut alter ad voluptatem, alter ad vacuitatem doloris, consortium honestatis adjungerent, quod sine ea non possit esse beata vita. Zenon Stoicus solum et summum bonum quod honestum est: Aristoteles autem vel Theophrastus et caeteri peripatetici in virtute quidem, hoc est honestate vitam beatam esse, sed compleri ejus beatitudinem etiam corporis atque externis bonis asseruerunt.

4. The philosophers have made a happy life to depend, either (as Hieronymus) on freedom from pain, or (as Herillus) on knowledge. For Herillus, hearing knowledge very highly praised by Aristotle and

Theophrastus, made it alone to be the chief good, when they really praised it as a good thing, not as the only good; others, as Epicurus, have called pleasure such; others, as Callipho, and after him Diodorus, understood it in such a way as to make a virtuous life go in union, the one with pleasure, the other with freedom from pain, since a happy life could not exist without it. Zeno, the Stoic, thought the highest and only good existed in a virtuous life. But Aristotle and Theophrastus and the other Peripatetics maintained that a happy life consisted in virtue, that is, in a virtuous life, but that its happiness was made complete by the advantages of the body and other external good things.

5. Scriptura autem divina vitam aeternam in cognitione posuit divinitatis, et fructu bonae operationis. Denique utriusque assertionis Evangelicum suppetit testimonium. Nam et de scientia ita dixit Dominus Jesus: Haec est autem vita aeterna, ut cognoscant te solum verum Deum, et quem misisti Jesum Christum (Joan. XVII, 3). Et de operibus ita respondit: Omnis qui reliquerit domum, vel fratres, aut sorores, aut patrem, aut matrem, aut uxorem, aut filios, aut agros propter nomen meum, centuplum accipiet, et vitam aeternam possidebit (Matth. XIX, 29).

5. But the sacred Scriptures say that eternal life rests on a knowledge of divine things and on the fruit of good works. The Gospel bears witness to both these statements. For the Lord Jesus spoke thus of knowledge: This is eternal life, to know You, the only true God, and Jesus Christ Whom You have sent. John 17:3 About works He gives this answer: Every one that has forsaken house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for My Name’s sake, shall receive an hundred-fold, and shall inherit everlasting life. Matthew 19:29

6. Sed ne aestimetur hoc recens esse, et prius tractatum a philosophis, quam in Evangelio praedicatum (anteriores enim Evangelio philosophi, id est,

Aristoteles et Theophrastus, vel Zenon atque Hieronymus, sed posteriores prophetis), 72 accipiant quam longe antequam philosophorum nomen audiretur, per os sancti David utrumque aperte videatur expressum. Scriptum est enim: Beatus quem tu erudieris, Domine; et de lege tua docueris eum (Psal. XCIII, 12). Habemus et alibi: Beatus vir qui timet Dominum, in mandatis ejus cupiet nimis (Ps. CXI, 1). Docuimus de cognitione, cujus praemium aeternitatis fructum esse memoravit, adjiciens Propheta, quia in domo hujus timentis Dominum, vel eruditi in Lege, et cupientis in mandatis divinis: Gloria et divitiae, et justitia ejus manet in saeculum saeculi (Ibid. 3). De operibus quoque in eodem psalmo subjunxit vitae aeternae suppetere praemium viro justo. Denique ait: Beatus vir qui miseretur et commodat, disponet sermones suos in judicio; quia in saeculum non commovebitur. In memoria aeterna erit justus (Ibid., 5, 6). Et infra: Dispersit, dedit pauperibus, justitia ejus manet in aeternum (Ibid., 9).

6. Let no one think that this was but lately said, and that it was spoken of by the philosophers before it was mentioned in the Gospel. For the philosophers, that is to say, Aristotle and Theophrastus, as also Zeno and Hieronymus, certainly lived before the time of the Gospel; but they came after the prophets. Let them rather think how long before even the names of the philosophers were heard of, both of these seem to have found open expression through the mouth of the holy David; for it is written: Blessed is the man whom You instruct, O Lord, and teach him out of Your law. We find elsewhere also: Blessed is the man that fears the Lord, he will rejoice greatly in His commandments. We have proved our point as regards knowledge, the reward for which the prophet states to be the fruit of eternity, adding that in the house of the man that fears the Lord, or is instructed in His law and rejoices greatly in the divine commandments, is glory and riches; and his justice abides for ever and ever. He has further also in the same psalm stated of good works, that they gain for an upright

man the gift of eternal life. He speaks thus: Blessed is the man that shows pity and lends, he will guide his affairs with discretion, surely he shall not be moved for ever, the righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance. And further: He has dispersed, he has given to the poor, his justice endures forever.

7. Habet ergo vitam aeternam fides, quia fundamentum est bonum: habent et bona facta, quia vir justus et dictis et rebus probatur. Nam si exercitatus sit in sermonibus, et desidiosus in operibus, prudentiam suam factis refellit: et gravius est scire quid facias, nec fecisse quod faciendum cognoveris. Contra quoque strenuum esse in operibus, affectu infidum, ita est ac si vitioso fundamento pulchra culminum velis elevare fastigia: quo plus exstruxeris, plus corruit; quia sine munimento fidei bona opera non possunt manere. Infida statio in portu navem perforat, et arenosum solum cito cedit, nec potest impositae aedificationis sustinere onera. Ibi ergo plenitudo praemii, ubi virtutum perfectio, et quaedam in factis atque dictis aequalitas sobrietatis.

7. Faith, then, has [the promise of] eternal life, for it is a good foundation. Good works, too, have the same, for an upright man is tested by his words and acts. For if a man is always busy talking and yet is slow to act, he shows by his acts how worthless his knowledge is: besides it is much worse to know what one ought to do, and yet not to do what one has learned should be done. On the other hand, to be active in good works and unfaithful at heart is as idle as though one wanted to raise a beautiful and lofty dome upon a bad foundation. The higher one builds, the greater is the fall; for without the protection of faith good works cannot stand. A treacherous anchorage in a harbour perforates a ship, and a sandy bottom quickly gives way and cannot bear the weight of the building placed upon

it. There then will be found the fullness of reward, where the virtues are perfect, and where there is a reasonable agreement between words and acts.

CAPUT III.

PETITA E SCRIPTURIS beatitudinis definitio expenditur, demonstraturque nihil ipsi vel propter externa bona accedere, vel decedere propter incommoda.

CHAPTER 3.

The definition of blessedness as drawn from the Scriptures is considered and proved. It cannot be enhanced by external good fortune, nor can it be weakened by misfortune.

8. Et quoniam sola rerum scientia explosa est, vel quasi inanis secundum Philosophiae disputationes superfluas, vel quasi semiperfecta sententia; consideremus quam enodem de eo divina scriptura absolvat sententiam, de quo tam multiplices et implicatas atque confusas videmus esse quaestiones Philosophiae. Nihil enim bonum Scriptura nisi quod honestum asserit, virtutemque in omni rerum statu beatam judicat, quae neque augeatur bonis corporis, vel externis, neque minuatur adversis: nihilque tam beatum, nisi quod a peccato alienum sit, 73 plenum innocentiae, repletum gratiae Dei. Scriptum est enim: Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum, et in via peccatorum non stetit, et in cathedra pestilentiae non sedit: sed in lege Domini fuit voluntas ejus (Ps. I, 1, 2). Et alibi: Beati immaculati in via, qui ambulant in lege Domini (Ps. CXVIII, 1).

8. As, then, knowledge, so far as it stands alone, is put aside either as worthless, according to the superfluous discussions of the philosophers, or as but an imperfect idea, let us now note how clearly the divine Scriptures explain a thing about which we see the philosophers held so many involved

and perplexing ideas. For the Scriptures state that nothing is good but what is virtuous, and declare that virtue is blessed in every circumstance, and that it is never enhanced by either corporal or other external good fortune, nor is it weakened by adversity. No state is so blessed as that wherein one is free from sin, is filled with innocence, and is fully supplied with the grace of God. For it is written: Blessed is the man that has not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, and has not stood in the way of sinners, and has not sat in the seat of pestilence, but in the law of the Lord was his delight. And again: Blessed are the undefiled in the way, who walk in the law of the Lord.

9. Innocentia igitur et scientia beatum faciunt. Bonae quoque operationis mercedem esse beatitudinem vitae aeternae superius advertimus (Sup., ca). Restat igitur ut spreto patrocinio voluptatis, aut doloris metu (quorum alterum quasi infractum et molliculum, alterum quasi eviratum et infirmum despuit), in ipsis doloribus vitam beatam eminere demonstret. Quod facile doceri potest, cum legerimus: Beati estis, cum vobis maledicent, et persequentur, et dicent omne malum adversus vos propter justitiam. Gaudete et exsultate, quoniam merces vestra copiosa est in coelo. Sic enim persecuti sunt et prophetas, qui erant ante vos (Matth. V, 11, 12). Et alibi Qui vult venire post me, tollat crucem suam, et sequatur me (Matth. XVI, 24).

9. Innocence, then, and knowledge make a man blessed. We have also noted already that the blessedness of eternal life is the reward for good works. It remains, then, to show that when the patronage of pleasure or the fear of pain is despised (and the first of these one abhors as poor and effeminate, and the other as unmanly and weak), that then a blessed life can rise up in the midst of pain. This can easily be shown when we read: Blessed are you when men shall revile you and persecute you and shall say all manner of evil against you for righteousness' sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for

great is your reward in heaven; for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you. Matthew 5:11-12 And again: He that will come after Me, let him take up his cross and follow Me. Matthew 16:24

CAPUT IV.

IDEM ARGUMENTUM, SCILICET rebus externis non minui neque augeri beatitudinem, veterum exemplis illustratur.

CHAPTER 4.

The same argument, namely, that blessedness is not lessened or added to by external matters, is illustrated by the example of men of old.

10. Est ergo beatitudo et in doloribus, quos plena suavitatis virtus comprimit et coercet, ipsa sibi domesticis opibus abundans, vel ad conscientiam, vel ad gratiam. Neque enim parum beatus Moyses, cum Aegyptiorum vallatus populis, et mari clausus, per fluctus sibi et populo patrum pedestrem viam piis meritis invenisset (Exod. XIV, 13). Quando autem fortior, quam tunc cum extremis circumventus periculis non desperabat salutem, sed exigebat triumphum?

10. There is, then, a blessedness even in pains and griefs. All which virtue with its sweetness checks and restrains, abounding as it does in natural resources for either soothing conscience or increasing grace. For Moses was blessed in no small degree when, surrounded by the Egyptians and shut in by the sea, he found by his merits a way for himself and the people to go through the waters. Exodus xiv When was he ever braver than at the moment when, surrounded by the greatest dangers, he gave not up the hope of safety, but besought a triumph?

11. Quid Aaron, quando se beatiorem credidit, quam tunc quando medius stetit inter vivos ac mortuos, et objectu sui statuit mortem, ne ad vivorum

transiret agmina a cadaveribus mortuorum (Num. XVI, 48)? Quid de puero Daniele loquar, qui tam sapiens erat, ut inter leones fame exasperatos, nulla bestialis saevitiae formidine frangeretur: ita alienus a metu, ut posset epulari, nec vereretur, ne ad pastum exemplo sui feras provocaret (Dan. XIV)?

11. What of Aaron? When did he ever think himself more blessed than when he stood between the living and the dead, and by his presence stayed death from passing from the bodies of the dead to the lines of the living? Numbers 16:48 What shall I say of the youth Daniel, who was so wise that, when in the midst of the lions enraged with hunger, he was by no means overcome with terror at the fierceness of the beasts. So free from fear was he, that he could eat, and was not afraid he might by his example excite the animals to feed on him.

12. Est ergo et in dolore virtus, quae sibi bonae suavitatem exhibeat conscientiae; et ideo indicio est, quod non minuat dolor virtutis voluptatem. Sicut ergo nulla virtuti decessio beatitudinis per dolorem, ita etiam nulla accessio per voluptatem corporis aut commodorum gratiam. De quibus pulchre Apostolus ait: Quae mihi lucra fuerunt, haec duxi propter Christum detrimenta esse (Phil. III, 7, 8). Et addidit: Propter quem omnia damna duxi, et aestimo ut stercora, ut Christum lucrifaciam (Hebr. XI, 26).

12. There is, then, in pain a virtue that can display the sweetness of a good conscience, and therefore it serves as a proof that pain does not lessen the pleasure of virtue. As, then, there is no loss of blessedness to virtue through pain, so also the pleasures of the body and the enjoyment that benefits give add nothing to it. On this the Apostle says well: What things to me were gain, those I counted loss for Christ, and he added: Wherefore I count all things but loss, and do count them but dung, that I may win Christ. Philippians 3:7-8

13. Denique Moyses damnum suum credidit thesauros esse Aegyptiorum, et opprobrium Dominicae crucis praetulit: nec tunc dives cum abundaret pecunia, nec postea pauper cum egeret alimento; nisi forte tunc alicui minus beatus 74 videretur fuisse, cum in deserto quotidiana alimonia sibi et populo suo deforet. Sed quod summi boni ac beatitudinis nemo negare audeat, manna ei, hoc est, panis Angelorum ministrabatur e coelo: carnis quoque quotidiana pluvia totius plebis epulis redundabat (Exod. XVI, 13 et seq.).

13. Moses, too, thought the treasures of Egypt to be his loss, and thus showed forth in his life the reproach of the Cross of the Lord. He was not rich when he had abundance of money, nor was he afterwards poor when he was in want of food, unless, perchance, there is any one who thinks he was less happy when daily food was wanting to him and his people in the wilderness. But yet manna, that is, angels' food, which surely none will dare deny to be a mark of the greatest good and of blessedness, was given him from heaven; also the daily shower of meat was sufficient to feed the whole multitude. Exodus 16:13

14. Eliae quoque sancto panis ad victum deerat, si quaereretur (III Reg. XVII, 6): sed non videbatur deesse, quia non quaerebatur. Itaque diurno corvorum obsequio mane panis, caro ad vesperam deferebatur. Numquid ideo minus beatus, quia pauper erat sibi? Minime. Immo eo magis beatus, quia erat Deo dives. Aliis enim quam sibi divitem esse praestat, ut iste erat, qui tempore famis cibum a vidua petebat, largiturus ut hydria farinae per triennium et sex menses non deficeret, et quotidianos usus olei vas viduae inopi sufficeret ac ministraret (Ibid., 14). Merito ibi volebat Petrus esse, ubi istos videbat (Matth. XVII, 4). Merito in monte cum Christo in gloria apparuerunt; quia et ipse pauper factus est, cum dives esset.

14. Bread for food also failed Elijah, that holy man, had he sought for it; but it seemed not to fail him because he sought it not. Thus by the daily service

of the ravens bread was brought to him in the morning, meat in the evening. Was he any the less blessed because he was poor to himself? Certainly not. Nay, he was the more blessed, for he was rich toward God. It is better to be rich for others than for oneself. He was so, for in the time of famine he asked a widow for food, intending to repay it, so that the barrel of meal failed not for three years and six months, and the oil jar sufficed and served the needy widow for her daily use all that time also. Rightly did Peter wish to be there where he saw them. Rightly did they appear in the mount with Christ in glory, Matthew 17:3 for He Himself became poor when He was rich.

15. Nullum ergo adminiculum praestant divitiae ad vitam beatam. Quod evidenter Dominus in Evangelio demonstravit dicens: Beati pauperes, quoniam vestrum est regnum Dei. Beati qui nunc esuriunt et sitiunt, quia saturabuntur. Beati qui nunc fletis, quia ridebitis (Luc. VI, 20 et seq.). Itaque paupertatem, famem, dolorem, quae putantur mala, non solum impedimento non esse ad vitam beatam, sed etiam adjumento evidentissime pronuntiatum est.

15. Riches, then, give no assistance to living a blessed life, a fact that the Lord clearly shows in the Gospel, saying: Blessed are you poor, for yours is the kingdom of God. Blessed are they that hunger and thirst now, for they shall be filled. Blessed are you that weep now, for you shall laugh. Luke 6:20-21 Thus it is stated as plainly as possible that poverty, hunger, and pain, which are considered to be evils, not only are not hindrances to a blessed life, but are actually so many helps toward it.

CAPUT V.

QUAE PUTANTUR BONA, plerumque impedimento esse ad beatam vitam: et quae mala, materiam esse virtutum: quod beatitudinis ac aliis exemplis confirmatur.

CHAPTER 5.

Those things which are generally looked on as good are mostly hindrances to a blessed life, and those which are looked on as evil are the materials out of which virtues grow. What belongs to blessedness is shown by other examples.

16. Sed et illa quae videntur bona, divitias, satietatem, laetitiam expertem doloris, detrimento esse ad fructum beatitudinis, Dominico declaratum judicio liquet, cum dicitur: Vae vobis divitibus, quia habetis consolationem vestram! Vae vobis qui saturati estis, quia esurietis (Ibid., 24 et seq.)! Et illis qui rident, quia lugebunt. Sic ergo non solum adminiculo non sunt ad vitam beatam corporis, aut externa bona, sed etiam dispendio sunt.

16. But those things which seem to be good, as riches, abundance, joy without pain, are a hindrance to the fruits of blessedness, as is clearly stated in the Lord's own words, when He said: Woe to you rich, for you have received your consolation! Woe unto you that are full, for you shall hunger, and to those who laugh, for they shall mourn! Luke 6:24-25 So, then, corporal or external good things are not only no assistance to attaining a blessed life, but are even a hindrance to it.

17. Inde enim beatus Nabuthe etiam cum lapidaretur a divite (III Reg. XXI, 13), quia pauper et infirmus adversus opes regias, solo erat affectu et religione dives, ut pecunia regali non commutaret paternae vineae haereditatem: eoque perfectus, quia sanguine proprio defenderet jura majorum suorum. Inde quoque miser Achab etiam suo judicio, quia pauperem necari fecerat; ut ejus possideret vineam.

17. Wherefore Naboth was blessed, even though he was stoned by the rich; weak and poor, as opposed to the royal resources, he was rich in his aim and his religion; so rich, indeed, that he would not exchange the inheritance of the vineyard received from his father for the king's money; and on this account was he perfect, for he defended the rights of his forefathers with his own blood. Thus, also, Ahab was wretched on his own showing, for he caused the poor man to be put to death, so as to take possession of his vineyard himself.

18. Certum est solum et summum bonum esse virtutem, eamque abundare solam ad vitae fructum beatae: nec externis aut corporis bonis, sed virtute sola vitam praestari beatam, per quam vita aeterna acquiritur. Vita enim beata fructus praesentium: vita autem aeterna spes futurorum est. 75

18. It is quite certain that virtue is the only and the highest good; that it alone richly abounds in the fruit of a blessed life; that a blessed life, by means of which eternal life is won, does not depend on external or corporal benefits, but on virtue only. A blessed life is the fruit of the present, and eternal life is the hope of the future.

19. Sunt tamen qui in hoc corpore tam infirmo, tam fragili, impossibilem vitam beatam putent, in quo necesse est angi, dolere, deplorare, aegrescere: quasi vero ego in corporis exsultatione dicam vitam beatam consistere, et non in altitudine sapientiae, suavitate conscientiae, virtutis sublimitate. Non

enim in passione esse, sed victorem esse passionis beatum est, nec frangi temporalis motu doloris.

19. Some, however, there are who think a blessed life is impossible in this body, weak and fragile as it is. For in it one must suffer pain and grief, one must weep, one must be ill. So I could also say that a blessed life rests on bodily rejoicing, but not on the heights of wisdom, on the sweetness of conscience, or on the loftiness of virtue. It is not a blessed thing to be in the midst of suffering; but it is blessed to be victorious over it, and not to be cowed by the power of temporal pain.

20. Pone accidere haec quae gravia ad vim doloris feruntur, caecitatem, exsilium, famem, stuprum filiae, amissionem liberorum. Quis neget beatum Isaac, qui non videbat in senectute, et beatitudines suis benedictionibus conferebat (Gen. XVII, 1 et seq.)? Annon beatus Jacob qui profugus patria domo, mercenarius pastor exsilium sustinuit, filiae pudicitiam ingemuit esse temeratam, famem pertulit (Gen. XXXI, 1, et seq.)? Non ergo beati quorum fide Deus accipit testimonium, cum dicitur: Deus Ahrabam, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob (Gen. XXXIV, 1 et seq.)? Misera est servitus, sed non miser Joseph; immo plane beatus, cum dominae libidines in servitute positus coerceret (Gen. XXXIV, 8 et seq.) Quid de sancto David loquar, qui trium filiorum deploravit obitum (II Reg. XIII, 3), et quod his durius, incestum filiae (II Reg. XVIII, 33)? Quomodo non beatus, de cujus successionne beatitudinis auctor exortus est, qui plurimos fecit beatos? Beati enim qui non viderunt et crediderunt (Joan. XX, 29). Fuerunt et ipsi in sensu infirmitatis, sed evaluerunt de infirmitate fortes. Quid laboriosius autem sancto Job vel in domus incendio, vel filiorum decem interitu momentaneo, doloribus corporeis? Numquid minus beatus, quam si illa non pertulisset, in quibus magis probatus est (Job I, 14 seq.; II, 7 seq.)?

20. Suppose that things come which are accounted terrible as regards the grief they cause, such as blindness, exile, hunger, violation of a daughter, loss of children. Who will deny that Isaac was blessed, who did not see in his old age, and yet gave blessings with his benediction? Genesis 27:28 Was not Jacob blessed who, leaving his father's house, endured exile as a shepherd for pay, Genesis 31:41 and mourned for the violated chastity of his daughter, Genesis 34:5 and suffered hunger? Genesis 42:2 Were they not blessed on whose good faith God received witness, as it is written: The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? Exodus 3:6 A wretched thing is slavery, but Joseph was not wretched; nay, clearly he was blessed, when he while in slavery checked the lusts of his mistress. Genesis 39:7 What shall I say of holy David who bewailed the death of three sons, and, what was even worse than this, his daughter's incestuous connection? How could he be unblessed from whom the Author of blessedness Himself sprung, Who has made many blessed? For: Blessed are they who have not seen yet have believed. John 20:29 All these felt their own weakness, but they bravely prevailed over it. What can we think of as more wretched than holy Job, either in the burning of his house, or the instantaneous death of his ten sons, or his bodily pains? Was he less blessed than if he had not endured those things whereby he really showed himself approved?

21. Esto tamen fuisse in illis aliquid acerbitatis, quem virtus animi non abscondit dolorem. Neque enim profundum mare negaverim, quia vadosa sunt littora; neque coelum lucidum, quia interdum obtexitur nubibus: neque terram fecundam, quia aliquibus locis jejuna glarea est: aut laetas segetes, quia intermixtam solent habere sterilem avenam. Similiter puta beatae messem conscientiae interpellari aliquo acerbo doloris. Nonne totius manipulis vitae beatae, si quid forte accidit adversi atque amaritudinis, tamquam sterilis avena absconditur, aut tamquam lolii amaritudo frumenti suavitate obducitur? Sed jam ad proposita pergamus

21. True it is that in these sufferings there is something bitter, and that strength of mind cannot hide this pain. I should not deny that the sea is deep because inshore it is shallow, nor that the sky is clear because sometimes it is covered with clouds, nor that the earth is fruitful because in some places there is but barren ground, nor that the crops are rich and full because they sometimes have wild oats mingled with them. So, too, count it as true that the harvest of a happy conscience may be mingled with some bitter feelings of grief. In the sheaves of the whole of a blessed life, if by chance any misfortune or bitterness has crept in, is it not as though the wild oats were hidden, or as though the bitterness of the tares was concealed by the sweet scent of the grain? But let us now proceed again with our subject.

CAPUT VI.

DE UTILI NON quaestuoso illo, sed justo et honesto, quod etiam damnis quaeritur: ac dividitur in utile corporeum et pietatis.

CHAPTER 6.

On what is useful: not that which is advantageous, but that which is just and virtuous. It is to be found in losses, and is divided into what is useful for the body, and what is useful unto godliness.

22. Superiore libro ita divisionem fecimus, ut primo loco esset honestum ac decorum, a quo officia ducerentur, secundo loco quid utile. Et quemadmodum in primo diximus quia inter honestum et decorum est quaedam distinctio, quae magis intelligi quam explicari possit: sic et cum utile tractamus, considerandum videtur quid utilius.

22. In the first book we made our division in such a way as to set in the first place what is virtuous and what is seemly; for all duties are derived from these. In the second place we set what is useful. But as at the start we said that there was a difference between what is virtuous and what is seemly — which one can comprehend more easily than one can explain — so also when we are thinking of what is useful, we have to give considerable thought to what is the more useful.

23. Utilitatem autem non pecuniarii lucri aestimatione subducimus, sed acquisitione pietatis; sicut Apostolus ait: Pietas autem ad omnia utilis est, promissionem habens vitae praesentis et futurae (I Tim. IV, 8). Itaque in scripturis divinis, si diligenter quaeramus, saepe invenimus quod honestum

est, utile vocari: Omnia mihi licent, sed non omnia utilia sunt (I Cor., VI, 12). Supra de vitiis loquebatur. Hoc ergo dicit: Licet peccare, sed non decet. In potestate sunt peccata, sed non sunt honesta. Luxuriari promptum, sed non justum. Non enim Deo esca, sed ventri colligitur.

23. But we do not reckon usefulness by the value of any gain in money, but in acquiring godliness, as the Apostle says: But godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come. 1 Timothy 4:8 Thus in the holy Scriptures, if we look carefully we shall often find that what is virtuous is called useful: All things are lawful unto me, but all things are not profitable [useful]. 1 Corinthians 6:12 Before that he was speaking of vices, and so means: It is lawful to sin, but it is not seemly. Sins rest in one's own power, but they are not virtuous. To live wantonly is easy, but it is not right. For food serves not God but the belly.

24. Ergo quia quod utile, id etiam justum: justum est ut serviamus Christo qui nos redemit; ideo justi, qui pro ejus nomine morti se obtulerunt: injusti qui declinaverunt, de quibus dicit: Quae utilitas insanguine meo (Psal. XXIX, 10); id est, qui justitiae meae profectus? Unde et illi: Alligemus justum, quia inutilis est nobis Esai. III, 10), id est, injustus qui nos arguit, condemnat, corripit. Licet hoc possit etiam ad avaritiam hominum impiorum derivari, quae perfidiae vicina est; sicut in Juda proditore legimus, qui avaritiae studio et pecuniae cupiditate, laqueum proditionis incurrit atque incidit.

24. Therefore, because what is useful is also just, it is just to serve Christ, Who redeemed us. They too are just who for His Name's sake have given themselves up to death, they are unjust who have avoided it. Of them it says: What profit is there in my blood? that is: what advance has my justice made? Wherefore they also say: Let us bind the just, for he is useless to us, that is: he is unjust, for he complains of us, condemns and rebukes us. This

could also be referred to the greed of impious men, which closely resembles treachery; as we read in the case of the traitor Judas, who in his longing for gain and his desire for money put his head into the noose of treachery and fell.

25. De hac igitur tractandum est utilitate, quae sit plena honestatis, sicut ipsis verbis definivit Apostolus dicens: Hoc autem ad utilitatem vestram dico, non ut laqueum injiciam vobis, sed ad id quod honestum est (I Cor. VII, 35). Liquet igitur quod honestum est, utile esse; et quod utile, honestum: et quod utile justum; et quod justum, utile. Neque enim mihi ad mercatores lucri cupidine avaros, sed ad filios sermo est, et sermo de Officiis, quae vobis quos elegi in ministerium Domini, inculcare gestio atque infundere; ut ea quae mentibus ac moribus vestris usu atque institutione inolita atque 77 impressa sunt, etiam sermone ac disciplina aperiantur.

25. We have then to speak of that usefulness which is full of what is virtuous, as the Apostle himself has laid it down in so many words, saying: And this I speak for your own profit, not that I may cast a snare upon you, but for that which is comely. 1 Corinthians 7:35 It is plain, then, that what is virtuous is useful, and what is useful is virtuous; also that what is useful is just, and what is just is useful. I can say this, for I am speaking, not to merchants who are covetous from a desire to make gain, but to my children. And I am speaking of the duties which I wish to impress upon and impart to you, whom I have chosen for the service of the Lord; so that those things which have been already implanted and fixed in your minds and characters by habit and training may now be further unfolded to you by explanation and instruction.

26. Itaque de utilitate dicturus, utar illo versiculo prophetico: Declina cor meum in testimonia tua, et non in avaritiam (Psal., 118, 36); ne utilitatis

sonus excitet pecuniae cupiditatem. Denique aliqui habent: Declina cor meum in testimonia tua, et non ad utilitatem; hoc est, illam quaestuum nundinas aucupantem utilitatem, illam usu hominum ad pecuniae studia inflexam ac derivatam. Vulgo enim hoc solum dicunt utile, quod quaestuosum: nos autem de ea tractamus utilitate, quae damnis quaeritur; ut Christum lucremur, cujus quaestus est pietas cum sufficientia (I Tim. VI, 6). Magnus profecto quaestus, quo pietatem acquirimus, quae apud Deum dives est, non caducis facultatibus, sed muneribus aeternis; in quibus non tentatio lubrica, sed constans et perpetua sit gratia.

26. Therefore as I am about to speak of what is useful, I will take up those words of the Prophet: Incline my heart unto Your testimonies and not to covetousness, that the sound of the word useful may not rouse in us the desire for money. Some indeed put it thus: Incline my heart unto Your testimonies and not to what is useful, that is, that kind of usefulness which is always on the watch for making gains in business, and has been bent and diverted by the habits of men to the pursuit of money. For as a rule most people call that only useful which is profitable, but we are speaking of that kind of usefulness which is sought in earthly loss that we may gain Christ, Philippians 3:8 whose gain is godliness with contentment. 1 Timothy 6:6 Great, too, is the gain whereby we attain to godliness, which is rich with God, not indeed in fleeting wealth, but in eternal gifts, and in which rests no uncertain trial but grace constant and unending.

27. Est igitur utilitas alia corporalis, alia pietatis, sicut divisit Apostolus: Corporalis enim exercitatio ad modicum, inquit, utilis est: pietas autem ad omnia utilis est (I Tim. IV, 8). Quid autem tam honestum, quam integritas? Quid tam decorum, quam immaculatum servare corpus, et inviolatum atque intaminatum pudorem? Quid etiam tam decorum, quam ut vidua uxor defuncto conjugi fidem servet? Quid etiam hoc utilius, quo regnum coeleste

acquiritur? Sunt enim qui se castraverunt propter regnum coelorum (Matth., XIX, 12).

27. There is therefore a usefulness connected with the body, and also one that has to do with godliness, according to the Apostle's division: Bodily exercise profits a little, but godliness is profitable unto all things. 1 Timothy 4:8 And what is so virtuous as integrity? What so seemly as to preserve the body unspotted and undefiled, and its purity unsullied? What, again, is so seemly as that a widow should keep her plighted troth to her dead husband? What more useful than this whereby the heavenly kingdom is attained? For there are some who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. Matthew 19:12

CAPUT VII.

UTILITATEM IDEM ESSE ac honestatem; nihil autem utilius dilectione, quae mansuetudine, affabilitate, beneficentia, justitia aliisque virtutibus comparatur; quemadmodum ex Moysis atque Davidis historia datur intelligi: postremo et e dilectione fidem nasci, et rursus e fide dilectionem.

CHAPTER 7.

What is useful is the same as what is virtuous; nothing is more useful than love, which is gained by gentleness, courtesy, kindness, justice, and the other virtues, as we are given to understand from the histories of Moses and David. Lastly, confidence springs from love, and again love from confidence.

28. Est igitur non solum familiare contubernium honestatis et utilitatis, sed eadem quoque utilitas, quae honestas. Ideo et ille qui regnum coelorum volebat omnibus aperire, non quod sibi utile quaerebat, sed quod omnibus. Unde ordo quidam nobis et gradus faciendus est, etiam ab his usitatis et communibus ad ea quae sunt praecellentia; ut ex pluribus utilitatis colligamus profectum.

28. There is therefore not only a close intercourse between what is virtuous and what is useful, but the same thing is both useful and virtuous. Therefore He Who willed to open the kingdom of heaven to all sought not what was useful to Himself, but what was useful for all. Thus we must have a certain order and proceed step by step from habitual or common acts to those which are more excellent, so as to show by many examples the advancement of what is useful.

29. Ac primum noverimus nihil tam utile, quam diligi: nihil tam inutile, quam non amari; nam odio haberi exitiale ac nimis capitale arbitror. Itaque id agamus, ut omni sedulitate commendemus existimationem opinionemque nostram, ac primum placiditate mentis et animi benignitate influamus in affectum hominum. Popularis enim et grata est omnibus bonitas, nihilque quod tam facile illabatur humanis sensibus. Ea si mansuetudine morum ac facilitate, tum moderatione praecepti, et affabilitate sermonis, verborum honore, patienti quoque sermonum vice, modestiaeque adjuvetur gratia, incredibile quantum procedit ad cumulum dilectionis.

29. And first we may know there is nothing so useful as to be loved, nothing so useless as not to be loved; for to be hated in my opinion is simply fatal and altogether deadly. We speak of this, then, in order that we may take care to give cause for a good estimate and opinion to be formed of us, and may try to get a place in others' affections through our calmness of mind and kindness of soul. For goodness is agreeable and pleasing to all, and there is nothing that so easily reaches human feelings. And if that is assisted by gentleness of character and willingness, as well as by moderation in giving orders and courtesy of speech, by honour in word, by a ready interchange of conversation and by the grace of modesty, it is incredible how much all this tends to an increase of love.

30. Legimus enim non solum in privatis; sed etiam in ipsis regibus, quantum facilitas blandae affabilitatis profecerit, aut superbia verborumque obfuerit tumor; ut regna ipsa labefactaret, et potestatem solveret. Jam si quis consilio, usu, ministerio, officiis popularem comprehendat gratiam: aut si quis periculum suum pro universa plebe offerat; non est dubium quod tantum charitatis a plebe in eum refundatur, ut populus salutem ejus et gratiam sibi praeferat.

30. We read, not only in the case of private individuals but even of kings, what is the effect of ready and willing courtesy, and what harm pride and great swelling words have done, so far as to make even kingdoms to totter and powers to be destroyed. If any one gains the people's favour by advice or service, by fulfilling the duties of his ministry or office, or if he encounters danger for the sake of the whole nation, there is no doubt but that such love will be shown him by the people that they all will put his safety and welfare before their own.

31. Quantas Moyses a populo illatas absorbebat contumelias (Exod. XXXII, 11 et seq.): et cum Dominus in insolentes vindicare vellet; se tamen pro populo offerebat frequenter, ut indignationi divinae plebem subduceret! Quam miti sermone post injurias appellabat populum, consolabatur in laboribus, delinibat oraculis, fovebat operibus: et cum Deo constanter loqueretur (Gen., XXXIII, 8 et seq.); homines tamen humili et grata appellatione affari solebat! Merito aestimatus est supra homines, ut et vultum ejus non possent intendere (Gen., XXXIV, 29 et seq.), et sepulturam ejus non repertam crederent (Deut., XXXIV, 6); quia sic sibi totius plebis mentes devinxerat, ut plus eum pro mansuetudine diligerent, quam pro factis admirarentur (I Reg. X, 12, et alibi).

31. What reproaches Moses had to bear from his people! But when the Lord would have avenged him on those who reviled him, he often used to offer himself for the people that he might save them from the divine anger. Exodus 32:32 With what gentle words used he to address the people, even after he was wronged! He comforted them in their labours, consoled them by his prophetic declarations of the future, and encouraged them by his works. And though he often spoke with God, yet he was wont to address men gently and pleasantly. Worthily was he considered to stand above all men. For they could not even look on his face, Exodus 34:30 and refused to

believe that his sepulchre was found. Deuteronomy 34:6 He had captivated the minds of all the people to such an extent; that they loved him even more for his gentleness than they admired him for his deeds.

32. Quid ejus imitator sanctus David, electus ex omnibus ad plebem regendam, quam mitis et blandus, humilis spiritu, sedulus corde, facilis affectu! Ante regnum se pro omnibus offerebat: rex cum omnibus aequabat suam militiam, et partiebatur laborem: fortis in praelio, mansuetus in imperio, patiens in convicio, ferre magis promptus quam referre injurias. Ideo tam charus erat omnibus, ut juvenis ad regnum etiam invitus peteretur, resistens cogeretur, senex ne praelio interesset a suis rogaretur; quod mallent omnes pro ipso periclitari, quam illum pro omnibus.

32. There is David too who followed his steps, who was chosen from among all to rule the people. How gentle and kindly he was, humble in spirit too, how diligent and ready to show affection. Before he came to the throne he offered himself in the stead of all. As king he showed himself an equal to all in warfare, and shared in their labours. He was brave in battle, gentle in ruling, patient under abuse, and more ready to bear than to return wrongs. So dear was he to all, that though a youth, he was chosen even against his will to rule over them, and was made to undertake the duty though he withstood it. When old he was asked by his people not to engage in battle, because they all preferred to incur danger for his sake rather than that he should undergo it for theirs.

33. Ita sibi gratis officiis plebem obligaverat (II Reg., II, 2, et seq.), primum, ut in discordiis populi exsulare in Hebron mallet, quam in Hierusalem regnare: deinde, ut etiam in hoste positam virtutem diligeret: justitiam etiam his qui arma contra se tulerant aeque ac suis praestandam putaret: denique (II Reg., III, 32 et seq.) fortissimum adversae partis propugnatorem Abner ducem et inferentem praelia miratus est, et orantem

pacis gratiam non aspernatus, honoravit convivio: interemptum insidiis doluit et flevit, prosecutus exsequias honestavit; mortem ultus, conscientiae fidem praestitit, quam filio inter haereditaria jura transcripsit, magis sollicitus, ne innocentis mortem inultam relinqueret, quam quo suam mortem doleret.

33. He had bound the people to himself freely in doing his duty; first, when he during the division among the people preferred to live like an exile at Hebron rather than to reign at Jerusalem; next, when he showed that he loved valour even in an enemy. He had also thought that justice should be shown to those who had borne arms against himself the same as to his own men. Again, he admired Abner, the bravest champion of the opposing side, while he was their leader and was yet waging war. Nor did he despise him when suing for peace, but honoured him by a banquet. When killed by treachery, he mourned and wept for him. He followed him and honoured his obsequies, and evinced his good faith in desiring vengeance for the murder; for he handed on that duty to his son in the charge that he gave him, being anxious rather that the death of an innocent man should not be left unavenged, than that any one should mourn for his own.

34. Non mediocre istud, praesertim in rege, sic obire humilitatis munia, ut communem se exhiberet etiam infimis, alieno periculo cibum non quaerere, potum recusare (II Reg. XXIII, 13 et seq.), peccatum fateri, seque ipsum pro populo offerre morti, ut in se divina indignatio converteretur, cum ferienti angelo offerens se diceret: Ecce sum, ego peccavi, 79 et ego pastor malum feci, et iste grex quid fecit? Fiat manus tua in me.

34. It is no small thing, especially in the case of a king, so to perform humble duties as to make oneself like the very lowest. It is noble not to seek for food at another’s risk and to refuse a drink of water, to confess a sin, and to offer oneself to death for one’s people. This latter David did, so that the

divine anger might be turned against himself, when he offered himself to the destroying angel and said: Lo I have sinned: I the shepherd have done wickedly, but this flock, what has it done? Let Your hand be against me.

35. Nam quid alia dicam, quod dolum meditantibus os suum non aperiebat, et, tamquam non audiens, nullum sermonem referendum putabat: non respondebat conviciis: cum sibi derogaretur, orabat: cum malediceretur, benedicebat? Ambulans in simplicitate, et superborum fugitans, sectator immaculatorum, qui cinerem miscebat alimentis suis, cum peccata propria deploraret, et potum suum temperabat fletibus (Psal. XXXVII, 14, et alibi). Merito sic expetitus est ab universo populo, ut venirent ad eum omnes tribus Israel dicentes: Ecce nos ossa tua et caro tua sumus: heri et nudiustertius cum esset Saul, et regnaret super nos; tu eras qui producebas et inducebas Israel. Et dixit tibi Dominus: Tu pasces populum meum (II Reg. V, 1 et seq.). Et quid plura de eo dicam, de quo hujusmodi Dei processit sententia, ut de eo diceret: inveni David secundum cor meum (Psal. LXXXVIII, 21)? Quis enim in sanctitate cordis et justitia sicut iste ambulavit, ut impleret voluntatem Dei: propter quem et delinquentibus posteris ejus venia data, et praerogativa est reservata haeredibus (III Reg. XI, 12, 13)?

35. What further should I say? He opened not his mouth to those planning deceit, and, as though hearing not, he thought no word should be returned, nor did be answer their reproaches. When he was evil spoken of, he prayed, when he was cursed, he blessed. He walked in simplicity of heart, and fled from the proud. He was a follower of those unspotted from the world, one who mixed ashes with his food when bewailing his sins, and mingled his drink with weeping. Worthily, then, was he called for by all the people. All the tribes of Israel came to him saying: Behold, we are your bone and your flesh. Also yesterday and the day before when Saul lived, and reigned, you

were he that led out and brought in Israel. And the Lord said to you, You shall feed My people! And why should I say more about him of whom the word of the Lord has gone forth to say: I have found David according to My heart? Who ever walked in holiness of heart and in justice as he did, so as to fulfil the will of God; for whose sake pardon was granted to his children when they sinned, and their rights were preserved to his heirs?

36. Quis igitur non diligeret eum, quem videbat ita charum amicis; ut quia ipse sincere amicos diligebat, aeque diligi se a suis amicis arbitraretur? Denique parentes eum filiis suis, filii praeferebant parentibus. Unde graviter indignatus Saul, percutere Jonathan filium hasta voluit; quia pluris apud eum valere David amicitiam judicabat, quam vel pietatem, vel auctoritatem paternam (I Reg. XX, 30 et seq.).

36. Who would not have loved him, when they saw how dear he was to his friends? For as he truly loved his friends, so he thought that he was loved as much in return by his own friends. Nay, parents put him even before their own children, and children loved him more than their parents. Wherefore Saul was very angry and strove to strike Jonathan his son with a spear because he thought that David's friendship held a higher place in his esteem than either filial piety or a father's authority.

37. Etenim ad incentivum charitatis communis plurimum proficit, si quis vicem amantibus reddat, nec minus redamare se probet, quam ipse amatur, idque amicitiae fidelis pateat exemplis. Quid enim tam populare, quam gratia? Quid tam insitum naturae, quam ut diligentem diligas? Quid tam inolitum atque impressum affectibus humanis, quam ut eum amare inducas in animum, a quo te amari velis? Merito sapiens dicit: Perde pecuniam propter fratrem et amicum (Eccli. XXIX, 13). Et alibi: Amicum salutare non erubescam, et a facie illius non me abscondam (Eccli. XXII, 31). Siquidem vitae et immortalitatis medicamentum in amico esse Ecclesiasticus sermo

testatur (Eccli. VI, 16): et summum in charitate praesidium nemo dubitaverit, cum Apostolus dicat: Omnia suffert, omnia credit, omnia sperat, omnia sustinet, charitas numquam cadit (I Cor. XIII, 7 et seq.).

37. It gives a very great impetus to mutual love if one shows love in return to those who love us and proves that one does not love them less than oneself is loved, especially if one shows it by the proofs that a faithful friendship gives. What is so likely to win favour as gratitude? What more natural than to love one who loves us? What so implanted and so impressed on men's feelings as the wish to let another, by whom we want to be loved, know that we love him? Well does the wise man say: Lose your money for your brother and your friend. Sirach 29:10 And again: I will not be ashamed to defend a friend, neither will I hide myself from him. Sirach 22:31 If, indeed, the words in Ecclesiasticus testify that the medicine of life and immortality is in a friend; Sirach 6:16 yet none has ever doubted that it is in love that our best defense lies. As the Apostle says: It bears all things, believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things; love never fails. 1 Corinthians 13:7-8

38. Ideo David non cecidit, quia charus fuit omnibus, et diligi a subjectis quam timeri maluit. Timor enim temporalis tutaminis servat excubias, nescit diuturnitatis custodiam. Itaque ubi timor decesserit, audacia obrepit; quoniam fidem non timor cogit, sed affectus exhibet.

38. Thus David failed not, for he was dear to all, and wished to be loved rather than feared by his subjects. Fear keeps the watch of temporal protection, but knows not how to keep guard permanently. And so where fear has departed, boldness often creeps in; for fear does not force confidence but affection calls it forth.

39. Prima ergo ad commendationem nostri est charitas. Bonum est ergo testimonium habere de plurimorum dilectione. Hinc nascitur 80 fides, ut committere se tuo affectui non vereantur etiam alieni, quem pluribus charum adverterint. Similiter etiam per fidem ad charitatem pervenitur; ut qui uni aut duobus praestiterit fidem, tamquam influat in animos universorum, et omnium acquirat gratiam.

39. Love, then, is the first thing to give us a recommendation. It is a good thing therefore to have our witness in the love of many. Then arises confidence, so that even strangers are not afraid to trust themselves to your kindness, when they see you so dear to many. So likewise one goes through confidence to love, so that he who has shown good faith to one or two has an influence as it were on the minds of all, and wins the good-will of all.

CAPUT VIII.

NIHIL AD CONCILIANDAM gratiam magis valere quam consilia: sed eis confidere posse neminem, nisi justitia nitantur ac prudentia: quantum autem hae duae virtutes eluxerint in Salomone, ex ipsius celeberrimo judicio palam fieri.

CHAPTER 8.

Nothing has greater effect in gaining good-will than giving advice; but none can trust it unless it rests on justice and prudence. How conspicuous these two virtues were in Solomon is shown by his well-known judgment.

40. Duo igitur haec ad commendationem nostri plurimum operantur, charitas et fides; et tertium hoc, si habeas quod in te admiratione dignum plerique existiment, et jure honorandum putent.

40. Two things, therefore, love and confidence, are the most efficacious in commending us to others; also this third quality if you have it, namely, what many consider to be worthy of admiration in you, and think to be rightly worthy of honour [the power, in fact, of giving good advice].

41. Et quia consiliorum usus maxime conciliat homines, ideo prudentia et justitia in unoquoque desideratur, et ea exspectantur a pluribus; ut in quo ea sint, illi deferatur fides, quod possit utile consilium ac fidele desideranti dare. Quis enim ei se committat, quem non putet plus sapere, quam ipse sapiat qui quaerit consilium? Necesse est igitur ut praestantior sit a quo consilium petitur, quam ille est qui petit. Quid enim consulas hominem, quem non arbitreris posse melius aliquid reperire, quam ipse intelligis?

41. Since the giving of good advice is a great means of gaining men's affections, prudence and justice are much needed in every case. These are looked for by most, so that confidence at once is placed in him in whom they exist, because he can give useful and trustworthy advice to whoever wants it. Who will put himself into the hands of a man whom he does not think to be more wise than himself who asks for advice? It is necessary therefore that he of whom advice is asked should be superior to him who asks it. For why should we consult a man when we do not think that he can make anything more plain than we ourselves see it?

42. Quod si eum inveneris qui vivacitate ingenii, mentis vigore atque auctoritate praestet, et accedat eo ut exemplo et usu paratior sit, praesentia solvat pericula, prospiciat futura, denuntiet imminentia, argumentum expediat, remedium ferat in tempore, paratus sit non solum ad consulendum, sed etiam ad subveniendum; huic ita fides habetur, ut dicat qui consilium petit: Et si mala mihi evenerint per illum, sustineo (Eccli. XXII, 31).

42. But if we have found a man that by the vigour of his character, by his strength of mind and influence, stands forth above all others, and further, is better fitted by example and experience than others; that can put an end to immediate dangers, foresee future ones, point out those close at hand, can explain a subject, bring relief in time, is ready not only to give advice but also to give help — in such a man confidence is placed, so that he who seeks advice can say: Though evil should happen to me through him, I will bear it. Sirach 22:31

43. Hujusmodi igitur viro salutem nostram et existimationem committimus, qui sit, ut supra diximus, justus et prudens. Facit enim justitia, ut nullus sit fraudis metus: facit etiam prudentia, ut nulla sit erroris suspicio. Promptius tamen nos justo viro quam prudenti committimus, ut secundum usum vulgi

loquar. Caeterum sapientum definitione, in quo una virtus est, concurrunt caeterae, nec potest sine justitia esse prudentia. Quod etiam in nostris invenimus; dicit enim David: Justus miseretur et fenerat (Psal. XXXVI, 21). Quid feneret justus, alibi dicit: Jucundus vir qui miseretur et fenerat, disponet sermones suos in judicio (Psal. CXI, 5).

43. To a man of this sort then we entrust our safety and our reputation, for he is, as we said before, just and prudent. Justice causes us to have no fear of deceit, and prudence frees us from having any suspicions of error. However, we trust ourselves more readily to a just than to a prudent man, to put it in the way people generally do. But, according to the definition of the philosophers, where there is one virtue, others exist too, while prudence cannot exist without justice. We find this stated also in our writers, for David says: The just shows mercy and lends. What the just lends, he says elsewhere: A good man is he that shows mercy and lends, he will guide his words with discretion.

44. Ipsum illud nobile Salomonis judicium nonne sapientiae plenum ac justitiae est? Itaque spectemus illud si ita est. Duae, inquit mulieres in conspectu regis Salomonis steterunt, et dixit una ad eum: Audi me, domine. Ego et 81 haec mulier in uno habitantes cubiculo, ante diem tertium partu edito, singulos filios suscepimus, et erramus una, arbiter nullus domi, nec ulla alia nobiscum femina, nisi nos solae: et mortuus est filius ejus hac nocte, ut obdormivit super eum: et surrexit media nocte, et accepit filium meum de sinu meo, et collocavit eum in gremio suo, et filium suum mortuum posuit in sinu meo. Et surrexi mane, ut lactarem parvulum, et inveni mortuum. Et consideravi illum diluculo, et non erat filius meus. Et respondit altera: Non, sed filius meus est, qui vivit: filius autem tuus, qui mortuus est (III Reg. III, 16 et seq.).

44. Is not that noble judgment of Solomon full of wisdom and justice? Let us see whether it is so. Two women, it says, stood before King Solomon, and the one said to him, Hear me, my lord, I and this woman dwell in one house, and before the third day we gave birth and bore a son apiece, and were together, there was no witness in the house, nor any other woman with us, only we two alone. And her son died this night, because she overlaid it, and she arose at midnight, and took my son from my breast, and laid it in her bosom, and her dead child she laid at my breast. And I arose in the morning to give my child suck, and found him dead. And I considered it at dawn, and behold it was not my son. And the other woman said, Nay, but the living is my son, and the dead is your son.

45. Et haec erat contentio, cum utraque filium sibi vindicarent superstitem: defunctum autem suum negarent. Tunc rex jussit afferri machaeram, et infantem dividi, ac singulas partes dari singulis: dimidiam uni, et dimidiam alteri. Exclamabat mulier quae vero erat affectu percita: Nequaquam, domine, infantem dividas: detur potius illi, et vivat, et non interficias eum. At illa respondit altera: Neque meus, neque hujus sit infans, dividite eum. Et statuit rex dari infantem ei mulieri quae dixerat: Nolite interficere eum, sed date eum illi mulieri; quia mota sunt, inquit, viscera ejus in filio suo.

45. This was their dispute, in which either tried to claim the living child for herself, and denied that the dead one was hers. Then the king commanded a sword to be brought and the infant to be cut in half, and either piece to be given to one, one half to the one, and one half to the other. Then the woman whose the child really was, moved by her feelings, cried out: Divide not the child, my lord; let it rather be given to her and live, and do not kill it. But the other answered: Let it be neither mine nor hers, divide it. Then the king ordered that the infant should be given to the woman who had said: Do not

kill it, but give it to that woman; For, as it says, her bowels yearned upon her son.

46. Itaque non immerito aestimatus est intellectus Dei in eo esse; quoniam quae occulta sunt Deo? Quid autem occultius internorum viscerum testimonio, in quae sapientis intellectus velut quidam pietatis descendit arbiter, et velut quamdam genitalis alvi vocem eruit; quia maternus patuit affectus, qui eligeret filium suum vel apud alienam vivere, quam in conspectu matris necari.

46. It is not wrong to suppose that the mind of God was in him; for what is hidden from God? What can be more hidden than the witness that lies deep within; into which the mind of the wise king entered as though to judge a mother's feelings, and elicited as it were the voice of a mother's heart. For a mother's feelings were laid bare, when she chose that her son should live with another, rather than that he should be killed in his mother's sight.

47. Sapientiae igitur fuit latentes distinguere conscientias, ex occultis eruere veritatem; et velut quadam machaera, ita spiritus gladio penetrare non solum uteri, sed etiam animae et mentis viscera: justitiae quoque, ut quae suum necaverat, alienum non tolleret; sed vera mater reciperet suum. Denique etiam Scriptura hoc pronuntiavit: Audivit, inquit, omnis Israel hoc judicium, quod judicavit rex: et timuerunt a facie regis, eo quod intellectus Dei in eo esset, ut faceret justitiam (III Reg. III, 28). Denique et ipse Salomon ita poposcit sapientiam, ut daretur sibi cor prudens audire et judicare cum justitia (Ibid., 9).

47. It was therefore a sign of wisdom to distinguish between secret heart-thoughts, to draw the truth from hidden springs, and to pierce as it were with the sword of the Spirit not only the inward parts of the body, but even of the mind and soul. It was the part of justice also that she who had killed

her own child should not take away another's, but that the real mother should have her own back again. Indeed the Scriptures have declared this. All Israel, it says, heard of the judgment which the king had judged, and they feared the king, for they saw that the wisdom of God was in him to do judgment. Solomon also himself had asked for wisdom, so that a prudent heart might be given him to hear and to judge with justice.

CAPUT IX.

QUAMVIS INDIVIDUAE SINT justitia atque prudentia, vulgi tamen cardinales virtutes distinguentis ingenio serviendum esse.

CHAPTER 9.

Though justice and prudence are inseparable, we must have respect to the ideas of people in general, for they make a distinction between the different cardinal virtues.

48. Liquet igitur etiam secundum scripturam divinam, quae antiquior est, sapientiam sine justitia esse non posse; quia ubi una earum virtutum, ibi utraque est. Daniel quoque 82 quam sapienter alta interrogatione fraudulentae accusationis deprehendit mendacium, ut calumniatorum sibi responsio non conveniret! Prudentiae igitur fuit vocis suae testimonio reos prodere: justitiae quoque, nocentes supplicio dare, innocentem subducere (Dan. XIII, 54 et seq.).

48. It is clear also, according to the sacred Scriptures, which are the older, that wisdom cannot exist without justice, for where one of these two is, there the other must be also. With what wisdom did Daniel expose the lie in the false accusation brought against him by his thorough examination, so that those false informers had no answer ready to hand! It was a mark of prudence to convict the criminals by the witness of their own words, and a sign of justice to give over the guilty to punishment, and to save the innocent from it.

49. Est ergo individuum sapientiae atque justitiae conturbernium: sed vulgi usu dividitur una quaedam forma virtutum, ut temperantia sit in despiciendis voluptatibus: fortitudo spectetur in laboribus et periculis: prudentia in delectu bonorum, sciens commoda et adversa distinguere: justitia quae sit bona custos juris alieni, et vindex proprietatis, suum cuique conservans. Sit ergo nobis communis opinionis gratia quadripartita haec facta divisio, ut ab illa subtili disputatione philosophicae sapientiae, quae limandae veritatis causa quasi ex adyto quodam eruitur, retrahentes pedem, forensem usum ac popularem sensum sequamur. Hac igitur divisione servata, revertamur ad propositum.

49. There is therefore an inseparable union between wisdom and justice; but, generally speaking, the one special form of virtue is divided up. Thus temperance lies in despising pleasures, fortitude may be seen in undergoing labours and dangers, prudence in the choice of what is good, by knowing how to distinguish between things useful and the reverse; justice, in being a good guardian of another’s rights and protector of its own, thus maintaining for each his own. We can make this fourfold division in deference to commonly received ideas; and so, while deviating from those subtle discussions of philosophic learning which are brought forth as though from some inner recess for the sake of investigating the truth, can follow the commonly received use and their ordinary meaning. Keeping, then, to this division, let us return to our subject.

CAPUT X.

SALUTEM JUSTI VIRI quam prudentis consilio magis committi: eum autem qui justitiam ac prudentiam in se conjunxerit, ab omnibus expeti solere: hujus rei exemplum fuisse tum Salomonem, de quo verba reginae Sabae exponuntur; tum Josephum, et Danielem.

CHAPTER 10.

Men entrust their safety rather to a just than to a prudent man. But every one is wont to seek out the man who combines in himself the qualities of justice and prudence. Solomon gives us an example of this. (The words which the queen of Sheba spoke of him are explained.) Also Daniel and Joseph.

50. Prudentissimo cuique causam nostram committimus, et ab eo consilium promptius quam a caeteris poscimus. Praestat tamen fidele justi consilium viri, et sapientissimi ingenio frequenter praeponderat. Utilia enim vulnera amici, quam aliorum ascula (Prov. XXVII, 6). Deinde quia justi judicium est, sapientis autem argumentum: in illo censura disceptationis, in hoc calliditas inventionis.

50. We entrust our case to the most prudent man we can find, and ask advice from him more readily than we do from others. However, the faithful counsel of a just man stands first and often has more weight than the great abilities of the wisest of men: For better are the wounds of a friend than the kisses of others. Proverbs 27:6 And just because it is the judgment of a just man, it is also the conclusion of a wise one: in the one lies the result of the matter in dispute, in the other readiness of invention.

51. Quod si utrumque connectas, erit magna consiliorum salubritas, quae ab universis spectatur admiratione sapientiae et amore justitiae; ut omnes quaerant audire sapientiam ejus viri, in quo utriusque virtutis copula sit: sicut quaerebant omnes reges terrae videre faciem Salomonis, et audire sapientiam ejus; ita ut et Saba regina veniret ad eum, et tentaret eum in quaestionibus: Et venit, et omnia locuta est quae habebat in corde suo, et audivit omnem sapientiam Solomonis, nec ullum verbum praeterivit eam (III Reg. X, 2 et 3).

51. And if one connects the two, there will be great soundness in the advice given, which is regarded by all with admiration for the wisdom shown, and with love for its justice. And so all will desire to hear the wisdom of that man in whom those two virtues are found together, as all the kings of the earth desired to see the face of Solomon and to hear his wisdom. Nay, even the queen of Sheba came to him and tried him with questions. She came and spoke of all the things that were in her heart, and heard all the wisdom of Solomon, nor did any word escape her.

52. Quae sit ista, quam nihil praetereat, nec sit aliquid quod ei non annuntiaverit verus Salomon, cognosce, o homo, ex his quae audis loquentem: Verus est, inquit, sermo quem audivi in terra mea de sermonibus tuis, et de prudentia tua, et non credidi his qui dicebant mihi, donec veni, et viderunt oculi mei: et nunc non est nec dimidia quidem pars secundum ea quae annuntiabant mihi. Apposuisti bona super omnia quae audivi 83 in terra mea. Beatae mulieres tuae, et beati pueri tui qui assistunt tibi, qui audiunt omnem prudentiam tuam (Ibid., 6 et seq.). Intellige convivium veri Salomonis, et quae apponuntur in eo convivio, intellige sapienter, et considera in qua terra congregatio nationum audierit famam sapientiae verae atque justitiae, et quibus eum viderit oculis, contemplantibus utique

ea quae non videntur. Quoniam quae videntur, temporalia sunt: quae autem non videntur, aeterna (II Cor. IV, 14).

52. Who she was whom nothing escaped, and that there was nothing which the truth-loving Solomon did not tell her, learn, O man, from this which you hear her saying: It was a true report that I heard in my own land of your words and of your prudence, yet I did not believe those that told it me until I came, and my eyes had seen it; and behold the half was not told me. You have added good things over and above all that I heard in my own land. Blessed are your women and blessed your servants, which stand before you, and that hear all your prudence. 1 Kings 10:6-8 Recognize the feast of the true Solomon, and who are set down at that feast; recognize it wisely and think in what land all the nations shall hear the fame of true wisdom and justice, and with what eyes they shall see Him, beholding those things which are not seen. For the things that are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal. 2 Corinthians 4:18

53. Quae sunt beatae mulieres, nisi illae de quibus dicitur, quia multae verbum Dei audiunt et pariunt (Luc. XI, 28)? Et alibi: Quicumque enim verbum Dei fecerit, ipse meus frater et soror et mater est (Matth. XII, 50). Qui etiam pueri tui beati qui assistunt, nisi Paulus qui dicebat: Usque in hunc diem sto protestans minori ac majori (Act. XXVI, 22), Simeon qui exspectabat in templo ut videret consolationem Israel (Luc. II, 25)? Quomodo enim dimitti posceret, nisi quia assistens Domino, discedendi habere facultatem non poterat, nisi voluntatem Domini adeptus esset? Exempli causa propositus est nobis Salomon, a quo certatim ut audiretur ejus sapientia, postulabatur.

53. What women are blessed but those of whom it is said that many hear the word of God and bring forth fruit? Luke 11:28 And again: Whosoever does the word of God is My father and sister and mother. Matthew 12:50 And

who are those blessed servants, who stand before Him, but Paul, who said: Even to this day I stand witnessing both to great and small; Acts 26:22 or Simeon, who was waiting in the temple to see the consolation of Israel? Luke 2:25 How could he have asked to be let depart, except that in standing before the Lord he had not the power of departing, but only according to the will of God? Solomon is put before us simply for the sake of example, of whom it was eagerly expected that his wisdom should be heard.

54. Joseph quoque nec in carcere feriatus erat, quo minus de rebus incertis consuleretur. Cujus consilium Aegypto universae profuit; ut non sentiret septem annorum sterilitatem, aliosque populos miserae famis levaret jejunio (Gen. XLI, 10 et seq.).

54. Joseph also when in prison was not free from being consulted about matters of uncertainty. His counsel was of advantage to the whole of Egypt, so that it felt not the seven years' famine, and he was able even to relieve other peoples from their dreadful hunger.

55. Daniel ex captivis, regalium consultorum arbiter factus, consiliis suis emendavit praesentia, annuntiavit futura. Ex his enim quae frequenter interpretatus ostenderat veri se esse annuntium, fides ei in omnibus deferebatur (Dan. II, 10 et seq.).

55. Daniel, though one of the captives, was made the head of the royal counsellors. By his counsels he improved the present and foretold the future. Daniel ii Confidence was put in him in all things, because he had frequently interpreted things, and had shown that he had declared the truth.

CAPUT XI.

TERTIA CONDITIO QUAE ad fidem alicui conciliandam valet, in Moyse, Daniele ac Josepho fulsisse ostenditur.

CHAPTER 11.

A third element which tends to gain any one's confidence is shown to have been conspicuous in Moses, Daniel, and Joseph.

56. Sed etiam tertius locus de his qui admiratione digni aestimarentur, Joseph, Salomonis et Danielis exemplo decursus videtur. Nam quid de Moyse loquar, cujus omnis Israel quotidie consilia praestolabatur, quorum vita fidem faciebat prudentiae, admirationemque ejus augebat? Quis se non committeret consilio Moysi, cui seniores, si qua supra suum intellectum et virtutem esse arbitrarentur, dijudicanda servabant?

56. But a third point seems also to have been noted in the case of those who were thought worthy of admiration after the example of Joseph, Solomon, and Daniel. For what shall I say of Moses whose advice all Israel always waited for, Exodus 18:13 whose life caused them to trust in his prudence and increased their esteem for him? Who would not trust to the counsel of Moses, to whom the elders reserved for decision whatever they thought beyond their understanding and powers?

57. Quis Danielis consilium refugeret, de quo Deus ipse dixit: Quis Daniele sapientior (Ezech. XXVIII, 3)? Aut quomodo homines de eorum dubitare mentibus possent, quibus Deus tantam conferebat gratiam? Moysi consilio

bella conficiebantur: Moysi meritis de coelo affluebat alimonia, potus e petra.

57. Who would refuse the counsel of Daniel, of whom God Himself said: Who is wiser than Daniel? Ezekiel 28:3 How can men doubt about the minds of those to whom God has given such grace? By the counsel of Moses wars were brought to an end, and for his merit's sake food came from heaven and drink from the rock.

58. Quam purus Danielis animus, ut mulceret barbaros mores, mitigaret leones (Dan. XIV, 39)! Quae in illo temperantia! Quanta animi et corporis 84 continentia! Nec immerito mirabilis factus omnibus, quando (quod vehementer admirantur homines) regalibus fultus amicitiis, aurum non quaerebat, nec delatum sibi honorem pluris faciebat quam fidem. Quin etiam periclitari malebat pro lege Domini, quam pro gratia hominis inflecti.

58. How pure must have been the soul of Daniel to soften the character of barbarians and to tame the lions! What temperance was his, what self-restraint in soul and body! Not unworthily did he become an object of admiration to all, when — and all men do admire this — though enjoying royal friendships, he sought not for gold, nor counted the honour given him as more precious than his faith. For he was willing to endure danger for the law of God rather than to be turned from his purpose in order to gain the favour of men.

59. Nam de sancti Joseph (quem pene praeterieram) castimonia et justitia quid dicam; quarum altera illecebras beriles respuit, refutavit praemia: altera mortem contempsit, metum repulit, carcerem praeoptavit (Gen. XXXIX, 8 et seq.)? Quis hunc privatae causae ad consulendum idoneum non judicaret, cujus ferax animus et mens fertilis, temporis sterilitatem quodam consiliorum et cordis ubere fecundavit (Gen. XLI, 25 et seq.).

59. And what, again, shall I say of the chastity and justice of Joseph, whom I had almost passed by, whereby on the one hand he rejected the allurements of his mistress and refused rewards, on the other he mocked at death, repressed his fear, and chose a prison? Who would not consider him a fit person to give advice in a private case, whose fruitful spirit and fertile mind enriched the barrenness of the time with the wealth of his counsels and heart?

CAPUT XII.

NEMINEM AB HOMINE vitiis contaminato consilium poscere; nec rursus a moroso et difficili: sed ab eo cujusmodi exemplar habemus in Scripturis.

CHAPTER 12.

No one asks counsel from a man tainted with vice, or from one who is morose or impracticable, but rather from one of whom we have a pattern in the Scriptures.

60. Advertimus igitur quod in acquirendis consiliis plurimum adjungat vitae probitas, virtutum praerogativa, benevolentiae usus, facilitatis gratia. Quis enim in coeno fontem requirat? Quis e turbida aqua potum petat? Itaque ubi luxuria est, ubi intemperantia, ubi vitiorum confusio; quis inde sibi aliquid hauriendum existimet? Quis non despiciat morum colluvionem? Quis utilem causae alienae judicet, quem videt inutilem vitae suae? Quis iterum improbum, malevolum, contumeliosum non fugiat, et ad nocendum paratum; quis non eum omni studio declinet?

60. We note therefore that in seeking for counsel, uprightness of life, excellence in virtues, habits of benevolence, and the charm of good-nature have very great weight. Who seeks for a spring in the mud? Who wants to drink from muddy water? So where there is luxurious living, excess, and a union of vices, who will think that he ought to draw from that source? Who does not despise a foul life? Who will think a man to be useful to another's cause whom he sees to be useless in his own life? Who, again, does not avoid a wicked, ill-disposed, abusive person, who is always ready to do harm? Who would not be only too eager to avoid him?

61. Quis vero quamvis instructum ad consilii opem, difficili tamen accessu, ambiat; in quo sit illud, tanquam si quis aquae fontem praecludat? Quid enim prodest habere sapientiam, si consilium neges? Si consulendi intercludas copiam, clausisti fontem; ut nec aliis influat, nec tibi prosit.

61. And who will come to a man however well fitted to give the best of advice who is nevertheless hard to approach? It goes with him as with a fountain whose waters are shut off. What is the advantage of having wisdom, if one refuses to give advice? If one cuts off the opportunities of giving advice, the source is closed, so as no longer to flow for others or to be of any good to oneself.

62. Pulchre autem et de illo convenit, qui habens prudentiam, commaculat eam vitiorum sordibus, eo quod aquae exitum contaminet. Degeneres animos vita arguit. Quomodo enim eum potes judicare consilio superiorem, quem videas inferiorem moribus? Supra me debet esse, cui me committere paro. An vero idoneum eum putabo, qui mihi det consilium, quod non det sibi: et mihi eum vacare credam, qui sibi non vacet: cujus animum voluptates occupent, libido devincat, avaritia subjuget, cupiditas perturbet, quatiat metus? Quomodo hic consilii locus, ubi nullus quieti?

62. Well can we refer this to him who, possessing prudence, has defiled it with the foulness of a vicious life and so pollutes the water at the source. His life is a proof of a degenerate spirit. How can one judge him to be good in counsel whom one sees to be evil in character? He ought to be superior to me, if I am ready to trust myself to him. Am I to suppose that he is fit to give me advice who never takes it for himself, or am I to believe that he has time to give to me when he has none for himself, when his mind is filled with pleasures, and he is overcome by lust, is the slave of avarice, is excited by greed, and is terrified with fright? How is there room for counsel here where there is none for quiet?

63. Admirandus mihi et suspiciendus consiliarius (Esai. III, 3), quem propitius Dominus Patribus dedit, offensus abstulit. Hujus imitator debet esse qui potest consilium dare, et alienam a vitiis custodire prudentiam, quoniam nihil inquinatum in illam incurrit

63. That man of counsel whom I must admire and look up to, whom the gracious Lord gave to our fathers, put aside all that was offensive. His follower he ought to be, who can give counsel and protect another's prudence from vice; for nothing foul can mingle with that.

CAPUT XIII.

DECLARATA DIVINIS TESTIMONIIS sapientiae pulchritudine, ad probandam ejus cum virtutibus aliis societatem transit oratio.

CHAPTER 13.

The beauty of wisdom is made plain by the divine testimony. From this he goes on to prove its connection with the other virtues.

64. Quis igitur tanquam vultu speciem praeferat pulchritudinis, et belluinis posterioribus ac ferinis unguibus formae superioris dehonestet gratiam; cum tam admirabilis et praeclara forma virtutum sit, et specialiter pulchritudo sapientiae, sicut series Scripturae indicat? Est enim haec speciosior sole, et super omnem stellarum dispositionem luci comparata invenitur prior. Lucem etenim hanc suscipit nox, sapientiam autem non vincit malitia (Sap. VII, 29).

64. Is there any one who would like to be beautiful in face and at the same time to have its charm spoilt by a beast-like body and fearful talons? Now the form of virtues is so wonderful and glorious, and especially the beauty of wisdom, as the whole of the Scriptures tell us. For it is more brilliant than the sun, and when compared with the stars far outshines any constellation. Night takes their light away in its train, but wickedness cannot overcome wisdom. Wisdom 7:29-30

65. Diximus de ejus pulchritudine, et Scripturae testimonio comprobavimus: superest ut doceamus Scripturae auctoritate nullum ei contubernium cum vitiis esse, sed inviduam cum caeteris virtutibus

conjunctionem: cujus spiritus est disertus, sine inquinamento, certus, sanctus, amans bonum, acutus, qui nihil vetet benefacere, benignus, stabilis, securus, omnem habens virtutem, omnia prospiciens (Sap. VII, 22 et seq.). Et infra: Sobrietatem docet, et justitiam et virtutem (Sap. VIII, 7).

65. We have spoken of its beauty, and proved it by the witness of Scripture. It remains to show on the authority of Scripture Wisdom 7:22-23 that there can be no fellowship between it and vice, but that it has an inseparable union with the rest of the virtues. It has a spirit sagacious, undefiled, sure, holy, loving what is good, quick, that never forbids a kindness, kind, steadfast, free from care, having all power, overseeing all things. And again: Wisdom 8:7 She teaches temperance and justice and virtue.

CAPUT XIV.

PRUDENTIAM CUM OMNIBUS virtutibus conjunctam esse, maxime vero cum opum despicientia.

CHAPTER 14.

Prudence is combined with all the virtues, especially with contempt of riches.

66. Omnia igitur operatur prudentia, cum omnibus bonis habet consortium. Nam quomodo potest utile consilium dare, nisi habeat justitiam, ut induat constantiam, mortem non formidet, nullo terrore, nullo revocetur metu, nulla adulatione a vero deflectendum putet: exsilium non refugiat, quae noverit sapienti patriam mundum esse: egestatem non timeat, quae nihil deesse sapienti sciat, cui totus mundus divitiarum est? Quid enim praecelsius illo viro, qui auro moveri nesciat, contemptum habeat pecuniarum, et velut ex arce quadam despiciat hominum cupiditates? Quod qui fecerit, hunc homines supra hominem esse arbitrantur: Quis est, inquit, hic, et laudabimus eum? Fecit enim mirabilia in vita sua (Eccli. XXXI, 9). Quomodo enim non admirandus, qui divitias spernit, 86 quas plerique saluti propriae praetulerunt?

66. Prudence, therefore, works through all things, she has fellowship with all that is good. For how can she give good advice unless she have justice too, so that she may clothe herself in consistency, not fear death, be held back by no alarm, no fear, nor think it right to be turned aside from the truth by any flattery, nor shun exile, knowing that the world is the fatherland of the wise man. She fears not want, for she knows that nothing is wanting to

the wise man, since the whole world of riches is his. What is greater than the man that knows not how to be excited at the thought of money, and has a contempt for riches, and looks down as from some lofty vantage-ground on the desires of men? Men think that one who acts thus is more than man: Who is this, it says, and we will praise him. For wonderful things has he done in his life. Sirach 31:9 Surely he ought to be admired who despises riches, seeing that most place them even before their own safety.

67. Decet igitur omnes censura frugalitatis, continentiae auctoritas, et maxime eum qui honore praestet, ne praeeminentem virum thesauri possideant sui, et pecuniis serviat, qui praeest liberis. Illud magis decet, ut supra thesaurum sit animo, et infra amicum obsequio. Humilitas enim gratiam auget. Haec plena laudis et digna primario viro, non communem cum Tyriis negotiatoribus et Galaaditis mercatoribus habere turpis lucri cupidinem, nec omne bonum locare in pecunia, et tamquam mercenario munere quotidianos numerare quaestus, calculari compendia.

67. The rule of economy and the authority of self-restraint befits all, and most of all him who stands highest in honour; so that no love for his treasures may seize upon such a man, and that he who rules over free men may never become a slave to money. It is more seemly that in soul he should be superior to treasures, and in willing service be subject to his friends. For humility increases the regard in which one is held. It is praiseworthy and right for the chief of men to have no desire for filthy lucre in common with Syrian traders and Gilead merchants, nor to place all their hope of good in money, or to count up their daily gains and to calculate their savings like a hireling.

CAPUT XV.

DE LIBERALITATE. QUIBUSNAM potissimum impartienda: et qua ratione illam tenuioris census homines opera et consiliis exerceant.

CHAPTER 15.

Of liberality. To whom it must chiefly be shown, and how men of slender means may show it by giving their service and counsel.

68. Quod si ab his sobrium gerere animum laudabile est, quanto illud praestantius si dilectionem multitudinis liberalitate acquiras, neque superflua circa importunos, neque restricta circa indigentes!

68. But if it is praiseworthy to have one's soul free from this failing, how much more glorious is it to gain the love of the people by liberality which is neither too freely shown to those who are unsuitable, nor too sparingly bestowed upon the needy.

69. Plurima autem genera liberalitatis sunt, non solum quotidiano sumptu egentibus, quo vitam sustinere suam possint, disponere ac dispensare alimoniam; verum etiam his qui publice egere verecundantur, consulere ac subvenire, quatenus communis egenorum alimonia non exhauriatur. De eo enim loquor qui praeest alicui muneri, ut si officium sacerdotis gerat, aut dispensatoris; ut de his suggerat episcopo, nec reprimat si quem positum in necessitate aliqua cognoverit, aut dejectum opibus ad inopiae necessitatem redactum: maxime si non effusione adolescentiae, sed direptione alicujus et amissione patrimonii in eam reciderit injuriam, ut sumptum exercere diurnum non queat.

69. There are many kinds of liberality. Not only can we distribute and give away food to those who need it from our own daily supply, so that they may sustain life; but we can also give advice and help to those who are ashamed to show their want openly, so long as the common supplies of the needy are not exhausted. I am now speaking of one set over some office. If he is a priest or almoner, let him inform the bishop of them, and not withhold the name of any he knows to be in any need, or to have lost their wealth and to be now reduced to want; especially if they have not fallen into this trouble owing to wastefulness in youth, but because of another's theft, or through loss of their inheritance from no fault of their own, so that they cannot now earn their daily bread.

70. Summa etiam liberalitas, captos redimere, eripere ex hostium manibus, subtrahere neci homines, et maxime feminas turpitudini, reddere parentibus liberos, parentes liberis, cives patriae restituere. Nota sunt haec nimis Illyrici vastitate et Thraciae: quanti ubique venales 87 erant toto captivi orbe, quos si revoces, unius provinciae numerum explere non possint! Fuerunt tamen qui et quos Ecclesiae redemerunt, in servitutem revocare vellent, ipsa graviores captivitate, qui inviderent alienam misericordiam. Ipsi si in captivitatem venissent, servirent liberi: si venditi fuissent, servitutis ministerium non recusarent; et volunt alienam libertatem rescindere, qui suam servitutem non possent rescindere, nisi forte pretium recipere emptori placeret: in quo tamen non rescinditur servitus, sed redimitur.

70. The highest kind of liberality is, to redeem captives, to save them from the hands of their enemies, to snatch men from death, and, most of all, women from shame, to restore children to their parents, parents to their children, and, to give back a citizen to his country. This was recognized when Thrace and Illyria were so terribly devastated. How many captives

were then for sale all over the world! Could one but call them together, their number would have surpassed that of a whole province. Yet there were some who would have sent back into slavery those whom the Church had redeemed. They themselves were harder than slavery itself to look askance at another's mercy. If they themselves (they said) had come to slavery, they would be slaves freely. If they had been sold, they would not refuse the service of slavery. They wished to undo the freedom of others, though they could not undo their own slavery, unless perchance it should please the buyer to receive his price again, whereby, however, slavery would not be simply undone but redeemed.

71. Praecipua est igitur liberalitas, redimere captivos, et maxime ab hoste barbaro, qui nihil deferat humanitatis ad misericordiam, nisi quod avaritia reservaverit ad redemptionem: aes alienum subire, si debitor solvendo non sit, atque arctetur ad solutionem, quae sit jure debita, et inopia destituta: enutrire parvulos, pupillos tueri.

71. It is then a special quality of liberality to redeem captives, especially from barbarian enemies who are moved by no spark of human feeling to show mercy, except so far as avarice has preserved it with a view to redemption. It is also a great thing to take upon oneself another's debt, if the debtor cannot pay and is hard pressed to do so, and where the money is due by right and is only left unpaid through want. So, too, it is a sign of great liberality to bring up children, and to take care of orphans.

72. Sunt etiam qui virgines orbatas parentibus tuendae pudicitiae gratia connubio locent, nec solum studio, sed etiam sumptu adjuvent. Est etiam genus illud liberalitatis quod Apostolus docet: Ut si quis fidelis habet viduas, subministret illis, ut earum alimoniis Ecclesia non gravetur, ut his quae vere viduae sunt, sufficiat (I Tim. V, 16).

72. There are others who place in marriage maidens that have lost their parents, so as to preserve their chastity, and who help them not only with good wishes but also by a sum of money. There is also another kind of liberality which the Apostle teaches: If any that believes has widows let him relieve them, that the Church be not burdened by supplying them, that it may have enough for those that are widows indeed. 1 Timothy 5:16

73. Utilis igitur hujusmodi liberalitas, sed non communis omnibus. Sunt enim plerique etiam viri boni, qui tenues sunt censu, contenti quidem exiguo ad sui usum, sed non idonei ad subsidium levandae paupertatis alienae; tamen suppetit aliud beneficentiae genus, quo juvare possint inferiorem. Est enim duplex liberalitas: una quae subsidio rei adjuvat, id est, usu pecuniae; altera quae operum collatione impenditur, multo frequenter splendidior, multoque clarior.

73. Useful, then, is liberality of this sort; but it is not common to all. For there are many good men who have but slender means, and are content with little for their own use, and are not able to give help to lighten the poverty of others. However, another sort of kindness is ready to their hand, whereby they can help those poorer still. For there is a twofold liberality: one that gives actual assistance, that is, in money; the other, which is busy in offering active help, is often much grander and nobler.

74. Quanto illustrius Abraham captum armis victricibus recepit nepotem (Gen. XIV, 16), quam si redemisset! Quanto utilius regem Pharaonem sanctus Joseph consilio providentiae juvit, quam si contulisset pecuniam! Pecunia enim unius civitatis non redemit ubertatem: prospicientia totius Aegypti per quinquennium famem repulit (Gen. XLI, 33 et seq.).

74. How much grander it was for Abraham to have recovered his captured son-in-law by his victorious arms, Genesis 14:16 than if he had ransomed

him! How much more usefully did holy Joseph help King Pharaoh by his counsel to provide for the future, than if he had offered him money! For money would not have bought back the fruitfulness of any one state; while he by his foresight kept the famine for five years Genesis 41:53-57 from the whole of Egypt.

75. Facile autem pecunia consumitur, consilia exhauriri nesciunt. Haec usu augentur: pecunia minuitur, et cito deficit, atque ipsam destituit benignitatem; tatem; ut quo pluribus largiri volueris, eo pauciores adjuves, et saepe tibi desit quod aliis conferendum putaveris. Consilii 88 autem operisque collatio, quo in plures diffunditur, eo redundantior manet, et in suum fontem recurrit. In se enim refluit ubertas prudentiae: et quo pluribus fluxerit, eo exercitius fit omne quod remanet.

75. Money is easily spent; counsels can never be exhausted. They only grow the stronger by constant use. Money grows less and quickly comes to an end, and has failed even kindness itself; so that the more there are to whom one wants to give, the fewer one can help; and often one has not got what one thinks ought to be given to others. But as regards the offer of advice and active help, the more there are to spend it on, the more there seems to be, and the more it returns to its own source. The rich stream of prudence ever flows back upon itself, and the more it has reached out to, so much the more active becomes all that remains.

CAPUT XVI.

MODUM IN LIBERALITATE servandum, ne profundatur in indignos quod dignioribus debebatur; non tamen nimis parce ac timide ministrandas eleemosynas: sed imitandum beatum Joseph, cujus prudentia prolixioribus verbis commendatur.

CHAPTER 16.

Due measure must be observed in liberality, that it may not be expended on worthless persons, when it is needed by worthier ones. However, alms are not to be given in too sparing and hesitating a way. One ought rather to follow the example of the blessed Joseph, whose prudence is commended at great length.

76. Liquet igitur debere esse liberalitatis modum, ne fiat inutilis largitas. Sobrietas tenenda est, maxime sacerdotibus, ut non pro jactantia, sed pro justitia dispensent. Nusquam enim major aviditas petitionis. Veniunt validi, veniunt nullam causam nisi vagandi habentes, et volunt subsidia evacuare pauperum, exinanire sumptum: nec exiguo contenti, majora quaerunt, ambitu vestium captantes petitionis suffragium, et natalium simulatione licitantes incrementa quaestuum. His si quis facile deferat fidem, cito exhaurit pauperum alimoniis profutura compendia. Modus largiendi adsit, ut nec illi inanes recedant, neque transcribatur vita pauperum in spolia fraudulentorum. Et ergo mensura sit, ut neque humanitas deseratur, nec destituatur necessitas.

76. It is clear, then, that there ought to be due measure in our liberality, that our gifts may not become useless. Moderation must be observed, especially

by priests, for fear that they should give away for the sake of ostentation, and not for justice' sake. Never was the greed of beggars greater than it is now. They come in full vigour, they come with no reason but that they are on the tramp. They want to empty the purses of the poor — to deprive them of their means of support. Not content with a little, they ask for more. In the clothes that cover them they seek a ground to urge their demands, and with lies about their lives they ask for further sums of money. If any one were to trust their tale too readily, he would quickly drain the fund which is meant to serve for the sustenance of the poor. Let there be method in our giving, so that the poor may not go away empty nor the subsistence of the needy be done away and become the spoil of the dishonest. Let there be then such due measure that kindness may never be put aside, and true need never be left neglected.

77. Plerique simulant debita. Sit veri examen. Exutos se per latrocinia deplorant: aut injuria fidem faciat, aut cognitio personae, quo propensius juventur. Ab Ecclesia relegatis sumptus impartiendus, si desit eis alendi copia. Itaque qui modum servat, avarus nulli, sed largus omnibus est: non enim solas aures praebere debemus audiendis precantium vocibus, sed etiam oculos considerandis necessitatibus. Plus clamat operatori bono debilitas, quam vox pauperis. Neque vero fieri potest ut non extorqueat amplius importunitas vociferantium: sed non semper impudentiae locus sit. Videndus est ille, qui te non videt: requirendus ille, qui erubescit videri. Ille etiam clausus in carcere occurrat tibi; ille affectus aegritudine mentem tuam personet, qui aures non potest.

77. Many pretend they have debts. Let the truth be looked into. They bemoan the fact that they have been stripped of everything by robbers. In such a case give credit only if the misfortune is apparent, or the person is well known; and then readily give help. To those rejected by the Church

supplies must be granted if they are in want of food. He, then, that observes method in his giving is hard towards none, but is free towards all. We ought not only to lend our ears to hear the voices of those who plead, but also our eyes to look into their needs. Weakness calls more loudly to the good dispenser than the voice of the poor. It cannot always be that the cries of an importunate beggar will never extort more, but let us not always give way to impudence. He must be seen who does not see you. He must be sought for who is ashamed to be seen. He also that is in prison must come to your thoughts; another seized with sickness must present himself to your mind, as he cannot reach your ears.

78. Quo plus te operari viderit populus, magis diliget. Scio plerosque sacerdotes, quo plus contulerunt, plus abundasse; quoniam quicumque bonum operarium videt, ipsi confert quod 89 ille suo officio dispenset, securus quod ad pauperem sua perveniat misericordia: nemo enim vult, nisi pauperi proficere suam collationem. Nam si quem aut immoderatum aut nimis tenacem dispensatorem viderit, utrumque despiciet: si aut superfluis erogationibus dissipet alieni fructus laboris, aut recondat sacculis. Sicut igitur modus liberalitatis tenendus est, ita etiam calcar plerumque adhibendum videtur. Modus ideo, ut quod benefacis, id quotidie facere possis; ne subtrahas necessitati, quod indulseris effusioni: calcar propterea, quia melius operatur pecunia in pauperis cibo, quam in divitis sacculo. Cave ne intra loculos tuos includas salutem inopum, et tanquam in tumulis sepelias vitam pauperum.

78. The more people see your zeal in showing mercy, the more will they love you. I know many priests who had the more, the more they gave. For they who see a good dispenser give him something to distribute in his round of duty, sure that the act of mercy will reach the poor. If they see him giving away either in excess or too sparingly, they contemn either of these; in the

one case because he wastes the fruits of another's labours by unnecessary payments, on the other hand because he hoards them in his money bags. As, then, method must be observed in liberality, so also at times it seems as though the spur must be applied. Method, then, so that the kindness one shows may be able to be shown day by day, and that we may not have to withdraw from a needful case what we have freely spent on waste. A spur, because money is better laid out in food for the poor than on a purse for the rich. We must take care lest in our money chests we shut up the welfare of the needy, and bury the life of the poor as it were in a sepulchre.

79. Potuit donare Joseph totas Aegypti opes, et effundere thesauros regios; noluit tamen de alieno effusus videri: maluit frumenta vendere, quam donare esurientibus; quia si paucis donasset, plurimis defuisset. Eam liberalitatem probavit, quo abundaret omnibus. Patefecit horrea, ut omnes emerent subsidium frumentarium (Gen. XLI, 56, 57), ne gratis accipiendo, cultus terrarum relinquerent; quoniam qui alieno utitur, suum negligit.

79. Joseph could have given away all the wealth of Egypt, and have spent the royal treasures; but he would not even seem to be wasteful of what was another's. He preferred to sell the grain rather than to give it to the hungry. For if he had given it to a few there would have been none for most. He gave good proof of that liberality whereby there was enough for all. He opened the storehouses that all might buy their grain supply, lest if they received it for nothing, they should give up cultivating the ground. For he who has the use of what is another's often neglects his own.

80. Itaque primum omnium coacervavit pecunias, deinde instrumenta caetera, ad postremum jura terrarum regi acquisivit, non ut omnes exueret suo, sed fulciret: publicum tributum constitueret, quo sua tutius habere possent. Quod ita fuit gratum omnibus quibus terras ademerat; ut non venditionem sui juris, sed redemptionem salutis putarent. Denique dixerunt:

Sanasti nos, invenimus gratiam in conspectu Domini nostri (Gen. XLVII, 14 et seq., 25). Nam et de proprietate nihil amiserant, qui jus receperant: et de utilitate nihil perdiderant, qui acquisierant perpetuitatem.

80. First of all, then, he gathered up their money, then their implements, last of all he acquired for the king all their rights to the ground. Genesis 47:14-20 He did not wish to deprive all of them of their property, but to support them in it. He also imposed a general tax, that they might hold their own in safety. So pleasing was this to all from whom he had taken the land, that they looked on it, not as the selling of their rights, but as the recovery of their welfare. Thus they spoke: You have saved our lives, let us find grace in the sight of our Lord. Genesis 47:25 For they had lost nothing of their own, but had received a new right. Nothing of what was useful to them had failed, for they had now gained it in perpetuity.

81. O virum magnum, qui non largitatis superfluae temporalem captavit gloriam, sed perpetuam commoditatem constituit providentiae! Fecit enim ut tributis populi se juvarent suis, nec in tempore necessitatis aliena subsidia desiderarent. Melius enim fuit conferre aliquid de fructibus, quam totum de jure amittere. Quintam portionem collationis statuit et in providendo perspicacior, et in tributo liberalior. Denique nunquam postea Aegyptus hujusmodi famem pertulit.

81. O noble man! who sought not for the fleeting glory of a needless bounty, but set up as his memorial the lasting benefits of his foresight. He acted so that the people should help themselves by their payments, and should not in their time of need seek help from others. For it was surely better to give up part of their crops than to lose the whole of their rights. He fixed the impost at a fifth of their whole produce, and thus showed himself clear-sighted in making provision for the future, and liberal in the tax he laid upon them. Never after did Egypt suffer from such a famine.

82. Quam praeclare autem collegit futura! Primum quam argute regalis interpres somnii veritatem expressit! Somnium regis primum hoc fuit: Septem juvencae ascendebant de flumine, visu decorae, et pingues corpore, et ad oram pascebantur fluminis. Aliae quoque vitulae visu deformes ac jejunae corpore, post illas juvencas 90 ascendebant de flumine, et juxta eas in ipso riparum thoro pascebantur: et visae sunt hae vitulae tenues atque exiles devorare illas quae praestabant et forma et gratia. Et somnium secundum hoc fuit: Septem spicae pingues, electae et bonae de terra surgebant: et post eas septem spicae exiles et vento corruptae ac marcidae se subjicere moliebantur: et visum est quod laetas et uberes spicas steriles spicae et tenues devoraverunt.

82. How splendidly he inferred the future. First, how acutely, when interpreting the royal dream, he stated the truth. This was the king's first dream. Seven heifers came up out of the river well-favoured and fat-fleshed, and they fed at the banks of the river. And other bullocks ill-favoured and lean-fleshed came up out of the river after the heifers, and fed near them on the very edge of the river. And these thin and wretched bullocks seemed to devour those others which were so fat and well-favoured. And this was the second dream. Seven fat ears full and good came up from the ground. And after them seven wretched ears, blasted with the wind and withered, endeavoured to take their place. And it seemed that the barren and thin ears devoured the rich and fruitful ears.

83. Hoc somnium ita aperuit sanctus Joseph, eo quod septem juvencae septem anni forent, et septem spicae similiter septem anni forent, ex fetu et fructu interpretatus tempora. Fetus enim juvencae annum exprimit, et fructus segetis annum consummat integrum. Quae ideo ascendebant de flumine, quod dies, anni, ac tempora fluminum praetereunt modo, et cursim labuntur. Annos itaque septem priores uberis terrae fertiles ac fecundos

declarat futuros: posteriores autem alios septem annos steriles atque infecundos, quorum sterilitas absumptura foret ubertatem superiorum. Qua gratia prospiciendum admonuit, ut uberioribus annis congregaretur subsidium frumentarium, quod sustentare posset inopiam futurae infecunditatis.

83. This dream Joseph unfolded as follows: that the seven heifers were seven years, and the seven ears likewise were seven years — interpreting the times by the produce of cattle and crops. For both the calving of a heifer takes a year, and the produce of a crop fills out a whole year. And they came up out of the river just as days, years, and times pass by and flow along swiftly like the rivers. He therefore states that the seven earlier years of a rich land will be fertile and fruitful but the latter seven years will be barren and unfruitful, whose barrenness will eat up the richness of the former time. Wherefore he warns them to see that supplies of grain are got together in the fruitful years that they may help out the needs of the coming scarcity.

84. Quid primum mirer? Ingenium quo in ipsum veritatis descendit cubile: an consilium quo tam gravi atque diuturnae prospexit necessitati: an vigilantiam atque justitiam; quarum altera, imposito sibi tanto munere, congregavit tam multiplices commeatus: alteraque aequalitatem per omnes servavit? Nam de magnanimitate quid loquar; quod venditus a fratribus in servitutem, non retulit injuriam, sed famem depulit? Quid de suavitate, qua dilecti fratris praesentiam pia fraude quaesivit, quem simulato per elegantiam furto, reum statuit rapinae, ut obsidem teneret gratiae (Gen. XLIV, 2 et seq.).

84. What shall we admire first? His powers of mind, with which he descended to the very resting-place of truth? Or his counsel, whereby he foresaw so great and lasting a need? Or his watchfulness or justice? By his watchfulness, when so high an office was given him, he gathered together

such vast supplies; and through his justice he treated all alike. And what am I to say of his greatness of mind? For though sold by his brothers into slavery, Genesis 37:28 he took no revenge for this wrong, but put an end to their want. What of his gentleness, whereby by a pious fraud he sought to gain the presence of his beloved brother whom, under pretence of a well-planned theft, he declared to have stolen his property, that he might hold him as a hostage of his love?

85. Unde merito ei a patre dicitur: Filius ampliatus meus Joseph, filius ampliatus meus, zelotes filius meus adolescentior . . . . Adjuvit te Deus meus, et benedixit te benedictione coeli a summo, et benedictione terrae, terrae habentis omnia, propter benedictiones patris tui et matris. Praevaluit super benedictiones montium manentium, et desideria collium aeternorum (Gen. XLIX, 22 et seq.), et in Deuteronomio: Qui visus es, inquit, in rubo, ut venias super caput Joseph, et super verticem ipsius. Honorificus inter fratres: primitivus tauri decus ejus, cornua unicornui cornua ipsius. In ipsius cornu gentes ventilabit simul usque ad extremum terrae. Ipsi decem millia Ephraem, et ipsi millia Manasses (Deut. XXXIII, 16 et seq.)

85. Whence it was deservedly said to him by his father: My son Joseph is enlarged, my son is enlarged, my younger son, my beloved. My God has helped you and blessed you with the blessing of heaven above and the blessing of the earth, the earth that has all things, on account of the blessings of your father and your mother. It has prevailed over the blessings of the everlasting hills and the desires of the eternal hills. And in Deuteronomy: You Who wast seen in the bush, that You may come upon the head of Joseph, upon his pate. Honoured among his brethren, his glory is as the firstling of his bullocks; his horns are like the horns of unicorns. With his horn he shall push the nations even to the ends of the earth. They

are the ten thousands of Ephraim and the thousands of Manasseh. Deuteronomy 33:16-17

CAPUT XVII.

QUAS VIRTUTES IN eo quem consulamus, inesse oporteat: et qua ratione iisdem Joseph ac Paulus ornati fuerint?

CHAPTER 17.

What virtues ought to exist in him whom we consult. How Joseph and Paul were equipped with them.

86. Talis itaque debet esse qui consilium alteri det, ut se ipsum formam aliis praebeat ad exemplum bonorum operum, in doctrina, in integritate, in gravitate; ut sit ejus sermo salubris atque irreprehensibilis, consilium utile, vita honesta, sententia decora.

86. Such, then, ought he to be who gives counsel to another, in order that he may offer himself as a pattern in all good works, in teaching, in trueness of character, in seriousness. Thus his words will be wholesome and irreproachable, his counsel useful, his life virtuous, and his opinions seemly.

87. Talis erat Paulus, qui consilium dabat virginibus (I Cor. VII, 25 et seq.), magisterium sacerdotibus (Tit. II, 7), ut primum se ipsum formam nobis praeberet ad imitandum. Ideo et humiliari sciebat, sicut scivit et Joseph, qui summo ortus patriarcharum genere, non dedignatus degenerem servitutem, exhibebat eam obsequiis, illustrabat virtutibus. Scivit humiliari, qui et venditorem et emptorem passus est, et dominum appellabat eum. Audi humiliantem se: Si Dominus meus propter me nihil scit in domo sua, et omnia quaecamque habet, dedit in manus meas, neque subtractum est a me quidquam praeter te, quia uxor illius es; quomodo faciam verbum malum

hoc, et peccabo coram Domino (Gen. XXXIX, 8 et seq.)? Plena vox humilitatis, plena castimoniae: humilitatis, quia domino deferebat; honorificentiae, quia referebat gratiam: plena quoque castimoniae, quia turpi flagitio contaminari grave peccatum putabat.

87. Such was Paul, who gave counsel to virgins, 1 Corinthians 7:25 guidance to priests, so as to offer himself as a pattern for us to copy. Thus he knew how to be humble, as also Joseph did, who, though sprung from the noble family of the patriarchs, was not ashamed of his base slavery; rather he adorned it with his ready service, and made it glorious by his virtues. He knew how to be humble who had to go through the hands of both buyer and seller, and called them, Lord. Hear him as he humbles himself: My lord on my account knows not what is in his house, and he has committed all that he has to my hand, neither has he kept back anything from me but you, because you are his wife; how, then, can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God? Genesis 39:8-9 Full of humility are his words, full, too, of chastity. Of humility, for he was obedient to his Lord; of an honourable spirit, for he was grateful; full, also, of chastity, for he thought it a terrible sin to be defiled by so great a crime.

88. Talis igitur debet esse consiliarius, qui nihil nebulosum habeat, nihil fallax, nihil simulatum, quod vitam ejus ac mores refellat; nihil improbum ac malevolum, quod avertat consulentes. Alia sunt enim quae fugiuntur, alia quae contemnuntur. Fugimus ea quae possunt nocere, quae malitiose possunt in noxam serpere; ut si is qui consulitur, dubia sit fide, et pecuniae avidus, ut possit pretio mutari: si injuriosus, hic fugitur ac declinatur. Qui vero voluptuarius, intemperans, etsi alienus a fraude; tamen avarus et cupidior lucri turpis, hic contemnitur. Quod enim specimen industriae, quem fructum laboris edere potest, quam recipere animo curam ac sollicitudinem, qui se torpori dederit atque ignaviae?

88. Such, then, ought the man of counsel to be. He must have nothing dark, or deceptive, or false about him, to cast a shadow on his life and character, nothing wicked or evil to keep back those who want advice. For there are some things which one flies from, others which one despises. We fly from those things which can do harm, or can perfidiously and quietly grow to do us hurt, as when he whose advice we ask is of doubtful honour, or is desirous of money, so that a certain sum can make him change his mind. If a man acts unjustly, we fly from him and avoid him. A man that is a pleasure seeker and extravagant, although he does not act falsely, yet is avaricious and too fond of filthy lucre; such an one is despised. What proof of hard work, what fruits of labour, can he give who gives himself up to a sluggish and idle life, or what cares and anxieties ever enter his mind?

89. Ideo boni vir consilii dicit: Ego enim didici, in quibus sum, sufficiens esse (Phil. IV, 11). Sciebat enim omnium malorum radicem esse avaritiam, et ideo suo contentus erat, alienum non requirebat (I Tim. VI, 10). Satis mihi est, inquit, quod habeo; sive parum, sive plurimum habeam, mihi plurimum est. Expressius aliquid dicendum videtur. Signato verbo usus est: Sufficit mihi, inquit, in quo sum; id est, nec deest, nec superfluit. Non deest, quia nihil quaero amplius: non superfluit, quia non solum mihi habeo, sed pluribus. Hoc de pecunia

89. Therefore the man of good counsel says: I have learned in whatsoever state I am therewith to be content. Philippians 4:11 For he knew that the root of all evils is the love of money, 1 Timothy 6:10 and therefore he was content with what he had, without seeking for what was another’s. Sufficient for me, he says, is what I have; whether I have little or much, to me it is much. It seems as though he wanted to state it as clearly as possible. He makes use of these words: I am content, he says, with what I have. That means: I neither have want, nor have I too much. I have no want, for I seek

nothing more. I have not too much, for I have it not for myself, but for the many. This is said with reference to money.

90. Caeterum de omnibus dici potest quia sufficiebant illi praesentia, hoc est, non honorem majorem, non obsequia uberiora desiderabat; non gloriae immodicae cupidus, aut gratiam indebite quaerebat: sed debiti finem certaminis, patiens laboris, securus meriti praestolabatur: Scio, inquit, et humiliari (Phil. IV, 12). Non ergo indocta humilitas, sed quae habeat sui modestiam et scientiam, laudi datur. Est enim humilitas formidinis, est imperitiae atque ignorantiae; et ideo Scriptura ait: Et humiles spiritu salvabit (Psal. XXXIII, 19). Praeclare ergo dixit: Scio et humiliari, id est, quo in loco, qua moderatione, quo fine, in quo officio, in quo munere. Nescivit Pharisaeus humiliari, ideo dejectus est: scivit publicanus, ideo justificatus est (Luc. XVIII, 11 et seq.).

90. But he could have said these words about everything, for all that he had at the moment contented him; that is, he wanted no greater honour, he sought for no further services, he was not desirous of vainglory, nor did he look for gratitude where it was not due; but patient in labours, sure in his merits, he waited for the end of the struggle that he must needs endure. I know, he says, how to be abased. Philippians 4:12 An untaught humility has no claim to praise, but only that which possesses modesty and a knowledge of self. For there is a humility that rests on fear, one, too, that rests on want of skill and ignorance. Therefore the Scripture says: He will save the humble in spirit. Gloriously, therefore, does he say: I know how to be abased; that is to say, where, in what moderation, to what end, in what duty, in which office. The Pharisee knew not how to be abased, therefore he was cast down. The publican knew, and therefore he was justified. Luke 18:11

91. Sciebat et abundare Paulus, quia animum habebat divitem; etsi thesaurum divitis non habebat. Sciebat abundare, qui non quaerebat datum

in pecunia, sed requirebat fructum in gratia. Possumus et sic intelligere, quia sciebat abundare, qui poterat dicere: Os nostrum patet ad vos, o Corinthii, cor nostrum dilatatum est (II Cor. VI, 11).

91. Paul knew, too, how to abound, for he had a rich soul, though he possessed not the treasure of a rich man. He knew how to abound, for he sought no gift in money, but looked for fruit in grace. We can understand his words that he knew how to abound also in another way. For he could say again: O you Corinthians, our mouth is open unto you, our heart is enlarged. 2 Corinthians 6:14

92. In omnibus erat imbutus, et saturari et esurire. Beatus qui sciebat saturari in Christo. Non ergo illa corporalis, sed spiritualis est satietas, quam operatur scientia. Et merito scientia opus est; quia non in pane solo vivit homo, sed in omni verbo Dei (Deut. VIII, 3). Ergo qui sic sciebat saturari et sic esurire, sciebat ut semper nova quaereret, esuriret Deum, sitiret in Dominum. Sciebat esurire, qui sciebat quia esurientes manducabunt (Matth. V, 6): sciebat et poterat abundare, qui nihil habebat, et possidebat omnia (II Cor. VI, 10).

92. In all things he was accustomed both to be full and to be hungry. Blessed is he that knows how to be full in Christ. Not corporal, but spiritual, is that satiety which knowledge brings about. And rightly is there need of knowledge: For man lives not by bread alone, but by every word of God. Deuteronomy 8:3 For he who knew how to be full also knew how to be hungry, so as to be always seeking something new, hungering after God, thirsting for the Lord. He knew how to hunger, for he knew that the hungry shall eat. Matthew 5:6 He knew, also, how to abound, and was able to abound, for he had nothing and yet possessed all things. 2 Corinthians 6:10

CAPUT XVIII.

QUANTUM INIQUI CONSILIARII damni afferant, exemplo decem tribuum a rege Roboam desciscentium sat intelligi.

CHAPTER 18.

We learn from the fact of the separation of the ten tribes from King Rehoboam what harm bad counsellors can do.

93. Egregie itaque viros alicui praesidentes muneri commendat justitia: contra iniquitas destituit atque impugnat. Exemplo nobis est Scriptura quae dicit quia cum populus Israel post mortem Salomonis rogasset filium ejus Roboam, ut relevaret cervices eorum a servitute dura, et paterni imperii temperaret austeritatem, illum spreto senili consilio de suggestione adolescentium responsum dedisse hujusmodi, quia et onus adjiceret super patrium jugum, et leviora gravioribus suppliciis mutaret (III Reg. XII, 4 et seq.).

93. Justice, then, especially graces men that are set over any office; on the other hand, injustice fails them and fights against them. Scripture itself gives us an example, where it says, that when the people of Israel, after the death of Solomon, had asked his son Rehoboam to free their neck from their cruel yoke, and to lighten the harshness of his father's rule, he, despising the counsel of the old men, gave the following answer at the suggestion of the young men: He would add a burden to the yoke of his father, and change their lighter toils for harder.

94. Quo responso exasperati responderunt populi: Non est nobis portio cum David, neque haereditas in filiis Jesse. Revertere unusquisque in tabernacula tua, Israel (Ibid. 16); quoniam hic homo neque in principem, neque in ducem erit nobis. Itaque desertus a populo ac destitutus, vix duarum tribuum propter David meritum habere potuit societatem

94. Angered by this answer, the people said: We have no portion in David, nor inheritance in the son of Jesse. Return to your tents, O Israel. For we will not have this man for a prince or a leader over us. So, forsaken and deserted by the people, he could keep with him scarce two of the ten tribes for David’s sake.

CAPUT XIX.

JUSTITIA ET BENEVOLENTIA et affabilitate plurimos conciliari: sed hanc sinceram esse debere.

CHAPTER 19.

Many are won by justice and benevolence and courtesy, but all this must be sincere.

95. Claret ergo quoniam et aequitas imperia confirmet, et injustitia dissolvat. Nam quomodo potest malitia regnum possidere, quae ne unam quidem privatam potest regere familiam? Summa igitur benignitate opus est, ut non solum publica gubernacula, sed etiam privata jura tueamur. Plurimum juvat benevolentia, quae omnes studet beneficiis amplecti, devincire officiis, oppignerare gratia.

95. It is plain, then, that equity strengthens empires, and injustice destroys them. How could wickedness hold fast a kingdom when it cannot even rule over a single family? There is need, therefore, of the greatest kindness, so that we may preserve not only the government of affairs in general, but also the rights of individuals. Benevolence is of the greatest value; for it seeks to embrace all in its favours, to bind them to itself by fulfilling duties, and to pledge them to itself by its charm.

96. Affabilitatem quoque sermonis diximus ad conciliandam gratiam valere plurimum. Sed hanc volumus esse sinceram ac sobriam sine ulla adulatione, ne simplicitatem ac puritatem alloquii dedeceat sermonis adulatio; forma enim esse debemus caeteris non solum in opere, sed etiam in sermone, in

castitate ac fide. Quales haberi volumus, tales simus: et qualem affectum habemus, talem aperiamus. Neque dicamus in corde nostro verbum iniquum, quod abscondi putemus silentio; quia audit in occulto dicta, qui occulta fecit: et cognoscit secreta viscerum, qui sensum visceribus infudit. Ergo tamquam sub oculis constituti judicis, quidquid gerimus, in luce positum putemus, ut omnibus manifestetur.

96. We have also said that courtesy of speech has great effect in winning favour. But we want it to be sincere and sensible, without flattery, lest flattery should disgrace the simplicity and purity of our address. We ought to be a pattern to others not only in act but also in word, in purity, and in faith. What we wish to be thought, such let us be; and let us show openly such feelings as we have within us. Let us not say an unjust word in our heart that we think can be hid in silence, for He hears things said in secret Who made things secret, and knows the secrets of the heart, and has implanted feelings within. Therefore as though under the eyes of the Judge let us consider all we do as set forth in the light, that it may be manifest to all.

CAPUT XX.

OMNIBUS MULTUM PRODESSE bonorum familiaritatem, maxime vero adolescentibus: hoc Jesu Nave ac Moysi, aliisque exemplis probari: quibus subjicitur qui aetate sint dispares, virtute interdum pares esse, ut Petrus ac Joannes patefaciunt.

CHAPTER 20.

Familiarity with good men is very advantageous to all, especially to the young, as is shown by the example of Joshua and Moses and others. Further, those who are unlike in age are often alike in virtues, as Peter and John prove.

97. Plurimum itaque prodest unicuique bonis jungi. Adolescentibus quoque utile, ut claros et sapientes viros sequantur; quoniam qui congreditur sapientibus, sapiens est: qui autem cohaeret imprudentibus, imprudens agnoscitur. Et ad instructionem itaque plurimum proficit, et ad probitatis testimonium. Ostendunt enim adolescentes eorum se imitatores esse, quibus adhaerent; et ea convalescit opinio, quod ab his vivendi acceperint similitudinem, cum quibus conversandi hauserint cupiditatem.

97. It is a very good thing to unite oneself to a good man. It is also very useful for the young to follow the guidance of great and wise men. For he who lives in company with wise men is wise himself; but he who clings to the foolish is looked on as a fool too. This friendship with the wise is a great help in teaching us, and also as giving a sure proof of our uprightness. Young men show very soon that they imitate those to whom they attach themselves. And this idea gains ground from the fact that in all their daily

life they grow to be like those with whom they have enjoyed intercourse to the full.

98. Inde tantus Jesus Nave, quod eum non solum erudivit ad Legis scientiam Moysi copula, verum etiam sanctificavit ad gratiam (Exod. XXIV, 13). Denique cum in ejus tabernaculo divina refulgere praesentia videretur majestas Domini, solus erat in tabernaculo Jesus Nave. Moyses cum Deo 94 loquebatur, Jesus pariter nube sacra tegebatur. Presbyteri et populus deorsum stabant; Jesus cum Moyse ad accipiendam Legem ascendebat (Exod. XXXIII, 11). Omnis populus intra castra erat, Jesus extra castra in tabernaculo testimonii. Cum columna nubis descenderet, et loqueretur cum Moyse, quasi fidus astabat minister: nec exibat de tabernaculo juvenis, cum seniores longe positi divina trepidarent miracula.

98. Joshua the Son of Nun became so great, because his union with Moses was the means not only of instructing him in a knowledge of the law, but also of sanctifying him to receive grace. When in His tabernacle the majesty of the Lord was seen to shine forth in its divine Presence, Joshua alone was in the tabernacle. When Moses spoke with God, Joshua too was covered by the sacred cloud. The priests and people stood below, and Joshua and Moses went up the mount to receive the law. All the people were within the camp; Joshua was without the camp in the tabernacle of witness. When the pillar of a cloud came down, and God spoke with Moses, he stood as a trusty servant beside him; and he, a young man, did not go out of the tabernacle, though the old men who stood afar off trembled at these divine wonders.

99. Ubique igitur inter admiranda opera et reverenda secreta sancto Moysi individuus adhaerebat. Unde factum est ut qui fuerat socius conversationis, fieret successor potestatis (Deut. XXXIV, 9). Merito vir hujusmodi evasit, ut sisteret fluminum cursus (Josue III, 15 et seq.), diceret: Stet sol, et staret sol (Josue X, 12, 13); quasi ejus spectator victoriae noctem differret, diem

produceret: quid! (quod Moysi negatum est) solus eligeretur, ut populum introduceret in terram repromissionis. Magnus vir fidei miraculis, magnus triumphis. Illius augustiora opera, hujus prosperiora. Uterque igitur divina subnixus gratia, ultra humanam processit conditionem (Exod. XIV, 21): ille mari, hic coelo imperavit.

99. Everywhere, therefore, he alone kept close to holy Moses amid all these wondrous works and dread secrets. Wherefore it happens that he who had been his companion in this intercourse with God succeeded to his power. Deuteronomy 34:9 Worthy surely was he to stand forth as a man who might stay the course of the river, and who might say: Sun, stand still, and delay the night and lengthen the day, as though to witness his victory. Joshua 10:12-13 Why? — a blessing denied to Moses — he alone was chosen to lead the people into the promised land. A man he was, great in the wonders he wrought by faith, great in his triumphs. The works of Moses were of a higher type, his brought greater success. Either of these then aided by divine grace rose above all human standing. The one ruled the sea, the other heaven.

100. Pulchra itaque copula seniorum atque adolescentium (Gen. XII, 4). Alii testimonio, alii solatio sunt: alii magisterio, alii delectationi. Omitto quod Abrahae adhaesit Loth adolescentulus etiam proficiscenti; ne forte hoc propinquitatis magis fuisse existimetur, et necessariae potius quam voluntariae adjunctionis. Quid Eliam atque Elisaeum loquamur? Licet non expresse Elisaeum juvenem Scriptura significaverit, advertimus tamen et colligimus juniorem fuisse (III Reg. XIX, 21). In Actibus apostolorum Barnabas Marcum assumpsit, Paulus Silam, Paulus Timotheum, Paulus Titum (Act. XII et alibi).

100. Beautiful, therefore, is the union between old and young. The one to give witness, the other to give comfort; the one to give guidance, the other

to give pleasure. I pass by Lot, who when young clung to Abraham, as he was setting out. Genesis 12:5 For some perhaps might say this arose rather owing to their relationship than from any voluntary action on his part. And what are we to say of Elijah and Elisha? Though Scripture has not in so many words stated that Elisha was a young man, yet we gather from it that he was the younger. In the Acts of the Apostles, Barnabas took Mark with him, and Paul took Silas Acts 15:39-40 and Timothy Acts 16:3 and Titus. Titus 1:5

101. Sed illis superioribus videmus divisa officia, ut seniores consilio praevalerent, juniores ministerio. Plerumque etiam virtutibus pares, dispares aetatibus, sui delectantur copula, sicut delectabantur Petrus et Joannes. Nam adolescentem legimus in Evangelio Joannem et sua voce, licet meritis et sapientia nulli fuerit seniorum secundus, erat enim in eo senectus venerabilis morum et cana prudentia. Vita enim immaculata bonae senectutis stipendium est.

101. We see also that duties were divided among them according to their superiority in anything. The elders took the lead in giving counsel, the younger in showing activity. Often, too, those who were alike in virtue but unlike in years were greatly rejoiced at their union, as Peter and John were. We read in the Gospel that John was a young man, even in his own words, though he was behind none of the elders in merits and wisdom. For in him there was a venerable ripeness of character and the prudence of the hoarhead. An unspotted life is the due of a good old age.

CAPUT XXI.

PLURIMUM VALERE AD commendationem, si defendas infirmos, aut peregrinos suscipias, similiave officia exhibeas, et hoc maxime viris probatis. Ubi injecta avaritiae vituperatione, potissimum prodigalitas in sacerdotibus improbatur.

CHAPTER 21.

To defend the weak, or to help strangers, or to perform similar duties, greatly adds to one's worth, especially in the case of tried men. Whilst one gets great blame for love of money; wastefulness, also, in the case of priests is very much condemned.

102. Adjuvat hoc quoque ad profectum bonae existimationis, si de potentis 95 manibus eripias inopem, de morte damnatum eruas, quantum sine perturbatione fieri potest; ne videamur jactantiae magis causa facere, quam misericordiae, et graviora inferre vulnera, dum levioribus mederi desideramus. Jam si oppressum opibus potentis, et factione magis quam sceleris sui pretio gravatum liberaveris, egregae convalescit opinionis testimonium.

102. The regard in which one is held is also very much enhanced when one rescues a poor man out of the hands of a powerful one, or saves a condemned criminal from death; so long as it can be done without disturbance, for fear that we might seem to be doing it rather for the sake of showing off than for pity's sake, and so might inflict severer wounds while desiring to heal slighter ones. But if one has freed a man who is crushed down by the resources and faction of a powerful person, rather than

overwhelmed by the deserts of his own wickedness, then the witness of a great and high opinion grows strong.

103. Commendat plerosque etiam hospitalitas. Est enim publica species humanitatis, ut peregrinus hospitio non egeat, suscipiatur officiose, pateat advenienti janua. Valde id decorum totius est orbis existimatione, peregrinos cum honore suscipi, non deesse mensae hospitalitatis gratiam, occurrere officiis liberalitatis, explorare adventus hospitum.

103. Hospitality also serves to recommend many. For it is a kind of open display of kindly feelings: so that the stranger may not want hospitality, but be courteously received, and that the door may be open to him when he comes. It is most seemly in the eyes of the whole world that the stranger should be received with honour; that the charm of hospitality should not fail at our table; that we should meet a with ready and free service, and look out for his arrival.

104. Quod Abrahae laudi est datum, qui ante januam suam speculabatur, ne forte praeteriret peregrinus aliquis: et diligenter praetendebat excubias, ut occurreret, ut praeveniret, ut rogaret, ne transiret hospes, dicens: Domine, si inveni gratiam ante te, ne praeterieris puerum tuum (Gen. XVIII, 1 et seq.). Et ideo pro hospitalitatis mercede fructum posteritatis recepit.

104. This especially was Abraham’s praise, for he watched at the door of his tent, that no stranger by any chance might pass by. He carefully kept a lookout, so as to meet the stranger, and anticipate him, and ask him not to pass by, saying: My lord, if I have found favour in your sight, pass not by your servant. Genesis 18:3 Therefore as a reward for his hospitality, he received the gift of posterity.

105. Loth quoque nepos ejus non solum genere, sed etiam virtute proximus, propter hospitalitatis affectum Sodomitana a se suisque supplicia detorsit

(Gen. XIX, 1 et seq.).

105. Lot also, his nephew, Genesis 19:20 who was near to him not only in relationship but also in virtue, on account of his readiness to show hospitality, turned aside the punishment of Sodom from himself and his family.

106. Decet igitur hospitalem esse, benignum, justum, non alieni cupidum; immo de suo jure cedentem potius aliqua, si fuerit lacessitus, quam aliena jura pulsantem, fugitantem litium, abhorrentem a jurgiis, redimentem concordiam et tranquillitatis gratiam. Siquidem de suo jure virum bonum aliquid relaxare, non solum liberalitatis, sed plerumque etiam commoditatis est. Primum dispendio litis carere, non mediocre est lucrum; deinde accedit ad fructum quod augetur amicitia, ex qua oriuntur plurimae commoditates, quae contemnenti aliqua in tempore, postea fructuosae erunt.

106. A man ought therefore to be hospitable, kind, upright, not desirous of what belongs to another, willing to give up some of his own rights if assailed, rather than to take away another's. He ought to avoid disputes, to hate quarrels. He ought to restore unity and the grace of quietness. When a good man gives up any of his own rights, it is not only a sign of liberality, but is also accompanied by great advantages. To start with, it is no small gain to be free from the cost of a lawsuit. Then it also brings in good results, by an increase of friendship, from which many advantages rise. These become afterwards most useful to the man that can despise a little something at the time.

107. In officiis autem hospitalibus, omnibus quidem humanitas impartienda est: justis autem uberior deferenda honorificentia: Quicumque enim justum receperit in nomine justi, mercedem justi accipiet (Matth. X, 41, 42), ut Dominus pronuntiavit. Tanta autem est apud Deum hospitalitatis gratia, ut

ne potus quidem aquae frigidae a praemiis remunerationis immunis sit. Vides quia Abraham Deum recepit hospitio, dum hospites quaerit? Vides quia Loth angelos recepit? Unde scis ne et tu cum suscipis hominem, suscipias Christum? Licet in hospite sit Christus; quia Christus 96 in paupere est, sicut ipse ait: In carcere eram, et venistis ad me: nudus eram, et operuistis me (Matth. XXV, 36).

107. In all the duties of hospitality kindly feeling must be shown to all, but greater respect must be given to the upright. For Whosoever receives a righteous man, in the name of a righteous man, shall receive a righteous man's reward, Matthew 10:41 as the Lord has said. Such is the favour in which hospitality stands with God, that not even the draught of cold water shall fail of getting a reward. Matthew 10:42 You see that Abraham, in looking for guests, received God Himself to entertain. You see that Lot received the angels. Genesis 19:3 And how do you know that when you receive men, thou dost not receive Christ? Christ may be in the stranger that comes, for Christ is there in the person of the poor, as He Himself says: I was in prison and you came to Me, I was naked and you clothed Me. Matthew 25:36 .

108. Suave est igitur non pecuniae, sed gratiae studere. Verum hoc malum jamdudum humanis influxit mentibus, ut pecunia honori sit, et animi hominum divitiarum admiratione capiantur. Inde se immersit avaritia, veluti quaedam bonorum ariditas officiorum; ut homines damnum putent quidquid praeter morem impenditur. Sed etiam in hoc adversus avaritiam, ne quod afferre possit impedimentum, prospexit Scriptura venerabilis, dicens: Quia melior est hospitalitas cum oleribus (Prov. XV, 17). Et infra: Melior est panis in suavitate cum pace (Prov. XVII, 1). Non enim prodigos nos docet esse Scriptura, sed liberales.

108. It is sweet, then, to seek not for money but for grace. It is true that this evil has long ago entered into human hearts, so that money stands in the place of honour, and the minds of men are filled with admiration for wealth. Thus love of money sinks in and as it were dries up every kindly duty; so that men consider everything a loss which is spent beyond the usual amount. But even here the holy Scriptures have been on the watch against love of money, that it might prove no cause of hindrance, saying: Better is hospitality, even though it consists only of herbs. Proverbs 15:17 And again: Better is bread in pleasantness with peace. Proverbs 17:1 For the Scriptures teach us not to be wasteful, but liberal.

109. Largitatis enim duo sunt genera: unum liberalitatis, alterum prodigae effusionis. Liberale est hospitio recipere, nudum vestire, redimere captivos, non habentes sumptu juvare: prodigum est, sumptuosis effluescere conviviis, et vino plurimo; unde legisti: Prodigum est vinum, et contumeliosa ebrietas (Prov. XX, 1). Prodigum est popularis favoris gratia exinanire proprias opes: quod faciunt qui ludis circensibus, vel etiam theatralibus, et muneribus gladiatoriis, vel etiam venationibus patrimonium dilapidant suum, ut vincant superiorum celebritates; cum totum illud sit inane, quod agunt. Quandoquidem etiam bonorum operum sumptibus immoderatum esse non deceat.

109. There are two kinds of free-giving, one arising from liberality, the other from wasteful extravagance. It is a mark of liberality to receive the stranger, to clothe the naked, to redeem the captives, to help the needy. It is wasteful to spend money on expensive banquets and much wine. Wherefore one reads: Wine is wasteful, drunkenness is abusive. Proverbs 20:1 It is wasteful to spend one’s own wealth merely for the sake of gaining the favour of the people. This they do who spend their inheritance on the games of the circus, or on theatrical pieces and gladiatorial shows, or even a

combat of wild beasts, just to surpass the fame of their forefathers for these things. All this that they do is but foolish, for it is not right to be extravagant in spending money even on good works.

110. Pulchra liberalitas (Dist. 86, cap. Pulchra) erga ipsos quoque pauperes mensuram tenere, ut abundes pluribus: non conciliandi favoris gratia ultra modum fluere. Quidquid ex affectu puro ac sincero promitur, hoc est decorum: non superfluas aedificationes aggredi, nec praetermittere necessarias.

110. It is a right kind of liberality to keep due measure towards the poor themselves, that one may have enough for more; and not to go beyond the right limit for the sake of winning favour. Whatever comes forth out of a pure sincere disposition, that is seemly. It is also seemly not to enter on unnecessary undertakings, nor to omit those that are needed.

111. Et maxime sacerdoti hoc convenit, ornare Dei templum decore congruo, ut etiam hoc cultu aula Domini resplendeat: impensas misericordiae convenientes frequentare: quantum oporteat largiri peregrinis; non superflua, sed competentia: non redundantia, sed congrua humanitati; ne sumptu pauperum alienam sibi quaerat gratiam, nec restrictiorem erga clericos aut indulgentiorem se praebeat. Alterum enim inhumanum, alterum prodigum; si aut sumptus desit necessitati eorum quos a sordidis negotiationis aucupiis retrahere debeas: aut voluptati superfluat.

111. But it befits the priest especially to adorn the temple of God with fitting splendour, so that the court of the Lord may be made glorious by his endeavours. He ought always to spend money as mercy demands. It behooves him to give to strangers what is right. This must not be too much, but enough; not more than, but as much as, kindly feeling demands, so that he may never seek another’s favour at the expense of the poor, nor show

himself as either too stingy or too free to the clergy. The one act is unkind, the other wasteful. It is unkind if money should be wanting for the necessities of those whom one ought to win back from their wretched employments. It is wasteful if there should be too much over for pleasure.

CAPUT XXII.

MODUM INTER NIMIAM remissionem ac severitatem esse statuendum; eos enim qui affectata remissione in aliorum animos irrepere moliuntur, solidum ac duraturum nihil consequi: quod Abessalonis exemplum satis ostendit.

CHAPTER 22.

We must observe a right standard between too great mildness and excessive harshness. They who endeavour to creep into the hearts of others by a false show of mildness gain nothing substantial or lasting. This the example of Absalom plainly enough shows.

112. Quin etiam verborum ipsorum et praeceptorum esse mensuram convenit; ne aut nimia remissio videatur, aut nimia severitas. Plerique enim remissiores malunt esse, ut videantur boni esse: sed nihil simulatum et fictum verae virtutis esse certum est; quin etiam diuturnum esse non solet. In principio vernat, in processu tamquam flosculus dissipatur et solvitur: quod autem verum ac sincerum, alta radice fundatur.

112. Moreover, due measure befits even our words and instructions, that it may not seem as though there was either too great mildness or too much harshness. Many prefer to be too mild, so as to appear to be good. But it is certain that nothing feigned or false can bear the form of true virtue; nay, it cannot even last. At first it flourishes, then, as time goes on, like a floweret it fades and passes away, but what is true and sincere has a deep root.

113. Et ut exemplis assertiones nostras probemus, quoniam quae simulata sunt, diuturna esse non possunt, sed tamquam ad tempus virentia cito

decidunt, ex ea familia ex qua nobis plurima ad virtutis profectum exempla accersivimus, unum simulationis et fraudis proferamus testimonium (II Reg. XIV, 25).

113. To prove by examples our assertion that what is feigned cannot last, but flourishing just for a time quickly fails, we will take one example of pretence and falsehood from that family, from which we have already drawn so many examples to show their growth in virtue.

114. Abessalon (II Reg. XV, 1 et seq.) erat David regis filius, decore insignis, egregius forma, praestans juventa; ita ut vir talis in Israel non reperiretur, a vestigio pedis usque ad verticem immaculatus. Is fecit sibi currus et equos, et viros quinquaginta, qui praecurrerent ante eum. Surgebat diluculo, et stabat ante portam in via: et si quem advertisset regis judicia quaerentem, accedebat ad eum, dicens: Ex qua civitate es tu? Respondebat ille: Ex una tribu sum de tribubus Israel, servus tuus. Referebat Abessalon: Verba tua bona sunt et directa, et qui te audiat non est tibi datus a rege. Quis constituet me judicem, et quisquis ad me veniet, cuicumque fuerit judicium necessarium, justificabo illum? Talibus delinibat singulos sermonibus. Et cum accederent adorare eum, extendens manus suas, apprehendebat atque osculabatur eos. Sic convertit in se corda omnium, dum blanditiae hujusmodi intimorum tangunt viscerum sensum.

114. Absalom was King David’s son, known for his beauty, of splendid appearance and in the heyday of youth; so that no other such man as he was found in Israel. He was without a blemish from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head. He had for himself a chariot and horses and fifty men to run before him. He rose at early dawn and stood before the gate in the way, and whoever he knew to be seeking the judgment of the king, he called to himself, saying: From what city are you? And he answered: I your servant am of one of the tribes of Israel. And Absalom answered: Your words are

good and right. Is there none given you by the king to hear you? Who will make me a judge? And whosoever will come unto me, that has need of judgment, I will give him justice. With such words he cajoled them. And when they came to make obeisance to him, stretching forth his hand he took hold of them and kissed them. So he turned the hearts of all to himself. For flattery of this sort quickly finds its way to touch the very depths of the heart.

115. Sed delicati isti et ambitiosi elegerunt honorabilia et grata ad tempus et jucunda: ubi parva processit dilatio, quam prudens omnium propheta paulisper cedendo interponendam putavit, non potuerunt tolerare ac sustinere. Denique (II Reg. XVIII, 5) non dubitans de victoria David, commendabat filium dimicaturis, ut ei parcerent. Ideoque nec praelio interesse maluit; ne vel referre arma, parricidae licet, videretur, sed tamen filio.

115. Those spoilt and ambitious men chose what for a time seemed an honour to them, and was pleasing and enjoyable. But while that delay took place, which the prophet, being prudent above all, thought ought to intervene, they could no longer hold out or bear it. Then David having no doubt about the victory commended his son to those who went out to fight, so that they should spare him. He would not engage in the battle himself lest he should seem to be taking up arms against one who was still his son, though attempting to destroy his father.

116. Liquet igitur ea esse perpetua ac solida, quae vera sunt, et quae sincere potius quam dolo congregantur: ea vero quae simulatione atque assentatione parata sunt, non posse diu perseverare

116. It is clear, then, that those things are lasting and sound, which are true and grow out of a sincere and not a false heart. Those, however, which are

brought about by pretence and adulation can never last for long.

CAPUT XXIII.

EORUM QUI VEL pecunia vel ambitu redempti fuerint, fluxam fidem esse.

CHAPTER 23.

The good faith of those who are easily bought over with money or flattery is a frail thing to trust to.

117. Quis igitur vel illos qui pecunia ad obedientiam redimuntur, vel eos qui assentatione invitantur, fidos sibi arbitretur? Nam et illi frequenter se vendere volunt, et isti imperia dura ferre non possunt. Levi assentatiuncula facile capiuntur: si perstrinxeris verbo, immurmurant, deserunt, infesti abeunt, indignantes relinquunt, imperare malunt, quam obedire: quasi obnoxios beneficio, subjectos sibi debere esse existimant, quos praepositos sibi habere debeant.

117. Who would suppose that those who are bought over to obedience by money, or those who are allured by adulation, would ever be faithful to them? For the former are ever ready to sell themselves, while the latter cannot put up with a hard rule. They are easily won with a little adulation, but if one reproves them by a word, they murmur against it, they give one up, they go away with hostile feelings, they forsake one in anger. They prefer to rule rather than to obey. They think that those whom they ought to have placed over them ought to be subject to themselves, as though indebted to them by their kindness.

118. Quis igitur sibi fideles putet, quos vel pecunia vel adulatione sibi obligandos crediderit? Nam et ille qui pecuniam acceperit, vilem se et

despectum judicat, nisi saepe redimatur? Itaque frequenter exspectat pretium suum: et ille qui obsecratione ambitus videtur, vult semper se rogari.

118. What man is there that thinks those will be faithful to himself, whom he believes he will have to bind to himself by money or flattery? For he who takes your money supposes that he is cheaply held, and looked down upon, unless the money is paid again and again. So he frequently expects his price; while the other, who is met with prayer and flattery, is always wanting to be asked.

CAPUT XXIV.

BONIS ARTIBUS AD honores nitendum, maxime ecclesiasticos: adeptum vero munus moderate ac sapienter administrandum. Nec inferiores ordines simulatis virtutibus episcopo derogare, nec item episcopum cleri invidum esse debere: sed justum in omnibus, atque comprimis in judicando.

CHAPTER 24.

We must strive for preferment only by right means. An office undertaken must be carried out wisely and with moderation. The inferior clergy should not detract from the bishop's reputation by feigned virtues; nor again, should the bishop be jealous of a cleric, but he should be just in all things and especially in giving judgment.

119. Ergo bonis actibus et sincero proposito nitendum ad honorem arbitror, et maxime ecclesiasticum; ut neque resupina arrogantia, vel remissa negligentia sit: neque turpis affectatio, et indecora ambitio. Ad omnia abundat animi directa simplicitas, satisque se ipsa commendat.

119. I think, then, that one should strive to win preferment, especially in the Church, only by good actions and with a right aim; so that there may be no proud conceit, no idle carelessness, no shameful disposition of mind, no unseemly ambition. A plain simplicity of mind is enough for everything, and commends itself quite sufficiently.

120. In ipso vero munere neque severitatem esse duram convenit, nec nimiam remissionem; ne aut potestatem exercere, aut susceptum officium nequaquam implere videamur.

120. When in office, again, it is not right to be harsh and severe, nor may one be too easy; lest on the one hand we should seem to be exercising a despotic power, and on the other to be by no means filling the office we had taken up.

121. Enitendum quoque ut beneficiis atque officiis obligemus plurimos, et collatam reservemus gratiam; ne jure beneficii fiant immemores, qui se graviter laesos dolent. Saepe enim usu venit ut quos gratia foveris, vel aliquo superiore cumulaveris gradu, avertas, si indigne aliquem eis praeponendum judices. Sed et sacerdotem beneficiis suis vel judiciis favere convenit, ut aequitatem custodiat, et presbytero vel ministro deferre, ut parenti.

121. We must strive also to win many by kindnesses and duties that we can do, and to preserve the favour already shown us. For they will with good reason forget the benefits of former times if they are now vexed at some great wrong. For it often enough happens that those one has shown favour to and allowed to rise step by step, are driven away, if one decides in some unworthy way to put another before them. But it is seemly for a priest to show such favour in his kindnesses and his decisions as to guard equity, and to show regard to the other clergy as to parents.

122. Neque hos quia semel probati sunt, arrogantes esse oportet; sed magis tamquam memores gratiae, humilitatem tenere: neque offendi sacerdotem, si aut presbyter, aut minister, aut quisquam de clero, aut misericordia, aut jejunio, aut integritate, aut doctrina et lectione existimationem accumulet suam: Gratia enim Ecclesiae laus doctoris est. Bonum, opus 99 alicujus praedicari, ita tamen si nullo studio fiat jactantiae. Laudent enim unumquemque proximorum labia, et non os suum: et commendent opera, non studia sua.

122. Those who once stood approved should not now become overbearing, but rather, as mindful of the grace they have received, stand firm in their humility. A priest ought not to be offended if either cleric or attendant or any ecclesiastic should win regard for himself, by showing mercy, or by fasting, or by uprightness of life, or by teaching and reading. For the grace of the Church is the praise of the teacher. It is a good thing that the work of another should be praised, if only it be done without any desire to boast. For each one should receive praise from the lips of his neighbour, and not from his own mouth, and each one should be commended by the work he has done, not merely by the wishes he had.

123. Caeterum si quis non obediat episcopo, extollere atque exaltare sese desideret, obumbrare merita episcopi simulata affectatione doctrinae aut humilitatis, aut misericordiae, is a vero devius superbit; quoniam veritatis ea est regula, ut nihil facias commendandi tui causa, quo minor alius fiat: neque si quid boni habeas, id ad deformationem alterius et vituperationem exerceas.

123. But if any one is disobedient to his bishop and wishes to exalt and upraise himself, and to overshadow his bishop’s merits by a feigned appearance of learning or humility or mercy, he is wandering from the truth in his pride; for the rule of truth is, to do nothing to advance one’s own cause whereby another loses ground, nor to use whatever good one has to the disgrace or blame of another.

124. Ne defendas improbum, et sancta indigno committenda arbitreris: neque iterum urgeas et impugnes, cujus crimen non deprehenderis. Nam cum in omnibus injustitia cito offendat, tum maxime in Ecclesia, ubi aequitatem esse oportet, ubi aequalitatem haberi decet; ut nihil sibi potentior plus vindicet, nihil plus usurpet ditior. Sive enim pauper, sive

dives, in Christo unum sunt. Nihil sanctior plus sibi arroget; ipsum enim par est esse humiliorem.

124. Never protect a wicked man, nor allow the sacred things to be given over to an unworthy one; on the other hand, do not harass and press hard on a man whose fault is not clearly proved. Injustice quickly gives offense in every case, but especially in the Church, where equity ought to exist, where like treatment should be given to all, so that a powerful person may not claim the more, nor a rich man appropriate the more. For whether we be poor or rich, we are one in Christ. Let him that lives a holier life claim nothing more thereby for himself; for he ought rather to be the more humble for it.

125. Sed nec personam alterius accipiamus in judicio: gratia absit, causae merita decernant. Nihil sic opinionem, immo fidem gravat, quam si in judicando potentiori dones causam inferioris: vel pauperem innocentem arguas, divitem excuses reum culpae. Pronum quidem est genus hominum favere honoratioribus, ne laesos sese putent, ne victi doleant. Sed primum si offensam vereris, non recipias judicium: si sacerdos es, aut si quisquam alius, non lacessas. Licet tibi silere in negotio duntaxat pecuniario; quamquam sit constantiae adesse aequitati. In causa autem Dei, ubi communionis periculum est, etiam dissimulare peccatum est non leve.

125. In giving judgment let us have no respect of persons. Favour must be put out of sight, and the case be decided on its merits. Nothing is so great a strain on another’s good opinion or confidence, as the fact of our giving away the cause of the weaker to the more powerful in any case that comes before us. The same happens if we are hard on the poor, while we make excuses for the rich man when guilty. Men are ready enough to flatter those in high positions, so as not to let them think themselves injured, or to feel vexed as though overthrown. But if you fear to give offense then do not

undertake to give judgment. If you are a priest or some cleric do not urge it. It is allowable for you to be silent in the matter, if it be a money affair, though it is always due to consistency to be on the side of equity. But in the cause of God, where there is danger to the whole Church, it is no small sin to act as though one saw nothing.

CAPUT XXV.

BENEFICIA IN PAUPERES potius conferenda quam in divites; hos enim aut quaesitam a se beneficii vicem putare, aut indignari quod videantur hinc facti debitores: pauperes vero et debitorem pro se Deum ipsum constituere, et libenter accepta beneficia confiteri. Quibus additur ad pecuniae contemptum adhortatio.

CHAPTER 25.

Benefits should be conferred on the poor rather than on the rich, for these latter either think a return is expected from them, or else they are angry at seeming to be indebted for such an action. But the poor man makes God the debtor in his place, and freely owns to the benefits he has received. To these remarks is added a warning to despise riches.

126. Quid autem et tibi prodest favere diviti? An quia citius amantem remuneratur? His enim favemus frequentius, a quibus referendae vicem speramus gratiae. Sed eo 100 magis infirmo et inopinos studere convenit; quia pro eo qui non habet, remunerationem speramus a Domino Jesu (Luc. XIV, 12, 13): qui sub specie convivii generalem virtutum edidit formam: ut his potius nostra conferamus beneficia, qui nobis ea non possunt repraesentare, docens ad convivium atque epulas non eos qui divites sunt, sed pauperes invitandos. Divites enim rogari videntur, ut ipsi quoque nobis reddant convivium; pauperes, quia non habent quod restituant, cum acceperint, remuneratorem nobis faciunt Dominum, qui se pro paupere obligandum obtulit.

126. But what advantage is it to you to show favour to a rich man? Is it that he is more ready to repay one who loves him? For we generally show favour to those from whom we expect to receive a return of favour. But we ought to think far more of the weak and helpless, because we hope to receive, on behalf of him who has it not, a recompense from the Lord Jesus, Who in the likeness of a marriage feast Luke 14:12-13 has given us a general representation of virtue. By this He bids us confer benefits rather on those who cannot give them to us in return, teaching us to bid to our feasts and meals, not those who are rich, but those that are poor. For the rich seem to be asked that they may prepare a banquet for us in return; the poor, as they have nothing wherewith to make return, when they receive anything, make the Lord to be our recompense Who has offered Himself as surety for the poor.

127. Ad ipsum quoque saeculi usum collatio beneficii facta in pauperes magis quam in locupletes plus juvat; quia dives dedignatur beneficium, et pudet eum debitorem esse gratiae. Quin etiam id quod collatum est sibi, meritis suis arrogat, quod velut debitum acceperit, vel ideo datum sit eo quod is qui dedit, reddendum sibi a divite uberius existimaverit. Ita in accipiendo beneficio, eo ipso quod acceperint divites, dedisse se magis quam accepisse existimant: pauper vero etsi non habet unde reddat pecuniam, refert gratiam. In quo certum est quod plus reddat, quam acceperit; pecunia enim nummo solvitur, gratia numquam exinanitur. Reddendo vacuatur pecunia: gratia autem et habendo solvitur, et solvendo retinetur. Deinde quod dives refugit, pauper fatetur quod sit obligatus debito, sibique subventum, non honori suo delatum putat: donatos sibi arbitratur filios, vitam redditam, servatam familiam. Quanto igitur melius apud bonos, quam apud ingratos locare beneficium?

127. In the ordinary course of things, too, the conferring of a benefit on the poor is of more use than when it is conferred on the rich. The rich man scorns the benefit and is ashamed to feel indebted for a favour. Nay, moreover, whatever is offered to him he takes as due to his merits, as though only a just debt were paid him; or else he thinks it was but given because the giver expected a still greater return to be made him by the rich man. So, in accepting a kindness, the rich man, on that very ground, thinks that he has given more than he ever received. The poor man, however, though he has no money wherewith he can repay, at least shows his gratitude. And herein it is certain that he returns more than he received. For money is paid in coins, but gratitude never fails; money grows less by payment, but gratitude fails when held back, and is preserved when given to others. Next — a thing the rich man avoids — the poor man owns that he feels bound by the debt. He really thinks help has been given him, not that it has been offered in return for his honour. He considers that his children have been again given him, that his life is restored and his family preserved. How much better, then, is it to confer benefits upon the good than on the ungrateful.

128. Unde Dominus ad discipulos ait: Nolite possidere aurum, neque argentum, neque pecuniam; (Matth. X, 9); quia velut falce, pullulantem in pectoribus humanis succidit avaritiam. Petrus quoque claudo, qui ex utero matris suae portabatur, ait: Argentum et aurum non habeo: sed quod habeo, do tibi. In nomine Jesu Christi Nazareni surge et ambula (Act. III, 6). Itaque pecuniam non dedit, sanitatem dedit. Quanto melius est salutem habere sine pecunia, quam pecuniam sine salute! Surrexit claudus, quod non sperabat: pecuniam non accepit, quam sperabat. Sed haec vix in sanctis Domini reperiuntur, ut divitiae contemptui sint.

128. Wherefore the Lord said to His disciples: Take neither gold nor silver nor money. Matthew 10:9 Whereby as with a sickle He cuts off the love of money that is ever growing up in human hearts. Peter also said to the lame man, who was always carried even from his mother's womb: Silver and gold have I none, but what I have give I you. In the Name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, arise and walk. Acts 3:6 So he gave not money, but he gave health. How much better it is to have health without money, than money without health! The lame man rose; he had not hoped for that: he received no money; though he had hoped for that. But riches are hardly to be found among the saints of the Lord, so as to become objects of contempt to them.

CAPUT XXVI.

QUAM VETUS MALUM sit avaritia, multis veteris testamenti exemplis clarum esse; hincque praeterea patere quam inanis sit pecuniarum possessio.

CHAPTER 26.

How long standing an evil love of money is, is plain from many examples in the Old Testament. And yet it is plain, too, how idle a thing the possession of money is.

129. Caeterum ita incubuerunt mores hominum admiratione divitiarum, ut nemo nisi dives honore dignus putetur. Neque hic recens usus: sed jamdudum, quod pejus est, inolevit hoc vitium humanis mentibus. Siquidem cum Hiericho magna civitas tubarum sacerdotalium sono corruisset, et Jesus Nave potiretur victoria, cognovit infirmatam esse virtutem populi per avaritiam, atque auri cupiditatem. Nam cum de spoliis urbis incensae sustulisset Achar vestem auream, et ducenta argenti didrachmata, et linguam auream, oblatus Domino negare non potuit, sed prodidit furtum (Josue VII, 19 et seq.).

129. But man's habits have so long applied themselves to this admiration of money, that no one is thought worthy of honour unless he is rich. This is no new habit. Nay, this vice (and that makes the matter worse) grew long years ago in the hearts of men. When the city of Jericho fell at the sound of the priests' trumpets, and Joshua the Son of Nun gained the victory, he knew that the valour of the people was weakened through love of money and desire for gold. For when Achan had taken a garment of gold and two hundred shekels of silver and a golden ingot from the spoils of the ruined

city, he was brought before the Lord, and could not deny the theft, but owned it. Joshua 7:21

130. Vetus igitur et antiqua avaritia est, quae cum ipsius divinae legis coepit oraculis, immo propter ipsam reprimendam lex delata est. Propter avaritiam Balach putavit Balaam praemiis posse tentari, ut malediceret populum patrum: et vicisset avaritia, nisi Dominus a maledicto eum abstinere jussisset (Num. XXII, 7 et seq.). Propter avaritiam praecipitatus Achar, in exitium deduxerat totam plebem parentum. Itaque Jesus Nave, qui potuit solem statuere, ne procederet (Josue X, 12, 13), avaritiam hominum non potuit sistere, ne serperet. Ad vocem ejus sol stetit, avaritia non stetit. Sole itaque stante, confecit Jesus triumphum: avaritia autem procedente, pene amisit victoriam.

130. Love of money, then, is an old, an ancient vice, which showed itself even at the declaration of the divine law; for a law was given to check it. Exodus 20:17 On account of love of money Balak thought Balaam could be tempted by rewards to curse the people of our fathers. Numbers 22:17 Love of money would have won the day too, had not God bidden him hold back from cursing. Overcome by love of money Achan led to destruction all the people of the fathers. So Joshua the Son of Nun, who could stay the sun from setting, could not stay the love of money in man from creeping on. At the sound of his voice the sun stood still, but love of money stayed not. When the sun stood still Joshua completed his triumph, but when love of money went on, he almost lost the victory.

131. Quid fortissimum omnium Samson, nonne Dalilae mulieris avaritia decepit? Itaque ille qui rugientem leonem manibus discerpsit suis, qui vinctus et alienigenis traditus, sine ullo adjutore solus dissolutis vinculis, mille ex his peremit viros: qui funes intextis nervis velut mollia sparti fila disrupit; is super genua mulieris inflexa cervice truncatus, invicti crinis

ornatum, praerogativam suae virtutis amisit. Influxit pecunia in gremium mulieris, et a viro discessit gratia (Judic. XVI, 5 et seq.).

131. Why? Did not the woman Delilah's love of money deceive Samson, the bravest man of all? Judges 16:6 So he who had torn asunder the roaring lion with his hands; Judges 14:6 who, when bound and handed over to his enemies, alone, without help, burst his bonds and slew a thousand of them; Judges 15:14-15 who broke the cords interwoven with sinews as though they were but the slight threads of a net; he, I say, having laid his head on the woman's knee, was robbed of the decoration of his victory-bringing hair, that which gave him his might. Money flowed into the lap of the woman, and the favour of God forsook the man. Judges 16:20

132. Feralis igitur avaritia, illecebrosa pecunia, quae habentes contaminat, non habentes non juvat. Esto tamen ut aliquando adjuvet pecunia, inferiorem tamen et ipsam desiderantem. Quid ad eum qui non desiderat, qui non requirit, qui auxilio ejus non indiget, studio non flectitur? Quid ad alios, si sit ille copiosior qui habet? Numquid idcirco honestior; quia habet quo honestas plerumque amittitur, quia habet quod custodiat magis quam quod possideat? Illud enim possidemus quo utimur: 102 quod autem ultra usum est, non utique habet possessionis fructum, sed custodiae periculum.

132. Love of money, then, is deadly. Seductive is money, while it also defiles those who have it, and helps not those who have it not. Supposing that money sometimes is a help, yet it is only a help to a poor man who makes his want known. What good is it to him who does not long for it, nor seek it; who does not need its help and is not turned aside by pursuit of it? What good is it to others, if he who has it is alone the richer for it? Is he therefore more honourable because he has that whereby honour is often lost, because he has what he must guard rather than possess? We possess what

we use, but what is beyond our use brings us no fruit of possession, but only the danger of watching.

CAPUT XXVII.

IN PECUNIAE CONTEMPTU inesse formam justitiae: quam virtutem nec non alias nonnullas sectari debent tam clerici quam antistites; ubi potissimum de non ferenda praecipitanter excommunicatione.

CHAPTER 27.

In contempt of money there is the pattern of justice, which virtue bishops and clerics ought to aim at together with some others. A few words are added on the duty of not bringing an excommunication too quickly into force.

133. Ad summam novimus quod pecuniae contemptus justitiae forma sit; et ideo avaritiam declinare debemus, et omni studio intendere, ne quid faciamus umquam adversus justitiam, sed in omnibus gestis et operibus custodiamus eam.

133. To come to an end; we know that contempt of riches is a form of justice, therefore we ought to avoid love of money, and strive with all our powers never to do anything against justice, but to guard it in all our deeds and actions.

134. Si volumus commendare nos Deo, charitatem habeamus, unanimes simus, humilitatem sequamur, alterutrum existimantes superiorem sibi. Haec est enim humilitas, si nihil sibi quis arroget, et inferiorem se esse existimet. Episcopus ut membris suis utatur clericis, et maxime ministris qui sunt vere filii; quem cuique viderit aptum muneri, ei deputet.

134. If we would please God, we must have love, we must be of one mind, we must follow humility, each one thinking the other higher than himself. This is true humility, when one never claims anything proudly for oneself, but thinks oneself to be the inferior. The bishop should treat the clerics and attendants, who are indeed his sons, as members of himself, and give to each one that duty for which he sees him to be fit.

135. Cum dolore amputatur etiam quae putruit pars corporis, et diu tractatur, si potest sanari medicamentis: si non potest, tunc a medico bono absciditur. Sic episcopi affectus boni est, ut optet sanare infirmos, serpentia auferre ulcera, adurere aliqua, non abscidere: postremo quod sanari non potest, cum dolore abscidere. Unde pulcherrimum illud praeceptum magis eminet, ut cogitemus non quae nostra sunt, sed quae aliorum (Phil. II, 4). Hoc enim modo nihil erit, quod vel irati nostro indulgeamus affectui, vel faventes nostrae plus justo tribuamus aliquid voluntati.

135. Not without pain is a limb of the body cut off which has become corrupt. It is treated for a long time, to see if it can be cured with various remedies. If it cannot be cured, then it is cut off by a good physician. Thus it is a good bishop’s desire to wish to heal the weak, to remove the spreading ulcers, to burn some parts and not to cut them off; and lastly, when they cannot be healed, to cut them off with pain to himself. Wherefore that beautiful rule of the Apostle stands forth brightly, that we should look each one, not on his own things, but on the things of others. Philippians 2:4 In this way it will never come about that we shall in anger give way to our own feelings, or concede more than is right in favour to our own wishes.

CAPUT XXVIII.

MISERICORDIAM ETIAM CUM invidia propria largius exercendam: ad quod refertur memorabilis vasorum sacrorum in captivorum redemptionem ab Ambrosio fractorum historia, et pulcherrima de auri et argenti quae Ecclesia possidet, legitimo usu praecipiuntur. Hinc postquam ex facto sancti Laurentii quinam veri sint Ecclesiae thesauri ostensum est, regulae in conflandis atque impendendis vasis initiatis servandae proponuntur.

CHAPTER 28.

Mercy must be freely shown even though it brings an odium of its own. With regard to this, reference is made to the well-known story about the sacred vessels which were broken up by Ambrose to pay for the redemption of captives; and very beautiful advice is given about the right use of the gold and silver which the Church possesses. Next, after showing from the action of holy Lawrence what are the true treasures of the Church, certain rules are laid down which ought to be observed in melting down and employing for such uses the consecrated vessels of the Church.

136. Hoc maximum incentivum misericordiae, ut compatiamur alienis calamitatibus (Dist. 86, cap. Pulchra, § Compatiamur), necessitates aliorum, quantum possumus, juvemus; et plus interdum quam possumus. Melius est enim pro misericordia causas praestare, vel invidiam perpeti, quam praetendere inclementiam; ut nos aliquando in invidiam 103 incidimus, quod confregerimus vasa mystica, ut captivos redimeremus, quod arianis displicere potuerat; nec tam factum displiceret, quam ut esset quod in nobis reprehenderetur. Quis autem est tam durus, immitis, ferreus, cui displiceat

quod homo redimitur a morte, femina ab impuritatibus barbarorum, quae graviores morte sunt: adolescentulae, vel pueruli, vel infantes ab idolorum contagiis, quibus mortis metu inquinabantur?

136. It is a very great incentive to mercy to share in others' misfortunes, to help the needs of others as far as our means allow, and sometimes even beyond them. For it is better for mercy's sake to take up a case, or to suffer odium rather than to show hard feeling. So I once brought odium on myself because I broke up the sacred vessels to redeem captives — a fact that could displease the Arians. Not that it displeased them as an act, but as being a thing in which they could take hold of something for which to blame me. Who can be so hard, cruel, iron-hearted, as to be displeased because a man is redeemed from death, or a woman from barbarian impurities, things that are worse than death, or boys and girls and infants from the pollution of idols, whereby through fear of death they were defiled?

137. Quam causam nos etsi non sine ratione aliqua gessimus; tamen ita in populo prosecuti sumus, ut confiteremur, multoque fuisse commodius astrueremus, ut animas Domino quam aurum servaremus (Matth. X, 9). Qui enim sine auro misit apostolos, Ecclesias sine auro congregavit. Aurum Ecclesia habet (12, quaest. 2, cap. Aurum); non ut servet, sed ut eroget, et subveniat in necessitatibus. Quid opus est custodire quod nihil adjuvat? An ignoramus quantum auri atque argenti de templo Domini Assyrii sustulerint (IV Reg. XXIV, 13)? Nonne melius conflant sacerdotes propter alimoniam pauperum, si alia subsidia desint, quam ut sacrilegus contaminata asportet hostis? Nonne dicturus est Dominus: Cur passus es tot inopes fame mori? Et certe habebas aurum, ministrasses alimoniam. Cur tot captivi deducti in commercio sunt, nec redempti, ab hoste occisi sunt? Melius fuerat ut vasa viventium servares, quam metallorum.

137. Although we did not act thus without good reason, yet we have followed it up among the people so as to confess and to add again and again that it was far better to preserve souls than gold for the Lord. For He Who sent the apostles without gold Matthew 10:9 also brought together the churches without gold. The Church has gold, not to store up, but to lay out, and to spend on those who need. What necessity is there to guard what is of no good? Do we not know how much gold and silver the Assyrians took out of the temple of the Lord? Is it not much better that the priests should melt it down for the sustenance of the poor, if other supplies fail, than that a sacrilegious enemy should carry it off and defile it? Would not the Lord Himself say: Why did you suffer so many needy to die of hunger? Surely you had gold? Thou should have given them sustenance. Why are so many captives brought on the slave market, and why are so many unredeemed left to be slain by the enemy? It had been better to preserve living vessels than gold ones.

138. His non posset responsum referri. Quid enim diceres: Timui ne templo Dei ornatus deesset? Responderet: Aurum sacramenta non quaerunt: neque auro placent, quae auro non emuntur. Ornatus sacramentorum redemptio captivorum est. Vere illa sunt vasa pretiosa, quae redimunt animas a morte. Ille verus thesaurus est Domini, qui operatur quod sanguis ejus operatus est. Tunc vas Dominici sanguinis agnoscitur, cum in utroque viderit redemptionem; ut calix ab hoste redimat, quos sanguis a peccato redimit. Quam pulchrum, ut cum agmina captivorum ab Ecclesia redimuntur, dicatur: Hos Christus redemit! Ecce aurum quod probari potest, ecce aurum utile, ecce aurum Christi quod a morte liberat, ecce aurum quo redimitur pudicitia, servatur castitas.

138. To this no answer could be given. For what would you say: I feared that the temple of God would need its ornaments? He would answer: The

sacraments need not gold, nor are they proper to gold only — for they are not bought with gold. The glory of the sacraments is the redemption of captives. Truly they are precious vessels, for they redeem men from death. That, indeed, is the true treasure of the Lord which effects what His blood effected. Then, indeed, is the vessel of the Lord's blood recognized, when one sees in either redemption, so that the chalice redeems from the enemy those whom His blood redeemed from sin. How beautifully it is said, when long lines of captives are redeemed by the Church: These Christ has redeemed. Behold the gold that can be tried, behold the useful gold, behold the gold of Christ which frees from death, behold the gold whereby modesty is redeemed and chastity is preserved.

139. Hos ergo malui vobis liberos tradere, quam aurum reservare. Hic numerus captivorum, hic ordo praestantior est, quam species poculorum. Huic muneri proficere debuit aurum Redemptoris, ut redimeret periclitantes. Agnosco infusum auro sanguinem Christi non solum irrutilasse, verum etiam divinae operationis impressisse virtutem redemptionis munere.

139. These, then, I preferred to hand over to you as free men, rather than to store up the gold. This crowd of captives, this company surely is more glorious than the sight of cups. The gold of the Redeemer ought to contribute to this work so as to redeem those in danger. I recognize the fact that the blood of Christ not only glows in cups of gold, but also by the office of redemption has impressed upon them the power of the divine operation.

140. Tale aurum sanctus martyr Laurentius 104 Domino reservavit, a quo cum quaererentur thesauri Ecclesiae, promisit se demonstraturum. Sequenti die pauperes duxit. Interrogatus ubi essent thesauri quos promiserat, ostendit pauperes dicens: Hi sunt thesauri Ecclesiae. Et vere thesauri, in quibus Christus est, in quibus fides est. Denique Apostolus ait: Habemus

thesaurum in vasis fictilibus (II Cor. IV, 7). Quos meliores thesauros habet Christus, quam eos in quibus se esse dixit? Sic enim scriptum est: Esurivi, et dedistis mihi manducare: sitivi, et dedistis mihi bibere: hospes eram, et collegistis me (Matt. XXV, 35). Et infra: Quod enim uni horum fecistis, mihi fecistis (Ibid., 40). Quos meliores Jesus habet thesauros, quam eos in quibus amat videri?

140. Such gold the holy martyr Lawrence preserved for the Lord. For when the treasures of the Church were demanded from him, he promised that he would show them. On the following day he brought the poor together. When asked where the treasures were which he had promised, he pointed to the poor, saying: These are the treasures of the Church. And truly they were treasures, in whom Christ lives, in whom there is faith in Him. So, too, the Apostle says: We have this treasure in earthen vessels. 2 Corinthians 4:7 What greater treasures has Christ than those in whom He says He Himself lives? For thus it is written: I was hungry and you gave Me to eat, I was thirsty and you gave Me to drink, I was a stranger and you took Me in. Matthew 25:35 And again: What you did to one of these, you did it unto Me. Matthew 25:40 What better treasures has Jesus than those in which He loves to be seen?

141. Hos thesauros demonstravit Laurentius, et vicit, quod eos nec persecutor potuit auferre. Itaque Joachim qui aurum in obsidione servabat, nec dispensabat alimoniae comparandae; et aurum vidit eripi, et se in captivitatem deduci (IV Reg. XXIV, 13). Laurentius qui aurum Ecclesiae maluit erogare pauperibus, quam persecutori reservare, pro singulari suae interpretationis vivacitate sacram martyrii accepit coronam. Numquid dictum est sancto Laurentio: Non debuisti erogare thesauros Ecclesiae, vasa sacramentorum vendere?

141. These treasures Lawrence pointed out, and prevailed, for the persecutors could not take them away. Jehoiachim, who preserved his gold during the siege and spent it not in providing food, saw his gold carried off, and himself led into captivity. Lawrence, who preferred to spend the gold of the Church on the poor, rather than to keep it in hand for the persecutor, received the sacred crown of martyrdom for the unique and deep-sighted vigour of his meaning. Or was it perhaps said to holy Lawrence: Thou should not spend the treasures of the Church, or sell the sacred vessels?

142. Opus est ut quis fide sincera et perspicaci providentia munus hoc impleat. Sane si in sua aliquis derivat emolumenta, crimen est: sin vero pauperibus erogat, captivum redimit, misericordia est. Nemo enim (12, q. 2, cap. Aurum, § Nemo potest) potest dicere: Cur pauper vivit? Nemo potest queri, quia captivi redempti sunt: nemo potest accusare, quia templum Dei est aedificatum: nemo potest indignari, quia humandis fidelium reliquiis spatia laxata sunt: nemo potest dolere, quia in sepulturis Christianorum requies defunctorum est. In his tribus generibus vasa Ecclesiae etiam initiata confringere, conflare, vendere licet.

142. It is necessary that every one should fill this office, with genuine good faith and clear-sighted forethought. If any one derives profit from it for himself it is a crime, but if he spends the treasures on the poor, or redeems captives, he shows mercy. For no one can say: Why does the poor man live? None can complain that captives are redeemed, none can find fault because a temple of the Lord is built, none can be angry because a plot of ground has been enlarged for the burial of the bodies of the faithful, none can be vexed because in the tombs of the Christians there is rest for the dead. In these three ways it is allowable to break up, melt down, or sell even the sacred vessels of the Church.

143. Opus est ut de Ecclesia mystici poculi forma non exeat, ne ad usus nefarios sacri calicis ministerium transferatur. Ideo intra Ecclesiam primum quaesita sunt vasa quae initiata non essent: deinde comminuta, postremo conflata, per minutias erogationis dispensata egentibus, captivorum quoque pretiis profecerunt. Quod si desunt nova, et quae nequaquam initiata videantur, in hujusmodi usus, quos supra diximus, arbitror omnia pie posse converti.

143. It is necessary to see that the mystic cup does not go out of the Church, lest the service of the sacred chalice should be turned over to base uses. Therefore vessels were first sought for in the Church which had not been consecrated to such holy uses. Then broken up and afterwards melted down, they were given to the poor in small payments, and were also used for the ransom of captives. But if new vessels fail, or those which never seem to have been used for such a holy purpose, then, as I have already said, I think that all might be put to this use without irreverence.

CAPUT XXIX.

DEPOSITA VIDUARUM, IMMO omnium fidelium in Ecclesia cum sui etiam periculo defendi oportere: quae res Oniae sacerdotis, Ambrosii ac Ticinensis episcopi exemplis lucem capit.

CHAPTER 29.

The property of widows or of all the faithful, that has been entrusted to the Church, ought to be defended though it brings danger to oneself. This is illustrated by the example of Onias the priest, and of Ambrose, bishop of Ticinum.

144. Illud sane diligenter intuendum est, ut deposita viduarum intemerata maneant, sine ulla serventur offensione, non solum viduarum, sed etiam omnium; fides enim exhibenda omnibus est, sed major est viduarum causa et pupillorum.

144. Great care must be taken that the property entrusted by widows remains inviolate. It should be guarded without causing complaint, not only if it belongs to widows, but to any one at all. For good faith must be shown to all, though the cause of the widow and orphans comes first.

145. Denique hoc solo viduarum nomine, sicut in libris Machabaeorum legimus (II Machab. III, 10 et seq.), commendatum templo omne servatum est. Nam cum indicium factum esset pecuniarum, quas in templo Hierosolymis maximas reperiri posse Simon nefarius Antiocho regi prodidit, missus in rem Heliodorus, ad templum venit, et summo sacerdoti aperuit indicii invidiam, et adventus sui causam.

145. So everything entrusted to the temple was preserved in the name of the widows alone, as we read in the book of the Maccabees. 2 Maccabbees iii For when information was given of the money, which Simon treacherously had told King Antiochus could be found in large quantities in the temple at Jerusalem, Heliodorus was sent to look into the matter. He came to the temple, and made known to the high priest his hateful information and the reason of his coming.

146. Tunc sacerdos deposita esse dixit viduarum victualia et pupillorum: quaedam autem Hircani Tobiae viri sancti, eaque demonstravit. Argenti talenta quadraginta erant, auri vero ducenta. Quae cum Heliodorus ereptum ire vellet, et regis vindicare commodis, sacerdotes ante altare jactaverunt se, induti sacerdotales stolas: et Deum vivum qui de depositis legem dederat, flentes invocabant, ut custodem se praeceptorum praestaret suorum. Vultus vero et color summi sacerdotis immutatus declarabat dolorem animi, et mentis intentae sollicitudinem. Flebant omnes, quod in contemptum locus venturus foret, si nec in Dei templo tuta fidei servaretur custodia: accinctaeque mulieres pectus, et clausae virgines pulsabant januam: ad muros alii currebant, per fenestras alii prospectabant, omnes ad coelum tendebant manus, orantes ut suis Dominus adesset legibus.

146. Then the priest said that only means for the maintenance of the widows and orphans was laid up there. And when Heliodorus would have gone to seize it, and to claim it on the king’s behalf, the, priests cast themselves before the altar, after putting on their priestly robes, and with tears called on the living God Who had given them the law concerning trust-money to show Himself as guardian of His own commands. The changed look and color of the high priest showed what grief of soul and anxiety and tension of mind were his. All wept, for the spot would fall into contempt, if not even in the temple of God safe and faithful guardianship

could be preserved. Women with breasts girded, and virgins who usually were shut in, knocked at the doors. Some ran to the walls, others looked out of the windows, all raised their hands to heaven in prayer that God would stand by His laws.

147. Heliodorus autem nec his territus, quod intenderat, urgebat, et satellitibus suis aerarium sepserat; cum subito apparuit illi terribilis eques armis praefulgens aureis: equus autem ejus erat insigni ornatus opertorio. Alii quoque duo juvenes apparuerunt in virtute inclyta, decore grato, cum splendore gloriae, speciosi amictu, qui circumsteterunt eum, et utraque ex parte flagellabant sacrilegum, sine 106 ulla intermissione continuato verbere. Quid multa? Circumfusus caligine in terram concidit, et evidenti divinae operationis indicio exanimatus jacebat, nec ulla spes in eo residebat salutis. Oborta est laetitia metuentibus, metus superbis: dejectique ex amicis Heliodori quidam rogabant Oniam, vitam poscentes ei, quoniam supremum gerebat spiritum.

147. But Heliodorus, undeterred by this, was eager to carry out his intention, and had already surrounded the treasury with his followers, when suddenly there appeared to him a dreadful horseman all glorious in golden armour, his horse also being adorned with costly ornaments. Two other youths also appeared in glorious might and wondrous beauty, in splendour and glory and beauteous array. They stood round him, and on either side beat the sacrilegious wretch, and gave him stroke after stroke without intermission. What more need I say? Shut in by darkness he fell to the ground, and lay there nearly dead with fear at this plain proof of divine power, nor had he any hope of safety left within him. Joy returned to those who were in fear, fear fell on those who were so proud before. And some of the friends of Heliodorus in their trouble besought Onias, asking life for him, since he was almost at his last breath.

148. Rogante itaque sacerdote summo, iidem juvenes iterum Heliodoro apparuerunt, iisdem amicti vestibus, et dixerunt ad eum: Oniae summo sacerdoti gratias age, propter quem tibi vita est reddita. Tu autem expertus Dei flagella, vade, et nuntia tuis omnibus, quantam cognoveris templi religionem, et Dei potestatem. His dictis, non comparuerunt. Heliodorus itaque recepto spiritu, hostiam Domino obtulit, Oniae sacerdoti gratias egit, et cum exercitu ad regem revertitur dicens: Si quem habes hostem, aut aliquem insidiatorem rerum tuarum, illuc illum dirige, et flagellatum recipies eum.

148. When, therefore, the high priest asked for this, the same youths again appeared to Heliodorus, clad in the same garments, and said to him: Give thanks to Onias the high priest, for whose sake your life is granted you. But do thou, having experienced the scourge of God, go and tell your friends how much you have learned of the sanctity of the temple and the power of God. With these words they passed out of sight. Heliodorus then, his life having come back to him, offered a sacrifice to the Lord, gave thanks to the priest Onias, and returned with his army to the king, saying: If you have an enemy or one who is plotting against your power, send him there and you will receive him back well scourged.

149. Servanda est igitur, filii, depositis fides, adhibenda diligentia. Egregie hinc vestrum enitescit ministerium, si suscepta impressio potentis, quam vel vidua vel orphani tolerare non queant, Ecclesiae subsidio cohibeatur: si ostendatis plus apud vos mandatum Domini, quam divitis valere gratiam.

149. Therefore, my sons, good faith must be preserved in the case of trust-money, and care, too, must be shown. Your service will glow the brighter if the oppression of a powerful man, which some widow or orphan cannot withstand, is checked by the assistance of the Church, and if you show that

the command of the Lord has more weight with you than the favour of the rich.

150. Meministis ipsi quoties adversus regales impetus pro viduarum, immo omnium depositis certamen subierimus. Commune hoc vobiscum mihi. Recens exemplum Ecclesiae Ticinensis proferam, quae viduae depositum, quod susceperat, amittere periclitabatur. Interpellante enim eo qui sibi illud imperiali rescripto vindicare cupiebat, clerici non tenebant auctoritatem: honorati quoque et intercessores dati non posse praeceptis imperatoris obviari ferebant. Legebatur rescripti forma directior, magistri officiorum statuta, agens in rebus imminebat. Quid plura? Traditum erat.

150. You also remember how often we entered on a contest against the royal attacks, on behalf of the trust-money belonging to widows, yea, and to others as well. You and I shared this in common. I will also mention the late case of the Church at Ticinum, which was in danger of losing the widow's trust-money that it had received. For when he who wanted to claim it on some imperial rescript demanded it, the clergy did not maintain their rights. For they themselves, having once been called to office and sent to intervene, now supposed that they could not oppose the emperor's orders. The plain words of the rescript were read, the orders of the chief officer of the court were there, he who was to act in the matter was at hand. What more was to be said? It was handed over.

151. Tamen communicato mecum consilio, obsedit sanctus episcopus ea conclavia, ad quae translatum illud depositum viduae cognoverat. Quod ubi non potuit auferri, receptum sub chirographo est. Postea iterum flagitabatur ex chirographo: praeceptum imperator iteraverat, ut ipse per semetipsum nos conveniret. Negatum est: et exposita divinae legis auctoritate, et serie lectionis, et Heliodori periculo, vix tandem 107 rationem imperator accepit. Post etiam tentata fuerat obreptio; sed praevenit sanctus episcopus, ut

redderet viduae quod acceperat. Fides interim salva est: impressio non est formidini; quia jam res, non fides periclitatur.

151. However, after taking counsel with me, the holy bishop took possession of the rooms to which he knew that the widow's property had been carried. As it could not be carried away, it was all set down in writing. Later on it was again demanded on proof of the document. The emperor repeated the order, and would meet us himself in his own person. We refused. And when the force of the divine law, and a long list of passages and the danger of Heliodorus was explained, at length the emperor became reasonable. Afterwards, again, an attempt was made to seize it, but the good bishop anticipated the attempt and restored to the widow all he had received. So faith was preserved, but the oppression was no longer a cause for fear; for now it is the matter itself, not good faith, that is in danger.

CAPUT XXX.

LIBRI CONCLUSIO PER exhortationem ad fugiendos invidos, atque ad prudentiam, fidem aliasque virtutes prosequendas.

CHAPTER 30.

The ending of the book brings an exhortation to avoid ill-will, and to seek prudence, faith, and the other virtues.

152. Filii, fugite improbos, cavete invidos. Inter improbum et invidum hoc interest: improbus suo delectatur bono, invidus torquetur alieno: ille diligit mala, hic bona odit; ut prope tolerabilior sit, qui sibi vult bene, quam qui male omnibus.

152. My sons, avoid wicked men, guard against the envious. There is this difference between a wicked and an envious man: the wicked man is delighted at his own good fortune, but the envious is tortured at the thought of another's. The former loves evil, the latter hates good. So he is almost more bearable who desires good for himself alone, than he who desires evil for all.

153. Filii, ante factum cogitate: et cum diutius cogitaveritis, tunc facite quod probatis. Laudabilis mortis cum occasio datur, rapienda est illico. Dilata gloria fugit, nec facile comprehenditur. 108

153. My sons, think before you act, and when you have thought long then do what you consider right. When the opportunity of a praiseworthy death is given let it be seized at once. Glory that is put off flies away and is not easily laid hold of again.

154. Fidem diligite, quoniam per fidem et devotionem Josias magnum sibi ab adversariis amorem acquisivit; quoniam celebravit pascha Domini, cum esset annorum decem et octo, quemadmodum nemo ante eum (IV Reg. XXIII, 21 seq.). Zelo itaque ut vicit superiores, ita et vos, filii, zelum Dei sumite. Exquirat vos Dei zelus et devoret; ut unusquisque vestrum dicat: Exquisivit me zelus domus tuae (Psal. LXVIII, 10). Apostolus Christi zelotes dictus est (Luc. VI, 15). Quid de Apostolo dico? Ipse Dominus ait: Zelus domus tuae comedit me (Joan. II, 17). Sit ergo Dei zelus, non iste humanus quem invidia generat.

154. Love faith. For by his devotion and faith Josiah won great love for himself from his enemies. For he celebrated the Lord's passover when he was eighteen years old, as no one had done it before him. As then in zeal he was superior to those who went before him, so do ye, my sons, show zeal for God. Let zeal for God search you through, and devour you, so that each one of you may say: The zeal of your house has eaten me up. An apostle of Christ was called the zealot. Luke 6:15 But why do I speak of an apostle? The Lord Himself said: The zeal of your house has eaten Me up. Let it then be real zeal for God, not mean earthy zeal, for that causes jealousy.

155. Sit inter vos pax, quae superat omnem sensum. Amate vos invicem. Nihil charitate dulcius, nihil pace gratius. Et vos ipsi scitis quod prae caeteris vos semper dilexi et diligo: quasi unius patris filii coaluistis in affectum germanitatis.

155. Let there be peace among you, which passes all understanding. Love one another. Nothing is sweeter than charity, nothing more blessed than peace. You yourselves know that I have ever loved you and do now love you above all others. As the children of one father you have become united under the bond of brotherly affection.

156. Quae bona sunt tenete, et Deus pacis et dilectionis erit vobiscum in Domino Jesu: cui est honor, gloria, magnificentia, potestas, cum Spiritu sancto in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

156. Whatsoever is good, that hold fast; and the God of peace and love be with you in the Lord Jesus, to Whom be honour and glory, dominion and might, together with the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen.

LIBER TERTIUS.

BOOK III.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

A DAVIDE AC Salomone nobis praeceptum, qua ratione cum corde nostro conversandum sit, proindeque Scipionem dicti, quod ei tribuitur, primum auctorem non reputandum. Quam pulchra in otio suo perpetraverint sancti prophetae: horum atque aliorum otia conferuntur, ostenditurque numquam solum aut in angusto justum esse.

CHAPTER 1.

We are taught by David and Solomon how to take counsel with our own heart. Scipio is not to be accounted prime author of the saying which is ascribed to him. The writer proves what glorious things the holy prophets accomplished in their time of quiet, and shows, by examples of their and others' leisure moments, that a just man is never alone in trouble.

1. David propheta docuit nos tamquam in ampla domo deambulare in corde nostro, et conversari cum eo tamquam cum bono contubernali; ut ipse sibi diceret, et loqueretur secum, ut est illud: Dixi, custodiam vias meas (Psal. XXXVIII, 2). Salomon quoque filius ejus ait: Bibe aquam de tuis vasis, et de puteorum tuorum fontibus (Prov. V, 15); hoc est tuo consilio utere. Aqua enim alta, consilium in corde viri (Prov. XX, 5). Nemo, inquit, alienus particeps sit tibi. Fons aquae tuae sit tibi proprius: et jucundare cum uxore, quae est tibi a juventute. Cervus amicitiae et pullus gratiarum confabulentur tecum (Prov. V, 17, 18).

1. The prophet David taught us that we should go about in our heart as though in a large house; that we should hold converse with it as with some trusty companion. He spoke to himself, and conversed with himself, as

these words show: I said, I will take heed to my ways. Solomon his son also said: Drink water out of your own vessels, and out of the springs of your wells; Proverbs 5:15 that is: use your own counsel. For: Counsel in the heart of a man is as deep waters. Proverbs 20:5 Let no stranger, it says, share it with you. Let the fountain of your water be your own, and rejoice with your wife who is yours from your youth. Let the loving hind and pleasant doe converse with you. Proverbs 5:17-19

2. Non ergo primus Scipio scivit solus non esse, cum solus esset; nec minus otiosus, cum otiosus esset: scivit ante ipsum Moyses, qui cum taceret, clamabat (Exod. XIV, 15): cum otiosus staret, praeliabatur; nec solum praeliabatur, sed etiam de hostibus, quos non contigerat, triumphabat (Exod. XVII, 11 et seq.). Adeo otiosus, ut manus ejus alii sustinerent: nec minus 108 quam caeteri negotiosus, qui otiosis manibus expugnabat hostem, quem non poterant vincere qui dimicabant. Ergo Moyses et in silentio loquebatur, et in otio operabatur. Cujus autem majora negotia, quam hujus otia, qui quadringinta diebus positus in monte, totam Legem complexus est, et in illa solitudine qui cum eo loqueretur, non defuit (Exod. XXIV, 15 et seq.)? Unde et David ait: Audiam quid loquatur in me Dominus Deus (Psal. LXXXIV, 9). Et quanto plus est si cum aliquo Deus loquatur, quam ipse secum!

2. Scipio, therefore, was not the first to know that he was not alone when he was alone, or that he was least at leisure when he was at leisure. For Moses knew it before him, who, when silent, was crying out; Exodus 14:16 who, when he stood at ease, was fighting, nay, not merely fighting but triumphing over enemies whom he had not come near. So much was he at ease, that others held up his hands; yet he was no less active than others, for he with his hands at ease was overcoming the enemy, whom they that were in the battle could not conquer. Exodus 17:11 Thus Moses in his silence spoke,

and in his ease laboured hard. And were his labours greater than his times of quiet, who, being in the mount for forty days, received the whole law? Exodus 24:17 And in that solitude there was One not far away to speak with him. Whence also David says: I will hear what the Lord God will say within me. How much greater a thing is it for God to speak with any one, than for a man to speak with himself!

3. Transibant apostoli, et umbra eorum curabat infirmos. Tangebantur vestimenta eorum, et sanitas deferebatur (Act. V, 16).

3. The apostles passed by and their shadows cured the sick. Acts 5:15-16 Their garments were touched and health was granted.

4. Sermonem locutus est Elias, et pluvia stetit nec cecidit super terram tribus annis et sex mensibus. Iterum locutus est, et hydria farinae non defecit, et vas olei toto famis diurnae tempore non est exinanitum (III Reg. XVII, 1 et seq.).

4. Elijah spoke the word, and the rain ceased and fell not on the earth for three years and six months. Again he spoke, and the barrel of meal failed not, and the cruse of oil wasted not the whole time of that long famine.

5. Et quoniam plerosque delectant bellica; quid est praestantius, exercitus magni lacertis, an solis meritis confecisse praelium? Sedebat Elisaeus in uno loco, et rex Syriae magnam belli molem inferebat populo patrum, diversisque consiliorum acervabat fraudibus, et circumvenire insidiis moliebatur: sed omnes ejus apparatus propheta deprehendebat, et vigore mentis per gratiam Dei ubique praesens, cogitationes hostium suis annuntiabat, et monebat quibus 109 caverent locis. Quod ubi regi Syriae manifestatum est, misso exercitu, clausit prophetam. Oravit Elisaeus, et omnes illos caecitate percuti fecit, et captivos intrare in Samariam, qui venerant obsidere eum (IV Reg. VI, 8 et seq.).

5. But — as many delight in warfare — which is the most glorious, to bring a battle to an end by the strength of a great army, or, by merits before God alone? Elisha rested in one place while the king of Syria waged a great war against the people of our fathers, and was adding to its terrors by various treacherous plans, and was endeavouring to catch them in an ambush. But the prophet found out all their preparations, and being by the grace of God present everywhere in mental vigour, he told the thoughts of their enemies to his countrymen, and warned them of what places to beware. And when this was known to the king of Syria, he sent an army and shut in the prophet. Elisha prayed and caused all of them to be struck with blindness, and made those who had come to besiege him enter Samaria as captives.

6. Conferamus hoc otium cum aliorum otio. Alii enim requiescendi causa abducere animum a negotiis solent, et a conventu coetuque hominum subtrahere sese; et aut ruris petere secretum, captare agrorum solitudines, aut intra urbem vacare animo, indulgere quieti et tranquillitati: Elisaeus autem aut in solitudine Jordanem transitu suo dividit (IV Reg. II, 8); ut pars defluat posterior, superior autem in fontem recurrat: aut in Carmelo resoluta difficultate generandi, inopina sterilem conceptione fecundat: aut resuscitat mortuos: aut ciborum temperat amaritudines, et facit farinae admixtione dulcescere: aut decem panibus distributis, reliquias colligit, plebe saturata: aut ferrum securis excussum, et in fluvii Jordanis mersum profundum, misso in aquas ligno, facit supernatare: aut emundatione leprosum, aut siccitatem imbribus, aut famem mutat fecunditate (IV Reg. IV, 16 et seq., et alibi.)

6. Let us compare this leisure of his with that of others. Other men for the sake of rest are wont to withdraw their minds from business, and to retire from the company and companionship of men; to seek the retirement of the country or the solitude of the fields, or in the city to give their minds a rest

and to enjoy peace and quietness. But Elisha was ever active. In solitude he divided Jordan on passing over it, so that the lower part flowed down, while the upper returned to its source. On Carmel he promises the woman, who so far had had no child, that a son now unhoped for should be born to her. He raises the dead to life, he corrects the bitterness of the food, and makes it to be sweet by mixing meal with it. Having distributed ten loaves to the people for food, he gathered up the fragments that were left after they had been filled. He makes the iron head of the axe, which had fallen off and was sunk deep in the river Jordan, to swim by putting the wooden handle in the water. He changes leprosy for cleanness, drought for rain, famine for plenty.

7. Quando ergo justus solus est, qui cum Deo semper est? Quando solitarius est, qui numquam separatur a Christo? Quis nos, inquit, separabit a dilectione Christi? Confido quia neque mors, neque vita, neque angelus (Rom. VIII, 35). Quando autem feriatur a negotio, qui numquam feriatur a merito, quo consummatur negotium? Quibus autem locis circumscribitur, cui totus mundus divitiarum possessio est? Qua aestimatione definitur, qui numquam opinione comprehenditur? Etenim quasi ignoratur et cognoscitur: quasi moritur, et ecce vivit: quasi tristis, et semper laetior: ut egenus, et largus: ut qui nihil habeat, et possideat omnia (II Cor. VI, 8). Nihil enim spectat vir justus, nisi quod constans et honestum est. Et ideo etiamsi alii videatur pauper, sibi dives est: qui non eorum quae caduca, sed eorum quae aeterna sunt, aestimatione censetur.

7. When can the upright man be alone, since he is always with God? When is he left forsaken who is never separated from Christ? Who, it says, shall separate us from the love of Christ? I am confident that neither death nor life nor angel shall do so. Romans 8:35, 38 And when can he be deprived of his labour who never can be deprived of his merits, wherein his labour receives its crown? By what places is he limited to whom the whole world

of riches is a possession? By what judgment is he confined who is never blamed by any one? For he is as unknown yet well known, as dying and behold he lives, as sorrowful yet always rejoicing, as poor yet making many rich, as having nothing and yet possessing all things. For the upright man regards nothing but what is consistent and virtuous. And so although he seems poor to another, he is rich to himself, for his worth is taken not at the value of the things which are temporal, but of the things which are eternal.

CAPUT II.

QUOD PHILOSOPHI DE honesti atque utilis comparatione disputant, hoc apud Christianos locum non habere, quibus nihil utile nisi quod justum. Quae officia perfecta, quaeve media? Easdem voces diversis diverse convenire: postremo virum justum numquam alieno incommodo commodum suum quaerere, sed contra semper aliorum studere utilitati.

CHAPTER 2.

The discussions among philosophers about the comparison between what is virtuous and what is useful have nothing to do with Christians. For with them nothing is useful which is not just. What are the duties of perfection, and what are ordinary duties? The same words often suit different things in different ways. Lastly, a just man never seeks his own advantage at the cost of another's disadvantage, but rather is always on the lookout for what is useful to others.

8. Et quoniam de duobus superioribus locis diximus, in quibus honestum illud et utile tractavimus, sequitur utrum honestatem et utilitatem inter se comparare debeamus, et quaerere quid sit sequendum. Sicut enim supra 110 tractavimus, utrum honestum illud an turpe esset; et secundo loco, utrum utile an inutile: similiter hoc loco, utrum honestum sit an utile nonnulli requirendum putant.

8. As we have already spoken about the two former subjects, wherein we discussed what is virtuous and what is useful, there follows now the question whether we ought to compare what is virtuous and useful together, and to ask which we must follow. For, as we have already discussed the

matter as to whether a thing is virtuous or wicked, and in another place whether it is useful or useless, so here some think we ought to find out whether a thing is virtuous or useful.

9. Nos autem movemur, ne haec inter se velut compugnantia inducere videamur, quae jam supra unum esse ostendimus: nec honestum esse posse, nisi quod utile: nec utile, nisi quod honestum; quia non sequimur sapientiam carnis, apud quam utilitas pecuniariae istius commoditatis pluris habetur, sed sapientiam quae ex Deo est, apud quam ea quae in hoc saeculo magna aestimantur, pro detrimento habentur.

9. I am induced to do this, lest I should seem to be allowing that these two are mutually opposed to one another, when I have already shown them to be one. For I said that nothing can be virtuous but what is useful, and nothing can be useful but what is virtuous. For we do not follow the wisdom of the flesh, whereby the usefulness that consists in an abundance of money is held to be of most value, but we follow that wisdom which is of God, whereby those things which are greatly valued in this world are counted but as loss.

10. Hoc etenim κατορθώμα, quod perfectum et absolutum officium est, a vero virtutis fonte proficiscitur. Cui secundum est commune officium, quod ipso sermone significatur non esse arduae virtutis ac singularis, quod potest plurimis esse commune. Nam pecuniae compendia captare familiare multis, elegantiori convivio et suavioribus delectari epulis usitatum est: jejunare autem et continentem esse paucorum est; et alieni cupidum non esse, rarum: contra autem detrahere velle alteri, et non esse contentum suo; nam in hoc cum plerisque consortium est. Alia igitur prima, alia media officia. Prima cum paucis, media cum pluribus.

10. For this χατόρθωμα, which is duty carried out entirely and in perfection, starts from the true source of virtue. On this follows another, or ordinary duty. This shows by its name that no hard or extraordinary practice of virtue is involved, for it can be common to very many. The desire to save money is the usual practice with many. To enjoy a well-prepared banquet and a pleasant meal is a general habit; but to fast or to use self-restraint is the practice of but few, and not to be desirous of another's goods is a virtue rarely found. On the other hand, to wish to deprive another of his property — and not to be content with one's due — here one will find many to keep company with one. Those (the philosopher would say) are primary duties — these ordinary. The primary are found but with few, the ordinary with the many.

11. Denique in iisdem verbis frequenter discretio est. Aliter enim bonum Deum dicimus, aliter hominem: aliter justum Deum appellamus, aliter hominem. Similiter et sapientem Deum aliter dicimus, aliter hominem. Quod et in Evangelio docemur: Estote ergo et vos perfecti, sicut et pater vester qui in coelis est, perfectus est (Matth. V, 48). Ipsum Paulum lego perfectum et non perfectum. Nam cum dixisset: Non quod jam acceperim, aut jam perfectus sim: sequor autem si comprehendam (Phil. III, 12), statim subjecit: Quicumque ergo perfecti sumus (Ibid., 15). Duplex enim forma perfectionis: alia medios, alia plenos numeros habens: alia hic, alia ibi: alia secundum hominis possibilitatem, alia secundum perfectionem futuri. Deus autem justus per omnia, sapiens super omnia, perfectus in omnibus.

11. Again, the same words often have a different meaning. For instance, we call God good and a man good; but it bears in each case quite a different meaning. We call God just in one sense, man in another. So, too, there is a difference in meaning when we call God wise and a man wise. This we are taught in the Gospel: Be perfect even as your Father Who is in heaven is

perfect. Matthew 5:48 I read again that Paul was perfect and yet not perfect. For when he said: Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect; but I follow after, if that I may apprehend it. Philippians 3:12 Immediately he added: We, then, that are perfect. Philippians 3:15 There is a twofold form of perfection, the one having but ordinary, the other the highest worth. The one availing here, the other hereafter. The one in accordance with human powers, the other with the perfection of the world to come. But God is just through all, wise above all, perfect in all.

12. Inter ipsos quoque homines distantia est. Aliter Daniel sapiens, de quo dictum est: Quis Daniele sapientior (Ezech. XXVIII, 3)? Aliter alii sapientes, aliter Salomon, qui repletus est sapientia super omnem sapientiam antiquorum, et super omnes sapientes Aegypti (III Reg. IV, 29 et seq.). Aliud est enim communiter sapere, aliud sapere perfecte. Qui communiter sapit, pro temporalibus sapit, pro se sapit; ut alteri aliquid detrahat, et sibi adjungat. Qui perfecte sapit, nescit sua spectare commoda: sed ad illud quod aeternum est, quod decorum atque honestum, toto affectu intendit, quaerens non quod sibi utile est, sed quod omnibus.

12. There is also diversity even among men themselves. Daniel, of whom it was said: Who is wiser than Daniel? Ezekiel 28:3 was wise in a different sense to what others are. The same may be said of Solomon, who was filled with wisdom, above all the wisdom of the ancients, and more than all the wise men of Egypt. To be wise as men are in general is quite a different thing to being really wise. He who is ordinarily wise is wise for temporal matters, is wise for himself, so as to deprive another of something and get it for himself. He who is really wise does not know how to regard his own advantage, but looks with all his desire to that which is eternal, and to that which is seemly and virtuous, seeking not what is useful for himself, but for all.

13. Itaque haec sit formula, ut inter duo illa, honestum atque utile, errare nequeamus; eo quod 111 justus nihil alteri detrahendum putet, nec alterius incommodo suum commodum augeri velit. Hanc formam tibi praescribit Apostolus dicens: Omnia licent, sed non omnia expediunt: omnia licent, sed non omnia aedificant. Nemo quod suum est quaerat, sed quod alterius (I Cor. X, 22); hoc est nemo commodum suum quaerat, sed alterius: nemo honorem suum quaerat, sed alterius. Unde et alibi dicit: Alter alterum existimantes superiorem sibi, non quae sua sunt singuli cogitantes, sed quae aliorum (Philipp. II, 3, 4).

13. Let this, then, be our rule, so that we may never go wrong between two things, one virtuous, the other useful. The upright man must never think of depriving another of anything, nor must he ever wish to increase his own advantage to the disadvantage of another. This rule the Apostle gives you, saying: All things are lawful, but all things are not expedient; all things are lawful, but all things edify not. Let no man seek his own, but each one another’s. 1 Corinthians 10:23-24 That is: Let no man seek his own advantage, but another’s; let no man seek his own honour, but another’s. Wherefore he says in another place: Let each esteem other better than themselves, looking not each one to his own things, but to the things of others. Philippians 2:3-4

14. Nemo etiam suam gratiam quaerat, nemo suam laudem, sed alterius. Quod evidenter etiam in Proverbiis declaratum possumus advertere, dicente sancto per Salomonem Spiritu: Fili, si sapiens fueris, tibi sapiens eris et proximis; si autem malus evaseris, solus hauries mala (Prov. IX, 12). Sapiens enim aliis consulit, sicut justus; quando quidem consors sui est, utriusque forma virtutis.

14. And let no one seek his own favour or his own praise, but another’s. This we can plainly see declared in the book of Proverbs, where the Holy

Spirit says through Solomon: My son, if you be wise, be wise for yourself and your neighbours; but if you turn out evil, thou alone shall bear it. Proverbs 9:12 The wise man gives counsel to others, as the upright man does, and shares with him in wearing the form of either virtue.

CAPUT III.

PRAEMISSUM DE NON quaerendo proprio emolumento praeceptum urgetur, primum a Christi exemplo, tum ab interpretatione nominis, denique ab ipsa membrorum forma et usibus. Unde ostendit quam flagitiosum sit alienae utilitati detrahere; cum hoc scelere naturalis lex aeque ac divina violetur, atque insuper illud amittatur quo praestamus caeteris animantibus, ad postremum leges civiles cum summa infamia conculcentur.

CHAPTER 3.

The rule given about not seeking one's own gain is established, first by the examples of Christ, next by the meaning of the word, and lastly by the very form and uses of our limbs. Wherefore the writer shows what a crime it is to deprive another of what is useful, since the law of nature as well as the divine law is broken by such wickedness. Further, by its means we also lose that gift which makes us superior to other living creatures; and lastly, through it civil laws are abused and treated with the greatest contempt.

15. Si quis igitur vult placere omnibus, per omnia quaerat non quod sibi utile est, sed quod multis, sicut quaerebat et Paulus. Hoc est enim conformari Christo, alienum non quaerere, nihil alteri detrahere, ut acquirat sibi (Philipp. II, 6 et seq.). Christus enim Dominus cum esset in Dei forma, exinanivit se, ut formam susciperet hominis, quam operum suorum locupletaret virtutibus. Tu ergo spolias, quem Christus induit? Tu exuis, quem vestivit Christus? Hoc enim agis, quando alterius detrimento tua commoda augere expetis.

15. If, then, any one wishes to please all, he must strive in everything to do, not what is useful for himself, but what is useful for many, as also Paul strove to do. For this is to be conformed to the image of Christ, Romans 8:29 namely, when one does not strive for what is another's, and does not deprive another of something so as to gain it for oneself. For Christ our Lord, Philippians 2:6-7 though He was in the form of God, emptied Himself so as to take on Himself the form of man, which He wished to enrich with the virtue of His works. Will you, then, spoil him whom Christ has put on? Will you strip him whom Christ has clothed? For this is what you are doing when thou dost attempt to increase your own advantage at another's loss.

16. Considera, o homo, unde nomen sumpseris; ab humo utique, quae nihil cuiquam eripit, sed omnia largitur omnibus, et diversos in usum omnium animantium fructus ministrat. Inde appellata humanitas specialis et domestica virtus hominis, quae consortem adjuvet.

16. Think, O man, from whence you have received your name — even from the earth, which takes nothing from any one, but gives freely to all, and supplies varied produce for the use of all living things. Hence humanity is called a particular and innate virtue in man, for it assists its partner.

17. Ipsa te doceat forma tui corporis, membrorumque usus. Numquid membrum tuum alterius membri officia sibi vindicat, aut oculus officium oris, aut os oculi officium sibi vindicat, aut manus pedum ministerium, aut pes manuum? Quin etiam ipsae manus dextera ac sinistra dispartita habent officia pleraque, ut si usum commutes utriusque, adversum naturam sit; priusque totum hominem exuas, quam membrorum tuorum ministeria convertas: si aut de sinistra cibum suggeras, aut de dextera fungaris ministerio sinistrae, ut reliquias ciborum abluas nisi forte poscat necessitas.

17. The very form of your body and the uses of your limbs teach you this. Can one limb claim the duties of another? Can the eye claim for itself the duties of the ear; or the mouth the duties of the eye; or the hand the service of the feet; or the feet that of the hands? Nay, the hands themselves, both left and right, have different duties to do, so that if one were to change the use of either, one would act contrary to nature. We should have to lay aside the whole man before we could change the service of the various members: as if, for instance, we were to try to take food with the left hand, or to perform the duties of the left hand with the right, so as to remove the remains of food — unless, of course, need demanded it.

18. Finge hanc et da oculo virtutem, ut possit detrahere sensum capiti, auditum auribus, 112 menti cogitationes, odoratum naribus, ori saporem, et sibi conferat; nonne omnem statum dissolvet naturae? Unde pulchre Apostolus ait: Si totum corpus oculus, ubi auditus? Si totum auditus, ubi odoratus (I Cor. XII, 17)? Omnes ergo unum corpus sumus et diversa membra, sed omnia corpori necessaria; non enim potest membrum de membro dicere: Non est mihi necessarium. Quin etiam ipsa quae videntur infirmiora membra esse, multo magis necessaria sunt, et majorem plerumque tuendi se requirunt sollicitudinem. Et si quid dolet membrum unum, compatiuntur ei membra omnia.

18. Imagine for a moment, and give to the eye the power to withdraw the understanding from the head, the sense of hearing from the ears, the power of thought from the mind, the sense of smell from the nose, the sense of taste from the mouth, and then to assume them itself, would it not at once destroy the whole order of nature? Wherefore the Apostle says well: If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing, where were the smelling? 1 Corinthians 12:17 So, then, we are all one body, though with many members, all necessary to the body. For no one

member can say of another: I have no need of you. For those members which seem to be more feeble are much more necessary and require greater care and attention. And if one member suffers, all the members suffer with it. 1 Corinthians 12:26

19. Unde quam grave est ut detrahamus aliquid ei, cui nos compati oportet: et cui debemus consortium ministerii, ei fraudi et noxae simus! Haec utique lex naturae est, quae nos ad omnem astringit humanitatem, ut alter alteri tamquam unius partes corporis invicem deferamus. Nec detrahendum quidquam putemus, cum contra naturae legem sit non juvare. Sic enim nascimur ut consentiant membra membris, et alterum alteri adhaereat, et obsequantur sibi mutuo ministerio. Quod si unum desit officio suo, impediantur caetera: ut si eruat oculum manus, nonne sibi operis sui usum negavit? Si pedem vulneret, quantorum sibi actuum profectum inviderit? Et quanto gravius est totum hominem quam unum membrum detrahi? Jam si in uno membro totum corpus violatur, utique in uno homine communio totius humanitatis solvitur; violatur natura generis humani, et sanctae Ecclesiae congregatio, quae in unum connexum corpus atque compactum unitate fidei et charitatis assurgit: Christus quoque Dominus, qui pro universis mortuus est, mercedem sanguinis sui evacuatam dolebit.

19. So we see how grave a matter it is to deprive another, with whom we ought rather to suffer, of anything, or to act unfairly or injuriously towards one to whom we ought to give a share in our services. This is a true law of nature, which binds us to show all kindly feeling, so that we should all of us in turn help one another, as parts of one body, and should never think of depriving another of anything, seeing it is against the law of nature even to abstain from giving help. We are born in such a way that limb combines with limb, and one works with another, and all assist each other in mutual service. But if one fails in its duty, the rest are hindered. If, for instance, the

hand tears out the eye, has it not hindered the use of its work? If it were to wound the foot, how many actions would it not prevent? But how much worse is it for the whole man to be drawn aside from his duty than for one of the members only! If the whole body is injured in one member, so also is the whole community of the human race disturbed in one man. The nature of mankind is injured, as also is the society of the holy Church, which rises into one united body, bound together in oneness of faith and love. Christ the Lord, also, Who died for all, will grieve that the price of His blood was paid in vain.

20. Quid! quod etiam ipsa lex Domini hanc formam tenendam edocet, ut nihil alteri detrahas, tui commodi servandi gratia, cum dicit: Non transferas terminos, quos statuerunt patres tui (Prov. XXII, 28); cum vitulum errantem fratris tui reducendum praecipit (Exod. XXIII, 4), cum furem mori jubet (Exod. XXII, 2), cum vetat mercenarium debita mercede fraudari, cum pecuniam sine usuris reddendam censuit (Levit. XIX, 13). Subvenire enim non habenti humanitatis est: duritiae autem plus extorquere quam dederis (Deut. XXIII, 19). Etenim si ideo auxilio tuo erit opus, quia non habuit unde de suo redderet; nonne impium est ut sub humanitatis simulatione amplius ab eo poscas, qui non habebat unde minus solveret? Absolvis igitur alteri debitotorem, ut condemnes tibi: et hanc humanitatem vocas, ubi est iniquitatis auctio?

20. Why, the very law of the Lord teaches us that this rule must be observed, so that we may never deprive another of anything for the sake of our own advantage. For it says: Remove not the bounds which your fathers have set. Proverbs 22:28 It bids a neighbour’s ox to be brought back if found wandering. Exodus 23:4 It orders a thief to be put to death. Exodus 22:2 It forbids the labourer to be deprived of his hire, Leviticus 19:13 and orders money to be returned without usury. Deuteronomy 23:19 It is a mark

of kindly feeling to help him who has nothing, but it is a sign of a hard nature to extort more than one has given. If a man has need of your assistance because he has not enough of his own wherewith to repay a debt, is it not a wicked thing to demand under the guise of kindly feeling a larger sum from him who has not the means to pay off a less amount? Thou dost but free him from debt to another, to bring him under your own hand; and you call that human kindliness which is but a further wickedness.

21. Hoc praestamus caeteris animantibus, quod alia genera animantium conferre aliquid nesciunt: ferae autem eripiunt, homines tribuunt. Unde et Psalmista ait: Justus miseretur, et tribuit (Psal. XXXVI, 21). Sunt tamen quibus et ferae conferant. Si quidem collatione sobolem suam nutriunt, et aves cibo suo pullos satiant suos: homini autem soli tributum est, ut omnes tamquam suos pascat. Debet istud ipso naturae jure. Quod si non licet non dare, quomodo detrahere licet? Nec ipsae leges 113 nos docent? ea quae detracta sunt alicui, cum injuria personae, aut rei ipsius cumulo, restitui jubent; quo furem a detrahendo, aut poenis deterreant, aut mulcta revocent.

21. It is in this very matter that we stand before all other living creatures, for they do not understand how to do good. Wild beasts snatch away, men share with others. Wherefore the Psalmist says: The righteous shows mercy and gives. There are some, however, to whom the wild beasts do good. They feed their young with what they get, and the birds satisfy their brood with food; but to men alone has it been given to feed all as though they were their own. That is so in accordance with the claims of nature. And if it is not lawful to refuse to give, how is it lawful to deprive another? And do not our very laws teach us the same? They order those things which have been taken from others with injury to their persons or property to be restored with additional recompense; so as to check the thief from stealing by the penalty, and by the fine to recall him from his ways.

22. Pone tamen quod aliquis possit aut poenam non timere, aut mulctae illudere; numquid dignum est ut aliqui alteri detrahant? Servile hoc vitium, et familiare ultimae conditioni; adeo contra naturam, ut inopia magis hoc extorquere videatur, quam natura suadere. Servorum tamen occulta furta, divitum rapinae publicae.

22. Suppose, however, that some one did not fear the penalty, or laughed at the fine, would that make it a worthy thing to deprive another of his own? That would be a mean vice and suited only to the lowest of the low. So contrary to nature is it, that while want might seem to drive one to it, yet nature could never urge it. And yet we find secret theft among slaves, open robbery among the rich.

23. Quid autem tam contra naturam, quam violare alterum tui commodi causa; cum pro omnibus excubandum, subeundas molestias, suscipiendum laborem naturalis affectus persuadeat: et gloriosum unicuique ducatur, si periculis propriis quaerat universorum tranquillitatem: multoque sibi unusquisque arbitretur gratius excidia patriae repulisse, quam propria pericula: praestantiusque esse existimet quod operam suam patriae impenderit, quam si in otio positus tranquillam vitam voluptatum copiis functus egisset.

23. But what so contrary to nature as to injure another for our own benefit? The natural feelings of our own hearts urge us to keep on the watch for all, to undergo trouble, to do work for all. It is considered also a glorious thing for each one at risk to himself to seek the quiet of all, and to think it far more thankworthy to have saved his country from destruction than to have kept danger from himself. We must think it a far more noble thing to labour for our country than to pass a quiet life at ease in the full enjoyment of leisure.

CAPUT IV.

UBI STRICTIUS OSTENSUM est eum qui commodi sui causa noceat alteri, graves conscientiae suae paenas luiturum, colligitur uni utile nihil esse, quod itidem non sit omnibus: atque adeo propositae a philosophis de naufragis duobus quaestioni locum non esse apud Christianos, quibus ubique charitas atque humilitas exercendae sunt.

CHAPTER 4.

As it has been shown that he who injures another for the sake of his own advantage will undergo terrible punishment at the hand of his own conscience, it is referred that nothing is useful to one which is not in the same way useful to all. Thus there is no place among Christians for the question propounded by the philosophers about two shipwrecked persons, for they must show love and humility to all.

24. Hinc ergo colligitur quod homo, qui secundum naturae formatus est directionem, ut obediat ei, nocere non possit alteri: quod si cui noceat, naturam violet: neque tantum esse commodi quod adipisci sese putet, quantum incommodi, quod ex eo sibi accidat. Quae enim poena gravior, quam interioris vulnus conscientiae? Quod severius judicium, quam domesticum, quo unusquisque sibi est reus, seque ipse arguit quod injuriam fratri indigne fecerit? Quod non mediocriter Scriptura commendat dicens: Ex ore stultorum baculum contumeliae (Prov. XIV, 3). Stultitia igitur condemnatur, quia contumeliam facit. Nonne hoc magis fugiendum, quam mors, quam dispendium, quam inopia, quam exsilium, quam debilitatis

dolor? Quis enim vitium corporis, aut patrimonii damnum non levius ducat vitio animi, et existimationis dispendio? 114

24. Hence we infer that a man who guides himself according to the ruling of nature, so as to be obedient to her, can never injure another. If he injures another, he violates nature, nor will he think that what he has gained is so much an advantage as a disadvantage. And what punishment is worse than the wounds of the conscience within? What judgment harder than that of our hearts, whereby each one stands convicted and accuses himself of the injury that he has wrongfully done against his brother? This the Scriptures speak of very plainly, saying: Out of the mouth of fools there is a rod for wrong-doing. Proverbs 14:3 Folly, then, is condemned because it causes wrong-doing. Ought we not rather to avoid this, than death, or loss, or want, or exile, or sickness? Who would not think some blemish of body or loss of inheritance far less than some blemish of soul or loss of reputation?

25. Liquet igitur id spectandum et tenendum omnibus, quod eadem singulorum sit utilitas, quae sit universorum: nihilque judicandum utile, nisi quod in commune prosit. Quomodo enim potest uni prodesse? Quod inutile sit omnibus, nocet. Mihi certe non videtur, qui inutilis est omnibus, sibi utilis esse posse. Etenim si una lex naturae omnibus, una utique utilitas universorum, ad consulendum utique omnibus naturae lege constringimur. Non est ergo ejus qui consultum velit alteri secundum naturam, nocere ei adversus legem naturae.

25. It is clear, then, that all must consider and hold that the advantage of the individual is the same as that of all, and that nothing must be considered advantageous except what is for the general good. For how can one be benefited alone? That which is useless to all is harmful. I certainly cannot think that he who is useless to all can be of use to himself. For if there is one law of nature for all, there is also one state of usefulness for all. And we

are bound by the law of nature to act for the good of all. It is not, therefore, right for him who wishes the interests of another to be considered according to nature, to injure him against the law of nature.

26. Etenim si hi qui in stadio currunt, ita feruntur praeceptis informari atque instrui, ut unusquisque celeritate non fraude contendat, cursuque, quantum potest, ad victoriam properet; supplantare autem alterum aut manu dejicere non ausit: quanto magis in hoc cursu vitae istius, sine fraude alterius et circumscriptione gerenda nobis victoria est?

26. For if those who run in a race are, as one hears, instructed and warned each one to win the race by swiftness of foot and not by any foul play, and to hasten on to victory by running as hard as they can, but not to dare to trip up another or push him aside with their hand, how much more in the course of this life ought the victory to be won by us, without falseness to another and cheating?

27. Quaerunt aliqui, si sapiens in naufragio positus insipienti naufrago tabulam extorquere possit, utrum debeat? Mihi quidem, etsi praestabilius communi videatur usui sapientem de naufragio quam insipientem evadere; tamen non videtur quod vir christianus, et justus, et sapiens, quaerere sibi vitam aliena morte debeat: utpote qui etiam si latronem armatum incidat, ferientem referire non possit; ne dum salutem defendit, pietatem contaminet. De quo in Evangelii libris aperta et evidens sententia est: Reconde gladium tuum; omnis enim qui gladio percusserit gladio ferietur (Matth. XXVI, 52). Quis latro detestabilior, quam persecutor qui venerat ut Christum occideret? Sed noluit se Christus persecutorum defendi vulnere, qui voluit suo vulnere omnes sanare.

27. Some ask whether a wise man ought in case of a shipwreck to take away a plank from an ignorant sailor? Although it seems better for the

common good that a wise man rather than a fool should escape from shipwreck, yet I do not think that a Christian, a just and a wise man, ought to save his own life by the death of another; just as when he meets with an armed robber he cannot return his blows, lest in defending his life he should stain his love toward his neighbour. The verdict on this is plain and clear in the books of the Gospel. Put up your sword, for every one that takes the sword shall perish with the sword. Matthew 26:52 What robber is more hateful than the persecutor who came to kill Christ? But Christ would not be defended from the wounds of the persecutor, for He willed to heal all by His wounds.

28. Cur enim te potiorem altero judices, cum viri sit christiani praeferre sibi alterum, nihil sibi arrogare, nullum sibi honorem assumere, non vindicare meriti sui pretium? Deinde cur non tuum tolerare potius incommodum, quam alienum commodum diripere assuescas? Quid tam adversus naturam, quam non esse contentum eo quod habeas, aliena quaerere, ambire turpiter? Nam si honestas secundum naturam, omnia enim fecit Deus bona valde, turpitudo utique contraria est. Non potest ergo honestati convenire et turpitudini, cum haec inter se discreta naturae lege sint. 115

28. Why do you consider yourself greater than another, when a Christian man ought to put others before himself, to claim nothing for himself, usurp no honours, claim no reward for his merits? Why, next, are you not wont to bear your own troubles rather than to destroy another’s advantage? For what is so contrary to nature as not to be content with what one has or to seek what is another’s, and to try to get it in shameful ways. For if a virtuous life is in accordance with nature — for God made all things very good — then shameful living must be opposed to it. A virtuous and a shameful life cannot go together, since they are absolutely severed by the law of nature.

CAPUT V.

JUSTUM NIHIL AGERE quod sit contra officium, etiamsi latendi spem habuerit; ad hoc ipsum significandum fabulam de Gygis annulo excogitatam esse a philosophis, qua explosa, Davidis ac Joannis Baptistae certa et vera exempla proferuntur.

CHAPTER 5.

The upright does nothing that is contrary to duty, even though there is a hope of keeping it secret. To point this out the tale about the ring of Gyges was invented by the philosophers. Exposing this, he brings forward known and true examples from the life of David and John the Baptist.

29. Sed jam ut etiam in hoc libro ponamus fastigium, in quo velut in fine disputationis nostrae dirigamus sententiam: ut nihil expetendum sit, nisi quod honestum. Nihil agit sapiens, nisi quod cum sinceritate, sine fraude sit: neque quidquam facit, in quo se crimine quoquam obliget, etiamsi latere possit. Sibi enim est reus priusquam caeteris; nec tam pudenda apud eum publicatio flagitii, quam conscientia est. Quod non fictis fabulis, ut philosophi disputabant, sed verissimis justorum virorum exemplis docere possumus.

29. To lay down here already the result of our discussion, as though we had already ended it, we declare it a fixed rule, that we must never aim at anything but what is virtuous. The wise man does nothing but what can be done openly and without falseness, nor does he do anything whereby he may involve himself in any wrong-doing, even where he may escape notice. For he is guilty in his own eyes, before being so in the eyes of others; and

the publicity of his crime does not bring him more shame than his own consciousness of it. This we can show, not by the made-up stories which philosophers use, but from the true examples of good men.

30. Non igitur ego simulabo terrae hiatum, quae magnis quibusdam dissiluerit soluta imbribus, in quem descendisse Gyges, atque ibi fabularum illum equum aeneum offendisse a Platone inducitur, qui in lateribus suis fores haberet: quas ubi aperuit, animadvertit annulum aureum in digito mortui hominis, cujus illic exanimum corpus jaceret, aurique avarum sustulisse annulum. Sed cum se ad pastores recepisset regios de quorum ipse numero foret, casu quodam, quod palam ejus annuli ad palmam converterat, ipse omnes videbat, atque a nullo videbatur: deinde cum in locum suum revocasset annulum, videbatur ab omnibus. Cujus solers factus miraculi, per annuli opportunitatem reginae stupro potitus, necem regi intulit, caeterisque interemptis, quos necandos putaverat, ne sibi impedimento forent, Lydiae regnum adeptus est.

30. I need not, therefore, imagine a great chasm in the earth, which had been loosened by heavy rains, and had afterwards burst asunder, as Plato does. For he makes Gyges descend into that chasm, and to meet there that iron horse of the fable that had doors in its sides. When these doors were opened, he found a gold ring on the finger of a dead man, whose corpse lay there lifeless. He desiring the gold took away the ring. But when he returned to the king’s shepherds, to whose number he belonged, by chance having turned the stone inwards towards the palms of his hands, he saw all, yet was seen by none. Then when he turned the ring to its proper position, he was again seen by all. On becoming conscious of this strange power, by the use of the ring he committed adultery with the queen, killed the king, and took possession of the kingdom after slaying all the rest, who he thought should be put to death, so that they might be no hindrance to him.

31. Da, inquit, hunc annulum sapienti, ut beneficio ejus possit latere, cum deliquerit: non enim minus fugiet peccatorum contagium, quam si non possit latere. Non enim latebra sapienti spes impunitatis, sed innocentia est. Denique lex non justo, sed injusto posita est (I Tim. I, 9); quia justus legem habet mentis suae, et aequitatis ac justitiae suae normam: ideoque non terrore poenae revocatur a culpa, sed honestatis regula.

31. Give, says Plato, this ring to a wise man, that when he commits a fault he may by its help remain unnoticed; yet he will be none the more free from the stain of sin than if he could not be hid. The hiding-place of the wise lies not in the hope of impunity but in his own innocency. Lastly, the law is not laid down for the just but for the unjust. 1 Timothy 1:9 For the just has within himself the law of his mind, and a rule of equity and justice. Thus he is not recalled from sin by fear of punishment, but by the rule of a virtuous life.

32. Ergo ut ad propositum redeamus, non fabulosa pro veris, sed vera pro fabulosis exempla proferam. Quid enim mihi opus est fingere hiatum terrae, equum aeneum, annulumque aureum in digito defuncti repertum; cujus annuli tanta sit vis, ut pro arbitrio suo qui eum sit indutus annulum, 116 appareat, cum velit: cum autem nolit, e conspectu se praesentium subtrahat, ut praesens non possit videri? Nempe eo tendit istud, utrum sapiens etiam si isto utatur annulo, quo possit propria flagitia celare, et regnum assequi; nolitne peccare, et gravius ducat sceleris contagium poenarum doloribus: an vero spe impunitatis utatur ad perpetrandum scelus? Quid, inquam, mihi opus est figmento annuli, cum possim docere ex rebus gestis quod vir sapiens cum sibi in peccato non solum latendum, sed etiam regnandum videret, si peccatum admitteret; contra autem periculum salutis cerneret, si declinaret flagitium; elegerit tamen magis salutis periculum, ut vacaret flagitio, quam flagitium quo sibi regnum pararet?

32. Therefore, to return to our subject, I will now bring forward, not false examples for true, but true examples in place of false. For why need I imagine a chasm in the earth, and an iron horse and a gold ring found on the fingers of a dead man; and say that such was the power of this ring, that he who wore it could appear at his own will, but if he did not wish to be seen, he could remove himself out of the sight of those who stood by, so as to seem to be away. This story, of course, is meant to answer the question whether a wise man, on getting the opportunity of using that ring so as to be able to hide his crimes, and to obtain a kingdom, — whether, I say, a wise man would be unwilling to sin and would consider the stain of sin far worse than the pains of punishment, or whether he would use it for doing wickedness in the hope of not being found out? Why, I say, should I need the pretence of a ring, when I can show from what has been done that a wise man, on seeing he would not only be undetected in his sin, but would also gain a kingdom if he gave way to it, and who, on the other hand, noted danger to his own safety if he did not commit the crime, yet chose to risk his own safety so as to be free from crime, rather than to commit the crime and so gain the kingdom.

33. Denique David cum fugeret a facie regis Saul, quod eum rex cum tribus millibus virorum electorum ad inferendam necem in deserto quaereret, ingressus in castra regis, cum dormientem offendisset, non solum ipse non percussit, sed etiam protexit; ne ab aliquo qui simul ingressus fuerat, perimeretur. Nam cum diceret ei Abessa: Conclusit hodie Dominus inimicum tuum in manibus tuis, et nunc occidam eum? respondit: Non consumas eum, quoniam quis injiciet manum suam in christum Domini, et purus erit? Et addidit: Vivit Dominus, quoniam nisi Dominus percusserit illum, aut nisi hora illius venerit, ut moriatur, aut in pugna discesserit, et apponatur mihi; non sit a Domino injicere manum meam in christum Domini (I Reg. XXVI, 8 et seq.).

33. When David fled from the face of King Saul, because the king was seeking him in the desert with three thousand chosen men to put him to death, he entered the king's camp and found him sleeping. There he not only did him no injury, but actually guarded him from being slain by any who had entered with him. For when Abishai said to him: The Lord has delivered your enemy into your hand this day, now therefore I will slay him, he answered: Destroy him not, for who can stretch forth his hand against the Lord's anointed, and be guiltless? And he added: As the Lord lives, unless the Lord shall smite him, or his day shall come to die, or he shall die in battle, and it be laid to me, the Lord forbid that I should stretch out my hand against the Lord's anointed.

34. Itaque non permisit necari eum, sed solam lanceam quae erat ad caput ejus, et lenticulam sustulit. Itaque dormientibus cunctis, egressus de castris transivit in cacumen montis, et coarguere coepit stipatores regios, et praecipue principem militiae Abner, quod nequaquam fidam custodiam regi et domino suo adhiberet: denique demonstraret, ubi esset lancea regis, vel lenticula quae erat ad caput ejus. Et appellatus a rege lanceam reddidit: Et Dominus, inquit, restituat unicuique justitias suas, et fidem suam: sicut tradidit te Dominus in manus meas, et nolui vindicare manu mea in christum Domini. Et cum haec diceret, timebat tamen insidias ejus, et fugit, sedem exsilio mutans. Nec tamen salutem praetulit innocentiae, cum jam secundo facultate sibi tributa regis necandi, noluisset uti occasionis beneficio: quae et securitatem salutis metuenti, et regnum offerebat exsuli.

34. Therefore he did not allow him to be slain, but removed only his spear, which stood by his head, and his cruse of water. Then, while all were sleeping, he left the camp and went across to the top of the hill, and began to reproach the royal attendants, and especially their general Abner, for not keeping faithful watch over their lord and king. Next, he showed them

where the king's spear and cruse were which had stood at his head. And when the king called to him, he restored the spear, and said: The Lord render to every man his righteousness and faithfulness, for the Lord delivered you into my hand, but I would not avenge myself on the Lord's anointed. Even while he said this, he feared his plots and fled, changing his place in exile. However, he never put safety before innocency, seeing that when a second opportunity was given him of killing the king, he would not use the chance that came to him, and which put in his reach certain safety instead of fear, and a kingdom instead of exile.

35. Ubi opus fuit Joanni Gygeo annulo, qui si tacuisset, non esset occisus ab Herode (Marc. VI, 18)? Praestare hoc illi potuit silentium suum, ut et videretur et non occideretur: sed quia non solum 117 peccare se propter salutis defensionem passus non est, sed ne alienum quidem peccatum ferre ac perpeti potuit; ideo in se causam necis excitavit. Certe hoc negare non possunt potuisse fieri ut taceret, qui de illo Gyge negant potuisse fieri ut annuli beneficio absconderetur.

35. Where was the use of the ring in John's case, Matthew 14:3 who would not have been put to death by Herod if he had kept silence? He could have kept silence before him so as to be both seen and yet not killed. But because he not only could not endure to sin himself to protect his own safety, but could not bear and endure even another's sin, he brought about the cause of his own death. Certainly none can deny that he might have kept silence, who in the case of Gyges deny that he could have remained invisible by the help of the ring.

36. Sed fabula, etsi vim non habet veritatis, hanc tamen rationem habet, ut si possit celare se vir justus; tamen ita peccatum declinet, quasi celare non possit: nec personam suam indutus annulum, sed vitam suam Christum indutus abscondat, sicut Apostolus ait: Quia vita nostra abscondita est cum

Christo in Deo (Coloss. III, 3). Nemo ergo hic fulgere quaerat, nemo sibi arroget, nemo se jactet (Luc. IX, 36). Nolebat se Christus hic cognosci, nolebat praedicari in Evangelio nomen suum, cum in terris versaretur: venit ut lateret saeculum hoc. Et nos ergo simili modo abscondamus vitam nostram Christi exemplo, fugiamus jactantiam, praedicari non exspectemus. Melius est hic esse in humilitate, ibi in gloria. Cum Christus, inquit, apparuerit, tunc et vos cum illo apparebitis in gloria (Coloss. III, 4).

36. But although that fable has not the force of truth, yet it has this much to go upon, that if an upright man could hide himself, yet he would avoid sin just as though he could not conceal himself; and that he would not hide his person by putting on a ring, but his life by putting on Christ. As the Apostle says: Our life is hid with Christ in God. Colossians 3:3 Let, then, no one here strive to shine, let none show pride, let none boast. Christ willed not to be known here, He would not that His Name should be preached in the Gospel while He lived on earth. He came to lie hidden from this world. Let us therefore likewise hide our life after the example of Christ, let us shun boastfulness, let us not desire to be made known. It is better to live here in humility, and there in glory. When Christ, it says, shall appear, then shall we also appear with Him in glory. Colossians 3:4

CAPUT VI.

PRAEVALERE APUD NOS emolumentum non oportere. Quid obtendere soleant qui a frumentis lucrum captant: quidve illis debeat responderi? Ubi eisdem Evangelica parabola et Salomonis effata sub oculis ponuntur.

CHAPTER 6.

We ought not to allow the idea of profit to get hold of us. What excuses they make who get their gains by selling grain, and what answer ought to be made to them. In connection with this certain parables from the Gospels and some of the sayings of Solomon are set before our eyes.

37. Non vincat igitur honestatem utilitas, sed honestas utilitatem: hanc dico utilitatem, quae aestimatur secundum vulgi opinionem. Mortificetur avaritia, moriatur concupiscentia. Sanctus in negotiationem introisse se negat; quia pretiorum captare incrementa non simplicitatis, sed versutiae est. Et alius ait: Captans pretia frumenti, maledictus in plebe est (Prov. XI, 26).

37. Let not, therefore, expediency get the better of virtue, but virtue of expediency. By expediency here I mean what is accounted so by people generally. Let love of money be destroyed, let lust die. The holy man says that he has never been engaged in business. For to get an increase in price is a sign not of simplicity but of cunning. Elsewhere it says: He that seeks a high price for his grain is cursed among the people. Proverbs 11:26

38. Definita est sententia, nihil disputationi relinquens, quale controversum genus solet dicendi esse, cum alius allegat agriculturam laudabilem apud

omnes haberi, fructus terrae simplices esse, plus qui seminaverit eo probatiorem fore, uberiores reditus industriae non fraudari, negligentiam magis et incuriam ruris inculti reprehendi solere.

38. Plain and definite is the statement, leaving no room for debate, such as a disputatious kind of speaking is wont to give, when one maintains that agriculture is considered praiseworthy by all; that the fruits of the earth are easily grown; that the more a man has sown, the greater will be his meed of praise; further, that the richer returns of his active labours are not gained by fraud, and that carelessness and disregard for an uncultivated soil are wont to be blamed.

39. Aravi, inquit, studiosius, uberius seminavi, diligentius excolui, bonos collegi proventus, sollicitius recondidi, servavi fideliter, provide custodivi. Nunc in tempore famis vendo, subvenio esurientibus: vendo frumentum non alienum, sed meum; non pluris quam caeteri, immo etiam minori pretio. Quid hic fraudi est, cum multi possent periclitari, si non haberent quod emerent? Num industria in crimen vocatur? Num diligentia reprehenditur? Num providentia vituperatur? Fortasse dicat: Et Joseph 118 frumenta in abundantia collegit, in charitate vendidit. Num charius aliquis emere compellitur? Num vis adhibetur emptori? Omnibus defertur emendi copia, nulli irrogatur injuria.

39. I have ploughed, he says, carefully. I have sown freely. I have tilled actively. I have gathered good increase. I have stored it anxiously, saved it faithfully, and guarded it with care. Now in a time of famine I sell it, and come to the help of the hungry. I sell my own grain, not another’s. And for no more than others, nay, even at a less price. What fraud is there here, when many would come to great danger if they had nothing to buy? Is industry to be made a crime? Or diligence to be blamed? Or foresight to be abused? Perhaps he may even say: Joseph collected grain in a time of

abundance, and sold it when it was dear. Is any one forced to buy it at too dear a price? Is force employed against the buyer? The opportunity to buy is afforded to all, injury is inflicted on none.

40. His igitur quantum cujusque fert ingenium disputatis, exsurgit alius, dicens: Bona quidem agricultura, quae fructus ministrat omnibus, quae simplici industria accumulat terrarum fecunditatem, nihil doli, nihil fraudi interserens. Denique si quid vitii fuerit, plus dispendii est; quia si bene aliquis seminaverit, melius metet: si sincerum tritici granum severit, puriorem ac sinceram messem colligit. Fecunda terra multiplicatum reddit, quod acceperit: fidelis ager feneratos solet restituere proventus.

40. When this has been said, and one man's ideas have carried him so far, another rises and says: Agriculture is good indeed, for it supplies fruits for all, and by simple industry adds to the richness of the earth without any cheating or fraud. If there is any error, the loss is the greater, for the better a man sows, the better he will reap. If he has sown the pure grain of wheat, he gathers a purer and cleaner harvest. The fruitful earth returns what she has received in manifold measure. A good field returns its produce with interest.

41. De reditibus igitur uberis glebae exspectare debes tui mercedem laboris, de fertilitate pinguis soli justa sperare compendia. Cur ad fraudem convertis naturae industriam? Cur invides usibus hominum publicos partus? Cur populis minuis abundantiam? Cur affectas inopiam? Cur optari facis a pauperibus sterilitatem? Cum enim non sentiunt beneficia fecunditatis, te auctionante pretium, te condente frumentum, optant potius nihil nasci, quam te de fame publica negotiari. Ambis frumentorum indigentiam, alimentorum penuriam, uberes soli partus ingemiscis, fles publicam fertilitatem, horrea frugum plena deploras, exploras quando sterilior proventus sit, quando exilior partus. Votis tuis gaudes arrisisse maledictum, ut nihil cuiquam

nasceretur. Tunc messem tuam venisse laetaris, tunc tibi de omnium miseria congeris opes: et hanc tu industriam vocas, hanc diligentiam nominas, quae calliditatis versutia, quae astutia fraudis est; et hoc tu remedium vocas, quod est commentum nequitiae. Latrocinium hoc, an fenus appellem? Captantur tamquam latrocinii tempora, quibus in viscera hominum durus insidiator obrepas. Augetur pretium tamquam sorte cumulatum fenoris, quo periculum capitis acervatur. Tibi conditae frugis multiplicatur usura: tu frumentum quasi fenerator occultas, quasi venditor auctionaris. Quid imprecaris male omnibus, quia major futura sit fames, quasi nihil frugum supersit, quasi infecundior annus sequatur? Lucrum tuum damnum publicum est.

41. You must expect payment for your labour from the crops of the fruitful land, and must hope for a just return from the fruitfulness of the rich earth. Why do you use the industry of nature and make a cheat of it? Why do you grudge for the use of men what is grown for all? Why lessen the abundance for the people? Why make want your aim? Why make the poor long for a barren season? For when they do not feel the benefits of a fruitful season, because you are putting up the price, and art storing up the grain, they would far rather that nothing should be produced, than that you should do business at the expense of other people’s hunger. You make much of the lack of grain, the small supply of food. You groan over the rich crops of the soil; you mourn the general plenty, and bewail the granaries full of grain; you are on the lookout to see when the crop is poor and the harvest fails. You rejoice that a curse has smiled upon your wishes, so that none should have their produce. Then you rejoice that your harvest has come. Then you collect wealth from the misery of all, and call this industry and diligence, when it is but cunning shrewdness and an adroit trick of the trade. You call it a remedy, when it is but a wicked contrivance. Shall I call this robbery or only gain? These opportunities are seized as though seasons for plunder, wherein, like some cruel waylayer, you may fall upon the stomachs of men.

The price rises higher as though by the mere addition of interest, but the danger to life is increased too. For then the interest of the stored-up crops grows higher. As a usurer you hide up your grain, as a seller you put it up for auction. Why do you wish evil to all, because the famine will grow worse, as though no grain should be left, as though a more unfruitful year should follow? Your gain is the public loss.

42. Joseph sanctus omnibus aperuit horrea, non clausit: nec pretia captavit annonae, sed perenne subsidium collocavit: nihil sibi acquisivit, sed quemadmodum fames etiam in posterum vinceretur, provida ordinatione disposuit (Gen. XLI, 56).

42. Holy Joseph opened the granaries to all; he did not shut them up. He did not try to get the full price of the year's produce, but assigned it for a yearly payment. He took nothing for himself, but, so far as famine could be checked for the future, he made his arrangements with careful foresight.

43. Legisti quemadmodum hunc frumentarium pretii captatorem exponat in Evangelio Dominus Jesus, cujus possessio divites fructus attulit, et ille quasi egens dicebat: Quid faciam? Non habeo quo congregem, destruam horrea, et majora faciam (Luc. XII, 17, 18); 119 cum scire non posset, utrum sequenti nocte anima sua ab eo reposceretur. Nesciebat quid faceret: quasi ei alimenta deessent, haerebat ambiguo. Non capiebant horrea annonam, et ille se egere credebat.

43. You have read how the Lord Jesus in the Gospel speaks of that grain-dealer who was looking out for a high price, whose possessions brought him in rich fruits, but who, as though still in need, said: What shall I do? I have no room where to bestow my goods. I will pull down my barns and build greater, Luke 12:17 though he could not know whether in the following night his soul would not be demanded of him. He knew not what

to do, he seemed to be in doubt, just as though he were in want of food. His barns could not take in the year's supply, and yet he thought he was in need.

44. Recte igitur Salomon: Qui continet, inquit, frumentum, relinquet illud nationibus (Prov. XI, 26), non haeredibus, quoniam avaritiae emolumentum ad successorum jura non pervenit. Quod non legitime acquiritur, quasi ventis quibusdam, ita extraneis diripientibus dissipatur. Et addidit: Captans annonam maledictus in plebe est: benedictio autem ejus qui participat (Ibid.). Vides ergo quod largitorem frumenti esse deceat, non pretii captatorem. Non est igitur ista utilitas, in qua plus honestati detrahitur, quam utilitati adjungitur.

44. Rightly, therefore, Solomon says: He that withholds grain shall leave it for the nations, not for his heirs, for the gains of avarice have nothing to do with the rights of succession. That which is not rightfully got together is scattered as though by a wind by outsiders that seize it. And he added: He who grasps at the year's produce is cursed among the people, but blessing shall be his that imparts it. You see, then, what is said of him who distributes the grain, but not of him that seeks for a high price. True expediency does not therefore exist where virtue loses more than expediency gains.

CAPUT VII.

PEREGRINOS TEMPORE FAMIS ex urbe neutiquam expellendos. Egregium hac in re christiani senis consilium refertur: cui opponitur indignum facinus Romae admissum; nec non utroque inter se comparato, primum cum honestate atque utilitate conjunctum fuisse ostenditur, secus vero secundum.

CHAPTER 7.

Strangers must never be expelled the city in a time of famine. In this matter the noble advice of a Christian sage is adduced, in contrast to which the shameful deed committed at Rome is given. By comparing the two it is shown that the former is combined with what is virtuous and useful, but the latter with neither.

45. Sed et illi qui peregrinos urbe prohibent, nequaquam probandi: expellere eo tempore quo debent juvare, separare a commerciis communis parentis, fusos omnibus partus negare, inita jam consortia vivendi averruncare: cum quibus fuerint communia jura, cum his nolle in tempore necessitatis subsidia partiri. Ferae non expellunt feras, et homo excludit hominem. Fere ac bestiae communem putant omnibus victum, quem terra ministrat. Illae etiam conformem sui generis adjuvant, homo impugnat, qui nihil a se alienum debet credere quidquid humani est.

45. But they, too, who would forbid the city to strangers cannot have our approval. They would expel them at the very time when they ought to help, and separate them from the trade of their common parent. They would refuse them a share in the produce meant for all, and avert the intercourse that has already begun; and they are unwilling, in a time of necessity, to

give those with whom they have enjoyed their rights in common, a share in what they themselves have. Beasts do not drive out beasts, yet man shuts out man. Wild beasts and animals consider food which the earth supplies to be common to all. They all give assistance to those like themselves; and man, who ought to think nothing human foreign to himself, fights against his own.

46. Quanto ille rectius, qui cum jam provecta processisset aetate, et famen toleraret civitas, atque (ut in talibus solet) peterent vulgo ut peregrini urbe prohiberentur, praefecturae urbanae curam caeteris majorem sustinens, convocavit honoratos et locupletiores viros, poposcit ut in medium consulerent, dicens quam immane esse peregrinos ejici, quam hominem ab homine exui, qui cibum morienti negaret. Canes ante mensam impastos esse non patimur, et homines excludimus: quam inutile quoque tot populos mundo perire, quos dira conficiebat tabes: quantos urbi suae perire, qui solerent adjumento esse, 120 vel in conferendis subsidiis, vel in celebrandis commerciis: neminem famem alienam juvare: protrahere ut plurimum diem posse, non inopiam repellere; immo tot cultoribus exstinctis, tot agricolis occidentibus, occasura in perpetuum subsidia frumentaria. Hos igitur excludimus, qui victum nobis inferre consuerunt: hos nolumus in tempore necessitatis pascere, qui nos omni aetate paverunt? Quanta sunt quae ab ipsis nobis hoc ipso tempore ministrantur! Non in solo pane vivit homo (Deut. VIII, 3). Nostra illic familia, plerique etiam nostri parentes sunt. Reddamus quod accepimus.

46. How much better did he act who, having already reached an advanced age, when the city was suffering from famine, and, as is common in such cases, the people demanded that strangers should be forbidden the city, having the office of the prefectship of the city, which is higher than the rest, called together the officials and richer men, and demanded that they should

take counsel for the public welfare. He said that it was as cruel a thing for the strangers to be expelled as for one man to be cast off by another, and to be refused food when dying. We do not allow our dogs to come to our table and leave them unfed, yet we shut out a man. How unprofitable, again, it is for the world that so many people perish, whom some deadly plague carries off. How unprofitable for their city that so large a number should perish, who were wont to be helpful either in paying contributions or in carrying on business. Another's hunger is profitable to no man, nor to put off the day of help as long as possible and to do nothing to check the want. Nay more, when so many of the cultivators of the soil are gone, when so many labourers are dying, the grain supplies will fail for the future. Shall we then expel those who are wont to supply us with food, are we unwilling to feed in a time of need those who have fed us all along? How great is the assistance which they supply even at this time. Not by bread alone does man live. Deuteronomy 8:3 They are even our own family; many of them even are our own kindred. Let us make some return for what we have received.

47. Sed veremur ne cumulemus inopiam. Primum omnium misericordia numquam destituitur, sed adjuvatur. Deinde subsidia annonae, quae his impartienda sunt, collatione redimamus, reparemus auro. Numquid his deficientibus, non alii nobis redimendi cultores videntur? Quanto vilius est pascere, quam emere cultorem! Ubi etiam repares, ubi invenias quem reformes? Adde si invenias, quod ignarum, et alieni usus, numero possis substituere, non cultui.

47. But perhaps we fear that want may increase. First of all, I answer, mercy never fails, but always finds means of help. Next, let us make up for the grain supplies which are to be granted to them, by a subscription. Let us put that right with our gold. And, again, must we not buy other cultivators of

the soil if we lose these? How much cheaper is it to feed than to buy a working-man. Where, too, can one obtain, where find a man to take the place of the former? And suppose one finds him, do not forget that, with an ignorant man used to different ways, one may fill up the place in point of numbers, but not as regards the work to be done.

48. Quid plura? Collato auro, coacta frumenta sunt. Ita nec abundantiam urbis minuit, et peregrinis alimoniam subministravit. Quantae hoc commendationis apud Deum fuit sanctissimo seni, quantae apud homines gloriae! Hic magnus vere probatus, qui vere potuit imperatori dicere, demonstrans provinciae totius populos: Hos tibi omnes reservavi, hi vivunt beneficio tui senatus, hos tua curia morti abstulit.

48. Why need I say more? When the money was supplied grain was brought in. So the city's abundance was not diminished, and yet assistance was given to the strangers. What praise this act won that holy man from God! What glory among men! He, indeed, had won an honoured name, who, pointing to the people of a whole province, could truly say to the emperor: All these I have preserved for you; these live owing to the kindness of the senate; these your council has snatched from death!

49. Quanto hoc utilius quam illud quod proxime Romae factum est, ejectos esse urbe amplissima, qui jam plurimam illic aetatem transegerant, flentes cum filiis abiisse, quibus velut civibus amoliendum exsilium deplorarent, interruptas complurium necessitudines, diremptas affinitates! Et certe arriserat anni fecunditas, invectitio urbs sola egebat frumento: potuisset juvari, si peteretur ab Italis frumentum, quorum filii expellebantur. Nihil hoc turpius, excludere quasi alienum, et exigere quasi suum. Quid illum ejicis, qui de suo pascitur? Quid illum ejicis, qui te pascit? Servum retines, trudis parentem? Frumentum suscipis, nec affectum impertis? Victum extorques, nec rependis gratiam?

49. How much more expedient was this than that which was done lately at Rome. There from that widely extended city were those expelled who had already passed most of their life in it. In tears they went forth with their children, for whom as being citizens they bewailed the exile, which, as they said, ought to be averted; no less did they grieve over the broken bonds of union, the severed ties of relationship. And yet a fruitful year had smiled upon us. The city alone needed grain to be brought into it. It could have got help, if it had sought grain from the Italians whose children they were driving out. Nothing is more shameful than to expel a man as a foreigner, and yet to claim his services as though he belonged to us. How can you expel a man who lives on his own produce? How can you expel him who supplies you with food? You retain your servant, and thrust out your kindred! You take the grain, but show no good feeling! You take food by force, but do not show gratitude!

50. Quam deforme hoc, quam inutile! Quomodo? enim potest utile esse quod non decet? 121 Quantis corporatorum subsidiis dudum Roma fraudata est? Potuit et illos non amittere, et evadere famem, exspectatis ventorum opportunis flatibus, et speratarum commeatu navium.

50. How wretched this is, how useless! For how can that be expedient which is not seemly. Of what great supplies from her corporations has Rome at times been deprived, yet she could not dismiss them and yet escape a famine, while waiting for a favourable breeze, and the provisions in the hoped-for ships.

51. Quam vero illud superius honestum atque utile! Quid enim tam decorum atque honestum, quam collatione locupletum juvari egentes, ministrari victum es urientibus; nulli cibum defore? Quid tam utile, quam cultores agro reservari, non interire plebem rusticanorum?

51. How far more virtuous and expedient was that first-mentioned management! For what is so seemly or virtuous as when the needy are assisted by the gifts of the rich, when food is supplied to the hungry, when daily bread fails none? What so advantageous as when the cultivators are kept for the land, and the country people do not perish?

52. Quod honestum igitur, et utile est: et quod utile, honestum. Et contra quod inutile, indecorum; quod autem indecorum, id etiam inutile.

52. What is virtuous, then, is also expedient, and what is expedient is virtuous. On the other hand, what is not expedient is unseemly, and what is unseemly is also not expedient.

CAPUT VIII.

EOS QUI HONESTUM utili anteponant a Deo probari, Josue, Caleb, et aliorum exploratorum patere exemplis.

CHAPTER 8.

That those who put what is virtuous before what is useful are acceptable to God is shown by the example of Joshua, Caleb, and the other spies.

53. Quando majores nostri servitio exire potuissent, nisi id non solum turpe, sed etiam inutile credidissent regi servire Aegyptiorum (Exod. XII, 34 et seq.)?

53. When could our fathers ever have thrown off their servitude, unless they had believed that it was not only shameful but even useless to serve the king of Egypt?

54. Jesus quoque et Caleb missi ad explorandam terram, uberem quidem terram, sed a ferocissimis inhabitari gentibus nuntiaverunt. Terrore belli populus infractus, recusabat terrae ejus possessionem (Num. XIII, 28 et seq.). Suadebant missi exploratores Jesus et Caleb terram esse utilem: indecorum putabant cedere nationibus: lapidari potius eligebant, quod minabatur populus, quam decedere de honestate. Dissuadebant alii; plebs reclamabat, dicens adversus diras et asperas gentes bellum fore, cadendum sibi in praelio, mulieres suas et pueros direptioni futuros.

54. Joshua, also, and Caleb, when sent to spy out the land, brought back the news that the land was indeed rich, but that it was inhabited by very fierce nations. Numbers 13:27-28 The people, terrified at the thought of war,

refused to take possession of their land. Joshua and Caleb, who had been sent as spies, tried to persuade them that the land was fruitful. They thought it unseemly to give way before the heathen; they chose rather to be stoned, which is what the people threatened, than to recede from their virtuous standpoint. The others kept dissuading, the people exclaimed against it, saying they would have to fight against cruel and terrible nations; that they would fall in battle, and their wives and children would be left for a prey. Numbers 14:3

55. Exarsit Domini indignatio, ut omnes vellet perdere: sed rogante Moyse, temperavit sententiam, ultionem distulit, satis esse perfidis supplicii judicans, etsi parceret interim, nec percuteret incredulos, ad eam tamen terram quam recusaverant, propter incredulitatis suae pretium non pervenirent: sed pueri et mulieres qui non immurmuraverant, vel sexu, vel aetate veniabiles, caperent ejus terrae promissam haereditatem. Denique quicumque erant a vigesimo anno et supra in deserto, eorum membra ceciderunt, sed aliorum dilata est poena. Qui autem ascenderunt cum Jesu, et dissuadendum putaverunt, plaga magna statim mortui sunt: Jesus vero et Caleb cum innoxia aetate vel sexu in terram promissionis intraverunt (Num. XIV, 6 et seq.).

55. The anger of the Lord burst forth, so that He would kill all, but at the prayer of Moses He softened His judgment and put off His vengeance, knowing that He had already sufficiently punished those who were faithless, even if He spared them meanwhile and did not slay the unbelievers. However, He said Numbers 14:29 they should not come to that land which they had refused, as a penalty for their unbelief; but their children and wives, who had not murmured, and who, owing to their sex and age, were guiltless, should receive the promised inheritance of that land. So the bodies of those of twenty years old and upwards fell in the desert. The punishment

of the rest was put aside. But they who had gone up with Joshua, and had thought fit to dissuade the people, died immediately of a great plague. Numbers 14:37 Joshua and Caleb Joshua 14:6 entered the land of promise together with those who were innocent by reason of age or sex.

56. Pars igitur melior gloriam saluti praetulit, deterior salutem honestati. Divina autem sententia eos probavit, qui honesta utilibus praestare arbitrabantur: eos vero condemnavit, apud quos ea quae videbantur saluti potius quam honestati accommoda, praeponderabant. 122

56. The better part, therefore, preferred glory to safety; the worse part safety to virtue. But the divine judgment approved those who thought virtue was above what is useful, while it condemned those who preferred what seemed more in accordance with safety than with what is virtuous.

CAPUT IX.

FRAUDES ET TURPIA lucra maxime dedecere clericos, quorum est utilitati omnium inservire: illos in causis pecuniariis intervenire nequaquam debere, secus vero in capitalibus. Eisdem ne cui, etiam lacessiti, noceant, exemplum David; neu autem vitam honestati praeferant, caedes Nabuthe proponitur.

CHAPTER 9.

Cheating and dishonest ways of making money are utterly unfit for clerics whose duty is to serve all. They ought never to be involved in a money affair, unless it is one affecting a man's life. For them the example of David is given, that they should injure none, even when provoked; also the death of Naboth, to keep them from preferring life to virtue.

57. Nihil itaque deformius quam nullum habere amorem honestatis, et usu quodam degeneris mercaturae, quaestu sollicitari ignobili, avaro aestuare corde, diebus ac noctibus hiare in alieni detrimenta patrimonii, non elevare animum ad honestatis nitorem, non considerare verae laudis pulchritudinem.

57. Nothing is more odious than for a man to have no love for a virtuous life, but instead to be kept excited by an unworthy business in following out a low line of trade, or to be inflamed by an avaricious heart, and by day and by night to be eager to damage another's property, not to raise the soul to the splendour of a virtuous life, and not to regard the beauty of true praise.

58. Hinc nascuntur aucupio quaesitae haereditates, continentiae atque gravitatis simulatione captatae: quod abhorret a proposito christiani viri;

omne enim quod arte elicitum, et fraude compositum est, caret merito simplicitatis. In ipsis qui nullum Ecclesiastici ordinis officium receperint, incongrua judicatur affectatae ambitio haereditatis. In supremo fine vitae positos suum habere judicium, ut libere testentur quod sentiunt, qui postea non sunt emendaturi: cum honestum non sit competentia compendia aliis vel debita, vel parata avertere; cum vel sacerdotis vel ministri sit prodesse, si fieri potest, omnibus, obesse nemini.

58. Hence rise inheritances sought by cunning words and gained under pretence of being self-restrained and serious. But this is absolutely abhorrent to the idea of a Christian man. For everything gained by craft and got together by cheating loses the merit of openness. Even among those who have undertaken no duty in the ranks of the clergy it is considered unfitting to seek for the inheritance of another. Let those who are reaching the end of their life use their own judgment, so that they may freely make their wills as they think best, since they will not be able to amend them later. For it is not honourable to divert the savings that belong to others or have been got together for them. It is further the duty of the priest or the cleric to be of use if possible to all and to be harmful to none.

59. Denique (14, quaest. 5, cap. Denique) si non potest alteri subveniri, nisi alter laedatur, commodius est neutrum juvari, quam gravari alterum. Ideoque in causis pecuniariis intervenire non est sacerdotis: in quibus non potest fieri, quin frequenter laedatur alter qui vincitur, quoniam intercessoris beneficio se victum arbitratur. Sacerdotis est igitur nulli nocere, prodesse velle omnibus: posse autem solius est Dei. Nam in causa capitis nocere ei quem juvare debeas periclitantem, non sine peccato est gravi: in causa autem pecuniae odia quaerere, insipientiae est; cum pro salute hominis graves frequenter fiant molestiae: in quo etiam periclitari gloriosum sit. Proposita igitur forma in sacerdotis officio teneatur; ut nulli noceat, ne

lacessitus quidem, et aliqua injuria offensus. Bonus enim est vir qui dixit: Si reddidi retribuentibus mihi mala (Psal. VII, 5). Quae enim est gloria, si eum non laedimus, qui nos non laeserit? Sed illa virtus est, si laesus remittas.

59. If it is not possible to help one without injuring another, it is better to help neither than to press hard upon one. Therefore it is not a priest's duty to interfere in money affairs. For here it must often happen that he who loses his case receives harm; and then he considers that he has been worsted through the action of the intervener. It is a priest's duty to hurt no one, to be ready to help all. To be able to do this is in God's power alone. In a case of life and death, without doubt it is a grave sin to injure him whom one ought to help when in danger. But it is foolish to gain others' hate in taking up money matters, though for the sake of a man's safety great trouble and toil may often be undertaken. It is glorious in such a case to run risks. Let, then, this be firmly held to in the priestly duties, namely, to injure none, not even when provoked and embittered by some injury. Good was the man who said: If I have rewarded evil to those who did me good. For what glory is it if we do not injure him who has not injured us? But it is true virtue to forgive when injured.

60. Quam honestum, quod cum potuisset regi inimico nocere, maluit parcere (I Reg. XXIV, 5 et seq.)! Quam etiam utile, quia successori hoc profuit, ut discerent omnes fidem regi proprio servare, nec usurpare imperium, sed vereri! Itaque et honestas utilitati praelata est, et utilitas secuta honestatem est. 123

60. What a virtuous action was that, when David wished rather to spare the king his enemy, though he could have injured him! How useful, too, it was, for it helped him when he succeeded to the throne. For all learned to observe faith to their king and not to seize the kingdom, but to fear and

reverence him. Thus what is virtuous was preferred to what was useful, and then usefulness followed on what was virtuous.

61. Parum est quod pepercit, addidit quod etiam in bello doluit occisum, et flebiliter deploravit dicens: Montes qui estis in Gelbeal, neque ros, neque pluvia cadat super vos. Montes mortis, quoniam ibi sublata est protectio potentium, protectio Saul. Non est unctus in oleo et sanguine vulneratorum, et ex adipe belligerantium. Sagitta Jonathae non est reversa retro, et gladius Saul non est reversus vacuus. Saul et Jonathas speciosi et charissimi, inseparabiles in vita sua, et in morte non sunt separati. Super aquilas leviores, super leones potentiores. Filiae Israel, plorate super Saul, qui vestiebat vos vestimenta coccinea cum ornamento vestro, qui imponebat aurum super vestimenta vestra. Quomodo ceciderunt potentes in media pugna? Jonathas in morte vulneratus est. Doleo in te, frater meus, Jonatha, speciosus mihi valde. Ceciderat amor tuus in me, sicut amor mulierum. Quomodo ceciderunt potentes, et perierunt arma concupiscenda (II Reg. I, 21 et seq.) ?

61. But that he spared him was a small matter; he also grieved for him when slain in war, and mourned for him with tears, saying: You mountains of Gilboa, let neither dew nor rain fall upon you; ye mountains of death, for there the shield of the mighty is cast away, the shield of Saul. It is not anointed with oil, but with the blood of the wounded and the fat of the warriors. The bow of Jonathan turned not back and the sword of Saul returned not empty. Saul and Jonathan were lovely and very dear, inseparable in life, and in death they were not divided. They were swifter than eagles, they were stronger than lions. You daughters of Israel, weep over Saul, who clothed you in scarlet with your ornaments, who put on gold upon your apparel. How are the mighty fallen in the midst of the battle! Jonathan was wounded even to death. I am distressed for you, my brother

Jonathan; very pleasant have you been unto me. Your love came to me like the love of women. How have the mighty fallen and the longed-for weapons perished!

62. Quae mater sic unicum defleret filium quemadmodum hic deflevit inimicum? Quis gratiae auctorem tantis prosequeretur laudibus, quantis iste prosecutus est insidiatorem capitis sui? Quam pie doluit, quanto ingemuit affectu! Aruerunt montes prophetico maledicto, et divina vis sententiam maledicentis implevit. Itaque pro regiae necis spectaculo poenam elementa solverunt.

62. What mother could weep thus for her only son as he wept here for his enemy? Who could follow his benefactor with such praise as that with which he followed the man who plotted against his life? How affectionately he grieved, with what deep feeling he bewailed him! The mountains dried up at the prophet's curse, and a divine power filled the judgment of him who spoke it. Therefore the elements themselves paid the penalty for witnessing the king's death.

63. Quid vero sancto Nabuthe, quae fuit causa mortis, nisi honestatis contemplatio? Nam cum ab eo vineam rex posceret, pecuniam daturum se pollicens; indecorum pretium pro paterna recusavit haereditate, maluitque morte declinare hujusmodi turpitudinem. Non mihi, inquit, faciat Dominus, ut dem tibi haereditatem patrum meorum (III Reg. XXI, 3); hoc est, tantum mihi opprobrium non fiat, non permittat Deus tantum extorqueri flagitium. Non utique de vitibus dicit, neque enim de vitibus cura est Deo, neque de terreno spatio, sed de jure loquitur patrum. Potuit utique alteram vineam de vineis regis accipere, et amicus esse; in quo non mediocris saeculi hujus utilitas aestimari solet: sed quod turpe erat, judicavit non videri utile: maluitque periculum cum honestate subire, quam utilitatem cum opprobrio: vulgarem utilitatem loquor, non illam in qua etiam honestatis gratia est.

63. And what, in the case of holy Naboth, was the cause of his death, except his regard for a virtuous life? For when the king demanded the vineyard from him, promising to give him money, he refused the price for his father's heritage as unseemly, and preferred to shun such shame by dying. The Lord forbid it me, that I should give the inheritance of my fathers unto you; that is, that such reproach may not fall on me, that God may not allow such wickedness to be attained by force. He is not speaking about the vines — nor has God care for vines or plots of ground — but he says it of his fathers' rights. He could have received another or the king's vineyards and been his friend, wherein men think there is no small usefulness so far as this world is concerned. But because it was base he thought it could not be useful, and so he preferred to endure danger with honour intact, rather than gain what was useful to his own disgrace. I am here again speaking of what is commonly understood as useful, not that in which there is the grace of virtuous life.

64. Denique et ipse rex potuit extorquere, sed impudens arbitrabatur, sed occisum doluit. Dominus quoque mulieris immanitatem, quae honestatis immemor turpe antetulit lucrum, congruo supplicio plectendam annuntiavit.

64. The king could himself have taken it by force, but that he thought too shameless; then when Naboth was dead he grieved. The Lord also declared that the woman's cruelty should be punished by a fitting penalty, because she was unmindful of virtue and preferred a shameful gain.

65. Turpis est itaque omnis fraus. Denique etiam in rebus vilibus exsecrabilis est staterae fallacia, et fraudulenta mensura. Si in foro rerum venalium, in usu commerciorum fraus plectitur, potestne irreprehensibilis videri inter officia 124 virtutum? Clamabat Salomon: Pondus magnum et exiguum, et mensurae duplices immundae sunt coram Domino (Prov. XX,

10). Supra quoque ait: Statera adultera, abominatio est Domino, pondus autem aequum acceptabile est illi (Prov. XI, 1).

65. Every kind of unfair action is shameful. Even in common things, false weights and unjust measures are accursed. And if fraud in the market or in business is punished, can it seem free from reproach if found in the midst of the performance of the duties of virtue? Solomon says: A great and a little weight and various measures are an abomination before the Lord. Proverbs 20:10 Before that it also says: A false balance is abomination to the Lord, but a just weight is acceptable to Him. Proverbs 11:1

CAPUT X.

De fraude in omni contractu fugienda non solum in politico jure cautum esse, verum etiam in sacris litteris, ut Josue ac Gabaonitarum patet exemplo.

CHAPTER 10.

We are warned not only in civil law, but also in the holy Scriptures, to avoid fraud in every agreement, as is clear from the example of Joshua and the Gibeonites.

66. In omnibus igitur decora est fides, justitia grata, mensura aequitatis jucunda. Quid autem loquar de contractibus caeteris, ac maxime de coemptione praediorum, vel transactionibus, atque pactis? Nonne formulae sunt, dolum malum abesse: eumque cujus dolus fuerit deprehensus, duplici poenae obnoxium fore? Ubique igitur honestatis praeponderat consideratio, quae dolum excludit, fraudem ejicit? Unde recte generalem David propheta prompsit sententiam dicens: Nec fecit proximo suo malum (Psal. XIV, 3). Non solum itaque in contractibus (in quibus etiam vitia eorum quae veneant, prodi jubentur, ac nisi intimaverit venditor, quamvis in jus emptoris transcripserit, doli actione vacuantur), sed etiam generaliter in omnibus dolus abesse debet: aperienda simplicitas, intimanda veritas est.

66. In everything, therefore, good faith is seemly, justice is pleasing, due measure in equity is delightful. But what shall I say about contracts, and especially about the sale of land, or agreements, or covenants? Are there not rules just for the purpose of shutting out all false deceit, and to make him whose deceit is found out liable to double punishment? Everywhere, then, does regard for what is virtuous take the lead; it shuts out deceit, it expels

fraud. Wherefore the prophet David has rightly stated his judgment in general, saying: He has done no evil to his neighbour. Fraud, then, ought to be wanting not only in contracts, in which the defects of those things which are for sale are ordered to be recorded (which contracts, unless the vendor has mentioned the defects, are rendered void by an action for fraud, although he has conveyed them fully to the purchaser), but it ought also to be absent in all else. Candour must be shown, the truth must be made known.

67. Veterem autem istam de dolo non jurisperitorum formulam, sed patriarcharum sententiam Scriptura divina evidenter expressit in libro Testamenti veteris, qui Jesu Nave inscribitur. Nam cum exisset fama per populos, siccatum esse mare in Hebraeorum transitu, fluxisse aquam de petra, de coelo diurnam ministrari alimoniam tot populi millibus abundantem; corruisse muros Hierico sacro tubarum sono, ictu et ululatu plebis arietatos; Hethaeorum quoque regem victum, et suspensum in ligno usque ad vesperam: Gabaonitae metuentes validam manum, venerunt cum versutia, simulantes se de terra longinqua esse, diuque peregrinatos dirupisse calceamenta, detrivisse amictus vestium, quarum veterascentium indicia monstrarent; causam autem tanti laboris, emerendae pacis, et ineundae cum Hebraeis esse amicitiae cupiditatem; et coeperunt ab Jesu Nave poscere, ut secum firmaret societatem. Et quia adhuc erat ignarus locorum, atque incolarum inscius, non cognovit fraudes eorum, neque Deum interrogavit: sed cito credidit.

67. The divine Scriptures have plainly stated (not indeed a legal rule of the lawyers but) the ancient judgment of the patriarchs on deceit, in that book of the Old Testament which is ascribed to Joshua the Son of Nun. When the report had gone forth among the various peoples that the sea was dried up at the crossing of the Hebrews; that water had flowed from the rock; that food

was supplied daily from heaven in quantities large enough for so many thousands of the people; that the walls of Jericho had fallen at the sound of the holy trumpets, being overthrown by the noise of the shouts of the people; also, that the king of Ai was conquered and had been hung on a tree until the evening; then the Gibeonites, fearing his strong hand, came with guile, pretending that they were from a land very far away, and by travelling so long had rent their shoes and worn out their clothing, of which they showed proofs that it was growing old. They said, too, that their reason for undergoing so much labour was their desire to obtain peace and to form friendship with the Hebrews, and began to ask Joshua to form an alliance with them. And he, being as yet ignorant of localities, and not knowing anything of the inhabitants, did not see through their deceit, nor did he enquire of God, but readily believed them.

68. Adeo sancta erat illis temporibus fides eorum, ut fallere aliquos posse non crederetur. Quis hoc reprehendat in sanctis, qui caeteros de suo affectu aestimant; et quia ipsis amica est veritas, mentiri neminem putant, fallere quid sit 125 ignorant: libenter credunt quod ipsi sunt, nec possunt suspectum habere quod non sunt. Hinc Salomon ait: Innocens credit omni verbo (Prov. XIV, 15; 22, q. 4, c. Innocens). Non vituperanda facilitas, sed laudanda bonitas. Hoc est innocentem esse ignorare quod noceat: et si circumscribitur ab aliquo; de omnibus tamen bene judicat, qui fidem esse in omnibus arbitratur.

68. So sacred was one’s plighted word held in those days that no one would believe that others could try to deceive. Who could find fault with the saints in this, namely, that they should consider others to have the same feelings as themselves, and suppose no one would lie because truth was their own companion? They know not what deceit is, they gladly believe of others what they themselves are, while they cannot suspect others to be what they

themselves are not. Hence Solomon says: An innocent man believes every word. Proverbs 14:15 We must not blame his readiness to believe, but should rather praise his goodness. To know nothing of anything that may injure another, this is to be innocent. And although he is cheated by another, still he thinks well of all, for he thinks there is good faith in all.

69. Hac igitur mentis suae devotione inclinatus ut crederet, testamentum disposuit, pacem dedit, confirmavit societatem. Sed ubi in terras eorum ventum est, deprehensa fraude, quod cum essent finitimi, advenas se esse simulaverant, circumscriptum sese populus patrum indignari coepit. Jesus tamen pacem quam dederat, revocandam non censuit; quia firmata erat sacramenti religione; ne dum alienam perfidiam arguit, suam fidem solveret. Mulctavit tamen eos vilioris obsequio ministerii. Clementior sententia, sed diuturnior; manet enim officiis poena veteris astutiae, haereditario in hunc diem ministerio deputata (Josue IX, 15 et seq.).

69. Induced, therefore, by such considerations to believe them, he made an agreement, he gave them peace, and formed a union with them. But when he came to their country and the deceit was found out — for though they lived quite close they pretended to be strangers — the people of our fathers began to be angry at having been deceived. Joshua, however, thought the peace they had made could not be broken (for it had been confirmed by an oath), for fear that, in punishing the treachery of others, he should be breaking his own pledge. He made them pay the penalty, however, by forcing them to undertake the lowest kind of work. The judgment was mild indeed, but it was a lasting one, for in their duties there abides the punishment of their ancient cunning, handed down to this day Joshua 9:27 in their hereditary service.

CAPUT XI.

INDUCTIS PER RETICENTIAM rhetoricam fraudum quarumdam exemplis, eas atque alias omnes apertius in Scriptura damnari ostenditur.

CHAPTER 11.

Having adduced examples of certain frauds found in a few passages of the rhetoricians, he shows that these and all others are more fully and plainly condemned in Scripture.

70. Non ego in haereditatibus adeundis digitorum percussiones, et nudi successoris saltationes notabo; nam haec etiam vulgo notabilia: non simulatae piscationis compositas copias, ut emptoris illiceretur affectus. Cur enim tam studiosus luxuriae ac deliciarum repertus est, ut hujusmodi fraudem pateretur?

70. I shall say nothing of the snapping of fingers, or the naked dancing of the heir, at entering on an inheritance. These are well-known things. Nor will I speak of the mass of fishes gathered up at a pretended fishing expedition to excite the buyer’s desires. For why did he show himself so eager for luxuries and delicacies as to allow a fraud of this character?

71. Quid mihi tractare de Syracusano illo amoeno secretoque secessu, et de Siculi hominis ealliditate: qui cum peregrinum aliquem reperisset, cognito quod cupidus esset hortorum venalium, ad coenam in hortos rogaverit: promisisse invitatum, postridie venisse: offendisse illic magnam piscatorum multitudinem, exquisitis copiis adornatum convivium, in prospectu coenantium ante hortulos compositos piscatores, ubi numquam ante

jaciebant retia: unusquisque quod ceperat, certatim offerebat epulantibus: supra mensam pisces ingerebantur, oculos recumbentium resilientes verberabant. Mirari hospes tantam copiam piscium, tantumque numerum cymbarum. Responsum quaerenti, aquationem illic esse, dulcis aquae gratia innumerabiles eo pisces convenire. Quid multa? Pellexit hospitem, ut sibi extorqueret hortos: vendere volens cogitur, pretium gravatus suscipit.

71. What need is there for me to speak of that well-known story of the pleasant and quiet retreat at Syracuse and of the cunning of a Sicilian? For he having found a stranger, and knowing that he was anxious to buy an estate, asked him to his grounds for a meal. He accepted, and on the following day he came. There the sight of a great number of fishermen met his eyes, and a banquet laid out in the most splendid profusion. In the sight of the guests, fishers were placed in the garden-grounds, where no net had ever been laid before. Each one in turn presented to the guests what he had taken, the fish were placed upon the table, and caught the glance of those who sat there. The stranger wondered at the large quantity of fish and the number of boats there were. The answer given was, that this was the great water supply, and that great numbers of fish came there because of the sweetness of the water. To be brief, he drew on the stranger to be urgent in getting the grounds, he willingly allows himself to be induced to sell them, and seemingly with a heavy heart he receives the money.

72. Sequenti die ad hortos emptor cum amicis venit, navigium nullum invenit. Percontanti num aliqua piscatoribus eo esset die feriarum solemnitas, respondetur nulla, nec umquam illic 126 praeter hesternum diem piscari solitos. Quam hic redarguendi haberet auctoritatem doli, qui tam turpe captarit aucupium deliciarum? Qui enim alterum peccati arguit, ipse a peccato debet alienus esse. Non ergo hujusmodi nugas ego in hanc Ecclesiasticae censionis auctoritatem vocabo, quae generaliter condemnat

omnem lucri turpis appetentiam, brevique sermonis compendio excludit levitatem ac versutiam.

72. On the next day the purchaser comes to the grounds with his friends, but finds no boat there. On asking whether perhaps the fishermen were observing a festival on that day, he is told that, with the exception of yesterday, they were never wont to fish there; but what power had he to proceed against such a fraud, who had so shamefully grasped at such luxuries? For he who convicts another of a fault ought himself to be free from it. I will not therefore include such trifles as these under the power of ecclesiastical censure, for that altogether condemns every desire for dishonourable gain, and briefly, with few words, forbids every sharp and cunning action.

73. Nam de illo quid loquar, qui de eo testamento quod ab aliis licet factum, falsum tamen cognoverit, haereditatem sibi aut legatum vindicet, et lucrum quaerat alieno crimine: cum etiam leges publicae eum qui sciens falso utitur, tamquam reum facinoris astringant? Regula autem justitiae manifesta est, quod a vero declinare virum non deceat bonum, nec damno injusto afficere quemquam, nec doli aliquid annectere fraudisve componere.

73. And what shall I say of him who claims to be the heir or legatee, on the proof of a will which, though falsified by others, yet was known to be so by him, and who tries to make a gain through another’s crime, though even the laws of the state convict him who knowingly makes use of a false will, as guilty of a wrong action. But the law of justice is plain, namely, that a good man ought not to go aside from the truth, nor to inflict an unjust loss on any one, nor to act at all deceitfully or to take part in any fraud.

74. Quid evidentius eo quod Ananias (Act. V, 1 et seq.), qui fraudavit de pretio agri sui, quem ipse vendiderat, et portionem pretii tamquam summae

totius numerum ante pedes posuit apostolorum, sicut reus fraudis interiit? Licuit utique illi nihil offerre, et hoc sine fraude fecisset. Sed quia fraudem admiscuit, non liberalitatis gratiam reportavit, sed fallaciae poenam exsolvit.

74. What is clearer, however, on this point than the case of Ananias? He acted falsely as regards the price he got for his land, for he sold it and laid at the apostles' feet part of the price, pretending it was the whole amount. Acts 5:2 For this he perished as guilty of fraud. He might have offered nothing and have acted so without committing a fraud. But as deceit entered into his action, he gained no favour for his liberality, but paid the penalty for his artifice.

75. Et Dominus in Evangelio cum dolo accedentes repudiabat, dicens: Vulpes foveas habent (Matth. VIII, 20); quoniam in simplicitate cordis, et innocentia nos jubet vivere. David quoque ait: Sicut novacula acuta fecisti dolum (Psal. LI, 4); nequitiae arguens proditorem, eo quod instrumentum hujusmodi ad hominis adhibetur ornatum, et plerumque ulcerat. Si quis igitur praetendat gratiam, et dolum nectat proditoris exemplo, ut eum quem protegere debeat, prodat ad mortem; instrumenti istius comparatione censetur, quod ebriae mentis et titubantis vitio manus vulnerare consuevit. Sicut iste malitiae ebrius vino, per funestae proditionis indicium Abimelech sacerdoti necem detulit, eo quod Prophetam hospitio recepisset, quem rex invidiae accensus stimulis persequebatur (I Reg. XXII).

75. The Lord also in the Gospel rejected those coming to Him with guile, saying: The foxes have holes, Matthew 8:20 for He bids us live in simplicity and innocency of heart. David also says: You have used deceit as a sharp razor, pointing out by this the treacherous man, just as an implement of this kind is used to help adorn a man, yet often wounds him. If any one makes a show of favour and yet plans deceit after the example of the traitor,

so as to give up to death him whom he ought to guard, let him be looked on in the light of that instrument which is wont to wound owing to the vice of a drunken mind and a trembling hand. Thus that man drunk with the wine of wickedness brought death on the high priest Ahimelech, through a terrible act of treachery, because he had received the prophet with hospitality when the king, roused by the stings of envy, was following him.

CAPUT XII.

NIHIL PROMITTENDUM QUOD sit inhonestum, nec si quid injustum juraveris, id observandum; contra quam peccasse Herodes demonstratur. Culpatur etiam votum a Jephthe nuncupatum, itemque alia omnia quae sibi exsolvi Deus nolit. Denique filia ejusdem Jephthe cum duobus Pythagoraeis componitur ac praeponitur.

CHAPTER 12.

We may make no promise that is wrong, and if we have made an unjust oath, we may not keep it. It is shown that Herod sinned in this respect. The vow taken by Jephtha is condemned, and so are all others which God does not desire to have paid to Him. Lastly, the daughter of Jephtha is compared with the two Pythagoreans and is placed before them.

76. Purum igitur ac sincerum oportet esse affectum, ut unusquisque (22, q. 4, c. Unusquisque) simplicem sermonem proferat, vas suum in sanctitate possideat, nec fratrem circumscriptione verborum inducat, nihil promittat inhonestum: ac si promiserit, 127 tolerabilius est promissum non facere, quam facere quod turpe sit.

76. A man's disposition ought to be undefiled and sound, so that he may utter words without dissimulation and possess his vessel in sanctification; 1 Thessalonians 4:6 that he may not delude his brother with false words nor promise anything dishonourable. If he has made such a promise it is far better for him not to fulfil it, rather than to fulfil what is shameful.

77. Saepe plerique constringunt seipsos jurisjurandi sacramento: et cum ipsi cognoverint promittendum non fuisse; sacramenti tamen contemplatione faciunt quod spoponderunt: sicut de Herode supra scripsimus (Sup. c. 9), qui saltatrici praemium turpiter promisit, crudeliter solvit. Turpe, quod regnum pro saltatione promittitur: crudele, quod mors prophetae pro jurisjurandi religione donatur. Quanto tolerabilius tali fuisset perjurium sacramento? Si tamen perjurium posset dici, quod ebrius inter vina juraverat, quod eviratus inter saltantium choros promiserat. Infertur disco prophetae caput: et hoc aestimatum est fidei esse, quod amentiae fuit.

77. Often people bind themselves by a solemn oath, and, though they come to know that they ought not to have made the promise, fulfil it in consideration of their oath. This is what Herod did, as we mentioned before. For he made a shameful promise of reward to a dancer — and cruelly performed it. It was shameful, for a kingdom was promised for a dance; and it was cruel, for the death of a prophet is sacrificed for the sake of an oath. How much better perjury would have been than the keeping of such an oath, if indeed that could be called perjury which a drunkard had sworn to in his wine-cups, or an effeminate profligate had promised while the dance was going on. The prophet’s head was brought in on a dish, Mark 6:28 and this was considered an act of good faith when it really was an act of madness!

78. Neque umquam adducar ut credam non incaute principem promisisse Jephthe, ut immolaret Deo quidquid sibi revertenti intra limen domus suae occurreret; cum et ipsum voti poenituerit sui, postquam filia occurrit sibi. Denique conscidit vestimenta sua, et dixit: Heu me! filia mea, impedisti mihi, stimulus doloris facta es mihi (Judic. XI, 35). Qui licet pio metu ac formidine acerbitatem durae solutionis impleverit; tamen luctum annuum etiam posteris deplorandum statuit ac dereliquit. Dura promissio, acerbior solutio, quam necesse habuit lugere etiam ipse qui fecit. Denique factum est

praeceptum et decretum in Israel ex diebus in dies: Ambulabant, inquit, filiae populi Israel, lugentes filiam Jephthe Galaaditidis quatuor diebus in anno (Ibid., 40). Non possum accusare virum qui necesse habuit implere quod voverat; sed tamen miserabilis necessitas, quae solvitur parricidio (22, q. 4, cap. Unusquisque, § Miserabilis).

78. Never shall I be led to believe that the leader Jephtha made his vow otherwise than without thought, when he promised to offer to God whatever should meet him at the threshold of his house on his return. For he repented of his vow, as afterwards his daughter came to meet him. He rent his clothes and said: Alas, my daughter, you have entangled me, you have become a source of trouble unto me. Judges 11:35 And though with pious fear and reverence he took upon himself the bitter fulfilment of his cruel task, yet he ordered and left to be observed an annual period of grief and mourning for future times. It was a hard vow, but far more bitter was its fulfilment, while he who carried it out had the greatest cause to mourn. Thus it became a rule and a law in Israel from year to year, as it says: that the daughters of Israel went to lament the daughter of Jephtha the Gileadite four days in a year. Judges 11:40 I cannot blame the man for holding it necessary to fulfil his vow, but yet it was a wretched necessity which could only be solved by the death of his child.

79. Melius est non vovere, quam vovere id quod sibi cui promittitur, nolit exsolvi. Denique in Isaac habemus exemplum (Gen. XXII, 13), pro quo arietem Dominus statuit immolari sibi. Non semper igitur promissa solvenda omnia sunt (22, q. 4, cap. Non semper). Denique ipse Dominus frequenter suam mutat sententiam, sicut Scriptura indicat. Nam et in eo libro qui inscribitur Numeri, proposuerat percutere morte et perdere populum: sed postea rogatus a Moyse, reconciliatus est populo suo (Num. XVI, 12 et seq.). Et iterum ad Moysen et Aaron ait: Dividite vos de medio

Synagogae ejus, et consummabo eos simul (Num. XVI, 21). Quibus discedentibus de coetu, Dathan et Abiron subito impios terra praerupto soluta hiatu absorbuit.

79. It is better to make no vow than to vow what God does not wish to be paid to Him to Whom the promise was made. In the case of Isaac we have an example, for the Lord appointed a ram to be offered up instead of him. Genesis 22:13 Therefore it is not always every promise that is to be fulfilled. Nay, the Lord Himself often alters His determination, as the Scriptures point out. For in the book called Numbers He had declared that He would punish the people with death and destroy them, Numbers 14:12 but afterwards, when besought by Moses, He was reconciled again to them. And again, He said to Moses and Aaron: Separate yourselves from among this congregation that I may consume them in a moment. Numbers 16:21 And when they separated from the assembly the earth suddenly clave asunder and opened her mouth and swallowed up Dathan and Abiram.

80. Praecellentius et antiquius istud exemplum de filia Jephthe, quam illud quod memorabile habetur apud philosophos de duobus Pythagoraeis quorum alter cum a tyranno Dionysio capitis damnatus esset, praescripto mortis die, poposcit ut domum pergendi ei facultas daretur, quo commendaret suos: ac ne revertendi 128 nutaret fides, vadem mortis obtulit, ea conditione ut si ipse deforet ad constitutum diem, vas ejus sibi pro eo moriendum agnosceret. Nec qualitatem sponsionis qui offerebatur recusavit, constantique animo diem necis praestolabatur. Itaque alter se non subtraxit, alter ad diem recepit. Quod eousque fuit mirabile, ut tyrannus eos sibi in amicitiam adscisceret, quorum urgebat periculum.

80. That example of Jephtha’s daughter is far more glorious and ancient than that of the two Pythagoreans, which is accounted so notable among the philosophers. One of these, when condemned to death by the tyrant

Dionysius, and when the day of his death was fixed, asked for leave to be granted him to go home, so as to provide for his family. But for fear that he might break his faith and not return, he offered a surety for his own death, on condition that if he himself were absent on the appointed day, his surety would be ready to die in his stead. The other did not refuse the conditions of suretyship which were proposed and awaited the day of death with a calm mind. So the one did not withdraw himself and the other returned on the day appointed. This all seemed so wonderful that the tyrant sought their friendship whose destruction he had been anxious for.

81. Quod ergo in spectatis et eruditis viris plenum miraculi est, hoc in virgine multo magnificentius, multoque illustrius deprehenditur, quae ingemiscenti patri ait: Fac mihi ut exivit de ore tuo (Jud. XI, 36 et seq.). Sed spatium duorum poposcit mensium, ut cum aequalibus conventum ageret in montibus, quae virginitatem ejus praedestinatam neci pio affectu prosequerentur. Nec fletus aequalium movit puellam, nec dolor flexit, nec gemitus retardavit, nec dies praeteriit, nec fefellit hora. Rediit ad patrem, quasi ad votum rediret, et voluntate propria cunctantem impulit, fecitque arbitratu spontaneo, ut quod erat impietatis fortuitum, fieret pietatis sacrificium.

81. What, then, in the case of esteemed and learned men is full of marvel, that in the case of a virgin is found to be far more splendid, far more glorious, as she says to her sorrowing father: Do to me according to that which has proceeded out of your mouth. Judges 11:36 But she asked for a delay of two months in order that she might go about with her companions upon the mountains to bewail fitly and dutifully her virginity now given up to death. The weeping of her companions did not move her, their grief prevailed not upon her, nor did their lamentations hold her back. She allowed not the day to pass, nor did the hour escape her notice. She returned

to her father as though returning according to her own desire, and of her own will urged him on when he was hesitating, and acted thus of her own free choice, so that what was at first an awful chance became a pious sacrifice.

CAPUT XIII.

JUDITHAM CUM MULTA pericula pro honestate subiisset, multiplicem reportasse utilitatem.

CHAPTER 13.

Judith, after enduring many dangers for virtue's sake, gained very many and great benefits.

82. Ecce tibi Judith se offert mirabilis, quae formidatum populis virum Holophernem adit, Assyriorum triumphali septum caterva. Quem primo formae gratia et vultus decore perculit, deinde sermonis circumscripsit elegantia (Judith X, 12 et seq.). Primus triumphus ejus fuit, quod integrum pudorem de tabernaculo hostis revexit: secundus, quod femina de viro reportavit victoriam, fugavit populos consilio suo (Judith XIII, 20).

82. See! Judith presents herself to you as worthy of admiration. She approaches Holophernes, a man feared by the people, and surrounded by the victorious troops of the Assyrians. At first she makes an impression on him by the grace of her form and the beauty of her countenance. Then she entraps him by the refinement of her speech. Her first triumph was that she returned from the tent of the enemy with her purity unspotted. Judith 12:20 Her second, that she gained a victory over a man, and put to flight the people by her counsel.

83. Horruerunt Persae audaciam ejus. Utique quod in illis Pythagoraeis duobus mirantur, non expavit mortis periculum, sed nec pudoris, quod est gravius bonis feminis: non unius ictum carnificis, sed nec totius exercitus

tela trepidavit. Stetit inter cuneos bellatorum femina, inter victricia arma, secura mortis. Quantum ad molem spectat periculi, moritura processit: quantum ad fidem, dimicatura.

83. The Persians were terrified at her daring. And so what is admired in the case of those two Pythagoreans deserves also in her case our admiration, for she trembled not at the danger of death, nor even at the danger her modesty was in, which is a matter of greater concern to good women. She feared not the blow of one scoundrel, nor even the weapons of a whole army. She, a woman, stood between the lines of the combatants — right amidst victorious arms — heedless of death. As one looks at her overwhelming danger, one would say she went out to die; as one looks at her faith, one says she went but out to fight.

84. Honestatem igitur secuta est Judith, et dum eam sequitur, utilitatem invenit. Honestatis enim fuit prohibere ne populus Dei se profanis dederet, ne ritus patrios et sacramenta proderet; ne sacras virgines, viduas graves, pudicas matronas barbaricae subjiceret impuritati; ne obsidionem deditione solveret: honestatis fuit se malle pro omnibus periclitari, ut omnes eximeret periculo (Judith VIII, 10 et seq.).

84. Judith then followed the call of virtue, and as she follows that, she wins great benefits. It was virtuous to prevent the people of the Lord from giving themselves up to the heathen; to prevent them from betraying their native rites and mysteries, or from yielding up their consecrated virgins, their venerable widows, and modest matrons to barbarian impurity, or from ending the siege by a surrender. It was virtuous for her to be willing to encounter danger on behalf of all, so as to deliver all from danger.

85. Quanta honestatis auctoritas, ut consilium 129 de summis rebus femina sibi vindicaret, nec principibus populi committeret! Quanta honestatis

auctoritas, ut Deum adjutorem praesumeret: quanta gratia, ut inveniret!

85. How great must have been the power of her virtue, that she, a woman, should claim to give counsel on the chiefest matters and not leave it in the hands of the leaders of the people! How great, again, the power of her virtue to reckon for certain upon God to help her! How great her grace to find His help!

CAPUT XIV.

ELISAEI FACTUM QUAM honestum atque utile fuerit. Ejusdem cum decantato Graecorum facinore comparatio. Joannem pro honestate vitam impendisse: nec non Susannam eadem causa se mortis periculo objecisse.

CHAPTER 14.

How virtuous and useful was that which Elisha did. This is compared with that oft-recounted act of the Greeks. John gave up his life for virtue's sake, and Susanna for the same reason exposed herself to the danger of death.

86. Quid vero Elisaeus nisi honestatem secutus est, cum exercitum Syriae, qui ad obsidendum eum venerat, captivum introduxit in Samariam, cujus oculos caecitate obduxerat, et dixit: Domine, aperi oculos eorum, ut videant, et viderunt (IV Reg. VI, 18 et seq.)? Itaque cum rex Israel percutere ingressos vellet, eamque sibi dari a propheta facultatem posceret; respondit non percutiendos, quorum captivitatem non esset manu operatus, armisque bellicis, sed magis subsidio alimentorum juvandos. Denique epularibus refecti copiis, numquam postea in terram Israel piratae Syriae revertendum putarunt.

86. What did Elisha follow but virtue, when he brought the army of Syria who had come to take him as captive into Samaria, after having covered their eyes with blindness? Then he said: O Lord, open their eyes that they may see. And they saw. But when the king of Israel wished to slay those that had entered and asked the prophet to give him leave to do so, he answered that they whose captivity was not brought about by strength of hand or weapons of war must not be slain, but that rather he should help

them by supplying food. Then they were refreshed with plenty of food. And after that those Syrian robbers thought they must never again return to the land of Israel.

87. Quanto hoc sublimius, quam illud Graecorum quod cum duo populi adversum se de gloria imperioque decertarent, et alter ex his haberet copiam quemadmodum naves alterius populi clanculo exureret, turpe credidit: maluitque minus posse honeste, quam plus turpiter. Et isti quidem sine flagitio hoc facere nequibant, ut eos qui consummandi belli Persici gratia in societatem convenerant, hac fraude deciperent; quam licet possent negare, non possent tamen non erubescere: Elisaeus autem non fraude, deceptos licet, sed potestate Domini percussos, maluit tamen servare quam perdere; quia decorum foret hosti parcere, et adversario donare vitam, quam potuisset auferre nisi pepercisset.

87. How much nobler was this than that which the Greeks once did! For when two nations strove one with the other to gain glory and supreme power, and one of them had the opportunity to burn the ships of the other secretly, they thought it a shameful thing to do so, and preferred to gain a less advantage honourably than a greater one in shameful wise. They, indeed, could not act thus without disgrace to themselves, and entrap by this plot those who had banded together for the sake of ending the Persian war. Though they could deny it in word, yet they could never but blush at the thought of it. Elisha, however, wished to save, not destroy, those who were deceived indeed, though not by some foul act, and had been struck blind by the power of the Lord. For it was seemly to spare an enemy, and to grant his life to an adversary when indeed he could have taken it, had he not spared it.

88. Liquet igitur id quod decorum est, semper esse utile. Nam et Judith sancta decoro contemptu propriae salutis solvit obsidionis periculum, et

publicam honestate propria acquisivit utilitatem: et Elisaeus gloriosius ignovit, quam perculit: et utilius reservavit hostes quos ceperat.

88. It is plain, then, that whatever is seemly is always useful. For holy Judith by seemly disregard for her own safety put an end to the dangers of the siege, and by her own virtue won what was useful to all in common. And Elisha gained more renown by pardoning than he would have done by slaying, and preserved those enemies whom he had taken for greater usefulness.

89. Quid autem aliud Joannes nisi honestatem consideravit? ut inhonestas nuptias etiam in rege non posset perpeti, dicens: Non licet tibi illam uxorem habere (Marc. XIV, 4). Potuit tacere, nisi indecorum sibi judicasset mortis metu verum non dicere, inclinare regi propheticam auctoritatem, adulationem subtexere. Sciebat utique moriturum se esse, quia regi adversabatur: sed honestatem saluti praetulit. Et tamen quid utilius quam quod passionis viro sancto advexit gloriam?

89. And what else did John have in mind but what is virtuous, so that he could not endure a wicked union even in the king’s case, saying: It is not lawful for you to have her to wife. Matthew 14:4 He could have been silent, had he not thought it unseemly for himself not to speak the truth for fear of death, or to make the prophetic office yield to the king, or to indulge in flattery. He knew well that he would die as he was against the king, but he preferred virtue to safety. Yet what is more expedient than the suffering which brought glory to the saint.

90. Sancta quoque Susanna denuntiato falsi testimonii terrore, cum hinc se videret urgeri 130 periculo, inde opprobrio, maluit honesta morte vitare opprobrium, quam studio salutis turpem vitam subire ac sustinere. Itaque dum honestati intendit, etiam vitam reservavit: quae si id quod sibi

videbatur ad vitam utile praeoptavisset, non tantam reportasset gloriam: immo etiam id quod non solum inutile, sed etiam periculosum foret, poenam criminis forsitan non evasisset (Dan. XIII). Advertimus igitur quia id quod turpe est, non possit esse utile: neque rursus id quod honestum est, inutile; quia complex honestatis est semper utilitas, et utilitatis honestas.

90. Holy Susanna, too, when threatened with the fear of false witness, seeing herself hard pressed on one side by danger, on the other by disgrace, preferred to avoid disgrace by a virtuous death rather than to endure and live a shameful life in the desire to save herself. So while she fixed her mind on virtue, she also preserved her life. But if she had preferred what seemed to her to be useful to preserve life, she would never have gained such great renown, nay, perhaps — and that would have been not only useless but even dangerous — she might even not have escaped the penalty for her crime. We note, therefore, that whatsoever is shameful cannot be useful, nor, again, can that which is virtuous be useless. For usefulness is ever the double of virtue, and virtue of usefulness.

CAPUT XV.

RELATO ROMANORUM GENEROSO consilio, maximam fuisse Moysi honestatis curam, ex ejus factis declaratur.

CHAPTER 15.

After mentioning a noble action of the Romans, the writer shows from the deeds of Moses that he had the greatest regard for what is virtuous.

91. Memorabile ferunt rhetores, quod dux Romanorum cum ad eum adversarii regis medicus venisset, pollicens daturum se regi venenum, vinctum eum ad hostem remiserit. Et revera praeclarum, ut qui virtutis certamen susceperat nollet fraude vincere. Non enim in victoria honestatem ponebat, sed ipsam, nisi honestate quaesitam, victoriam turpem pronuntiabat.

91. It is related as a memorable deed of a Roman general, that when the physician of a hostile king came to him and promised to give him poison, he sent him back bound to the enemy. In truth, it is a noble thing for a man to refuse to gain the victory by foul acts, after he has entered on the struggle for power. He did not consider virtue to lie in victory, but declared that to be a shameful victory unless it was gained with honour.

92. Redeamus ad nostrum Moysen, atque ad superiora revertamur; ut quanto praestantiora, tanto antiquiora promamus. Nolebat Aegypti rex populum dimittere patrum. Dixit Moyses sacerdoti Aaron, ut extenderet virgam suam super omnes aquas Aegypti. Extendit Aaron, et conversa est aqua fluminis in sanguinem, et nemo poterat bibere aquam, omnesque

Aegyptii siti peribant: sincera autem fluenta patribus abundabant (Exod. VII, 20). Jactaverunt favillam in coelum, et facta sunt ulcera, et vesicae candentes in hominibus et quadrupedibus (Exod. IX, 10 et seq.). Deduxerunt grandinem in igne flammeo, contrita erant super terram omnia. Rogavit Moyses, et universa in suam gratiam reverterunt: grando sedata est, sanata ulcera, solitos potus flumina praebuerunt (Ibid. 30).

92. Let us return to our hero Moses, and to loftier deeds, to show they were both superior as well as earlier. The king of Egypt would not let the people of our fathers go. Then Moses bade the priest Aaron to stretch his rod over all the waters of Egypt. Aaron stretched it out, and the water of the river was turned into blood. Exodus 7:19 None could drink the water, and all the Egyptians were perishing with thirst; but there was pure water flowing in abundance for the fathers. They sprinkled ashes toward heaven, and sores and burning boils came upon man and beast. Exodus 9:10 They brought down hail mingled with flaming fire, and all things were destroyed upon the land. Exodus 9:23 Moses prayed, and all things were restored to their former beauty. The hail ceased, the sores were healed, the rivers gave their wonted draught. Exodus 9:29

93. Iterum caligantibus tenebris operta erat terra per triduum, ex quo Moyses manum levaverat, et tenebras infuderat (Exod. X, 22). Moriebatur omne primogenitum Aegypti, cum Hebraeorum omnis esset inoffensa progenies. Rogatus Moyses, ut his quoque finem exitiis daret, oravit et impetravit (Exod. XII, 29 et seq.). In illo praedicandum, quod a fraudis consortio temperaverit: in hoc mirabile quoniam divinitus intentata supplicia virtute propria etiam ab hoste detorserit, vere nimium, sicut scriptum est, mansuetus et mitis. Sciebat quod fidem rex non servaret promissis; tamen honestum putabat ut rogatus oraret, laesus benediceret, appetitus remitteret (Num. XII, 3).

93. Then, again, the land was covered with thick darkness for the space of three days, because Moses had raised his hand and spread out the darkness. Exodus 10:22 All the first-born of Egypt died, while all the offspring of the Hebrews was left unharmed. Exodus 12:29 Moses was asked to put an end to these horrors, and he prayed and obtained his request. In the one case it was a fact worthy of praise that he checked himself from joining in deceit; in the other it was noteworthy how, by his innate goodness, he turned aside from the foe those divinely ordered punishments. He was indeed, as it is written, gentle and meek. Numbers 12:3 He knew that the king would not keep true to his promises, yet he thought it right and good to pray when asked to do so, to bless when wronged, to forgive when besought.

94. Projecit virgam, et serpens factus est, qui devoravit serpentes Aegyptiorum (Exod. VII, 12): significans quod Verbum caro fieret, quae serpentis diri venena 131 vacuaret per remissionem et indulgentiam peccatorum. Virga est enim Verbum directum, regale, plenum potestatis, insigne imperii. Virga serpens facta est, quoniam qui erat Filius Dei ex Deo Patre natus, Filius hominis factus est, natus ex Virgine: qui quasi serpens exaltatus in cruce, medicinam vulneribus infudit humanis. Unde et ipse Dominus ait: Sicut Moyses exaltavit serpentem in deserto, ita exaltari oportet Filium hominis (Joan. III, 14).

94. He cast down his rod and it became a serpent which devoured the serpents of Egypt; Exodus 7:12 this signifying that the Word should become Flesh to destroy the poison of the dread serpent by the forgiveness and pardon of sins. For the rod stands for the Word that is true — royal — filled with power — and glorious in ruling. The rod became a serpent; so He Who was the Son of God begotten of the Father became the Son of man born of a woman, and lifted, like the serpent, on the cross, poured His healing medicine on the wounds of man. Wherefore the Lord Himself says: As

Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of Man be lifted up. John 3:14

95. Denique et alterum signum ad Dominum Jesum pertinet, quod fecit Moyses: Manum suam misit in sinum, et protulit eam, et facta est manus ejus sicut nix. Iterum misit, et protulit eam, et erat sicut carnis humanae species (Exod. IV, 6, 7); significans Domini Jesu primum fulgorem Divinitatis, postea susceptionem carnis, in qua fide credere omnes gentes populosque oporteret. Merito manum misit, quia dextera Dei Christus est, in cujus divinitate et incarnatione si quis non crediderit, quasi reprobus flagellatur: sicut iste rex qui quoniam signis non credidit evidentibus, postea flagellatus orabat, ut veniam mereretur. Quantus igitur honestatis affectus esse debeat, ex his probatur, et eo maxime quod se objiciebat pro populo, dicens ut remitteret populo Deus, aut certe de libro viventium se deleret.

95. Again, another sign which Moses gave points to our Lord Jesus Christ. He put his hand into his bosom, and drew it out again, and his hand was become as snow. A second time he put it in and drew it out, and it was again like the appearance of human flesh. Exodus 4:6-7 This signified first the original glory of the Godhead of the Lord Jesus, and then the assumption of our flesh, in which truth all nations and peoples must believe. So he put in his hand, for Christ is the right hand of God; and whosoever does not believe in His Godhead and Incarnation is punished as a sinner; like that king who, while not believing open and plain signs, yet afterwards, when punished, prayed that he might find mercy. How great, then, Moses' regard for virtue must have been is shown by these proofs, and especially by the fact that he offered himself on behalf of the people, praying that God would either forgive the people or blot him out of the book of the living. Exodus 32:32

CAPUT XVI.

PAUCIS DE TOBIA injectis, Raguelem honestate philosophis antecelluisse evincitur.

CHAPTER 16.

After saying a few words about Tobit he demonstrates that Raguel surpassed the philosophers in virtue.

96. Tobis quoque formam expressit honestatis evidentius, cum relicto convivio mortuos sepeliret, et ad cibos pauperis mensae invitaret inopes (Tobiae II, 2 et seq.). Raguel praecipue, qui contemplatione honestatis, cum rogaretur ut filiam suam in conjugium daret, vitia quoque filiae non tacebat; ne circumvenire petitorem videretur tacendo. Itaque cum Tobis filius Tobis posceret ut sibi daretur puella, respondit lege quidem ipsi eam deberi tamquam propinquo, sed dedisse se eam jam sex viris, et omnes eos esse mortuos. Justus itaque vir plus alienis timebat, et malebat innuptam sibi manere filiam, quam propter nuptias ejus extraneos periclitari (Tobiae VII, 13 et seq.).

96. Tobit also clearly portrayed in his life true virtue, when he left the feast and buried the dead, Tobit 2:4 and invited the needy to the meals at his own poor table. And Raguel is a still brighter example. For he, in his regard for virtue, when asked to give his daughter in marriage, was not silent regarding his daughter’s faults, for fear of seeming to get the better of the suitor by silence. So when Tobit the son of Tobias asked that his daughter might be given him, he answered that, according to the law, she ought to be given him as near of kin, but that he had already given her to six men, and

all of them were dead. Tobit 7:11 This just man, then, feared more for others than for himself, and wished rather that his daughter should remain unmarried than that others should run risks in consequence of their union with her.

97. Quam breviter absolvit omnes quaestiones philosophorum. Illi de vitiis tractant domorum, tegenda an prodenda a venditore videantur: noster iste nec filiae vitia celanda arbitratus est. Et certe non ipse affectabat ut eam traderet, sed rogabatur. Quanto utique iste honestior sit illis, dubitare non possumus, si conferamus quanto praestantior sit filiae causa, quam rei venalis pecunia. 132

97. How simply he settled all the questions of the philosophers! They talk about the defects of a house, whether they ought to be concealed or made known by the vendor. Raguel was quite certain that his daughter’s faults ought not to be kept secret. And, indeed, he had not been eager to give her up — he was asked for her. We can have no doubt how much more nobly he acted than those philosophers, when we consider how much more important a daughter’s future is than some mere money affair.

CAPUT XVII.

QUANTO HONESTATIS STUDIO antiqui patres in captivitatem abituri, sacrum ignem occuluerint.

CHAPTER 17.

With what virtuous feelings the fathers of old hid the sacred fires when on the point of going into captivity.

98. Consideremus aliud quod in captivitate gestum, summum tenuit honestatis decorem. Nullis enim adversis honestas impeditur, quae in his eminet, et magis praecellit quam in prosperis. Inter vincula itaque, inter arma, flammas, servitutem, quae liberis omni supplicio gravior est, inter poenas morientium, excidia patriae, vivorum formidinem, sanguinem peremptorum, non excidit tamen cura honestatis majoribus nostris: sed inter eversae patriae cineres et favillas in affectibus piis resplenduit et refulsit.

98. Let us consider, again, that deed done at the time of the captivity, which has attained the highest degree of virtue and glory. Virtue is checked by no adversities, for it rises up among them, and prevails here rather than in prosperity. ‘Mid chains or arms, ‘mid flames or slavery (which is harder for freemen to bear than any punishment), ‘midst the pains of the dying, the destruction of their country, the fears of the living, or the blood of the slain, — amidst all this our forefathers failed not in their care and thought for what is virtuous. Amidst the ashes and dust of their fallen country it glowed and shone forth brightly in pious efforts.

99. Nam cum in Persidem ducerentur patres nostri, qui tunc Dei omnipotentis cultores erant, acceptum ignem de altari sacerdotes Domini occulte in valle absconderunt. Erat illic velut patens puteus, aquae secessu infrequens, nec populari usui patens, ignoto et ab arbitris remoto loco: ibi obsignaverunt indicio sacro pariter ac silentio ignem reconditum (II Mach. I, 19 et seq.). Non illis studio fuit aurum defodere, argentum abscondere, quod servarent posteris suis: sed inter extrema sua honestatis curam habentes, sacrum ignem servandum putarunt; ne eum vel impuri contaminarent, vel defunctorum sanguis exstingueret, vel deformium ruinarum acervus aboleret.

99. For when our fathers were carried away into Persia, 2 Maccabbees 1:19 certain priests, who then were in the service of Almighty God, secretly buried in the valley the fire taken from the altar of the Lord. There was there an open pit, with no water in it, and not accessible for the wants of the people, in a spot unknown and free from intruders. There they sealed the hidden fire with the sacred mark and in secret. They were not anxious to bury gold or to hide up silver to preserve it for their children, but in their own great peril, thinking of all that was virtuous, they thought the sacred fire ought to be preserved so that impure men might not defile it, nor the blood of the slain extinguish it, nor the heaps of miserable ruins cover it.

100. Abierunt itaque in Persidem sola religione liberi; quoniam sola illis per captivitatem extorqueri nequivit. Post vero plurimum temporis, quando placuit Deo, dedit hanc mentem regi Persarum, ut restaurari in Judea templum, et legitimos reparari Hierosolymis ritus juberet. Cujus gratia muneris Neemiam sacerdotem rex Persarum direxit. At ille secum deduxit sacerdotum illorum nepotes, qui profecturi de patrio solo, sacrum ne periret ignem absconderant. Venientes autem, ut patrum sermone est proditum, non invenerunt ignem, sed aquam. Et cum deesset ignis, quo adolerent altaria,

haurire eos aquam Neemias sacerdos, sibique deferre, et aspergere super ligna jussit. Tunc, visu mirabile! cum esset coelum intextum nubibus, sol repente illuxit, accensus est magnus ignis; ita ut omnes in tam evidenti Domini gratia factum stupentes, laetitia perfunderentur. Orabat Neemias, psallebant sacerdotes hymnum Deo. Utque consumptum est sacrificium, jussit iterum Neemias residua aqua majores perfundi lapides: quo facto flamma accensa est, lumen autem refulgens ab altari consummatum illico est.

100. So they went to Persia, free only in their religion; for that alone could not be torn from them by their captivity. After a length of time, indeed, according to God's good pleasure, He put it into the Persian king's heart to order the temple in Judea to be restored, and the regular customs to be again rebuilt at Jerusalem. To carry out this work of his the Persian king appointed the priest Nehemiah. He took with him the grandchildren of those priests who on leaving their native soil had hidden the sacred fire to save it from perishing. But on arriving, as we are told in the history of the fathers, they found not fire but water. And when fire was wanting to burn upon the altars, the priest Nehemiah bade them draw the water, to bring it to him, and to sprinkle it upon the wood. Then, O wondrous sight! Though the sky had been overcast with clouds, suddenly the sun shone forth, a great fire flamed forth, so that all, wonder-stricken at such a clear sign of the favour of the Lord, were filled with joy. Nehemiah prayed; the priests sang a hymn of praise to God, when the sacrifice was completed. Nehemiah again bade the remainder of the water to be poured upon the larger stones. And when this was done a flame burst forth while the light shining from off the altar shone more brightly yet.

101. Hoc patefacto indicio, rex Persarum eo loco in quo ignis fuerat absconditus, et postea reperta est aqua, templum fieri mandavit, cui 133

inferebantur dona plurima. Appellaverunt autem illud qui erant cum sancto Neemia, ephthar, quod interpretationem habet purificationis: a plurimis nephthe vocatur. Invenitur autem in descriptionibus Hieremiae prophetae, quod jusserit accipere de igne eos qui postea essent futuri. Hic est ignis qui cecidit super sacrificium Moysi, et consumpsit illud, sicut scriptum est: Quia exivit ignis a Domino, et consumpsit universa quae erant super altare holocausta (Levit. IX, 24). Hoc igne oportebat sanctificari sacrificium; ideoque et in filios Aaron qui alienum ignem inferre voluerunt, exivit iterum ignis a Domino et consumpsit eos, ita ut mortui extra castra projicerentur (Levit. X, 1 et seq.).

101. When this sign became known, the king of Persia ordered a temple to be built on that spot where the fire had been hidden and the water afterwards found, to which many gifts were made. They who were with holy Nehemiah called it Naphthar, 2 Maccabbees 1:36 — which means cleansing — by many it is called Nephi. It is to be found also in the history of the prophet Jeremiah, that he bade those who should come after him to take of the fire. That is the fire which fell on Moses' sacrifice and consumed it, as it is written: There came a fire out from the Lord and consumed upon the altar all the whole burnt-offering. Leviticus 9:24 The sacrifice must be hallowed with this fire only. Therefore, also, fire went out from the Lord upon the sons of Aaron who wished to offer strange fire, and consumed them, so that their dead bodies were cast forth without the camp. Leviticus 10:2

101. Veniens autem Hieremias in locum, invenit domum in modum speluncae, et tabernaculum et arcam, et altare incensi intulit illuc, et obstruxit ostium: quod cum hi qui simul venerant, curiosius perscrutarentur, ut notarent sibi locum; nequaquam comprehendere atque invenire potuerunt. Ut autem cognovit Hieremias quod affectassent, dixit: Ignotus

erit locus, donec congreget Deus congregationem populi, et propitius fiat. Tunc Deus ostendet haec, et apparebit majestas Domini (II Mach. II, 5 et seq.).

101. Jeremiah coming to a spot found there a house like a cave, and brought into it the tabernacle, the ark, and the altar of incense, and closed up the entrance. And when those who had come with him examined it rather closely to mark the spot, they could not discover nor find it. When Jeremiah understood what they wanted he said: The spot will remain unknown until God shall gather His people together and be gracious to them. Then God shall reveal these things and the majesty of the Lord shall appear. 2 Maccabbees 2:5

CAPUT XVIII.

SUPERIORIS EVENTUS, AC potissimum oblati a Neemia sacrificii narratione Spiritum sanctum, Christianorumque baptisma significari: et eodem etiam Moysis et Eliae sacrificium, atque historiam Noe referri.

CHAPTER 18.

In the narration of that event already mentioned, and especially of the sacrifice offered by Nehemiah, is typified the Holy Spirit and Christian baptism. The sacrifice of Moses and Elijah and the history of Noah are also referred to the same.

102. Congregationem populi tenemus, propitiationem Domini Dei nostri agnoscimus, quam propitiator in sua operatus est passione. Arbitror quod nec ignem istum possimus ignorare, cum legerimus quia baptizat Dominus Jesus in Spiritu sancto et igni, sicut in Evangelio dixit Joannes (Joan. I, 33). Merito consumebatur sacrificium, quoniam pro peccato erat. Ille autem ignis typus Spiritus sancti fuit, qui descensurus erat post Domini ascensionem, et remissurus peccata omnium: qui quasi ignis inflammat animum ac mentem fidelem. Unde ait Hieremias accepto Spiritu: Et factum est in corde meo ut ignis ardens, flammigerans in ossibus meis: et dissolutus sum undique, et ferre non possum (Jer. XX, 9). Sed etiam in Actibus apostolorum cum descendisset super apostolos Spiritus, et plerosque, qui exspectabant promissa Domini, tamquam ignem dispersas esse linguas legimus. Denique sic vaporabatur singulorum animus, ut musto repleti esse aestimarentur, qui acceperant linguarum diversitatem (Act. II, 4 et seq.).

102. We form the congregation of the Lord. We recognize the propitiation of our Lord God, which our Propitiator wrought in His passion. I think, too, we cannot leave out of sight that fire when we read that the Lord Jesus baptizes with the Holy Spirit and with fire, John 1:33 as John said in his Gospel. Rightly was the sacrifice consumed, for it was for sin. But that fire was a type of the Holy Spirit Who was to come down after the Lord's ascension, and forgive the sins of all, and Who like fire inflames the mind and faithful heart. Wherefore Jeremiah, after receiving the Spirit, says: It became in my heart as a burning fire flaming in my bones, and I am vile and cannot bear it. Jeremiah 20:9 In the Acts of the Apostles, also, when the Holy Spirit descended upon the apostles and those others who were waiting for the Promise of the Father, we read that tongues as of fire were distributed among them. Acts 2:3 The soul of each one was so uplifted by His influence that they were supposed to be full of new wine, Acts 2:13 who instead had received the gift of a diversity of tongues.

103. Quid ergo sibi vult esse quod ignis aqua factus est, et aqua ignem excitavit; nisi quia spiritalis gratia per ignem exurit, per aquam mundat peccata nostra? Eluitur enim peccatum, et exuritur. Unde et Apostolus ait: Uniuscujusque 134 opus quale sit, ignis probabit (I Cor. III, 13); et infra: Si cujus opus arserit, detrimentum patietur, ipse autem salvus erit, sic tamen quasi per ignem (Ibid., 15).

103. What else can this mean — namely, that fire became water and water called forth fire — but that spiritual grace burns out our sins through fire, and through water cleanses them? For sin is washed away and it is burnt away. Wherefore the Apostle says: The fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is. 1 Corinthians 3:13 And further on: If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire. 1 Corinthians 3:15

104. Quod ideo posuimus, ut probaremus per ignem exuri peccata. Notum est ergo hunc esse vere ignem sacrum, qui tunc in typo futurae remissionis peccatorum descendit super sacrificium.

104. This, then, we have stated, so as to prove that sins are burnt out by means of fire. We know now that this is in truth the sacred fire which then, as a type of the future remission of sins, came down upon the sacrifice.

105. Hic igitur ignis absconditur captivitatis tempore, quo culpa regnat: tempore autem libertatis promitur. Et licet in aquae speciem mutatus, tamen servat ignis naturam, ut consumeret sacrificium. Nec mireris cum legeris, quia Pater Deus dixit: Ego sum ignis consumens (Deut. IV, 24); et alibi: Me dereliquerant fontem aquae vivae (Jerem. II, 13). Ipse quoque Dominus Jesus quasi ignis inflammabat audientium corda (Luc. XII, 49), quasi fons refrigerabat; nam ipse in Evangelio suo dicit quod ideo venerit, ut ignem in terras mitteret, et potum sitientibus aquae vivae ministraret (Joan. VII, 37 et seq.).

105. This fire is hidden in the time of captivity, during which sin reigns, but in the time of liberty it is brought forth. And though it is changed into the appearance of water, yet it preserves its nature as fire so as to consume the sacrifice. Do not wonder when you read that God the Father said: I am a consuming fire. Deuteronomy 4:24 And again: They have forsaken Me, the fountain of living water. Jeremiah 2:13 The Lord Jesus, too, like a fire inflamed the hearts of those who heard Him, and like a fount of waters cooled them. For He Himself said in His Gospel that He came to send fire on the earth Luke 12:49 and to supply a draught of living waters to those who thirst. John 7:37-38

106. Eliae quoque tempore descendit ignis, quando provocavit prophetas gentium, ut altare sine igne accenderent. Et cum illi nequissent facere,

hostiam suam tertio ipse perfudit aqua, et manabat aqua in circuitu altaris, et exclamavit, et cecidit ignis a Domino de coelo, et consumpsit holocaustum (III Reg. XVIII, 38).

106. In the time of Elijah, also, fire came down when he challenged the prophets of the heathen to light up the altar without fire. When they could not do so, he poured water thrice over his victim, so that the water ran round about the altar; then he cried out and the fire fell from the Lord from heaven and consumed the burnt-offering.

107. Hostia illa tu es. Considera tacitus singula. In te descendit vapor Spiritus sancti, te videtur exurere, cum tua peccata consumit. Denique quod consumptum est sacrificium Moysi tempore, sacrificium pro peccato erat. Unde Moyses ait, sicut in Machabaeorum scriptum est libro (II Mach. II, 11), eo quod non sit manducatum quod erat pro peccato, consumptum est. Nonne tibi consumi videtur, quando in baptismatis sacramento interit homo totus exterior? Vetus homo noster confixus est cruci, Apostolus clamat (Rom. VI, 6). Illic, sicut Patrum exempla te docent, Aegyptius demergitur, Hebraeus resurgit, sancto renovatus Spiritu, qui etiam per mare Rubrum inoffenso transivit vestigio, ubi baptizati sunt patres sub nube, et in mari (I Cor. X, 1 et seq.).

107. You are that victim. Contemplate in silence each single point. The breath of the Holy Spirit descends on you, He seems to burn you when He consumes your sins. The sacrifice which was consumed in the time of Moses was a sacrifice for sin, wherefore Moses said, as is written in the book of the Maccabees: Because the sacrifice for sin was not to be eaten, it was consumed. 2 Maccabbees 2:11 Does it not seem to be consumed for you when in the sacrament of baptism the whole outer man perishes? Our old man is crucified, Romans 6:6 the Apostle exclaims. Herein, as the example of the fathers teaches us, the Egyptian is swallowed up — the

Hebrew arises renewed by the Holy Spirit, as he also crossed the Red Sea dryshod — where our fathers were baptized in the cloud and in the sea. 1 Corinthians 10:1-2

108. In diluvio quoque Noe tempore mortua est omnis caro, justus tamen cum sua progenie servatus est (Gen. VII, 21 et seq.). Annon consumitur homo, cum absolvitur mortale istud a vita? Denique exterior corrumpitur, sed interior renovatur. Nec solum in baptismate, sed etiam in poenitentia fit carnis interitus ad profectum spiritus; sicut Apostolica docemur auctoritate, dicente sancto Paulo: Judicavi ut praesens eum qui sic operatus est, tradere hujusmodi Satanae in interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus sit in die Domini nostri Jesu Christi (I Cor. V, 3, 4).

108. In the flood, too, in Noah's time all flesh died, though just Noah was preserved together with his family. Genesis 7:23 Is not a man consumed when all that is mortal is cut off from life? The outer man is destroyed, but the inner is renewed. Not in baptism alone but also in repentance does this destruction of the flesh tend to the growth of the spirit, as we are taught on the Apostle's authority, when holy Paul says: I have judged as though I were present him that has so done this deed, to deliver him unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ.

109. Prolixior excursus admirandi gratia mysterii factus videtur, dum studemus revelatum plenius sacramentum pandere, quod eo usque plenum honestatis est, ut sit plenum religionis. 135

109. We seem to have made a somewhat lengthy digression for the sake of regarding this wonderful mystery, in desiring to unfold more fully this sacrament which has been revealed to us, and which, indeed, is as full of virtue as it is full of religious awe.

CAPUT XIX.

NARRATUR ADMISSUM IN levitae cujusdam uxorem a civibus Gabaa flagitium, atque ex illius ultione colligitur quam veteribus illis cordi fuerit honestatis ratio.

CHAPTER 19.

The crime committed by the inhabitants of Gibeah against the wife of a certain Levite is related, and from the vengeance taken it is inferred how the idea of virtue must have filled the heart of those people of old.

110. Quanta autem honestatis cura majoribus fuit, ut unius mulieris injuriam stupro illatam intemperantium bello persequerentur, et victo populo, tribus Benjamin obtestarentur in conjugium se eis proprias filias non daturos! Remanserat tribus sine ullo posteritatis subsidio, nisi fraudis necessariae accepisset licentiam. Quae tamen indulgentia congruo intemperantiae supplicio non videtur vacare, quando illis hoc solum permissum est, ut rapto inirent conjugia, non connubii sacramento. Et revera dignum fuit ut qui alienum contubernium solverant, ipsi nuptiarum amitterent solemnitatem.

110. What regard for virtue our forefathers had to avenge by a war the wrongs of one woman which had been brought on her by her violation at the hands of profligate men! Nay, when the people were conquered, they vowed that they would not give their daughters in marriage to the tribe of Benjamin! That tribe had remained without hope of posterity, had they not received leave of necessity to use deceit. And this permission does not seem to fail in giving fitting punishment for violation, since they were only allowed to enter on a union by a rape, and not through the sacrament of

marriage. And indeed it was right that they who had broken another's intercourse should themselves lose their marriage rites.

111. Quam plena autem miserationis historia! Vir, inquit (Judic. XIX, et seq.), levita acceperat sibi jugalem (quam a concubitu concubinam appellatam arbitror) quae aliquanto post quibusdam, ut fieri solet, offensa rebus, ad patrem se contult, et fuit illic quatuor mensibus. Et surrexit vir ejus, et abiit ad soceri sui domum, ut cum sua jugali repararet gratiam, et revocaret eam, ac reduceret; occurrit ei mulier, atque in domum patris sui introduxit maritum.

111. How full of pitiful traits is this story! A man, it says, Judges 19:1-3 a Levite, had taken to himself a wife, who I suppose was called a concubine from the word concubitus. She some time afterwards, as is wont to happen, offended at certain things, betook herself to her father, and was with him four months. Then her husband arose and went to the house of his father-in-law, to reconcile himself with his wife, to win her back and take her home again. The woman ran to meet him and brought her husband into her father's house.

112. Laetatus est adolescentulae pater: venit obviam, et sedit cum eo tribus diebus; et epulati sunt, et quieverunt. Et sequenti die surrexit levita diluculo, et retentus est a socero, ut tam cito non desereret convivii jucunditatem. Et alio et tertio die non permisit pater adolescentulae proficisci generum suum, donec laetitia et gratia inter eos omnis consummaretur. Sed die septimo cum jam ad vesperum declinaret dies, post mensas et laeta convivia, cum praetexeret finitimae noctis viciniam, ut apud suos potius, quam apud extraneos requiescendum putaret, nequivit tenere, et dimisit una cum filia sua.

112. The maiden's Judges 4-9 father rejoiced and went to meet him, and the man stayed with him three days, and they ate and rested. On the next day the Levite arose at daybreak, but was detained by his father-in-law, that he might not so quickly lose the pleasure of his company. Again on the next and the third day the maiden's father did not suffer his son-in-law to start, until their joy and mutual regard was complete. But on the seventh day, when it was already drawing to a close, after a pleasant meal, having urged the approach of the coming night, so as to make him think he ought to sleep among friends rather than strangers, he was unable to keep him, and so let him go together with his daughter.

113. Verum ubi facta est aliqua progressio, cum vesper jam propior urgeret, et appropinquatum foret ad urbem Jebusaeorum, dicente servulo, ut ad eam dominus suus deflecteret, non acquievit dominus suus; quia non erat ea civitas filiorum Israel: sed intendit pervenire usque Gabaa, quae habitabatur a populo tribus Benjamin. Nec erat quisquam qui advenientes reciperet hospitio, nisi vir peregrinus progressa aetate. Qui cum aspexisset eos, et interrogasset levitam: Quo vadis, vel unde venis? quo respondente quod esset viator, et repeteret montem Ephraem, et non esset qui colligeret eum, hospitium ei obtulit, et adornavit convivium.

113. When some little progress Judges 19:10-21 was made, though night was threatening to come on, and they were close by the town of the Jebusites, on the slave's request that his lord should turn aside there, he refused, because it was not a city of the children of Israel. He meant to get as far as Gibeah, which was inhabited by the people of the tribe of Benjamin. But when they arrived there was no one to receive them with hospitality, except a stranger of advanced age — When he had looked upon them he asked the Levite: Where are you going, and where are you coming from? On his answering that he was travelling and was making for Mount

Ephraim and that there was no one to take him in, the old man offered him hospitality and prepared a meal.

114. At ubi satietas epulandi facta est, et mensae remotae, irruerunt pestilentes viri, et circumierunt domum. Tunc senior filiam suam virginem, 136 et coaequalem ejus cum qua cubitare solita esset, offerebat viris iniquitatis, tantum ne vis irrogaretur hospiti. Verum ubi parum ratio processit, et vis praevaluit, cessit levites jugali sua: et cognoverunt eam, et tota nocte illuserunt ei. Qua atrocitate, vel dolore victa injuriae, ante ostium hospitis, quo vir suus diverterat, projecit se atque exhalavit spiritum, supremo licet vitae munere affectum bonae conjugis servans, ut exsequias saltem sui funeris marito reservaret.

114. And when they were satisfied Judges 19:22-26 and the tables were removed, vile men rushed up and surrounded the house. Then the old man offered these wicked men his daughter, a virgin, and the concubine with whom she shared her bed, only that violence might not be inflicted on his . But when reason did no good and violence prevailed, the Levite parted from his wife, and they knew her and abused her all that night. Overcome by this cruelty or by grief at her wrong, she fell at the door of their host where her husband had entered, and gave up the ghost, with the last effort of her life guarding the feelings of a good wife so as to preserve for her husband at least her mortal remains.

115. Quo cognito (ne multis morer) omnis prope populus Israel in bellum exarsit, dubioque eventu cum anceps maneret praelium, tertia tamen praeliandi vice, traditus est populus Benjamin populo Israel, et divina judicatus sententia, poenas intemperantiae luit. Condemnatus quoque ne quis ei ex numero patrum filiam suam daret in uxorem: idque confirmatum jurisjurandi sacramento est. Sed compuncti quod tam acerbam in fratres tulissent sententiam, ita severitatem ejus temperaverunt, ut orbatas

parentibus virgines in conjugium sibi adsciscerent, quorum patres pro delicto perempti forent, vel rapto copulam sociarent; quia pro tam turpis commissi facinore, qui alieni matrimonii jus violaverant, indignos se impetrando exhibuere matrimonio. Sed ne periret una populo tribus, fraudis indulta est conniventia.

115. When this became known (to be brief) almost all the people of Israel broke out into war. The war remained doubtful with an uncertain issue, but in the third engagement the people of Benjamin were delivered to the people of Israel, Judges 20:48 and being condemned by the divine judgment paid the penalty for their profligacy. The sentence, further, was that none of the people of the fathers should give his daughter in marriage to them. This was confirmed by a solemn oath. But relenting at having laid so hard a sentence on their brethren, they moderated their severity so as to give them in marriage those maidens that had lost their parents, whose fathers had been slain for their sins, or to give them the means of finding a wife by a raid. Because of the villainy of so foul a deed, they who have violated another's marriage rights were shown to be unworthy to ask for marriage. But for fear that one tribe might perish from the people, they connived at the deceit.

116. Quanta igitur honestatis cura majoribus fuerit, hinc proditur, ut quadraginta millia virorum stringerent gladium adversus fratres suos de tribu Benjamin, dum ulcisci volunt injuriam pudicitiae; quia temeratores castitatis non sufferebantur. Itaque eo bello caesa sunt utrinque sexaginta quinque millia bellatorum, et exustae urbes. Et cum inferior primo fuisset populus Israel, tamen nec adversi metu belli percitus, vindicandae castitatis sequestravit dolorem. Ruebat in praelium, vel sanguine suo parans commissi flagitii diluere notam.

116. What great regard our forefathers had for virtue is shown by the fact that forty thousand men drew the sword against their brethren of the tribe of Benjamin in their desire to avenge the wrong done to modesty, for they would not endure the violation of chastity. And so in that war on both sides there fell sixty-five thousand warriors, while their cities were burnt. And when at first the people of Israel were defeated, yet unmoved by fear at the reverses of the war, they disregarded the sorrow the avenging of chastity cost them. They rushed into the battle ready to wash out with their own blood the stains of the crime that had been committed.

CAPUT XX.

POST SOLUTAM EX Elisaei vaticinio diram Samariae obsidionem, quanta fuerit quatuor leprosis honesti cura, enarratur.

CHAPTER 20.

After the terrible siege of Samaria was ended in accordance with Elisha's prophecy, he relates what regard the four lepers showed for what was virtuous.

117. Et quid mirum si populo Dei decorum illud atque honestum curae fuit, quando etiam leprosis, sicut in libris Regnorum legimus (IV Reg. VI), honestatis non defuit consideratio?

117. Why need we wonder that the people of the Lord had regard for what was seemly and virtuous when even the lepers — as we read in the books of the Kings — showed concern for what is virtuous?

118. Fames erat magna in Samaria, quia obsederat eam Syrorum exercitus. Rex militares excubias supra murum sollicitus revisebat; interpellavit eum mulier dicens: Persuasit mihi haec mulier ut afferrem filium meum, et attuli, et coximus, et comedimus eum; et promisit ut et ipsa postea filium suum afferret, et carnes illius simul manducaremus: nunc autem filium suum abscondit, et non vult eum afferre. Motus rex quod non solum humanis, sed etiam parricidalibus 137 cadaveribus mulieres pastae viderentur, et tam atrocis calamitatis exemplo percitus, Elisaeo prophetae denuntiavit necem, cujus in potestate fore crederet, ut obsidionem solveret, propulsaret famem: vel quia non permiserat regi ut percuteret Syros, quos caecitate perfuderat.

118. There was a great famine in Samaria, for the army of the Syrians was besieging it. The king in his anxiety was making the round of the guards on the walls when a woman addressed him, saying: This woman persuaded me to give up my son — and I gave him up, and we boiled him and ate him. And she promised that she would afterwards bring her son and that we should eat his flesh together, but now she has hidden her son and will not bring him. The king was troubled because these women seemed to have fed not merely on human bodies, but on the bodies of their own children; and being moved by an example of such awful misery, threatened the prophet Elisha with death. For he believed it was in his power to break up the siege and to avert the famine; or else he was angry because the prophet had not allowed the king to smite the Syrians whom he had struck with blindness.

119. Sedebat Elisaeus cum senioribus in Bethel, et priusquam introiret ad eum regis nuntius, ait ad seniores viros: Si vidistis quoniam filius homicidae illius misit auferre caput meum? Et introivit nuntius, et mandatum regis pertulit, denuntiantis praesens capitis periculum (IV Reg. VI, 32, 33). Cui respondit propheta: Hac hora die crastina mensura similaginis siclo, et duae mensurae hordei siclo in porta Samariae. Et cum missus a rege nuntius non credidisset, dicens: si pluerit Dominus de coelo abundantiam frumenti, nec sic quidem id posset effici; dixit ad eum Elisaeus: Quia non credidisti, oculis tuis videbis, et non manducabis (IV Reg. VII, 1, 2).

119. Elisha sat with the elders at Bethel, and before the king’s messenger came to him he said to the elders: See ye how the son of that murderess has sent to take away mine head? Then the messenger entered and brought the king’s command threatening instant danger to his life. Him the prophet answered: Tomorrow about this time shall a measure of fine flour be sold for a shekel, and two measures of barley for a shekel in the gate of Samaria. Then when the messenger sent by the king would not believe it, saying: If

the Lord would rain abundance of grain from heaven, not even so would that come about, Elisha said to him: Because you have not believed, you shall see it with your eyes, but shall not eat of it.

120. Et factus est subito in castris Syriae velut quadrigarum sonus, et vox multa equitum, et vox magnae virtutis, atque ingens belli tumultus: et arbitrati sunt Syri quod rex Israel in societatem advocasset praelii regem Aegypti, et regem Amorrhaeorum: et fugerunt diluculo relinquentes tabernacula sua; quoniam verebantur ne improviso adventu novorum opprimerentur hostium, et conjunctis regum viribus non possent resistere. Id incognitum Samariae erat, quoniam victi metu, et fame tabidi, nec praetendere audebant (Ibid. 6, 7).

120. And suddenly in the camp of Syria was there heard, as it were, a sound of chariots and a loud noise of horses and the noise of a great host, and the tumult of some vast battle. And the Syrians thought that the king of Israel had called to his help in the battle the king of Egypt and the king of the Amorites, and they fled at dawn leaving their tents, for they feared that they might be crushed by the sudden arrival of fresh foes, and would not be able to withstand the united forces of the kings. This was unknown in Samaria, for they dared not go out of the town, being overcome with fear and also being weak through hunger.

121. Erant autem leprosi quatuor ad portam civitatis, quibus vita erat supplicium, et mori lucrum; et dixerunt ad se invicem: Ecce nos hic sedemus, et morimur. Si ingredimur urbem, moriemur fame; si manemus hic, nullum subsidium vivendi suppetit nobis: eamus in castra Syriae, aut compendium mortis erit, aut salutis remedium. Perrexerunt itaque, et intraverunt in castra: et ecce omnia nuda hostium. Ingressi tabernacula, primum repertis alimentis fugaverunt famem, deinde auri et argenti quantum potuerunt, diripuerunt. Et cum soli praedae incumberent,

disposuerunt tamen nuntiare regi fugisse Syros; quia id honestum arbitrabantur, quam represso indicio fovere fraudis rapinam.

121. But there were four lepers at the gate of the city to whom life was a misery, and to die would be gain. And they said one to another: Behold we sit here and die. If we enter into the city, we shall die with hunger; if we remain here, there are no means of living at hand for us. Let us go to the Syrian camp, either they will quickly kill us or grant us the means of safety. So they went and entered into the camp, and behold, all was forsaken by the enemy. Entering the tents, first of all on finding food they satisfied their hunger, then they laid hold of as much gold and silver as they could. But while they were intent on the booty alone, they arranged to announce to the king that the Syrians had fled, for they thought this more virtuous than to withhold the information and keep for themselves the plunder gained by deceit.

122. Quo indicio egressus est populus, et diripuit castra Syriae, et commeatus hostium abundantiam fecit, annonae vilitatem reddidit secundum propheticum dictum; ut mensura similaginis siclo, et duae mensurae hordei pari pretio constarent. In hac laetitia plebis nuntius ille in quo requiescebat rex, contritus inter exeuntium festinationem et remeantium exsultationem, conculcatus a plebe, mortuus est (IV Reg. VII, 3 seq., 8 seq.). 138

122. At this information the people went forth and plundered the Syrian camp. The supplies of the enemy produced an abundance, and brought about cheapness of grain according to the prophet’s word: A measure of fine flour for a shekel, and two measures of barley for a shekel. In this rejoicing of the people, that officer on whose hand the king leaned died, being crushed and trodden under foot by the people as the crowds kept hurrying to go out or returned with great rejoicing.

CAPUT XXI.

ESTHER VITAE PERICULO honestatis decus secutam esse, immo et regem barbarum, illata nece viro amicissimo; amicitiam enim honestati semper conjungendam, ut Jonathae atque Alchimelech exempla probant.

CHAPTER 21.

Esther in danger of her life followed the grace of virtue; nay, even a heathen king did so, when death was threatened to a man most friendly to him. For friendship must ever be combined with virtue, as the examples of Jonathan and Ahimelech show.

123. Quid Esther regina, nonne ut populum suum periculo exueret, quod erat decorum atque honestum, morti se obtulit, nec immitis regis trepidavit furorem (Esther IV, 16)? Ipse quoque rex Persarum ferox, atque tumido corde, tamen decorum judicavit indici insidiarum quae sibi paratae forent, gratiam repraesentare, populumque liberum a servitute eripere, eruere neci, nec parcere ei, qui tam indecora suasisset (Esther VI, 3 et seq.). Denique quem secundum a se, ac praecipuum inter omnes amicos haberet, cruci tradidit, quod dehonestatum se ejus fraudulentis consiliis animadvertisset (Esther VII, 9).

123. Why did Queen Esther Esther 4:16 expose herself to death and not fear the wrath of a fierce king? Was it not to save her people from death, an act both seemly and virtuous? The king of Persia himself also, though fierce and proud, yet thought it seemly to show honour to the man who had given information about a plot which had been laid against himself, Esther 6:10 to save a free people from slavery, to snatch them from death, and not to spare

him who had pressed on such unseemly plans. So finally he handed over to the gallows Esther 7:9-10 the man that stood second to himself, and whom he counted chief among all his friends, because he considered that he had dishonoured him by his false counsels.

124. Ea enim amicitia probabilis, quae honestatem tuetur, praeferenda sane opibus, honoribus, potestatibus: honestati vero praeferri non solet, sed honestatem sequi. Qualis fuit Jonathae, qui pro pietate nec offensam patris, nec salutis periculum refugiebat (I Reg. XX, 29 et seq.). Qualis fuit Abimelech, qui pro hospitalis gratiae officiis necem potius sui, quam proditionem fugientis amici, subeundam arbitrabatur (I Reg. XXI, 6).

124. For that commendable friendship which maintains virtue is to be preferred most certainly to wealth, or honours, or power. It is not wont to be preferred to virtue indeed, but to follow after it. So it was with Jonathan, who for his affection’s sake avoided not his father’s displeasure nor the danger to his own safety. So, too, it was with Ahimelech, who, to preserve the duties of hospitality, thought he must endure death rather than betray his friend when fleeing.

CAPUT XXII.

HONESTATEM AMICI CAUSA non deserendam; si tamen adversus amicum testimonium dicendum fuerit, cautionem adhibendam. Inter amicos quis candor in aperiendo pectore, quae generositas in patiendo, quae in arguendo libertas requiratur? Amicitiam virtutum custodem esse, nec nisi in similium morum hominibus inveniri. Eamdem in corripiendo mitem, atque a propriis commodis alienam esse oportere; et inde quam rari divitibus veri amici! Quanta amicitiae dignitas; quae quo major, eo detestabilior amici perfidia, ut Judae atque amicorum Job exemplis cognoscitur.

CHAPTER 22.

Virtue must never be given up for the sake of a friend. If, however, one has to bear witness against a friend, it must be done with caution. Between friends what candour is needed in opening the heart, what magnanimity in suffering, what freedom in finding fault! Friendship is the guardian of virtues, which are not to be found but in men of like character. It must be mild in rebuking and averse to seeking its own advantage; whence it happens that true friends are scarce among the rich. What is the dignity of friendship? The treachery of a friend, as it is worse, so it is also more hateful than another's, as is recognized from the example of Judas and of Job's friends.

125. Nihil igitur praeferendum honestati, quae tamen ne amicitiae studio praetereatur, etiam hoc Scriptura admonet de amicitia. Sunt enim pleraeque philosophorum quaestiones: utrum amici causa quisquam contra patriam

sentire necne debeat, ut 3amico obediat? Utrum oporteat ut fidem deserat, dum indulget atque intendit amici commoditatibus?

125. Nothing, then, must be set before virtue; and that it may never be set aside by the desire for friendship, Scripture also gives us a warning on the subject of friendship. There are, indeed various questions raised among philosophers; for instance whether a man ought for the sake of a friend to plot against his country or not, so as to serve his friend? Whether it is right to break one's faith, and so aid and maintain a friend's advantage?

126. Et Scriptura quidem ait: Clava, et gladius, et sagitta ferrata, sic homo est testimonium dans falsum adversus amicum suum (Prov. XXV, 18). Sed considera quid astruat. Non testimonium reprehendit dictum in amicum, sed falsum testimonium. Quid enim si Dei causa, quid si patriae cogatur aliquis dicere testimonium? Numquid praeponderare debet amicitia religioni, praeponderare charitati civium? 139 In his tamen ipsis rebus requirenda est veritas testimonii; ne amicus appetatur amici perfidia, cujus fide absolvi debeat. Amicus itaque neque noxio gratificari debet, neque innocenti insidiari.

126. And Scripture also says: A maul, and a sword, and a sharp arrow, so is a man that bears false witness against his friend. Proverbs 25:18 But note what it adds. It blames not witness given against a friend, but false witness. For what if the cause of God or of one's country compels one to give witness? Ought friendship to take a higher place than our religion, or our love for our fellow citizens? In these matters, however, true witness is required so that a friend may not be assailed by the treachery of a friend, by whose good faith he ought to be acquitted. A man, then, ought never to please a friend who desires evil, or to plot against one who is innocent.

127. Sane si necesse sit dicere testimonium, si quid in amico vitii cognoverit, corripere occulte; si non audierit, corripere palam. Sunt enim bonae correptiones, et plerumque meliores quam tacita amicitia. Et si laedi se putat amicus, tu tamen corripe; et si amaritudo correctionis animum ejus vulneret, tu tamen corripe, ne verearis: Tolerabilia sunt enim amici vulnera, quam adulantium oscula (Prov. XXVII, 6). Errantem igitur amicum corripe, innocentem amicum ne deseras. Constans enim debet esse amicitia, perseverare in affectu; non puerili modo amicos mutare vaga quadam debemus sententia.

127. Certainly, if it is necessary to give witness, then, when one knows of any fault in a friend, one ought to rebuke him secretly — if he does not listen, one must do it openly. For rebukes are good, and often better than a silent friendship. Even if a friend thinks himself hurt, still rebuke him; and if the bitterness of the correction wounds his mind, still rebuke him and fear not. The wounds of a friend are better than the kisses of flatterers. Proverbs 27:6 Rebuke, then, your erring friend; forsake not an innocent one. For friendship ought to be steadfast and to rest firm in true affection. We ought not to change our friends in childish fashion at some idle fancy.

128. Aperi pectus tuum amico, ut fidelis sit tibi et capias ex eo vitae tua jucunditatem. Fidelis enim amicus medicamentum est vitae, et immortalitatis gratia (Eccli. VI, 16), Defer amico ut aequali, nec te pudeat ut praevenias amicum officio; amicitia enim nescit superbiam. Ideo enim Sapiens dicit: Amicum salutare non erubescas (Eccli. XXII, 31). Nec deseras amicum in necessitate, nec derelinquas eum, neque destituas; quoniam amicitia vitae adjumentum est. Ideo onera nostra portemus, sicut Apostolus docuit (Galat. VI, 2); dicit enim his quos ejusdem corporis complexa est charitas. Etenim si amici secundae res amicos adjuvant, cur

non et in adversis amici rebus amicorum adjumentum suppetat? Juvemus consilio, conferamus studia, compatiamur affectu.

128. Open your breast to a friend that he may be faithful to you, and that you may receive from him the delight of your life. For a faithful friend is the medicine of life and the grace of immortality. Sirach 6:16 Give way to a friend as to an equal, and be not ashamed to be beforehand with your friend in doing kindly duties. For friendship knows nothing of pride. So the wise man says: Do not blush to greet a friend. Sirach 22:25 Do not desert a friend in time of need, nor forsake him nor fail him, for friendship is the support of life. Let us then bear our burdens as the Apostle has taught: Galatians 6:2 for he spoke to those whom the charity of the same one body had embraced together. If friends in prosperity help friends, why do they not also in times of adversity offer their support? Let us aid by giving counsel, let us offer our best endeavours, let us sympathize with them with all our heart.

129. Si necesse est, toleremus propter amicum etiam aspera. Plerumque inimicitiae subeundae sunt propter amici innocentiam, saepe obtrectationes, si restiteris vel responderis, cum amicus arguitur et accusatur. Nec te poeniteat ejusmodi offensionis; justi enim vox est: Etsi mala mihi evenerint propter amicum, sustineo (Eccli. XXII, 31). In adversis enim amicus probatur; nam in prosperis amici omnes videntur. Sed ut in adversis amici patientia et tolerantia necessaria, sic in prosperis auctoritas congrua est; ut insolentiam extollentis se amici reprimat et redarguat.

129. If necessary, let us endure for a friend even hardship. Often enmity has to be borne for the sake of a friend’s innocence; oftentimes revilings, if one defends and answers for a friend who is found fault with and accused. Do not be afraid of such displeasure, for the voice of the just says: Though evil come upon me, I will endure it for a friend’s sake. Sirach 22:26 In adversity, too, a friend is proved, for in prosperity all seem to be friends. But as in

adversity patience and endurance are needed, so in prosperity strong influence is wanted to check and confute the arrogance of a friend who becomes overbearing.

130. Quam pulchre in adversis positus Job dicit: Miseremini mei, amici, miseremini (Job. XIX, 21). Non quasi abjecta vox ista est, sed quasi censoria. Nam cum injuste argueretur ab amicis, respondit: Miseremini mei, amici; hoc est, misericordiam debetis facere: opprimitis autem vos et impugnatis hominem, cujus aerumnis compati 140 pro amicitia vos oportebat.

130. How nobly Job when he was in adversity said: Pity me, my friends, pity me. Job 19:21 That is not a cry as it were of misery, but rather one of blame. For when he was unjustly reproached by his friends, he answered: Pity me, my friends, that is, you ought to show pity, but instead ye assail and overwhelm a man with whose sufferings ye ought to show sympathy for friendship’s sake.

131. Servate igitur, filii, initam cum fratribus amicitiam, qua nihil est in rebus humanis pulchrius. Solatium quippe vitae hujus est, ut habeas cui pectus aperias tuum, cum quo arcana participes, cui committas secretum pectoris tui; ut colloces tibi fidelem virum, qui in prosperis gratuletur tibi, in tristibus compatiatur, in persecutionibus adhortetur. Quam boni amici Hebraei pueri, quos a sui amore nec fornacis ardentis flamma divisit (Dan. III, 16 et seq.)! De quo supra diximus (Supr. c. 9). Bene ait sanctus David: Saul et Jonathas speciosi et charissimi, inseparabiles in vita sua, et in morte non sunt separati (II Reg. I, 23).

131. Preserve, then, my sons, that friendship you have begun with your brethren, for nothing in the world is more beautiful than that. It is indeed a comfort in this life to have one to whom you can open your heart, with

whom you can share confidences, and to whom you can entrust the secrets of your heart. It is a comfort to have a trusty man by your side, who will rejoice with you in prosperity, sympathize in troubles, encourage in persecution. What good friends those Hebrew children were whom the flames of the fiery furnace did not separate from their love of each other! Of them we have already spoken. Holy David says well: Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant, inseparable in their life, in death they were not divided.

132. Hic est amicitiae fructus, ut non fides propter amicitiam destruatur. Non potest enim homini amicus esse, qui Deo fuerit infidus. Pietatis custos amicitia est, et aequalitatis magistra; ut superior inferiori se exhibeat aequalem, inferior superiori. Inter dispares enim mores non potest esse amicitia; et ideo convenire sibi utriusque debet gratia. Nec auctoritas desit inferiori, si res poposcerit, nec humilitas superiori. Audiat quasi parem, quasi aequalem: et ille quasi amicus moneat, objurget, non jactantiae studio, sed affectu charitatis.

132. This is the fruit of friendship; and so faith may not be put aside for the sake of friendship. He cannot be a friend to a man who has been unfaithful to God. Friendship is the guardian of pity and the teacher of equality, so as to make the superior equal to the inferior, and the inferior to the superior. For there can be no friendship between diverse characters, and so the good-will of either ought to be mutually suited to the other. Let not authority be wanting to the inferior if the matter demands it, nor humility to the superior. Let him listen to the other as though he were of like position — an equal, and let the other warn and reprove like a friend, not from a desire to show off, but with a deep feeling of love.

133. Neque monitio aspera sit, neque objurgatio contumeliosa; sicut enim adulationis fugitans amicitia debet esse, ita etiam aliena insolentiae. Quid

est enim amicus, nisi consors amoris, ad quem animum tuum adjungas atque applices, et ita misceas, ut unum velis fieri ex duobus, cui te tamquam alteri tibi committas, a quo nihil timeas, nihil ipse commodi tui causa inhonestum petas? Non enim vectigalis amicitia est, sed plena decoris, plena gratiae. Virtus est enim amicitia, non quaestus; quia non pecunia paritur, sed gratia: nec licitatione pretiorum, sed concertatione benevolentiae.

134. Let not your warning be harsh, nor your rebuke bitter, for as friendship ought to avoid flattery, so, too, ought it to be free from arrogance. For what is a friend but a partner in love, to whom you unite and attach your soul, and with whom you blend so as to desire from being two to become one; to whom you entrust yourself as to a second self, from whom you fear nothing, and from whom you demand nothing dishonourable for the sake of your own advantage. Friendship is not meant as a source of revenue, but is full of seemliness, full of grace. Friendship is a virtue, not a way of making money. It is produced, not by money, but by esteem; not by the offer of rewards, but by a mutual rivalry in doing kindnesses.

134. Denique meliores amicitiae sunt inopum plerumque quam divitum: et frequenter divites sine amicis sunt, quibus abundant pauperes. Non est enim vera amicitia, ubi est fallax adulatio. Divitibus itaque plerique assentatorie gratificantur: erga pauperem nemo simulator est. Verum est quidquid defertur pauperi, hujus amicitia invidia vacat.

134. Lastly, the friendships of the poor are generally better than those of the rich, and often the rich are without friends, while the poor have many. For true friendship cannot exist where there is lying flattery. Many try fawningly to please the rich, but no one cares to make pretence to a poor man. Whatsoever is stated to a poor man is true, his friendship is free from envy.

135. Quid amicitia pretiosius, quae angelis communis et hominibus est? Unde et Dominus Jesus dicit: Facite vobis amicos de iniquo mammona, qui recipiant vos in aeterna tabernacula sua (Luc. XVI, 9). Ipse nos Deus amicos ex servulis facit, sicut ipse 141 ait: Jam vos amici mei estis, si feceritis quae ego praecipio vobis (Joan. XV, 14). Dedit formam amicitiae quam sequamur, ut faciamus amici voluntatem, utaperiamus secreta nostra amico quaecumque in pectore habemus, et illius arcana non ignoremus. Ostendamus illi nos pectus nostrum, et ille nobis aperiat suum. Ideo, inquit, vos dixi amicos, quia omnia quaecumque audivi a Patre meo, nota feci vobis (Joan. XV, 14). Nihil ergo occultat amicus, si verus est: effundit animum suum, sicut effundebat mysteria Patris Dominus Jesus.

135. What is more precious than friendship which is shared alike by angels and by men? Wherefore the Lord Jesus says: Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, that they may receive you into eternal habitations. Luke 16:9 God Himself makes us friends instead of servants, as He Himself says: You are My friends if you do whatsoever I command you. John 15:14 He gave us a pattern of friendship to follow. We are to fulfil the wish of a friend, to unfold to him our secrets which we hold in our own hearts, and are not to disregard his confidences. Let us show him our heart and he will open his to us. Therefore He says: I have called you friends, for I have made known unto you all things whatsoever I have heard of My Father. John 15:15 A friend, then, if he is a true one, hides nothing; he pours forth his soul as the Lord Jesus poured forth the mysteries of His Father.

136. Ergo qui facit mandata Dei, amicus est; et hoc honoratur nomine. Qui est unanimis, ipse amicus est: quod unitas animorum in amicis sit: neque quisquam detestabilior, quam qui amicitiam laeserit. Unde in proditore Dominus hoc gravissimum invenit, quod ejus condemnaret perfidiam, quod gratiae vicem non repraesentaverit, et conviviis amicitiae venenum malitiae

miscuerit. Itaque sic ait: Tu vero homo unanimis, dux meus et notus meus, qui semper mecum dulces capiebas cibos (Psal. LIV, 14)! Hoc est, non potest sustineri istud, quia unanimis appetisti eum, qui tibi donaverat gratiam: Nam si inimicus meus maledixisset mihi, sustinuissem utique (Ibid., 13); et ab eo 142 qui me oderat, absconderem me. Inimicus vitari potest, amicus non potest, si insidiari velit. Illum cavemus cui non committimus consilia nostra: hunc cavere non possumus, cui commisimus. Itaque ad acervandam peccati invidiam non dixit: Tu vero servus meus, apostolus meus; sed: Unanimis meus; hoc est, non meus, sed etiam tuus proditor es, qui unanimem prodidisti.

136. So he who does the will of God is His friend and is honoured with this name. He who is of one mind with Him, he too is His friend. For there is unity of mind in friends, and no one is more hateful than the man that injures friendship. Hence in the traitor the Lord found this the worst point on which to condemn his treachery, namely, that he gave no sign of gratitude and had mingled the poison of malice at the table of friendship. So He says: It was thou, a man of like mind, My guide and Mine acquaintance, who ever took pleasant meals with Me. That is: it could not be endured, for you fell upon Him Who granted grace to you. For if My enemy had reproached Me I could have borne it, and I would have hid Myself from him who hated Me. An enemy can be avoided; a friend cannot, if he desires to lay a plot. Let us guard against him to whom we do not entrust our plans; we cannot guard against him to whom we have already entrusted them. And so to show up all the hatefulness of the sin He did not say: Thou, My servant, My apostle; but thou, a man of like mind with Me; that is: you are not My but your own betrayer, for you betrayed a man of like mind with yourself.

CONCLUSIO.

137. DOMINUS IPSE cum a tribus regibus offensus esset, qui sancto Job non detulissent, ignoscere his per amicum maluit, ut amicitiae suffragium remissio fieret peccatorum. Itaque rogavit Job, et Dominus ignovit. Profuit illis amicitia, quibus obfuerat insolentia (Job, XLII, 7 et seq.).

137. The Lord Himself, when He was displeased with the three princes who had not deferred to holy Job, wished to pardon them through their friend, so that the prayer of friendship might win remission of sins. Therefore Job asked and God pardoned. Friendship helped them whom arrogance had harmed. Job 42:7-8

138. Haec apud vos deposui, filii, quae custodiatis in animis vestris: quae utrum aliquid profectus habeant, vos probabitis; interim copiam multam exemplorum offerunt: nam prope omnia Majorum exempla, plurima quoque dicta his tribus inclusa libris tenentur; ut et si sermo nihil deferat gratiae, series tamen vetustatis quodam compendio expressa plurimum instructionis conferat.

138. These things I have left with you, my children, that you may guard them in your minds — you yourselves will prove whether they will be of any advantage. Meanwhile they offer you a large number of examples, for almost all the examples drawn from our forefathers, and also many a word of theirs, are included within these three books; so that, although the language may not be graceful, yet a succession of old-time examples set down in such small compass may offer much instruction.

De spiritu sancto (On the Holy Spirit)

CONTENTS

LIBER PRIMUS.

PROLOGUS.
CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.
CAPUT VII.
CAPUT VIII.
CAPUT IX.
CAPUT X.
CAPUT XI.
CAPUT XII.
CAPUT XIII.
CAPUT XIV.
CAPUT XV.
CAPUT XVI.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

PROLOGU
Introduction.
CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.

CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.
CAPUT VII.
CAPUT VIII.
CAPUT IX.
CAPUT X.
CAPUT XI.
CAPUT XII.
CAPUT XIII.

LIBER TERTIUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.
CAPUT VII.
CAPUT VIII.
CAPUT IX.
CAPUT X.
CAPUT XI.
CAPUT XII.
CAPUT XIII.
CAPUT XIV.
CAPUT XV.
CAPUT XVI.
CAPUT XVII.
CAPUT XVIII.

CAPUT XIX.
CAPUT XX.
CAPUT XXI.
CAPUT XXII.

LIBER PRIMUS.

PROLOGUS.

In Gedeonis electione Dominicae incarnationis figuram fuisse: in haedi sacrificio peccatorum per Christi corpus expiandorum: in vituli, profanorum sacrorum abolendorum: in trecentis denique militibus futurae per crucem redemptionis. Quod plura petierit signa idem Gedeon, mysterii fuisse; per velleris enim siccitatem ac madefactionem, Judaeorum infidelitatem, gentiumque vocationem significatas: per rorem autem pelvi exceptum pedum apostolorum ablutionem. Hac sibi pedum mundari sordes orat Ambrosius, simulque Christi benignitatem laudat. Quam utile sit hanc imitari! Eamdem aquam a Dei Filio missam in orbe mirabiles conversiones operari: sed ab alio mitti non posse, cum sit effusio Spiritus Sancti, qui alienae potestati non subjicitur.

BOOK I.

To the Emperor Gratian.

The choice of Gideon was a figure of our Lord's Incarnation, the sacrifice of a kid, of the satisfaction for sins in the body of Christ; that of the bullock, of the abolition of profane rites; and in the three hundred soldiers was a type of the future redemption through the cross. The seeking of various signs by Gideon was also a mystery, for by the dryness and moistening of the fleece was signified the falling away of the Jews and the calling of the Gentiles, by the water received in a basin the washing of the apostles' feet. St. Ambrose prays that his own pollution may be washed away, and praises the loving-kindness of Christ. The same water sent forth by the Son of God effects

marvellous conversions; it cannot, however, be sent by any other, since it is the pouring forth of the Holy Spirit, Who is subject to no external power.

1. Hierobaal cum sub arbore, ut legimus (Judic. VI, 11), quercu, tritici messem virga caederet, accepit oraculum, ut a potestate alienigenarum in libertatem Dei populum vindicaret. Nec mirum si est electus ad gratiam, cum sub umbra jam tum sacrae crucis et venerabilis sapientiae praedestinato incarnationis futurae mysterio constitutus, feracis segetis sensibilia de latibulis frumenta produceret, electionemque sanctorum a purgamentis inanis paleae sequestraret: qui tamquam virga veritatis exerciti, superflua veteris hominis cum ejus actibus deponentes, quasi in torculari, ita in Ecclesia congregantur; Ecclesia enim torcular est fontis aeterni, in qua coelestis vitis fructus exundat.

1. When Jerubbaal, as we read, was beating out wheat Judges 6:11 under an oak, he received a message from God in order that he might bring the people of God from the power of strangers into liberty. Nor is it a matter of wonder if he was chosen for grace, seeing that even then, being appointed under the shadow of the holy cross and of the adorable Wisdom in the predestined mystery of the future Incarnation, he was bringing forth the visible grains of the fruitful grain from their hiding places, and was [mystically] separating the elect of the saints from the refuse of the empty chaff. For these elect, as though trained with the rod of truth, laying aside the superfluities of the old man together with his deeds, are gathered in the Church as in a winepress. For the Church is the winepress of the eternal fountain, since from her wells forth the juice of the heavenly Vine.

2. Quo motus oraculo Gedeon, cum audisset quod deficientibus licet populorum millibus, in uno viro Dominus plebem suam ab hostibus 600 liberaret (Ibid., 14); obtulit haedum caprarum, cujus carnem, secundum praeceptum angeli, et azyma supra petram posuit et ea jure perfudit: quae

simul ut virgae cacumine, quam gerebat angelus, Dei contigit, de petra ignis erupit; atque ita sacrificium quod offerebatur, absumptum est (Ibid., 19 et seq.). Quo indicio declaratum videtur quod petra illa typum habuerit corporis Christi; quia scriptum est: Bibebant de consequenti eos petra, petra autem erat Christus (I Cor. X, 4). Quod utique non ad divinitatem ejus, sed ad carnem relatum est, quae sitientium corda populorum perenni rivo sui sanguinis inundavit.

2. And Gideon, moved by that message, when he heard that, though thousands of the people failed, God would deliver His own from their enemies by means of one man, Judges 6:14 offered a kid, and according to the word of the Angel, laid its flesh and the unleavened cakes upon the rock, and poured the broth upon them. And as soon as the Angel touched them with the end of the staff which he bore, fire burst forth out of the rock, and so the sacrifice which he was offering was consumed. Judges 6:19-21 By which it seems clear that that rock was a figure of the Body of Christ, for it is written: They drank of that rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ. 1 Corinthians 10:4 Which certainly refers not to His Godhead, but to His Flesh, which watered the hearts of the thirsting people with the perpetual stream of His Blood.

3. Jam tunc igitur in mysterio declaratum est, quia Dominus Jesus in carne sua totius mundi peccata crucifixus aboleret: nec solum delicta factorum, sed etiam cupiditates animorum. Caro enim haedi ad culpam facti refertur; jus ad illecebras cupiditatum, sicut scriptum est: Quia concupivit populus cupiditatem pessimam, et dixerunt: Quis nos cibabit carne (Num. XI, 4)? Quod igitur extendit angelus virgam, et tetigit petram, de qua ignis exivit (Judic. VI, 21); ostendit quod caro Domini Spiritu repleta divino, peccata omnia humanae conditionis exureret. Unde et Dominus ait: Ignem veni mittere in terram (Luc. XII, 49).

3. Even at that time was it declared in a mystery that the Lord Jesus in His Flesh would, when crucified, do away the sins of the whole world, and not only the deeds of the body, but the desires of the soul. For the flesh of the kid refers to sins of deed, the broth to the enticements of desire as it is written: For the people lusted an evil lust, and said, Who shall give us flesh to eat? Numbers 11:4 That the Angel then stretched forth his staff, and touched the rock, from which fire went out, Judges 6:21 shows that the Flesh of the Lord, being filled with the Divine Spirit, would burn away all the sins of human frailty. Wherefore, also, the Lord says: I have come to send fire upon the earth. Luke 12:49

4. Advertit igitur vir doctus et praesagus futuri superna mysteria; et ideo secundum oracula occidit vitulum a patre suo idolis deputatum, et ipse septennem alium vitulum immolavit Deo (Judic. VI, 25). Quo facto manifestissime revelavit post adventum Domini omnia gentilitatis abolenda sacrificia, solumque sacrificium Deo Dominicae passionis pro redemptione populi deferendum. Etenim vitulus ille erat in typo Christus, in quo septem spiritalium plenitudo virtutum, sicut Esaias dixit (Esai. I, 2), habitabat. Hunc vitulum et Abraham obtulit, quando diem Domini vidit, et gavisus est (Joan. VIII, 56). Hic est qui nunc in haedi typo, 601 nunc in ovis, nunc in vituli offerebatur. Haedi, quod sacrificium pro delictis sit; ovis, quod voluntaria hostia: vituli, quod immaculata sit victima.

4. Then the man, instructed and foreknowing what was to be, observes the heavenly mysteries, and therefore, according to the warning, slew the bullock destined by his father to idols, and himself offered to God another bullock seven years old. Judges 6:26 By doing which he most plainly showed that after the coming of the Lord all Gentile sacrifices should be done away, and that only the sacrifice of the Lord’s passion should be offered for the redemption of the people. For that bullock was, in a type,

Christ, in Whom, as Esaias said, dwelt the fullness of the seven gifts of the Spirit. Isaiah 11:2 This bullock Abraham also offered when he saw the day of the Lord and was glad. John 8:56 He it is Who was offered at one time in the type of a kid, at another in that of a sheep, at another in that of a bullock. Of a kid, because He is a sacrifice for sin; of a sheep, because He is an unresisting victim; of a bullock, because He is a victim without blemish.

5. Praevidit ergo mysterium sanctus Gedeon. Denique trecentos elegit ad praelium (Judic. VII, 6); ut ostenderet non in numero multitudinis, sed in sacramento crucis mundum ab incursu graviorum hostium liberandum. Et tamen licet fortis et fidus, pleniora adhuc de Domino futurae victoriae documenta quaerebat, dicens: Si salvas in manu mea Israel, quemadmodum locutus es, Domine; ecce ego pono lanae vellus in area: et si ros factus fuerit super vellus, et super omnem terram siccitas, cognoscam quia in manu mea secundum promissa tua populum liberabis. Et ita factum est (Judic. VI, 36 et seq.). Sed adjecit postea, ut rursum ros proflueret super totam terram, et siccitas esset in vellere.

5. Holy Gideon then saw the mystery beforehand. Next he chose out three hundred for the battle, so as to show that the world should be freed from the incursion of worse enemies, not by the multitude of their number, but by the mystery of the cross. And yet, though he was brave and faithful, he asked of the Lord yet fuller proofs of future victory, saying: If You will save Israel by mine hand, O Lord, as You have said, behold I will put a fleece of wool on the threshing-floor, and if there shall be dew on the fleece and dryness on all the ground, I shall know that You will deliver the people by my hand according to Your promise. And it was so. Judges 6:36 Afterwards he asked in addition that dew should descend on all the earth and dryness be on the fleece.

6. Quaerit fortasse aliquis utrumnam quasi incredulus esse videatur, qui frequentibus informatus indiciis adhuc plura poscebat? Sed quemadmodum potest videri quasi ambiguus incertusque tentasse, qui mysteria loquebatur? Non ergo ille ambiguus, sed providus, ne nos ambigeremus. Nam quomodo ille ambiguus, cujus precatio habebat effectum? Unde autem securus adorsus esset praelium, nisi intellexisset oraculum: ros enim in vellere fides erat in Judaea; quia, sicut ros, Dei verba descendunt (Deut. XXXII, 2).

6. Some one perhaps will enquire whether he does not seem to have been wanting in faith, seeing that after being instructed by many signs he asked still more. But how can he seem to have asked as if doubting or wanting in faith, who was speaking in mysteries? He was not then doubtful, but careful that we should not doubt. For how could he be doubtful whose prayer was effectual? And how could he have begun the battle without fear, unless he had understood the message of God? For the dew on the fleece signified the faith among the Jews, because the words of God come down like the dew.

7. Ergo quando totus orbis infructuoso aestu gentilis superstitionis arebat, tunc erat ros ille coelestis visitationis in vellere. Postea vero quam oves quae (Matth. XV, 24) perierunt domus Israel (unde puto figuram Judaici velleris adumbratam), oves, inquam, illae fontem aquae vivae negarunt (Jerem. II, 13), ros fidei humentis exaruit in pectoribus Judaeorum, meatusque suos fons ille divinus in corda gentium derivavit (Esai. III, 2). Inde est quod nunc fidei rore totus orbis humescit: at vero Judaei prophetas suos et consiliarios perd i derunt.

7. So when the whole world was parched with the drought of Gentile superstition, then came that dew of the heavenly visits on the fleece. But after that the lost sheep of the house of Israel Matthew 15:24 (whom I think that the figure of the Jewish fleece shadowed forth), after that those sheep, I say, Jeremiah 2:13 had refused the fountain of living water, the dew of

moistening faith dried up in the breasts of the Jews, and that divine Fountain turned away its course to the hearts of the Gentiles. Whence it has come to pass that now the whole world is moistened with the dew of faith, but the Jews have lost their prophets and counsellors.

8. Nec mirum si perfidiae subeant siccitatem, quos Dominus Deus prophetici imbris ubertate privavit, dicens: Mandabo nubibus meis ne pluant super vineam istam (Esai. V, 6). Est enim propheticae nubis pluvia salutaris, sicut et David dixit: Descendit sicut pluvia in vellus, et sicut stillicidia stillantia super terram (Psal. LXXI, 6). Hanc nobis Scripturae divinae totius mundi pluviam pollicebantur, quae rigaret orbem sub Domini Salvatoris adventu Spiritus rore divini. Venit ergo jam Dominus, venit et pluvia, venit Dominus stillicidia secum coelestia deferens; et ideo jam nos bibimus, qui ante sitiebamus, et divinum illum Spiritum haustu interiore potamus.

8. Nor is it strange that they should suffer the drought of unbelief, whom the Lord deprived of the fertilising of the shower of prophecy, saying: I will command My clouds that they rain not upon that vineyard. Isaiah 5:6 For there is a health-giving shower of salutary grace, as David also said: He came down like rain upon a fleece, and like drops that drop upon the earth. The divine Scriptures promised us this rain upon the whole earth, to water the world with the dew of the Divine Spirit at the coming of the Saviour. The Lord, then, has now come, and the rain has come; the Lord has come bringing the heavenly drops with Him, and so now we drink, who before were thirsty, and with an interior draught drink in that Divine Spirit.

9. Hoc ergo praevidit sanctus Gedeon, quia verum et spiritalem rorem etiam gentium nationes erant fidei perceptione bibiturae, et ideo diligentius exploravit; est enim necessaria cautela sanctorum. Siquidem etiam Jesus Nave cum vidisset ducem militiae coelestis, interrogavit: Noster es, an

adversariorum (Jos. V, 13)? ne forte aliquibus 602 adversarii praestigiis falleretur.

9. Holy Gideon, then, foresaw this, that the nations of the Gentiles also would drink by the reception of faith, and therefore he enquired more diligently, for the caution of the saints is necessary. Insomuch that also Joshua the Son of Nun, when he saw the captain of the heavenly host, enquired: Are you for us, or for our adversaries? Joshua 5:13 lest, perchance, he might be deceived by some stratagem of the adversary.

10. Non tamen otiose quod vellus non vel in campo posuit, vel in prato: sed posuit in area, ubi messis est tritici: Messis enim multa, operarii autem pauci (Luc. X, 12); eo quod per fidem Domini futura esset messis fecunda virtutum.

10. Nor was it without a reason that he put the fleece neither in a field nor in a meadow, but in a threshing-floor, where is the harvest of the wheat: For the harvest is plenteous, but the labourers are few; Luke 10:2 because that, through faith in the Lord, there was about to be a harvest fruitful in virtues.

11. Nec illud otiose quod exsiccavit vellus Judaicum, et rorem ejus misit in pelvim, ut repleretur aqua, non tamen ipse eo rore pedes lavit (Judic. VI, 39, 40). Alii debebatur tanti praerogativa mysterii. Exspectabatur ille qui sordes omnium solus posset abluere. Non erat tantus Gedeon, qui hoc sibi mysterium vindicaret. Non enim Gedeon, sed Filius hominis venit non ministrari, sed ministrare (Matth. XX, 28). Itaque cognoscamus in quo haec mysteria videantur esse completa. Non in sancto Hierobaal; adhuc enim erant illa principia. Ideo gentes victae, quia siccitas erat adhuc in gentibus: ideo Israel vicit, quia ros tunc manebat in vellere.

11. Nor, again, was it without a reason that he dried the fleece of the Jews, and put the dew from it into a basin, so that it was filled with water, yet he

did not himself wash his feet in that dew. The prerogative of so great a mystery was to be given to another. He was being waited for Who alone could wash away the filth of all. Gideon was not great enough to claim this mystery for himself, but the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister. Matthew 20:28 Let us, then, recognize in Whom these mysteries are seen to be accomplished. Not in holy Gideon, for they were still at their commencement. Therefore the Gentiles were surpassed, for dryness was still upon the Gentiles, and therefore did Israel surpass them, for then did the dew remain on the fleece.

12. Veniamus ad Dei Evangelium. Invenio Dominum spoliantem se vestimenta, et praecingentem se linteo, mittentem aquam in pelvim, lavantem pedes discipulorum (Joan. XIII, 4 et seq.). Haec erat aqua ros ille coelestis, hoc prophetabatur quod illo rore coelesti discipulorum suorum Dominus Jesus pedes lavaret. Et nunc extendantur pedes animorum nostrorum. Vult Dominus Jesus et nostros lavare pedes; non enim Petro soli, sed unicuique dicit fideli: Nisi lavero tibi pedes, non habebis mecum partem (Ibid., 8).

12. Let us come now to the Gospel of God. I find the Lord stripping Himself of His garments, and girding Himself with a towel, pouring water into a basin, and washing the disciples' feet. John 13:4 That heavenly dew was this water, this was foretold, namely, that the Lord Jesus Christ would wash the feet of His disciples in that heavenly dew. And now let the feet of our minds be stretched out. The Lord Jesus wills also to wash our feet, for He says, not to Peter alone, but to each of the faithful: If I wash not your feet you will have no part with Me. John 13:8

13. Veni ergo, Domine Jesu, exue te vestimenta, quae propter me induisti: esto nudus, ut nos misericordia tua vestias. Praecinge te propter nos linteo, ut nos tui muneris immortalitate praecingas. Mitte aquam in pelvim: lava

non solum pedes, sed etiam caput: nec solum corporis nostri, sed etiam mentis vestigia. Volo exuere omnes nostrae sordes fragilitatis; ut et ego dicam: Nocte exui tunicam meam, quomodo induam eam? Lavi pedes meos, quomodo inquinabo illos (Cant. V, 3)?

13. Come, then, Lord Jesus, put off Your garments, which You put on for my sake; be stripped that You may clothe us with Your mercy. Gird Yourself for our sakes with a towel, that You may gird us with Your gift of immortality. Pour water into the basin, wash not only our feet but also the head, and not only of the body, but also the footsteps of the soul. I wish to put off all the filth of our frailty, so that I also may say: By night I have put off my coat, how shall I put it on? I have washed my feet, how shall I defile them? Song of Songs 5:3

14. Quanta ista majestas est! Quasi minister pedes famulorum tuorum lavas, quasi Deus rorem mittis e coelo. Nec solum pedes lavas, sed etiam ut tecum recumbamus invitas, et exemplo nos tuae dignationis hortaris dicens: Vocatis me dominum et magistrum, et bene facitis; sum etenim. Si ergo ego lavi pedes vestros dominus et magister, et vos invicem lavate pedes vestros (Joan. XIII, 13, 14).

14. How great is that excellence! As a servant, You wash the feet of Your disciples; as God, You send dew from heaven. Nor do You wash the feet only, but also invite us to sit down with You, and by the example of Your dignity exhort us, saying: You call Me Master and Lord, and you do well, for so I am. If, then, I the Lord and Master have washed your feet, you ought also to wash one another’s feet. John 13:13-14

15. Volo ergo et ego pedes lavare fratrum meorum, volo Domini implere mandatum, volo in me non verecundari, non dedignari quod ipse prius fecit. Bonum mysterium humilitatis; quia dum alienas sordes lavo, meas abluo.

Sed non hoc omnes haurire poterant mysterium. Lavare voluit quidem et Abraham pedes, sed hospitalitatis affectu (Gen. XVIII, 4). Volebat et Gedeon lavare pedes angelo Domini qui apparuit sibi: sed volebat uni, volebat quasi is qui deferret obsequium, non qui donaret consortium. 603 Hoc mysterium magnum est, quod nemo cognovit. Denique Petro dixit: Quod ego facio tu nescis, cognosces postea (Joan. XIII, 7). Hoc, inquam, divinum mysterium est, quod etiam qui laverint, requirent. Non est ergo simplex aqua coelestis mysterii, per quam consequimur, ut partem cum Christo habere mereamur.

15. I, then, wish also myself to wash the feet of my brethren, I wish to fulfil the commandment of my Lord, I will not be ashamed in myself, nor disdain what He Himself did first. Good is the mystery of humility, because while washing the pollutions of others I wash away my own. But all were not able to exhaust this mystery. Abraham was, indeed, willing to wash feet, Genesis 18:4 but because of a feeling of hospitality. Gideon, too, was willing to wash the feet of the Angel of the Lord who appeared to him, but his willingness was confined to one; he was willing as one who would do a service, not as one who would confer fellowship with himself. This is a great mystery which no one knew. Lastly, the Lord said to Peter: What I do you know not now, but shall know hereafter. John 13:7 This, I say, is a divine mystery which even they who wash will enquire into. It is not, then, the simple water of the heavenly mystery whereby we attain to be found worthy of having part with Christ.

16. Est et quaedam aqua quam mittamus in pelvim animae nostrae, aqua de vellere et libro Judicum, aqua de libro Psalmorum (Psal. XXII, 2). Aqua est ros coelestis oraculi. Veniat igitur, Domine Jesu, haec aqua in meam animam, in meam carnem; ut hujus humore pluviae nostrarum convalles mentium atque intimi cordis arva viridescant (Psal. LXXI, 6). Veniant in me

stillicidia tua, gratiam immortalitatemque rorantia. Dilue gressus mentis meae, ne iterum peccem. Ablue animi mei calcaneum, ut possim abolere maledictum (Gen. III, 15); ne morsum serpentis interiore pede sentiam, sed, sicut ipse jussisti sequentibus te, ut serpentes et scorpiones illaeso possim calcare vestigio (Luc. X, 19). Redemisti mundum, redime unius animam peccatoris.

16. There is also a certain water which we put into the basin of our soul, water from the fleece and from the Book of Judges; water, too, from the Book of Psalms. It is the water of the message from heaven. Let, then, this water, O Lord Jesus, come into my soul, into my flesh, that through the moisture of this rain the valleys of our minds and the fields of our hearts may grow green. May the drops from You come upon me, shedding forth grace and immortality. Wash the steps of my mind that I may not sin again. Wash the heel of my soul, that I may be able to efface the curse, that I feel not the serpent’s bite Genesis 3:15 on the foot of my soul, but, as You Yourself hast bidden those who follow You, may tread on serpents and scorpions Luke 10:19 with uninjured foot. You have redeemed the world, redeem the soul of a single sinner.

17. Haec est specialis tuae praerogativa pietatis, qua totum mundum in singulis redemisti. Elias ad unam missus est viduam (III Reg. XVII, 9), Elisaeus mundavit unum (IV Reg. V, 14): tu nobis, Domine Jesu, hos hodie mille mundasti. Quantos in urbe Roma, quantos Alexandriae, quantos Antiochiae, quantos etiam Constantinopoli! Nam etiam Constantinopolis jam Dei verbum recepit, et evidentia meruit tui documenta judicii. Etenim quamdiu venena Arianorum suis fovebat inclusa visceribus, bellis finitimis inquieta, muros armis circumsonabat hostilibus. Postea vero quam fidei exsules abdicavit, hostem ipsum judicem regum, quem semper timere consueverat, deditum vidit, supplicem recepit, morientem obruit, sepultum

possidet. Quantos ergo et Constantinopoli, quantos postremo toto hodie in orbe mundasti!

17. This is the special excellence of Your loving-kindness, wherewith You have redeemed the whole world one by one. Elijah was sent to one widow; Elisha cleansed one; You, O Lord Jesus, have at this day cleansed a thousand. How many in the city of Rome, how many at Alexandria, how many at Antioch, how many also at Constantinople! For even Constantinople has received the word of God, and has received evident proofs of Your judgment. For so long as she cherished the Arians' poison in her bosom, disquieted by neighbouring wars, she echoed with hostile arms around. But so soon as she rejected those who were alien from the faith she received as a suppliant the enemy himself, the judge of kings, whom she had always been wont to fear, she buried him when dead, and retains him entombed. How many, then, have You cleansed at Constantinople, how many, lastly, at this day in the whole world!

18. Non mundavit Damasus, non mundavit Petrus, non mundavit Ambrosius, non mundavit Gregorius; nostra enim servitia, sed tua 604 sunt sacramenta. Neque enim humanae opis est divina conferre; sed tuum, Domine, munus et Patris est, qui locutus est per prophetas, dicens: Effundam de Spiritu meo super omnem carnem, et prophetabant filii et filiae eorum (Joel. II, 21). Hic est in typo ros ille coelestis: haec pluvia voluntaria, sicut legimus: Pluviam voluntariam segregans Deus haereditati suae (Psal. LXVII, 18). (Alias cap. I.) Non enim Spiritus sanctus aut potestati alienae est subjectus aut juri; sed suae libertatis arbiter, omnia pro auctoritate propriae voluntatis dividens, sicut legimus (I Cor. XII, 10), singulis prout vult.

18. Damasus cleansed not, Peter cleansed not, Ambrose cleansed not, Gregory cleansed not; for ours is the ministry, but the sacraments are Yours.

For it is not in man’s power to confer what is divine, but it is, O Lord, Your gift and that of the Father, as You have spoken by the prophets, saying: I will pour out of My Spirit upon all flesh, and their sons and their daughters shall prophesy. Joel 2:28 This is that typical dew from heaven, this is that gracious rain, as we read: A gracious rain, dividing for His inheritance. For the Holy Spirit is not subject to any foreign power or law, but is the Arbiter of His own freedom, dividing all things according to the decision of His own will, to each, as we read, severally as He wills. 1 Corinthians 12:11

CAPUT PRIMUM.

ARGUMENTUM SUUM AGGRESSUS Ambrosius, imperatorem cum propter fidem, tum propter basilicam Ecclesiae restitutam laudat: hinc ubi dixit adversarios, si Spiritum sanctum servire negaverint, quin sit super omnia, diffiteri non posse; addit Spiritum eumdem, cum dixit: Universa serviunt tibi, satis innuisse a creaturis se separari: quod aliis quoque testimoniis astruitur.

CHAPTER 1.

St. Ambrose commences his argument by complimenting the Emperor, both for his faith and for the restitution of the Basilica to the Church; then having urged that his opponents, if they affirm that the Holy Spirit is not a servant, cannot deny Him to be above all, adds that the same Spirit, when He said, All things serve You, showed plainly that He was distinct from creatures; which point he also establishes by other evidence.

19. Non ergo inter omnia, sed super omnia Spiritus sanctus est. Jam enim de eo (quoniam ita plene de Dei Filio, clementissime imperator, instructus es, ut ipse jam doceas) cupientem te et exigentem audire aliquid expressius, non morabor; praesertim cum ita te assertione istiusmodi testificatus sis proxime delectatum, ut basilicam Ecclesiae sine ullo monitore praeceperis reformari.

19. The Holy Spirit, then, is not among but above all things. For (since you, most merciful Emperor, are so fully instructed concerning the Son of God as to be able yourself to teach others) I will not detain you longer, as you desire and claim to be told something more exactly [concerning Him],

especially since you lately showed yourself to be so pleased by an argument of this nature, as to command the Basilica to be restored to the Church without any one urging you.

20. Fidei itaque tuae gratiam, et nostrae praemium jam tenemus; neque enim aliud possumus dicere, nisi sancti Spiritus hanc fuisse gratiam quod ignorantibus omnibus, subito basilicam reddidisti. Spiritus, inquam, sancti hoc munus, hoc opus est, qui a nobis quidem tunc praedicabatur, sed in te operabatur.

20. So, then, we have received the grace of your faith and the reward of our own; for we cannot say otherwise than that it was of the grace of the Holy Spirit, that when all were unconscious of it, you suddenly restored the Basilica. This is the gift, I say, this the work of the Holy Spirit, Who indeed was at that time preached by us, but was working in you.

21. Nec superioris temporis damna deploro; quandoquidem sequestratio illa basilicae, cujusdam fenoris traxit usuras. Etenim basilicam sequestrasti, ut fidem probares. Implevit igitur propositum suum pietas tua, quae sic sequestraverat, ut probaret; sic probavit, ut redderet. 605 Nec fructum amisi, et judicium teneo, patuitque omnibus in quadam facti discretione discretam tibi numquam fuisse sententiam. Patuit, inquam, omnibus et tuum non fuisse, cum sequestrares: et tuum esse, cum redderes.

21. And I do not regret the losses of the previous time, since the sequestration of that Basilica resulted in the gain of a sort of usury. For you sequestrated the Basilica, that you might give proof of your faith. And so your piety fulfilled its intention, which had sequestered that it might give proof, and so gave proof as to restore. I did not lose the fruit, and I have your judgment, and it has been made clear to all that, with a certain diversity of action, there was in you no diversity of opinion. It was made

clear, I say, to all, that it was not of yourself that you sequestrated, that it was of yourself when you restored it.

22. Primum igitur ab inferioribus inchoemus, ut quasi per gradus quosdam tractatus noster ascendat, quo facilius hi qui fidem non deferunt, vel ratione flectantur. Possunt enim dicere in principio: Nec nos dicimus servire Spiritum. Sed cum dicant servire Christum, quomodo possunt negare de Spiritu? Quod si secundum carnem in servi forma consentiunt Christum fuisse, constat et convenit. Ergo si secundum divinitatem suam Christus non servit, non servit etiam Spiritus. Quod si non servit Spiritus, omnia autem serviunt: super omnia igitur Spiritus est, qui non servit sicut omnia.

22. Now let us establish by evidence what we have said. The first point in the discussion is that all things serve. Now it is clear that all things serve, since it is written: All things serve You. This the Spirit said through the prophet. He did not say, We serve, but, serve You, that you might believe that He Himself is excepted from serving. So, then, since all things serve, and the Spirit does not serve, the Holy Spirit is certainly not included among all things.

23. Nunc idipsum quod diximus, testimoniis astruamus. Principium disputationis est, quia serviunt omnia. Servire autem omnia liquet, quoniam scriptum est: Universa serviunt tibi (Psal. CXVIII, 91). Dixit hoc Spiritus per Prophetam. Non dixit: servimus; sed, serviunt tibi; ut crederes quod a servitio sit ipse exceptus. Ergo cum universa serviant, non serviat Spiritus, utique inter universa non est Spiritus sanctus.

23. For if we say that the Holy Spirit is included among all things, certainly when we read that the Spirit searches the deep things of God, 1 Corinthians 2:10 we deny that God the Father is over all.

24. Nam si inter omnia dicimus esse Spiritum sanctum, utique cum legerimus quia alta Dei scrutatur Spiritus (I Cor. II, 10), Deum Patrem esse super omnia denegamus. Etenim cum ex Deo Spiritus sit, et Spiritus oris ejus, quomodo possumus inter omnia dicere Spiritum sanctum; cum super omnia Deus sit, cujus est Spiritus, plenae utique perfectionis, perfectaeque virtutis?

For since the Spirit is of God, and is the Spirit of His mouth, how can we say that the Holy Spirit is included among all things, seeing that God, Whose is the Spirit, is over all, possessing certainly fullness of perfection and perfect power.

25. Ac ne Apostolum arbritentur errasse, accipiant, quem fiduciae hujus sit secutus auctorem. Dominus enim in Evangelio dixit: Cum venerit Paraclitus, quem ego mittam vobis a Patre meo, Spiritum veritatis, qui a Patre procedit; ille testimonium perhibebit de me (Joan. XV, 26). Ergo et a Patre procedit Spiritus sanctus, et testificatur de Filio. Testificatur etaim de Patre testis et fidelis et verus: quo nihil ad expressionem divinae majestatis est plenius; nihil ad unitatem divinae potestatis evidentius; cum idem noverit Spiritus quod et Filius, qui paternorum testis et consors individuus secretorum est.

25. But lest the objectors should think that the Apostle was in error, let them learn whom he followed as his authority for his belief. The Lord said in the Gospel: When the Paraclete has come, Whom I will send to you from My Father, even the Spirit of Truth which proceeds from the Father, He shall bear witness of Me. John 15:26 So the Holy Spirit both proceeds from the Father, and bears witness of the Son. For the witness Who is both faithful and true bears witness of the Father, than which witness nothing is more full for the expression of the Divine Majesty, nothing more clear as to the Unity of the Divine Power, since the Spirit has the same knowledge as the Son, Who is the witness and inseparable sharer of the Father’s secrets.

26. Exclusit itaque a cognitione Dei societatem et multitudinem creaturae: non excludendo autem Spiritum sanctum, ostendit non esse socium creaturae. Unde et illud quod lecum est in Evangelio: Quia Deum nemo vidit umquam, nisi unigenitus Filius qui est in sinu Patris, ipse enarravit (Joan. I, 18); ad exceptionem pertinet Spiritus sancti. Quomodo enim Deum non vidit, qui scrutatur etiam alta Dei? quomodo Deum non vidit, qui cognovit quae Dei sunt (I Cor. II, 10)? quomodo 606 Deum non vidit, qui ex Deo est? Ergo cum ita positum sit quia Deum nemo vidit umquam, vidit autem Spiritus; utique exceptus est Spiritus. Super omnia igitur est, qui est exceptus ex omnibus.

26. He excludes, then, the fellowship and number of creatures from the knowledge of God, but by not excluding the Holy Spirit, He shows that He is not of the fellowship of creatures. So that the passage which is read in the Gospel: For no man has seen God at any time, save the Only-begotten Son Who is in the bosom of the Father He has declared Him, also pertains to the exclusion of the Holy Spirit. For how has He not seen God Who searches even the deep things of God? How has He not seen God Who knows the things which are of God? How has He not seen God Who is of God? So, since it is laid down that no one has seen God at any time, whereas the Holy Spirit has seen Him, clearly the Holy Spirit is excepted. He, then, is above all Who is excluded from all.

CAPUT II.

SPIRITUM SANCTUM ESSE inter omnia non probari ex illis verbis: Omnia per ipsum facta sunt; cum factus non sit. Namque alias perinde probaretur Filius, immo etiam Pater numerandus inter omnia. Quod est ejusdem impietatis.

CHAPTER 2.

The words, All things were made by Him, are not a proof that the Holy Spirit is included among all things, since He was not made. For otherwise it could be proved by other passages that the Son, and even the Father Himself, must be numbered among all things, which would be similar irreverence.

27. Videtur, sancte imperator, plena ratio esse pietatis, sed impiis non videtur. Denique quid moliantur adverte. Solent enim dicere haeretici ideo inter omnia Spiritum sanctum esse numerandum, quia scriptum est de Dei Filio: Omnia per ipsum facta sunt (Joan. I, 3).

27. This seems, gracious Emperor, to be a full account of our right feeling, but to the impious it does not seem so. Observe what they are striving after. For the heretics are wont to say that the Holy Spirit is to be reckoned among all things, because it is written of God the Son: All things were made by Him. John 1:3

28. Quam male confunditur actio, quae non tenet veritatem, et praepostero ordine assertionis involvitur! Hoc enim tunc valeret, ut inter omnia dicerent esse Spiritum sanctum, si factum probarent. Namque omnia per Filium

Scriptura dicit esse, quae facta sunt: cum autem factus non doceatur Spiritus sanctus; utique nec inter omnia probari potest, qui neque factus est sicut omnia, nec creatus. Mihi igitur ad utrumque hoc proficit testimonium, ut et super omnia probetur esse, quia factus non est; et quia super omnia est, non videatur factus esse: nec inter ea quae sunt facta, numerandus.

28. How utterly confused is a course of argument which does not hold to the truth, and is involved in an inverted order of statements. For this argument would be of value for the statement that the Holy Spirit is among all things, if they proved that He was made. For Scripture says that all things which were made were made by the Son; but since we are not taught that the Holy Spirit was made, He certainly cannot be proved to be among all things Who was neither made as all things are, nor created. To me this testimony is of use for establishing each point; firstly, that He is proved to be above all things, because He was not made; and secondly, that because He is above all things, He is seen not to have been made, and is not to be numbered among those things which were made.

29. Quod si quis, quia omnia facta per Verbum Evangelista posuit, non excipit Spiritum sanctum (quamquam in Joanne locutus Spiritus Dei, Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, dixerit, non omnia facti sumus; cum utique loqui in Evangelistis Spiritum Dei ipse Dominus ostenderit, dicens (Matth. XVI, 20): Non enim vos eritis loquentes, sed Spiritus Patris vestri, qui loquitur in vobis); tamen si quis, ut dixi, hoc loco non excipit Spiritum sanctum, sed inter omnia numerat; nec ibi ergo excipit Dei Filium, ubi Apostolus dixit: Nobis tamen unus Deus Pater ex quo omnia, et nos per illum (I Cor. VIII, 6). Sed ut sciat quia inter omnia non est Filius, legat sequentia; nam cum dicit: Et unus Dominus Jesus, per quem omnia (Ibid.); ab omnibus utique excipit Dei Filium, qui excepit et Patrem.

29. But if any one, because the Evangelist stated that all things were made by the Word, making no exception of the Holy Spirit (although the Spirit of God speaking in John said: All things were made by Him, and said not we were all things which were made; while the Lord Himself distinctly showed that the Spirit of God spoke in the Evangelists, saying, For it will not be you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaks in you), Matthew 10:20 yet if any one, as I said, does not except the Holy Spirit in this place, but numbers Him among all, he consequently does not except the Son of God in that passage where the Apostle says: Yet to us there is one God the Father, of Whom are all things, and we by Him. 1 Corinthians 8:6 But that he may know that the Son is not among all things, let him read what follows, for when he says: And one Lord Jesus Christ, by Whom are all things, 1 Corinthians 8:6 he certainly excepts the Son of God from all, who also excepted the Father.

30. Ejusdem autem impietatis est vel Patri, vel Filio, vel Spiritui sancto derogare. Non enim credit in Patrem, qui non credit in Filium: nec credit in Dei Filium, qui non credit in Spiritum: nec potest sine regula veritatis fides stare. Nam qui negare coeperit unitatem potestatis in Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto, non potest utique ibi, ubi nulla divisio sit, fidem probare divisam. Ergo quia pietatis unitas est bene credere, etiam unitas impietatis est male credere.

30. But it is equal irreverence to detract from the dignity of the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Spirit. For he believes not in the Father who does not believe in the Son, nor does he believe in the Son of God who does not believe in the Spirit, nor can faith stand without the rule of truth. For he who has begun to deny the oneness of power in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit certainly cannot prove his divided faith in points where there

is no division. So, then, since complete piety is to believe rightly, so complete impiety is to believe wrongly.

31. Itaque qui putant Spiritum sanctum inter 607 omnia debere numerari, quia omnia legunt facta per Filium, etiam Filium utique inter omnia annumerandum putant, quia legunt: Ex Deo omnia (II Cor. V, 18). Consequenter autem nec Patrem secernunt ab omnibus, qui a creaturis omnibus Filium non secernunt; quoniam sicut ex Patre omnia, ita etiam per Filium omnia. Hoc ipsum in Spiritu praevidens Apostolus, dixit: ne inter omnia posuisse Filium vel impiis videretur, qui audierant dixisse Filium: Pater quod dedit mihi, majus omnibus est (Joan. X, 29).

31. Therefore they who think that the Holy Spirit ought to be numbered among all things, because they read that all things were made by the Son, must needs also think that the Son is to be numbered among all things, because they read: All things are of God. 2 Corinthians 5:18 But, consequently, they also do not separate the Father from all things, who do not separate the Son from all creatures, since, as all things are of the Father, so, too, all things are by the Son. And the Apostle, because of his foresight in the Spirit, used this very expression, lest he should seem to the impious who had heard that the Son had said, That which My Father has given Me is greater than all, John 10:29 to have included the Son among all.

CAPUT III.

QUOD APOSTOLUS DIXERIT ex Patre per Filium omnia esse, ab eorum consortio Spiritum non secludi; cum quae ad unam referuntur personam, aliis quoque attribuantur. Sic baptizati in nomine Christi simul in Patris ac Spiritus nomine censentur baptizati; si tamen simul in tres personas crediderint: secus autem, nullus erit baptismus. Haec etiam baptismo in Spiritus sancti nuncupatione convenire. Si autem ob eumdem locum Spiritus ab aliis personis separaretur, utique ob alios locos Pater Filio diceretur postponendus. Ab angelis Filium adorari, non a Spiritu; hunc enim testem ejus esse, non ministrum. Cum omnibus anteponitur Filius, intelligendum de creaturis. Dignitatem sancti Spiritus a peccati in eum admissi irremissibilitate probari. Unde sit illa irremissibilitas; et quomodo unus Spiritus.

CHAPTER 3.

The statement of the Apostle, that all things are of the Father by the Son, does not separate the Spirit from Their company, since what is referred to one Person is also attributed to each. So those baptized in the Name of Christ are held to be baptized in the Name of the Father and of the Holy Spirit, if, that is, there is belief in the Three Persons, otherwise the baptism will be null. This also applies to baptism in the Name of the Holy Spirit. If because of one passage the Holy Spirit is separated from the Father and the Son, it will necessarily follow from other passages that the Father will be subordinated to the Son. The Son is worshipped by angels, not by the Spirit, for the latter is His witness, not His servant. Where the Son is spoken of as being before all, it is to be understood of creatures. The great dignity of the

Holy Spirit is proved by the absence of forgiveness for the sin against Him. How it is that such sin cannot be forgiven, and how the Spirit is one.

32. Sed fortasse aliquis dicat, qua ratione cum dixerit hic ex Patre omnia, et per Filium omnia (I Cor. VIII, 6), de Spiritu sancto tacuerit; et hinc cupiat praejudicium comparare. Quod si pergit malitiose interpretari, quam multis inveniet locis praedicatam sancti Spiritus potestatem, in quibus vel de Patre vel de Filio nihil Scriptura expresserit, sed intelligendum reliquerit!

32. But perhaps some one may say that there was a reason why the writer said that all things were of the Father, and all things through the Son, 1 Corinthians 8:6 but made no mention of the Holy Spirit, and would obtain the foundation of an argument from this. But if he persists in his perverse interpretation, in how many passages will he find the power of the Holy Spirit asserted, in which Scripture has stated nothing concerning either the Father or the Son, but has left it to be understood?

40. Numquid ergo cum gratia Spiritus praedicatur, Dei Patris aut unigeniti Filii denegatur? Non ita, quia sicut Pater in Filio et Filius in Patre, ita etiam diffusa est, inquit, charitas Dei in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis (Rom. V, 5). Et sicut qui benedicitur in Christo, 608 benedicitur in nomine Patris, et Filii et Spiritus sancti; quia unum nomen, potestas una, ita etiam ubi operatio aliqua divina, aut Patris, aut Filii, aut Spiritus designatur, non solum ad sanctum Spiritum, sed etiam ad Patrem refertur et Filium, nec solum ad Patrem, sed etiam ad Filium refertur et Spiritum.

40. Where, then, the grace of the Spirit is asserted, is that of God the Father or of the Only-begotten Son denied? By no means; for as the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father, so, too, the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, Who has been given us. Romans 5:5 And as he

who is blessed in Christ is blessed in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, because the Name is one and the Power one; so, too, when any divine operation, whether of the Father, or of the Son, or of the Holy Spirit, is treated of, it is not referred only to the Holy Spirit, but also to the Father and the Son, and not only to the Father, but also to the Son and the Spirit.

41. Denique Aethiops eunuchus Candacis reginae baptizatus in Christo (Act. VIII, 27), plenum mysterium consecutus est. Et illi qui negaverunt se scire Spiritum sanctum, quamvis baptizatos se dicerent in Joannis baptismo, baptizati sunt postea (Act. XIX, 2 et seq.); quia Joannes in remissionem peccatorum, in advenientis Jesu, non in suo baptizavit nomine. Et ideo Spiritum nesciebant, quia nec baptismum in Christi nomine, sicut Joannes baptizare solebat, acceperant. Joannes enim, licet non baptizaret in Spiritu, tamen et Christum praedicabat et Spiritum. Denique cum interrogaretur, ne forte ipse esset Christus, respondit: Ego vos aqua baptizo, veniet autem fortior me, cujus non sum dignus calceamenta portare: ipse vos baptizabit Spiritu sancto et igni (Joan. I, 26, 27). Ergo isti quia nec in Christi nomine, nec cum fide Spiritus sancti baptizati fuerant, non potuerunt accipere baptismatis sacramentum.

41. Then, too, the Ethiopian eunuch of Queen Candace, when baptized in Christ, obtained the fullness of the sacrament. And they who said that they knew not of any Holy Spirit, although they said that they had been baptized with John’s baptism, were baptized afterwards, because John baptized for the remission of sins in the Name of the coming Jesus, not in his own. And so they knew not the Spirit, because in the form in which John baptized they had not received baptism in the Name of Christ. For John, though he did not baptize in the Spirit, nevertheless preached Christ and the Spirit. And then, when he was questioned whether he were perchance himself the

Christ, he answered: I baptize you with water, but a stronger than I shall come, Whose shoes I am not worthy to bear, He shall baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire. They therefore, because they had been baptized neither in the Name of Christ nor with faith in the Holy Spirit, could not receive the sacrament of baptism.

42. Baptizati sunt itaque in nomine Jesu Christi: nec iteratum est in his baptisma, sed novatum; unum enim baptisma (Ephes. IV, 5). Ubi autem non est plenum baptismatis sacramentum, nec principium, vel species aliqua baptismatis aestimatur. Plenum autem est, si Patrem et Filium Spiritumque sanctum fatearis. Si unum neges, totum subrues. Et quemadmodum si unum in sermone comprehendas, aut Patrem, aut Filium, aut Spiritum sanctum; fide autem nec Patrem, nec Filium, nec Spiritum sanctum abneges, plenum est fidei sacramentum: ita etiam quamvis et Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum dicas, et aut Patris, aut Filii, aut Spiritus sancti minuas potestatem, vacuum est omne mysterium. Denique et illi ipsi qui dixerant: Nec si Spiritus sanctus 609 sit audivimus, baptizati sunt postea in nomine Domini Jesu Christi (Act. XIX, 5). Et hoc abundavit ad gratiam; quia jam Spiritum sanctum, Paulo praedicante, cognoverant.

42. So they were baptized in the Name of Jesus Christ, and baptism was not repeated in their case, but administered differently, for there is but one baptism. But where there is not the complete sacrament of baptism, there is not considered to be a commencement nor any kind of baptism. But baptism is complete if one confess the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. If you deny One you overthrow the whole. And just as if you mention in words One only, either the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Spirit, and in your belief do not deny either the Father, the Son, or the Holy Spirit, the mystery of the faith is complete, so, too, although you name the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and lessen the power of either the Father, the Son, or the Holy Spirit,

the whole mystery is made empty. And, lastly, they who had said: We have not heard if there be any Holy Spirit, were baptized afterwards in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ. And this was an additional abundance of grace, for now through Paul's preaching they knew the Holy Spirit.

43. Nec contrarium debet videri, quia quamvis etiam postea tacitum sit de Spiritu, tamen creditum est: et quod verbo tacitum fuerat, expressum est fide. Cum enim dicitur: In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, per unitatem nominis impletum mysterium est: nec a Christi baptismate Spiritus separatur; quia Joannes in poenitentia baptizavit, Christus in Spiritu (Ibid., 4).

43. Nor ought it to seem opposed to this, that although subsequently mention is not made of the Spirit, He is yet believed in, and what had not been mentioned in words is expressed in belief. For when it is said, In the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the mystery is complete through the oneness of the Name, and the Spirit is not separated from the baptism of Christ, since John baptized unto repentance, Christ in the Spirit.

44. Nunc consideremus utrum quemadmodum in Christi nomine plenum esse legimus baptismatis sacramentum; ita etiam sancto tantum Spiritu nuncupato, nihil desit ad mysterii plenitudinem. Rationem sequamur; quia qui unum dixerit, Trinitatem signavit. Si Christum dicas, et Deum Patrem a quo unctus est Filius, et ipsum qui unctus est, Filium, et Spiritum sanctum quo unctus est, designasti. Scriptum est enim: Hunc Jesum a Nazareth, quem unxit Deus Spiritu sancto (Act. X, 38). Et si Patrem dicas, et Filium ejus et Spiritum oris ejus pariter indicasti; si tamen id etiam corde comprehendas. Et si Spiritum dicas, et Deum Patrem, a quo procedit Spiritus: et Filium, quia Filii quoque est Spiritus, nuncupasti.

44. Let us now consider whether as we read that the sacrament of baptism in the Name of Christ was complete, so, too, when the Holy Spirit alone is named, anything is wanting to the completeness of the mystery. Let us follow out the argument that he who has named One has signified the Trinity. If you name Christ, you imply both God the Father by Whom the Son was anointed, and the Son Himself Who was anointed, and the Holy Spirit with Whom He was anointed. For it is written: This Jesus of Nazareth, Whom God anointed with the Holy Spirit. Acts 10:38 And if you name the Father, you denote equally His Son and the Spirit of His mouth, if, that is, you apprehend it in your heart. And if you speak of the Spirit, you name also God the Father, from Whom the Spirit proceeds, and the Son, inasmuch as He is also the Spirit of the Son.

45. Unde et rationi copuletur auctoritas, in Spiritu quoque recte nos baptizari posse Scriptura indicat, dicente Domino: Vos autem baptizabimini in Spiritu sancto (Act. I, 5). Et alibi Apostolus ait: Omnes enim in ipso corpore, in unum Spiritum bapti zati sumus (I Cor. XII, 13). Unum opus, quia unum mysterium: unum baptisma, quia mors una pro mundo: unitas praedicationis quae non potest separari.

45. Wherefore that authority may also be joined to reason Scripture indicates that we can also be rightly baptized in the Spirit, when the Lord says: But you shall be baptized in the Holy Spirit. Acts 1:5 And in another place the Apostle says: For we were all baptized in the body itself into one Spirit. 1 Corinthians 12:13 The work is one, for the mystery is one; the baptism one, for there was one death on behalf of the world; there is, then, a oneness of working, a oneness of setting forth, which cannot be separated.

46. Quod si hoc loco separatur Spiritus ab operatione Patris et Filii, quia dictum est: Ex Deo omnia, et per Filium omnia (I Cor. VIII, 6); ergo et ubi Apostolus de Christo dicit: Qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in saecula

(Rom. IX, 5), non solum eum creaturis omnibus, sed etiam Patri (quod dictu nefas est) praetulit. Sed absit; non enim inter omnia Pater, non inter plebem quamdam creaturarum suarum. Subter creatura omnis, supra divinitas Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Illa servit, haec regnat; illa subjacet, ista dominatur: illa opus, haec auctor est operis: illa adorat omnes, haec adoratur ab omnibus.

46. But if in this place the Spirit be separated from the operation of the Father and the Son, because it is said, All things are of God, and all things are through the Son, 1 Corinthians 8:6 then, too, when the Apostle says of Christ, Who is over all, God blessed for ever, Romans 9:5 He set Christ not only above all creatures, but (which it is impious to say) above the Father also. But God forbid, for the Father is not among all things, is not among a kind of crowd of His own creatures. The whole creation is below, over all is the Godhead of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. The former serves, the latter rules; the former is subject, the latter reigns; the former is the work, the latter the author of the work; the former, without exception, worships, the latter is worshipped by all without exception.

47. Denique de Filio scriptum est: Et adorent eum omnes angeli Dei (Hebr. I, 6). Non habes: Adoret Spiritus sanctus. Et infra: Ad quem autem angelorum dixit aliquando: Sede ad dexteram meam, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum? Nonne omnes sunt, inquit, ministri spiritus in ministerium, qui mittuntur (Ibid., 13)? Cum dicit, omnes, numquid et Spiritum sanctum comprehendit? Non utique, quia Angeli et caeterae Potestates in ministerium et obsequium Dei Filio, ut serviant, destinantur.

47. Lastly, of the Son it is written: And let all the angels of God worship Him. Hebrews 1:6 You do not find, Let the Holy Spirit worship. And farther on: To which of the angels said He at any time, Sit on My right hand till I make your enemies the footstool of your feet? Are they not all, says he,

ministering spirits who are sent to minister? Hebrews 1:14 When he says *All*, does he include the Holy Spirit? Certainly not, because Angels and the other Powers are destined to serve in ministering and obedience to the Son of God.

48. At vero Spiritus sanctus non minister, 610 sed testis est Filii, quemadmodum de ipso Filius dixit: Ille testimonium perhibet de me (Joan. XV, 26). Testis est ergo Filii, Spiritus. Qui testis est, novit omnia, sicut Deus Pater testis est. Sic enim habes in posterioribus, quia confirmata est salus nostra, testificante Deo, signis quoque et prodigiis, et variis virtutibus, et Spiritus sancti divisionibus (Hebr. II, 4, 5). Qui dividit quod vult, utique supra omnia, non inter omnia est; dividere enim operatoris gratia, non operis est materies (I Cor. XII, 11).

48. But in truth the Holy Spirit is not a minister but a witness of the Son, as the Son Himself said of Him: He shall bear witness of Me. John 15:26 The Spirit, then, is a witness of the Son. He who is a witness knows all things, as God the Father is a witness. For so you read in later passages, for our salvation was confirmed to us by God bearing witness by signs and wonders and by manifold powers and by distributions of the Holy Spirit. Hebrews 2:3-4 He who divides as he will is certainly above all, not among all, for to divide is the gift of the worker, not an innate part of the work itself.

49. Si supra omnia Filius, per quem initium salus nostra, ut praedicaretur, accepit: utique et Pater Deus, qui testificatur, et asseverat signis et prodigiis de salute nostra, exceptus a cunctis est. Similiter autem et Spiritus qui divisionibus suis nostrae testimonium fert saluti, non est in creaturarum plebe numerandus, sed cum Patre aestimandus et Filio, qui non per incisionem sui dividitur ipse, cum dividit; individuus enim cum sit, nihil amittit, cum omnibus largiatur: sicut et Filius, regnum Patre accipiente, nihil perdit: nec Pater Filio cum sua tradat, amittit. Nullum itaque damnum esse

in divisione gratiae spiritalis, Domino attestante (I Cor. XV, 6), cognovimus; qui enim ubi vult spirat (Joan. III, 8), ubique sine damno est. De quo infra dicemus plenius.

49. If the Son is above all, through Whom our salvation received its commencement, so that it might be preached, certainly God the Father also, Who testifies and gives confirmation concerning our salvation by signs and wonders, is excepted from all. In like manner the Spirit, Who bears witness to our salvation by His diversities of gifts, is not to be numbered with the crowd of creatures, but to be reckoned with the Father and the Son; Who, when He divides, is not Himself divided by cutting off Himself, for being indivisible He loses nothing when He gives to all, as also the Son, when the Father receives the kingdom, 1 Corinthians 15:24 loses nothing, nor does the Father, when He gives that which is His to the Son, suffer loss. We know, then, by the testimony of the Son that there is no loss in the division of spiritual grace; for He Who breathes where He wills John 3:8 is everywhere free from loss. Concerning which power we shall speak more fully farther on.

50. Interim nunc quoniam propositum est ordine suo asserere, non esse inter omnia Spiritum compntandum, ipsum Apostolum, de cujus verbis faciunt quaestionem, assertionis hujus adhibeamus auctorem. Quae enim essent illa omnia, sive visibilia, sive invisibilia, ipse signavit dicens: Quoniam in ipso condita sunt omnia in coelis et in terra (Coloss. I, 16). Vides omnia de his dicta, quae vel in coelis sunt, vel in terra; sunt enim in coelis etiam invisibilia, quae facta sunt.

50. In the meanwhile, since our intention is to prove in due order that the Spirit is not to be reckoned among all things, let us take the Apostle, whose words they call in question, as an authority for this position. For what all things would be, whether visible or invisible, he himself declared when he

said: For in Him were all things created in the heavens and in earth. Colossians 1:16 You see that all things is spoken of things in the heavens, and of things in earth, for in the heavens are also invisible things which were made.

51. Tamen ne cui esset incognitum, addidit de quibus diceret: Sive Sedes, inquit, sive Dominationes, sive Principatus, sive Potestates, omnia per ipsum, et in ipso creata sunt, et ipse est ante omnes, et omnia in ipso constant (Ibid., 16, 17). Numquid ergo hic inter creaturas Spiritum sanctum comprehendit? Aut cum dicit ante omnes esse Dei Filium, numquid ante Patrem dixisse aestimandus est? Non utique; nam sicut hic per Filium dicit omnia creata esse, et in ipso omnia constare coelestia: ita etiam in Spiritu sancto vires habere universa coelestia dubitari non potest, quando lectum est: Verbo Domini coeli firmati sunt, et Spiritu oris ejus omnis virtus eorum (Psal. XXXII, 6). Super omnia est igitur, de quo est omnis coelestium et terrestrium virtus. Qui igitur super omnia est, utique non servit: qui non servit, liber est: qui liber est, habet jura dominatus.

51. But that no one should be ignorant of this he added those of whom he was speaking: Whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers, all things were created by Him and in Him, and He is before all, and in Him all things consist. Colossians 1:16-17 Does he, then, include the Holy Spirit here among creatures? Or when he says that the Son of God is before all things, is he to be supposed to have said that He is before the Father? Certainly not; for as here he says that all things were created by the Son, and that all things in the heavens consist in Him, so, too, it cannot be doubted that all things in the heavens have their strength in the Holy Spirit, since we read: By the word of the Lord were the heavens established and all the strength of them by the Spirit of His mouth. He, then, is above all, from Whom is all the strength of things in heaven and things on earth. He, then,

Who is above all things certainly does not serve; He Who serves not is free; He Who is free has the prerogative of lordship.

52. Hoc si a principio dicerem, negaretur. Sed quemadmodum illi minora negant, ne majora credantur: ita et nos minora praemittamus, ut aut perfidiam suam etiam in minoribus prodant; aut si vel minoribus consentiunt, majora de minoribus colligamus.

52. If I were to say this at first it would be denied. But in the same manner as they deny the less that the greater may not be believed, so let us set forth lesser matters first that either they may show their perfidy in lesser matters, or, if they grant the lesser matters, we may infer greater from the lesser.

53. Arbitror, clementissime imperator, plenissime confutatos eos, qui audent inter omnia 611 Spiritum sanctum computare. Sed tamen ut sciant se non tantum Apostolicis testimoniis, sed etiam Dominicis perurgeri; quomodo audent inter omnia numerare Spiritum sanctum, quando ipse Dominus dixit: Qui blasphemaverit in Filium hominis, remittetur ei: qui autem blasphemaverit in Spiritum sanctum, nec hic, nec in futurum remittetur ei (Luc. XII, 10)? Quomodo igitur inter creaturas audet quisquam Spiritum computare? Aut quis sic se obligat, ut si creaturae derogaverit, non putet sibi hoc aliqua venia relaxandum? Nam si Judaei, quia adoraverunt militiam coeli (IV Reg. XVII, 16), divino praesidio destituti sunt: qui autem adorat et confitetur Spiritum sanctum, acceptus est Deo; qui non confitetur, sacrilegii reus sine venia damnatur: utique hinc aestimari potest non inter omnia, sed super omnia esse Spiritum sanctum, cujus injuria aeternis suppliciis expiatur.

53. I think, most merciful Emperor, that they are most fully confuted who dare to reckon the Holy Spirit among all things. But that they may know that they are pressed not only by the testimony of the apostles, but also by

that of our Lord; how can they dare to reckon the Holy Spirit among all things, since the Lord Himself said: He who shall blaspheme against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him; but he who shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost shall never be forgiven, either here or hereafter. Matthew 12:32 How, then, can any one dare to reckon the Holy Spirit among creatures? Or who will so blind himself as to think that if he have injured any creature he cannot be forgiven in any wise? For if the Jews because they worshipped the host of heaven were deprived of divine protection, while he who worships and confesses the Holy Spirit is accepted of God, but he who confesses Him not is convicted of sacrilege without forgiveness: certainly it follows from this that the Holy Spirit cannot be reckoned among all things, but that He is above all things, an offense against Whom is avenged by eternal punishment.

54. Cur autem dixerit Dominus: Qui blasphemaverit in Filium hominis, remittetur ei: qui autem blasphemaverit in Spiritum sanctum, nec hic, nec in futurum remittetur ei (Luc. XII, 10); diligenter adverte. Numquid alia est offensa Filii, alia Spiritus sancti? Sicut enim una dignitas, sic una injuria. Sed si quis corporis specie deceptus humani, remissius aliquid sentit de Christi carne, quam dignum est (neque enim vilis nobis debet videri, quae aula virtutis, fructus est Virginis), habet culpam; non est tamen exclusus a venia, quam fide possit adsciscere. Si quis vero sancti Spiritus dignitatem, majestatem et potestatem abneget sempiternam, et putet non in Spiritu Dei ejici daemonia, sed in Beelzebub: non potest ibi exoratio esse veniae, ubi sacrilegi plenitudo est; quia qui Spiritum negavit, et Deum Patrem negavit et Filium; quoniam idem est Spiritus Dei, qui Spiritus est Christi.

54. But observe carefully why the Lord said: He who shall blaspheme against the Son of Man it shall be forgiven him, but he who shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost shall never be forgiven, either here or hereafter.

Matthew 12:32 Is an offense against the Son different from one against the Holy Spirit? For as their dignity is one, and common to both, so too is the offense. But if any one, led astray by the visible human body, should think somewhat more remissly than is fitting concerning the Body of Christ (for it ought not to appear of little worth to us, seeing it is the palace of chastity, and the fruit of the Virgin), he incurs guilt, but he is not shut out from pardon, which he may attain to by faith. But if any one should deny the dignity, majesty, and eternal power of the Holy Spirit, and should think that devils are cast out not in the Spirit of God, but in Beelzebub, there can be no attaining of pardon there where is the fullness of sacrilege; for he who has denied the Spirit has denied also the Father and the Son, since the same is the Spirit of God Who is the Spirit of Christ.

CAPUT IV.

SPIRITUM SANCTUM UNUM et eumdem esse qui locutus est in prophetis et in apostolis, qui Spiritus Dei et Christi est, quem praeterea Spiritum Paraclitum, Spiritum vitae ac veritatis Scriptura significat.

CHAPTER 4.

The Holy Spirit is one and the same Who spoke in the prophets and apostles, Who is the Spirit of God and of Christ; Whom, further, Scripture designates the Paraclete, and the Spirit of life and truth.

55. Unum autem esse Spiritum nemo dubitaverit, etsi de uno Deo plerique dubitaverunt. Alium enim dixerunt plerique haeretici Deum veteris, alium novi Testamenti. 612 Sed sicut unus Pater, qui et olim locutus est, ut legimus, patribus in prophetis: et in novissimis diebus nobis locutus est in Filio (Hebr. I, 1, 2): et sicut unus Filius, qui juxta veteris seriem Testamenti ab Adam offensus, ab Abraham visus, adoratus a Jacob est: ita etiam Spiritus sanctus unus est, qui efferbuit in prophetis, insufflatus est apostolis, copulatus est Patri et Filio in baptismatis sacramentis (II Petr. I, 21; Joan. XX, 22; Matth. XXVIII, 19). De ipso enim dicit David: Et Spiritum sanctum tuum ne auferas a me (Psal. L, 13). De ipso etiam alibi dixit: Quo ibo a Spiritu tuo (Psal. CXXXVIII, 7).

55. But no one will doubt that the Spirit is one, although very many have doubted whether God be one. For many heretics have said that the God of the Old Testament is one, and the God of the New Testament is another. But as the Father is one Who both spoke of old, as we read, to the fathers by the prophets, and to us in the last days by His Son; Hebrews 1:1-2 and as the

Son is one, Who according to the tenour of the Old Testament was offended by Adam, Genesis 3:17 seen by Abraham, Genesis 18:22-23 worshipped by Jacob; Genesis 28:17 so, too, the Holy Spirit is one, who energized in the prophets, 2 Peter 1:21 was breathed upon the apostles, John 20:22 and was joined to the Father and the Son in the sacrament of baptism. Matthew 28:19 For David says of Him: And take not Your Holy Spirit from me. And in another place he said of Him: Whither shall I go from Your Spirit?

56. [Alias cap. IV.] Ut scias quia idem Spiritus Dei est, qui est Spiritus sanctus, sicut et in Apostolo legimus: Nemo in Spiritu Dei loquens, dicit anathema Jesu; et nemo potest dicere Dominus Jesus, nisi in Spiritu sancto (I Cor. XII, 3), ipsum Apostolus Spiritum Dei dixit. Ipsum etiam Spiritum Christi appellavit, sicut habes: Vos autem in carne non estis, sed in Spiritu; si tamen Spiritus Dei inhabitat in vobis. Si quis autem Spiritum Christi non habet, hic non est ejus (Rom. VIII, 9). Et infra: Quod si Spiritus ejus qui suscitavit Jesum a mortuis, habitat in vobis (Ibid. 11). Ipse est ergo Spiritus Dei, qui Spiritus est Christi.

56. That you may know that the Spirit of God is the same as the Holy Spirit, as we read also in the Apostle: No one speaking in the Spirit of God says Anathema to Jesus and no one can say, Lord Jesus, but in the Holy Spirit, 1 Corinthians 12:3 the Apostle calls Him the Spirit of God. He called Him also the Spirit of Christ, as you read: But you are not in the flesh but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwells in you. Romans 8:9 And farther on: But if the Spirit of Him Who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you. Romans 8:11 The same is, then, the Spirit of God, Who is the Spirit of Christ.

57. Ipse etiam est Spiritus vitae, sicut ait Apostolus: Lex enim Spiritus vitae in Christo Jesu liberavit me a lege peccati et mortis (Ibid., 2).

57. The same is also the Spirit of Life, as the Apostle says: For the law of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus has delivered me from the law of sin and death. Romans 8:2

58. Quem igitur Spiritum vitae Apostolus dixit, ipsum Dominus in Evangelio paraclitum nominavit, ipsum Spiritum veritatis, sicut habes: Et rogabo Patrem, et alium Paraclitum dabit vobis; ut vobiscum sit in aeternum, Spiritum veritatis, quem hic mundus non potest accipere; quia non videt eum, nec cognoscit eum (Joan. XIV, 16, 17). Habes ergo et Paraclitum Spiritum, eumdem et Spiritum veritatis et Spiritum invisibilem designatum. Quomodo igitur secundum divinitatem quidam Filium visibilem putant, cum etiam Spiritum mundus videre non possit?

58. Him, then, Whom the Apostle called the Spirit of Life, the Lord in the Gospel named the Paraclete, and the Spirit of Truth, as you find: And I will ask the Father, and He will give you another Comforter [Paraclete], that He may be with you for ever, even the Spirit of Truth, Whom this world cannot receive; because it sees Him not, neither knows Him. John 14:16-17 You have, then, the Paraclete Spirit, called also the Spirit of Truth, and the invisible Spirit. How, then, do some think that the Son is visible in His Divine Nature, when the world cannot see even the Spirit?

59. Accipe nunc ejusdem vocem Domini, quod ipse sit Spiritus sanctus, qui est Spiritus veritatis; habes enim in ultimo libri hujus: Accipite Spiritum sanctum (Joan. XX, 22). Ipsum quoque esse Spiritum sanctum, qui est Spiritus Domini, Petrus docet dicens: Anania, quid tibi visum est tentare et mentiri Spiritui sancto (Act. V, 3)? Et statim ad uxorem Ananiae idem ait: Quid vobis visum est tentare Spiritum Domini (Ibid., 9)? Cum dicit, vobis, ostendit de eo dictum Spiritu, de quo Ananiae dixerat. Ipse est ergo Spiritus Domini, qui Spiritus sanctus.

59. Receive now the saying of the Lord, that the same is the Holy Spirit Who is the Spirit of Truth, for you read in the end of this book: Receive the Holy Spirit. John 20:22 And Peter teaches that the same is the Holy Spirit Who is the Spirit of the Lord, when he says: Ananias, why has it seemed good to you to tempt and to lie to the Holy Spirit? Acts 5:3 And immediately after he says again to the wife of Ananias: Why has it seemed good to you to tempt the Spirit of the Lord? Acts 5:9 When he says to you, he shows that he is speaking of the same Spirit of Whom he had spoken to Ananias. He Himself is, then, the Spirit of the Lord Who is the Holy Spirit.

60. Ipsum etiam Spiritum sanctum, qui Spiritus 613 Patris est, declaravit Dominus, dicens secundum Matthaeum in persecutione non esse cogitandum quid loquamur: Non enim vos estis qui loquimini; sed Spiritus Patris vestri, qui loquitur in vobis (Matth. X, 20). Idem autem secundum Lucam ait: Nolite solliciti esse qualiter respondeatis aut dicatis; Spiritus enim sanctus Dei docebit vos in ipsa hora, quae oporteat dicere (Luc. XII, 11, 12). Ergo quamvis multi dicantur spiritus, quia lectum est: Qui facit Angelos suos spiritus (Psal. CIII, 4); unus tamen est Dei Spiritus.

60. And the Lord Himself made clear that the same Who is the Spirit of the Father is the Holy Spirit, when according to Matthew He said that we ought not to take thought in persecution what we should say: For it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaks in you. Matthew 10:20 Again He says according to St. Luke: Be not anxious how you shall answer or speak, for the Holy Spirit of God shall teach you in that hour what you ought to say. Luke 12:11-12 So, although many are called spirits, as it is said: Who makes His Angels spirits, yet the Spirit of God is but one.

61. Ipsum igitur unum Spiritum et apostoli et prophetae sunt consecuti. Sicut etiam vas electionis, doctor gentium dicit: Quia unum Spiritum

potavimus (I Cor. XII, 13); quasi eum qui non queat scindi, sed infundatur animis, et sensibus allabatur, ut saecularis sitis restinguat ardorem.

61. Both apostles and prophets received that one Spirit, as the vessel of election, the Doctor of the Gentiles, says: For we have all drunk of one Spirit; 1 Corinthians 12:13 Him, as it were, Who cannot be divided, but is poured into souls, and flows into the senses, that He may quench the burning of this world’s thirst.

CAPUT V.

SPIRITUM SANCTUM, CUM creaturas sanctificet, nec creaturam esse, nec mutabilem: eum semper bonum esse, cum a Patre detur et a Filio; nec inter ea quae declinare dicuntur, numerandum; fontem bonitatis, Spiritum oris Dei, malorum emendatorem, bonum necessario confitendum: postremo cum in Scripturis bonus affirmetur, et Patri ac Filio conjungatur in baptismate, bonum negari neutiquam posse; nec tamen dici in bono proficientem, sed perficientem: quod eum ab omnibus distinguit creaturis.

CHAPTER 5.

The Holy Spirit, since He sanctifies creatures, is neither a creature nor subject to change. He is always good, since He is given by the Father and the Son; neither is He to be numbered among such things as are said to fail. He must be acknowledged as the source of goodness. The Spirit of God's mouth, the amender of evils, and Himself good. Lastly, as He is said in Scripture to be good, and is joined to the Father and the Son in baptism, He cannot possibly be denied to be good. He is not, however, said to progress, but to be made perfect in goodness, which distinguishes Him from all creatures.

62. Non ergo sanctus Spiritus de substantia corporalium; hic enim corporalibus incorpoream infundit gratiam: sed nec de substantia invisibilium creaturarum est; nam et illae sanctificationem hujus accipiunt, et per hunc reliquis mundi operibus antecellunt. Sive Angelos dicas, sive Dominationes, sive Potestates, omnis creatura exspectat sancti Spiritus gratiam. Sicut enim nos per Spiritum liberi, quia misit Deus Spiritum Filii

sui in corda nostra clamantem: Abba Pater. Itaque jam non est servus, sed filius (Galat. IV, 6, 7): ita etiam omnis creatura revelationem filiorum Dei exspectat, quos utique sancti Spiritus gratia filios Dei fecit (Rom. VIII, 19). Ergo et creatura ipsa omnis spiritualis gratiae revelatione mutabitur, et liberabitur a servitute corruptionis in libertatem gloriae filiorum Dei (Ibid. 21).

62. The Holy Spirit is not, then, of the substance of things corporeal, for He sheds incorporeal grace on corporeal things; nor, again, is He of the substance of invisible creatures, for they receive His sanctification, and through Him are superior to the other works of the universe. Whether you speak of Angels, or Dominions, or Powers, every creature waits for the grace of the Holy Spirit. For as we are children through the Spirit, because God sent the Spirit of His Son into our hearts crying, Abba, Father; so that you are now not a servant but a son; Galatians 4:6-7 in like manner, also, every creature is waiting for the revelation of the sons of God, whom in truth the grace of the Holy Spirit made sons of God. Therefore, also, every creature itself shall be changed by the revelation of the grace of the Spirit, and shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God.

63. Omnis ergo creatura mutabilis, non solum ea quae jam peccato aliquo aut elementorum conditione mutata est; verum etiam quae corruptelae potest esse obnoxia vitio naturae, etsi nondum est studio disciplinae; nam ut in superioribus libris docuimus (Lib. III, de fide, ca), et angelorum naturam liquet potuisse mutari. Utique aestimare convenit quia qualis unius natura, talis et caeterorum. Mutabilis ergo et reliquorum natura, sed melior disciplina.

63. Every creature, then, is subject to change, not only such as has been changed by some sin or condition of the outward elements, but also such as

can be liable to corruption by a fault of nature, though by careful discipline it be not yet so; for, as we have shown in a former treatise, the nature of Angels evidently can be changed. It is certainly fitting to judge that such as is the nature of one, such also is that of others. The nature of the rest, then, is capable of change, but the discipline is better.

64. [Alias cap. V.] Ergo omnis mutabilis creatura, sed bonus et non mutabilis Spiritus sanctus; neque enim aliquo vitio mutari potest, qui omnium 614 abolet vitia, peccata condonat. Quomodo ergo mutabilis qui sanctificando alios mutat ad gratiam, non ipse mutatur?

64. Every creature, therefore, is capable of change, but the Holy Spirit is good and not capable of change, nor can He be changed by any fault, Who does away the faults of all and pardons their sins. How, then, is He capable of change, Who by sanctifying works in others a change to grace, but is not changed Himself.

65. Quomodo mutabilis, qui bonus semper est? Neque enim umquam malus Spiritus sanctus, per quem nobis quae bona sunt, ministrantur. Unde et evangelistae duo in uno eodemque loco, diversis quidem inter se verbis, sed eadem designarunt; habes enim in Matthaeo: Si vos cum sitis mali, nostis bona data dare filiis vestris; quanto magis Pater vester, qui in coelis est, dabit bona petentibus se (Matth. VII, 11)! Secundum Lucam autem invenies ita scriptum: Quanto magis Pater vester de coelo dabit Spiritum sanctum petentibus se (Luc. XI, 13)! Advertimus ergo bonum esse Spiritum sanctum Domini judicio, evangelistarum testimonio: quando alius pro sancto Spiritu bona, alius pro bonis sanctum Spiritum nominavit. Si igitur quod bonum est, hoc est Spiritus sanctus, quomodo bonus non est?

65. How is He capable of change Who is always good? For the Holy Spirit, through Whom the things that are good are ministered to us, is never evil.

Whence two evangelists in one and the same place, in words in differing from each other, have made the same statement, for you read in Matthew: If you, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children; how much more shall your Father, Who is in heaven, give good things to them that ask Him. Matthew 7:11 But according to Luke you will find it thus written: How much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask Him? Luke 11:13 We observe, then, that the Holy Spirit is good in the Lord's judgment by the testimony of the evangelists, since the one has put good things in the place of the Holy Spirit, the other has named the Holy Spirit in the place of good things. If, then, the Holy Spirit is that which is good, how is He not good?

66. Nec fallit quod nonnulli codices habent etiam secundum Lucam: Quanto magis Pater vester de coelo dabit bonum datum petentibus se! Hoc bonum datum gratia spiritalis est, quam Dominus Jesus effudit e coelo, postquam patibulo crucis fixus, triumphales revehens evacuatae mortis exuvias, victor mortis a mortuis resurrexit, sicut habes scriptum: ascendens in altum captivam duxit captivitatem: dedit data hominibus (Psal. LXVII, 19). Et bene ait, data; sicut enim Filius datus, de quo scriptum est: Puer natus est, filius datus est nobis (Esai. IX, 6), data est et gratia spiritualis. Quid autem dubito dicere quia datus est et Spiritus sanctus, cum scriptum sit: Charitas Dei effusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis (Rom. V, 5). Quem utique quoniam pectora recipere captiva non poterant, prius Dominus Jesus captivam duxit captivitatem; ut liberis affectibus gratiae divinae munus effunderet.

66. Nor does it escape our notice that some copies have likewise, according to St. Luke: How much more shall your heavenly Father give a good gift to them that ask Him. This good gift is the grace of the Spirit, which the Lord Jesus shed forth from heaven, after having been fixed to the gibbet of the

cross, returning with the triumphal spoils of death deprived of its power, as you find it written: Ascending up on high He led captivity captive, and gave good gifts to men. And well does he say gifts, for as the Son was given, of Whom it is written: Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given; Isaiah 9:6 so, too, is the grace of the Spirit given. But why should I hesitate to say that the Holy Spirit also is given to us, since it is written: The love of God is shed forth in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, Who is given to us. Romans 5:5 And since captive breasts certainly could not receive Him, the Lord Jesus first led captivity captive, that our affections being set free, He might pour forth the gift of divine grace.

67. Pulchre autem dixit: Captivam captivitatem. Christi enim victoria, victoria libertatis est, quae omnes gratiae vindicavit, nullum astrinxit injuriae. Ergo in omnium absolutione nemo captivus est. Et quia Dominicae tempore passionis sola feriabatur injuria, quae captivos omnes amiserat quos tenebat; in se recurrens captiva facta est ipsa captivitas, jam non Belial addicta, sed Christo, cui servire libertas est. Qui enim in Domino vocatus est servus libertus est Domini (I Cor. VII, 22).

67. And He said well led captivity captive. For the victory of Christ is the victory of liberty, which won grace for all, and inflicted wrong on none. So in the setting free of all no one is captive. And because in the time of the Lord's passion wrong alone had no part, which had made captive all of whom it had gained possession, captivity itself turning back upon itself was made captive, not now attached to Belial but to Christ, to serve Whom is liberty. For he who is called in the Lord as a servant is the Lord's freedman. 1 Corinthians 7:22

68. Sed ut ad proposita revertamur: Omnes, inquit, declinaverunt, simul inutiles facti sunt; non est qui faciat bonum, non est usque ad unum (Psal. XIII, 3). Si excipiunt Spiritum sanctum, etiam ipsi eum non esse inter

omnia confitentur: si non excipiunt, ergo et ipsum inter omnes declinasse fateantur.

68. But to return to the point. All, says He, have gone aside, all together have become unprofitable. There is none that does good, not even one. If they except the Holy Spirit, even they themselves confess that He is not among all; if they do not except Him, then they, too, acknowledge that He has gone aside among all.

69. Sed videamus utrum bonitatem habeat, cum fons sit principiumque bonitatis. Nam sicut 615 Pater bonitatem habet et Filius, ita etiam bonitatem habet et Spiritus sanctus. Quod etiam Apostolus docuit dicens: Fructus autem Spiritus pax, charitas, gaudium, patientia, bonitas (Galat. V, 22). Quis autem dubitat quod bonus sit, cujus fructus est bonitas? Arbor enim bona bonos fructus facit (Matth. VII, 17).

69. But let us consider whether He has goodness in Himself, since He is the Source and Principle of goodness. For as the Father and the Son have, so too the Holy Spirit also has goodness. And the Apostle also taught this when he said: Now the fruit of the Spirit is peace, love, joy, patience, goodness. Galatians 5:22 For who doubts that He is good Whose fruit is goodness. For a good tree brings forth good fruit. Matthew 7:17

70. Itaque si bonus Deus, quomodo non bonus qui oris ejus est Spiritus (Psal. XXXII, 6), qui scrutatur etiam alta Dei (I Cor. II, 10)? An in alta Dei contagio mali possit intrare? Unde et illud intelligitur, quam amentes sint, qui bonum Filium Dei abnegant, cum bonum Spiritum Christi negare non possint; de quo ait Dei Filius: Propterea dixi, de meo accipiet (Joan. XVI, 15).

70. And so if God be good, how shall He Who is the Spirit of His mouth not be good, Who searches even the deep things of God? Can the infection of

evil enter into the deep things of God? And from this it is seen how foolish they are who deny that the Son of God is good, when they cannot deny that the Spirit of Christ is good, of Whom the Son of God says: Therefore said I that He shall receive of Mine. John 16:15

71. An non bonus Spiritus, qui bonos de pessimis facit, peccatum abolet, malum delet, crimen excludit, bonum munus infundit, de persecutoribus apostolos facit, de peccatoribus sacerdotes? Eratis, inquit, aliquando tenebrae, nunc autem lux in Domino (Ephes. V, 8).

71. Or is the Spirit not good, Who of the worst makes good men, does away sin, destroys evil, shuts out crime, pours in good gifts, makes apostles of persecutors, and priests of sinners? You were, it is said, sometime darkness, but now are you light in the Lord. Ephesians 5:8

72. Sed quid differimus eos? Nam si verba exigunt, cum facta non abnuant, accipiant bonum Spiritum scriptum; dixit enim David: Spiritus tuus bonus deducet me in viam rectam (Psal. CXLII, 10). Quid est enim Spiritus, nisi plenus bonitatis? Qui cum sit inaccessibilis natura, receptibilis tamen propter bonitatem suam nobis est, complens virtute omnia, sed qui solis participetur justis, simplex substantia, opulentus virtutibus, unicuique praesens, dividens de suo singulis, et ubique totus.

72. But why do we put them off? And if they ask for statements since they do not deny facts, let them hear that the Holy Spirit is good, for David said: Let Your good Spirit lead me forth in the right way. For what is the Spirit but full of goodness? Who though because of His nature He cannot be attained to, yet because of His goodness can be received by us, filling all things His power, but only partaken of by the just, simple in substance, rich in virtues, present to each, dividing of His own to every one, and Himself whole everywhere.

73. Meritoque Filius Dei dixit: Ite, baptizate gentes in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti (Matth. XXVIII, 19), non dedignatus Spiritus sancti societatem. Cur igitur nunc quem Dominus non dedignatus est in baptismatis sacramento, moleste ferunt aliqui Patri vel Filio Spiritum nostra devotione conjungi?

73. And with good cause did the Son of God say: Go and baptize all nations in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, Matthew 28:19 not disdaining association with the Holy Spirit. Why, then, do some take it ill that He Whom the Lord disdained not in the sacrament of baptism, should be joined in our devotion with the Father and the Son?

74. Bonus ergo Spiritus: bonus autem, non quasi acquirens, sed quasi impertiens bonitatem. Non enim accipit a creaturis, sed accipitur Spiritus sanctus: sicut non sanctificatur, sed ipse sanctificat; creatura enim sanctificatur, sanctificat autem Spiritus sanctus. In quo licet verbi communio, discretio tamen naturae est. Sanctus enim dicitur et homo qui accipit, et Deus qui tribuit sanctitatem; quia legimus: Estote sancti, quoniam et ego sanctus sum (Levit. XIX, 2). Non ergo potest sanctificatio et corruptela unius esse naturae; et ideo non potest gratia sancti Spiritus et creatura unius esse substantiae.

74. Good, then, is the Spirit, but good, not as though acquiring but as imparting goodness. For the Holy Spirit does not receive from creatures but is received; as also He is not sanctified but sanctifies; for the creature is sanctified, but the Holy Spirit sanctifies. In which matter, though the word is used in common, there is a difference in the nature. For both the man who receives and God Who gives sanctity are called holy, as we read: Be holy, for I am holy. Leviticus 19:2 Now sanctification and corruption cannot share the same nature, and therefore the grace of the Holy Spirit and the creature cannot be of one substance.

75. Itaque cum omnis invisibilis praeter Trinitatem reliqua natura, cujus rationabilem et incorpoream jure quidam substantiam putant, non impertiat spiritalem gratiam, sed acquirat: nec participet, sed assumat; separanda utique est a societate Spiritus sancti communitas creaturae. Credant igitur quia creatura non est Spiritus sanctus: aut si creaturam putant, cur associant Patri? Si creaturam arbitrantur, cur Filio Dei jungunt? Quod si a Patre et Filio 616 non existimant separandum, non aestiment creaturam; quia ubi una sanctificatio, una natura est.

75. Since, then, the whole invisible creation (whose substance some rightly believe to be reasonable and incorporeal), with the exception of the Trinity, does not impart but acquires the grace of the Spirit, and does not share in it but receives it, the whole commonalty of creation is to be separated from association with the Holy Spirit. Let them then believe that the Holy Spirit is not a creature; or, if they think Him a creature, why do they associate Him with the Father? If they think Him a creature, why do they join Him with the Son of God? But if they do not think that He should be separated from the Father and the Son, they do not consider Him to be a creature, for where the sanctification is one the nature is one.

CAPUT VI.

QUAMQUAM IN AQUA et Spiritu baptizamur, hunc tamen illi longe praestare; atque adeo non sejungendum a Patre et Filio.

CHAPTER 6.

Although we are baptized with water and the Spirit, the latter is much superior to the former, and is not therefore to be separated from the Father and the Son.

76. Sunt tamen plerique qui eo quod in aqua baptizamur et Spiritu, non putent aquae et Spiritus distare munera; et ideo non putant distare naturam. Nec advertunt quia in illo aquarum sepelimur elemento, ut renovati per Spiritum resurgamus. In aqua enim imago mortis, in Spiritu pignus est vitae; ut per aquam moriatur corpus peccati, quae quasi quodam tumulo corpus includit: et per virtutem Spiritus renovemur a morte peccati, renati in Deo.

76. There are, however, many who, because we are baptized with water and the Spirit, think that there is no difference in the offices of water and the Spirit, and therefore think that they do not differ in nature. Nor do they observe that we are buried in the element of water that we may rise again renewed by the Spirit. For in the water is the representation of death, in the Spirit is the pledge of life, that the body of sin may die through the water, which encloses the body as it were in a kind of tomb, that we, by the power of the Spirit, may be renewed from the death of sin, being born again in God.

77. Et ideo hi tres testes unum sunt, sicut Joannes dixit: Aqua, sanguis, et Spiritus (I Joan. V, 8). Unum in mysterio, non in natura. Aqua igitur testis est sepulturae, sanguis testis est mortis, Spiritus testis est vitae. Si qua ergo in aqua gratia, non ex natura aquae, sed ex praesentia est Spiritus sancti.

77. And so these three witnesses are one, as John said: The water, the blood, and the Spirit. 1 John 5:8 One in the mystery, not in nature. The water, then, is a witness of burial, the blood is a witness of death, the Spirit is a witness of life. If, then, there be any grace in the water, it is not from the nature of water, but from the presence of the Holy Spirit.

78. Numquid in aqua vivimus, sicut in Spiritu? Numquid in aqua signamur, sicut in Spiritu? In ipso enim vivimus, et ipse est pignus haereditatis nostrae, sicut et Apostolus scribens ad Ephesios, ait: In quo credentes signati estis Spiritu promissionis sancto, qui est pignus haereditatis nostrae (Ephes. I, 13, 14). Sancto igitur Spiritu signati sumus, non natura, sed a Deo, quia scriptum est: qui unxit nos Deus, et qui signavit nos, et dedit pignus Spiritum in cordibus nostris (II Cor. I, 21, 22).

78. Do we live in the water or in the Spirit? Are we sealed in the water or in the Spirit. For in Him we live and He Himself is the earnest of our inheritance, as the Apostle says, writing to the Ephesians: In Whom believing you were sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise, Who is an earnest of our inheritance. Ephesians 1:13-14 So we were sealed by the Holy Spirit, not by nature, but by God, for it is written: He Who anointed us is God, Who also sealed us, and gave the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts.

79. Signati ergo Spiritu a Deo sumus. Sicut enim in Christo morimur, ut renascamur; ita etiam Spiritu signamur, ut splendorem atque imaginem ejus et gratiam tenere possimus: quod est utique spiritale signaculum. Nam etsi

specie signemur in corpore, veritate tamen in corde signamur; ut Spiritus sanctus exprimat in nobis imaginis coelestis effigiem.

79. We were then sealed with the Spirit by God. For as we die in Christ, in order to be born again, so, too, we are sealed with the Spirit, that we may possess His brightness and image and grace, which is undoubtedly our spiritual seal. For although we were visibly sealed in our bodies, we are in truth sealed in our hearts, that the Holy Spirit may portray in us the likeness of the heavenly image.

80. Quis igitur audeat dicere discretum a Deo Patre et Christo esse Spiritum sanctum; cum per ipsum ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei esse mereamur; et per ipsum fiat, quemadmodum Petrus apostolus dixit (II Petr. I, 4), ut divinae simus consortes naturae? In quo utique non carnalis successionis haereditas, sed adoptionis gratiae spiritale commercium est. Atque ut sciamus cordis nostri magis hoc, quam corporis esse signaculum, docet Propheta qui dicit: Signatum est in nobis lumen vultus tui, Domine; dedisti laetitiam in corde meo (Psal. IV, 7).

80. Who, then, can dare to say that the Holy Spirit is separated from the Father and the Son, since through Him we attain to the image and likeness of God, and through Him, as the Apostle Peter says, are partakers of the divine nature? In which there is certainly not the inheritance of carnal succession, but the spiritual connection of the grace of adoption. And in order that we may know that this seal is rather on our hearts than on our bodies, the prophet says: The light of Your countenance has been impressed upon us, O Lord, You have put gladness in my heart.

CAPUT VII.

SPIRITUM SANCTUM CREATURAM non esse, cum sit incircumscriptus, et apostolis per omnes regiones dispersis infusus, quin etiam angelos ipsos, quibus aequales nos reddit, sanctificet. Eodem Mariam repletam esse, nec non etiam Christum Dominum, atque adeo superiora et inferiora omnia: de cujus operatione, quae per piscinae commotionem designabatur, ortum ducit omnis benedictio.

CHAPTER 7.

The Holy Spirit is not a creature, seeing that He is infinite, and was shed upon the apostles dispersed through all countries, and moreover sanctifies the Angels also, to whom He makes us equal. Mary was full of the same likewise, so too, Christ the Lord, and so far all things high and low. And all benediction has its origin from His operation, as was signified in the moving of the water at Bethesda.

81. Cum igitur omnis creatura certis naturae suae sit circumscripta limitibus; si quidem et illa invisibilia opera, quae non queunt locis et finibus comprehendi, substantiae suae tamen proprietate clauduntur: quomodo quis audeat creaturam appellare Spiritum sanctum, qui non habet circumscriptam determinatamque virtutem; quia et in omnibus et ubique semper est, quod utique divinitatis et dominationis est proprium: Domini enim est terra, et plenitudo ejus (Psal. XXIII, 1)?

81. Since then, every creature is confined within certain limits of its own nature, and inasmuch as those invisible operations, which cannot be circumscribed by place and bounds, yet are closed in by the property of

their own substance; how can any one dare to call the Holy Spirit a creature, Who has not a limited and circumscribed power? Because He is always in all things and everywhere, which assuredly is the property of Divinity and Lordship, for: The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof.

81. Et ideo cum Dominus servulos suos apostolos destinaret, ut agnosceremus aliud creaturam esse, aliud gratiam spiritalem, alios alio destinabat; quia omnes simul ubique esse non poterant. Dedit autem omnibus Spiritum sanctum, qui licet separatis apostolis inseparabilis gratiae munus infunderet. Erant igitur diversae personae, sed unus in omnibus operationis effectus; quia unus est Spiritus sanctus, de quo ait: Accipietis virtutem venientem, Spiritum sanctum in vos; et eritis mihi testes in Hierusalem et in omni Judaea et Samaria usque in fines terrae (Act. I, 8).

81. And so, when the Lord appointed His servants the apostles, that we might recognize that the creature was one thing and the grace of the Spirit another, He appointed them to different places, because all could not be everywhere at once. But He gave the Holy Spirit to all, to shed upon the apostles though separated the gift of indivisible grace. The persons, then, were different, but the accomplishment of the working was in all one, because the Holy Spirit is one of Whom it is said: You shall receive power, even the Holy Spirit coming upon you, and you shall be witnesses to Me in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria, and unto the ends of the earth. Acts 1:8

82. Incircumscriptus igitur et infinitus Spiritus sanctus, qui se discipulorum sensibus per separatarum divortia discreta regionum, remotosque fines totius orbis infudit, quem nihil potest praeterire vel fallere. Et ideo sanctus David ait: Quo ibo a Spiritu tuo, aut quo a facie tua fugiam (Psal. CXXXVIII, 7)? De quo Angelo Scriptura hoc dicit? de qua Dominatione? de qua Potestate? Cujus inveniemus Angeli virtutem per plurimos esse

diffusam? Angeli enim ad paucos mittebantur, Spiritus autem sanctus populis infundebatur. Quis igitur dubitet quin divinum sit, quod infunditur simul pluribus, nec videtur: corporeum autem, quod et videtur a singulis, et tenetur?

82. The Holy Spirit, then, is uncircumscribed and infinite, Who infused Himself into the minds of the disciples throughout the separate divisions of distant regions, and the remote bounds of the whole world, Whom nothing is able to escape or to deceive. And therefore holy David says: Whither shall I go from Your Spirit, or whither shall I flee from Your face. Of what Angel does the Scripture say this? Of what Dominion? Of what Power? Of what Angel do we find the power diffused over many? For Angels were sent to few, but the Holy Spirit was poured upon whole peoples. Who, then, can doubt that that is divine which is shed upon many at once and is not seen; but that that is corporeal which is seen and held by individuals?

83. Sed quemadmodum sanctificans apostolos Spiritus, non est humanae consors naturae; ita etiam sanctificans Angelos, Dominationes et Potestates, non habet consortium creaturae. Si qui autem putant non esse spiritalem in angelis sanctitatem, sed aliam quamdam gratiam suae proprietate naturae, hi inferiores profecto angelos hominibus judicabunt. Cum enim et ipsi fateantur quod Spiritui sancto angelos conferre non audeant, nec possint negare quod hominibus infundatur Spiritus sanctus: sanctificatio autem Spiritus donum munusque divinum sit; invenientur utique homines qui meliorem sanctificationem habent, angelis praeferendi. 618 Sed cum angeli hominibus in adjumentum descendant (Hebr. I, 14), intelligendum est quod creatura quidem superior angelorum sit, quae plus recipit gratiae spiritalis; ejusdem tamen et erga nos et illos munus auctoris sit.

83. But in like manner as the Spirit sanctifying the apostles is not a partaker of human nature; so, too, He sanctifying Angels, Dominions, and Powers,

has no partnership with creatures. But if any think that the holiness of the Angels is not spiritual, but some other kind of grace belonging to the property of their nature, they will forsooth judge Angels to be inferior to men. For since themselves also confess that they would not dare to compare Angels to the Holy Spirit, and they cannot deny that the Holy Spirit is shed upon men; but the sanctification of the Spirit is a divine gift and favour, men who possess a better kind of sanctification will certainly be found to be preferred to the Angels. But since Angels come down to men to assist them, it must be understood that the nature of Angels is higher as it receives more of the grace of the Spirit, and that the favour awarded to us and to them comes from the same author.

84. Quanta autem gratia, quae praemiis angelorum etiam inferiorem creaturam humanae conditionis exaequet, sicut Dominus ipse promisit dicens: Eritis sicut angeli in coelo (Matth. XXII, 30)? Nec difficile; qui enim illos angelos fecit in Spiritu, homines quoque per eamdem gratiam similes faciet angelorum (Psal. CIII, 4).

84. But how great is that grace which makes even the lower nature of the lot of men equal to the gifts received by Angels, as the Lord Himself promised, saying: You shall be as the Angels in heaven. Nor is it difficult, for He Who made those Angels in the Spirit will by the same grace make men also equal to the Angels.

85. De qua autem creatura dici potest quia repleverit universa, quod scriptum est de Spiritu sancto: Effundam de Spiritu meo super omnem carnem (Joel II, 28)? Non hoc de angelo dici potest. Denique Gabriel ipse missus ad Mariam: Ave, inquit, gratia plena; spiritalem utique in ea declarans gratiam, quod in eam Spiritus sanctus supervenisset, et plenum gratiae uterum Verbo esset habitura coelesti.

85. But of what creature can it be said that it fills all things, as is written of the Holy Spirit: I will pour My Spirit upon all flesh. Joel 2:28 This cannot be said of an Angel. Lastly, Gabriel himself, when sent to Mary, said: Hail, full of grace, Luke 1:28 plainly declaring the grace of the Spirit which was in her, because the Holy Spirit had come upon her, and she was about to have her womb full of grace with the heavenly Word.

86. Domini enim est omnia complere, qui dicit: Ego coelum et terram compleo (Jerem. XXIII, 24). Si ergo Dominus est, qui coelum complet et terram; quis potest Spiritum sanctum judicare dominationis, et divinae potestatis exsortem, qui replevit orbem, et quod ultra totum orbem est, replevit Jesum mundi totius redemptorem? Scriptum est enim: Jesus autem plenus Spiritu sancto, regressus est ab Jordane (Luc. IV, 1). Quis igitur alius nisi qui ejusdem esset plenitudinis, complentem omnia posset implere?

86. For it is of the Lord to fill all things, Who says: I fill heaven and earth. Jeremiah 23:24 If, then, it is the Lord Who fills heaven and earth, Who can judge the Holy Spirit to be without a share in the dominion and divine power, seeing that He has filled the world, and what is beyond the whole world, filled Jesus the Redeemer of the whole world? For it is written: But Jesus, full of the Holy Spirit, departed from Jordan. Luke 4:1 Who, then, except one who possessed the same fullness could fill Him Who fills all things?

87. Sed ne hoc secundum carnem dictum objiciant; quamquam plus unus ille, quam omnes: de cujus carne exibat virtus, quae sanaret omnes: tamen sicut Dominus complet omnia, ita etiam et de Spiritu lectum est: Quoniam Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum (Sap. I, 7). Habes etiam de omnibus qui convenerant cum apostolis dictum quia, repleti sancto Spiritu, loquebantur verbum Dei cum fiducia (Act. IV, 31). Vides quia et plenitudinem et fiduciam dat Spiritus sanctus; cujus operationem

archangelus nuntiat Mariae, dicens: Spiritus sanctus superveniet in te (Luc. I, 35).

87. But lest they should object that this was said according to the flesh, though He alone from Whose flesh went forth virtue to heal all, was more than all; yet, as the Lord fills all things, so, too, we read of the Spirit: For the Spirit of the Lord filled the whole world. Wisdom 1:7 And you find it said of all who had consorted with the Apostles that, filled with the Holy Spirit they spoke the word of God with boldness. Acts 4:31 You see that the Spirit gives both fullness and boldness, Whose operation the archangel announces to Mary, saying: The Holy Spirit shall come on you. Luke 1:35

88. Habes etiam in Evangelio quia angelus secundum tempus descendebat in natatoriam, et movebatur aqua: et qui prior descendisset in natatoriam, sanus fiebat (Joan. V, 4). Quid in hoc typo angelus, nisi descensionem sancti Spiritus nuntiabat, quae nostris futura temporibus, aquas sacerdotalibus invocata precibus consecraret? Ille ergo angelus sancti Spiritus erat nuntius, eo quod per gratiam spiritualem medicina nostris esset animi ac mentis languoribus deferenda. Eosdem ergo et Spiritus habet, quos Deus Pater et Christus ministros. Sic omnia replete, sic omnia possidet, sic omnia operatur et in omnibus, quemadmodum et Deus Pater operatur et Filius.

88. You read, too, in the Gospel that the Angel descended at the appointed time into the pool and troubled the water, and he who first went down into the pool was made whole. John 5:4 What did the Angel declare in this type but the descent of the Holy Spirit, which was to come to pass in our day, and should consecrate the waters when invoked by the prayers of the priest? That Angel, then, was a herald of the Holy Spirit, inasmuch as by means of the grace of the Spirit medicine was to be applied to our infirmities of soul and mind. The Spirit, then, has the same ministers as God the Father and

Christ. He fills all things, possesses all things, works all and in all in the same manner as God the Father and the Son work.

89. Quid igitur sancti Spiritus operatione divinius, cum etiam benedictionum suarum praesulem Spiritum Deus ipse testetur dicens: 619 Ponam Spiritum meum super semen tuum, et benedictiones meas super filios tuos (Esai. XLIV, 3)? Nulla enim potest esse plena benedictio, nisi per infusionem Spiritus sancti. Unde et apostolus nihil melius hoc nobis quod optaret invenit, sicut ipse dixit: Non deficimus pro vobis orantes et obsecrantes, ut repleamini cognitione voluntatis ejus in omni sapientia et intellectu spiritali, ambulantes digne Deo (Coloss. I, 9). Hanc igitur Dei esse docuit voluntatem, ut magis in bonis operibus et sermonibus et sensibus ambulantes repleamur voluntate Dei, qui ponit in cordibus nostris Spiritum sanctum. Ergo si is qui habet Spiritum sanctum, Dei repletus est voluntate; utique inter Patrem et Spiritum nulla distantia voluntatis est.

89. What, then, is more divine than the working of the Holy Spirit, since God Himself testifies that the Holy Spirit presides over His blessings, saying: I will put My Spirit upon your seed and My blessings upon your children. Isaiah 44:3 For no blessing can be full except through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Wherefore, too, the Apostle found nothing better to wish us than this, as He himself said: We cease not to pray and make request for you that you may be filled with the knowledge of His will, in all wisdom and spiritual understanding walking worthily of God. Colossians 1:9 He taught, then, that this was the will of God, that rather by walking in good works and words and affections, we should be filled with the will of God, Who puts His Holy Spirit in our hearts. Therefore if he who has the Holy Spirit is filled with the will of God, there is certainly no difference of will between the Father and the Son.

CAPUT VIII.

A DEO SOLO dari Spiritum; neque tamen totum singulis, cum praeter Christum nemo fuerit qui totum eum capere posset. Per Spiritum effundi charitatem, quae per mysticum unguentum figurata, nihil commune cum creaturis habere ostenditur: ipsum autem cum ex ore Dei dicatur procedere, inter creata non reponendum; nec inter divisibilia, cum sit aeternus.

CHAPTER 8.

The Holy Spirit is given by God alone, yet not wholly to each person, since there is no one besides Christ capable of receiving Him wholly. Charity is shed abroad by the Holy Spirit, Who, prefigured by the mystical ointment, is shown to have nothing common with creatures; and He, inasmuch as He is said to proceed from the mouth of God, must not be classed with creatures, nor with things divisible, seeing He is eternal.

90. Simul illud adverte, quia Deus dat Spiritum sanctum (Rom. V, 5). Non enim humanum hoc opus, neque ab homine datur: sed qui invocatur a sacerdote, a Deo traditur, in quo Dei munus, ministerium sacerdotis est. Nam si Paulus apostolus judicavit (Ephes. V, 18) quod ipse donare Spiritum sanctum sua auctoritate non posset, et in tantum se huic officio imparem credidit, ut a Deo nos Spiritu optaret impleri; quis tantus est, qui hujus traditionem muneris sibi audeat arrogare? Itaque Apostolus votum precatione detulit, non jus auctoritate aliqua vindicavit: impetrare optavit, non imperare praesumpsit. Petrus quoque ait quia non erat idoneus qui posset Spiritum sanctum vel cogere, vel arcere. Sic enim dixit: Ergo si

eamdem gratiam concessit illis Deus sicut et nobis, ego quis eram, qui possem prohibere Deum (Act. XI, 17)?

90. Observe at the same time that God gives the Holy Spirit. For this is no work of man, nor gift of man; but He Who is invoked by the priest is given by God, wherein is the gift of God and the ministry of the priest. For if the Apostle Paul judged that he was not able to give the Holy Spirit himself by his own authority, and considered himself so far unequal to this office that he wished us to be filled by God with the Spirit, Ephesians 5:18 who is sufficient to dare to arrogate to himself the conferring of this gift? So the Apostle uttered this wish in prayer, and did not claim a right by any authority of his own; he desired to obtain, he did not presume to command. Peter, too, says that he is not capable of compelling or restraining the Holy Spirit. For he spoke thus: Wherefore if God has granted them the same grace as to us, who was I that I could resist God? Acts 11:17

91. Sed fortasse apostolicis non moveantur exemplis, et ideo divinis utamur oraculis; scriptum est enim: Jacob puer meus, suscipiam eum: Israel electus meus, suscepit eum anima mea, dedi Spiritum meum in ipsum (Esai. XLII, 1). Dominus quoque per Esaiam dixit: Spiritus Domini super me, propter quod unxit me (Esai. LXI, 1).

91. But perchance they would not be moved by the example of apostles, and so let us use divine utterances; for it is written: Jacob is My servant, I will uphold him; Israel is My elect, My soul has upheld him, I put My Spirit upon him. Isaiah 42:1 The Lord also said by Isaiah: The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He has anointed Me. Isaiah 61:1

92. Quis ergo audeat dicere creatam Spiritus sancti esse substantiam, qui cum illuxerit in cordibus nostris, divinae cernimus pulchritudinem veritatis, et distantiam creaturae divinitatisque cognoscimus, ut opus segregetur ab

auctore? Aut de qua creatura Deus ita locutus est, quod aut Dominationes aut Potestates effundat aut Angelos? Sed de Spiritu, inquit, meo effundam (Joel II, 28). Non Spiritum ait, sed de Spiritu; neque enim nos capere possumus plenitudinem Spiritus sancti, sed tantum accipimus, quantum de suo arbiter nostri pro sua voluntate diviserit. Sicut enim Dei Filius non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo, sed semetipsum exinanivit (Philipp. II, 6), ut nos eum nostris animis percipere 620 possemus: exinanivit autem non quod ipse esset vacuus suae plenitudinis; sed quo mihi qui plenitudinem ejus sustinere non possem, pro eo quod capere possem, infunderetur: ita etiam de Spiritu sancto Pater se dicit effundere super omnem carnem; non enim totum effudit, sed quod effudit, omnibus abundavit.

92. Who, then, can dare to say that the substance of the Holy Spirit is created, at Whose shining in our hearts we behold the beauty of divine truth, and the distance between the creature and the Godhead, that the work may be distinguished from its Author? Or of what creature has God so spoken as to say: I will pour out of My Spirit? Joel 2:28 He said not Spirit, but of My Spirit, for we are not able to receive the fullness of the Holy Spirit, but we receive as much as our Master divides to us of His own according to His will. Philippians 2:6 For as the Son of God thought it not robbery that He should be equal to God, but emptied Himself, that we might be able to receive Him in our minds; but He emptied Himself not that He was void of His own fullness, but in order that He, Whose fullness I could not endure, might infuse Himself into me according to the measure of my capacity, in like manner also the Father says that He pours out of the Spirit upon all flesh; for He did not pour Him forth wholly, but that which He poured forth abounded for all.

93. Supra nos ergo effusum est de Spiritu: at vero super Dominum Jesum, cum in forma esset hominis, manebat Spiritus, sicut scriptum est: Supra quem videris Spiritum descendentem de coelo, et manentem super eum, hic est qui baptizat in Spiritu sancto (Joan. I, 33). Circa nos ex affluenti commodo liberalitas largientis est, in illo totius manet in aeternum Spiritus plenitudo. Quod igitur nobis satis esse judicavit, effudit: et quod effusum est, non separatum est, nec incisum: sed unitatem habet plenitudinis, quo aciem nostri cordis illuminet pro nostrae possibilitate virtutis. Denique tantum capimus, quantum profectus nostrae mentis acquirit; inseparabilis est enim plenitudo gratiae spiritalis, sed nobis pro nostrae participatur facultate naturae.

93. There was therefore a pouring out upon us of the Spirit, but upon the Lord Jesus, when He was in the form of man, the Spirit abode, as it is written: Upon Whom you shall see the Spirit descending from heaven, and abiding upon Him, He it is Who baptizes in the Holy Spirit. John 1:33 Around us is the liberality of the Giver in abundant provision, in Him abides for ever the fullness of the Spirit. He shed forth then what He deemed to be sufficient for us, and what was shed forth is not separated nor divided; but He has a unity of fullness wherewith He may enlighten the sight of our hearts according to what our strength is capable of. Lastly, we receive so much as the advancing of our mind acquires, for the fullness of the grace of the Spirit is indivisible, but is shared in by us according to the capacity of our own nature.

94. Effundit ergo Deus de Spiritu, effunditur etiam charitas Dei per Spiritum: quo loco unitatem debemus agnoscere operationis et gratiae. Sicut enim de Spiritu sancto Deus effudit, ita etiam, Charitas Dei effusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum (Rom. V, 5); ut intelligamus non esse opus sanctum Spiritum, qui divinae arbiter et fons profluus charitatis est.

94. God, then, sheds forth of the Spirit, and the love of God is also shed abroad through the Spirit; in which point we ought to recognize the unity of the operation and of the grace. For as God shed forth of the Holy Spirit, so also the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts through the Holy Spirit; Romans 5:5 in order that we may understand that the Holy Spirit is not a work, Who is the dispenser and plenteous Fount of the divine love.

95. Similiter autem ut credas id quod effunditur, cum creaturis non posse esse commune, sed speciale divinitatis; etiam et Filii nomen effunditur, sicut habes: Unguentum exinanitum est nomen tuum (Cant. I, 2). Cujus virtute sermonis nihil potest esse praestantius. Nam sicut inclusum in vase aliquo unguentum cohibet odorem suum, qui odor quamdiu vasis illius angustiis coercetur, etsi ad plures non potest pervenire, tamen vim suam servat; cum vero de vase illo, quo claudebatur, unguentum fuerit effusum, longe lateque diffunditur: ita et Christi nomen ante ejus adventum in Israel populo, quasi in vase aliquo Judaeorum mentibus claudebatur: Notus enim in Judaea Deus, in Israel magnum nomen ejus (Psalm. LXXV, 1): hoc utique nomen, quod vasa Judaeorum angustiis suis coercitum continebant.

95. In like manner that you may believe that that which is shed abroad cannot be common to the creatures but peculiar to the Godhead, the name of the Son is also poured forth, as you read: Your Name is as ointment poured forth. Song of Songs 1:3 Of which saying nothing can surpass the force. For as ointment closed up in a vase keeps in its perfume, so long as it is confined in the narrow space of that vase, though it cannot reach many, it yet preserves its strength. But when the ointment has been poured out of that vase wherein it was enclosed, it spreads far and wide; so, too, the Name of Christ before His coming among the people of Israel was enclosed in the minds of the Jews as in some vase. For God is known in Judah, His Name is

great in Israel; that is, the Name which the vases of the Jews held confined in their narrow limits.

96. Magnum quidem et tunc nomen, cum infirmiorum atque paucorum haereret angustiis: sed magnitudinem sui nondum per corda gentium, et in fines totius orbis effuderat. Postea vero quam per omnem mundum suo illuxit adventu, per omnem utique creaturam divinum illud suum nomen extendit, non repletum accessione aliqua (plenitudo enim nescit augmentum) sed replens vacua, ut esset admirabile nomen ejus in universa terra. Hujus igitur effusio nominis abundantem quamdam exuberantiam gratiarum, bonorumque coelestium significat largitatem; ex abundantia enim superfluit, quidquid effunditur.

96. Even then that Name was indeed great, when it remained in the narrow limits of the weak and few, but it had not yet poured forth its greatness throughout the hearts of the Gentiles, and to the ends of the whole world. But after that He by His coming had shone throughout the whole world, He spread abroad that divine Name of His throughout all creatures, not filled up by any addition (for fullness admits not of increase), but filling up the empty spaces, that His Name might be wonderful in all the world. The pouring forth, then, of His Name signifies a kind of abundant exuberance of graces and copiousness of heavenly goods, for whatever is poured forth flows over from abundance.

97. Itaque sicut creata non potest dici sapientia, quae ex ore Dei procedit, nec Verbum, quod eructatur ex corde, nec virtus, in qua plenitudo 621 majestatis aeternae est: ita etiam creatus non potest Spiritus aestimari, qui ex ore Dei funditur; cum ipse Deus tantam ostenderit unitatem, ut effundere se de Spiritu suo dicat. Quo intelligamus quia etiam Dei Patris eadem gratia sit, quae Spiritus sancti est, et quod sine incisione ac detrimento aliquo

dividatur mentibus singulorum. Quod ergo de Spiritu Dei effunditur, nec inciditur, nec partibus aliquibus corporalibus comprehenditur, aut secatur.

97. So as wisdom which proceeds from the mouth of God cannot be said to be created, nor the Word Which is uttered from His heart, nor the power in which is the fullness of the eternal Majesty; so, too, the Spirit which is poured forth from the mouth of God cannot be considered to be created, since God Himself has shown their unity to be such that He speaks of His pouring forth of His Spirit. By which we understand that the grace of God the Father is the same as that of the Holy Spirit, and that without any division or loss it is divided to the hearts of each. That, then, which is shed abroad of the Holy Spirit is neither severed, nor comprehended in any corporeal parts, nor divided.

98. [Alias cap. VIII]. Quomodo enim credibile est, quod Spiritus sectilibus aliquibus dividatur? Dicit Joannes de Deo: Ex hoc cognoscimus quia manet in nobis de Spiritu quem dedit nobis (I Joan. III, 24). Quod autem manet semper, utique nec mutatur: ergo si mutationem non habet, aeternitatem habet. Et ideo Spiritus sanctus sempiternus est; creatura autem obnoxia vitio, ideoque mutabilis. Quod autem mutabile est, esse non potest sempiternum (Rom. VIII, 20): et ideo non potest Spiritui sancto et creaturae esse consortium; quia sempiternus est Spiritus, creatura autem omnis in tempore est.

98. For how can it be credible that the Spirit should be divided by any parcelling out? John says of God: Hereby know we that He abides in us by the Spirit which He has given us. 1 John 3:24 But that which abides always is certainly not changed, therefore if it suffers no change it is eternal. And so the Holy Spirit is eternal, but the creature is liable to fault, and therefore subject to change. But that which is subject to change cannot be eternal, and

there cannot therefore be anything in common between the Spirit and the creature, because the Spirit is eternal, but every creature is temporal.

99. Sempiternum autem Spiritum sanctum, etiam Apostolus ostendit: Si enim sanguis taurorum et hircorum, et cinis vitulae aspersus inquinatos sanctificat ad carnem emundandam; quanto magis sanguis Christi, qui per Spiritum sempiternum se obtulit immaculatum Deo (Hebr. IX, 13, 14)! Ergo sempiternus est Spiritus.

99. But the Apostle also shows that the Holy Spirit is eternal, for: If the blood of bulls and of goats, and the sprinkling the ashes of an heifer sanctifies to the purifying of the flesh, how much more the blood of Christ, Who through the eternal Spirit offered Himself without spot to God? Hebrews 9:13-14 Therefore the Spirit is eternal.

CAPUT IX.

SPIRITUM SANCTUM RECTE dici unguentum Christi, et oleum laetitiae, et quas ob causas? Christum ipsum non esse unguentum; cum unctus sit Spiritu sancto: mirum autem id non videri, si unguentum vocetur et Spiritus, cum Pater ac Filius etiam Spiritus appellentur. Nec ullam tamen in ipsis confusionem esse; cum solus Christus in corpore oppetierit mortem, cujus salutifera crux praedicatur.

CHAPTER 9.

The Holy Spirit is rightly called the ointment of Christ, and the oil of gladness; and why Christ Himself is not the ointment, since He was anointed with the Holy Spirit. It is not strange that the Spirit should be called Ointment, since the Father and the Son are also called Spirit. And there is no confusion between them, since Christ alone suffered death, Whose saving cross is then spoken of.

100. Plerique autem arbitrati sunt unguentum Christi esse Spiritum sanctum. Et bene unguentum, quia oleum laetitiae nuncupatum est, plurimarum redolente copula gratiarum: verum illum Deus omnipotens Pater unxit principem sacerdotum, qui non ut alii in typo unctus ex lege, sed et secundum legem unctus in corpore, et in veritate supra legem virtute sancti Spiritus ex Patre plenus est.

100. Now many have thought that the Holy Spirit is the ointment of Christ. And well it is said ointment, because He is called the oil of gladness, the joining together of many graces giving a sweet fragrance. But God the Almighty Father anointed Him the Prince of priests, Who was, not like

others anointed in a type under the Law, but was both according to the Law anointed in the body, and in truth was full with the virtue of the Holy Spirit from the Father above the Law.

101. Hoc est oleum laetitiae, de quo dicit propheta: Unxit te Deus, Deus tuus oleo laetitiae prae consortibus tuis (Psal. XLIV, 8). Denique Petrus unctum Spiritu dicit Jesum, sicut habes: Vos scitis quod factum est verbum per totam Judaeam, incipiens a Galilaea post baptismum, quod praedicavit Joannes, Jesum a Nazareth, quomodo unxit eum Deus Spiritu sancta (Act. X, 37, 38). Oleum igitur laetitiae Spiritus sanctus est.

101. This is the oil of gladness, of which the prophet says: God, even Your God, has anointed You with the oil of gladness above Your fellows. Lastly, Peter says that Jesus was anointed with the Spirit, as you read: You know that word which went through all Judea beginning from Galilee after the baptism which John preached, even Jesus of Nazareth, how God anointed Him with the Holy Spirit. Acts 10:37-38 The Holy Spirit is, then, the oil of gladness.

102. Et pulchre oleum laetitiae dixit, ne creaturam putares; olei enim hujusmodi natura est, ut nequaquam naturae alterius humido misceatur. Laetitia quoque non corpus ungit, sed intima 622 cordis illuminat, sicut propheta dixit: Dedisti laetitiam in corde meo (Psalm. IV, 7). Ergo cum ludat operam, qui oleum velit cum creatura humidiore confundere: quia cum olei natura levior sit caeteris, residentibus aliis, elevata secernitur: quomodo putant isti deterrimi caupones oleum laetitiae cum caeteris creaturis sua posse fraude confundi; cum utique non queant incorporeis corporea, increatis creata misceri?

102. And well did he say oil of gladness, lest you should think Him a creature; for it is the nature of this sort of oil that it will by no means mingle

with moisture of another kind. Gladness, too, does not anoint the body, but brightens the inmost heart, as the prophet said: You have put gladness in my heart. So as he loses his pains who wishes to mix oil with moister matter, because since the nature of oil is lighter than others, when the others settle, it rises and is separated. How do those wretched pedlars think that the oil of gladness can by their tricks be mingled with other creatures, since of a truth corporeal things cannot be mingled with in corporeal, nor things created with uncreated?

102. Et bene oleum laetitiae dicitur, quo unctus est Christus; neque enim usitatum fuit, ei oleum et commune quaerendum, quo aut vulnera curantur, aut aestus levatur: cum fomentum vulnerum suorum salus mundana non quaereret, nec refectionem corporis fatigati virtus sempiterna deposceret.

102. And well is that called oil of gladness wherewith Christ was anointed; for neither was usual nor common oil to be sought for Him, wherewith either wounds are dressed or heat assuaged; since the salvation of the world did not seek alleviation for His wounds, nor the eternal might of His wearied Body demand refreshment.

103. Nec mirum si habet oleum laetitiae, qui fecit exsultare morituros, tristitia mundum exuit, moestae fetorem mortis abolevit. Et ideo Apostolus ait: Christi enim bonus odor sumus Deo (II Cor. II, 15); utique de spiritalibus significans se locutum. Sed et cum ipse Filius Dei dicat: Spiritus Domini super me, propter quod unxit me (Luc. IV, 18), spiritale signat unguentum. Ergo unguentum Christi est Spiritus.

103. Nor is it wonderful if He have the oil of gladness, Who made those about to die rejoice, put off sadness from the world, destroyed the odour of sorrowful death. And so the Apostle says: For we are the good odour of Christ to God; 2 Corinthians 2:15 certainly showing that he is speaking of

spiritual things. But when the Son of God Himself says: The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He has anointed Me, Luke 4:18 He points out the ointment of the Spirit. Therefore the Spirit is the ointment of Christ.

104. Aut quia unguentum exinanitum est nomen Jesu, si ibi Christum ipsum intelligere volunt unguenti expressum nomine, non Spiritum Christi; utique cum unctum Spiritu sancto Dominum Jesum Petrus apostolus dixerit, liquet sine dubio quod unguentum dicatur et Spiritus.

104. Or since the Name of Jesus is as ointment poured out, if they wish to understand Christ Himself, and not the Spirit of Christ to be expressed under the name of ointment, certainly when the Apostle Peter says that the Lord Jesus was anointed with the Holy Spirit, it is without doubt plain that the Spirit also is called ointment.

105. Sed quid mirum, cum et Pater et Filius spiritus esse dicatur? De quo quidem dicemus plenius, cum de unitate nominis dicere coeperimus (Infra, ca). Tamen quia hic quoque incidit pulcherrimus locus, ne sine corollario eum praeterire videamur, accipiant quia et Pater dicitur spiritus, sicut in Evangelio Dominus locutus est, quoniam Spiritus est Deus (Joan. IV, 24); et Christus spiritus dicitur; quia Jeremias dixit: Spiritus ante faciem nostram Christus Dominus (Thren. IV, 20).

105. But what wonder, since both the Father and the Son are said to be Spirit. Of which we shall speak more fully when we begin to speak of the Unity of the Name. Yet since most suitable place occurs here, that we may not seem to have passed on without a conclusion, let them read that both the Father is called Spirit, as the Lord said in the Gospel, for God is Spirit; John 4:24 and Christ is called Spirit, for Jeremiah said: The Spirit before our face, Christ the Lord. Lamentations 4:20

106. Et Pater ergo spiritus, et Filius spiritus; quia quod non est creaturae corpus, hoc spiritus est: sed non confusus cum Patre et Filio Spiritus sanctus, verum et a Patre distinctus et a Filio. Non enim Spiritus sanctus est mortuus, qui mori non potuit; quia carnem non suscepit, nec mortis capax esse potuit sempiterna divinitas: sed mortuus est secundum carnem Christus.

106. So, then, both the Father is Spirit and Christ is Spirit, for that which is not a created body is spirit, but the Holy Spirit is not commingled with the Father and the Son, but is distinct from the Father and from the Son. For the Holy Spirit did not die, Who could not die because He had not taken flesh upon Him, and the eternal Godhead was incapable of dying, but Christ died according to the flesh.

107. In eo utique mortuus, quod suscepit ex Virgine: non in eo, quod habebat ex Patre; in eo enim mortuus, in quo crucifixus est Christus. Spiritus autem sanctus non potuit crucifigi, qui carnem et ossa non habuit: sed crucifixus est Dei Filius, qui carnem et ossa suscepit; ut in illa cruce nostrae carnis tentamenta morerentur. Suscepit enim quod non erat, ut celaret quod erat: celavit quod erat, ut tentaretur in eo, et redimeretur quod non erat; ut ad id quod erat, per id quod non erat, nos vocaret.

107. For of a truth He died in that which He took of the Virgin, not in that which He had of the Father, for Christ died in that nature in which He was crucified. But the Holy Spirit could not be crucified, Who had not flesh and bones, but the Son of God was crucified, Who took flesh and bones, that on that cross the temptations of our flesh might die. For He took on Him that which He was not that He might hide that which He was; He hid that which He was that He might be tempted in it, and that which He was not might be redeemed, in order that He might call us by means of that which He was not to that which He was.

108. O divinum crucis illius sacramentum, 623 in qua haeret infirmitas, virtus libera est, affiguntur vitia, eriguntur tropaea! Unde quidam sanctus ait: Confige clavis a timore tuo carnes meas (Psal. CXVIII, 120); non ferreis clavis, ait, sed timoris et fidei: vehementior est enim virtutis strictura, quam poenae. Denique Petrum, cum usque in atrium principis sacerdotum Dominum sequeretur (Matth. XXVI, 58), quem nemo ligaverat, fides vinxerat: et quem fides vinxit, poena non solvit. Rursus cum ligaretur a Judaeis, devotio solvit, poena non tenuit; quia non recessit a Christo.

108. O the divine mystery of that cross, on which weakness hangs, might is free, vices are nailed, and triumphal trophies raised. So that a certain saint said: Pierce my flesh with nails for fear of You; he says not with nails of iron, but of fear and faith. For the bonds of virtue are stronger than those of punishment. Lastly, his faith bound Peter, when he had followed the Lord as far as the hall of the high priest, whom no one had bound, and punishment loosened not him, whom faith bound. Again, when he was bound by the Jews, prayer loosed him, punishment did not hold him, because he had not gone back from Christ.

109. Ergo et tu crucifige peccatum, ut moriare peccato; qui enim peccato moritur, Deo vivit: vivas ei qui Filio proprio non pepercit; ut in illius corpore nostras crucifigeret passiones. Pro nobis enim mortuus est Christus, ut nos in illius redivivo corpore viveremus. Mortua est ergo in illo non vita nostra, sed culpa: Qui peccata, inquit, nostra pertulit in corpore suo super lignum; ut a peccatis nostris separati, cum justitia vivamus, cujus vulnere plagarum sanati sumus (I Petr. II, 24).

109. Therefore do you also crucify sin, that you may die to sin; he who dies to sin lives to God; do you live to Him Who spared not His own Son, that in His body He might crucify our passions. For Christ died for us, that we might live in His revived Body. Therefore not our life but our guilt died in

Him, Who, it is said, bare our sins in His own Body on the tree; that being set free from our sins we might live in righteousness, by the wound of Whose stripes we are healed. 1 Peter 2:24

110. Lignum igitur illud crucis velut quaedam nostrae navis salutis vectura nostra est, non poena; alia enim salus non est, nisi vectura salutis aeternae. Dum mortem expetendo, non sentio: dum poenam contemnendo, non patior: dum metum nescio, negligendo.

110. That wood of the cross is, then, as it were a kind of ship of our salvation, our passage, not a punishment, for there is no other salvation but the passage of eternal salvation. Whilst expecting death I do not feel it; while thinking little of punishment I do not suffer; while careless of fear I know it not.

111. Quis est igitur cujus vulnere plagarum sanati sumus, nisi Christus Dominus: de quo idem prophetavit Esaias quia plaga ejus nostra medicina est (Esai. LIII, 5): de quo Paulus apostolus in Epistolis suis scripsit: Qui peccatum non cognovit, sed pro nobis peccatum factus est (II Cor. V, 21)? Hoc quippe divinum in eo, quia caro peccatum non fecit, nec in eo suscepti corporis creatura peccavit. Nam quid mirum, si non peccavit sola divinitas, cum peccandi incentiva non habeat? Si autem solus exsors peccati Deus, omnis utique creatura per naturam sui, ut diximus, obnoxia potest esse peccato.

111. Who, then, is He by the wound of Whose stripes we are healed but Christ the Lord? Of Whom the same Isaiah prophesied His stripes were our healing, Isaiah 53:5 of Whom Paul the Apostle wrote in his epistle: Who knew no sin, but was made sin for us. 2 Corinthians 5:21 This, indeed, was divine in Him, that His Flesh did no sin, nor did the creature of the body take in Him sin. For what wonder would it be if the Godhead alone sinned

not, seeing It had no incentives to sin? But if God alone is free from sin, certainly every creature by its own nature can be, as we have said, liable to sin.

CAPUT X.

QUOD SPIRITUS PECCATA condonat, hoc illi cum Patre ac Filio, non autem cum angelis esse commune.

CHAPTER 10.

That the Spirit forgives sin is common to Him with the Father and the Son, but not with the Angels.

112. [Alias cap. IX.] Dic igitur, quicumque Spiritus sancti divinitatem negas: Spiritus autem obnoxius non potuit esse peccato, qui magis peccata condonat. Numquid angelus donat? numquid archangelus? Non utique, sed donat solus Pater, solus Filius, solus Spiritus sanctus (Luc. V, 21). Nemo autem quod potest donare, non potest evitare.

112. Tell me, then, whoever you are who deny the Godhead of the Holy Spirit. The Spirit could not be liable to sin, Who rather forgives sin. Does an Angel forgive? Does an Archangel? Certainly not, but the Father alone, the Son alone, and the Holy Spirit alone. Now no one is unable to avoid that which he has power to forgive.

113. Sed fortasse dixit aliquis quia et Seraphim dixit Esaiae: Ecce tetigit hoc labia tua, et auferet iniquitates tuas, et peccata tua circumpurgabit (Esai. VI, 7). 624 Auferet, inquit, et circumpurgabit: non ego auferam, sed ignis ille de altari Dei, hoc est, gratia spiritalis. Quid enim aliud pie intelligere possumus in altari Dei esse, nisi Spiritus gratiam? Non utique lignum silvarum, nec fuliginem atque carbonem. Aut quid tam pium, quam ut secundum mysterium intelligamus quia revelabatur in ore Esaiae omnes

homines per passionem Christi esse purgandos, qui velut carbo secundum carnem exussit nostra peccata, sicut in Zacharia habes: Nonne hic titio ejectus ab igni? Et ille erat Jesus indutus estimenta sordida (Zach. III, 2, 3).

113. But perhaps some one will say that the Seraph said to Isaiah: Behold, this has touched your lips, and shall take away your iniquities, and purge away your sins. Isaiah 6:7 Shall take away, he says, and shall purge, not I will take away, but that fire from the altar of God, that is, the grace of the Spirit. For what else can we piously understand to be on the altar of God but the grace of the Spirit? Certainly not the wood of the forests, nor the soot and coals. Or what is so in accordance with piety as to understand according to the mystery that it was revealed by the mouth of Isaiah that all men should be cleansed by the passion of Christ, Who as a coal according to the flesh burnt up our sins, as you read in Zechariah: Is not this a brand cast forth from the fire? And that was Joshua clothed in filthy garments. Zechariah 3:2-3

114. Denique ut sciamus communis hoc redemptionis mysterium per prophetas evidentissime revelatum, etiam hoc loco habes dictum: Ecce abstulit peccata tua (Ibid., 4): non quod Christus peccata sua deponeret, qui peccatum non fecit; sed quod in carne Christi omne a peccatis suis genus absolveretur humanum.

114. Lastly, that we may know that this mystery of the common redemption was most clearly revealed by the prophets, you have also in this place: Lo, it has taken away your sins; not that Christ put aside His sins Who did no sin, but that in the flesh of Christ the whole human race should be loosed from their sins.

115. Sed etiamsi Seraphim abstulisset peccatum, quasi unum utique de ministris Dei ad hoc esset mysterium destinatum. Sic enim dixit Esaias:

Quia missum est ad me unum de Seraphim (Esai. VI, 6).

115. But even if the Seraph had taken away sin, it would have been as one of the ministers of God appointed to this mystery. For thus said Isaiah: For one of the Seraphim was sent to me. Isaiah 6:6

CAPUT XI.

SPIRITUM AD OMNES mitti, nec transire ex loco in alium: cum nec loco, nec tempore concludatur. Sic igitur eum exire a Filio, ut ipse Filius a Patre, in quo semper manet: sed eumdem venire nobis, cum ipsum recipimus. Eodem etiam modo venire quo Pater ipse, a quo separari nequaquam potest.

CHAPTER 11.

The Spirit is sent to all, and passes not from place to place, for He is not limited either by time or space. He goes forth from the Son, as the Son from the Father, in Whom He ever abides: and also comes to us when we receive. He comes also after the same manner as the Father Himself, from Whom He can by no means be separated.

116. [Alias cap. X.] Et Spiritus quidem missus dicitur: sed Seraphim ad unum, Spiritus ad omnes (Joan. XVI, 7): Seraphim mittitur in ministerium, Spiritus operatur mysterium: Seraphim quod jubetur, exsequitur, Spiritus quod vult, dividit (Cor. XII, 11): Seraphim de loco ad locum transit; non enim complet omnia, sed et ipsum repletur ab Spiritu: Seraphim descendit cum aliquo secundum naturam suam transitu; at vero de Spiritu sancto hoc non possumus aestimare, de quo dicit Filius Dei: Cum venerit Paraclitus Spiritus veritatis, quem ego mitto vobis, qui a Patre procedit (Joan. XV, 26).

116. The Spirit, also, is indeed said to be sent, but the Seraph to one, the Spirit to all. The Seraph is sent to minister, the Spirit works a mystery. The Seraph performs what is commanded, the Spirit divides as He wills. The Seraph passes from place to place, for he does not fill all things, but is himself filled by the Spirit. The Seraph comes down with a certain mode of

passage according to his nature, but we cannot think this of the Spirit, of Whom the Son of God says: When the Paraclete shall come, even the Spirit of Truth, Whom I send unto you, Who proceeds from the Father. John 15:26

117. Etenim si de loco procedit Spiritus, et ad locum transit; et ipse Pater in loco invenietur, et Filius. Si de loco exit, quem Pater mittit, aut Filius, utique de loco transiens Spiritus atque progrediens, et Patrem sicut corpus secundum impias interpretationes relinquere videtur et Filium.

117. For if the Spirit proceeds from a place and passes to a place, both the Father Himself will be found in a place, and the Son likewise. If He goes forth from a place, Whom the Father or the Son sends, certainly the Spirit passing from a place, and making progress, seems to leave, according to those impious interpretations, both the Father and the Son like some material body.

118. Hoc secundum eos loquor, qui dicunt quod habeat Spiritus descensorium motum. Sed neque in loco aliquo Pater circumscribitur, 625 qui est super omnia, non solum corporeae naturae, sed etiam invisibilis creaturae: neque Filius suorum operum locis temporibusque concluditur, qui super omnem est creaturam totius opifex creaturae: neque Spiritus veritatis, utpote Dei spiritus, circumscribitur aliquiquibus finibus corporalibus (Sap. VII, 23): qui cum sit incorporeus, omnem intelligibilem substantiae creaturam inenarrabili divinitatis plenitudine supereminet, spirandi ubi velit (Joan. III, 8), et inspirandi quomodo velit, habens super omnia potestatem.

118. I am saying this with reference to those who say that the Spirit comes down by movement. But neither the Father, Who is above all not only of corporeal nature, but also of the invisible creation, is circumscribed in any place; nor is the Son, Who, as the Worker of all creation, is above every creature, enclosed by the places or times of His own works; nor is the Spirit

of Truth as being the Spirit of God, circumscribed by any corporeal limits, Who since He is incorporeal is far above the whole rational creation through the ineffable fullness of His Godhead, having over all things the power of breathing where He wills, and of inspiring as He wills. John 3:8

119. Non ergo quasi ex loco mittitur Spiritus, aut quasi ex loco procedit, quando procedit ex Filio, sicut ipse Filius cum dicit: De Patre processi et veni in mundum (Joan. XVI, 18), omnes interficit opiniones, quae ex loco ad locum possunt, sicut in aliquibus corporalibus, aestimari. Similiter autem cum aut intus aut foris legimus Deum esse, non utique Deum aut intra aliquod corpus includimus, aut ab aliquo corpore separamus: sed alta hoc et inenarrabili aestimatione pensantes, divinae naturae intelligimus arcanum.

119. The Spirit is not, then, sent as it were from a place, nor does He proceed as from a place, when He proceeds from the Son, as the Son Himself, when He says, I came forth from the Father, and have come into the world, destroys all fancies, which can be reckoned as from place to place. In like manner, also, when we read that God is within or without, we certainly do not either enclose God within anybody or separate Him from anybody, but weighing these things in a deep and ineffable estimation, we comprehend the hiddenness of the divine nature.

120. Denique ita sapientia ex ore altissimi prodiisse se dicit (Eccl. XXIV, 5), non ut extra Patrem sit; sed apud Patrem; quia Verbum erat apud Deum (Joan. I, 1): nec solum apud Patrem, sed etiam in Patre. Dicit enim: Ego in Patre, et Pater in me est (Joan. XIV, 10). Sed neque cum de Patre exit, de loco recedit, aut quasi corpus a corpore separatur: neque cum in Patre est, quasi in corpore tamquam corpus includitur. Spiritus quoque sanctus cum procedit a Patre et Filio, non separatur a Patre, non separatur a Filio. Quemadmodum enim separari potest a Patre, qui Spiritus oris ejus est (Psal.

XXXII, 6)? Quod utique et aeternitatis indicium, et divinitatis exprimit unitatem.

120. Lastly, Wisdom so says that she came forth from the mouth of the Most High, Ecclesiastes 24:5 as not to be external to the Father, but with the Father; for the Word was with God; John 1:1 and not only with God but also in God; for He says: I am in the Father and the Father is in Me. But neither when He goes forth from the Father does He retire from a place, nor is He separated as a body from a body; nor when He is in the Father is He as if a body enclosed as it were in a body. The Holy Spirit also, when He proceeds from the Father and the Son, is not separated from the Father nor separated from the Son. For how could He be separated from the Father Who is the Spirit of His mouth? Which is certainly both a proof of His eternity, and expresses the Unity of this Godhead.

121. Est ergo et manet semper, qui oris est Spiritus: sed descendere videtur, cum illum recipimus, ut habitet in nobis; ne nos simus a gratia ejus alieni. Nobis descendere videtur, non quod ille descendat, sed quod ad illum animus noster ascendat. De quo plenius diceremus, nisi meminissemus in libris jam superioribus (Lib. V de Fide, ca) positum quod et Pater dixerit: Descendamus et confundamus linguas eorum (Gen. XI, 7); et Filius dixerit: Qui diligit me, sermonem meum servabit, et Pater meus diliget eum: et ad eum veniemus, et mansionem apud eum faciemus (Joan. XIV, 23).

121. He exists then, and abides always, Who is the Spirit of His mouth, but He seems to come down when we receive Him, that He may dwell in us, that we may not be alien from His grace. To us He seems to come down, not that He does come down, but that our mind ascends to Him. Of which we would speak more fully did we not remember that in the former treatise there was set forth that the Father said: Let us go down and confound their language, Genesis 11:7 and that the Son said: He that loves Me will keep

My saying, and My Father will love him, and We will come to Him and make Our abode with Him. John 14:23

122. Sic igitur venit Spiritus, quemadmodum venit Pater; quia ubi Pater est, ibi est et Filius: et ubi Filius est, ibi est Spiritus sanctus. Non ergo discrete venire aestimandus est Spiritus sanctus. Venit autem non de loco ad locum, sed a dispositione constitutionis ad salutem redemptionis, a gratia vivificationis ad gratiam sanctificationis; ut de terris ad coelum, de injuria ad gloriam, de servitio ad regnum transferat.

122. The Spirit, then, so comes as does the Father, for where the Father is there is also the Son, and where the Son is there is the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit, therefore, is not to be supposed to come separately. But He comes not from place to place, but from the disposition of the order to the safety of redemption, from the grace of giving life to that of sanctification, to translate us from earth to heaven, from wretchedness to glory, from slavery to a kingdom.

123. Sic ergo venit Spiritus, quemadmodum venit Pater. Dixit enim Filius: Ego et Pater veniemus, et mansionem apud eum faciemus. Numquid corporaliter Pater venit? Sic ergo et Spiritus 626 venit, in quo cum venit, et Patris et Filii plena praesentia est.

123. The Spirit comes, then, as the Father comes. For the Son said, I and the Father will come, and will make Our abode with Him. John 14:23 Does the Father come in a bodily fashion? Thus, then, comes the Spirit in Whom, when He comes, is the full presence of the Father and the Son.

124. Quis autem potest a Patre et Filio Spiritum sanctum separare, cum vel appellare Patrem et Filium sine Spiritu non queamus? Nemo enim dicit Dominum Jesum, nisi in Spiritu sancto (I Cor. XII, 3). Ergo si appellare Dominum Jesum sine Spiritu non possumus, utique sine Spiritu praedicare

non possumus. Si autem et angeli praedicant Dominum Jesum, quem nemo potest sine Spiritu praedicare; et in ipsis ergo Spiritus sancti munus operatur.

124. But who can separate the Spirit from the Father and the Son, since we cannot even name the Father and the Son without the Spirit? For no one says Lord Jesus, except in the Holy Spirit? 1 Corinthians 12:3 If, then, we cannot call Jesus Lord except in the Holy Spirit, we certainly cannot proclaim Him without the Spirit. But if the Angels also proclaim Jesus to be Lord, Whom no one can proclaim except in the Spirit, then in them also the office of the Holy Spirit operates.

125. Probavimus igitur unam praesentiam esse, unam gratiam esse Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti: quae tam coelestis atque divina est, ut pro ea agat gratias Patri Filius, dicens: Confiteor tibi, Pater domine coeli et terrae, quod abscondisti haec a sapientibus et prudentibus, et revelasti ea parvulis (Matth. XI, 25)

125. We have proved, then, that the presence and the grace of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are one, which is so heavenly and divine that the Son gives thanks therefore to the Father, saying, I give thanks to You, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because You have hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Matthew 11:25

CAPUT XII.

PATRIS ET FILII et Spiritus sancti unam esse pacem atque gratiam: similiter unam charitatem, quae maxime in hominum redemptione apparuit: unam denique trium communicationem.

CHAPTER 12.

The peace and grace of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are one, so also is Their charity one, which showed itself chiefly in the redemption of man. Their communion with man is also one.

126. [Alias cap. XI.] Ergo cum una vocatio sit, una etiam gratia est. Denique scriptum est: Gratia vobis et pax a Deo patre nostro et Domino Jesu Christo (Rom. I, 7). Ecce habemus quia Patris et Filii una est gratia, et Patris et Filii una est pax: sed haec gratia et pax fructus est Spiritus, sicut ipse Apostolus docuit dicens: Fructus autem Spiritus est charitas, gaudium, pax, patientia (Galat. V, 22). Et bona pax et necessaria, ut nemo disputationum turbetur incertis, neque passionum corporalium tempestate quatiatur: sed simplicitate fidei, et tranquillitate mentis quietus circa Dei cultum perseveret affectus.

126. Therefore since the calling is one, the grace is also one. Lastly, it is written: Grace unto you and peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ. Romans 1:7 You see, then, that we are told that the grace of the Father and the Son is one, and the peace of the Father and the Son is one, but this grace and peace is the fruit of the Spirit, as the Apostle taught us himself, saying: But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, patience. Galatians 5:22 And peace is good and necessary that no one be troubled

with doubtful disputations, nor be shaken by the storm of bodily passions, but that his affections may remain quietly disposed as to the worship of God, with simplicity of faith and tranquillity of mind.

127. De pace probavimus: de gratia autem propheta Zacharias dicit, quia promisit Deus effundere in Jerusalem Spiritum gratiae et misericordiae (Zach. XII, 10); et apostolus Petrus dicit: Poenitentiam agite, et baptizetur unusquisque vestrum in nomine Domini Jesu Christi, in remissionem peccatorum; et accipietis gratiam Spiritus sancti (Act. II, 38). Ergo sicut Patris et Filii, ita et Spiritus sancti gratia est. Quomodo enim sine Spiritu potest esse gratia, cum gratia divina omnis in Spiritu sancto sit?

127. As to peace we have proved the point; but as to grace the prophet Zechariah says, that God promised to pour upon Jerusalem the spirit of grace and mercy, Zechariah 12:10 and the Apostle Peter says: Repent and be baptized every one of you in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and you shall receive the grace of the Holy Spirit. Acts 2:38 So grace comes also of the Holy Spirit as of the Father and the Son. For how can there be grace without the Spirit, since all divine grace is in the Spirit?

128. [Alias cap. XII.] Nec solum pacem et gratiam legimus Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti; sed etiam charitatem, et communionem, fidelis Auguste. De charitate enim dictum est: Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et charitas Dei (II Cor. XIII, 13). Accepimus charitatem Patris. Eadem charitas quae Patris, etiam Filii est. Ipse enim dixit: Qui me diligit, diligetur a Patre meo, et ego diligam eum (Joan. XIV, 21). Quae est enim charitas Filii, nisi quia se pro nobis obtulit, et suo sanguine nos redemit (Ephes. V, 2)? Eadem autem charitas et in Patre est, quia scriptum est: Sic enim dilexit Deus mundum, ut Filium suum unigenitum daret (Joan. III, 16).

128. Nor do we read only of the peace and grace of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, but also, faithful Emperor, of the love and communion. For of love it has been said: The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God. 2 Corinthians 13:14 We have heard of the love of the Father. The same love which is the Father's is also the Son's. For He Himself said: He that loves Me shall be loved of My Father, and I will love him. John 14:21 And what is the love of the Son, but that He offered Himself for us, and redeemed us with His own blood. Ephesians 5:2 But the same love is in the Father, for it is written: God so loved the world, that He gave His Only-begotten Son. John 3:16

129. Tradidit ergo Pater Filium, et Filius ipse 627 se tradidit. Servatur charitas, nec laeditur pietas; nulla est enim pietatis injuria, ubi nulla est traditionis aerumna. Tradidit volentem, tradidit offerentem, non utique ad poenam Pater Filium, sed ad gratiam. Si discutis facti meritum, interroga pietatis vocabulum. Vas electionis unitatem hanc divinae charitatis evidenter ostendit; quia et Pater tradidit Filium, et Filius ipse se tradidit. Pater tradidit, qui Filio proprio non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit illum (Rom. VIII, 32). De Filio quoque dicit: Qui se tradidit pro me (Galat. II, 20). Tradidit, inquit. Si gratiae, quid arguo? si injuriae, plus debeo.

129. So, then, the Father gave the Son, and the Son gave Himself. Love is preserved and due affection is not wronged, for affection is not wronged where there is no distress in the giving up. He gave one Who was willing, He gave One Who offered Himself, the Father did not give the Son to punishment but to grace. If you enquire into the merit of the deed, enquire into the description of the affection. The vessel of election shows plainly the unity of this divine love, because both the Father gave the Son and the Son gave Himself. The Father gave, Who spared not His own Son, but gave Him up for us all. Romans 8:32 And of the Son he also says: Who gave Himself

for me. Galatians 2:20 Gave Himself, he says. If it be of grace, what do I find fault with. If it be that He suffered wrong, I owe the more.

130. Sed sicut Pater tradidit Filium, et Filius ipse se tradidit, accipe quia et Spiritus eum tradidit. Scriptum est enim: Tunc Jesus ductus est in desertum ab Spiritu, ut tentaretur a diabolo (Matth. IV, 1). Ergo et Spiritus diligens tradidit Dei Filium. Sicut enim una est charitas Patris et Filii, ita hanc charitatem Dei supra effundi per Spiritum sanctum (Rom. V, 5), et fructum esse sancti Spiritus declaravimus; quia fructus est Spiritus charitas, gaudium, pax, patientia (Galat. V, 22).

130. But learn that in like manner as the Father gave the Son, and the Son gave Himself, so, too, the Holy Spirit gave Him. For it is written: Then was Jesus led by the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted by the devil. So, too, the loving Spirit gave the Son of God. For as the love of the Father and the Son is one, so, too, we have shown that this love of God is shed abroad by the Holy Spirit, and is the fruit of the Holy Spirit, because the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, patience. Galatians 5:22

131. [Alias cap. XIII.] Communicationem autem et Patris et Filii esse manifestum est, quia scriptum est: Et communicatio nostra cum Patre, et Filio ejus Jesu Christo (I Joan. I, 3); et alibi: Communicatio Spiritus sancti cum omnibus vobis (II Cor. XIII, 13). Si igitur una pax, una gratia, una charitas, una communicatio est Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti; una certe operatio est: et ubi una operatio est, utique non potest virtus esse divisa, et discreta substantia. Nam quomodo operationis ejusdem gratia conveniret?

131. And that there is communion between the Father and the Son is plain, for it is written: And our communion is with the Father and with His Son Jesus Christ. 1 John 1:3 And in another place: The communion of the Holy Spirit be with you all. 2 Corinthians 13:14 If, then, the peace of the Father,

the Son, and the Holy Spirit is one, the grace one, the love one, and the communion one, the working is certainly one, and where the working is one, certainly the power cannot be divided nor the substance separated. For, if so, how could the grace of the same working agree?

CAPUT XIII.

DIVINARUM TRIUM PERSONARUM unum esse nomen e Scripturis demonstrat Ambrosius: at in primis unitatem nominis Filii ac Spiritus sancti; cum uterque paraclitus dicatur et veritas.

CHAPTER 13.

St. Ambrose shows from the Scriptures that the Name of the Three Divine Persons is one, and first the unity of the Name of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, inasmuch as each is called Paraclete and Truth.

132. [Alias cap. XIV.] Quis igitur unitatem negare audeat nominis, cum operationis videat unitatem? Sed quid ego unitatem nominis argumentis astruo; cum divinae vocis evidens testimonium sit unum nomen esse Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti? Scriptum est enim: Ite, baptizate gentes in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti (Matth. XXVIII, 19). In nomine dixit, non in nominibus. Non ergo aliud nomen Patris, aliud nomen Filii, aliud nomen Spiritus sancti; quia unus Deus: non plura nomina; quia non duo Dii, non tres Dii (I Cor. VIII, 4).

132. Who, then, would dare to deny the oneness of Name, when he sees the oneness of the working. But why should I maintain the unity of the Name by arguments, when there is the plain testimony of the Divine Voice that the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is one? For it is written: Go, baptize all nations in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Matthew 28:19 He said, in the Name, not in the Names. So, then, the Name of the Father is not one, that of the Son another, and that of

the Holy Spirit another, for God is one; the Names are not more than one, for there are not two Gods, or three Gods.

133. Et ut aperiret quia una divinitas, una majestas est, quia unum nomen Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti; nec in alio nomine venerit Filius, in alio nomine Spiritus sanctus, ait ipse Dominus: Ego veni in nomine Patris mei, et non accepistis me: si alius venerit in nomine suo, illum accipietis (Joan. V, 43).

132. And that He might reveal that the Godhead is one and the Majesty one, because the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is one, and the Son did not come in one Name and the Holy Spirit in another, the Lord Himself said: I have come in My Father's Name, and you did not receive Me, if another shall come in his own name you will receive him. John 5:43

133. Quod autem nomen Patris est, hoc idem Filii Scriptura declarat; quia in Exodo dixit Dominus: Ego antecedam te in nomine meo et 628 vocabo in nomine meo Dominum in conspectu tuo (Exod. XXXIII, 19). Dominus ergo dixit quia in nomine suo vocabit Dominum: Dominus ergo et Patris est nomen et Filii.

133. And Scripture makes clear that that which is the Father's Name, the same is also that of the Son, for the Lord said in Exodus: I will go before you in My Name, and will call by My Name the Lord before you. Exodus 33:19 So, then, the Lord said that He would call the Lord by His Name. The Lord, then, is the Name of the Father and of the Son.

134. Cum autem unum nomen sit Patris et Filii, accipe quia et Spiritus sancti idem nomen sit, quoniam et Spiritus sanctus in nomine Filii venit, sicut scriptum est: Paraclitus autem Spiritus sanctus quem mittet Pater in nomine meo, ille vos docebit omnia (Joan. XXIV, 26). Qui autem venit in nomine Filii, utique etiam in nomine Patris venit; quia unum nomen Patris

et Filii est. Sic fit ut unum et Patris et Filii nomen sit et Spiritus sancti. Nec enim est aliud nomen sub coelo datum, in quo oporteat nos salvos fieri (Act. IV, 12).

134. But since the Name of the Father and of the Son is one, learn that the same is the Name of the Holy Spirit also, since the Holy Spirit came in the Name of the Son, as it is written: But the Paraclete, even the Holy Spirit, Whom the Father will send in My Name, He shall teach you all things. John 14:26 But He Who came in the Name of the Son came also certainly in the Name of the Father, for the Name of the Father and of the Son is one. Thus it comes to pass that the Name of the Father and of the Son is also that of the Holy Spirit. For there is no other Name given under heaven wherein we must be saved. Acts 4:12

135. Simul docuit unitatem divini nominis esse credendam, non disparilitatem; quoniam in unitate nominis venit Christus: in suo autem nomine venturus Antichristus est, sicut scriptum est: Ego veni in nomine Patris mei, et non accepistis me: si alius venerit in nomine suo, illum accipietis (Joan. V, 43).

155. At the same time He showed that the oneness of the Divine Name must be taught, not the difference, since Christ came in the oneness of the Name, but Antichrist will come in his own name, as it is written: I have come in My Father’s Name, and you did not receive Me, if another shall come in his own name, you will receive him. John 5:43

136. Edoctum est igitur ex his non esse in Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto paraclito nominis diversitatem: et quod nomen est Patris, id esse etiam Filii nomen: similiter quod nomen est Filii, esse id etiam Spiritus sancti; quando etiam paraclitus Filius dicitur, sicut et Spiritus sanctus. Et ideo ait in Evangelio Dominus Jesus: Rogabo Patrem meum, et alium paraclitum dabit

vobis qui vobiscum sit in aeternum Spiritum veritatis (Joan. XIV, 16). Et bene dixit alium, ne ipsum Filium, ipsum Spiritum intelligeres; unitas enim nominis est, non Filii Spiritusque Sabelliana confusio.

156. We are, then, clearly taught by these passages that there is no difference of Name in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; and that that which is the Name of the Father is also the Name of the Son, and likewise that which is the Name of the Son is also that of the Holy Spirit, when the Son also is called Paraclete, as is the Holy Spirit. And therefore does the Lord Jesus say in the Gospel: I will ask My Father, and He shall give you another Paraclete, to be with you for ever, even the Spirit of Truth. John 14:16 And He said well another, that you might not suppose that the Son is also the Spirit, for oneness is of the Name, not a Sabellian confusion of the Son and of the Spirit.

137. Edit. Ben. [Alias cap. XV.] Itaque alius paraclitus est Filius, alius paraclitus Spiritus sanctus; Filium enim paraclitum dixit etiam Joannes, sicut habes: Si quis peccaverit, paraclitum habemus apud Patrem Jesum Christum (I Joan. II, 1). Itaque quemadmodum unitas nominis, ita etiam unitas potestatis est; ubi enim paraclitus Spiritus, ibi etiam Filius.

157. So, then, the Son is one Paraclete, the Holy Spirit another Paraclete; for John called the Son a Paraclete, as you find: If any man sin, we have a Paraclete [Advocate] with the Father, Jesus Christ. 1 John 2:1 So in like manner as there is a oneness of name, so, too, is there a oneness of power, for where the Paraclete Spirit is, there is also the Son.

138. Nam sicut hic in aeternum Dominus futurum cum fidelibus Spiritum dicit, ita etiam de se alibi ostendit quod in aeternum cum apostolis sit futurus, dicens: Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad

consummationem mundi (Matth. XXVIII, 20). Unum sunt ergo Filius et Spiritus: unum nomen est Trinitatis, et una inseparabilisque praesentia.

158. For as the Lord says in this place that the Spirit will be forever with the faithful, so, too, does He elsewhere show that He will Himself be forever with the apostles, saying: Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world. Matthew 28:20 Therefore the Son and the Spirit are one, the Name of the Trinity is one, and the Presence one and indivisible.

139. Sicut autem ostendimus paraclitum Filium nominatum, ita etiam ostendimus veritatem Spiritum nuncupatum. Veritas Christus; veritas Spiritus; habes enim in epistola Joannis: Quoniam Spiritus est veritas (I Joan. V, 6). Non solum ergo Spiritus veritatis, sed etiam veritas dicitur Spiritus, sicut et Filius veritas praedicatur, qui ait: Ego sum via et veritas et vita (I Joan. XIV, 6). 629

159. But as we show that the Son is called the Paraclete, so, too, do we show that the Spirit is called the Truth. Christ is the Truth, the Spirit is the Truth, for you find in John’s epistle: For the Spirit is Truth. 1 John 5:7 Not only, then, is the Spirit called the Spirit of Truth, but also the Truth, as the Son is also declared to be the Truth, Who says: I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life. John 14:6

CAPUT XIV.

SINGULAS TRINITATIS PERSONAS e sacris codicibus lucem esse; Spiritum autem etiam ignem significari apud Esaiam, cujus quidem ignis in Moysis rubo, in linguis flammeis, et in lagenis Gedeonis figura exstitit. Negari non posse ejusdem Spiritus divinitatem, cum eadem sit ejus, quae Patris et Filii operatio, nec non Dominici vultus lumen ignisque praedicetur.

CHAPTER 14.

Each Person of the Trinity is said in the sacred writings to be Light. The Spirit is designated Fire by Isaiah, a figure of which Fire was seen in the bush by Moses, in the tongues of fire, and in Gideon's pitchers. And the Godhead of the same Spirit cannot be denied, since His operation is the same as that of the Father and of the Son, and He is also called the light and fire of the Lord's countenance.

140. [Alias cap. XVI.] Quid autem astruam quod sicut Pater lumen, ita etiam Filius lumen, et Spiritus sanctus lumen est? Quod utique divinae potentiae est. Deus enim lux est, sicut dixit Joannes: Quia Deus lux est, et tenebrae in eo non sunt (I Joan. I, 5).

160. But why should I argue that as the Father is light, so, too, the Son is light, and the Holy Spirit is light? Which certainly pertains to the power of God. For God is Light, as John said: For God is Light, and in Him is no darkness. 1 John 1:5

141. Lux autem et Filius, quia vita erat lux hominum. Et ut ostenderet se de Dei Filio Evangelista dixisse, ait de Joanne Baptista: Non erat ille lux, sed

ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine. Erat lux vera, quae illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum (Joan. I, 8, 9). Ergo quia Deus lux est, lux autem vera est Dei Filius: sine dubio Deus verus est Dei Filius.

161. But the Son, too, is Light, because the Life was the Light of men. John 1:8 And the Evangelist, that he might show that he was speaking of the Son of God, says of John the Baptist: He was not light, but [was sent] to be a witness of the Light. That was the true Light, which lights every man that comes into this world. John 1:9 So, then, since God is Light, and the Son of God the true Light, without doubt the Son of God is true God.

142. Habes et alibi quia Filius Dei lux est: Populus qui sedebat in tenebris et in umbra mortis, lucem vidit magnam (Esai. IX, 2). Quid autem hoc evidentius, quod ait: Quoniam apud te est fons vitae, et in lumine tuo videbimus lumen (Psal. XXXV, 10)? Hoc est, quod apud te, Deus omnipotens Pater, qui fons vitae es, in lumine tuo Filio, lumen videbimus Spiritus sancti. Sicut ipse Dominus ostendit dicens: Accipite Spiritum sanctum (Joan. XX, 22); et alibi: Et virtus exibat de eo (Luc. VI, 19).

162. And you find elsewhere that the Son of God is Light: The people that sat in darkness and in the shadow of death have seen a great light. Isaiah 9:2 But, which is still more clear, it is said: For with You is the fount of Life, and in Your light we shall see light, which means that with You, O God the Father Almighty, Who art the Fount of Life, in Your Son Who is the Light, we shall see the light of the Holy Spirit. As the Lord Himself shows, saying: Receive the Holy Spirit, John 20:22 and elsewhere: Virtue went out from Him. Luke 6:19

143. Ipsum autem Patrem quis dubitet lucem esse, cum lectum sit de Filio ejus quia splendor sit lucis aeternae (Hebr. I, 3)? Cujus enim nisi Patris

aeterni splendor est Filius, qui et cum Patre semper est, nec dissimili, sed eadem claritate semper praefulget?

163. But who can doubt that the Father is Light, when we read of His Son that He is the Brightness of eternal Light? For of Whom but of the Father is the Son the Brightness, Who both is always with the Father, and always shines, not with unlike but with the same radiance.

144. Et Esaias significat non solum lucem, sed etiam ignem esse Spiritum sanctum, dicens: Et erit lux Israel in ignem (Esai. X, 17). Itaque prophetae eum ignem ardentem dixerunt; quia in tribus istis generibus propensius majestatem divinitatis advertimus: quoniam et sanctificare, divinitatis; et illuminare, ignis et lucis est proprium: et in specie ignis exprimi vel videri divinae est consuetudinis: Deus enim est ignis consumens, sicut Moyses dixit (Deut. IV, 24).

164. And Isaiah shows that the Holy Spirit is not only Light but also Fire, saying: And the light of Israel shall be for a fire. Isaiah 10:17 So the prophets called Him a burning Fire, because in those three points we see more intensely the majesty of the Godhead; since to sanctify is of the Godhead, to illuminate is the property of fire and light, and the Godhead is wont to be pointed out or seen in the appearance of fire: For our God is a consuming Fire, as Moses said. Deuteronomy 4:24

145. Vidit enim ipse in rubo ignem, et audierat Deum, tunc quando vox facta est de flamma ignis ad eum dicens: Ego sum Deus Abraham, et Deus Isaac, et Deus Jacob (Exod. III, 15). Vox ergo de flamma, et in rubo flamma, et flamma non noxia. Urebatur enim rubus, et non exurebatur; eo quod illo mysterio Dominus figuraret quia illuminaturus spinas nostri corporis adveniret: nec consumpturus aerumnosos, sed mitigaturus aerumnas: qui baptizaret in Spiritu sancto et igni (Matth. III, 11); 630 ut

gratiam tribueret, peccata consumeret. Ergo in specie ignis Deus servat propositum.

165. For he himself saw the fire in the bush, and had heard God when the voice from the flame of fire came to him saying: I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. Exodus 3:6 The voice came from the fire, and the voice was in the bush, and the fire did no harm. For the bush was burning but was not consumed, because in that mystery the Lord was showing that He would come to illuminate the thorns of our body, and not to consume those who were in misery, but to alleviate their misery; Who would baptize with the Holy Spirit and with fire, that He might give grace and destroy sin. Matthew 3:11 So in the symbol of fire God keeps His intention.

146. In Actibus quoque apostolorum cum supra fideles Spiritus sanctus descendisset, ignis species videbatur; sic enim habes: Et factus est subito de coelo sonus, tamquam vi magna Spiritus ferretur; et replevit totam domum, ubi erant sedentes: et visae sunt illis dispersae linguae tamquam ignis (Act. II, 2, 3).

166. In the Acts of the Apostles, also, when the Holy Spirit had descended upon the faithful, the appearance of fire was seen, for you read thus: And suddenly there was a sound from heaven, as though the Spirit were borne with great vehemence, and it filled all the house where they were sitting, and there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire. Acts 2:2-3

147. Unde et illud quando Gedeon superaturus Madian, trecentos viros jussit hydrias sumere, et in hydriis faces accensas habere, et in dextris tenere tubas (Judic. VII, 16); ita nostri acceptum ab apostolis servavere majores, quod hydriae sunt corpora nostra, figurata de limo quae timere non

norunt, si fervore gratiae spiritalis ignescant, et Jesu Domini passionem canora vocis confessione testentur.

167. For the same reason was it that when Gideon was about to overcome the Midianites, he commanded three hundred men to take pitchers, and to hold lighted torches inside the pitchers, and trumpets in their right hands. Our predecessors have preserved the explanation received from the apostles, that the pitchers are our bodies, fashioned of clay, which know not fear if they burn with the fervour of the grace of the Spirit, and bear witness to the passion of the Lord Jesus with a loud confession of the Voice.

148. Quis igitur de divinitate sancti Spiritus dubitet, cum ubi Spiritus gratia sit, ibi species divinitatis appareat? Quo testimonio non diversitatem, sed unitatem divinae colligimus potestatis. Nam quemadmodum potest esse discretio potestatis, ubi unus in omnibus operationis effectus est? Neque vero potest esse gratia sacramentorum, nisi ubi fuerit venia peccatorum.

168. Who, then, can doubt of the Godhead of the Holy Spirit, since where the grace of the Spirit is, there the manifestation of the Godhead appears. By which evidence we infer not a diversity but the unity of the divine power. For how can there be a severance of power, where the effect of the working in all is one?

149. Quis est igitur iste ignis? Non utique virgultis vilibus concretus, aut stipula silvarum fragosus incendiis: sed ignis ille, qui ut aurum bona facta meliorat, et ut stipulam peccata consumit. Hic est utique Spiritus sanctus, qui Dominici vultus et ignis appellatur et lumen: lumen, sicut supra diximus: Signatum est in nobis lumen vultus tui, Domine (Psal. IV, 7). Quod est ergo lumen signatum, nisi illius signaculi spiritalis, in quo credentes signati, inquit, estis Spiritu promissionis sancto (Ephes. I, 13)?

169. What, then, is that fire? Not certainly one made up of common twigs, or roaring with the burning of the reeds of the woods, but that fire which improves good deeds like gold, and consumes sins like stubble. This is undoubtedly the Holy Spirit, Who is called both the fire and light of the countenance of God; light as we said above: The light of Your countenance has been sealed upon us, O Lord. What is, then, the light that is sealed, but that of the seal of the Spirit, believing in Whom, you were sealed, he says, with the Holy Spirit of promise. Ephesians 1:13

150. [Alias cap. XVII.] Et sicut lumen est vultus divini, ita etiam ignis emicat ex Dei vultu; quia scriptum est: Ignis in conspectu ejus ardebit (Psal. XLIX, 3). Praefulget enim gratia diei judicii, ut sequatur absolutio, quae sanctorum remuneretur obsequium. O magna abundantia Scripturarum, quam nemo possit humano ingenio comprehendere! O maximum divinae unitatis indicium! His enim duobus versiculis quam multa signantur!

170. And as there is a light of the divine countenance, so, too, does fire shine forth from the countenance of God, for it is written: A fire shall burn in His sight. For the grace of the day of judgment shines beforehand, that forgiveness may follow to reward the service of the saints. O the great fullness of the Scriptures, which no one can comprehend with human genius! O greatest proof of the Divine Unity! For how many things are pointed out in these two verses!

CAPUT XV.

SPIRITUM SANCTUM AEQUE ac Patrem et Filium vitam esse; immo vero sive Pater intelligatur, apud quem est fons vitae, sive Filius, fontem illum aliud non esse quam Spiritum.

CHAPTER 15.

The Holy Spirit is Life equally with the Father and the Son, in truth whether the Father be mentioned, with Whom is the Fount of Life, or the Son, that Fount can be none other than the Holy Spirit.

151. [Alias cap. XVIII.] Diximus quia lux est Pater, lux Filius, lux Spiritus sanctus: accipiamus etiam quia vita est Pater, vita Filius, vita Spiritus sanctus. Dixit enim Joannes: Quod erat ab initio, quod audivimus et quod vidimus, et oculis nostris perspeximus, et manus nostrae scrutatae sunt de Verbo vitae: et vita apparuit, et vidimus et testamur et annuntiamus vobis de vita, quae erat apud Patrem (I Joan. I, 1, 2). Et Verbum vitae dixit et vitam; ut 631 et Patrem vitam significaret et Filium. Quod enim est vitae Verbum, nisi Dei Verbum? Ac per hoc et Deus et Verbum Dei vita est. Et sicut Verbum vitae dicitur, ita et Spiritus vitae. Scriptum est enim: Et Spiritus vitae erat in rotis (Ezech. I, 20). Itaque sicut Verbum vitae vita est, ita et vitae Spiritus vita est.

171. We have said that the Father is Light, the Son is Light, and the Holy Spirit is Light; let us also learn that the Father is Life, the Son Life, and the Holy Spirit Life. For John said: That which was from the beginning, that which we have heard, and which we have seen, and have beheld with our eyes, and our hands have handled concerning the Word of Life; and the Life

appeared, and we saw and testify, and declare to you of that Life which was with the Father. 1 John 1:1-2 He said both Word of Life and Life that he might signify both the Father and the Son to be Life. For what is the Word of Life but the Word of God? And by this phrase both God and the Word of God are shown to be Life. And as it is said the Word of Life, so, too, the Spirit of Life. Therefore, as the Word of Life is Life, so, too, the Spirit of Life is Life.

152. [Alias cap. XIX.] Accipe nunc quia sicut Pater fons vitae est, ita etiam Filium plerique fontem vitae memorarunt significatum; eo quod apud te, inquit, Deus omnipotens, Filius tuus fons vitae sit, hoc est, fons Spiritus sancti; quia Spiritus vita est, sicut Dominus ait: Verba quae ego locutus sum vobis, spiritus et vita sunt (Joan. VI, 64) quia ubi Spiritus, et vita est: et ubi vita est, etiam Spiritus sanctus.

172. Learn now that as the Father is the Fount of Life, so, too, many have stated that the Son is signified as the Fount of Life; so that, he says, with You, Almighty God, Your Son is the Fount of Life. That is the Fount of the Holy Spirit, for the Spirit is Life, as the Lord says: The words which I speak unto you are Spirit and Life, John 6:64 for where the Spirit is, there also is Life; and where Life is, is also the Holy Spirit.

153. Plerique tamen hoc loco Patrem volunt tantummodo per fontem significatum, quamquam videant quid Scriptura memoraverit: Apud te, inquit, fons vitae (Psal. XXXV, 10), hoc est, apud Patrem Filius; quoniam Verbum apud Deum, quod erat in principio, et erat apud Deum.

173. Many, however, consider that in this passage the Father only is signified by the Fount. Let them, however, notice what the Scripture relates: With You is the Well of Life. That is, the Son is with the Father; since the Word was with God, Who was in the beginning, and was with God.

154. Sed sive Patrem quis hoc loco, sive Filium intelligat fontem; fontem utique intelligimus non aquae istius, quae creatura est: sed divinae illius gratiae, hoc est, Spiritus sancti; ipse est enim aqua viva. Propterea Dominus dicit: Si scires donum Dei, et quis est qui dicit tibi: Da mihi bibere; tu petisses ab eo, et dedisset tibi aquam vivam (Joan. IV, 10).

174. But whether in this place one understands the Fount to be the Father or the Son, we certainly do not understand a fount of that water which is created, but the Fount of that divine grace, that is, of the Holy Spirit, for He is the living water. Wherefore the Lord said: If you know the gift of God, and Who He is that says to you, Give me to drink, you would have asked Him, and He would have given you living water. John 4:10

155. Hanc aquam sitivit anima David (Psal. XLI, 3). Harum fontem aquarum desiderat cervus, non sitiens venena serpentum. Viva est enim aqua gratiae spiritalis, eo quod mentis interna purificet, et omne animi peccatum abluat, occultorumque mundet errorem.

175. This was the water for which the soul of David thirsted. The hart desires the fountain of these waters, not thirsting for the poison of serpents. For the water of the grace of the Spirit is living, that it may purify the inner parts of the mind, and wash away every sin of the soul, and purify the transgression of hidden faults.

CAPUT XVI.

SPIRITUM SANCTUM FLUMEN esse magnum, cujus munere mystica Jerusalem irrigatur. Eumdem fonti suo, id est, Patri ac Filio aequalem esse, atque in Scriptura significari. Illius aquam sitit Doctor sanctus: sed ut ea conservetur in nobis, diabolum, cupiditatem, ac haeresim admonet vitari oportere; cum nobis vasa sint fragilia: descrendos etiam contritos lacus, ut Domini aquam Samaritanae patriarcharumque exemplo inveniamus.

CHAPTER 16.

The Holy Spirit is that large river by which the mystical Jerusalem is watered. It is equal to its Fount, that is, the Father and the Son, as is signified in holy Scripture. St. Ambrose himself thirsts for that water, and warns us that in order to preserve it within us, we must avoid the devil, lust, and heresy, since our vessels are frail, and that broken cisterns must be forsaken, that after the example of the Samaritan woman and of the patriarchs we may find the water of the Lord.

156. [Alias cap. XX.[Sed ne quis forte tamquam pusillitatem Spiritus redarguat, et hinc velit quamdam facere distantiam magnitudinis, quod aqua portio videatur esse fontis exigua: quamquam creaturarum exempla minime divinitati aptanda videantur; tamen ne quid ex hac quoque creaturae comparatione praejudicent, discant non solum aquam, sed etiam flumen dictum Spiritum sanctum, secundum quod lectum est: Flumina de ventre ejus fluent aquae vivae. Hoc autem 632 dicebat de Spiritu, quem incipiebant accipere, qui credituri erant in eum (Joan. VII, 38, 39).

176. But lest perchance any one should speak against as it were the littleness of the Spirit, and from this should endeavour to establish a difference in greatness, arguing that water seems to be but a small part of a Fount, although examples taken from creatures seem by no means suitable for application to the Godhead; yet lest they should judge anything injuriously from this comparison taken from creatures, let them learn that not only is the Holy Spirit called Water, but also a River, as we read: From his belly shall flow rivers of living water. But this He said of the Spirit, Whom they were beginning to receive, who were about to believe in Him. John 7:38-39

157. Ergo flumen est Spiritus sanctus, et flumen maximum, quod secundum Hebraeos de Jesu fluxit in terris, ut ore Esaiae accepimus prophetatum (Esai. LXVI, 12). Magnum hoc flumen, quod fluit semper, et numquam deficit. Nec solum flumen, sed etiam profusi impetus, et magnitudinis redundantis, sicut etiam David dixit: Quia fluminis impetus laetificat civitatem Dei (Psal. XLV, 5).

177. So, then, the Holy Spirit is the River, and the abundant River, which according to the Hebrews flowed from Jesus in the lands, as we have received it prophesied by the mouth of Isaiah. Isaiah 66:12 This is the great River which flows always and never fails. And not only a river, but also one of copious stream and overflowing greatness, as also David said: The stream of the river makes glad the city of God.

158. Neque enim civitas illa Jerusalem coelestis meatu alicujus fluvii terrestris abluitur: sed ille ex vitae fonte procedens Spiritus sanctus, cujus nos brevi satiamur haustu, in illis coelestibus Thronis, Dominationibus et Potestatibus, Angelis et Archangelis redundantius videtur effluere, pleno septem virtutum spiritalium fervens meatu. Si enim fluvius riparum editis superfusus exundat, quanto magis Spiritus omnem supereminens creaturam,

cum reliqua tamquam inferiora nostrae mentis arva perstringat, coelestem illam creaturarum naturam effusiore quadam sanctificationis ubertate laetificat!

178. For neither is that city, the heavenly Jerusalem, watered by the channel of any earthly river, but that Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Fount of Life, by a short draught of Whom we are satiated, seems to flow more abundantly among those celestial Thrones, Dominions and Powers, Angels and Archangels, rushing in the full course of the seven virtues of the Spirit. For if a river rising above its banks overflows, how much more does the Spirit, rising above every creature, when He touches the as it were low-lying fields of our minds, make glad that heavenly nature of the creatures with the larger fertility of His sanctification.

159. Nec moveat quod vel hic dixit flumina (Joan. VII, 38), vel alibi septem spiritus (Apoc. V, 6); his enim sanctificationibus septem spiritalium, sicut Esaias dixit (Esai. XI, 2), significatur plenitudo virtutum: spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, spiritus consilii atque virtutis, spiritus cognitionis atque pietatis, spiritus timoris Dei. Unum ergo flumen, sed multi spiritalium donorum meatus. Hoc igitur flumen exit ex fonte vitae.

179. And let it not trouble you that either here it is said rivers, John 7:38 or elsewhere seven Spirits, Revelation 5:6 for by the sanctification of these seven gifts of the Spirit, as Isaiah said, Isaiah 11:2 is signified the fullness of all virtue; the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, the Spirit of counsel and strength, the Spirit of knowledge and godliness, and the Spirit of the fear of God. One, then, is the River, but many the channels of the gifts of the Spirit. This River, then, goes forth from the Fount of Life.

160. Nec hic rursus sensum tuum ad inferiora detorqueas, quia quaedam diversitas videtur esse fontis et fluminis; et tamen ad omnia prospexit

Scriptura divina, ne infirmitas humani caperetur ingenii vilitate sermonum. Proponas tibi licet quodvis flumen, e fonte est; unius tamen naturae, unius splendoris et gratiae. Dic sane et tu Spiritum sanctum unius cum Filio Dei et Deo Patre esse substantiae, unius claritatis et gloriae. Capiam fidele compendium de unitate virtutis, nec verebor aliquam de diversitate magnitudinis quaestionem. Nam etiam in hoc nobis Scriptura prospexit; dicit enim Dei Filius: Qui biberit de aqua, quam ego dabo ei, fiet in eo fons aquae salientis in vitam aeternam (Joan. IV, 14). Hic fons utique gratia spiritalis est fluvius ex vivo fonte procedens. Fons igitur vitae etiam Spiritus sanctus est.

180. And here, again, you must not turn aside your thoughts to lower things, because there seems to be some difference between a Fount and a River, and yet the divine Scripture has provided that the weakness of human understanding should not be injured by the lowliness of the language. Set before yourself any river, it springs from its fount, but is of one nature, of one brightness and beauty. And do you assert rightly that the Holy Spirit is of one substance, brightness, and glory with the Son of God and with God the Father. I will sum up all in the oneness of the qualities, and shall not be afraid of any question as to difference of greatness. For in this point also Scripture has provided for us; for the Son of God says: He that shall drink of the water which I will give him, it shall become in him a well of water springing up unto everlasting life. John 4:14 This well is clearly the grace of the Spirit, a stream proceeding from the living Fount. The Holy Spirit, then, is also the Fount of eternal life.

161. Advertis ergo ex verbis ipsius divinae significari magnitudinis unitatem, nec posse Christum etiam a perfidis fontem negari; cum fons dicatur et Spiritus. Et sicut flumen dicitur Spiritus, ita et Pater dixit: Ecce ego decurro in vos, sicut fluvius pacis, et sicut torrens inundans gloriam

gentium (Esai. LXVI, 12). 633 Quis autem dubitet flumen esse vitae Dei Filium, de quo aeternae vitae flumina profluebant?

181. You observe, then, from His words that the unity of the divine greatness is pointed out, and that Christ cannot be denied to be a Fount even by heretics, since the Spirit, too, is called a Fount. And as the Spirit is called a river, so, too, the Father said: Behold, I come down upon you like a river of peace, and like a stream overflowing the glory of the Gentiles. Isaiah 66:12 And who can doubt that the Son of God is the River of life, from Whom the streams of eternal life flowed forth?

162. Bona ergo aqua, spiritalis gratia: quis hunc fontem dabit pectori meo? In me saliat; in me fluat vitae largitor aeternae. Superfluat in nobis fons iste, non effluat. Dicit enim sapientia: Bibe aquam de tuis vasis, et de puteorum tuorum fontibus, inque plateis tuis superfluant aquae tuae (Prov. V, 15, 16). Quomodo hanc aquam tenebo, ne effluat, ne labatur? Quomodo vas meum conservabo, ne qua penetrans rima peccati, aeternae vitae distillet humorem? Doce nos, Domine Jesu, doce sicut docuisti apostolos tuos, dicens: Nolite thesaurizare vobis thesauros in terra, ubi aerugo et tinea exterminat, et ubi fures effodiunt et furantur (Matth. VI, 19).

182. Good, then, is this water, even the grace of the Spirit. Who will give this Fount to my breast? Let it spring up in me, let that which gives eternal life flow upon me. Let that Fount overflow upon us, and not flow away. For Wisdom says: Drink water out of your own vessels, and from the founts of your own wells, and let your waters flow abroad in your streets. Proverbs 5:15-16 How shall I keep this water that it flow not forth, that it glide not away? How shall I preserve my vessel, lest any crack of sin penetrating it, should let the water of eternal life exude? Teach us, Lord Jesus, teach us as You taught Your apostles, saying: Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon

the earth, where rust and moth destroy, and where thieves break through and steal. Matthew 6:19

163. Furem videlicet immundum spiritum esse significat, qui in bonorum operum luce gradientibus non possit obrepere: in tenebris autem saecularium cupiditatum, et inter oblectamenta terrestrium si quem ceperit voluptatum, omni virtutis aeternae flore despoliet. Et ideo Dominus dicit: Thesaurizate vobis thesauros in coelo: ubi neque aerugo neque tinea exterminat; et ubi fures non effodiunt et furantur. Ubi enim fuerit thesaurus tuus, ibi erit et cor tuum.

182. For He intimates that the thief is the unclean spirit, who cannot find entrance into those who walk in the light of good works, but if he has caught any one in the darkness of earthly desires, and in the midst of the enjoyment of earthly pleasures, he spoils them of all the flower of eternal virtue. And therefore the Lord says: Lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither rust nor moth destroy, and where thieves do not break through and steal. For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.

164. Aerugo nostra lascivia est, aerugo nostra libido est, aerugo nostra luxuria est, quae flagitiorum sordibus aciem mentis obducunt. Tinea rursus nostra Arius est, tinea nostra Photinus est, qui sanctum Ecclesiae vestimentum impietate sua scindunt; et unitatem divinae potestatis 634 individuam separare cupientes, sacrilego morsu pretiosum fidei velamen obrodunt. Funditur aqua, si Arius dentem impresserit: effluit, si aculeum suum in alicujus vas Photinus infixerit. Vile figmentum sumus, cito vitia sentimus. Sed nemo dicit figulo: Quid me fecisti sic (Rom. IX, 20)? Nam etsi vile vas nostrum, aliud tamen in honore, aliud in contumelia est. Noli ergo aperire lacum tuum, noli fodere vitiis atque criminibus, ne quis dicat: Lacum aperuit, et effodit eum: et incidit in foveam, quam operatus est (Psal. VII, 16).

183. Our rust is wantonness, our rust is lust, our rust is luxury, which dim the keen vision of the mind with the filth of vices. Again, our moth is Arius, our moth is Photinus, who rend the holy vesture of the Church with their impiety, and desiring to separate the indivisible unity of the divine power, gnaw the precious veil of faith with sacrilegious tooth. The water is spilled if Arius has imprinted his tooth, it flows away if Photinus has planted his sting in any one's vessel. We are but of common clay, we quickly feel vices. But no one says to the potter, Why have You made me thus? Romans 9:20 For though our vessel be but common, yet one is in honour, another in dishonour. Romans 9:21 Do not then lay open your pool, dig not with vices and crimes, lest any one say: He has opened a pool and dug it, and is fallen into the pit which he made.

165. Si Jesum quaeritis, contritos lacus deserite; Christus enim non ad lacum, sed ad puteum sedere consuevit. Ibi eum Samaritana illa quae credidit, illa quae aquam haurire cupiebat, invenit (Joan. IV, 6). Quamvis mane venire debueris, tamen etiamsi serius veneris, etiam sexta hora Jesum fatigatum ab itinere invenies. Fatigatus est, sed in te; quia diu te quaesivit, tua illum tamdiu incredulitas fatigavit. Non offenditur tamen, si modo venias: petit bibere, daturus. Bibit autem non aquam praetermeantis rivuli, sed salutem tuam: bibit affectum tuum, bibit calicem, hoc est, passionem illam tuorum criminum redemptricem; ut tu sitim istius mundi, sacri potus cruore restinguas.

184. If you seek Jesus, forsake the broken cisterns, for Christ was wont to sit not by a pool but by a well. There that Samaritan woman John 4:6 found Him, she who believed, she who wished to draw water. Although you ought to have come in early morning, nevertheless if you come later, even at the sixth hour, you will find Jesus wearied with His journey. He is weary, but it is through you, because He has long sought you, your unbelief has long

wearied Him. Yet He is not offended if you only come, He asks to drink Who is about to give. But He drinks not the water of a stream flowing by, but your salvation; He drinks your good dispositions, He drinks the cup, that is, the Passion which atoned for your sins, that you drinking of His sacred blood might quench the thirst of this world.

166. Sic Abraham Deum posteaquam puteum fodit, emeruit (Gen. XXI, 30). Sic Isaac dum ad puteum deambulat (Gen. XXIV, 62), venientem illam in typo Ecclesiae accepit uxorem (Ibid., 67). Fidelis ad puteum, infidelis ad lacum. Denique et Rebecca sicut legimus, petitorem invenit ad fontem, et meretrices in lacu Jezabel se cruore laverunt (III Reg. XXII).

185. So Abraham gained God after he had dug the well. Genesis 21:30 So Isaac, while walking by the well, received that wife Genesis 24:62 who was coming to him as a type of the Church. Faithful he was at the well, unfaithful at the pool. Lastly, too, Rebecca, as we read, found him who sought her at the well, and the harlots washed themselves in the blood in the pool of Jezebel.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

BOOK II.

PROLOGU

TRES DIVINAS PERSONAS ut priscis judicibus ita et Moysi non fuisse ignotas: declaratam etiam cum alibi tum apud illum Filii cum Patre, non secus ac trium inter se aequalitatem. Spiritum sanctum adfuisse Samsoni, cujus deinceps percurritur mira historia et variis Ecclesiae mysteriis aptatur. Eodem autem Spiritu recedente, ipsum in multiplices incidisse calamitates, quod resecatis capillis ne tribuatur, spiritales illorum significationes proponit Ambrosius.

Introduction.

THE THREE PERSONS of the Godhead were not unknown to the judges of old nor to Moses, for the equality of the Son with the Father, as well as of the Three Persons among Themselves, is laid down both elsewhere and by him. Samson also enjoyed the assistance of the Holy Spirit, his history is touched upon and shown to be in some points typical of the Church and her mysteries. When the Holy Spirit left Samson he fell into various calamities, and St. Ambrose explains the spiritual significance of his shorn locks.

1. Etsi in libro primo veteris historiae lectione patefactum sit; et in ipsis judicibus veterum Judaeorum septiformis gratiam Spiritus refulsisse, et per Spiritum sanctum coelestium sacramentorum revelata mysteria, quem Moyses non ignoravit aeternum. Denique statim in principio mundi, immo ante principium, cum Deo junxit, quem ante mundi principium sempiternum esse cognovit. Namque si quis diligenter 634 advertat, et Patrem in principio et Filium cognoscet et Spiritum. De Patre enim scriptum est: In principio fecit Deus coelum et terram (Gen. I, 1, 2). De Spiritu dictum est: Spiritus superferebatur super aquas (Ibid., 4). Et bene in exordio creaturae baptismi figura signatur, per quod habuit creatura mundari. Lectum etiam de Filio quod ipse est, qui discrevit inter medium lucis et tenebrarum; unus est enim Deus Pater qui dicit, et unus Dominus Jesus qui facit.

1. Even in reading the first book of the ancient history it is made clear both that the sevenfold grace of the Spirit shone forth in the judges themselves of the Jews, and that the mysteries of the heavenly sacraments were made known by the Spirit, of Whose eternity Moses was not ignorant. Then, too,

at the very beginning of the world, and indeed before its beginning, he conjoined Him with God, Whom he knew to be eternal before the beginning of the world. For if any one takes good heed he will recognize in the beginning both the Father, the Son, and the Spirit. For of the Father it is written: In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. Genesis 1:1 Of the Spirit it is said: The Spirit was borne upon the waters. Genesis 1:4 And well in the beginning of creation is there set forth the figure of baptism whereby the creature had to be purified. And of the Son we read that He it is Who divided light from darkness, for there is one God the Father Who speaks, and one God the Son Who acts.

2. Sed ne rursus aut arrogans putes dicentis imperium, aut vile facientis obsequium; aequalem sibi Pater Filium confitetur operis unitate dicens: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram (Ibid., 26). Imago enim et operatio et similitudo communis quid aliud nisi majestatis ejusdem significat unitatem?

2. But, again, that you may not think that there was assumption in the bidding of Him Who spoke, or inferiority on the part of Him Who carried out the bidding, the Father acknowledges the Son as equal to Himself in the execution of the work, saying: Let Us make man after Our image and likeness. Genesis 1:26 For the common image and the working and the likeness can signify nothing but the oneness of the same Majesty.

3. Tamen ut aequalitatem plenius Patris Filiique cognoscas, sicut dixit Pater et Filius fecit; ita et Pater operatur, et Filius dicit. Pater operatur, sicut scriptum est: Pater meus usque modo operatur (Joan. V, 17). 635 Habes dictum ad Filium: Dic verbo et sanabitur (Matth. VIII, 8). Et Filius dicit Patri: Volo ut ubi ego sum, et isti sint mecum (Joan. XVII, 24). Fecit Pater quod Filius dixit.

3. But that we may more fully recognize the equality of the Father and the Son, as the Father spoke, the Son made, so, too, the Father works and the Son speaks. The Father works, as it is written: My Father works hitherto. John 5:17 You find it said to the Son: Say the word and he shall be healed. Matthew 8:8 And the Son says to the Father: I will that where I am, they too shall be with Me. John 17:24 The Father did what the Son said.

4. Sed nec Abraham ignoravit Spiritum sanctum: denique tres vidit, et unum adoravit (Gen. XVIII, 2, 3,); quia unus Deus, unus Dominus, et unus Spiritus. Et ideo unitas honoris; quia unitas potestatis.

4. But neither was Abraham ignorant of the Holy Spirit; he saw Three and worshipped One, for there is one God, one Lord, and one Spirit. And so there is a oneness of honour, because there is a oneness of power.

5. Et quid de singulis loquar? Samson divina promissione generatus, Spiritum comitantem habebat; sic enim legimus: Quia benedixit ei Dominus, et coepit Spiritus Domini comitari cum eo in castra (Judic. XIII, 25). Et ideo futurum praevidens sacramentum, ex alienigenis poscebat uxorem (Judic. XIV, 1 et seq.): quod Pater ejus ac mater, ut scriptum est, ignorabant, quoniam a Domino est. Meritoque fortior caeteris habebatur, quia eum Spiritus Domini dirigebat, quo duce, solus nunc alienigenarum fugabat populos, nunc leonem morsu inviolabilis, fortitudine insuperabilis, discerptum manibus dividebat (Ibid. 5 et seq.). Utinam tam cautus ad servandam gratiam, quam fortis ad superandam bestiam!

5. And why should I speak of all one by one? Samson, born by the divine promise, had the Spirit accompanying him, for we read: The Lord blessed him, and the Spirit of the Lord began to be with him in the camp. Judges 13:25 And so foreshadowing the future mystery, he demanded a wife of the aliens, which, as it is written, his father and mother knew not of, because it

was from the Lord. And rightly was he esteemed stronger than others, because the Spirit of the Lord guided him, under Whose guidance he alone put to flight the people of the aliens, and at another time inaccessible to the bite of the lion, he, unconquerable in his strength, tore him asunder with his hands. Would that he had been as careful to preserve grace, as strong to overcome the beast!

6. Et fortasse hoc non solum virtutis miraculum, sed etiam sapientiae mysterium, prophetiae oraculum fuit. Neque enim otiosum videtur quod cum tenderet ad mysterium nuptiarum, leo rugiens occurrit ei, quem manibus ille discerpsit, in cujus corpore, connubio potiturus optato, congregationem apum reperit, et mel sustulit de ore ejus, quod Patri edendum matrique tribuit (Ibid., 8 et seq.). Habebat gentium populus mella, qui credidit: qui populus feritatis erat ante, nunc Christi est.

6. And perhaps this was not only a prodigy of valour, but also a mystery of wisdom, an utterance of prophecy. For it does not seem to have been without a purpose that, as he was going to his marriage, a roaring lion met him, which he tore asunder with his hands, in whose body, when about to enjoy the wished-for wedlock, he found a swarm of bees, and took honey from its mouth, which he gave to his father and mother to eat. The people of the Gentiles which believed had honey, the people which was before savage is now the people of Christ.

7. Nec ipsa quaestio vacat sacramentis, quam proposuit sodalibus suis, dicens: De edente exivit esca, et de potente exivit dulce (Ibid., 14). Denique eo usque mystica, ut tribus diebus ejus revelatio quaereretur, quae non potuit nisi per fidem Ecclesiae. die septima, completo Legis tempore, post passionem Domini revelari. Sic enim habes, quia et apostoli ideo non intelligebant, quia Jesus nondum fuerat honorificatus (Joan. VII, 39).

7. Nor is the riddle without mystery, which he set forth to his companions: Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness. Judges 14:14 And there was a mystery up to the point of the three days in which its answer was sought in vain, which could not be made known except by the faith of the Church, on the seventh day, the time of the Law being completed, after the Passion of the Lord. For thus you find that the apostles did not understand, because Jesus was not yet glorified. John 7:39

8. Quid, inquiunt, dulcius melle, et quid fortius leone? Ad quae ille respondit: Si non domuissetis vitulam meam, non invenissetis quaestionem meam (Judic. XIV, 18). O divinum mysterium! O evidens sacramentum! Evasimus interemptorem, potentem vicimus. Ibi nunc cibus vitae est, ubi erat ante miserae fames mortis. In salutem pericula, in suavitatem amaritudo convertitur. Gratia ex offensione processit, potentia ex infirmitate, vita de morte.

8. What, answer they, is sweeter than honey, and what is stronger than a lion? To which he replied: If you had not farmed with my heifer, you would not have found out my riddle. Judges 14:18 O divine mystery! O manifest sacrament! We have escaped from the slayer, we have overcome the strong one. The food of life is now there, where before was the hunger of a miserable death. Dangers are changed into safety, bitterness into sweetness. Grace came forth from the offense, power from weakness, and life from death.

9. Sunt tamen qui e contrario putent fundari 636 non potuisse conjugium, nisi occiso leone de tribu Juda: et ideo in corpore ejus, hoc est, Ecclesiae, apes repertas, quae condunt mella sapientiae; quia post Domini passionem magis apostoli crediderunt. Hunc igitur leonem Samson quasi Judaeus

occidit, sed in eo mel quasi in figura redimendae haereditatis invenit; ut reliquiae salvae fierent secundum electionem gratiae (Rom. XI, 27).

9. There are, however, who think on the other hand that the wedlock could not have been established unless the lion of the tribe of Judah had been slain; and so in His body, that is, the Church, bees were found who store up the honey of wisdom, because after the Passion of the Lord the apostles believed more fully. This lion, then, Samson as a Jew slew, but in it he found honey, as in the figure of the heritage which was to be redeemed, that the remnant might be saved according to the election of grace. Romans 11:5

10. Et decidit, inquit, super eum Spiritus Domini, et descendit in Ascalonem, et percussit inde triginta viros (Judic. XIV, 19, 20). Neque enim potuerat victoriam non tenere, qui sacramenta cernebat. Accipiunt itaque in stolis praemium sapientiae, conversationis insigne, qui absolvunt et renuntiant quaestionem.

10. And the Spirit of the Lord, it is said, came upon him, and he went down to Ascalon, and smote thirty men of them. Judges 14:19 For he could not fail to carry off the victory who saw the mysteries. And so in the garments they receive the reward of wisdom, the badge of intercourse, who resolve and answer the riddle.

11. Rursus hic alia oboriuntur mysteria, quod uxor ejus aufertur; et ideo vulpes incendunt manipulos alienigenarum (Judic. XV, 1 et seq.). Eos enim qui adversus divina sacramenta contendunt, decipere sua consuevit astutia. Unde iterum dicit in Canticis canticorum: Prendite nobis vulpes pusillas exterminantes vineas, ut vineae nostrae floreant (Cant. II, 15). Bene pusillas dixit; quia majores vineas exterminare non poterant, licet fortibus et diabolus sit pusillus.

11. Here, again, other mysteries come up, in that his wife is taken away, and for this foxes set fire to the sheaves of the aliens. For their own cunning often deceives those who contend against divine mysteries. Wherefore it is said again in the Song of Songs: Take us the little foxes which destroy the vineyards, that our vineyards may flourish. Song of Songs 2:15 He said well little, because the larger could not destroy the vineyards, though to the strong even the devil is weak.

12. Ergo ille (ut compendium faciamus historiae; suo enim tempori totius lectionis digestio reservanda est) invictus erat, quamdiu habuit gratiam spiritalem, sicut Dei populus ille electus a Domino, ille Nazaraeus in Lege. Invictus ergo Samson, atque ita insuperabilis, ut in maxilla asini viros mille percuteret: ita plenus gratiae coelestis, ut etiam aquam in maxilla asini sitiens reperiret (Judic. XV, 15 et seq.); sive hoc ad miraculum conferas, sive ad mysterium vertas, quod in populi foret humilitate gentilis et requies et triumphus. Juxta quod scriptum est: Qui te percusserit in maxillam, praebe ei et alteram (Matth. V, 39). Per hanc enim injuriarum patientiam, quam erudiunt sacramenta baptismatis, de quibusdam stimulis iracundiae triumphamus; ut morte obita, resurrectionis requiem consequamur.

12. So, then, he (to sum up the story briefly, for the consideration of the whole passage is reserved for its own season) was unconquered so long as he kept the grace of the Spirit, as was the people of God chosen by the Lord, that Nazarite under the Law. Samson, then, was unconquered, and so invincible as to be able to smite a thousand men with the jawbone of an ass; Judges 15:15 so full of heavenly grace that when thirsty he found even water in the jawbone of an ass, whether you consider this as a miracle, or turn it to a mystery, because in the humility of the people of the Gentiles there would be both rest and triumph according to that which is written: He that smites you on the cheek, turn to him also the other. Matthew 5:39 For

by this endurance of injuries, which the sacrament of baptism teaches, we triumph over the stings of anger, that having passed through death we may attain to the rest of the resurrection.

13. Illene ergo Samson, qui funes intextos nervis, qui novas restes sicut mollia fila dissolvit? Illene Samson qui crinium suorum palo constricta defixo vincla non sensit, quamdiu habuit gratiam spiritalem? Is, inquam, posteaquam Spiritus Dei discessit ab eo, longe mutatus ab illo Samsone, qui rediit Allophylorum indutus exuvias, in muliebribus genibus virtutis suae degener, palpatus et captus sacro crine tondetur (Judic. XVI, 9 et seq.)?

13. Is that, then, Samson who broke ropes twisted with thongs, and new cords like weak threads? Is that Samson who did not feel the bonds of his hair fastened to the beam, so long as he had the grace of the Spirit? He, I say, after the Spirit of God departed from him, was greatly changed from that Samson who returned clothed in the spoils of the aliens, but fallen from his greatness on the knees of a woman, caressed and deceived, is shorn of his hair.

14. Tantumne ergo momenti crines habuere capitis, ut manentibus his, virtus invicta duraret: tonso autem capite, fortitudo omnis viri 637 subito solveretur? Non ita est, ut tantam vim corporalium capillorum putemus. Sunt quidam crines religionis et fidei: crines Nazaraei in Lege perfecti, in parcimonia et abstinentia consecrati, quibus illa in typo Ecclesia, quae Domini pedes oleo perfuderat, Verbi coelestis vestigia detergebat (Joan. XII, 3); tunc enim et secundum carnem noverat Christum. Isti videlicet crines, de quibus dicitur: Capillatura tua ut greges caprarum (Cantic. IV, 1); ex illo capite pullulantes, de quo dictum est: Caput viri, Christus (I Cor. XI, 3); et alibi: Caput ejus aurum cephas, et crines ejus abietes nigrae (Cant. V, 11). Et bonae ex abiete naves Tharsis, quae fluctibus supernatent mundi, et tutum remigium salutis exhibeant.

14. Was, then, the hair of his head of such importance that, so long as it remained, his strength should endure unconquered, but when his head was shorn the man should suddenly lose all his strength? It is not so, nor may we think that the hair of his head has such power. There is the hair of religion and faith; the hair of the Nazarite perfect in the Law, consecrated in sparingness and abstinence, with which she (a type of the Church), who poured ointment on the feet of the Lord, wiped the feet of the heavenly Word, for then she knew Christ also after the flesh. That hair it is of which it is said: Your hair is as flocks of goats, Song of Songs 4:1 growing on that head of which it is said: The head of the man is Christ, 1 Corinthians 11:3 and in another place: His head is as fine gold, and his locks like black pine-trees. Song of Songs 5:11

15. Unde et in Evangelio Dominus noster visibiles capitis et intelligibiles capillos quosdam esse significans, ait: Sed et capilli capitis vestri omnes numerati sunt (Matth. X, 31), spiritalium videlicet significans facta virtutum; neque enim de capillis nostris cura est Deo. Quamquam et illud non absurdum sit aestimare, quia pro majestate divina eum latere nihil possit.

15. And so, also, in the Gospel our Lord, pointing out that some hairs are seen and known, says: But even the hairs of your head are all numbered, Matthew 10:30 implying, indeed, acts of spiritual virtues, for God does not take care for our hair. Though, indeed, it is not absurd to believe that literally, seeing that according to His divine Majesty nothing can be hidden from Him.

16. Sed quid mihi prodest, si Deus ipse omnes meos novit capillos? Illud mihi redundat et proficit, si bonorum operum pervigil testis, remunerationem gloriae donet aeternae. Denique et ipse Samson non corporales, sed intelligibiles hos capillos esse declarans ait: Et si tonsus

fuero, discedet a me virtus mea (Judic. XVI, 17). Hoc de mysterio: nunc lectionis seriem consideremus.

16. But what does it profit me, if God Himself knows all my hairs? That rather abounds and profits me, if the watchful witness of good works reward me with the gift of eternal life. And, in fine, Samson himself, declaring that these hairs are not mystical, says: If I be shorn my strength will depart from me. Judges 16:17 So much concerning the mystery, let us now consider the order of the passage.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

SPIRITUM DOMINI ETIAM Dominum ac virtutem esse, nec in hoc Patri vel Filio inferiorem.

CHAPTER 1.

The Spirit is the Lord and Power; and in this is not inferior to the Father and the Son.

17. Supra habes quia Benedixit ei Dominus, et coepit Spiritus Domini comitari cum eo (Judic. XIII, 24, 25). Infra ait: Et direxit super eum Spiritus Domini (Judic. XIV, 6). Item ait: Si tonsus fuero, discedet a me virtus mea (Judic. XVI, 17). Posteaquam tonsus est, vide Scriptura quid dicat: Dominus, inquit, discessit ab eo (Ibid., 20).

17. Above, you read that the Lord blessed him, and the Spirit of the Lord began to go with him. Farther on it is said: And the Spirit of the Lord came upon him. Judges 14:6 Again he says: If I be shaven, my strength will depart from me. Judges 16:17 After he was shaven, see what the Scripture says: The Lord, he says, departed from him. Judges 16:20

18. Vides ergo quia ille qui comitabatur, ipse discessit. Idem est ergo Dominus, qui Spiritus Domini, hoc est, ipsum Spiritum Dei, Dominum nuncupavit, sicut et Apostolus ait: Dominus autem Spiritus est: ubi autem Spiritus Domini, ibi libertas (II Cor. III, 17). Habes ergo Dominum dictum etiam Spiritum sanctum; non enim unus, sed unum sunt Spiritus sanctus et Filius.

18. You see, then, that He Who went with him, Himself departed from him. The Same is, then, the Lord, Who is the Spirit of the Lord, that is, he called the Spirit of God, Lord, as also the Apostle says: The Lord is the Spirit, now where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. You find, then, the Holy Spirit called the Lord; for the Holy Spirit and the Son are not one Person [*unus*] but one Substance [*unum*].

19. Hoc quoque loco virtutem dixit, et Spiritum significavit. Sicut enim Pater virtus, ita et Filius virtus, et Spiritus sanctus est virtus (I Joan. V, 7). De Filio legisti, Christum Dei virtutem esse, et Dei sapientiam (I Cor. I, 24). Legimus etiam quia virtus est Pater, sicut scriptum est: Videbitis Filium hominis sedentem ad dexteram virtutis Dei (Matth. XXVI, 64). Hic utique virtutem Patrem dixit, cujus ad dexteram Filius sedet, sicut habes: Dixit Dominus 638 Domino meo: Sede ad dexteram meam (Psal. CIX, 1). Virtutem etiam Spiritum sanctum ipse Dominus nuncupavit dicens: Accipietis virtutem, adveniente in vos Spiritu sancto (Act. I, 8).

19. In this place he used the word Power, and implied the Spirit. For as the Father is Power, so, too, the Son is Power, and the Holy Spirit is Power. Of the Son you have read that Christ is the Power of God and the Wisdom of God. 1 Corinthians 1:24 We read, too, that the Father is Power, as it is written: You shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of the Power of God. Matthew 26:64 He certainly named the Father Power, at Whose right hand the Son sits, as you read: The Lord said to My Lord, Sit on My right hand. And the Lord Himself named the Holy Spirit Power, when He said: You shall receive Power when the Holy Spirit comes upon you. Acts 1:8

CAPUT II.

UNUM ESSE PATRIS et Filii et Spiritus sancti consilium.

CHAPTER 2.

The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are One in counsel.

20. Ipse enim Spiritus virtus est, quia legisti: Spiritum consilii atque virtutis (Esai. XI, 2). Et sicut Filius magni consilii Angelus, ita etiam Spiritus consilii est, ut unum scias Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti esse consilium. Consilium non de rebus incertis aliquibus, sed praecognitis et statutis.

20. For the Spirit Himself is Power, as you read: The Spirit of Counsel and of Power (or might). Isaiah 11:2 And as the Son is the Angel of great counsel, so, too, is the Holy Spirit the Spirit of Counsel, that you may know that the Counsel of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is One. Counsel, not concerning any doubtful matters, but concerning those foreknown and determined.

21. Arbitrum autem divini consilii Spiritum, etiam inde cognosce. Nam cum supra (Lib. I, ca) docuerimus arbitrum baptismatis esse Spiritum sanctum, baptismum autem Dei esse consilium legerimus sicut habes: Pharisaei autem consilium Dei spreverunt in se, non baptizati ab eo (Luc. VII, 30); liquido claret, cum sine Spiritu baptisma esse non possit, sine Spiritu quoque non esse consilium Dei.

21. But that the Spirit is the Arbiter of the Divine Counsel, you may know even from this. For when above we showed that the Holy Spirit was the Lord of baptism, and read that baptism is the counsel of God, as you read,

But the Pharisees despised the counsel of God, not being baptized of Him, Luke 7:30 it is quite clear that as there can be no baptism without the Spirit, so, too, the counsel of God is not without the Spirit.

22. Et ut sciamus plenius virtutem esse Spiritum, scire debemus ipsum esse promissum, quando dixit Dominus: Effundam de Spiritu meo super omnem carnem (Joel. II, 28). Ille ergo qui promissus est nobis, ipse est virtus; sicut etiam in Evangelio idem Dei Filius declaravit dicens: Et ego mitto promissa Patris mei in vos, vos autem sedete in civitate, quousque induamini virtute ex alto (Luc. XXII, 49).

22. And that we may know more completely that the Spirit is Power, we ought to know that He was promised when the Lord said: I will pour out of My Spirit upon all flesh. Joel 2:28 He, then, Who was promised to us is Himself Power, as in the Gospel the same Son of God declared when He said: And I will send the promise of the Father upon you, but do you remain in the city until ye be endued with power from on high. Luke 24:49

23. Eousque autem virtutem esse Spiritum sanctum evangelista significat, ut et cum vi magna eum sanctus Lucas descendisse memoraret, dicens: Et factus est subito de coelo sonus, tamquam vi magna Spiritus ferretur (Act. II, 2).

23. And the Evangelist so far shows that the Spirit is Power, that St. Luke relates that He came down with great power, when he says: And suddenly there was a sound from heaven, as though the Spirit were borne with great power. Acts 2:2

24. Sed ne rursus putes ad sensibilia et corporalia hoc esse vertendum, accipe quia sic descendit et Spiritus, quemadmodum descensurus est Christus. Nam et ipse cum virtute descendet, sicut habes: Videbunt Filium

hominis venientem in nubibus coeli, in virtute maxima et majestate (Matth. XXIV, 30).

24. But, again, that you may not suppose that this is to be referred to bodily things and perceptible to the senses, learn that the Spirit so descended as Christ is to descend, as you find: They shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds with great power and majesty. Matthew 24:30

25. Quomodo enim non est una virtus atque eadem potestas; cum unum opus, unum judicium, unum templum, una vivificatio, una sanctificatio, unum etiam regnum sit Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti?

25. For how should not the power and might be one, when the work is one, the judgment one, the temple one, the life-giving one, the sanctification one, and the kingdom also of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit one?

CAPUT III.

SICUT VITA EST cognoscere Patrem et Filium, ita vitam esse cognoscere Spiritum sanctum; proindeque a Patris divinitate non separandum.

CHAPTER 3.

As to know the Father and the Son is life, so is it life to know the Holy Spirit; and therefore in the Godhead He is not to be separated from the Father.

26. Dicant enim in quo dissimilitudinem divini operis arbitrentur. Quandoquidem sicut vita est cognoscere Patrem et Filium, quemadmodum ipse Dominus declaravit dicens: 639 Haec est autem vita aeterna, ut cognoscant te solum verum Deum, et quem misisti Jesum Christum (Joan. XVII, 3); ita etiam vita est cognoscere Spiritum sanctum. Dicit enim Dominus: Si diligitis me, mandata mea servate: et ego rogabo Patrem, et alium paraclitum dabit vobis, ut maneat vobiscum in aeternum, Spiritum veritatis, quem mundus non potest accipere; quia non videt eum, nec cognoscit eum: vos autem scitis eum, quia apud vos manet, et in vobis est (Ibid. XIV, 15 et seq.).

26. Let them say, then, wherein they think that there is an unlikeness in the divine operation. Since as to know the Father and the Son is life, as the Lord Himself declared, saying: This is life eternal to know You the only true God, and Jesus Christ, Whom You have sent, John 17:3 so, too, to know the Holy Spirit is life. For the Lord said: If you love Me, keep My commandments, and I will ask the Father and He shall give you another Paraclete, that He may abide with you for ever, even the Spirit of Truth,

Whom the world cannot receive, because it sees Him not, neither knows Him, but you know Him, for He is with you, and in you. John 17:14-15

27. Ergo mundus non habebat vitam aeternam, quia non acceperat Spiritum: ubi autem Spiritus, ibi vita aeterna: ipse est enim Spiritus vitae operator aeternae. Unde miror, cur de solo et vero Deo Ariani moveant quaestionem. Sicut enim vita aeterna est cognoscere solum et verum Deum, ita vita aeterna est cognoscere Jesum Christum, ita vita aeterna est cognoscere Spiritum sanctum: quem sic non videt mundus, quemadmodum Patrem: sic non cognoscit, quemadmodum Filium. Qui autem de hoc mundo non est, habet vitam aeternam, et cum ipso manet Spiritus in aeternum, qui est lumen vitae aeternae.

27. So, then, the world had not eternal life, because it had not received the Spirit; for where the Spirit is, there is eternal life; for the Spirit Himself it is Who effects eternal life. Wherefore I wonder why the Arians stir the question as to the only true God. For as it is eternal life to know the only true God, so, too, is it eternal life to know Jesus Christ; so, again, it is eternal life to know the Holy Spirit, Whom, as also the Father, the world does not see, and, as also the Son, does not know. But he who is not of this world has eternal life, and the Spirit, Who is the Light of eternal life, remains with him forever.

28. Ergo si hoc confert cognitio solius veri Dei, quod confert Filii Spiritusque cognitio, cur Filium et Spiritum a veri Dei honore secernis, cum a magnitudine beneficii non secernas? Aut enim credas necesse est solius verae divinitatis esse hoc maximum munus, et solam et veram divinitatem sicut et Patris, ita et Filii et Spiritus confitebere: aut si dixeris quia vitam aeternam potest et is conferre, qui verus Deus non sit; incides ut Patri magis derogare videaris, cujus opus non putes solius verae divinitatis esse praecipuum, sed creaturae operibus conferendum.

28. If the knowledge of the only true God confers the same benefit as the knowledge of the Son and of the Spirit, why do you sever the Son and the Spirit from the honour of the true God, when you do not sever Him from conferring the benefit? For of necessity you must either believe that this is the greatest gift of the only true Godhead, and will confess the only true Godhead as of the Father, so also of the Son and of the Holy Spirit; or if you say that he, too, can give life eternal who is not true God, it will happen that you derogate rather from the Father, Whose work you do not consider to be the chief work of the only true Godhead, but one to be compared to the work of a creature.

CAPUT IV.

SPIRITUM SANCTUM NON secus ac Patrem et Filium, operatione non diversa vivificare.

CHAPTER 4.

The Holy Spirit gives life, not in a different way from the Father and the Son, nor by a different working.

29. Quid autem mirum si Spiritus operator est vitae, qui vivificat sicut Pater, vivificat sicut Filius (Joan. V, 21)? Vivificare autem quis abnuat esse majestatis aeternae? Scriptum est enim: Vivifica servum tuum (Psal. CXVIII, 17). Vivificatur ergo qui servus est, hoc est, homo, qui vitam ante non habuit, sed ut haberet, accepit.

29. And what wonder is it the Spirit works Life, Who quickens as does the Father and as does the Son? And who can deny that quickening is the work of the Eternal Majesty? For it is written: Quicken Your servant. He, then, is quickened who is a servant, that is, man, who before had not life, but received the privilege of having it.

30. Videamus igitur utrum vivificetur Spiritus, an ipse vivificet. Sed scriptum est: Littera occidit, Spiritus autem vivificat (II Cor. III, 6). Ergo vivificat Spiritus.

30. Let us then see whether the Spirit is quickened, or Himself quickens. Now it is written: The letter kills, but the Spirit gives life. Romans 8:11 So, then, the Spirit quickens.

31. Sed ut intelligas Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti vivificationem non esse divisam, accipe quia vivificationis quoque unitas sit; quando ipse per Spiritum vivificat Deus; dixit enim Paulus: Qui suscitavit Christum ex mortuis, vivificabit et mortalia corpora vestra propter inhabitantem Spiritum ejus in vobis (Rom. VIII, 11).

31. But that you may understand that the quickening of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit is no separate work, read how there is a oneness of quickening also, since God Himself quickens through the Spirit, for Paul said: He Who raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies because of His Spirit Who dwells in you.

CAPUT V.

SICUT PATREM AC Filium, ita etiam Spiritum creatorem in Scriptura significari. Hoc ipsum a paganis quoque scriptoribus adumbratum: sed planissime demonstratum esse in mysterio incarnationis, de qua ubi delibavit Ambrosius nonnulla, coeptum argumentum ex eo quod adoratio, quae soli debetur creatori, etiam Spiritui debeatur, confirmat.

CHAPTER 5.

The Holy Spirit, as well as the Father and the Son, is pointed out in holy Scripture as Creator, and the same truth was shadowed forth even by heathen writers, but it was shown most plainly in the Mystery of the Incarnation, after touching upon which, the writer maintains his argument from the fact that worship which is due to the Creator alone is paid to the Holy Spirit.

32. Quis vero dubitare potest quia vivificet omnia Spiritus sanctus, quando et ipse sicut Pater et Filius, creator est omnium, nec quidquam nisi cum Spiritu sancto Deus omnipotens Pater intelligatur operatus; quandoquidem et in principio creaturae Spiritus superferebatur super aquam (Gen. I, 1)?

32. But who can doubt that the Holy Spirit gives life to all things; since both He, as the Father and the Son, is the Creator of all things; and the Almighty Father is understood to have done nothing without the Holy Spirit; and since also in the beginning of the creation the Spirit moved upon the water.

33. Itaque cum superferebatur Spiritus, nulla erat gratia creaturae: postea vero quam operationem Spiritus etiam creatura mundi istius suscepit, omnem hanc gratiae meruit venustatem, qua mundus illuxit. Denique sine Spiritu sancto universitatis gratiam manere non posse Propheta declaravit dicens: Auferes Spiritum eorum, et deficient, et in pulverem suum revertentur. Emitte Spiritum tuum, et creabuntur, et innovabis omnem faciem terrae (Psal. CIII, 29, 30). Non solum igitur sine Spiritu docuit omnem creaturam stare non posse, sed etiam creatorem totius esse Spiritum creaturae.

33. So when the Spirit was moving upon the water, the creation was without grace; but after this world being created underwent the operation of the Spirit, it gained all the beauty of that grace, wherewith the world is illuminated. And that the grace of the universe cannot abide without the Holy Spirit the prophet declared when he said: You will take away Your Spirit, and they will fail and be turned again into their dust. Send forth Your Spirit, and they shall be made, and You will renew all the face of the earth. Not only, then, did he teach that no creature can stand without the Holy Spirit, but also that the Spirit is the Creator of the whole creation.

34. Et quis neget opus esse Spiritus sancti quod creata est terra, cujus opus est quod novatur? Nam si negare cupiant quod per Spiritum sit creata; cum per Spiritum novandam negare non possint; meliorem ergo operationem Spiritus sancti, quam Patris et Filii, qui cupiunt separare, defendent: quod abhorret a vero; neque enim dubium est quod novata terra melior, quam creata sit. Aut si primo sine operatione Spiritus sancti terram Pater fecit et Filius: postea vero Spiritus sancti operatio copulabatur; videbitur id quod factum est, ejus quod accessit eguisse praesidio. Sed absit ut hoc quisquam existimet, ut operatio divina varietatem creatoris quam Manichaeus inducit, habere credatur.

34. And who can deny that the creation of the earth is the work of the Holy Spirit, Whose work it is that it is renewed? For if they desire to deny that it was created by the Spirit, since they cannot deny that it must be renewed by the Spirit, they who desire to sever the Persons must maintain that the operation of the Holy Spirit is superior to that of the Father and the Son, which is far from the truth; for there is no doubt that the restored earth is better than it was created. Or if at first, without the operation of the Holy Spirit, the Father and the Son made the earth, but the operation of the Holy Spirit was joined on afterwards, it will seem that that which was made required His aid, which was then added. But far be it from any one to think this, namely, that the divine work should be believed to have a change in the Creator, an error brought in by Manicheus.

35. An vero sine opere Spiritus sancti substantiam putamus esse terrarum, sine cujus opere nec coeli convexa subsistunt? Scriptum est enim: Verbo Domini coeli firmati sunt, et Spiritu oris ejus omnis virtus eorum (Psal. XXXII, 6). Adverte quid dicat: Omnem, inquit, virtutem coelorum ad Spiritum esse referendam. Qui enim superferebatur, antequam terra fieret, quomodo cum terra fieret, feriabatur?

35. But do we suppose that the substance of the earth exists without the operation of the Holy Spirit, without Whose work not even the expanse of the sky endures? For it is written: By the Word of the Lord were the heavens established, and all the strength of them by the Spirit of His Mouth. Observe what he says, that all the strength of the heavens is to be referred to the Spirit. For how should He Who was moving Genesis 1:1 before the earth was made, be resting when it was being made?

36. Gentiles homines per umbram quamdam nostros secuti, quia veritatem Spiritus haurire non poterant; quod coelum ac terras, lunae 641 quoque stellarumque micantium globos Spiritus intus alat, suis versibus indiderunt.

Ergo illi per Spiritum non negant virtutem subsistere creaturae: nos qui legimus, denegamus? Sed flatilem putatis ab illis spiritum designatum. Si illi auctorem omnium flatilem Spiritum declararunt, nos dubitamus Spiritum Dei esse omnium creatorem?

36. Gentile writers, following ours as it were through shadows, because they could not imbibe the truth of the Spirit, have pointed out in their verses that the Spirit within nourishes heaven and earth, and the glittering orbs of moon and stars. So they deny not that the strength of creatures exists through the Spirit, are we who read this to deny it? But you think that they refer to a Spirit produced of the air. If they declared a Spirit of the air to be the Author of all things, do we doubt that the Spirit of God is the Creator of all things?

37. Sed quid alienis immoror? Accipiant documentum evidens, nihil posse esse quod Spiritus sanctus negetur operatus, nec de Angelis, nec de Archangelis, nec de Thronis, nec de Dominationibus posse dubitari, quod ejus operatione subsistant; quandoquidem ipse secundum carnem Dominus, cui angeli serviebant, Spiritu in Virginem superveniente, genitus sit; sicut et secundum Matthaeum ad Joseph angelus dixit: Joseph, fili David, noli timere accipere Mariam uxorem tuam; quod enim ex ea nascetur, de Spiritu sancto est (Matth. I, 20). Et secundum Lucam dixit ad Mariam: Spiritus sanctus superveniet in te (Luc. I, 35).

37. But why do I delay with matters not to the purpose? Let them accept a plain proof that there can be nothing which the Holy Spirit can be said not to have made; and that it cannot be doubted that all subsists through His operation, whether Angels, Archangels, Thrones, or Dominions; since the Lord Himself, Whom the Angels serve, was begotten by the Holy Spirit coming upon the Virgin, as, according to Matthew, the Angel said to Joseph: Joseph, you son of David, fear not to take Mary your wife, for that

which shall be born of her is of the Holy Spirit. Matthew 1:20 And according to Luke, he said to Mary: The Holy Spirit shall come upon you. Luke 1:35

38. Opus ergo Spiritus Virginis partus est. Opus Spiritus fructus est ventris, secundum quod scriptum est: Benedicta tu inter mulieres, et benedictus fructus ventris tui (Ibid., 42). Opus Spiritus flos radicis est: ille, inquam, flos, de quo bene est prophetatum: Exiet virga de radice Jesse, et flos de radice ejus ascendet (Esa. XI, 1). Radix Jesse patriarchae familia Judaeorum, virga Maria, flos Mariae Christus; qui bonum odorem fidei toto sparsurus orbe, virginali ex utero germinavit, sicut ipse dixit: Ego flos campi, et lilium convallium (Cant. II, 1).

38. The birth from the Virgin was, then, the work of the Spirit. The fruit of the womb is the work of the Spirit, according to that which is written: Blessed are you among women, and blessed is the Fruit of your womb. Luke 1:42 The flower from the root is the work of the Spirit, that flower, I say, of which it was well prophesied: A rod shall go forth from the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise from his root. Isaiah 11:1 The root of Jesse the patriarch is the family of the Jews, Mary is the rod, Christ the flower of Mary, Who, about to spread the good odour of faith throughout the whole world, budded forth from a virgin womb, as He Himself said: I am the flower of the plain, a lily of the valley. Song of Songs 2:1

39. Flos odorem suum et succisus reservat, et contritus accumulat, nec avulsus amittit; ita et Dominus Jesus in illo patibulo crucis, nec contritus emarcuit, nec avulsus evanuit; et illa lanceae punctione succisus, sacro speciosior fusi cruoris colore vernavit, mori ipse nescius, et mortuis aeternae vitae munus exhalans. In hoc igitur Spiritus sanctus virgae regalis flore requievit.

39. The flower, when cut, keeps its odour, and when bruised increases it, nor if torn off does it lose it; so, too, the Lord Jesus, on the gibbet of the cross, neither failed when bruised, nor fainted when torn; and when He was cut by that piercing of the spear, being made more beautiful by the color of the outpoured Blood, He, as it were, grew comely again, not able in Himself to die, and breathing forth upon the dead the gift of eternal life. On this flower, then, of the royal rod the Holy Spirit rested.

40. Bona virga, ut quidam putant, est caro Domini, quae de radice terrena ad superna se subrigens, odoriferos sacrae fructus religionis circumtulit mundo, mysteria divinae generationis, et gratiam coelestibus altaribus superfundens.

40. A good rod, as some think, is the Flesh of the Lord, which, raising itself from its earthly root to heaven, bore around the whole world the sweet-smelling fruits of religion, the mysteries of the divine generation, pouring grace on the altars of heaven.

41. Dubitare ergo non possumus Spiritum creatorem, quem Dominicae cognoscimus incarnationis auctorem. Quis enim dubitet, cum in principio Evangelii habeas, quia Christi generatio 642 sic erat: Cum desponsata esset Maria Joseph, antequam convenirent, inventa est in utero habens ex Spirituc santo (Matth. I, 18) ?

41. So, then, we cannot doubt that the Spirit is Creator, Whom we know as the Author of the Lord's Incarnation. For who can doubt when you find in the commencement of the Gospel that the generation of Jesus Christ was on this wise: When Mary was espoused to Joseph, before they came together she was found with child of [*ex*] the Holy Spirit. Matthew 1:18

42. Nam licet plerique habeant, de Spiritu, Graecus tamen unde transtulerunt Latini, ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου dixit, hoc est, ex Spiritu sancto.

Quod enim ex aliquo est, aut ex substantia est, aut ex potestate ejus. Ex substantia, sicut Filius, qui ait: Ex ore Altissimi prodivi, sicut Spiritus, qui a Patre procedit (Eccl. XXIV, 5); de quo dicit Filius: Ille me clarificabit; quia de meo accipiet (Joan. XVI, 14). Ex potestate autem, sicut illud est: Unus Deus Pater, ex quo omnia (I Cor. VIII, 6).

42. For although most authorities read de Spiritu, yet the Greek from which the Latins translated have ἐ χ πνεύματος ἁγίου, that is, *ex Spiritu Sancto*. For that which is of [*ex*] any one is either of his substance or of his power. Of his substance, as the Son, Who says: I came forth of the Mouth of the Most High; Sirach 24:3 as the Spirit, Who proceeds from the Father; John 15:20 of Whom the Son says: He shall glorify Me, for He shall receive of Mine. John 16:14 But of the power, as in the passage: One God the Father, of Whom are all things.

43. Quomodo ergo in utero habuit Maria ex Spiritu sancto? Si quasi ex substantia: ergo Spiritus in carnem et ossa conversus est? Non utique. Si quasi ex operatione et potestate ejus Virgo concepit; quis neget Spiritum creatorem?

43. How, then, was Mary with child of the Holy Spirit? If as of her substance, was the Spirit, then, changed into flesh and bones? Certainly not. But if the Virgin conceived as of His operation and power, who can deny that the Holy Spirit is Creator?

44. Quid quod etiam Job creatorem suum Spiritum evidenter ostendit dicens: Spiritus divinus, qui fecit me (Job. XXXIII, 4)? Et divinum utique et creatorem uno versiculo demonstravit. [Alias cap. VI.] Si igitur creator est Spiritus, non est utique creatura; creaturam enim Apostolus creatoremque divisit dicens: Servierunt creaturae potius quam creatori (Rom. I, 25).

44. How is it, too, that Job plainly set forth the Spirit as his Creator, saying: The Spirit of God has made me? Job 33:4 In one short verse he showed Him to be both Divine and Creator. If, then, the Spirit is Creator, He is certainly not a creature, for the Apostle has separated the Creator and the creature, saying: They served the creature rather than the Creator. Romans 1:25

45. Simul creatori admonet serviendum, damnando eos qui serviunt creaturae, cum creatori servitium debeamus. Et quoniam creatorem Spiritum noverat, docet eidem serviendum, dicens: Videte canes, videte malos operarios, videte concisionem; nos enim sumus circumcisio, qui Spiritui Dei servimus (Philip. III, 2, 3).

45. He teaches that the Creator is to be served by condemning those who serve the creature, whereas we owe our service to the Creator. And since he knew the Spirit to be the Creator, he teaches that we ought to serve Him, saying: Beware of the dogs, beware of the evil workers, beware of the concision, for we are the circumcision who serve the Spirit of God. Philippians 3:2-3

46. Quod si quis de Latinorum codicum varietate contendit, quorum aliquos perfidi falsaverunt, Graecos inspiciat codices, et advertat quia ibi scriptum est: οἱ Πνεύματι Θεοῦ λατρεύοντες, quod interpretatur Latinus: qui Spiritui Dei servimus.

46. But if any one disputes because of the variations of the Latin codices, some of which heretics have falsified, let him look at the Greek codices, and observe that it is there written: οἱ πνεύματι Θεοῦ λατρεύοντες, which is, being translated, who serve the Spirit of God.

47. Ergo cum serviendum dicat Spiritui idem Apostolus, qui non creaturae, sed creatori asserit serviendum; evidenter utique et ipse sanctum ostendit

Spiritum creatorem, et in aeternae divinitatis honore venerandum; quia scriptum est: Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et ipsi soli servies (Matth. IV, 10).

47. So, then, when the same Apostle says that we ought to serve the Spirit, who asserts that we must not serve the creature, but the Creator; without doubt he plainly shows that the Holy Spirit is Creator, and is to be venerated with the honour due to the eternal Godhead; for it is written: You shall worship the Lord your God, and Him only shall you serve. Matthew 4:10

CAPUT VI.

OBJICIENTIBUS EX VERBIS Amos creari Spiritum, reponitur hanc vocem illic intelligendam de vento, qui saepius creatur: quod sane dici non potest de Spiritu sancto; quippe qui et aeternus sit, nec morte, aut haeretica in Patrem refusione resolvi possit. Quod si urgeant pervicacius eumdem locum de Spiritu sancto scriptum fuisse, docet recurrendum ad expositionem spiritualem; Christum enim adventu suo tonitrua, id est, verborum divinorum vim firmavisse: per Spiritum autem humanam animam significari, sicut et carnem a Christo susceptam. Hujus porro cum quaelibet Trinitatis persona vere sit creatrix, inde astruitur Spiritum similiter incarnationis Domini auctorem esse, qui rerum omnium creator jam ante assertus est.

CHAPTER 6.

To those who object that according to the words of Amos the Spirit is created, the answer is made that the word is there understood of the wind, which is often created, which cannot be said of the Holy Spirit, since He is eternal, and cannot be dissolved in death, or by an heretical absorption into the Father. But if they pertinaciously contend that this passage was written of the Holy Spirit, St. Ambrose points out that recourse must be had to a spiritual Interpretation, for Christ by His coming established the thunder, that is, the force of the divine utterances, and by Spirit is signified the human soul as also the flesh assumed by Christ. And since this was created by each Person of the Trinity, it is thence argued that the Spirit, Who has before been affirmed to be the Creator of all things, was the Author of the Incarnation of the Lord.

48. [Alias cap. VII.] Nec me praeterit haereticos objectare consuevisse ideo videri creatum Spiritum sanctum, quia plerique eorum ad argumentum astruendae suae impietatis adsciscunt illud, quod Amos de flatu ventorum locutus est, ut ipse propheticus sermo declarat. Sic enim habes: Ecce ego firmans tonitruum, et creans spiritum, et nuntians in homines Christum suum, faciens lucem et nebulam, et ascendens super excelsa, Dominus Deus omnipotens nomen est ei (Amos. IV, 13).

48. Nor does it escape my notice that heretics have been wont to object that the Holy Spirit appears to be a creature, because many of them use as an argument for establishing their impiety that passage of Amos, where he spoke of the blowing of the wind, as the words of the prophet made clear. For you read thus: Behold, I am He that establish the thunders, and create the wind [spirit], and declare unto man his Christ, that make light and mist, and ascend upon high places, the Lord God Almighty is His Name. Amos 4:13

49. Si hinc faciunt quaestionem, quod creatum Spiritum dixit, quia creatur Spiritus Esdras nos docuit, dicens in quarto libro: Et in die secundo iterum creasti spiritum firmamenti (IV Esdr. VI, 41); tamen ut propositis inhaereamus, his videlicet quae Amos dixit, nonne evidenter dictorum testificatur series de istius creatura mundi locutum prophetam?

49. If they make an argument of this, that he said spirit was created, Esdras taught us that spirit is created, saying in the fourth book: And upon the second day You made the spirit of the firmament, yet, that we may keep to our point, is it not evident that in what Amos said the order of the passage shows that the prophet was speaking of the creation of this world?

50. Denique ita coepit: Ego Dominus firmans tonitruum, et creans spiritum. Ipse ordo nos doceat; nam si de Spiritu sancto dicere voluisset, non de

tonitruo utique praemisisset. Neque enim antiquiora tonitrua sunt, quam Spiritus sanctus: quamvis impii sint, tamen id non audent dicere. Deinde cum subjectum videamus esse de luce et nebula, nonne manifestum est quod de creatura mundi dictum intelligendum sit? Cum enim fiunt aliquae tempestates istius mundi, praecedere tonitrua, sequi ventorum flatus, coelum nebulis caligare, lucem refundi ex tenebris, ipso usu quotidiano, exemploque cognoscimus. Nam etiam flatus ventorum spiritus dicitur, sicut scriptum est: Ignis et sulphur, et Spiritus procellae (Psal. X, 7).

50. He begins as follows: I am the Lord that establish the thunders and create the wind [spirit]. The order of the words itself teaches us; for if he had wished to speak of the Holy Spirit, he would certainly not have put the thunders in the first place. For thunder is not more ancient than the Holy Spirit; though they be ungodly, they still dare not say that. And then when we see what follows concerning light and mist, is it not plain that what is said is to be understood of the creation of this world? For we know by every-day experience, that when we have storms on this earth, thunders come first, blasts of wind follow on, the sky grows black with mists, and light shines again out of the darkness. For the blasts of wind are also called spirits, as it is written: Fire and brimstone and the spirit of storm.

51. Et ut scires quia hunc spiritum dixit, ait: Firmans tonitruum, et creans spiritum; quia frequenter creantur ista, cum fiunt: Spiritus autem sanctus aeternus est; quem si quis audet dicere creatum, non potest tamen dicere quod quotidie creatur, sicut flabra ventorum. Denique ipsa Sapientia secundum suscepti locuta corporis sacramentum, ait: Dominus creavit me (Prov. VIII, 22). Quamvis ventura prophetaret, tamen quia praedestinatus erat Domini Salvatoris adventus; 644 non dixit, creat me, sed creavit, ne frequenter, sed semel crederent ex virgine Maria Jesu corpus esse generandum.

51. And that you might know that he called this spirit, he says: establishing thunders and creating the wind [spirit]. For these are often created, when they take place. But the Holy Spirit is eternal, and if any one dares to call Him a creature, still he cannot say that He is daily created like the blast of the wind. Then, again, Wisdom herself, speaking after the mystery of the assumed Body, says: The Lord created Me. Proverbs 8:22 Although prophesying of things to come, yet, because the coming of the Lord was predestined, it is not said creates but created Me; that men might believe that the Body of Jesus was begotten of the Virgin Mary, not often, but once only.

52. Et hoc igitur quod velut quotidianam operationem Dei in tonitrui firmamento, et in Spiritus creatione propheta declaravit, intelligere nefas est, ut de Spiritu sancto tale aliquid aestimemus, quem ipsi impii ante saecula esse negare non possunt; unde et semper eum esse, et semper manere pia assertione testamur. Neque enim qui ante mundum superferebatur super aquas (Gen. I, 2), potest videri coepisse post mundum: aut multos esse Spiritus sanctos aestimari fas est, qui veluti quotidiana generatione generentur. Absit ut se quisquam tali impietate contaminet; ut dicat frequenter creari, aut umquam creari Spiritum sanctum. Cur enim frequenter creari videatur, non intelligo; nisi forte et mori eum credant frequenter, et frequenter creari. Sed quemadmodum mori potest Spiritus vitae? Ergo si mori non potest, causam non habet cur saepius sit creandus.

52. And so, as to that which the prophet declared as it were of the daily working of God in the thunder and the creation of the wind, it would be impious to understand any such thing of the Holy Spirit, Whom the ungodly themselves cannot deny to exist from before the world. Whence with pious asseveration we testify that He always exists, and abides ever. For neither can He Who before the world was moving upon the waters begin to be

visible after the world's creation; or else it would be allowable to suppose that there are many Holy Spirits, Who come into being by as it were a daily production. Far be it from any one to pollute himself with such impiety as to say that the Holy Spirit is frequently or ever created. For I do not understand why He should be frequently created; unless perchance they believe that He dies frequently and so is frequently created. But how can the Spirit of life die? If, then, He cannot die, there is no reason why He should be often created.

53. At qui aliter putant, in illud sacrilegium recidunt, ut non distinguant Spiritum sanctum, qui prolativum Verbum putant in Patrem redire, prolativum Spiritum in Deum refundi; ut unius refusio sit, et quaedam vicissitudo in varias formas se saepe mutantis: cum Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti manens semper immutabilisque distinctio, unitatem suae teneat potestatis.

53. But they who think otherwise fall into this sacrilege, that they do not distinguish the Holy Spirit; who think that the Word Which was sent forth returns to the Father, and the Spirit Which was sent forth is reabsorbed into God, so that there should be a reabsorption and a kind of alternation of one changing himself into various forms; whereas the distinction between the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit always abiding and unchangeable, preserves the Unity of its power.

54. Si quis tamen propheticum dictum ideo derivandum putat ad interpretationem Spiritus sancti, quia habet: Annuntians in homines Christum suum (Amos IV, 15); is ad incarnationis Dominicae mysterium dictum facilius derivabit. Nam si te movet quia spiritum dixit, et ideo non hoc putas derivandum ad mysterium assumptionis humanae; prosequere Scripturas, et invenies optime congruere de Christo, de quo bene convenit aestimari quia firmavit tonitrua adventu suo, vim videlicet et sonum

coelestium Scripturarum, quarum velut quodam tonitruo mentes nostrae redduntur attonitae, ut timere discamus, et reverentiam coelestibus deferamus oraculis.

54. But if any one thinks that the word of the prophet is to be explained with reference to the Holy Spirit, because it is said, declaring unto men His Christ, Amos 4:13 he will explain it more easily of the Lord's Incarnation. For if it troubles you that he said Spirit, and therefore you think that this cannot well be explained of the mystery of the taking of human nature, read on in the Scriptures and you will find that all agrees most excellently with Christ, of Whom it is thoroughly fitting to think that He established the thunders by His coming, that is, the force and sound of the heavenly Scriptures, by the thunder, as it were, of which our minds are struck with astonishment, so that we learn to be afraid, and pay respect to the heavenly oracles.

55. Denique in Evangelio fratres Domini filii tonitrui dicebantur; et cum vox Patris facta esset dicentis ad Filium: Et honorificavi, et iterum honorificabo (Joan. XII, 28); Judaei dicebant: Tonitruum factum est illi (Ibid., 29). Nam licet gratiam veritatis haurire non possent, tamen confitebantur inviti, et ignari mysterium loquebantur; eo quod magnum Patris de Filio testimonium resultabat. In Job quoque libro Scriptura dicit: Firmamentum quoque tonitrui sui quis scit quando faciet (Job. XXVI, 14)? Utique si ad haec commotionum coelestium tonitrua pertinerent, non futura eorum firmamenta, sed facta dixisset.

55. Lastly, in the Gospel the brothers of the Lord were called Sons of Thunder; and when the voice was uttered of the Father, saying, I have both glorified it and will glorify it again, John 12:28 the Jews said that it thundered on Him. For although they could not receive the grace of the truth, yet they confessed unwillingly, and in their ignorance were speaking

mysteries, so that there resulted a great testimony of the Father to the Son. And in the Book of Job, too, the Scripture says: And who knows when He will make the power of His thunder? Certainly if these words pertained to the thunders of the heavens, he would have said that their force was already made, not about to be made.

56. Ergo tonitrua ad sermones Domini retulit, quorum in omnem terram exivit sonus: spiritum autem hoc loco animam, quam suscepit rationabilem atque perfectam, intelligimus; quia Scriptura frequenter et animam hominis 645 spiritus vocabulo designat, sicut habes: Qui creat spiritum hominis in ipso (Zach. XII, 1). Unde et Dominus animam suam spiritus appellatione significans ait: In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum (Luc. XXIII, 46).

56. Therefore he referred the thunders to the words of the Lord, the sound of which went out into all the earth, and we understand the word spirit in this place of the soul, which He took endowed with reason and perfect; for Scripture often designates the soul of man by the word spirit, as you read: Who creates the spirit of man within him. Zechariah 12:1 So, too, the Lord signified His Soul by the word Spirit, when He said: Into Your hands I commend My Spirit. Luke 23:46

57. Et ut scires quia de Jesu Domini descensione memoravit, addidit quod nuntiaret in homines Christum suum (Amos IV, 13); annuntiavit enim in baptismate, dicens: Tu es Filius meus dilectissimus, in quo bene complacui (Matth. III, 17). Annuntiavit in monte, dicens: Hic est Filius meus dilectus, ipsum audite (Matth. XVII, 17). Annuntiavit in passione, cum sol recessit, maria terraeque tremuerunt. Annuntiavit in centurione, qui ait: Vere Dei Filius erat iste (Matth. XIV, 33).

57. And that you might know that he spoke of the coming down of Jesus, he added that He declared His Christ to men, for in His baptism He declared

Him, saying: You are My beloved Son, in Whom I am well pleased. Matthew 3:17 He declared Him on the mount, saying: This is My beloved Son, hear ye Him. Mark 9:7 He declared Him in His Passion, when the sun hid itself, and sea and earth trembled. He declared Him in the Centurion, who said: Truly this was the Son of God. Mark 15:39

58. Totum igitur hunc locum aut ad simplicem intellectum istius flatus qui vivendo hauritur, aut ad mysterium Dominici corporis referre debemus, nam si hic creatum dixisset Spiritum sanctum, utique et alibi idem Scriptura declarare potuisset, sicut de Filio Dei frequenter legimus quia secundum carnem et factus est et creatus (Rom. I, 3).

58. We ought, then, to take this whole passage either to be simply to be understood of that state in which we here live and breathe, or of the mystery of the Lord's Body; for if here it had been stated that the Holy Spirit was created, undoubtedly Scripture would elsewhere have declared the same, as we often read of the Son of God, Who according to the flesh was both made and created.

59. Cujus tamen majestatem in eo ipso quod carnem pro nobis suscepit, considerare nos convenit; ut divinam potentiam in ipsa corporis assumptione videamus [Alias cap. VIII]. Etenim sicut legimus quia creavit Pater Dominicae incarnationis sacramentum, creavit et Spiritus; ita etiam legimus quod et ipse Christus suum corpus creavit; creavit enim Pater, secundum quod scriptum est: Dominus creavit me (Prov. VIII, 23); et alibi: Misit Deus Filium suum factum ex muliere, factum sub Lege (Gal. IV, 4). Creavit et Spiritus illud omne mysterium, secundum quod legimus, quia inventa est Maria in utero habens ex Spiritu sancto (Matth. I, 18).

59. But it is fitting that we should consider His Majesty in the very fact of His taking flesh for us, that we may see His divine power in the very taking

of the Body. For as we read that the Father created the mystery of the Lord's Incarnation, the Spirit too created it; and so too we read that Christ Himself created His own Body. For the Father created it, as it is written: The Lord created Me, Proverbs 8:12 and in another place, God sent His Son, made of a woman, made under the law. Galatians 4:4 And the Spirit created the whole mystery, according to that which we read, for Mary was found with child of the Holy Spirit. Matthew 1:18

60. Habes quia creavit Pater, creavit et Spiritus: accipe quia creavit et Filius Dei, dicente Salomone: Sapientia fecit sibi domum (Prov. IX, 1). Ergo Spiritus sanctus qui creavit Dominicae incarnationis sacramentum, quod super omnes est creaturas, quomodo esse potest creatura?

60. You find, then, that the Father created and the Spirit created; learn, too, that the Son of God also created, when Solomon says: Wisdom has made herself a house. Proverbs 9:1 How, then, can the Holy Spirit Who created the mystery of the Lord's Incarnation, which is above all created things, be Himself a creature?

61. De generalitate autem supra ostendimus (Sup. ca) quia secundum carnem creator est noster Spiritus sanctus in homine exteriore: nunc ostendamus quia creator est noster, etiam secundum gratiae sacramentum. Et sicut creat Pater, ita creat et Filius, ita creat et Spiritus sanctus, sicut legimus, dicente Paulo: Dei enim donum est, non ex operibus, ne quis glorietur; ipsius enim sumus factura, creati in Christo Jesu in operibus bonis (Ephes, II. 8 et seq.).

61. As we have shown above generally that the Holy Spirit is our Creator according to the flesh in the outer man, let us now show that He is our Creator also according to the mystery of grace. And as the Father creates, so too does the Son create, and so too the Holy Spirit creates, as we read in the

words of Paul: For it is the gift of God, not of works, lest any one should boast. For we are His workmanship created in Christ Jesus in good works.

CAPUT VII.

CREATIONIS SPIRITALIS SEU regenerationis non minus auctorem Spiritum esse, quam Patrem ac Filium. In quo consistat illa creatio, ejusque praestantia: et quomodo quod membra et corpus Deo tribuere videntur sacri codices, debeat intelligi?

CHAPTER 7.

The Holy Spirit is no less the author of spiritual creation or regeneration than the Father and the Son. The excellence of that creation, and wherein it consists. How we are to understand holy Scripture, when it attributes a body or members to God.

62. [Alias cap. IX.] Ergo creat Pater in operibus bonis: creat et Filius; quia scriptum est: Quotquot autem eum receperunt, dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri, his qui credunt in nomine ejus: qui non ex sanguinibus, neque ex voluntate carnis, neque ex voluntate viri, sed ex Deo nati sunt (Joan. I, 12, 13). 646

62. So, then, the Father creates in good works, and the Son also, for it is written: But as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God, even to them who believe in His Name; who were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. John 1:12-13

63. Similiter ex Spiritu secundum gratiam nos renasci Dominus ipse testatur, dicens: Quod natum est ex carne, caro est; quia de carne natum est: et quod natum est de spiritu, spiritus est; quia Deus spiritus est. Noli mirari

quia dixi tibi: Oportet vos nasci denuo. Spiritus ubi vult spirat, et vocem ejus audis: sed nescis unde veniat, aut quo vadat; sic est omnis qui natus est de Spiritu (Joan. III, 6 et seq.).

63. In like manner the Lord Himself also testifies that we are born again of the Spirit according to grace, saying: That which is born of the flesh is flesh, because it is born of flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit, because God is Spirit. Marvel not that I said to you, You must be born again. The Spirit breathes where He wills, and you hear His voice, but know not whence He comes or whither He goes, so is every one who is born of the Spirit.

64. Claret igitur spiritalis quoque generationis auctorem esse Spiritum sanctum; quia secundum Deum creamur, ut filii Dei simus. Ergo cum ille nos in regnum suum per adoptionem sacrae regenerationis assumpserit, nos ei quod suum est, denegamus? Ille nos supernae regenerationis fecit haeredes, nos haereditatem vindicamus, refutamus auctorem? Sed non potest manere beneficium, cum auctor excluditur; nec auctor sine munere, nec sine auctore munus. Si vindicas gratiam, crede potentiam: si refutas potentiam, gratiam ne requiras. Qui Spiritum negavit, statim negavit et donum. Nam si auctor vilis, quomodo dona pretiosa? Cur nostris ipsi muneribus invidemus, spem imminuimus, dignitatem repudiamus, consolatorem negamus?

64. It is then clear that the Holy Spirit is also the Author of the grace of the Spirit, since we are created according to God, that we may be made the sons of God. So when He has taken us into His kingdom by the adoption of holy regeneration, do we deny Him that which is His? He has made us heirs of the new birth from above, do we claim the heritage and reject its Author? But the benefit cannot remain when its Author is shut out; the Author is not without the gift, nor the gift without the Author. If you claim the grace,

believe the power; if you reject the power, do not ask for the grace. He who has denied the Spirit has at the same time denied the gift. For if the Author be of no account how can His gifts be precious? Why do we grudge the gifts we ourselves receive, diminish our hopes, repudiate our dignity, and deny our Comforter?

65. Sed illum negare non possumus. Absit enim ut negemus quod maximum est, cum Apostolus dicat: Vos autem, fratres, secundum Isaac promissionis filii estis: sed sicut tunc qui secundum carnem natus est, persequebatur eum qui secundum Spiritum (Galat. IV, 28, 29). Iterum utique subauditur de superioribus, qui secundum Spiritum natus est. Qui ergo secundum Spiritum nascitur, secundum Deum nascitur. Renascimur autem, quando in interiore renovamur affectu, et exterioris hominis vetustatem deponimus. Et ideo ait iterum Apostolus: Renovamini autem Spiritu mentis vestrae, et induite novum hominem, qui secundum Deum creatus est in veritate, et justitia, et sanctitate (Ephes. IV, 23, 24). Audiant quemadmodum unitatem divinae operationis Scriptura signaverit. Qui renovatur Spiritu mentis, induit novum hominem, qui secundum Deum creatus est.

65. But we cannot deny Him. Far be it from us to deny that which is so great, since the Apostle says: But you brethren, like Isaac, are the children of promise, but as then, he that is born after the flesh persecutes him that is after the Spirit. Galatians 4:28-29 Again certainly is understood from what has gone before, is born after the Spirit. He then who is born after the Spirit is born after God. Now we are born again when we are renewed in our inward affections and lay aside the oldness of the outer man. And so the Apostle says again: But be ye renewed in the spirit of your mind, and put on the new man which is created according to God in truth and righteousness and holiness. Ephesians 4:23-24 Let them hear how the Scripture has

signified the unity of the divine operation. He who is renewed in the spirit of his mind has put on the new man, which is created according to God.

66. Sancti igitur Spiritus opus est regeneratio ista praestantior; et novi hujus hominis, qui creatur ad imaginem Dei, auctor est Spiritus: quem utique meliorem hoc exteriore esse nostro homine nemo dubitaverit. Siquidem coelestem alterum, terrenum alterum Apostolus significavit dicens: Qualis coelestis, tales et coelestes (I Cor. XV, 48).

66. That more excellent regeneration is then the work of the Holy Spirit; and the Spirit is the Author of that new man which is created after the image of God, which no one will doubt to be better than this outer man of ours. Since the Apostle has pointed out that the one is heavenly, the other earthly, when he says: As is the heavenly, such also are the heavenly. 1 Corinthians 15:48

67. Ergo cum coelestem faciat gratia spiritalis, quod terrenum creare possit, etiam sensu debemus advertere, licet careamus exemplis. Dicit enim alibi sanctus Job: Vivit Dominus, qui sic me judicat; et omnipotens, qui ad amaritudinem perduxit animam meam: Spiritus autem divinus, qui est in naribus meis (Job XXVII, 2, 3). Non utique spiritum hic auram vitalem hanc et spiramentum corporeum designavit, sed nares hic interioris sui hominis significat, quibus vitae odorem carpebat aeternae, et gratiam coelestis unguenti 647 geminis quibusdam sensibus hauriebat.

67. Since, then, the grace of the Spirit makes that to be heavenly which it can create earthy, we ought to observe by reason though we be without instances. For in a certain place holy Job says: As the Lord lives, Who thus judges me, and the Almighty, Who has brought my soul to bitterness (for the Spirit of God which is in my nostrils). Job 27:2-3 He certainly did not here signify by His Spirit the vital breath and bodily breathing passages, but

signifies the nostrils of the inner man within him, wherewith he gathered in the fragrance of eternal life, and drew in the grace of the heavenly ointment as with a kind of twofold sense.

68. Sunt enim nares spiritales, ut legimus, quas habet Sponsa Verbi, cui dicitur: Et odor naris tuae (Cant. VII, 8); et alibi: Odoratus est Dominus odorem suavitatis (Gen. VIII, 21). Sunt ergo quaedam interioris membra hominis, cujus manus in actu, aures in auditu, pedes in processu quodam boni operis aestimantur. Itaque ex officiis, veluti quasdam colligimus membrorum figuras; neque enim in interiore homine secundum carnalia aliquid nos convenit opinari.

68. For there are spiritual nostrils, as we read, which the spouse of the Word has, to whom it is said: And the smell of your nostrils; Song of Songs 7:8 and in another place: The Lord smelled a smell of sweetness. Genesis 8:21 There are, then, as it were, inward members of a man, whose hands are considered to be in action, his ears in hearing, his feet in a kind of progress in a good work. And so from what is done we gather as it were figures of the members, for it is not suitable for us to imagine anything in the inner man after a fleshly manner.

69. [Alias cap. X.] Et sunt quidam qui corporaliter Deum putant esse formatum, cum legunt aut manum ejus, aut digitum: nec advertunt quod haec non propter formam scripta sint corporis, quia in divinitate nec membra, nec partes sunt: sed propter unitatem divinitatis expressa, ut credamus quia impossibile est a Patre Deo vel Filium, vel Spiritum sanctum separari; cum plenitudo divinitatis velut corporaliter habitet in substantia Trinitatis. Ideo igitur et Filius Patris dextera nuncupatur, sicut lectum est: Dextera Domini fecit virtutem, dextera Domini exaltavit me (Ps. CXVII, 16).

69. And there are some who suppose that God is fashioned after a bodily manner, when they read of His hand or finger, and they do not observe that these things are written not because of any fashion of a body, since in the Godhead are neither members nor parts, but are expressions of the oneness of the Godhead, that we may believe that it is impossible for either the Son or the Holy Spirit to be separated from God the Father; since the fullness of the Godhead dwells as it were bodily in the substance of the Trinity. For this reason, then, is the Son also called the Right Hand of the Father, as we read: The Right Hand of the Lord has done mighty things, the Right Hand of the Lord has exalted me.

CAPUT VIII.

ARGUTIAM HAERETICORUM QUI Deum idcirco dictitabunt in Spiritu, non autem cum Spiritu glorificandum, ut hinc eumdem Spiritum esse inferiorem colligerent, diluit: quamobrem particulam in etiam Filio, immo et Patri quoque aptari planum facit: at e contrario cum creaturis etiam attribui sine ulla divinitatis injuria; proindeque in iisdem praepositionibus simpliciter agnoscendam divinarum personarum conjunctionem.

CHAPTER 8.

St. Ambrose examines and refutes the heretical argument that because God is said to be glorified in the Spirit, and not with the Spirit, the Holy Spirit is therefore inferior to the Father. He shows that the particle in *can be also used of the Son and even of the Father, and that on the other hand* with *may be said of creatures without any infringement on the prerogatives of the Godhead; and that in reality these prepositions simply imply the connection of the Three Divine Persons.*

70. Sed quid mirum si de verbis amentes homines faciunt quaestionem, cum faciant et de syllabis? Sunt enim qui hinc putent faciendam esse distantiam, quod dicant in Spiritu Deum, non cum Spiritu praedicandum: et ex una syllaba, vel usu quodam divinitatis aestimandum putent esse momentum, argumentantes quod si in Spiritu Deum praedicandum putent, ministerium sancti Spiritus signare videantur: si vero cum Spiritu dicant Dei vel virtutem esse, vel gloriam, societatem quamdam et communionem Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti designare videantur.

70. But what wonder is it if foolish men question about words, when they do so even about syllables? For some think that a distinction should be made and that God should be praised *in* the Spirit, but not *with* the Spirit, and consider that the greatness of the Godhead is to be estimated from one syllable or some custom, arguing that if they consider that God should be glorified *in* the Spirit, they point to some office of the Holy Spirit, but that if they say that God receives glory or power *with* the Spirit, they seem to imply some association and communion of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

71. Sed quis separet, quod non potest separari? quis dividat societatem, quam, individuam Christus ostendit? Ite, inquit, baptizate omnes gentes in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti (Matth. XXVIII, 19). Numquid hic vel circa Patrem vel Filium vel Spiritum sanctum aut verbum mutavit, aut syllabam? Non utique: sed In nomine, inquit, 648 Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Idem de Spiritu quod de Patre et de se sonat. Unde nullum Spiritus sancti ministerium, sed consortium magis honoris aut operis, cum in Spiritu dicitur, aestimatur.

71. But who can separate what is incapable of separation? Who can divide that association which Christ shows to be inseparable? Go, says He, baptize all nations in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Matthew 28:19 Has He changed either a word or a syllable here concerning the Father or the Son or the Holy Spirit? Certainly not. But He says, in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. The expression is the same for the Spirit as for the Father and for Himself. From which is inferred not any office of the Holy Spirit, but rather a sharing of honour or of working when we say in the Spirit.

72. Considera et hic quia ad Patrem et Filium hoc opinionis vestrae praejudicium derivatur; quia hic non dixit: Cum Patris et Filii et Spiritus

sancti nomine; sed in nomine: et tamen non ministerium aliquod Trinitatis hac syllaba exprimitur, sed potestas.

72. Consider, too, that this opinion of yours tends to the injury of the Father and the Son, for the latter did not say, with the Name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, but in the Name, and yet not any office but the power of the Trinity is expressed in this syllable,

73. Denique ut scias quia fidei non praejudicat syllaba, sed commendat fides syllabam, et Paulus loquitur in Christo. Nec ideo minor Christus est, quia Paulus locutus in Christo est, sicut habes: Coram Deo in Christo loquimur (II Cor. II, 6). Quemadmodum igitur Apostolus dicit quia in Christo loquimur; ita illud est quia loquimur in Spiritu; sicut ipse Apostolus dixit: Nemo dicit Dominum Jesum, nisi in Spiritu sancto (I Cor. XII, 3). Non subjectio itaque hoc loco Spiritus sancti, sed gratiae copula designatur.

73. Lastly, that you may know that it is not a syllable which prejudices faith, but faith which commends a syllable, Paul also speaks in Christ. Christ is not less, because Paul spoke in Christ, as you find: We speak before God in Christ. 2 Corinthians 2:17 As, then, the Apostle says that we speak in Christ, so, too, is that which we speak in the Spirit; as the Apostle himself said: No man says Lord Jesus, except in the Holy Spirit. 1 Corinthians 12:3 So, then, in this place not any subjection of the Holy Spirit, but a connection of grace is signified.

74. Et ut scias discretionem non esse de syllaba, alibi quoque ait: Et haec quidem fuistis: sed abluti estis, sed sanctificati estis, sed justificati estis in nomine Jesu Christi, et in Spiritu Dei nostri (I Cor. VI, 11). Quam multa possum hinc exempla proferre! Scriptum est enim: Omnes vos unum estis in Christo Jesu (Galat. III, 26); et alibi: Sanctificatis in Christo Jesu (I Cor.

I, 2); et iterum: Ut nos essemus justitia Dei in ipso (II Cor. V, 21); et alio loco: Ut excidant a castitate, quae est in Christo Jesu (II Cor. XI, 3).

74. And that you may know that distinction does not depend upon a syllable, he says also in another place: And these indeed were you, but you are washed, but you are sanctified, but you are justified in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Spirit of our God. 1 Corinthians 6:11 How many instances of this I can bring forward. For it is written: You are all one in Christ Jesus, Galatians 3:28 and elsewhere: To those sanctified in Christ Jesus, 1 Corinthians 1:2 and again: That we might be the righteousness of God in Him, 2 Corinthians 5:21 and in another place: Should fall from the chastity which is in Christ Jesus. 2 Corinthians 11:3

75. Verum quid ago? Dum enim similiter dico scriptum esse de Filio, quemadmodum de Spiritu scriptum est, magis illud incurro; ut non quia de Filio scriptum est, religiose dictum videatur de Spiritu: sed quia idem de Spiritu scriptum est, etiam de Filio propter Spiritum objiciant derogatum. Dicunt enim: Numquid de Deo Patre scriptum est?

75. But what am I doing? For while I say that like things are written of the Son as of the Spirit, I am rather leading on to this, not that because it is written of the Son, therefore it would appear to be reverently written of the Holy Spirit, but that because the same is written of the Spirit, therefore men allege that the Son’s honour is lessened because of the Spirit. For say they, Is it written of God the Father?

76. Sed accipiant etiam de Deo Patre dictum: In Domino laudabo verbum (Ps. LV, 5); et alibi: In Deo faciemus virtutem (Ps. LIX, 14); et: In te commemoratio mea semper (Ps. LXX, 16); et: In nomine tuo exsultabimus (Ps. LXXXVIII, 17); iterum alibi: Ut manifestentur opera ejus, quia in Deo sunt facta (Joan. III, 21); et Paulus: In Deo qui omnia creavit (Ephes. III, 9);

et iterum: Paulus et Sylvanus et Timotheus Ecclesiae Thessalonicensium in Deo Patre et Domino Jesu Christo (I Thess. I, 1); et in Evangelio: Ego in Patre, et Pater in me (Joan. XIV, 10); et: Pater qui in me manet (Ibid.). Scriptum est etiam: Qui gloriatur in Domino glorietur (II Cor. X, 17); et alibi: Vita autem nostra abscondita est cum Christo in Deo (Coloss. III, 3). Numquid hic plus Filio quam Patri detulit, ut in Deo nos diceret esse cum Christo? aut numquid plus nostra conditio quam 649 Spiritus gratia sibi vindicat; ut nos possimus esse cum Christo, Spiritus sanctus esse non possit? Et cum Christus velit esse nobiscum, sicut ipse dixit: Pater, quos dedisti mihi, volout ubi ego sum, et ipsi sint mecum (Joan. XVI, 24), dedignetur esse cum Spiritu? Scriptum est etiam: Convenientibus vobis et meo Spiritu cum virtute Domini Jesu (I Cor. V, 4). Ergo nos cum virtute Domini convenimus, et audemus dicere quod nolit Dominus Jesus cum Spiritu convenire, qui non dedignatur convenire nobiscum.

76. But let them learn that it is also said of God the Father: In the Lord I will praise the word; and elsewhere: In God we will do mighty deeds; and My remembrance shall be ever in You; and In Your Name will we rejoice; and again in another place: That his deeds may be manifested, that they are wrought in God; John 3:21 and Paul: In God Who created all things; Ephesians 3:9 and again: Paul and Silvanus and Timotheus to the Church of the Thessalonians in God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ; 2 Thessalonians 1:2 and in the Gospel: I in the Father and the Father in Me, and the Father that dwells in Me. John 14:10 It is also written: He that glories let him glory in the Lord; 2 Corinthians 10:17 and in another place: Our life is hid with Christ in God. Colossians 3:3 Did he here ascribe more to the Son than to the Father in saying that we are with Christ in God? Or does our state avail more than the grace of the Spirit, so that we can be with Christ and the Holy Spirit cannot? And when Christ wills to be with us, as He Himself said: Father, I will that they whom You have given Me be with

Me where I am, John 17:24 would He disdain to be with the Spirit? For it is written: You coming together and my spirit with the power of the Lord Jesus. 1 Corinthians 5:4 Do we then come together in the power of the Lord, and dare to say that the Lord Jesus would not be willing to come together with the Spirit Who does not disdain to come together with us?

77. Nullam igitur distantiam putat Apostolus hac an illa syllaba utaris. Syllaba enim conjunctionis est, conjunctio autem sejunctionem non facit; neque enim si divideret, conjunctio diceretur.

77. So the Apostle thinks that it makes no difference which particle you use. For each is a conjunctive particle, and conjunction does not cause separation, for if it divided it would not be called a conjunction.

78. Quid igitur te movet ut dicas quia gloria est Deo Patri, vel Christo ejus, vita, virtus, magnificentia, potestas in Spiritu sancto, et nolis dicere cum Spiritu sancto? An quia times ne et Spiritum cum Patre et Filio sociare videaris? Sed audi et de Spiritu scriptum: Lex enim Spiritus vitae in Christo Jesu (Rom. VIII, 2). Et alibi Deus Pater dicit: Et adorabunt te, et in te deprecabuntur (Esai. XLV, 14). In Christo orare nos debere Deus Pater dicit; et tu putas Spiritui derogari, si in eo gloria Christi esse dicatur?

78. What, then, moves you to say that to God the Father or to His Christ there is glory, life, greatness, or power, *in* the Holy Spirit, and to refuse to say *with* the Holy Spirit? Is it that you are afraid of seeming to join the Spirit with the Father and the Son? But hear what is written of the Spirit: For the law of the Spirit is life in Christ Jesus. Romans 8:2 And in another place God the Father says: They shall worship You, and in You they shall make supplication. God the Father says that we ought to pray in Christ; and do you think that it is any derogation to the Spirit if the glory of Christ is said to be in Him?

79. Audi quod times de Spiritu confiteri, non timuisse de se sibi Apostolum vindicare; ait enim: Dissolvi, et cum Christo esse multo melius (Phil. I, 23). Cum quo igitur est Apostolus, cum eo negas esse Spiritum, per quem Apostolus meruit esse cum Christo?

79. Hear that what you are afraid to acknowledge of the Spirit, the Apostle did not fear to claim for himself; for he says: To be dissolved and to be with Christ is much better. Philippians 1:23 Do you deny that the Spirit, through Whom the Apostle was made worthy of being with Christ, is with Christ?

80. Quae igitur ratio est, ut in Spiritu malis dicere, quam cum Spiritu gloriam Dei esse vel Christi? An quia si dicas in Spiritu, minor Christo Spiritus declaratur? Quamvis hoc refutabile sit, ut majorem Dominum facias et minorem; tamen cum lectum sit: Quia pro nobis peccatum factus est Christus ut nos essemus justitia Dei in ipso (II Cor. V, 21); ille invenitur potissimus, in quo sumus nos infimi. Sic et alibi habes: Quia omnia in ipso constant (Colos. I, 17), hoc est in ejus virtute. Nec comparari possunt illi, quae in eo constant; quia ex virtute ejus ut constent, substantiam consequuntur.

80. What, then, is the reason that you prefer saying that God or Christ is glorified in the Spirit rather than with the Spirit? Is it because if you say in the Spirit, the Spirit is declared to be less than Christ? Although your making the Lord greater or less is a matter which can be refuted, yet since we read, For Christ was made sin for us, that we might be the righteousness of God in Him, 2 Corinthians 5:21 He is found chiefest in Whom we are found most low. So, too, elsewhere you read, For in Him all things consist, Colossians 1:17 that is, in His power. And the things which consist in Him cannot be compared to Him, because they receive from His power the substance whereby they consist.

81. Numquid igitur sic Deum regnare vultis in Spiritu, ut virtus Spiritus regnandi Deo principium quasi fons quidam substantiae largiatur? Sed hoc impium est. Et ideo ut unam Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti majores nostri dicerent potestatem cum spiritu gloriam Christi esse memorabant, quo individuam copulam declararent.

81. Do you then understand that God so reigns in the Spirit that the power of the Spirit, as a kind of source of substance, imparts to God the origin of His rule? But this is impious. And so our predecessors spoke of the unity of power of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, when they said that the glory of Christ was with the Spirit, that they might declare their inseparable connection.

82. Quomodo enim separatur Spiritus sanctus a Filio, cum ipse Spiritus testimonium reddat spiritui nostro quod sumus filii Dei? Si autem filii, et haeredes: haeredes quidem Dei, cohaeredes autem Christi (Rom. VIII, 16, 17). Quis igitur tam amens, qui conjunctionem Spiritus et Christi dissociet sempiternam; cum Spiritus etiam disjuncta connectat, per quem Christi efficimur cohaeredes? 650

82. For how is the Holy Spirit separated from the Son, since the Spirit Himself bears witness with our spirit that we are sons of God, and if sons, also heirs, heirs, indeed, of God and joint-heirs with Christ. Romans 8:16-17 Who, then, is so foolish as to wish to dissever the eternal conjunction of the Spirit and Christ, when the Spirit by Whom we are made joint-heirs with Christ conjoins even what is severed.

83. Si tamen, inquit, compatimur, ut et conglorificemur (Ibid.). Si nos ergo conglorificabimur cum Christo per Spiritum, quomodo et ipsum conglorificari Christo Spiritum recusamus? Dissociamus vitam Christi et Spiritus sancti, cum Spiritus dicat quod simul victuri sumus cum Dei Filio?

Dicit enim Apostolus: Si autem mortui sumus cum Christo, credimus quod etiam simul vivemus cum illo (Rom. VI, 8); deinde alibi: Si enim compatimur, inquit, et convivemus: nec solum convivemus, sed etiam conglorificabimur: nec solum conglorificabimur, sed etiam conregnabimus (II Tim. II, 11, 12).

83. If so be, he says, we suffer with Him, that we may be also glorified together. Romans 8:16-17 If we then shall be glorified together with Christ through the Spirit, how do we refuse to admit that the Spirit Himself is glorified together with Christ? Do we dissociate the life of Christ and of the Holy Spirit when the Spirit says that we shall live together with the Son of God? For the Apostle says: If we be dead with Christ we believe that we shall also live with Him; and then again: For if we suffer with Him we shall also live with Him, and not only shall we live with Him, but shall be also glorified with Him, and not only be glorified but shall also reign with Him. 2 Timothy 2:11-12

84. Non est igitur in syllabis istis ulla discretio; utraque enim syllaba conjunctionis est. Denique saepe reperimus in Scripturis alteram interpositam, et alteram intellectam, sicut scriptum est: Introibo in domum tuam in holocaustis (Ps. LXV, 13), hoc est, cum holocaustis; et alibi: Eduxit, inquit, eos in argento et auro (Ps. CIV, 37), hoc est, cum argento et auro. Alibi quoque ait: Non egredieris in virtutibus nobiscum (Ps. XLIII, 10); pro eo quod est, cum virtutibus. Ergo cum et in usu sermonis calumnia esse non possit, et ex sermone calumnia divinitati non debeat excitari, opus est ut ad justitiam corde credatur, et ex fide cordis fiat ad salutem in ore confessio (Rom. X, 10). Sed qui corde non credunt, calumniam strunt verbis.

84. No division, then, is implied in those particles, for each is a particle of conjunction. And lastly, we often find in holy Scripture the one inserted and

the other understood, as it is written: I will enter into Your house in whole burnt-offerings, that is, with whole burnt-offerings; and in another place: He brought them forth in silver and gold, that is, with silver and gold. And elsewhere the Psalmist says: Will You not go forth with us in our hosts? for that which is really meant, with our hosts. So, then, in the use of the expression no lessening of honour can be implied, and nothing ought to be deduced derogatory to the honour of the Godhead, it is necessary that with the heart man should believe unto righteousness, and that out of the faith of the heart confession should be made in the mouth unto salvation. But they who believe not with the heart spread what is derogatory with their mouth.

CAPUT IX.

APOSTOLICUM LOCUM QUO haeretici, ut discrimen inducerent inter personas divinas, abutebantur, exponit: et declarata haereticae interpretationis impietate, ostendit locum integrum de singulis personis recte dici posse; quem tamen proprie ad Filium pertinere astruit: postremo quod affirmaverat omnia ejusdem loci membra unicuique personae convenire, multis confirmat testimoniis: et eo ipso quod Patri competit, ut dicatur ex illo omnia, eidem etiam tribui posse per illum et in illo omnia scite colligit.

CHAPTER 9.

A passage of St. Paul abused by heretics, to prove a distinction between the Divine Persons, is explained, and it is proved that the whole passage can be rightly said of each Person, though it refers specially to the Son. It is then proved that each member of the passage is applicable to each Person, and as to say, of Him are all things *is applicable to the Father, so may* all things are through Him and in Him *also be said of Him.*

85. Denique simile et illud est, quod aiunt discretionem esse, quia scriptum est: Nobis autem unus Deus Pater, ex quo omnia, et nos in illum: et unus Dominus Jesus Christus per quem omnia, et nos per ipsum (I Cor. II, 6). Volunt enim cum dicitur, ex illo, materiam designari: cum dicitur, per illum, quoddam vel instrumentum operis, vel ministerium declarari: cum autem dicitur, in illo, aut locus significetur aut tempus, in quo omnia facta videantur.

85. Another similar passage is that which they say implies difference, where it is written: But to us there is one Father, of Whom are all things and we unto Him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, through Whom are all things, and we through Him. 1 Corinthians 8:6 For they pretend that when it is said of Him, the matter is signified, when through Him, either the instrument of the work or some office, but when it is said in Him, either the place or the time in which all things that are made are seen.

86. Ita igitur distantiam quamdam substantiae probare desiderant, tamquam instrumentum ab operatore proprio vel auctore, et tamquam tempus aut locum ab instrumento dirimere gestientes. Numquid ergo alienus secundum naturam Filius a Patre; quia alienum instrumentum ab operatore proprio vel auctore? aut numquid alienus Filius a Spiritu; quia ab instrumenti genere aut locus separatur aut tempus?

86. So, then, their desire is to prove that there is some difference of substance, being anxious to make a distinction between as it were the instrument, and the proper worker or author, and also between time or place and the instrument. But is the Son, then, alien as regards His Nature from the Father, because an instrument is alien from the worker or author? Or is the Son alien from the Spirit, because either time or place is not of the same class as an instrument?

87. Compara nunc assertiones nostras. Illi volunt ex Deo tamquam ex natura Dei esse 651 materiam, ut si dicas ex ligno arcam esse factam, ex lapide statuam: ita ex Deo materiam processisse, et eamdem materiam tamquam per instrumentum aliquod factam esse per Filium; ut non tam operatorem Filium, quam instrumentum operis esse declarent: et omnia ita facta in Spiritu, tamquam in aliquo loco facta vel tempore: singula singulis tribuunt, in commune omnia negant.

87. Compare now our assertions. They will have it that matter is of God as though of the nature of God, as when you say that a chest is made of wood or a statue of stone; that after this fashion matter has come forth from God, and that the same matter has been made by the Son as if by some sort of instrument; so that they declare that the Son is not so much the Artificer as the instrument of the work; and that all things have been made in the Spirit, as if in some place or time; they attribute each part severally to each Person severally and deny that all are in common.

88. Verum nos ostendimus ita ex Deo Patre esse omnia, ut nec amiserit Deus Pater, quod vel per ipsum et in ipso omnia sint, nec tamquam ex materia ex ipso omnia sint: ita quoque per Dominum Filium esse omnia, ut non privatus sit eo, quod ex Filio sint omnia, et in ipso sint omnia: et ita omnia esse in Spiritu, ut doceamus omnia esse per Spiritum, et omnia esse de Spiritu.

88. But we show that all things are so of God the Father, that God the Father has suffered no loss because all things are either through Him or in Him, and yet all things are not of Him as if of matter; then, too, that all things are through the Lord the Son, so that He is not deprived of the attribute that all things are of the Son and in Him; and that all things are in the Spirit, so that we may teach that all things are through the Spirit, and all things from the Spirit.

89. Nam istae syllabae, sicut illae de quibus superius diximus, se invicem signant. Non enim ita dixit Apostolus: Ex Deo omnia, et per Filium omnia; ut separabilem substantiam Patris Filiique signaret: sed ut inconfusibili distinctione quod alius Pater, alius sit Filius, edoceret. Non igitur tamquam compugnantes syllabae istae, sed tamquam sociae atque concordes sunt; ut etiam uni saepe conveniant, sicut scriptum est: Quia ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso sunt omnia (Rom. XI, 36).

89. For these particles, like those of which we have spoken before, imply each other. For the Apostle did not so say, All things are of God, and all things are through the Son, as to signify that the substance of the Father and the Son could be severed, but that he might teach that by a distinction without confusion the Father is one, the Son another. Those particles, then, are not as it were in opposition to each other, but are as it were allied and agreed, so as often to suit even one Person, as it is written: For of Him, and through Him, and in Him are all things. Romans 11:36

90. Quod si vere consideres unde translatum sit, de Filio dictum esse non ambiges. Dicit enim Apostolus secundum prophetiam Esaiae: Quis cognovit sensum Domini, aut quis consiliarius ejus fuit (Esai. XL, 13)? Et addidit: Quia ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso sunt omnia. Quod Esaias de operatore omnium dixit, sicut habes: Quis mensus est manu aquam, et coelum palmo, et universam terram clausa manu? Quis statuit montes in libra, et rupes in statera? Quis cognovit sensum Domini, aut quis consiliarius ejus fuit (Esai. XL, 12) ?

90. But if you really consider whence the passage is taken you will have no doubt that it is said of the Son. For the Apostle says, according to the prophecy of Isaiah, Who has known the mind of the Lord, or who has been His counsellor? Isaiah 40:13 And he adds: For of Him and in Him are all things. Which Isaiah had said of the Artificer of all, as you read: Who has measured out the water with his hand, and the heaven with a span, and all the earth with his closed hand? Who has placed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance? Who has known the mind of the Lord, or who has been His counsellor? Isaiah 40:12

91. Et addidit Apostolus: Quoniam ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso sunt omnia. Quid est, ex ipso? Quod ex ipsius voluntate natura sit omnium, et ipse sit auctor omnium, quae esse coeperunt. Per ipsum, quid est? Quia per

ipsum constitutio et perseverantia omnibus impertita videatur. In ipso, quid est? Quia omnia admirabili quodam desiderio, et inenarrabili amore auctorem vitae et ministratorem gratiae suae ac muneris intuentur, secundum quod scriptum est: Oculi omnium in te sperant; et: Aperis manum tuam, et imples omnem animam bona voluntate (Psal. CXLIV, 15).

91. And the Apostle added: For of Him, and through Him, and in Him are all things. What is of Him? That the nature of everything is of His will, and He is the Author of all things which have come into being. Through Him means what? That the establishment and continuance of all things is His gift. What is in Him? That all things by a wonderful kind of longing and unspeakable love look upon the Author of their life, and the Giver of their graces and functions, according to that which is written: The eyes of all look unto You, and You open Your hand and fill every living creature with Your good pleasure.

92. De Patre quoque si dicas: ideo ex ipso, quia ex ipso operatrix Sapientia, quae omnibus ex sua et Patris voluntate dedit esse, quae non erant: Per ipsum, quia per Sapientiam ejus facta sunt omnia: In ipso, quia ipse est vivificatoriae fons substantiae, in quo vivimus et sumus et movemur.

92. And of the Father, too, you may rightly say of Him, for of Him was the operative Wisdom, Which of His own and the Father’s will gave being to all things which were not. Through Him, because all things were made through His Wisdom. In Him, because He is the Fount of substantial Life, in Whom we live and move and have our being.

93. Ex Spiritu quoque, ut per ipsum formati, per ipsum firmati, in ipso roborati, vitae capiamus munus aeternae.

93. Of the Spirit also, as being formed by Him, strengthened by Him, established in Him, we receive the gift of eternal life.

94. Cum haec igitur vel Patri vel Filio vel 652 Spiritui sancto convenire videantur, nihil utique humile in his certum est declarari; cum et ex Filio dicamus esse pleraque, et multa per Patrem, sicut habes de Filio dictum: Ut augeamur in ipso per omnia, qui est caput Christus, ex quo totum, inquit, corpus compactum et connexum per omnem juncturam ministrationis in mensuram uniuscujusque partis, augmentum corporis facit in aedificationem sui in charitate (Ephes. IV, 15, 16). Et iterum ad Colossenses de his qui non haberent cognitionem unigeniti Filii Dei: Quia non tenent, inquit, caput, ex quo omne corpus per compaginationes et colligationes subministratum et copulatum crescit in incrementum Dei (Coloss. II, 19); caput enim Christum esse Ecclesiae supra diximus (Coloss. I, 18). Et alibi habes quia de plenitudine ejus nos omnes accepimus (Joan. I, 16). Et ipse Dominus dixit: De meo accipiet, et annuntiabit vobis (Joan. XVI, 14). Et supra ait: Cognovi virtutem exisse de me (Luc. VIII, 46).

94. Since, then, these expressions seem suitable either to the Father or the Son or the Holy Spirit, it is certain that nothing derogatory is spoken of in them, since we both say that many things are of the Son, and many through the Father, as you find it said of the Son: That we may be increased through all things in Him, Who is Christ the Head, from Whom, says he, the whole body, framed and knit together through every joint of the supply for the measure of every part, makes increase of the body unto the building up of itself in love. Ephesians 4:15-16 And again, writing to the Colossians of those who have not the knowledge of the Son of God, he says: Because they hold not the Head, from Whom all the body being supplied and joined together through joints and bands, increases to the increase of God. Colossians 2:19 For we said above that Christ is the Head of the Church. And in another place you read: Of His fullness have all we received. And the Lord Himself said: He shall take of Mine and show it unto you. John

16:14 And before, He said: I perceive that virtue is gone out of Me. Luke 8:46

95. Similiter ut agnoscas unitatem, etiam de Spiritu dicitur: Quia qui seminat in Spiritu, de Spiritu metet vitam aeternam (Galat. VI, 8). Et Joannes ait: Ex hoc cognoscimus quia in nobis est, quoniam de Spiritu suo dedit nobis (I Joan. IV, 13). Et Angelus dicit: Quod ex ea nascetur, de Spiritu sancto est (Matth. I, 20). Et Dominus ait quia quod natum est de Spiritu, Spiritus est (Joan. III, 6).

95. In like manner that you may recognize the Unity, it is also said of the Spirit: For he that sows in the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap eternal life. Galatians 6:8 And John says: Hereby we know that He is in us because He has given us of His Spirit. 1 John 4:13 And the Angel says: That Which shall be born of her is of the Holy Spirit. Matthew 1:20 And the Lord says: That which is born of the Spirit is Spirit. John 3:6

96. Ergo sicut ex Patre legimus esse omnia, ita et ex Filio posse dici omnia, per quem omnia sunt: et ex Spiritu esse omnia, in quo omnia sunt, testimoniis edocemur.

96. So, then, as we read that all things are of the Father, so, too, that all things can be said to be of the Son, through Whom are all things; and we are taught by proof that all things are of the Spirit in Whom are all things.

97. Nunc consideremus utrum per Patrem esse aliquid docere possimus. Sed scriptum est: Paulus servus Christi per voluntatem Dei (I Cor. I, 1); et alibi: Unde jam non est servus, sed filius: si autem filius, et haeres per Deum (Galat. IV, 7); et alibi: Sicut resurrexit Christus a mortuis per gloriam Patris (Rom., VI, 4). Et alibi Deus Pater ad Filium dicit: Ecce proselyti venient ad te per me (Esai. LIV, 15).

97. Now let us consider whether we can teach that anything is through the Father. But it is written: Paul the servant of Christ through the will of God; 1 Corinthians 1:1 and elsewhere: Wherefore you are now not a servant but a son, and if a son an heir also through God; Galatians 4:7 and again: As Christ rose from the dead by the glory of God. Romans 6:4 And elsewhere God the Father says to the Son: Behold proselytes shall come to You through Me.

98. Multa reperies alia, si quaeras per Patrem facta. Numquid ideo minor Pater, quia in Filio et ex Filio pleraque esse legimus: et per Patrem facta vel data plurima in Scripturis coelestibus reperimus?

98. You will find many other passages, if you look for things done through the Father. Is, then, the Father less because we read that many things are in the Son and of the Son, and find in the heavenly Scriptures very many things done or given through the Father?

99. Sed etiam per Spiritum similiter legimus facta pleraque, sicut habes: Nobis autem revelavit Deus per Spiritum suum (I Cor. II, 10); et alibi: Bonum depositum custodi per Spiritum sanctum (I Tim. I, 14); et ad Ephesios: Confortari per Spiritum ejus (Ephes. III, 16); et ad Corinthios: Alii enim datur per Spiritum sermo sapientiae (I Cor. XII, 8); et alibi: Si autem per Spiritum facta carnis mortificaveritis, vivetis (Rom. VIII, 13); et supra: Qui suscitavit Christum ex mortuis, vivificabit et mortalia corpora vestra per inhabitantem Spiritum ejus in vobis (Ibid., 11).

99. But in like manner we also read of many things done through the Spirit, as you find: But God has revealed them to us through His Spirit; 1 Corinthians 2:10 and in another place: Keep the good deposit through the Holy Spirit; 1 Timothy 6:20 and to the Ephesians: to be strengthened through His Spirit; Ephesians 3:16 and to the Corinthians: To another is

given through the Spirit the word of wisdom; 1 Corinthians 12:8 and in another place: But if through the Spirit ye mortify the deeds of the flesh, you shall live; Romans 8:13 and above: He Who raised Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies through the indwelling of His Spirit in you. Romans 8:11

100. Sed fortasse dicat: Ostende mihi specialiter lectum, quia ex Filio omnia, vel ex Spiritu omnia. At ego refero, ut et illi mihi lectum esse ostendant quia per Patrem omnia. Sed cum haec vel Patri probaverimus, vel Filio, vel Spiritui sancto convenire, nec ullam ex hujusmodi syllabis nasci posse divinae distantiam potestatis; non est dubium quin per quem omnia, ex eo omnia: et ex quo omnia, per eum omnia: et in quo omnia, per cum 653 vel ex eo omnia esse intelligere debeamus. Omnis enim creatura et ex voluntate, et per operationem et in virtute est Trinitatis, sicut scriptum est: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram (Gen. I, 26); et alibi: Verbo Domini coeli firmati sunt, et Spiritu oris ejus omnis virtus eorum (Psal. XXXII, 6).

100. But perhaps some one may say, Show me that we can read expressly that all things are of the Son, or that all things are of the Spirit. But I reply, Let them also show that it is written that all things are through the Father. But since we have proved that these expressions suit either the Father or the Son or the Holy Spirit, and that no distinction of the divine power can arise from particles of this kind, there is no doubt but that all things are of Him through Whom all things are; and that all things are through Him through Whom all are; and that we must understand that all things are through Him or of Him in Whom all are. For every creature exists both of the will, and through the operation and in the power of the Trinity, as it is written: Let Us make man after Our image and likeness; Genesis 1:26 and elsewhere: By

the word of the Lord were the heavens established, and all their power by the Spirit of His mouth.

CAPUT X.

PROBATURUS UNAM TRINITATIS esse voluntatem, vocationem atque jussionem, docet non secus ac Pater et Filius Ecclesiam vocarunt, ita et Spiritum eam vocasse; idque ex electione Pauli et Barnabae ostendit, sed potissimum ex missione Petri ad Cornelium. Hic obiter ejusdem Spiritus potestate, ac trina Petri confessione perstrictis, in ejusdem apostoli visione adumbratam fuisse declarat vocationem gentium, quae cum prius ferarum similes exsitissent, Spiritus opera deposuere feritatem. Tum ubi superiora ex alio loco stabilivit, in Hieremia in lacum a Judaeis demisso, et inde educto ab Abdemelech, Spiritus sancti ab iisdem Judaeis contemptui habiti, et a gentibus quas mundavit, honorati symbolum praeivisse demonstrat.

CHAPTER 10.

Being about to prove that the will, the calling, and the commandment of the Trinity is one, St. Ambrose shows that the Spirit called the Church exactly as the Father and the Son did, and proves this by the selection of SS. Paul and Barnabas, and especially by the mission of St. Peter to Cornelius. And by the way he points out how in the Apostle’s vision the calling of the Gentiles was shadowed forth, who having been before like wild beasts, now by the operation of the Spirit lay aside that wildness. Then having quoted other passages in support of this view, he shows that in the case of Jeremiah cast into a pit by Jews, and rescued by Abdemelech, is a type of the slighting of the Holy Spirit by the Jews, and of His being honoured by the Gentiles.

101. [Alias cap. XI.] Nec solum una operatio est ubique Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, sed etiam una atque eadem voluntas, una vocatio, una praeceptio: quod licet in illo magno ac salutari Ecclesiae spectare mysterio. Sicut enim Pater vocavit gentes ad Ecclesiam, dicens: Vocabo non plebem meam, plebem meam: et non dilectam, dilectam (Ose. II); et alibi: Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur omnibus gentibus (Esai. LVI, 7): ita etiam Dominus Jesus ad evocandam et congregandam Ecclesiam Paulum a se dicit electum, sicut habes ad Ananiam dictum a Domino Jesu: Vade, quoniam vas electionis est mihi hic ac ferendum nomen meum coram gentibus (Act. IX, 15).

101. And not only is the operation of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit everywhere one but also there is one and the same will, calling, and giving of commands, which one may see in the great and saving mystery of the Church. For as the Father called the Gentiles to the Church, saying: I will call her My people which was not My people, and her beloved who was not beloved; Hosea 2:23 and elsewhere: My house shall be called a house of prayer for all nations, Isaiah 56:7 so, too, the Lord Jesus said that Paul was chosen by Him to call forth and gather together the Church, as you find it said by the Lord Jesus to Ananias: Go, for he is a chosen vessel unto Me to bear My name before all nations. Acts 9:15

102. Sicut ergo Pater Deus vocavit Ecclesiam, ita vocavit et Christus: et quemadmodum Christus vocavit, ita vocavit et Spiritus, dicens: Separate mihi Paulum et Barnabam in opus quo vocavi eos. Tunc jejunantes, inquit, et orantes, imposuerunt eis manus, et dimiserunt eos. Ipsi autem praemissi ab Spiritu sancto devenerunt in Seleuciam (Act. XIII, 2 et seq.). Ergo non solum Christi, sed etiam Spiritus sancti imperio apostolatum Paulus accepit, et ad congregationem gentium festinavit.

102. As, then, God the Father called the Church, so, too, Christ called it, and so, too, the Spirit called it, saying: Separate Me Paul and Barnabas for the work to which I have called them. So, it is added, having fasted and prayed, they laid hands on them and sent them forth. And they, being sent forth by the Holy Spirit, went down to Seleucia. So Paul received the apostleship by the will not only of Christ, but also of the Holy Spirit, and hastened to gather together the Gentiles.

103. Nec solus Paulus, sed etiam Petrus, sicut legimus in Actibus apostolorum. Nam cum in oratione vidisset coelum apertum, et quatuor initiis ligatum vas quoddam, tamquam linteum in quo erant omnia genera quadrupedum et ferarum et volucrum coeli, facta est vox ad eum: Surge, occide, et manduca. Et Petrus dixit: Absit, Domine: numquam manducavi commune et immundum. Et vox rursus ad eum: Quod Deus mundavit, tu commune ne dixeris. Hoc autem factum est per ter, et receptum est vas in coelum (Act. X, 11 et seq.). Ergo cum hoc secum Petrus tacitus cogitaret, et venissent ad eum Cornelii servuli ab Angelo 654 destinati, ait illi Spiritus: Ecce viri quaerunt te, surge itaque, et descende, et vade cum eis: ne dubites; quoniam ego misi illos (Ibid., 19, 20).

103. And not only Paul, but also, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, Peter. For when he had seen in his prayer heaven opened and a certain vessel tied at the four corners, as it were a sheet in which were all kinds of four-footed beasts and wild beasts and fowls of the air, a voice came to him saying, Arise, Peter, kill and eat. And Peter said, Be it far from me, Lord, I have never eaten anything common or unclean. And again a voice came to him, saying, What God has cleansed, call not common. And this was done three times, and the vessel was received back into heaven. And so when Peter was silently thinking over this with himself, and the servants of Cornelius appointed by the Angel had come to him, the Spirit said to him,

Lo, men are seeking you, rise therefore, and go down and go with them; doubt not, for I have sent you. Acts 10:19-20

104. Quam evidenter expressit suam Spiritus sanctus potestatem? Primo omnium quia aspiravit oranti, adfuit deprecanti: deinde quoniam vocatus Petrus respondit, Domine, et ideo secundum evidentius meruit oraculum, quia confessus est Dominum. Sed quis iste sit Dominus Scriptura declarat; respondenti enim, is utique cui responderat, loquebatur: Spiritum autem ostendunt sequentia declaratum; quia ipse qui mysterium figurabat, mysterium revelabat.

104. How clearly did the Holy Spirit express His own power! First of all in that He inspired him who was praying, and was present to him who was entreating; then when Peter, being called, answered, Lord, and so was found worthy of a second message, because he acknowledged the Lord. But the Scripture declares Who that Lord was, for He Whom he had answered spoke to him when he answered. And the following words show the Spirit clearly revealed, for He Who formed the mystery made known the mystery.

105. Simul illud adverte quia tertio repetita figura mysterii operationem Trinitatis expressit. Et ideo in mysteriis interrogatio trina defertur, et confirmatio trina celebratur: nec potest quis nisi trina confessione purgari. Unde et ipse Petrus in Evangelio (Joan. XXI, 15) tertio interrogatur, utrum diligat Dominum; ut trina responsione vincula, quae Dominum negando contraxerat, et quibus se ipse ligavit, absolverentur.

105. Notice, also, that the appearance of the mystery three times repeated expressed the operation of the Trinity. And so in the mysteries the threefold question is put, and the threefold answer made, and no one can be cleansed but by a threefold confession. For which reason, also, Peter in the Gospel is asked three times whether he loves the Lord, that by the threefold answer

the bonds of the guilt he had contracted by denying the Lord might be loosed.

106. Tum deinde quia ad Cornelium angelus mittitur, Petrum Spiritus sanctus alloquitur (Act. X, 3): Oculi enim Domini super fideles terrae (Psal. C, 6). Nec illud otiosum, quod cum in superioribus praemisisset: Quod Deus mundavit, tu ne commune dixeris (Act. X, 15); subito decidit super gentiles, ut mundaret eos Spiritus sanctus; unde ostenditur operationem Spiritus operationem esse divinam. Petrus autem missus ab Spiritu, non exspectavit imperium Dei Patris, sed ipsius quoque Spiritus illud est confessus oraculum, ipsius Spiritus gratiam esse testatus est dicens: Si ergo eamdem gratiam illis concessit Deus, sicut et nobis; ego quis eram, qui prohiberem Deum (Act. XI, 17)?

106. Then, again, because the Angel is sent to Cornelius, the Holy Spirit speaks to Peter: For the eyes of the Lord are over the faithful of the earth. Nor is it without a purpose that when He had said before, What God has cleansed call not thou common, Acts 10:15 the Holy Spirit came upon the Gentiles to purify them, when it is manifest that the operation of the Spirit is a divine operation. But Peter, when sent by the Spirit, did not wait for the command of God the Father, but acknowledged that that message was from the Spirit Himself, and the grace that of the Spirit Himself, when he said: If, then, God has granted them the same grace as to us, who was I that I should resist God?

107. Spiritus ergo sanctus est, qui nos ab illa gentili colluvione mundavit. In illis enim generibus quadrupedum, et ferarum, et volucrum figura erat conditionis humanae, quae ferarum modo bestialem videtur induta saevitiam, nisi Spiritus sanctificatione mitescat. Bona ergo gratia, quae ferinam rabiem spirituali simplicitate commutat: Eramus enim et nos aliquando insipientes, increduli, errantes, servientes desideriis et

voluptatibus variis: nunc autem per renovationem Spiritus haeredes Christi, angelorum coepimus esse cohaeredes (Tit. III, 3).

107. It is, then, the Holy Spirit Who has delivered us from that Gentile impurity. For in those kinds of four-footed creatures and wild beasts and birds there was a figure of the condition of man, which appears clothed with the bestial ferocity of wild beasts unless it grows gentle by the sanctification of the Spirit. Excellent, then, is that grace which changes the rage of beasts into the simplicity of the Spirit: For we also were aforetime foolish, unbelieving, erring, serving various lusts and pleasures. But now by the renewing of the Spirit we begin to be heirs of Christ, and joint-heirs with the Angels. Titus 3:3-7

108. Itaque Spiritu videns sanctus propheta David ex feris nos similes futuros esse coelestium: Increpa, inquit, feras silvae (Psal. LXVII, 32), silvam videlicet significans non ferarum fragosam cursibus, nec bestiarum gemitibus inhorrentem, sed illam silvam de qua scriptum est: Invenimus eam in campis silvae (Psal. CXXXI, 6). In qua, sicut dixit Propheta: justus ut palma florebit, et velut cedrus quae in Libano est, multiplicabitur (Psal. XCXI, 13). Illa silva, quae Verbi coelestis alimoniam propheticarum verticibus arborum concussa defluxit. Illa silva, ad quam Paulus lupus quidem raptor intravit, sed pastor exivit: In omnem enim terram exivit sonus eorum (Psal. XVIII, 5). 655

108. Therefore the holy prophet David, seeing in the Spirit that we should from wild beasts become like the dwellers in heaven, says, Rebuke the wild beasts of the wood, evidently signifying, not the wood disturbed by the running of wild beasts, and shaken with the roaring of animals, but that wood of which it is written: We found it in the fields of the wood. In which, as the prophet said: The righteous shall flourish as the palm-tree, and shall be multiplied as the cedar which is in Libanus. That wood which, shaken in

the tops of the trees spoken of in prophecy, shed forth the nourishment of the heavenly Word. That wood into which Paul entered indeed as a ravening wolf, but went forth as a shepherd, for their sound is gone out into all the earth.

109. Eramus ergo ferae, et ideo dicit Dominus: Attendite vobis a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt in vestitu ovium, intus autem sunt lupi rapaces (Matth. VII, 15). Sed per Spiritum sanctum jam leonum saevitia, pardorum varietas, astutia vulpium, luporum rapacitas de nostris exolevit affectibus. Magna igitur gratia, quae coelo terras mutavit; ut conversatio nostra, sicut Apostolus dixit (Philip. III, 20), in coelis sit, qui ante sicut ferae errabamus in silvis.

109. We then were wild beasts, and therefore the Lord said: Beware of false prophets, which come in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves. Matthew 7:15 But now, through the Holy Spirit, the rage of lions, the spots of leopards, the craft of foxes, the rapacity of wolves, have passed away from our feelings; great, then, is the grace which has changed earth to heaven, that the conversation of us, who once were wandering as wild beasts in the woods, might be in heaven. Philippians 3:20

110. Sed nec hoc tantum loco Petrus apostolus, sed etiam alibi in eodem libro a Spiritu sancto aedificatam Ecclesiam demonstravit. Habes enim dixisse eum: Deus qui novit corda hominum, testimonium perhibuit, dans his Spiritum sanctum, sicut et nobis; et nihil discrevit inter nos et illos, mundans per fidem corda eorum (Act. XV, 8, 9). In quo illud est contuendum, quia sicut Christus lapis est angularis, qui unitatem plebis utriusque connexuit, ita etiam Spiritus sanctus non discrevit utriusque populi corda, sed junxit.

110. And not only in this place, but also elsewhere in the same book, the Apostle Peter declared that the Church was built by the Holy Spirit. For you read that he said: God, Which knows the hearts of men, bore witness, giving them the Holy Spirit, even as also to us; and He made no distinction between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith. Acts 15:8-9 In which is to be considered, that as Christ is the Cornerstone, Who joined together both peoples into one, so, too, the Holy Spirit made no distinction between the hearts of each people, but united them.

111. Non ergo tamquam Judaeus contemnas Filium, quem annuntiaverunt prophetae; contemnas etiam Spiritum sanctum, contemnas Esaiam, contemnas Hieremiam, quem de lacu Judaicae domus ille assumptus a Domino pannis et funibus elevavit (Jerem. XXXVIII, 10). Verbum enim propheticum despiciens, in lacum demerserat eum populus Judaeorum. Nec quisquam inventus est de Judaeis qui levaret prophetam, sed unus Aethiops Abdemelech, sicut Scriptura testatur.

111. Do not, then, like a Jew, despise the Son, Whom the prophets foretold; for you would despise also the Holy Spirit, you would despise Isaiah, you would despise Jeremiah, whom he who was chosen of the Lord raised with rags and cords from the pit of that Jewish abode. Jeremiah 38:11 For the people of the Jews, despising the word of prophecy, had cast him into the pit. Nor was there found any one of the Jews to draw the prophet out, but one Ethiopian Abdemelech, as the Scripture testifies.

112. In quo nomine figura pulcherrima est, quia sermonem propheticum, quem Judaei velut in coenum suae mentis carnisque detruserant, nos videlicet ex gentibus peccatores, nigri ante delictis, et quondam infructuosi elevavimus de profundo (Ibid., 11). Et ideo scriptum est: Aethiopia praelevabit manus suas Deo (Psal. LXVII, 32). In quo sanctae Ecclesiae species significatur, quae ait in Canticis canticorum: Nigra sum et decora,

filiae Hierusalem (Cant. I, 4); nigra per culpam, decora per gratiam: nigra per conditionem, decora per redemptionem: aut certe nigra exercitii sui pulvere. Nigra ergo, dum praeliatur: decora est, dum victoriae suae insignibus coronatur.

112. In which account is a very beautiful figure, that is to say, that we, sinners of the Gentiles, black beforehand through our transgressions, and aforetime fruitless, raised from the depth the word of prophecy which the Jews had thrust down, as it were, into the mire of their mind and carnality. And therefore it is written: Ethiopia shall stretch out her hand unto God. In which is signified the appearance of holy Church, who says in the Song of Songs: I am black and comely, O daughters of Jerusalem; Song of Songs 1:5 black through sin, comely through grace; black by natural condition, comely through redemption, or certainly, black with the dust of her labours. So she is black while fighting, is comely when she is crowned with the ornaments of victory.

113. Et bene funibus levatur propheta; fidelis enim dixit: Funes ceciderunt mihi in praeclaris (Psal. XV, 6). Bene pannis; quia ipse Dominus, excusantibus his qui primo ad nuptias vocati fuerant, ad exitus viarum misit, ut quotquot invenirentur et boni et mali, ad nuptias vocarentur (Matth. XXII, 9, 10). His itaque pannis propheticum verbum levavit coeno. 656

113. And fittingly is the prophet raised by cords, for the faithful writer said: The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places. And fittingly with rags; for the Lord Himself, when those who had been first invited to the marriage made excuse, sent to the partings of the highways, that as many as were found, both bad and good, should be invited to the marriage. With these rags, then, He lifted the word of prophecy from the mire.

CAPUT XI.

IMITATUROS NOS ABDEMELECH, si credamus Filium et Spiritum sanctum omnia cognoscere. Spiritui cognitionem hanc tribui in Scripturis; Filio quoque eamdem attribui. Filium a Spiritu clarificari, sicut et a Filio Spiritum: item ex eo quod Patrem, Filium atque Spiritum legamus eadem loqui, ac revelare, unitatem in ipsis naturae et scientiae agnoscendam: denique quod alta Dei scrutatur Spiritus, ignorantiae non esse; cum Pater et Filius etiam dicantur scrutatores, et Paulus tametsi a Christo domino electus, edoctus tamen fuerit a Spiritu.

CHAPTER 11.

We shall follow the example of Abdemelech, if we believe that the Son and Holy Spirit know all things. This knowledge is attributed in Scripture to the Spirit, and also to the Son. The Son is glorified by the Spirit, as also the Spirit by the Son. Also, inasmuch as we read that the Father, the Son, and the Spirit say and reveal the same things, we must acknowledge in Them a oneness of nature and knowledge. Lastly, that the Spirit searches the deep things of God is not a mark of ignorance, since the Father and the Son are likewise said to search, and Paul, although chosen by Christ, yet was taught by the Spirit.

114. [Alias cap. XII.] Eris igitur et tu Abdemelech, hoc est, assumptus a Domino, si de profundo gentilis imprudentiae levaveris Dei Verbum: si credideris quia non fallitur; non praeteritur Dei Filius, non ignorat quae futura sunt; non fallitur etiam Spiritus sanctus, de quo dicit Dominus: Cum venerit autem ille Spiritus veritatis, deducet vos in omnem veritatem (Joan.

XVI, 13). Qui dicit omnem, nihil praeterit, non diem, non horam, non praeterita, non futura.

114. And you, too, shall be Abdemelech, that is, chosen by the Lord, if you raise the Word of God from the depth of Gentile ignorance; if you believe that the Son of God is not deceived, that nothing escapes His knowledge, that He is not ignorant of what is going to be. And the Holy Spirit also is not deceived, of Whom the Lord says: But when He, the Spirit of Truth, shall come, He shall lead you into all truth. John 16:13 He Who says *all* passes by nothing, neither the day nor the hour, neither things past nor things to come.

115. Et ut scias quia et omnia novit, et futura annuntiat, et unius est scientiae cum Patre et Filio; audi quid dicat de eo Dei veritas: Non enim loquetur a semetipso, sed quae audierit, loquetur, et quae evenient, annuntiabit vobis (Ibid.).

115. And that you may know that He both knows all things, and foretells things to come, and that His knowledge is one with that of the Father and the Son, hear what the Truth of God says concerning Him: For He shall not speak from Himself, but what things He shall hear shall He speak, and He shall declare unto you the things that are to come. John 16:13

116. Itaque ut advertas quia novit omnia, cum diceret Filius: De die autem illa et hora nemo novit, neque Angeli coelorum (Marc. XIII, 32); excepit Spiritum sanctum. Si autem exceptus est Spiritus sanctus ab ignorantia, quomodo non exceptus est Dei Filius?

116. Therefore, that you may observe that He knows all things, when the Son said: But of that day and hour knows no one, not even the Angels of heaven, Mark 13:32 He excepted the Holy Spirit. But if the Holy Spirit is excepted from ignorance, how is the Son of God not excepted?

117. Sed dicis quia cum angelis annumeraverit et Dei Filium. Annumeravit quidem Filium, sed non annumeravit et Spiritum. Aut fatere igitur potiorem esse Spiritum sanctum Dei Filio, ut jam non solum quasi Arianus, sed etiam quasi Photinianus loquaris: aut agnosce quo referre debeas, quod nescire Filium dixit. Etenim quasi homo annumerari creaturis potuit, qui creatus est.

117. But you say that He numbered the Son of God also with the Angels. He numbered the Son indeed, but He did not number the Spirit also. Confess, then, either that the Holy Spirit is greater than the Son of God, so as to speak now not only as an Arian, but even as a Photinian, or acknowledge to what you ought to refer it that He said that the Son knew not. For as man He could [in His human nature] be numbered with creatures Who were created.

118. Quod si vis discere quia novit omnia, et praescientiam habet omnium Dei Filius futurorum, quae Filio incognita putas, ea de Filio Spiritus sanctus accepit. Accepit autem per unitatem substantiae, sicut accepit a Patre Filius: Ille, inquit, me clarificabit, quia de meo accipiet, et annuntiabit vobis. Omnia quaecumque habet Pater, mea sunt; propterea dixi, de meo accipiet, et annuntiabit vobis (Joan. XVI, 14, 15). Quid igitur hac evidentius unitate? Quae habet Pater, Filii sunt: quae habet Filius, accepit et Spiritus. 119 et

118. But if you are willing to learn that the Son of God knows all things, and has foreknowledge of all, see that those very things which you think to be unknown to the Son, the Holy Spirit received from the Son. He received them, however, through Unity of Substance, as the Son received from the Father. He, says He, shall glorify Me, for He shall receive of Mine and shall declare it unto you. All things whatsoever the Father has are Mine, therefore said I, He shall receive of Mine, and shall declare it unto you. John 16:14-15 What, then, is more clear than this Unity? What things the Father has

pertain to the Son; what things the Son has the Holy Spirit also has received.

120. Accipe tamen quia novit judicii diem Filius. Lectum est in Zacharia: Et veniet Dominus Deus meus, et omnes sancti cum eo. In illa die non erit lumen, sed frigus et gelu: et erit dies una, et dies illa nota Domino (Zach. XIV, 5). Haec igitur dies nota Domino, qui veniet cum sanctis suis, secundo nos illuminaturus adventu.

119. Yet learn that the Son knows the day of judgment. We read in Zechariah: And the Lord my God shall come, and all the saints with Him. In that day there shall not be light, but cold and frost, and it shall be one day, and that day is known unto the Lord. This day, then, was known unto the Lord, Who shall come with His saints, to enlighten us by His second Advent.

121. Sed quod orsi sumus de Spiritu, persequamur. 657 Habes enim in eo quod praetulimus exemplo quia Filius dicit de Spiritu: Ille me clarificabit. Clarificat ergo Spiritus Filium, sicut clarificat et Pater: sed etiam Spiritum clarificat Dei Filius, sicut supra diximus. Non est ergo infirmus, qui reddit mutuam claritatem per unitatem lucis aeternae: nec inferior sancto Spiritu, cujus hoc ipsum est, quod clarificatur ab Spiritu.

120. But let us continue the point which we have commenced concerning the Spirit. For in the passage we have brought forward you find that the Son says of the Spirit: He shall glorify Me. So, then, the Spirit glorifies the Son, as the Father also glorifies Him, but the Son of God also glorifies the Spirit, as we said above. He, then, is not weak who is the cause of the mutual glory through the Unity of the Eternal Light, nor is He inferior to the Spirit, of Whom this is true that He is glorified by the Spirit.

122. Assumeris ergo et tu, si credas quia hoc locutus est Spiritus, quod locutus est Pater, quod locutus est Filius. Denique Paulus ideo assumptus est, quia sic credidit, sic docuit, quia quod oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit, quae praeparavit Deus diligentibus se, nobis revelavit per Spiritum suum, sicut scriptum est (I Cor. II, 9, 10). Et ideo revelationis Spiritus dicitur, sicut habes: Dat enim Deus sic praeparantibus se Spiritum sapientiae et revelationis in agnitionem ejus (Esai. LXIV, 4).

122. And you too shall be chosen, if you believe that the Spirit spoke that which the Father spoke, and which the Son spoke. Paul, in fine, was therefore chosen because he so believed and so taught, since, as it is written, God has revealed to us by His Spirit that which eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has entered into the heart of man, the things which God has prepared for them that love Him. 1 Corinthians 2:9-10 And therefore is He called the Spirit of revelation, as you read: For God gives to those who thus prepare themselves the Spirit of wisdom and revelation, that He may be known. Isaiah 64:4

123. Unitas igitur est scientiae, quando sicut Pater revelat, qui dat Spiritum revelationis, sic revelat et Filius; quia scriptum est: Nemo novit Filium, nisi Pater; neque Patrem quis novit, nisi Filius, et cui voluerit Filius revelare (Matth. XI, 27). Plus dixit de Filio, non quod plus habeat quam Pater, sed ne minus habere credatur. Nec immerito sic revelatur Pater a Filio; quia sic novit Patrem Filius, quemadmodum Filium Pater novit.

123. There is, then, a Unity of knowledge, since, as the Father, Who gives the Spirit of revelation, reveals, so also the Son reveals, for it is written: No one knows the Son save the Father, neither does any one know the Father save the Son, and he to whom the Son shall will to reveal Him. Matthew 11:27 He said more concerning the Son, not because He has more than the

Father, but lest He should be supposed to have less. And not unfittingly is the Father thus revealed by the Son, for the Son knows the Father even as the Father knows the Son.

124. Accipe nunc quia Deum Patrem novit et Spiritus; scriptum est enim quia sicut ea quae hominis sunt, nemo novit nisi spiritus qui in ipso est: sic et quae Dei sunt, nemo cognovit nisi Spiritus Dei (I Cor. II, 11). Nemo, inquit, cognovit, nisi Spiritus Dei. Numquid exclusus est Dei Filius? Non utique; quia nec Spiritus sanctus exclusus est, cum dicitur: Neque Patrem quis novit, nisi Filius.

124. Learn now that the Spirit too knows God the Father, for it is written that, As no one knows the things of a man, save the spirit which is in him, so too the things of God no one knows save the Spirit of God. No one, he says, knows save the Spirit of God. 1 Corinthians 2:11 Is, then, the Son of God excluded? Certainly not, since neither is the Spirit excluded, when it is said: And none knows the Father, save the Son.

125. Ergo unius et Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus et naturae sunt et scientiae. Neque cum omnibus quae per Filium facta sunt, annumerandus est Spiritus, cum Deum Patrem noverit, quem, sicut scriptum est (Matth. XI, 27), quis potest nosse nisi Filius? Sed et Spiritus sanctus novit. Quid ergo? Cum dicitur universitas creaturarum, non Spiritus sanctus comprehenditur.

125. Therefore the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are of one nature and of one knowledge. And the Spirit is not to be numbered with all things which were made by the Son, since He knew the Father, Whom (as it is written) who can know save the Son? But the Holy Spirit knows also. What then? When the totality of created things is spoken of, it follows that the Holy Spirit is not included.

126. Nunc velim respondeant, quid est in homine, quod cognoscat quae sunt hominis? Utique rationabile, quod caeteris animae virtutibus supereminet, et quo praecipua natura hominis aestimatur. Quid est igitur Spiritus, qui alta Dei novit, per quem Deus omnipotens revelatur. Numquid plenitudine divinitatis inferior est, qui ejusdem cum Patre substantiae etiam hoc exemplo probatur? Aut aliquid ignorat, qui novit consilia Dei, et mysteria ejus ab initio abscondita? Quid est quod nesciat, qui novit omnia quae Dei sunt? Spiritus enim etiam alta Dei scrutatur (I Cor. II, 10).

126. Now I should like them to answer what it is in man which knows the things of a man. Certainly that must be reasonable which surpasses the other powers of the soul, and by which the highest nature of man is estimated. What, then, is the Spirit, Who knows the deep things of God, and through Whom Almighty God is revealed? Is He inferior in the fullness of the Godhead Who is proved even by this instance to be of one substance with the Father? Or is He ignorant of anything Who knows the counsels of God, and His mysteries which have been hidden from the beginning? What is there that He knows not Who knows all things that are of God? For the Spirit searches even the deep things of God. 1 Corinthians 2:10

127. Ac ne putes quod scrutetur incognita, et ideo scrutetur, ut discat id quod ignoret; 658 ante praemisit quia revelavit nobis Deus per Spiritum suum: simul ut disceres quia novit Spiritus quae nobis per ipsum Spiritum revelantur, in posterioribus ait: Quis enim scit hominum quae hominis sunt, nisi spiritus hominis qui in ipso est: sic et quae Dei sunt, nemo cognovit, nisi Spiritus Dei. Ergo si hominis spiritus novit quae hominis sunt, et antequam scrutetur novit, potestne aliquid Dei esse, quod Spiritus Dei nesciat? De quo non otiose Apostolus dixit: Quae Dei sunt, nemo cognovit, nisi Spiritus Dei: non quod scrutando cognoverit, sed noverit per naturam: non quod accidens in eo scientia divinorum, sed cognitio naturalis sit.

127. But lest you should think that He searches things unknown, and so searches that He may learn that which He knows not, it is stated first that God revealed them to us through His Spirit, and at the same time in order that you may learn that the Spirit knows the things which are revealed to us through the Spirit Himself, it is said subsequently: For who among men knows the things of a man, save the spirit of the man which is in him? So, too, the things of God knows no one save the Spirit of God. 1 Corinthians 2:11 If, then, the spirit of a man knows the things of a man, and knows them before it searches, can there be anything of God which the Spirit of God knows not? Of Whom the Apostle said not without a purpose, The things of God knows no one, save the Spirit of God; not that He knows by searching, but knows by nature; not that the knowledge of divine things is an accident in Him, but is His natural knowledge.

128. Verum si te movet quia dixit, scrutatur, accipe quia id quoque de Deo scriptum est, eo quod sit scrutator cordis et renum. Ipse enim dixit: Ego sum scrutans corda et renes (Jerem. XVII, 10). Etiam de Filio Dei habes ad Hebraeos: Qui scrutator est animi et cogitationis (Hebr. IV, 12). Unde liquet quia nemo inferior superioris scrutatur interna; divinae enim solius est potestatis occulta novisse. Similiter ergo scrutator est Spiritus sanctus ut Pater, similiter scrutator et Filius: cujus proprietate sermonis id exprimitur; ut videatur nihil esse quod nesciat, quem nihil praeterit.

128. But if this moves you that He said searches, learn that this is also said of God, inasmuch as He is the searcher of hearts and reins. For Himself said: I am He that searches the heart and reins. Jeremiah 17:10 And of the Son of God you have also in the Epistle to the Hebrews: Who is the Searcher of the mind and thoughts. Hebrews 4:12 Whence it is clear that no inferior searches the inward things of his superior, for to know hidden things is of the divine power alone. The Holy Spirit, then, is a searcher in

like manner as the Father, and the Son is a searcher in like manner, by the proper signification of which expression this is implied, that evidently there is nothing which He knows not, Whom nothing escapes.

129. Denique ille electus a Christo, instructus ab Spiritu est. Nam sicut ipse testatur, per Spiritum divini cognitionem consecutus arcani, ostendit quia et novit Spiritus Deum, et ea nobis quae Dei sunt, Spiritus revelavit, sicut revelavit et Filius. Et addidit: Nos autem non spiritum hujus mundi accepimus, sed Spiritum qui ex Deo est; ut sciamus quae a Deo donata sunt nobis, quae et loquimur, non in suasoriis humanae sapientiae verbis, sed in ostensione Spiritus, et virtute Dei (I Cor. II, 12, 13)?

129. Lastly, he was chosen by Christ, and taught by the Spirit. For as he himself witnesses, having obtained through the Spirit knowledge of the divine secrets, he shows both that the Holy Spirit knows God, and has revealed to us the things which are of God, as the Son also has revealed them. And he adds: But we received, not the spirit of this world, but the Spirit which is of God, that we might know the things that are given to us by God, which we also speak, not in persuasive words of man’s wisdom, but in manifestation of the Spirit and in the power of God. 1 Corinthians 2:12-13

CAPUT XII.

PROBATO SPIRITUM AEQUE revelare ac Patrem et Filium, quomodo non loquatur a se idem Spiritus, explicatur; ostenditurque non cogitanda in ipso corporeo organa, nec ullam inferioritatem ex eo fingendam, quod audire legatur; quando idem Filio esset attribuendum; immo vero etiam Patri, cum et ipse audiat Filium. Spiritum igitur eo sensu audire et clarificare Filium, quod eum prophetis atque apostolis revelavit; qua ex re operationis trium personarum unitas astruitur; et cum eadem Spiritus operetur, quae Pater eadem quoque declaratur utriusque esse substantia.

CHAPTER 12.

After proof that the Spirit is the Giver of revelation equally with the Father and the Son, it is explained how the same Spirit does not speak of Himself; and it is shown that no bodily organs are to be thought of in Him, and that no inferiority is to be supposed from the fact of our reading that He hears, since the same would have to be attributed to the Son, and indeed even to the Father, since He hears the Son. The Spirit then hears and glorifies the Son in the sense that He revealed Him to the prophets and apostles, by which the Unity of operation of the Three Persons is inferred; and, since the Spirit does the same works as the Father, the substance of each is also declared to be the same.

130. Probatum est igitur quia sicut Deus nobis quae sua sunt, ita et Filius quae Dei sunt, ita etiam Spiritus revelavit. Ex uno enim Spiritu per unum Filium in unum Patrem cognitio nostra procedit: et ex uno Patre per unum Filium in unum Spiritum sanctum bonitas et sanctificatio et imperiale jus

aeternae traditur potestatis. Ubi ergo ostensio Spiritus, ibi Dei virtus: nec potest esse discretio, ubi opus unum est. Et ideo quod loquitur Filius, loquitur 659 et Pater: et quod Pater loquitur, loquitur et Filius: et quod loquitur Pater et Filius, loquitur et Spiritus sanctus.

130. It has then been proved that like as God has revealed to us the things which are His, so too the Son, and so too the Spirit, has revealed the things of God. For our knowledge proceeds from one Spirit, through one Son to one Father; and from one Father through one Son to one Holy Spirit is delivered goodness and sanctification and the sovereign right of eternal power. Where, then, there is a manifestation of the Spirit, there is the power of God, nor can there be any distinction where the work is one. And therefore that which the Son says the Father also says, and that which the Father says the Son also says, and that which the Father and the Son say the Holy Spirit also says.

131. Unde et de Spiritu Filius Dei dixit: Non enim loquetur a se (Joan. XVI, 13), hoc est, non sine mea et Patris communione; neque enim divisus ac separatus est Spiritus, sed quae audit, loquitur: audit videlicet per unitatem substantiae, et per proprietatem scientiae. Neque enim foraminibus aliquibus corporalibus recipit auditum, et quibusdam divina modulis carnalibus vox resultat, vel audit id quid ignorat; quoniam in rebus humanis scientiam plerumque auditus operatur, et tamen nec in ipsis hominibus semper alloquium corporale, aut carnalis auditus est: Qui enim loquitur linguis, non hominibus, inquit, loquitur, sed Deo. Nemo enim audit, Spiritu autem loquitur mysteria (I Cor. XIV, 2).

131. Whence also the Son of God said concerning the Holy Spirit: He shall not speak from Himself, John 16:13 that is, not without the participation of the Father and Myself. For the Spirit is not divided and separated, but speaks what He hears. He hears, that is to say, by unity of substance and by

the property of knowledge. For He receives not hearing by any orifices of the body, nor does the divine voice resound with any carnal measures, nor does He hear what He knows not; since commonly in human matters hearing produces knowledge, and yet not even in men themselves is there always bodily speech or fleshly hearing. For he that speaks in tongues, it is said, speaks not to men but to God, for no one hears, but in the Spirit he speaks mysteries. 1 Corinthians 14:2

132. Ergo si in hominibus non semper auditus est corporalis; in Deo tu infirmitatis humanae sonitus, et quaedam organa exigis carnalis auditus; cum ideo audire dicatur, ut scire credatur? Nos enim id scimus quod audierimus, et ante audimus, ut scire possimus: in Deo autem qui novit omnia antequam fiant, scientia praecedit auditum. Itaque ut quod velit Pater, Filium non ignorare dicamus, audisse memoramus: sed non in Deo sonus, neque syllaba, quae significare solent indicium voluntatis; sed voluntatis unitas divinis quidem intelligitur arcanis, nostris autem significatur indiciis.

132. Therefore if in men hearing is not always of the body, do you require in God the voices of man's weakness, and certain organs of fleshly hearing, when He is said to hear in order that we may believe that He knows? For we know that which we have heard, and we hear beforehand that we may be able to know; but in God Who knows all things knowledge goes before hearing. So in order to state that the Son is not ignorant of what the Father wills, we say that He has heard; but in God there is no sound nor syllable, such as usually signify the indication of the will; but oneness of will is comprehended in hidden ways in God, but in us is shown by signs.

133. Quid est ergo: Non enim a se loquetur? Hoc est, non sine me loquitur; quia loquetur veritatem, sapientiam aspirat. Non sine Patre loquitur, quia Dei Spiritus est: non a se audit, quoniam ex Deo omnia.

133. What means, then, He shall not speak from Himself? This is, He shall not speak without Me; for He speaks the truth, He breathes wisdom. He speaks not without the Father, for He is the Spirit of God; He hears not from Himself, for all things are of God.

134. Omnia accepit a Patre Filius, quia ipse dixit: Omnia mihi tradita sunt a Patre meo (Matth. XI, 27). Omnia Patris habet Filius; quia iterum ait: Omnia quae Pater habet mea sunt (Joan. XVI, 15). Et quae accepit ipse per unitatem naturae, ex ipso per eamdem unitatem accepit et Spiritus, sicut ipse Dominus Jesus declarat, de Spiritu suo dicens: Propterea dixi, de meo accipiet, et annuntiabit vobis (Ibid.). Quod ergo loquitur Spiritus, Filii est: quod dedit Filius, Patris est. Ita nihil a se aut Filius loquitur aut Spiritus, quia nihil extra se Trinitas loquitur.

134. The Son received all things from the Father, for He Himself said: All things have been delivered unto Me from My Father. Matthew 11:27 All that is the Father's the Son also has, for He says again: All things which the Father has are Mine. John 15:15 And those things which He Himself received by Unity of nature, the Spirit by the same Unity of nature received also from Him, as the Lord Jesus Himself declares, when speaking of His Spirit: Therefore said I, He shall receive of Mine and shall declare it unto you. John 15:15 Therefore what the Spirit says is the Son's, what the Son has given is the Father's. So neither the Son nor the Spirit speaks anything of Himself. For the Trinity speaks nothing external to Itself.

135. Quod si ad infirmitatem Spiritus sancti, et quamdam corporeae similitudinem vilitatis id derivari contendas; etiam ad Filii injuriam derivabis; quia et de se Filius dixit: Sicut audio, judico; et, Non potest aliud facere Filius, nisi quod viderit facientem Patrem (Joan. V, 30). Si enim verum est, sicut verum est, quod dixit Filius: Omnia quae Pater habet, mea sunt (Ibid., 19); et secundum divinitatem unum est cum Patre Filius, unum

per substantiam naturalem, non unus secundum Sabellianam perfidiam. Quod unum utique est per substantiae proprietatem, non potest separari; et ideo non potest Filius facere, nisi quod audierit a Patre; quia in aeternum est permanens Dei Verbum (Psal. CXVIII, 89), nec umquam Pater a Filii operatione dividitur: et quod operatur Filius scit Patrem velle: et quod vult Pater, Filius novit operari. 660

135. But if you contend that this is an argument for the weakness of the Holy Spirit, and for a kind of likeness to the lowliness of the body, you will also make it an argument to the injury of the Son, because the Son said of Himself: As I hear I judge, John 5:30 and The Son can do nothing else than what He sees the Father doing. John 5:19 For if that be true, as it is, which the Son said: All things which the Father has are Mine, John 16:15 and the Son according to the Godhead is One with the Father, One by natural substance, not according to the Sabellian falsehood; that which is one by the property of substance certainly cannot be separated, and so the Son cannot do anything except what He has heard of the Father, for the Word of God endures forever, nor is the Father ever separated from the operation of the Son; and that which the Son works He knows that the Father wills, and what the Father wills the Son knows how to work.

136. Denique ne vel in tempore, vel in ordine aliquam inter Patrem et Filium putares operis esse distantiam, sed ejusdem operationis crederes unitatem: Et opera, inquit, quae ego facio, ipse facit (Joan. V, 17). Et rursus ne discretionem aliquam in operis distinctione sentires, sed idem velle, idem facere, idem posse Patrem et Filium judicares, dicit tibi Sapientia de Patre: Quaecumque enim ille fecerit, eadem et Filius facit similiter (Ibid., 19). Non ergo alicui prior vel secundus est actus, sed idem unius operationis effectus. Et ideo nihil a se posse facere Filius dicitur; quia a Patre non potest

ejus operatio separari. Similiter et Spiritus sancti operatio non secernitur. Unde etiam ea quae loquitur. audire a Patre dicitur.

136. Lastly, that one may not think that there is any difference of work either in time or in order between the Father and the Son, but may believe the oneness of the same operation, He says: The works which I do He does. And again, that one may not think that there is any difference in the distinction of the works, but may judge that the will, the working, and the power of the Father and the Son are the same, Wisdom says concerning the Father: For whatsoever things He does, the Son likewise does the same. John 5:19 So that the action of neither Person is before or after that of the Other, but the same result of one operation. And for this reason the Son says that He can do nothing of Himself, because His operation cannot be separated from that of the Father. In like manner the operation of the Holy Spirit is not separated. Whence also the things which He speaks, He is said to hear from the Father.

137. Quid si doceo quia et Pater audit Filium, sicut ut et Filius audit Patrem? Habes enim scriptum in Evangelio, quia dicit Filius: Pater, gratias tibi ago, quia audisti me (Joan. XI, 41). Quomodo audivit Pater Filium, cum Filius nihil ad Patrem in superioribus de Lazaro sit locutus? Ac ne putares quia semel a Patre auditus est Filius, addidit: Et ego sciebam quia semper me audis (Ibid., 42). Ergo non subjectae obedientiae, sed unitatis auditus est sempiternae.

137. What if I demonstrate that the Father also hears the Son, as the Son too hears the Father? For you have it written in the Gospel that the Son says: Father, I thank You that You heard Me. John 11:41 How did the Father hear the Son, since in the previous passage concerning Lazarus the Son spoke nothing to the Father? And that we might not think that the Son was heard once by the Father, He added: And I knew that You hear Me always. John

11:42 Therefore the hearing is not that of subject obedience, but of eternal Unity.

138. Similiter igitur et audire a Patre Spiritus, et clarificare Filium dicitur. Clarificare ideo, quia docuit nos Spiritus sanctus Filium Dei imaginem esse invisibilis Dei, et splendorem gloriae, et characterem substantiae ejus (Coloss. I, 15), Spiritus enim et in patriarchis et in prophetis locutus est: et apostoli denique tunc perfectiores esse coeperunt, posteaquam Spiritum receperunt (Hebr. I, 1, 2). Nulla ergo distantia divinae virtutis et gratiae; nam licet divisiones gratiarum sint, idem autem Spiritus: et divisiones ministeriorum sint, idem autem Dominus: et divisiones operationum sint, idem autem Deus, qui operatur omnia in omnibus (I Cor. XII, 4 et seq.). Divisiones sunt munerum, non separationes Trinitatis.

138. In like manner, then, the Spirit is said to hear from the Father, and to glorify the Son. To glorify, because the Holy Spirit taught us that the Son is the Image of the invisible God, Colossians 1:15 and the brightness of His glory, and the impress of His substance. Hebrews 1:3 The Spirit also spoke in the patriarchs and the prophets, and, lastly, the apostles began then to be more perfect after that they had received the Holy Spirit. There is therefore no separation of the divine power and grace, for although there are diversities of gifts, yet it is the same Spirit; and diversities of ministrations, yet the same Lord; and diversities of operations, yet the same God Who works all in all. There are diversities of offices, not severances of the Trinity.

139. Denique idem est Deus qui operatur omnia in omnibus; ut scias quia non est discretio operationis inter Deum Patrem et Spiritum sanctum, quando ea quae operatur Spiritus, operatur et Pater Deus, qui operatur omnia in omnibus. Nam cum operetur omnia in omnibus Pater: Alii tamen datur per Spiritum sermo sapientiae, alii sermo scientiae secundum eumdem

Spiritum, alteri fides in eodem Spiritu, alii gratia curationum in uno Spiritu, alii operatio virtutum, alii prophetia, alii discretio spirituum, alii genera linguarum, alii interpretatio sermonum. Haec autem omnia operatur unus atque idem Spiritus, dividens singulis prout vult (Ibid., 8 et seq.).

139. Lastly, it is the same God Who works all in all, that you may know that there is no diversity of operation between God the Father and the Holy Spirit; since those things which the Spirit works, God the Father also works, Who works all in all. For while God the Father works all in all, yet to one is given through the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit; to another faith, in the same Spirit; to another the gift of healings, in the one Spirit; to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits; to another various kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of sayings; but all these works one and the same Spirit, dividing to each one as He will.

140. Non est ergo dubium, quin ea quae operatur Pater, operetur et Spiritus. Nec ex praecepto, sicut qui corporaliter audit, operatur: sed ex voluntate, qui sui est liber arbitrii, non alienae famulus potestatis. Non enim quasi jussus obtemperat, sed quasi largitor suae moderator est largitatis.

140. There is then no doubt but that those things which the Father works, the Spirit works also. Nor does He work in accordance with a command, as he who hears in bodily fashion, but voluntarily, as being free in His own will, not the servant of the power of another. For He does not obey as being bidden, but as the giver He is the controller of His own gifts.

141. Vide nunc interim utrum omnia operari dieas Spiritum, quae operatur et Pater; negare tamen non potes quia operatur Pater, 661 quae operatur Spiritus sanctus: alioquin non omnia operatur Pater, si non operatur ea quae operatur et Spiritus. Quod si ea quae operatur Spiritus, operatur et Pater;

cum Spiritus operationes suas pro voluntate sua dividat, necesse est id quod dividit Spiritus, aut invito Patre Deo, dicas eum ex sua voluntate dividere: aut si idem velle dixeris Patrem, quod vult Spiritus sanctus; necesse est ut unitatem voluntatis operationisque divinae vel invitus, et si non corde, saltem ore fatearis.

141. Consider meanwhile whether you can say that the Spirit effects all things which the Father effects; for you cannot deny that the Father effects those things which the Holy Spirit effects; otherwise the Father does not effect all things, if He effects not those things which the Spirit also effects. But if the Father also effects those things which the Spirit effects, since the Spirit divides His operations, according to His own will, you must of necessity say, either that what the Spirit divides He divides according to His own will, against the will of God the Father; or if you say that the Father wills the same that the Holy Spirit wills, you must of necessity confess the oneness of the divine will and operation, even if you do it unwillingly, and, if not with the heart, at least with the mouth.

142. Quod si unius et voluntatis et operationis est cum Patre Deo Spiritus sanctus, unius etiam substantiae est; quoniam ex operibus suis creator agnoscitur. Idem igitur Spiritus, idem, inquit, Dominus, idem, inquit, Deus (Ibid., 5). Et si Spiritum dicas, idem, est: et si Dominum dicas, idem est: et si Deum dicas, idem est. Non idem ut ipse Pater, ipse Filius, ipse sit Spiritus: sed quia et Pater et Filius ejusdem est potestatis. Idem ergo est per substantiam atque virtutem; quia non est in divinitate vel Sabelliana confusio, vel Ariana discretio, vel terrena corporalisque mutatio.

142. But if the Holy Spirit is of one will and operation with God the Father, He is also of one substance, since the Creator is known by His works. So, then, it is the same Spirit, he says, the same Lord, the same God. 1 Corinthians 12:5 And if you say Spirit, He is the same; and if you say Lord,

He is the same; and if you say God, He is the same. Not the same, so that Himself is Father, Himself Son, Himself Spirit [one and the selfsame Person]; but because both the Father and the Son are the same Power. He is, then, the same in substance and in power, for there is not in the Godhead either the confusion of Sabellius nor the division of Arius, nor any earthly and bodily change.

CAPUT XIII.

PROPHETIAM FUISSE NON solum a Patre ac Filio, sed etiam a Spiritu: hujus quoque idem cum eis imperium atque operationem in apostolos significari; et inde in tribus intelligendam imperii, constitutionis largitatisque unitatem: non timendum tamen ex eo consortio praejudicium; cum illud nec in humana amicitia locum habeat. Denique hanc esse apostolicae fidei haereditatem hinc confirmatur, quod apostoli scribantur Spiritui sancto obtemperasse.

CHAPTER 13.

Prophecy was not only from the Father and the Son but also from the Spirit; the authority and operation of the latter on the apostles is signified to be the same as Theirs; and so we are to understand that there is unity in the three points of authority, rule, and bounty; yet need no disadvantage be feared from that participation, since such does not arise in human friendship. Lastly, it is established that this is the inheritance of the apostolic faith from the fact that the apostles are described as having obeyed the Holy Spirit.

143. Accipe aliud, sancte Imperator, in causa validum exemplum et tibi notum. Multifariam, inquit, et multis modis etiam Deus locutus est patribus in prophetis (Heb. I, 1). Et Sapientia Dei dixit: Mittam prophetas et apostolos. Et, alii datur, sicut scriptum est, per Spiritum sermo sapientiae, alii sermo scientiae secundum eumdem Spiritum, alii fides in eodem Spiritu, alii gratia curationum in uno Spiritu, alii operatio virtutum, alii prophetia (Luc. XI, 49). Ergo secundum Apostolum non solum per Patrem

et Filium, sed etiam per Spiritum sanctum prophetia; et ideo unum munus, una est gratia. Habes ergo quia etiam Spiritus auctor est prophetiarum.

143. Take, O sacred Emperor, another strong instance in this question, and one known to you: In many ways and in various manners, God spoke to the fathers in the prophets. Hebrews 1:1 And the Wisdom of God said: I will send prophets and apostles. Luke 11:49 And To one is given, as it is written, through the Spirit, the word of wisdom; to another, the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit; to another faith, in the same Spirit; to another, the gift of healings, in the one Spirit; to another, the working of miracles; to another, prophecy. Therefore, according to the Apostle, prophecy is not only through the Father and the Son, but also through the Holy Spirit, and therefore the office is one, and the grace one. So you find that the Spirit also is the author of prophecies.

144. Apostoli quoque dixerunt: Visum est Spiritui sancto et nobis (Act. XV, 28). Et cum dicunt, visum, non solum operatorem gratiae, sed etiam auctorem imperatae exsecutionis ostendunt. Sicut enim de Deo legimus: Placuit Deo; ita etiam cum dicitur quia visum est Spiritui sancto, arbiter suae exprimitur potestatis.

144. The apostles also said: It seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us. Acts 15:28 And when they say, It seemed good, they point out not only the Worker of the grace, but also the Author of the carrying out of that which was commanded. For as we read of God: It pleased God; so, too, when it is said that, It seemed good to the Holy Spirit, one who is master of his own power is portrayed.

145. Et quomodo non arbiter, qui ea quae vult, loquitur, quae vult, mandat; sicut mandat Pater, mandat et Filius? Sicut enim audivit Paulus 662 vocem dicentem sibi: Ego sum, inquit, Jesus, quem tu persequeris (Act. XVI, 7);

ita etiam Spiritus Paulum et Silam vetuit ire in Bithyniam. Et sicut Pater locutus est per prophetas, ita etiam de Spiritu Agabus dicit: Haec dicit Spiritus sanctus: Virum cujus est zona haec, sic alligabunt eum in Hierusalem (Act. XXI, 11). Et sicut misit Sapientia apostolos, dicens: Ite in orbem universum, et praedicate Evangelium (Marc. XVI, 15): sic et Spiritus sanctus dicit: Separate mihi Paulum et Barnabam in opus, quo vocavi eos (Act. XIII, 2). Itaque praemissi a Spiritu sancto, quod infra Scriptura indicat, nullam discretionem inter caeteros habuerunt apostolos, quasi aliter a Patre Deo, aliter a Spiritu mitterentur (Ibid., 4).

145. And how should He not be a master Who speaks what He wills, and commands what He wills, as the Father commands and the Son commands? For as Paul heard the voice saying to him, I am Jesus, Whom you persecute, Acts 9:5 so, too, the Spirit forbade Paul and Silas to go into Bithynia. And as the Father spoke through the prophets, so, too, Agabus says concerning the Spirit: Thus says the Holy Spirit, Thus shall the Jews in Jerusalem bind the man, whose is this girdle. Acts 21:11 And as Wisdom sent the apostles, saying, Go into all the world and preach the Gospel, Mark 16:15 so, too, the Holy Spirit says: Separate Me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them. Acts 13:2 And so being sent forth by the Holy Spirit, as the Scripture points out farther on, they were distinguished in nothing from the other apostles, as though they were sent in one way by God the Father, in another way by Spirit.

146. Denique cum Paulus missus esset a Spiritu, et vas electionis erat Christi, et Deum in se operatum esse commemorat, dicens: Qui enim operatus est Petro in apostolatum circumcisionis, operatus est et mihi ad gentes (Galat. II, 8). Cum igitur idem si operatus in Paulo, qui est operatus in Petro, hoc utique ostenditur cum Spiritus sit operatus in Paulo, quod etiam in Petro Spiritus sanctus operatus sit. Sed et Deum Patrem in se

operatum Petrus ipse testatur, sicut est in Actibus apostolorum, quia surgens Petrus dixit ad eos: Viri fratres, vos scitis quia a diebus antiquis in nobis Deus elegit ex ore meo audire nationes verbum Evangelii (Act. XV, 7). Ecce igitur in Petro Deus gratiam praedicationis operatus est. In quo utique cum per Christum electus sit et assumptus, operationem Christi quis audeat diffiteri, cum ipse Dominus dicat: Pasce agniculos meos (Joan. XXI, 15) ?

146. Lastly, Paul having been sent by the Spirit, was both a vessel of election on Christ's part, and himself relates that God wrought in him, saying: For He that wrought for Peter unto the apostleship of the circumcision, wrought for me also unto the Gentiles. Galatians 2:8 Since, then, the Same wrought in Paul Who wrought in Peter, it is certainly evident that, since the Spirit wrought in Paul, the Holy Spirit wrought also in Peter. But Peter himself testifies that God the Father wrought in him, as it is stated in the Acts of the Apostles that Peter rose up and said to them: Men and brethren, you know that a good while ago God made choice among us that the Gentiles should hear the word of the Gospel from my mouth. See, then, in Peter God wrought the grace of preaching. And who would dare to deny the operation of Christ in him, since he was certainly elected and chosen by Christ, when the Lord said: Feed My lambs. John 21:15

147. Una igitur operatio Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti: nisi forte hoc putetis, qui negatis ejusdem erga apostolos operis unitatem, ideo operatum Patrem, ideo operatum Spiritum in Petro, in quo Filius operatus fuerat, quasi ei Filii operatio minime redundaret ad gratiam. Et ideo velut adjunctis atque collatis viribus Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti operationem fuisse multiplicem, ne ad confirmandum Petrum Christi solius operatio vacillaret.

147. The operation, then, of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is one, unless perchance you, who deny the oneness of the same operation upon the Apostle, think this; that the Father and the Spirit wrought in Peter, in whom

the Son had wrought, as if the operation of the Son by no means sufficed for him to the attainment of the grace. And so the strength of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit being as it were joined and brought together, the work was manifold, lest the operation of Christ alone should be too weak to establish Peter.

148. Nec solum una operatio in Petro Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti invenitur, sed etiam in omnibus apostolis divinae operationis unitas revelatur, et quaedam supernae constitutionis auctoritas. Operatio enim divina habet imperium, non habet ministerium; neque enim cum operatur Deus, aut labore aliquid extundit, aut arte: sed dixit, et facta sunt (Psal. XXXII, 9). Dixit, Fiat lux, et facta est lux (Gen. I, 3); in praecepto enim Dei operationis effectus est.

148. And not only in Peter is there found to be one operation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, but also in all the apostles the unity of the divine operation, and a certain authority over the dispensations of heaven. For the divine operation works by the power of a command, not in the execution of a ministry; for God, when He works, does not fashion anything by toil or art, but He spoke and they were made. He said, Let there be light, and there was light, Genesis 1:3 for the effecting of the work is comprised in the commandment of God.

149. Hanc igitur regalem quamdam etiam sancto Spiritui potestatem Scripturarum testificatione delatam, si velimus advertere, facile possumus reperire; omnesque apostolos non solum Christi fuisse discipulos revelabitur, sed etiam Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti ministros. Sicut etiam Doctor gentium docet dicens: Quosdam quidem posuit Deus in Ecclesia, primo apostolos, secundo prophetas, tertio doctores: deinde 663 virtutes, gratiam curationem, opitulationes, gubernationes, genera linguarum (I Cor. XII, 28).

149. We can, then, easily find, if we will consider, that this royal power is by the witness of the Scriptures attributed to the Holy Spirit; and it will be made clear that all the apostles were not only disciples of Christ, but also ministers of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. As also the teacher of the Gentiles tells us, when he says: God has set some in the Church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers; then miracles, the gift of healings, helps, governments, various kinds of tongues. 1 Corinthians 12:28

150. Ecce Deus posuit apostolos, posuit prophetas atque doctores, dedit curationum gratiam, quam supra habes dari per Spiritum sanctum, dedit genera linguarum. Sed tamen non omnes apostoli, non omnes prophetae, non omnes doctores. Non omnes, inquit (Ibid., 10), habent gratiam curationum, neque omnes, inquit, linguis loquuntur. In singulis enim hominibus universa dona divina esse non possunt: pro captu unusquisque id accipit, quod aut desiderat, aut meretur. Sed non hujus infirmitatis similis potentia Trinitatis, quae omnium munifica gratiarum est.

150. See, God set apostles, and set prophets and teachers, gave the gift of healings, which you find above to be given by the Holy Spirit; gave various kinds of tongues. But yet all are not apostles, all are not prophets, all are not teachers. Not all, says he, have the gift of healings, nor do all, says he, speak with tongues. 1 Corinthians 12:30 For the whole of the divine gifts cannot exist in each several man; each, according to his capacity, receives that which he either desires or deserves. But the power of the Trinity, which is lavish of all graces, is not like this weakness.

151. Denique posuit apostolos Deus. Hos quos Deus posuit in Ecclesia, Christus elegit, et apostolos ordinavit, et in orbem dixerit dicens: Ite in orbem universum, et praedicate Evangelium universae creaturae. Qui crediderit, et baptizatus fuerit, hic salvus erit: qui vero non crediderit, damnabitur. Signa autem credentes ista sequentur: in nomine meo daemonia

ejicient, linguis loquentur novis, serpentes tollent; et si mortiferum quid biberint, non eis nocebit: super aegros manus imponent, et bene habebunt (Marc. XVI, 15 et seq.). Ecce doctores posuit Pater, posuit etiam Christus in Ecclesiis; et sicut Pater dat gratiam curationum, ita dat et Filius; sicut Pater dat dona linguarum, ita largitus est et Filius.

151. Lastly, God set apostles. Those whom God set in the Church, Christ chose and ordained to be apostles, and sent them into the world, saying: Go into all the world, and preach the Gospel to the whole creation. He that shall believe and be baptized shall be saved, but he that believes not shall be damned. And these signs shall follow them that believe. In My Name shall they cast out devils, they shall speak with new tongues, they shall take up serpents, and if they shall drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them, they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover. You see the Father and Christ also set teachers in the Churches; and as the Father gives the gift of healings, so, too, does the Son give; as the Father gives the gift of tongues, so, too, has the Son also granted it.

152. Similiter de sancto Spiritu supra accepimus, quia eadem gratiarum genera largiatur. Datur enim, inquit, per Spiritum alii gratia curationum, alii genera linguarum, alii prophetia (I Cor. 12, 9, 10). Ergo eadem dat Spiritus, quae dat Pater, dat etiam Filius. Accipiamus nunc expressius, quod superius praelibavimus, quia idem quod Pater et Filius, etiam Spiritus sanctus mandet officium, eosdemque constituat; dixit enim Paulus: Attendite vobis, et omni gregi, in quo posuit vos Spiritus sanctus episcopos regere Ecclesiam Dei (Act. XX, 28).

152. In like manner we have heard also above concerning the Holy Spirit, that He too grants the same kinds of graces. For it is said: To one is given through the Spirit the gift of healings, to another various kinds of tongues, to another prophecy. 1 Corinthians 12:8-9 So, then, the Spirit gives the

same gifts as the Father, and the Son also gives them. Let us now learn more expressly what we have touched upon above, that the Holy Spirit entrusts the same office as the Father and the Son, and appoints the same persons; since Paul said: Take heed to yourselves, and to all the flock in the which the Holy Spirit has made you overseers to rule the Church of God. Acts 20:28

153. Unitas igitur imperii, unitas constitutionis, unitas largitatis. Nam si constitutionem separes et potestatem, quae erat causa ut quos posuerat apostolos Christus, poneret Deus Pater, poneret et Spiritus sanctus; nisi forte ut homines tamquam in consortio possessionis aut juris praejudicium verebantur? Et ideo dividebatur 664 operatio, distribuebatur imperium.

153. There is, then, unity of authority, unity of appointment, unity of giving. For if you separate appointment and power, what cause was there [for maintaining] that those whom Christ appointed as apostles, God the Father appointed, and the Holy Spirit appointed? Unless, perhaps, as if sharing a possession or a right, They, like men, were afraid of legal prejudice, and therefore the operation was divided, and the authority distributed.

154. Haec inter ipsos homines angusta sunt et minuta, qui plerumque tamen etiamsi operatione non congruunt, congruunt voluntate. Unde quidam interrogatus quid amicus esset: Alter, inquit, ego. Si ergo homo amicum ita definivit, ut alterum se esse diceret, per unitatem videlicet amoris et gratiae; quanto magis in Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto unitatem majestatis aestimare debemus, cum per eamdem operationem ac divinitatem vel unitas, vel certe id quod amplius est, ταυτότης sicut Graece dicitur, exprimatur? ταυτὸ enim idem significat; eo quod idem habeat et Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus; ut idem velle, et idem posse non ex affectione sit voluntatis, sed in substantia Trinitatis.

154. These things are narrow and paltry, even between men, who for the most part, although they do not agree in action, yet agree in will. So that a certain person being asked what a friend is, answered, A second self. If, then, a man so defined a friend as to say, he was a second self, that is to say, through a oneness of love and good-will, how much more ought we to esteem the oneness of Majesty, in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, when by the same operation and divine power, either the unity, or certainly that which is more, the ταυτότης, as it is called in Greek, is expressed, for ταύτο signifies the same, so that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit have the same; so that to have the same will and the same power does not arise from the affection of the will, but inheres in the substance of the Trinity.

155. Haec est apostolicae fidei et devotionis haereditas, quam licet et ex ipsorum apostolorum considerare Actibus. Paruerunt ergo Paulus et Barnabas sancti Spiritus imperatis. Paruerunt et omnes apostoli, statimque eos quos separari jusserat Spiritus, ordinaverunt: Separate, inquit, mihi Paulum et Barnabam (Act. XIII, 4). Videtis jubentis imperium? Spectate merita servientium?

155. This is the inheritance of apostolic faith and devotion, which one may observe also in the Acts of the Apostles. Therefore Paul and Barnabas obeyed the commands of the Holy Spirit. And all the apostles obeyed, and immediately ordained those whom the Spirit had ordered to be separated: Separate Me, said He, Barnabas and Saul. Acts 13:2 Do you see the authority of Him Who commands? Consider the merit of those who obey.

156. Credidit Paulus; et quia credidit, studia persecutoris abjecit, coronam justitiae reportavit. Credidit ille qui Ecclesias devastabat: sed conversus ad fidem, praedicabat in Spiritu, quod Spiritus imperabat. Ungebat athletam suum Spiritus, et pulvere impietatis excusso, debellatorem infidelium

ineluctabilem variis impiorum congressionibus offerebat, atque ad bravium supernae vocationis in Christo Jesu diversis passionibus erudiebat (Act. IX, 20 et seq.).

156. Paul believed, and because he believed he cast off the zeal of a persecutor, and gained a crown of righteousness. He believed who used to make havoc of the Churches; but being converted to the faith, he preached in the Spirit that which the Spirit commanded. Acts 9:20 The Spirit anointed His champion, and having shaken off the dust of unbelief, presented him as an insuperable conqueror of the unbelievers to various assemblies of the ungodly, and trained him by many sufferings for the prize of his high calling in Christ Jesus.

157. Barnabas quoque credidit, et quia credidit, paruit. Itaque sancti Spiritus electus imperio, quod ei ad omne redundat insigne meritorum, non fuit tanto indignus collegio. Una enim gratia fulgebat in his, quos Spiritus unus elegerat.

157. Barnabas also believed, and obeyed because he believed. Therefore, being chosen by the authority of the Holy Spirit, Which came on him abundantly, as a special sign of his merits, he was not unworthy of so great a fellowship. For one grace shone in these whom one Spirit had chosen.

158. Nec Paulus inferior Petro, quamvis ille Ecclesiae fundamentum, et hic sapiens architectus sciens vestigia credentium fundare populorum: nec Paulus, inquam, indignus apostolorum collegio, cum primo quoque facile conferendus, et nulli secundus. Nam qui se imparem nescit, facit aequalem.

158. Nor was Paul inferior to Peter, though the latter was the foundation of the Church, and the former a wise builder knowing how to make firm the footsteps of the nations who believed; Paul was not, I say, unworthy of the fellowship of the apostles, but is easily comparable with the first, and

second to none. For he who knows not that he is inferior makes himself equal.

LIBER TERTIUS.

BOOK III.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

NON TANTUM PROPHETAS et apostolos a Spiritu missos, verum etiam Filium Dei. Probatur id ex Esaia, et evangelistis, quamque ob causam eumdem Spiritum sicut columbam descendisse ac super Christum manere Lucas scripserit, exponitur. Dehinc eadem Christi missione confirmata, Filium a Patre et Spiritu non secus ac Spiritum a Patre et Filio mitti colligitur.

CHAPTER 1.

Not only were the prophets and apostles sent by the Spirit, but also the Son of God. This is proved from Isaiah and the evangelists, and it is explained why St. Luke wrote that the same Spirit descended like a dove upon Christ and abode upon Him. Next, after establishing this mission of Christ, the writer infers that the Son is sent by the Father and the Spirit, as the Spirit is by the Father and the Son.

1. Superiori libro (Ca) evidentibus testimoniis Scripturarum docuimus apostolos et prophetas, illos ad prophetandum, hos ad evangelizandum a sancto Spiritu, sicut a Patre et a Filio destinatos: nunc adjicimus quod omnes jure mirentur, et dubitare non possint, quod Spiritus super Christum; et quod sicut ille Spiritum misit, et Filium Dei Spiritus misit. Dicit enim Filius Dei: Spiritus Domini super me, propter quod unxit me, evangelizare pauperibus, misit me, praedicare captivis remissionem, et caecis visum (Esai. LXI, 1). Quod cum de libro Esaiae legeret, ait in Evangelio: Hodie completa est haec Scriptura in auribus vestris (Luc. IV, 21); ut de se dictum esse signaret.

1. In the former book we have shown by the clear evidence of the Scriptures that the apostles and prophets were appointed, the latter to prophesy, the former to preach the Gospel, by the Holy Spirit in the same way as by the Father and the Son; now we add what all will rightly wonder at, and not be able to doubt, that the Spirit was upon Christ; and that as He sent the Spirit, so the Spirit sent the Son of God. For the Son of God says: The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He has anointed Me, He has sent Me to preach the Gospel to the poor, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and sight to the blind. And having read this from the Book of Isaiah, He says in the Gospel: Today has this Scripture been fulfilled in your ears; Luke 4:21 that He might point out that it was said of Himself.

2. Ergo mirari possumus si et prophetas et apostolos Spiritus misit cum Christus dixerit: Spiritus Domini super me (Ibid., 18)? Et bene, super me, dixit, quia quasi filius hominis loquebatur. Quasi filius enim hominis et unctus et missus est ad Evangelium praedicandum.

2. Can we, then, wonder if the Spirit sent both the prophets and the apostles, since Christ said: The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me? And rightly did He say upon Me, because He was speaking as the Son of Man. For as the Son of Man He was anointed and sent to preach the Gospel.

3. Sed si non creditur Filio, audiant etiam Patrem loquentem quia Spiritus Domini super Christum. Dicit enim Joanni: Super quem videris Spiritum descendentem de coelo, et manentem super eum, hic est qui baptizat in Spiritu sancto (Joan. I, 33). Dixit hoc Deus Pater Joanni: Joannes et audivit, et vidit, et credidit. Audivit a Deo, vidit in Domino, credidit quia Spiritus erat, qui descendebat de coelo. Non enim columba, sed sicut columba descendit; sic enim scriptum est: Et vidi Spiritum descendentem de coelo, sicut columbam (Marc. I, 10).

3. But if they believe not the Son, let them hear the Father also saying that the Spirit of the Lord is upon Christ. For He says to John: Upon whomsoever you shall see the Spirit descending from heaven and abiding upon Him, He it is Who baptizes with the Holy Spirit. John 1:33 God the Father said this to John, and John heard and saw and believed. He heard from God, he saw in the Lord, he believed that it was the Spirit Who was coming down from heaven. For it was not a dove that descended, but the Holy Spirit as a dove; for thus it is written: I saw the Spirit descending from heaven as a dove. John 1:32

4. Sicut Joannes vidisse se dixit, ita scripsit et Marcus: Lucas autem addidit quod corporali specie descendit Spiritus sanctus, sicut columba (Luc. III, 22); ne incarnationem illam putares fuisse, sed speciem. Ideo autem speciem praetendit, ut per speciem crederet, qui Spiritum non videbat, et per speciem declararet unius honoris in imperio, unius operationis in mysterio, unius muneris in lavacro cum Patre et Filio sibi esse consortium, nisi forte invalidum credimus, ut in eo baptizetur servulus, in quo baptizatus est Dominus.

4. As John says that he saw, so, too, wrote Mark; Luke, however, added that the Holy Spirit descended in a bodily form as a dove; you must not think that this was an incarnation, but an appearance. He, then, brought the appearance before him, that by means of the appearance he might believe who did not see the Spirit, and that by the appearance He might manifest that He had a share of the one honour in authority, the one operation in the mystery, the one gift in the bath, together with the Father and the Son; unless perchance we consider Him in Whom the Lord was baptized too weak for the servant to be baptized in Him.

5. Pulchre autem dixit: Manentem super eum (Joan. I, 33); quia ad prophetas quoties volebat Spiritus, 666 vel inspirabat verbum, vel faciebat:

semper autem manebat in Christo.

5. And he said fittingly, abiding upon Him, John 1:33 because the Spirit inspired a saying or acted upon the prophets as often as He would, but abode always in Christ.

6. Nec rursum moveat, quod super eum dixit; de Filio enim hominis loquebatur, quia sicut Filius hominis baptizabatur. Nam secundum divinitatem non super Christum est Spiritus, sed in Christo; quia sicut Pater in Filio, et Filius in Patre, ita Dei Spiritus et Spiritus Christi et in Patre est et in Filio, quia oris est Spiritus. Manet enim in Deo qui ex Deo est, sicut scriptum est: Nos autem non spiritum hujus mundi accepimus, sed spiritum qui ex Deo est (I Cor. II, 12). Et manet in Christo, qui a Christo accepit: et in Christo est, quia iterum scriptum est: Ille de meo accipiet (Joan. XVI, 14): et alibi: Lex enim Spiritus vitae in Christo Jesu liberavit me a lege peccati et mortis (Rom. VIII, 2). Non ergo secundum divinitatem Christi super Christum est, quia non super se est Trinitas, sed supra omnia, supra se autem non est, sed in se est.

6. Nor, again, let it move you that he said upon Him, for he was speaking of the Son of Man, because he was baptized as the Son of Man. For the Spirit is not upon Christ, according to the Godhead, but in Christ; for, as the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father, so the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ is both in the Father and in the Son, for He is the Spirit of His mouth. For He Who is of God abides in God, as it is written: But we received not the spirit of this world, but the Spirit which is of God. 1 Corinthians 2:12 And He abides in Christ, Who has received from Christ; for it is written again: He shall take of Mine: John 16:14 and elsewhere: The law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus made me free from the law of sin and death. Romans 8:2 He is, then, not over Christ according to the Godhead of

Christ, for the Trinity is not over Itself, but over all things: It is not over Itself but in Itself.

7. Quis ergo dubitet quia prophetas et apostolos Spiritus misit, cum dicat Dei Filius: Spiritus Domini super me (Luc. IV, 18)? Et alibi: Ego sum primus, et ego in aeternum: et manus mea fundavit terram, et dextera mea solidavit coelum: vocabo eos, et astabunt simul, et congregabuntur omnes, et audient. Quis illis haec denuntiavit? Diligens te, feci voluntatem tuam adversus Babylonem, ut tollatur semen Chaldaeorum. Ego locutus sum, et ego vocavi: adduxi eum, et prosperum iter ejus feci. Accedite ad me, et audite haec. Non ab initio in occulto locutus sum: cum fierent, illic eram. Et nunc Dominus Deus misit, et Spiritus ejus (Esai. XLVIII, 12 et seq.). Quis est, qui dicit: Misit me Dominus Deus, et Spiritus ejus; nisi qui venit a Patre, ut salvos faceret peccatores? Quem ut audis, et Spiritus misit; ne cum legis quia Filius Spiritum mittit, inferioris esse Spiritum crederes potestatis.

7. Who, then, can doubt that the Spirit sent the prophets and apostles, since the Son of God says: The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me. Luke 4:18 And elsewhere: I am the First, and I am also for ever, and Mine hand has founded the earth, and My right hand has established the heaven; I will call them and they shall stand up together, and shall all be gathered together and shall hear. Who has declared these things to them? Because I loved you I performed your pleasure against Babylon, that the seed of the Chaldæans might be taken away. I have spoken, and I have called, I have brought him and have made his way prosperous. Come unto Me and hear this. From the beginning I have not spoken in secret, I was there when those things were done; and now the Lord God has sent Me and His Spirit. Who is it Who says: The Lord God has sent Me and His Spirit, except He Who came from the Father that He might save sinners? And, as you hear, the Spirit sent

Him, lest when you hear that the Son sends the Spirit, you should believe the Spirit to be of inferior power.

8. Ergo et Pater Filium misit, et Spiritus: Spiritum quoque et Pater misit, et Filius: Pater misit, quia scriptum est: Paraclitus autem ille Spiritus sanctus, quem mittet Pater in nomine meo (Joan. XIV, 26). Filius misit, quia dixit: Cum venerit autem ille paraclitus, quem ego mittam vobis a Patre, Spiritum veritatis (Joan. XV, 26). Si ergo se invicem Filius et Spiritus mittunt, sicut Pater mittit, non subjectionis injuria, sed communitas potestatis est.

8. So both the Father and the Spirit sent the Son; the Father sent Him, for it is written: But the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, Whom the Father will send in My Name. John 14:26 The Son sent Him, for He said: But when the Paraclete has come, Whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of Truth. John 15:26 If, then, the Son and the Spirit send each other, as the Father sends, there is no inferiority of subjection, but a community of power.

CAPUT II.

FILIUM PERINDE AC Spiritum dari; unde non subjectio, sed una divinitas operatione demonstratur.

CHAPTER 2.

The Son and the Spirit are alike given; whence not subjection but one Godhead is shown by Its working.

9. Nec solum misit Pater Filium, sed etiam dedit, sicut ipse se Filius dedit. Lectum est enim nobis: Gratia vobis a Deo Patre nostro et Domino Jesu Christo, qui se dedit pro peccatis nostris (Galat. I, 3, 4). 667 Si subjectum in eo putant fuisse, quia missus est; gratiae esse negare non possunt, quia datus est. Datus est autem a Patre, ut Esaias dixit: Puer natus est nobis, Filius datus est nobis (Esai. IX, 6); datus est autem, audeo dicere, et ab Spiritu qui missus ab Spiritu est. Cum enim non definierit propheta a quo datus sit, ostendit datum gratia Trinitatis: cum autem ipse se Filius dederit, utique non potuit ipse sibi secundum divinitatem esse subjectus. Ergo non potuit divinae subjectionis esse quod datus est.

9. And not only did the Father send the Son, but also gave Him, as the Son Himself gave Himself. For we read: Grace to you from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, Who gave Himself for our sins. Galatians 1:3-4 If they think that He was subject in that He was sent, they cannot deny that it was of grace that He was given. But He was given by the Father, as Isaiah said: Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given; Isaiah 9:6 but He was given, I dare to say it, by the Spirit also, Who was sent by the Spirit. For since the prophet has not defined by whom He was given, he shows that He

was given by the grace of the Trinity; and inasmuch as the Son Himself gave Himself, He could not be subject to Himself according to His Godhead. Therefore that He was given could not be a sign of subjection in the God-head.

10. Datus est autem et Spiritus sanctus, quia lectum est: Rogabo Patrem, et alium paraclitum dabit vobis (Joan. XIV, 16). Et Apostolus ait: Quapropter qui haec spernit, non hominem spernit, sed Deum, qui dedit Spiritum suum in nobis (I Thess. IV, 8). Esaias quoque et Spiritum datum ostendit et Filium: Sic, inquit, dicit Dominus Deus, qui fecit coelum, et finxit illud: qui solidavit terram, et quae in ea sunt: et dat populo qui est super eam Spiritum, et Spiritum calcantibus eam (Esa. XLII, 5). Et ad Filium: Ego Dominus Deus, qui vocavi te in aequitate, et tenebo manum tuam, et confortabo te: et dedi te in testamentum generis mei, in lucem gentium, aperire oculos caecorum, educere de vinculis alligatos (Ibid. 6, 7). Cum ergo Filius et missus et datus sit, Spiritus quoque missus et datus sit; habent utique unitatem divinitatis, qui habent operis unitatem.

10. But the Holy Spirit also was given, for it is written: I will ask the Father, and He shall give you another Paraclete. John 14:16 And the Apostle says: Wherefore he that despises these things despises not man but God, Who has given us His Holy Spirit. 1 Thessalonians 4:8 Isaiah, too, shows that both the Spirit and the Son are given: Thus, says he, says the Lord God, Who made the heaven and fashioned it, Who established the earth, and the things which are in it, and gives breath to the people upon it, and the Spirit to them that walk upon it. Isaiah 42:5 And to the Son: I am the Lord God, Who have called You in righteousness, and will hold Your hand, and will strengthen You; and I have given You for a covenant of My people, for a light of the Gentiles, to open the eyes of the blind, to bring out of their fetters those that are bound. Isaiah 42:6-7 Since, then, the Son is both sent and given, and the

Spirit also is both sent and given, They have assuredly a oneness of Godhead Who have a oneness of action.

CAPUT III.

EAMDEM QUOQUE UNITATEM inde cognosci, quod Spiritus digitus dicatur, et Filius dextera; humani enim sermonis consuetudine juvari divinorum intelligentiam. Hoc digito scriptas fuisse legis tabulas, quae postea fractae sunt, et qua de causa? denique Christum scripsisse eodem digito: nec ullam tamen e corporea comparatione in Spiritu admittendam, esse inferioritatem.

CHAPTER 3.

The same Unity may also be recognized from the fact that the Spirit is called Finger, and the Son Right Hand; for the understanding of divine things is assisted by the usage of human language. The tables of the law were written by this Finger, and they were afterwards broken, and the reason. Lastly, Christ wrote with the same Finger; yet we must not admit any inferiority in the Spirit from this bodily comparison.

11. Unde etiam et digitus Dei appellatus est Spiritus, eo quod sit Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto individua, inseparabilisque communio. Nam sicut Filium Dei Scriptura dexteram Dei dixit, sicut lectum est: Dextera tua, Domine, glorificata est in virtute, dextera manus tua, Domine, confregit inimicos (Exod. XV, 6); ita Spiritus sanctus appellatus est digitus Dei, sicut ipse Dominus dicit: Quod si in digito Dei ego ejicio daemonia (Luc. XI, 20). Hunc enim digitum in alio libro Evangelii eodem loco Dei Spiritum nominavit, sicut habes: Quod si in Spiritu Dei ego ejicio daemonia (Marc. XII, 28).

11. So, too, the Spirit is also called the Finger of God, because there is an indivisible and inseparable communion between the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. For as the Scripture called the Son of God the Right Hand of God, as it is said: Your Right Hand, O Lord, is made glorious in power. Your Right Hand, O Lord, has dashed in pieces the enemy; Exodus 15:6 so the Holy Spirit is called the Finger of God, as the Lord Himself says: But if I by the Finger of God cast out devils. Luke 11:20 For in the same place in another book of the Gospel He named the Spirit of God, as you find: But if I by the Spirit of God cast out devils. Matthew 12:28

12. Quid igitur expressius ad significandam divinitatis vel operationis dici potuit unitatem, quae secundum divinitatem est Patris, vel Filii, vel Spiritus sancti, quam ut intelligamus multo magis quam corpus hoc nostrum aeternae plenitudinem divinitatis scindi videri, si quis unitatem substantiae separet, multiplicet potestates; cum una sit ejusdem divinitatis aeternitas? 668

12. What, then, could have been said to signify more expressly the unity of the Godhead, or of Its working, which Unity is according to the Godhead of the Father, or of the Son, or of the Holy Spirit, than that we should understand that the fullness of the eternal Godhead would seem to be divided far more than this body of ours, if any one were to sever the unity of Substance, and multiply Its powers, whereas the eternity of the same Godhead is one?

13. Plerumque enim ex nostris sermonibus ea quae supra nos sunt, convenit aestimari: et quia illa videre non possumus, ex his quae videre possumus, colligamus: Invisibilia enim ejus, ait Apostolus, a creatura mundi per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciuntur (Rom. I, 20). Et subdidit: Sempiterna quoque virtus ejus et divinitas (Ibid.). Quorum aliud de Filio, aliud de Spiritu sancto dictum videtur; ut quemadmodum sempiterna virtus

Patris dicitur Filius, ita etiam Spiritus quia divinus est, sempiterna divinitas esse credatur. Nam et Filius quia semper vivit, vita sempiterna est. Hic ergo digitus Dei et sempiternus est, et divinus. Quid enim Dei proprium, quod non sempiternum sit et divinum?

13. For oftentimes it is convenient to estimate from our own words those things which are above us, and because we cannot see those things we draw inferences from those which we can see. For the invisible things of Him, says the Apostle, from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by those things which are made. Romans 1:20 And he adds: His eternal power also and Godhead. Romans 1:20 Of which one thing seems to be said of the Son, and another of the Holy Spirit; that in the same manner as the Son is called the eternal Power of the Father, so, also, the Spirit, because He is divine, should be believed to be His eternal Godhead. For the Son, too, because He ever lives, is eternal life. This Finger, then, of God is both eternal and divine. For what is there belonging to God which is not eternal and divine?

13. Hoc digito, sicut legimus, tabulas illas lapideas Deus inscripsit, quas Moyses accepit (Exod. XXXI, 18). Non enim carnali digito Deus harum litterarum, quas legimus, apices et elementa formavit: sed Spiritu suo dedit Legem. Et ideo Apostolus dixit: Lex enim spiritalis est, quae utique non atramento inscripta est, sed Spiritu Dei vivi: non in tabulis lapideis, sed in tabulis cordis carnalibus (II Cor. III, 3). Nam si Apostoli epistola scribitur in Spiritu, quid obstat quonimus etiam legem Dei non atramento, sed Spiritu Dei scriptam credere debeamus: quae utique cordis nostri mentisque secreta non maculat, sed illuminat?

14. With this Finger, as we read, God wrote on those tables of stone which Moses received. For God did not with a finger of flesh write the forms and portions of those letters which we read, but gave the law by His Spirit. And

so the Apostle says: For the Law is spiritual, which, indeed, is written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but on fleshy tables of the heart. 2 Corinthians 3:3 For if the letter of the Apostle is written in the Spirit, what hinders us from believing that the Law of God was written not with ink, but with the Spirit of God, which certainly does not stain but enlightens the secret places of our heart and mind?

14. Scripta est autem in tabulis lapideis (Exod. XXXII, 19), quia in typo scripta est: sed tabulae fractae primo sunt, et abjectae de Moysis manibus; quia Judaei a propheticis operibus exciderunt. Et bene tabulae fractae sunt, non scriptura deleta. Et tu vide ne frangatur tabula tua, ne mens tua et animus dividatur. Numquid divisus est Christus? Non divisus est, sed unum est cum Patre: et te nemo ab eo separet. Si fides deficiat, tabula cordis tui frangitur. Comminuitur animi firmitudo, si unitatem divinitatis in Trinitate non credas. Scripta est et fides tua, scripta est et culpa tua, sicut Hieremias dixit: Scripta est, Juda, culpa tua graphio ferreo et ungue adamantino. Et scripta est, inquit, in pectore et in corde tuo (Jerem. XVII, 1). Ibi igitur culpa est, ubi gratia: sed culpa graphio scribitur, gratia Spiritu designatur.

14. Now it was written on tables of stone, because it was written in a type, but the tables were first broken and cast out of the hands of Moses, because the Jews fell away from the works of the prophet. And fitly were the tables broken, not the writing erased. And do you see that your table be not broken, that your mind and soul be not divided. Is Christ divided? He is not divided, but is one with the Father; and let no one separate you from Him. If your faith fails, the table of your heart is broken. The coherence of your soul is lessened if you do not believe the unity of Godhead in the Trinity. Your faith is written, and your sin is written, as Jeremiah said: Your sin, O Judah, is written with a pen of iron and the point of a diamond. And it is written, he says, on your breast and on your heart. Jeremiah 17:1 The sin,

therefore, is there where grace is, but the sin is written with a pen, grace is denoted by the Spirit.

15. Hoc digito mystice etiam Dominus Jesus, inclinato capite, scribebat in terra, cum a Judaeis adultera esset oblata (Joan. VIII, 6): significans per figuram, quando de peccatis alterius judicamus, nostri nos debere meminisse peccati.

15. With this Finger, also, the Lord Jesus, with bowed head, mystically wrote on the ground, when the adulteress was brought before Him by the Jews, signifying in a figure that, when we judge of the sins of another, we ought to remember our own.

16. Ac ne rursus quia Legem Deus Spiritu suo scripsit, inferius aliquid tamquam de ministerio Spiritus crederemus, vel ex corporis nostri aestimatione portionem quamdam exiguam Dei Spiritum putaremus, ait alibi Apostolus (II Cor. II, 13) non se humanae scientiae verbis loqui, sed doctis Spiritus, et spiritualibus spiritalia comparare: animalem autem hominem non percipere quae sunt Spiritus Dei; sciebat enim quod is, qui divina carnalibus compararet, inter animalia esset, non inter spiritales homines computandus: 669 Stultitia enim, inquit, illi est (Ibid. 14). Et ideo quia sciret has futuras esse animalium hominum quaestiones, praesagus futuri ait: Quis enim cognovit sensum Domini, qui instruat eum (Ibid. 16)? Nos autem sensum Christi habemus.

16. And lest, again, because God wrote the Law by His Spirit, we should believe any inferiority, as it were, concerning the ministry of the Spirit, or from the consideration of our own body should think the Spirit to be a small part of God, the Apostle says, elsewhere, that he does not speak with words of human wisdom, but in words taught by the Spirit, and that he compares spiritual things with spiritual; but that the natural man receives not the

things which pertain to the Spirit of God. 1 Corinthians 2:13-14 For he knew that he who compared divine with carnal things was among natural things, and not to be reckoned among spiritual men; for they are foolishness, he says, unto him. 1 Corinthians 2:13-14 And so, because he knew that these questions would arise among natural men, foreseeing the future he says: For who has known the mind of the Lord, that he may instruct Him? But we have the mind of Christ. 1 Corinthians 2:16

CAPUT IV.

SPIRITUM PROPTEREA QUOD digitus vocatur, minorem esse contendentibus, regerit hoc quoque in Filii, qui dextra dicitur, injuriam converti. Haec ergo nomina non nisi ad unitatem divinitatis referenda; unde Moyses totam Trinitatem in maris rubri transitu cecinit operatam. Nec sane mirum ibi Spiritus exstitisse operationem, ubi baptismi figura fuit; siquidem in hoc tres personas ex aequo operari, sanctificareque Scriptura docet.

CHAPTER 4.

To those who contend that the Spirit because He is called the Finger is less than the Father, St. Ambrose replies that this would also tend to the lessening of the Son, Who is called the Right Hand. That these names are to be referred only to the Unity, for which reason Moses proclaimed that the whole Trinity worked in the passage of the Red Sea. And, indeed, it is no wonder that the operation of the Spirit found place there, where there was a figure of baptism, since the Scripture teaches that the Three Persons equally sanctify and are operative in that sacrament.

17. [Alias cap. III.] Sed si quis adhuc carnalibus inhaeret ambiguis, et corporalibus vacillat exemplis, consideret quia non potest bene sentire de Filio, qui potest male sentire de Spiritu. Nam si ideo portionem quamdam exiguam putant esse Spiritum Dei, quia digitus Dei dicitur; iidem utique et portionem exiguam dicunt esse in Filio Dei, quia dextera Dei dicitur.

17. But if any one is still entangled in carnal doubts, and hesitates because of bodily figures, let him consider that he cannot think rightly of the Son who can think wrongly of the Spirit. For if some think that the Spirit is a

certain small portion of God, because He is called the Finger of God, the same persons must certainly maintain that a small portion only is in the Son of God, because He is called the Right Hand of God.

18. Sed Filius et dextera et virtus dicitur: itaque si verba nostra pendamus, nulla potest sine virtute esse perfectio; et ideo caveant ne putent, quod nefas dictu est, semiperfectum in sua substantia Patrem perfectionem accepisse per Filium, et desinant coaeternum Filium Patri negare. Quando enim non fuit Dei virtus? Quod si aliquando putant non fuisse Dei virtutem, aliquando plenitudinem in Deo Patre negabunt fuisse, cui putant aliquando defuisse virtutem.

18. But the Son is called both the Right Hand and the Power of God; if, then, we consider our words, there can be no perfection without power; let them therefore take care lest they think that which it is impious to say, namely, that the Father being but half perfect in His own Substance received perfection through the Son, and let them cease to deny that the Son is co-eternal with the Father. For when did the Power of God not exist? But if they think that at any time the Power of God existed not, they will say that at some time Perfection existed not in God the Father, to Whom they think that Power was at some time wanting.

19. Sed haec, ut dixi, scripta sunt, ut ad unitatem divinitatis ista referamus, et credamus quod Apostolus dixit (Coloss. II, 9), quia plenitudo divinitatis corporaliter habitat in Christo, et habitat in Patre, et habitat in Spiritu sancto: et quod sicut unitas divinitatis, ita et unitas operationis sit.

19. But, as I said, these things are written that we may refer them to the Unity of the Godhead, and believe that which the Apostle said, that the fullness of the Godhead dwells bodily in Christ, Colossians 2:9 which

dwells also in the Father, and dwells in the Holy Spirit; and that, as there is a unity of the Godhead, so also is there a unity of operation.

20. Quod etiam ex Cantico Moysis colligi potest; ipse enim cum per maria traduxisset populum Judaeorum, et Dei Patris operationem et Filii est confessus et Spiritus dicens: Dextera manus tua, Domine, glorificata est in virtute: dextera manus tua, Domine, confregit inimicos (Exod. XV, 6). Habes quia et Filium sit confessus et Patrem, cujus est dextera. Et infra, ne Spiritum sanctum praeteriret, adjecit: Misisti Spiritum tuum, et cooperuit eos mare: et Spiritu iracundiae tuae divisa est aqua (Ibid. 10). Quo significatur unitas divinitatis, non inaequalitas Trinitatis.

20. And this may also be gathered from the Song of Moses, for he, after leading the people of the Jews through the sea, acknowledged the operation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, saying: Your Right Hand, O Lord, is glorious in power, Your Right Hand, O Lord, has dashed in pieces the enemy. Exodus 15:6 Here you have his confession of the Son and of the Father, Whose Right Hand He is. And farther on, not to pass by the Holy Spirit, He added: You sent Your Spirit and the sea covered them, and the water was divided by the Spirit of Your anger. Exodus 15:10 By which is signified the unity of the Godhead, not an inequality of the Trinity.

21. [Alias cap. IV.] Vides igitur quia et Spiritus sanctus cooperatus Patri et Filio sit, ut tamquam congelascentibus fluctibus in medio mari, aquarum quidam murus insurgeret ad transitum Judaeorum, et rursus Aegyptiorum populum per Spiritum refusus obrueret (Exod. XIV, 22). Inde et columnam nubis plerique praecessisse in die populo Judaeorum, et columnam ignis in nocte arbitrantur, quo protegeret plebem suam gratia spiritalis (Exod. XIII, 21). 670

21. You see, then, that the Holy Spirit also co-operated with the Father and the Son, so that just as if the waves were congealed in the midst of the sea, a wall as it were of water rose up for the passage of the Jews, and then, poured back again by the Spirit, overwhelmed the people of the Egyptians. And many think that from the same origin the pillar of cloud went before the people of the Jews by day, and the pillar of fire by night, that the grace of the Spirit might protect His people.

22. Hanc autem operationem Dei, quam totus orbis jure miratur, sine sancti Spiritus opere non fuisse etiam Apostolus declaravit, dicens in figura illa praecessisse spiritalis mysterii veritatem; sic enim habes: Quoniam patres nostri omnes sub nube fuerunt, et omnes mare transierunt, et omnes in Moyse baptizati sunt in nube et in mari: et omnes eamdem escam spiritalem manducaverunt, et omnes eumdem potum spiritalem biberunt (I Cor. X, 1 et seq.).

22. Now that this operation of God, which the whole world rightly wonders at, did not take place without the work of the Holy Spirit, the Apostle also declared when he said that the truth of a spiritual mystery was prefigured in it, for we read as follows: For our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were all baptized in Moses in the cloud and in the sea, and did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink.

23. Nam quemadmodum typus sacramenti potuit esse sine operatione Spiritus sancti, cujus veritas omnis in Spiritu est? Quod et Apostolus docuit dicens: Sed abluti estis, sed sanctificati estis, sed justificati estis in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et in Spiritu Dei nostri (I Cor. VI, 11).

23. For how without the operation of the Holy Spirit could there be the type of a sacrament, the whole truth of which is in the Spirit? As the Apostle also

set forth, saying: But you were washed, but you were sanctified, but you were justified in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Spirit of our God. 1 Corinthians 6:11

24. Vides igitur quia et Pater operatur in Filio, et Filius operatur in Spiritu. Et ideo secundum seriem Scripturarum noli dubitare in figura fuisse, quod in veritate esse ipsa etiam veritas declaravit. Quis enim operationem ejus abnuat in lavacro, in quo operationem ejus, septimus et gratiam?

24. You see, then, that the Father works in the Son, and that the Son works in the Spirit. And therefore do not doubt that, according to the order of Scripture, there was in the figure that which the Truth Himself declared to be in the truth. For who can deny His operation in the Font, in which we feel His operation and grace?

25. [Alias cap. V.] Nam sicut sanctificat Pater, ita sanctificat et Filius, sanctificat et Spiritus sanctus. Sanctificat Pater, secundum quod scriptum est: Deus pacis sanctificet vos, ut integer spiritus vester, et anima et corpus sine querela in die Domini nostri Jesu Christi servetur (I Thess. V, 23). Et alibi Filius dicit: Pater, sanctifica eos in veritate (Joan. XVII, 17).

25. For as the Father sanctifies, so, too, the Son sanctifies, and the Holy Spirit sanctifies. The Father sanctifies according to that which is written: The God of peace sanctify you, and may your spirit, soul, and body be preserved entire without blame in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ. 1 Thessalonians 5:23 And elsewhere the Son says: Father, sanctify them in the truth. John 17:17

26. De Filio autem idem Apostolus dixit: Qui factus est nobis sapientia a Deo, et justitia, et sanctificatio, et redemptio (I Cor. I, 30). Vides quia factus est sanctificatio? Sed factus est nobis; non ut ille mutaret quod erat, sed ut nos sanctificaret in carne.

26. But of the Son the same Apostle said: Who was made unto us wisdom from God, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption. 1 Corinthians 1:30 Do you see that He was made sanctification? But He was made so unto us, not that He should change that which He was, but that He might sanctify us in the flesh.

27. Spiritum quoque sanctum sanctificare Apostolus docet. Sic enim dicit: Gratias agere debemus Deo semper pro vobis, fratres dilectissimi a Domino; quia elegit vos Deus primitias in salutem, in sanctificatione Spiritus, et fide veritatis (II Thess. II, 12).

27. And the Apostle also teaches that the Holy Spirit sanctifies. For he speaks thus: We are bound to give thanks to God always for you, brethren dearly beloved of the Lord; because God chose you as first-fruits unto salvation, in sanctification of the Spirit, and belief of the truth. 2 Thessalonians 2:13

28. Ergo sanctificat Pater, sanctificat et Filius, sanctificat et Spiritus sanctus: sed una est sanctificatio, quia unum est baptisma, et una gratia sacramenti (Ephes. IV, 5).

28. So, then, the Father sanctifies, the Son also sanctifies, and the Holy Spirit sanctifies; but the sanctification is one, for baptism is one, and the grace of the sacrament is one.

CAPUT V.

COLLIGIT COEPTUM ARGUMENTUM, et unitatem per digitum atque dexteram significari inde confirmat, quod eadem opera Dei sint, quae sunt manuum; et quae manuum, eadem etiam sint digitorum: ac demum quod manus Filio et Spiritui perinde conveniat, ac Spiritui et Filio digitus.

CHAPTER 5.

The writer sums up the argument he had commenced, and confirms the statement that unity is signified by the terms finger and right hand, from the fact that the works of God are the same as are the works of hands; and that those of hands are the same as those of fingers; and lastly, that the term hand applies equally to the Son and the Spirit, and that of finger applies to the Spirit and the Son.

29. [Alias cap. VI.] Sed quid mirum si sanctificat singulos ipse sanctificatione non indigens, sed redundans; quando tantam, ut dixi, majestatem ejus accepimus, ut tamquam digitus a corpore, ita a Deo Patre inseparabilis videatur Spiritus sanctus?

29. But what wonder is it if He Who Himself needs no sanctification, but abounds therewith, sanctifies each man; since, as I said, we have been taught that His Majesty is so great, that the Holy Spirit seems to be as inseparable from God the Father as the finger is from the body?

30. Quod si quis ad diminutionem, non ad unitatem potestatis putat esse referendum, is profecto in eam amentiam cadet, ut tamquam in unam velut

corporis formam Patrem et 671 Filium et Spiritum sanctum videatur effingere, et distinctiones quasdam figurare membrorum.

30. But if any one thinks that this should be referred not to the oneness of power, but to its lessening, he indeed will fall into such madness as to appear to fashion the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as it were into one bodily form, and to picture to himself certain distinctions of its members.

31. Sed accipiant, ut saepius dixi, non inaequalitatem, sed unitatem potestatis hac testificatione signari; quandoquidem quae opera Dei sunt, eadem sint opera manuum, eadem etiam legerimus opera esse digitorum. Scriptum est enim: Coeli enarrant gloriam Dei, et opera manuum ejus annuntiat firmamentum (Psal. XVIII, 1); et alibi: Initio terram tu fundasti, Domine, et opera manuum tuarum sunt coeli (Psalm. CI, 26). Eadem igitur sunt opera manuum, quae sunt opera Dei. Non ergo aliqua pro membrorum corporalium qualitate discretio operationis, sed unitas potestatis est.

31. But let them learn, as I have often said, that not inequality but unity of power is signified by this testimony; inasmuch as things which are the works of God are also the works of hands, and we read that the same are the works of fingers. For it is written: The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament shows the work of His hands; and elsewhere: In the beginning You founded the earth, O Lord; and the heavens are the works of Your hands. So, then, the works of the hands are the same as the works of God. There is not therefore any distinction of the work according to the kind of bodily members, but a oneness of power.

32. Quae autem opera sunt manuum, eadem opera digitorum; quia aeque scriptum est: Quoniam videbo coelos tuos, opera digitorum tuorum, lunam et stellas quas tu fundasti (Psal. VIII, 4). Quid hic igitur digiti minus quam manus fecisse produntur; cum idem fecerint digiti, quod manus; sicut

scriptum est: Quoniam delectasti me, Domine, in factura tua, et in operibus manuum tuarum delectabor (Psal. XCI, 5).

32. But those which are the works of the hands are also the works of the fingers, for it is equally written: For I will behold Your heavens, the works of Your fingers, the moon, and the stars, which You have established. What less are the fingers here said to have made than the hands, since they made the same as the hands, as it is written: For You, Lord, have made me glad through Your work, and in the works of Your hands will I rejoice.

33. Et tamen quia manum legimus Filium (scriptum est enim: Nonne manus mea fecit haec omnia (Esai. LXVI, 2)? et alibi: Ponam te in foramine petrae, et protegam manum meam super te. Posui manum meam sub tegumento petrae (Exod. XXXIII, 22); quod ad incarnationis mysterium spectat, quia integumentum corporis virtus Dei sempiterna suscepit) utique liquet manus et de Filio Dei et de Spiritu sancto Scripturam locutam.

33. And yet since we read that the Son is the hand (for it is written: Hath not My Hand made all these things? Isaiah 66:2 and elsewhere: I will place you in the cleft of the rock, and I will cover you with Mine hand, I have placed My hand under the covering of the rock, Exodus 33:22 which refers to the mystery of the Incarnation, because the eternal Power of God took on Itself the covering of a body), it is certainly clear that Scripture used the term hand both of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

34. Et rursus quia digitum Dei Spiritum legimus (Luc. XI, 20), ideo appellatos digitos aestimamus, ut Filium Spiritumque signaret. Denique ut et Filii et Spiritus sanctificationem se habere memoraret, ait quidam sanctus: Manus tuae fecerunt me, et plasmaverunt me (Job. X, 8).

34. And again, since we read that the Spirit is the finger of God, we think that fingers [in the plural] are spoken of to signify the Son and Spirit.

Lastly, that he may state that he received the sanctification both of the Son and of the Spirit, a certain saint says: Your hands have made me and fashioned me.

CAPUT VI.

SPIRITUM PERINDE AC Patrem et Filium arguere; immo vero judicare non posse judices absque ipso, ut Salomonis Danielisque judiciis, quae obiter paucis explicantur, ostenditur; neque alium Danieli aspirasse, quam Spiritum sanctum.

CHAPTER 6.

The Spirit rebukes just as do the Father and the Son; and indeed judges could not judge without Him, as is shown by the judgments of Solomon and Daniel, which are explained in a few words, by the way; and no other than the Holy Spirit inspired Daniel.

35. [Alias cap. VII.] Cur enim verborum similitudinem recusamus, ubi unitatem potestatis asserimus; cum eousque unitas potestatis sit, ut et arguat Spiritus, sicut arguit Pater, et arguit Filius? Sic enim scriptum est: Domine, ne ira tua arguas me, neque in furore tuo corripias me (Psalm. VI, 1). Deinde in quadragesimo nono psalmo sic dicit Dominus: Arguam te, et statuam ante faciem tuam peccata tua (Psal. XLIX, 21); ita etiam de Spiritu sancto Filius dixit: Cum autem abiero, mittam paraclitum ad vos: et ille veniens arguet mundum de peccato, et de justitia, et de judicio (Joan. XVI, 7, 8).

35. Why do we reject like words when we assert the oneness of power, since the oneness of power extends so far that the Spirit rebukes, as the Father rebukes, and as the Son rebukes. For so it is written: O Lord, rebuke me not in Your anger, neither chasten me in Your displeasure. Then in the forty-ninth [fiftieth] Psalm, the Lord speaks thus: I will rebuke you, and will

set your sins before your face. And in like manner the Son said of the Holy Spirit: When I go away, I will send the Paraclete to you. And He, when He has come, will rebuke the world, concerning sin, and concerning righteousness, and concerning judgment. John 16:7-8

36. Sed quo nos perfidorum hominum deducit amentia, ut quasi de ambiguo quod Spiritus sanctus arguat, 672 videamur astruere; cum judices ipsi non queant nisi per Spiritum judicare? Denique nobile illud Salomonis judicium, quod inter dubia certantium; cum una, oppresso parvulo, quem ipsa susceperat, vindicare sibi vellet alienum, altera proprium filium defensaret; et fraudem in ipsis cogitationibus occultis, et pietatem in maternis visceribus deprehendit, utique per Spiritus sancti munus emicuit (III Reg. III, 16). Neque enim latentem conscientiam feminarum alia aliqua penetrasset nisi Spiritus sancti machaera, de qua ait Dominus: Non veni pacem mittere, sed machaeram (Matth. X, 34); quia non ferro, sed Spiritu mens interna penetrabilis: Est enim Spiritus intelligentiae sanctus, unicus, multiplex, subtilis, mobilis (Sap. VII, 22); et infra: Omnia prospiciens (Ibid., 23).

36. But whither is the madness of faithless men leading us, so that we appear to be proving, as if it were a matter of doubt, that the Holy Spirit rebukes, whereas judges themselves are unable to judge, except through the Spirit. Lastly, that famous judgment of Solomon, when, among the difficulties arising from those who were contending, as one, having overlain the child which she had borne, wished to claim the child of another, and the other was protecting her own son, he both discovered deceit in the very hidden thoughts, and affection in the mother’s heart, was certainly so admirable only by the gift of the Holy Spirit. For no other sword would have penetrated the hidden feeling of those women, except the sword of the Spirit, of which the Lord says: I am not come to send peace but a sword.

Matthew 10:34 For the inmost mind cannot be penetrated by steel, but by the Spirit: For the Spirit of understanding is holy, one only, manifold, subtle, lively, and, farther on, overseeing all things. Wisdom 7:22-23

37. Vide propheta quid dicat, quia omnia prospicit. Et ideo etiam Salomon prospexit, ut machaeram illam juberet afferri (III Reg. III, 24); quia simulato quod dividere vellet infantem, consideravit quod vera mater plus consuleret filio quam solatio; et gratiam juri, non gratiae jura praeferret. At vero illa quae matris simularet affectum, vincendi studio caeca, parvi duceret ejus exitium, in quo nesciret pietatis dispendium. Itaque vir ille spiritalis, qui dijudicaret omnia (Spiritalis enim (I Cor. II, 15) dijudicat omnia) naturam in affectibus quaesivit, quae latebat in vocibus: et pietatem interrogavit, ut proderet veritatem. Vicit itaque mater charitatis affectu, quae fructus est Spiritus.

37. Consider what the prophet says, that He oversees all things. And so Solomon also oversaw, so that he ordered that sword to be brought, because while pretending that he intended to divide the infant, he reflected that the true mother would have more regard for her son than for her comfort, and would set kindness before right, not right before kindness. But that she who feigned the feelings of a mother, blinded by the desire of gaining her end, would think little of the destruction of him in regard to whom she felt no outgoing of tenderness. And so that spiritual man, that he might judge all things (for he that is spiritual judges all things), 1 Corinthians 2:15 sought in the feelings the natural disposition which was concealed in the language, and questioned tenderness that he might set forth the truth. So the mother overcame by the affection of love, which is a fruit of the Spirit.

38. Dijudicat in propheta, quia per Spiritum datur sermo sapientiae: quomodo ergo negatur quod arguere possit Spiritus sanctus mundum de judicio, qui judicii tollit ambiguum, largitur eventum? 39 et

38. He judges in a prophet, for the word of wisdom is given by the Spirit; 1 Corinthians 12:8 how, then, do men deny that the Spirit can rebuke the world concerning judgment, Who removes doubt from judgment, and grants the successful issue?

40. Daniel quoque nisi accepisset Dei Spiritum, numquam potuisset deprehendere adulterium libidinis, mendacium fraudis. Nam cum Susanna presbyterorum conjurationibus appetita, inflexam populi mentem videret contemplatione seniorum; et omnibus destituta subsidiis, sola inter homines pudicitiae suae conscia Deum arbitrum precaretur: Exaudivit, inquit, Dominus vocem ejus, cum duceretur, ut periret: et excitavit Dominus Spiritum sanctum pueri adolescentis, cui nomen Daniel (Dan. XIII, 44, 45). Itaque secundum accepti Spiritus sancti gratiam vacillantia perfidorum testimonia deprehendit; neque enim alia nisi divinae fuit operatio potestatis, ut eos vox sua proderet, quorum latebat affectus.

39. Daniel also, unless he had received the Spirit of God, would never have been able to discover that lustful adultery, that fraudulent lie. For when Susanna, assailed by the conspiracy of the elders, saw that the mind of the people was moved by consideration for the old men, and destitute of all help, alone among men, conscious of her chastity she prayed God to judge; it is written: The Lord heard her voice, when she was being led to be put to death, and the Lord raised up the Holy Spirit of a young youth, whose name was Daniel. And so according to the grace of the Holy Spirit received by him, he discovered the varying evidence of the treacherous, for it was none other than the operation of divine power, that his voice should make them whose inward feelings were concealed to be known.

41. Percipite igitur Spiritus sancti sacrum et coeleste miraculum. Illa quae maluit sibi casta esse, quam populo: illa quae maluit innocentiae subire periculum, quam pudoris: quae cum accusaretur, tacebat: cum damnaretur,

silebat, conscientiae suae contenta judicio: quae reverentiam pudoris etiam in periculis reservabat; ne extorsisse petulantiam viderentur, qui extorquere non potuerant castitatem: ubi 673 Dominum invocavit, Spiritum meruit qui latentem presbyterorum conscientiam revelavit.

41. Understand, then, the sacred and heavenly miracle of the Holy Spirit. She who preferred to be chaste in herself, rather than in the opinion of the people, she who preferred to hazard [the reputation of] her innocence, rather than her modesty, who when she was accused was silent, when she was condemned held her peace, content with the judgment of her own conscience, who preserved regard for her modesty even in peril, that they who were not able to force her chastity might not seem to have forced her to petulance; when she called upon the Lord, she obtained the Spirit, Who made known the hidden consciousness of the elders.

42. Discant pudicae calumniam non timere. Nam quae castimoniam vitae praetulit, nec vitae dispendium pertulit, et gloriam retulit castitatis. Sic et Abraham quondam jussus adire peregrina, nec uxoriae periculo pudicitiae, nec mortis propositae terrore revocatus, et vitam suam, et castimoniam servavit uxoris. Nullum itaque Deo credidisse poenituit: et castitas devotionem cumulavit in Sara, et devotio castitatem.

42. Let the chaste learn not to dread calumny. For she who preferred chastity to life did not suffer the loss of life, and retained the glory of chastity. So, too, Abraham, once bidden to go to foreign lands, and not being held back either by the danger to his wife’s modesty, nor by the fear of death before him, preserved both his own life and his wife’s chastity. So no one has ever repented of trusting God, and chastity increased devotion in Sarah, and devotion chastity.

43. Ac ne quis forte existimet, quia dicente Scriptura: Excitavit Deus Spiritum sanctum pueri adolescentis (Dan. IV, 21), spiritum in eo putet fuisse hominis, non Spiritum sanctum; legat in posterioribus, et inveniet quia Spiritum sanctum accepit Daniel, et ideo prophetavit. Denique et rex eum praetulit, quia habebat gratiam spiritalem. Sic enim dicit: Tu autem, Daniel, potes; quia Spiritus sanctus Dei in te est. Et infra Scriptura dicit: Et fuit Daniel praepositus illis; quoniam Spiritus erat superans in eo (Dan. VI, 3). Sed etiam Moysis Spiritus judicaturis divisus est (Num. XI, 25).

43. And lest any one should perhaps think that, as the Scripture says, God raised up the Holy Spirit of a young youth, the Spirit in him was that of a man, not the Holy Spirit, let him read farther on, and he will find that Daniel received the Holy Spirit, and therefore prophesied. Lastly, too, the king advanced him because he had the grace of the Spirit. For he speaks thus: You, O Daniel, art able, forasmuch as the Holy Spirit of God is in you. Daniel 5:14 And farther on it is written: And Daniel was set over them, because an excellent Spirit was in him. Daniel 6:3 And the Spirit of Moses also was distributed to those who were to be judges. Numbers 11:25

CAPUT VII.

FILIUM IPSUM NON judicare aut vindicare sine Spiritu; unde idem Spiritus Verbi gladius appellatur. Sed cum vicissim Verbum dicatur Spiritus gladius, summam in utroque potentiae unitatem inde cognosci.

CHAPTER 7.

The Son Himself does not judge or punish without the Spirit, so that the same Spirit is called the Sword of the Word. But inasmuch as the Word is in turn called the Sword of the Spirit, the highest unity of power is thereby recognized in each.

44. Sed quid de caeteris loquamur? ipsum Dominum Jesum in Spiritu non solum judicare accepimus, sed etiam vindicare. Neque enim vindicaret in Antichristum, nisi ante de ejus meritis judicaret, quem (sicut legimus) Dominus Jesus interficiet Spiritu oris sui (II Thess. II, 8). [Alias cap. VIII]. Sed hic non acquisita gratia est, sed individua manet unitas; quia neque Christus sine Spiritu, neque Spiritus potest esse sine Christo. Non enim potest divinae naturae unitas separari.

44. But what should we say of the other points? We have heard that the Lord Jesus not only judges in the Spirit but punishes also. For neither would He punish Antichrist, whom, as we read, the Lord Jesus shall slay with the Spirit of His mouth, 2 Thessalonians 2:8 unless He had before judged of his deserts. Yet here is not a grace received, but the unity remains undivided, since neither can Christ be without the Spirit, nor the Spirit without Christ. For the unity of the divine nature cannot be divided.

45. Et quia in medium id venit exemplum quod Dominus Jesus interficiet Spiritu oris sui, gladius quidam Verbi Spiritus intelligitur (Ephes. VI, 17). Denique et in Evangelio dicit ipse Dominus Jesus: Non veni pacem mittere, sed gladium (Matth. X, 34). Venit enim ut Spiritum daret, ideoque et in ore ejus gladius bis acutus, utique gratia spiritalis (Apoc. XIX, 15). Spiritus ergo Verbi gladius est.

45. And since that instance comes before us, that the Lord Jesus shall slay with the Spirit of His mouth, the Spirit is understood to be as it were the Sword of the Word. Lastly, in the Gospel also the Lord Jesus Himself says: I came not to send peace but a sword. Matthew 10:34 For He came that He might give the Spirit; and so there is in His mouth a two-edged sword, Revelation 19:15 which is in truth the grace of the Spirit. So the Spirit is the Sword of the Word.

46. Et ut scias inaequalitatem non esse, sed unitatem naturae, Verbum quoque gladius est Spiritus sancti; scriptum est enim: Accipientes scutum fidei, in quo possitis omnia tela maligni ignita exstinguere, et galeam salutis assumite, et gladium Spiritus, quod est Verbum Dei (Ephes. VI, 16, 17).

46. And that you may know that there is no inequality but unity of nature, the Word also is the Sword of the Holy Spirit, for it is written: Taking the shield of faith, wherewith you may be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked one. And take the helmet of Salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God. Ephesians 6:16-17

47. Cum igitur Verbi gladius Spiritus sanctus sit, et Spiritus sancti gladius Verbum Dei sit; utique unitas est potentiae.

47. Since, then, the Sword of the Word is the Holy Spirit, and the Sword of the Holy Spirit is the Word of God, there is certainly in Them oneness of power.

CAPUT VIII.

PRAEDICTAM UNITATEM EO probari, quod sicut Pater, ita etiam Filius contristari ac tentari legitur. Tentatum etiam Filium in deserto, ubi erecta fuit in aeneo serpente figura crucis: sed Spiritum quoque ibidem tentatum dici ab Apostolo. Hinc Israelitas ab eodem Spiritu directos in terram promissam, ipsique unam esse cum Patre et Filio voluntatem ac potentiam colligit Ambrosius.

CHAPTER 8.

The aforesaid unity is proved hereby, that as the Father is said to be grieved and tempted, so too the Son. The Son was also tempted in the wilderness, where a figure of the cross was set up in the brazen serpent: but the Apostle says that the Spirit also was there tempted. St. Ambrose infers from this that the Israelites were guided into the promised land by the same Spirit, and that His will and power are one with those of the Father and the Son.

48. [Alias cap. IX.] Quam unitatem licet etiam aliis Scripturarum locis considerare. Nam cum dicat Ezechiel ad populum Judaeorum: Et contristastis me in omnibus his, dicit Dominus (Ezech. XVI, 43); Paulus novo populo in epistola sua dicit: Nolite contristare Spiritum sanctum Dei, in quo signati estis (Ephes. IV, 30). Rursus cum Esaias dicat de ipsis Judaeis: Ipsi autem non crediderunt, sed exacerbaverunt Spiritum sanctum (Esai. LXIII, 10); David de Deo dicit: Et exacerbaverunt altissimum in siccitate, et tentaverunt Deum in cordibus suis (Psal. LXXVII, 17, 18).

48. And we may behold this unity also in other passages of the Scriptures. For whereas Ezekiel says to the people of the Jews: And you have grieved

Me in all these things, says the Lord; Ezekiel 16:43 Paul says to the new people in his Epistle: Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, in Whom you were sealed. Ephesians 4:30 Again, whereas Isaiah says of the Jews themselves: But they believed not, but grieved the Holy Spirit; Isaiah 63:10 David says of God: They grieved the Most High in the desert, and tempted God in their hearts.

49. Accipe etiam quia cum alibi dixerit Scriptura tentatum Spiritum, tentatum etiam Deum, eadem dicat et Christum esse tentatum; habes enim ad Corinthios Apostolum: Neque tentemus Christum, sicut quidam eorum tentaverunt, et a serpentibus perierunt (I Cor. X, 9). Justa vindicta, ut adversarii venena sentirent, qui non venerabantur auctorem.

49. Understand also that whereas Scripture in other places says that the Spirit was tempted, and that God was tempted, it says also that Christ was tempted; for you have the Apostle saying to the Corinthians: Neither let us tempt Christ, as some of them tempted, and perished by serpents. 1 Corinthians 10:9 Just was the punishment that the adversaries should feel the venom, who had not venerated the Maker.

50. Et bene Dominus, aereo serpente suspenso, jussit curari vulnera sauciorum (Num. XXI, 9); imago enim crucis aereus serpens est; nam etsi in carne sua suspensus est Christus, tamen in eo et ipse crucifixus est mundo, et ipsi crucifixus est mundus: Mihi enim, inquit, mundus crucifixus est, et ego mundo (Galat. VI, 14). Crucifixus est ergo in suis mundus illecebris; et ideo non verus, sed aereus suspensus est serpens; quia in veritate quidem corporis, sed sine veritate peccati suscepit Dominus speciem peccatoris; ut per lubricum infirmitatis humanae simulando serpentem, depositis carnis exuviis, veri destrueret serpentis astutiam. Per crucem itaque Domini, quae in tentationis ultione subvenit, offensam in perfidis Trinitatis agnosco, qui medicinam Trinitatis accipio.

50. And well did the Lord ordain that by the lifting up of the brazen serpent the wounds of those who were bitten should be healed; for the brazen serpent is a type of the Cross; for although in His flesh Christ was lifted up, yet in Him was the Apostle crucified to the world and the world to him; for he says: The world has been crucified unto me, and I unto the world. Galatians 6:14 So the world was crucified in its allurements, and therefore not a real but a brazen serpent was hanged; because the Lord took on Him the likeness of a sinner, in the truth, indeed, of His Body, but without the truth of sin, that imitating a serpent through the deceitful appearance of human weakness, having laid aside the slough of the flesh, He might destroy the cunning of the true serpent. And therefore in the Cross of the Lord, which came to man's help in avenging temptation, I, who accept the medicine of the Trinity, recognize in the wicked the offense against the Trinity.

51. Ergo cum habeas in libro Moysi, quia Dominus tentatus serpentes immiserit populo Judaeorum (Num. XXI, 6), necesse est aut unitatem in majestate divina fatearis Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti: aut certe cum Spiritum dicat apostolica Scriptura tentatum, Domini nomine. Spiritum utique designavit. Tentatum autem Spiritum sanctum ad Hebraeos scribens apostolus dicit; sic enim habes: Quia haec dicit Spiritus sanctus: Hodie si vocem ejus audieritis, nolite obdurare corda vestra, sicut in irritatione secundum diem tentationis in deserto, ubi tentaverunt me patres vestri, probaverunt et viderunt opera mea. Quadraginta annis proximus fui generationi huic, et dixi: Semper isti errant corde; ipsi vero non cognoverunt vias meas, sicut juravi in ira mea, si introibunt in requiem meam (Hebr. III, 7 et seq.). 675

51. Therefore when you find in the book of Moses, that the Lord being tempted sent serpents on the people of the Jews, it is necessary that you

either confess the Unity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit in the Divine Majesty, or certainly when the writing of the Apostle says that the Spirit was tempted, it undoubtedly pointed out the Spirit by the name of Lord. But the Apostle writing to the Hebrews says that the Spirit was tempted, for you find this: Wherefore the Holy Ghost says this: Today if you shall hear His voice, harden not your hearts, like as in the provocation in the day of temptation in the wilderness, where your fathers tempted Me, proved Me, and saw My works. Forty years was I near to this generation and said: They always err in their heart; but they did not know My ways, as I swore in My wrath, If they shall enter into My rest. Hebrews 3:7-11

52. Ergo secundum Apostolum tentatus est Spiritus. Si et ipse tentatus est, et ipse utique in terram repromissionis Judaeorum populum dirigebat, sicut scriptum est: Quia adduxit eos per abyssum, sicut equum per desertum, et non laboraverunt, et sicut pecora per campum. Descendit Spiritus a Domino, et direxit eos (Esai. LXIII, 13, 14). Et ipse utique serenam coelestis alimoniae pluviam ministrabat, ipse quotidianam messem, quam terra non parturierat, agricola non severat, imbre fertili fecundabat.

52. Therefore, according to the Apostle, the Spirit was tempted. If He was tempted, He also certainly was guiding the people of the Jews into the land of promise, as it is written: For He led them through the deep, as a horse through the wilderness, and they laboured not, and like the cattle through the plain. The Spirit came down from the Lord and guided them. Isaiah 63:13-14 And He certainly ministered to them the calm rain of heavenly food, He with fertile shower made fruitful that daily harvest which earth had not brought forth, and husbandman had not sown.

53. Nunc spectemus singula. Requiem Judaeis promiserat Deus, eam requiem Spiritus suam dicit (Exod. XVI, 12). Tentatum se a perfidis Deus Pater memorat, tentatum ab iisdem se dicit et Spiritus; quia una tentatio est,

qua tentata est a sacrilegis una divinitas Trinitatis. Condemnat Deus populum Judaeorum (Num. XIV, 8); ut in terram fluentem lac et mel, hoc est, ad resurrectionis requiem pervenire non possit: eadem sententia condemnat et Spiritus dicens: Si introibunt in requiem meam (Psal. XCIV, 11). Unius ergo sententia voluntatis, unius excellentia potestatis est.

53. Now let us look at these points one by one. God had promised rest to the Jews; the Spirit calls that rest His. God the Father relates that He was tempted by the unbelieving, and the Spirit says that He was tempted by the same, for the temptation is one wherewith the one Godhead of the Trinity was tempted by the unbelieving. God condemns the people of the Jews, so that they cannot attain to the land flowing with milk and honey, that is, to the rest of the resurrection; and the Spirit condemns them by the same decree: If they shall enter into My rest. It is, then, the decree of one Will, the excellency of one Power.

CAPUT IX.

SPIRITUM SANCTUM EXACERBARI confirmatur ex Petri verbis; ubi unum et idem esse Spiritum Dei, ac Spiritum Domini, cum ex aliis locis, tum e memorata ejusdem apostoli sententia in Ananiam ac Saphiram ostenditur: unde Spiritus sancti vel cum Patre ac Filio conjunctionem, vel propriam divinitatem evinci contenditur.

CHAPTER 9.

That the Holy Spirit is provoked is proved by the words of St. Peter, in which it is shown that the Spirit of God is one and the same as the Spirit of the Lord, both by other passages and by reference to the sentence of the same Apostle on Ananias and Sapphira, whence it is argued that the union of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son, as well as His own Godhead, is proved.

54. Fortasse tamen aliquis diceret hoc exemplum non posse ad proprietatem sancti Spiritus derivari, nisi alio loco etiam Petrus apostolus nos docuisset peccatis nostris etiam Spiritum posse tentari, sic enim habes ad Ananiae conjugem dictum: Quid utique convenit vobis tentare Spiritum Domini (Act. V, 9)? Etenim Domini Spiritus ipse est Dei Spiritus; quia unus sanctus est Spiritus, ut etiam Paulus apostolus docuit dicens: Vos autem in carne non estis, sed in Spiritu; si tamen Spiritus Dei habitat in vobis. Si quis autem Spiritum Christi non habet, hic non est ejus (Rom. VIII, 9). Praemisit Spiritum Dei, et statim subdidit eumdem esse Spiritum Christi. Et cum dixisset de Spiritu, ut intelligeremus quia ubi Spiritus sanctus, ibi Christus est, addidit: Si autem Christus in vobis (Ibid., 10).

54. Perhaps, however, some one might say that this passage cannot be specially applied to the Holy Spirit, had not the same Apostle Peter taught us in another place that the Holy Ghost can be tempted by our sins, for you find that the wife of Ananias is thus addressed: Why have you agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord? Acts 5:9 For the Spirit of the Lord is the very Spirit of God; for there is one Holy Spirit, as also the Apostle Paul taught, saying: But you are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwells in you. But if any man has not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His. Romans 8:9 He first mentioned the Spirit of God and immediately adds that the Same is the Spirit of Christ. And having spoken of the Spirit, that we might understand that where the Holy Spirit is there is Christ, he added: But if Christ be in you. Romans 8:10

55. Deinde quomodo hic intelligimus quia ubi Spiritus, ibi et Christus; ita etiam alibi ostendit quia ubi Christus, ibi etiam Spiritus sanctus sit. Nam cum dixisset: Numquid experimentum ejus quaeritis, qui in me loquitur Christus (II Cor. XIII, 3); alibi ait: Puto enim et ego Spiritum Dei habeo (I Cor. VII, 40). Inseparabilis ergo 676 est unitas, quia ubi aut Pater, aut Christus, aut Spiritus, Scriptura testificante, signatur; ibi omnis plenitudo est Trinitatis.

55. Then, in the same way as we here understand that where the Spirit is there also is Christ; so also, elsewhere, he shows that where Christ is, there also is the Holy Spirit. For having said: Do you seek a proof of Christ Who speaks in me? 2 Corinthians 13:3 he says elsewhere: For I think that I also have the Spirit of God. 1 Corinthians 7:40 The Unity, then, is inseparable, for by the testimony of Scripture where either the Father or the Son or the Holy Spirit is designated, there is all the fullness of the Trinity.

56. [Alias cap. X] Sed et ipse Petrus in eo, quod proposuimus, exemplo praemisit Spiritum sanctum, et postea dixit Spiritum Domini; sic enim

habes: Anania, cur implevit Satanas cor tuum ad mentiendum Spiritui sancto, ut fraudem faceres de pretio agri? Ita nonne manens tibi manebat, et venditus in tua erat potestate? Quare posuisti in corde tuo hoc scelus? Non es hominibus mentitus, sed Deo (Act. V, 3 et seq.). Et subter ad ejus uxorem ait: Quid utique convenit vobis tentare Spiritum Domini (Ibid., 9)?

56. But Peter himself in the instance we have brought forward spoke first of the Holy Spirit, and then called Him the Spirit of the Lord, for you read as follows: Ananias, why has Satan filled your heart to lie to the Holy Spirit, and to deal fraudulently concerning the price of the field? While it remained did it not continue your own, and when sold was it not in your power? Why have you conceived this wickedness in your heart? You have not lied unto men but unto God. Acts 5:3-4 And below he says to the wife: Why have you agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord? Acts 5:5

57. Primum intelligimus quia Spiritum sanctum Spiritum Domini dixit. Deinde cum praemiserit Spiritum sanctum, et addiderit: Non es hominibus mentitus, sed Deo; necesse est in Spiritu sancto aut unitatem divinitatis intelligas; quoniam cum Spiritus tentatur, Deus fallitur: aut si unitatem divinitatis conaris excludere, secundum Scripturae verba ipse utique Spiritum Deum credis.

57. First, we understand that he called the Holy Spirit the Spirit of the Lord. Then, since he mentioned first the Holy Spirit and added: You have not lied unto men but unto God, you must necessarily either understand the oneness of the Godhead in the Holy Spirit, since when the Holy Spirit is tempted a lie is told to God; or, if you endeavour to exclude the oneness of the Godhead, you yourself according to the words of Scripture certainly believe Him to be God.

58. Si enim et de Spiritu expressum intelligimus et de Patre, in Deo utique Patre et Spiritu sancto veritatis et scientiae advertimus unitatem; quia similiter a sancto Spiritu sicut a Deo Patre mendacium deprehenditur. Quod si utrumque de Spiritu accipimus, cur quod legis, perfide, negare conaris? Aut igitur unitatem divinitatis Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, aut divinitatem sancti Spiritus confitere. Utrum dixeris, in Deo utrumque dixisti; quia et unitas divinitatem astruit, et divinitas unitatem.

58. For if we understand that these expressions are used both of the Spirit and of the Father, we certainly observe the unity of truth and knowledge in God the Father and the Holy Spirit, for falsehood is discovered alike by the Holy Spirit and by God the Father. But if we have received each truth concerning the Spirit, why do you, faithless man, attempt to deny what you read? Confess, then, either the oneness of the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, or the Godhead of the Holy Spirit. Whichever you say, you will have said each in God, for both the Unity upholds the Godhead and the Godhead the Unity

CAPUT X.

SPIRITUS SANCTI DIVINITATEM astrui ex Joannis loco. Hunc quidem deletum fuisse ab haereticis, at inani conatu; cum inde facilius eorum perfidia convinci possit. Ut ostendatur hic idem locus esse de Spiritu, contextus series expenditur. Eum de Spiritu sancto nasci, qui renascitur de eodem Spiritu, de quo Christus ipse natus ac renatus creditur. Iterum ex duobus Joannis testimoniis colligitur Spiritus divinitas, ac demum quomodo Spiritus, aqua et sanguis testes dicantur, exponitur.

CHAPTER 10.

The Divinity of the Holy Spirit is supported by a passage of St. John. This passage was, indeed, erased by heretics, but it is a vain attempt, since their faithlessness could thereby more easily be convicted. The order of the context is considered in order that this passage may be shown to refer to the Spirit. He is born of the Spirit who is born again of the same Spirit, of Whom Christ Himself is believed to have been born and born again. Again, the Godhead of the Spirit is inferred from two testimonies of St. John; and lastly, it is explained how the Spirit, the water, and the blood are called witnesses.

59. [Alias cap. XI.] Nec solum hoc loco evidenter sancti Spiritus θεότητα, hoc est, deitatem Scriptura testatur; sed etiam ipse Dominus dixit in Evangelio: Quoniam Deus Spiritus est (Joan. III, 6). Quem locum ita expresse, Ariani, testificamini esse de Spiritu; ut eum de vestris codicibus auferatis: atque utinam de vestris, et non etiam de Ecclesiae codicibus tolleretis! Eo enim tempore quo impiae infidelitatis Auxentius

Mediolanensem 677 Ecclesiam armis exercituque occupaverat, vel a Valente atque Ursatio, nutantibus sacerdotibus suis, incursabatur Ecclesia Sirmiensis, falsum hoc, et sacrilegium vestrum in Ecclesiasticis codicibus deprehensum est. Et fortasse hoc etiam in Oriente fecistis.

59. Nor does the Scripture in this place alone bear witness to the θεότης, that is, the Godhead of the Holy Spirit; but also the Lord Himself said in the Gospel: The Spirit is God. Which passage you, Arians, so expressly testify to be said concerning the Spirit, that you remove it from your copies, and would that it were from yours and not also from those of the Church! For at the time when Auxentius had seized the Church of Milan with the arms and forces of impious unbelief, the Church of Sirmium was attacked by Valens and Ursatius, when their priests [i.e. bishops] failed in faith; this falsehood and sacrilege of yours was found in the ecclesiastical books. And it may chance that you did the same in the past.

60. Et litteras quidem potuistis abolere, sed fidem non potuistis auferre. Plus vos illa litura prodebat, plus vos illa litura damnabat; neque enim vos poteratis oblinire veritatem, sed illa litura de libro vitae nomina vestra radebat. Cur auferebatur: Quoniam Deus Spiritus est; si non pertinebat ad Spiritum? Si enim de Deo Patre vultis expressum, ergo et Deum Patrem negatis, qui putatis esse delendum. Utrum vultis, eligite: in utroque vos laqueus vestrae impietatis astringet, si gentiles vos esse fateamini vel Patrem Deum negando, vel Spiritum. Tenetur igitur vestra confessio, qua delestis oraculum, dum formidatis exemplum.

60. And you have indeed been able to blot out the letters, but could not remove the faith. That erasure betrayed you more, that erasure condemned you more; and you were not able to obliterate the truth, but that erasure blotted out your names from the book of life. Why was the passage removed, For God is a Spirit, if it did not pertain to the Spirit? For if you

will have it that the expression is used of God the Father, you, who think it should be erased, deny, in consequence, God the Father. Choose which you will, in each the snare of your own impiety will bind you if you confess yourselves to be heathen by denying either the Father or the Spirit to be God. Therefore your confession wherein you have blotted out the Word of God remains, while you fear the original.

61. Delestis quidem in pectoribus animisque vestris: caeterum divinum non deletur oraculum, non deletur Spiritus sanctus, sed aversatur impias mentes: non deletur gratia, sed iniquitas; quia scriptum est: Ego sum, ego sum, qui deleo iniquitates tuas (Esai. XLIII, 25). Denique Moyses pro populo petens: Dele, inquit, me de libro tuo, si non parcis huic populo (Exod. XXXII, 32). Nec tamen deletus est; quia non habebat iniquitatem, sed gratiam profluebat.

61. You have blotted it out, indeed, in your breasts and minds, but the Word of God is not blotted out, the Holy Spirit is not blotted out, but turns away from impious minds; not grace but iniquity is blotted out; for it is written: I am He, I am He that blot out your iniquities. Isaiah 43:25 Lastly, Moses, making request for the people, says: Blot me out of Your book, if You spare not this people. Exodus 32:32 And yet he was not blotted out, because he had no iniquity, but grace flowed forth.

62. Vestra igitur estis confessione convicti, quod sapienter factum non potestis dicere, sed astute. Astute enim cognovistis loci istius vos attestatione convinci, nec argumenta vestra adversus id posse testimonium convenire. Quo enim possit alio intellectus loci istius derivari, cum series lectionis tota de Spiritu sit?

62. You are, then, convicted by your own confession that you cannot say it was done with wisdom but with cunning. For by cunning you know that you

are convicted by the evidence of that passage, and that your arguments cannot apply against that testimony. For whence else could the meaning of that place be derived, since the whole tenour of the passage is concerning the Spirit?

63. Nicodemus quaerit de regeneratione, respondet Dominus: Amen, amen dico tibi, nisi quis renatus fuerit per aquam et Spiritum, non potest introire in regnum Dei (Joan. III, 5). Et ut ostenderet aliam generationem secundum carnem esse, aliam secundum Spiritum, addidit: Quod natum est ex carne caro est; quia de carne natum est; et quod natum est de Spiritu, Spiritus est; quia Deus Spiritus est (Ibid., 6). Pro sequere ergo totam seriem lectionis, et invenies quod Dominus impietatem vestram plenitudine assertionis excluserit. Noli, inquit, mirari quia dixi: Oportet vos nasci denuo. Spiritus ubi vult spirat, et vocem ejus audis: sed nescis unde veniat, aut quo vadat; sic est omnis qui natus est de Spiritu (Ibid., VII, 8).

63. Nicodemus enquires about regeneration, and the Lord replies: Verily, verily, I say unto you, except a man be born again by water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. John 3:5 And that He might show that there is one birth according to the flesh, and another according to the Spirit, He added: That which is born of the flesh is flesh, because it is born of the flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit, because the Spirit is God. Follow out the whole course of the passage, and you will find that God has shut out your impiety by the fullness of His statement: Marvel not, says He, that I said, You must be born again. The Spirit breathes where He lists, and you hear His voice, but know not whence He comes or whither He goes, so is every one who is born of the Spirit. John 3:7-8

64. Quis est qui nascitur de Spiritu, et qui efficitur Spiritus, nisi qui renovatur Spiritu mentis suae? Hic est utique qui per aquam regeneratur 678 et Spiritum sanctum; quoniam per lavacrum regenerationis et renovationis

Spiritus sancti spem vitae capimus aeternae. Et alibi Petrus apostolus ait: Vos autem Spiritu sancto baptizabimini (Act. XI, 16). Quis est autem qui baptizatur Spiritu sancto, nisi qui renascitur per aquam et Spiritum sanctum? Ergo de sancto Spiritu Dominus dixit: Amen, amen dico tibi, nisi quis renatus fuerit per aquam et Spiritum, non potest introire in regnum Dei. Et ideo de ipso nasci nos in posterioribus definivit, per quem renasci nos in superioribus est locutus. Haec Dominica sententia est: scripto nitor, non argumento.

64. Who is he who is born of the Spirit, and is made Spirit, but he who is renewed in the Spirit of his mind? Ephesians 4:23 This certainly is he who is regenerated by water and the Holy Spirit, since we receive the hope of eternal life through the laver of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Spirit. Titus 3:5 And elsewhere the Apostle Peter says: You shall be baptized with the Holy Spirit. Acts 11:16 For who is he that is baptized with the Holy Spirit but he who is born again through water and the Holy Spirit? Therefore the Lord said of the Holy Spirit, Verily, verily, I say unto you, except a man be born again by water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. And therefore He declared that we are born of Him in the latter case, through Whom He said that we were born in the former. This is the sentence of the Lord; I rest on what is written, not on argument.

65. Quaero tamen cur si non dubitatur per Spiritum sanctum nos renasci, dubitetur de Spiritu sancto nos nasci; cum ipse Dominus Jesus de Spiritu sancto et natus sit et renatus? Quem si natum de Spiritu sancto confitemini (Matth. I, 20), quia non potestis negare: renatum autem (Matth. III, 16) negatis; magna insipientia, ut quod singulare Dei est, confiteamini: quod commune est hominum, denegetis. Et ideo bene vobis dicitur quod Judaeis dictum est: Si terrena vobis dixi, et non creditis; quomodo si dixero vobis coelestia credetis (Joan. III, 12)?

65. I ask, however, why, if there be no doubt that we are born again by the Holy Spirit, there should be any doubt that we are born of the Holy Spirit, since the Lord Jesus Himself was both born and born again of the Holy Spirit. And if you confess that He was born of the Holy Spirit, because you are not able to deny it, but deny that He was born again, it is great folly to confess what is peculiar to God, and deny what is common to men. And therefore that is well said to you which was said to the Jews: If I told you earthly things and you believe not, how shall you believe if I tell you heavenly things? John 3:12

66. Sed tamen utrumque locum ita scriptum invenimus in Graeco, ut non per Spiritum dixerit, sed de Spiritu. Denique sic habet: Ἀμὴν, ἀμὴν, λέγω σοι, ἐὰν μή τις γεννήθη ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ Πνεύματος, hoc est, de aqua et Spiritu. Ergo cum dubitari non debeat de sancto scriptum esse Spiritu, quod natum est de Spiritu; non est dubium quin Deus sit et sanctus Spiritus, secundum quod scriptum est, quia Deus Spiritus est.

66. And yet we find each passage so written in Greek, that He said not, *through* the Spirit, but *of* the Spirit. For it stands thus: ἀ μήν, ἀμήν, λέγω σοι, ἐὰν μή τις γεννηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος και Πνεύματος, that is, *of water and the Spirit.* Therefore, since one ought not to doubt that that which is born of the Spirit is written of the Holy Spirit; there is no doubt but that the Holy Spirit also is God, according to that which is written, the Spirit is God.

67. Alibi quoque ut hoc de sancto Spiritu scripsisse se idem evangelista reseraret: Per aquam, inquit, et Spiritum venit Christus Jesus, non solum in aqua sed per aquam et sanguinem. Et spiritus testimonium dicit, quoniam Spiritus est veritas; quia tres sunt testes, Spiritus, aqua, sanguis: et hi tres unum sunt (I Joan. V, 6 et seq.).

67. But the same Evangelist, that he might make it plain that he wrote this concerning the Holy Spirit, says elsewhere: Jesus Christ came by water and blood, not in the water only, but by water and blood. And the Spirit bears witness, because the Spirit is truth; for there are three witnesses, the Spirit, the water, and the blood; and these three are one.

68. Audi quomodo testes: Spiritus mentem renovat, aqua proficit ad lavacrum, sanguis spectat ad pretium. Spiritus enim nos per adoptionem filios Dei fecit, sacri fontis unda nos abluit, sanguis Domini nos redemit. Alterum igitur invisibile, alterum visibile testimonium sacramento consequimur spiritali; quia Spiritus testimonium reddit spiritui nostro (Rom. VIII, 16). Etsi in utroque plenitudo sit sacramenti, distinctio tamen muneris est: ergo ubi distinctio est muneris, non est utique testificationis aequalitas.

68. Hear how they are witnesses: The Spirit renews the mind, the water is serviceable for the laver, and the blood refers to the price. For the Spirit made us children by adoption, the water of the sacred Font washed us, the blood of the Lord redeemed us. So we obtain one invisible and one visible testimony in a spiritual sacrament, for the Spirit Himself bears witness to our spirit. Romans 8:16 Though the fullness of the sacrament be in each, yet there is a distinction of office; so where there is distinction of office, there certainly is not equality of witness.

CAPUT XI.

OBJICIEBATUR JOANNIS VERBA, nimirum, Spiritus est Deus, ad Deum Patrem referenda esse; quando postea Deum adorandum in Spiritu et veritate praedicit Christus. Respondetur primo voce spiritus interdum gratiam spiritalem significari: deinde si personam Spiritus sancti per voces in spiritu intelligendam velint, proptereaque ipsi deberi negent adorationem, ostenditur argumentum aeque pugnare in Filium: quem tamen cum adorandum innumera probent exempla, hinc de Spiritu quoque idem statuendum intelligitur. Quid adorari praecipitur scabellum pedum? Hoc designari Domini corpus, cujus cum auctor sit Spiritus, ipsum sequitur adorandum esse, nec tamen proinde Mariam adorandam. Non ergo abrogari Spiritus adorationem, sed ejus cum Patre conjunctionem exprimi, cum Pater in Spiritu dicitur adorandus: quod similibus locutionibus confirmatur.

CHAPTER 11.

The objection has been made, that the words of St. John, The Spirit is God, are to be referred to God the Father; since Christ afterwards declares that God is to be worshipped in Spirit and in truth. The answer is, first, that by the word Spirit is sometimes meant spiritual grace; next, it is shown that, if they insist that the Person of the Holy Spirit is signified by the words in Spirit, and therefore deny that adoration is due to Him, the argument tells equally against the Son; and since numberless passages prove that He is to be worshipped, we understand from this that the same rule is to be laid down as regards the Spirit. Why are we commanded to fall down before His footstool? Because by this is signified the Lord’s Body, and as the Spirit was the Maker of this, it follows that He is to be worshipped, and yet it does

not accordingly follow that Mary is to be worshipped. Therefore the worship of the Spirit is not done away with, but His union with the Father is expressed, when it is said that the Father is to be worshipped in Spirit, and this point is supported by similar expressions.

69. [Alias cap. XII.] Sed fortasse referatur quia in posterioribus istius ipsius libri iterum Dominus Deum Spiritum dixit, sed de Patre Deo sensit. Sic enim habes in Evangelio: Nunc est quando veri adoratores adorabunt Patrem in Spiritu et veritate. Nam et Pater tales quaerit, qui adorent eum. Spiritus est Deus, et eos qui adorant eum, in Spiritu et veritate oportet adorare (Joan. IV, 23, 24). Non solum enim hoc exemplo divinitatem sanciti Spiritus vultis negare; sed etiam in Spiritu adorari Deum tamquam ad subjectionem Spiritus derivatis.

69. But perhaps reference may be made to the fact that in a later passage of the same book, the Lord again said that God is Spirit, but spoke of God the Father. For you have this passage in the Gospel: The hour now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in Spirit and truth, for such also does the Father seek. God is Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship in Spirit and truth. John 4:23-24 By this passage you wish not only to deny the divinity of the Holy Spirit, but also, from God being worshipped in Spirit, deduce a subjection of the Spirit.

70. Cui loco respondebo breviter, quia spiritus plerumque ponitur pro gratia spiritali, sicut et Apostolus dixit: Quia ipse spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus (Rom. VIII, 26), hoc est, gratia spiritalis; nisi forte gemitus vos sancti Spiritus audire potuistis. Ergo et hic adoratur Deus, non in malitia cordis, sed in gratia spiritali. In animam enim malevolamnon intrat sapientia (Sap. I, 4); quia nemo potest dicere Dominum Jesum, nisi in Spiritu sancto (I Cor. XII, 3). Statimque subdidit: Divisiones vero gratiarum sunt (Ibid., 4).

70. To which point I will briefly answer that Spirit is often put for the grace of the Spirit, as the Apostle also said: For the Spirit Himself intercedes for us with groanings which cannot be uttered; Romans 8:26 that is, the grace of the Spirit, unless perchance you have been able to hear the groanings of the Holy Spirit. Therefore here too God is worshipped, not in the wickedness of the heart, but in the grace of the Spirit. For into a malicious soul wisdom does not enter, Wisdom 1:4 because no one can call Jesus Lord but in the Holy Spirit. 1 Corinthians 12:3 And immediately he adds: Now there are diversities of gifts. 1 Corinthians 12:4

71. Non igitur hoc ad plenitudinem, nec ad portionem Spiritus potest pertinere, quia neque humana mens ejus plenitudinem capit, neque in ullas sui dividitur sectiones: sed donum gratiae spiritalis infundit, in quo adoratur Deus, sicut adoratur etiam in veritate; non enim adorat, nisi qui veritatem divinitatis ejus pio haurit affectu. Nec utique velut personaliter Christum, aut sanctum personaliter Spiritum comprehendit.

71. Now this cannot pertain to the fullness, nor to the dividing of the Spirit; for neither does the mind of man grasp His fullness, nor is He divided into any portions of Himself; but He pours into [the soul] the gift of spiritual grace, in which God is worshipped as He is also worshipped in truth, for no one worships Him except he who drinks in the truth of His Godhead with pious affection. And he certainly does not apprehend Christ as it were personally, nor the Holy Spirit personally.

72. Aut si putas quod velut personaliter dictum de Spiritu videatur et de Christo: ergo Deus similiter adoratur in veritate, sicut adoratur in Spiritu. Aut similis igitur subjectio, quod absit ut credas; et nec Filius adoratur: aut, quod verum est, similis unitatis est gratia, et Spiritus adoratur. 680

72. Or if you think that this is said as it were personally of Christ and of the Spirit, then God is worshipped in truth in like manner as He is worshipped in Spirit. There is therefore either a like subjection, which God forbid that you should believe, and the Son is not worshipped; or, which is true, there is a like grace of Unity, and the Spirit is worshipped.

73. Colligamus hic ergo et concludamus Arianorum impias quaestiones. Si enim ideo negant adorandum Spiritum, quia Deus adoratur in Spiritu; negent ergo adorandam veritatem, quia Deus adoratur in veritate. Nam licet plurimae veritates sint, quia scriptum est: Diminutae sunt veritates a filiis hominum (Psal. XI, 1); donatae tamen sunt a veritate divina, quae est Christus qui ait: Ego sum via, veritas et vita (Joan. XIV, 6). Ergo si hoc loco veritatem ex usu intelligunt, intelligant etiam gratiam spiritalem, et nihil est offensionis: aut si veritatem Christum accipiunt, adorandum negent.

73. Let us then here draw our inferences and put an end to the impious questionings of the Arians. For if they say that the Spirit is therefore not to be worshipped because God is worshipped in Spirit, let them then say that the Truth is not to be worshipped, because God is worshipped in truth. For although there be many truths, since it is written: Truths are minished from the sons of men; yet they are given by the Divine Truth, which is Christ, Who says: I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life. John 14:6 If therefore they understand the truth in this passage from custom, let them also understand the grace of the Spirit, and there is no stumbling; or if they receive Christ as the Truth, let them deny that He is to be worshipped.

74. Sed refelluntur factis piorum, serie Scripturarum. Adoravit enim Christum Maria, et ideo praenuntia resurrectionis ad apostolos destinatur, solvens haereditarium nexum, et feminei generis immane delictum. Hoc enim operatus est in mysterio Dominus; ut ubi superabundaverat peccatum, superabundaret et gratia (Rom. V, 20). Meritoque ad viros femina

destinatur; ut quae culpam viro prima nuntiaverat, prima Domini gratiam nuntiaret.

74. But they are refuted by the acts of the pious, and by the course of the Scriptures. For Mary worshipped Christ, and therefore is appointed to be the messenger of the Resurrection to the apostles, John 20:17-18 loosening the hereditary bond, and the huge offense of womankind. For this the Lord wrought mystically, that where sin had exceedingly abounded, grace might more exceedingly abound. Romans 5:20 And rightly is a woman appointed [as messenger] to men; that she who first had brought the message of sin to man should first bring the message of the grace of the Lord.

75. Adoraverunt et apostoli (Matth. XXVIII, 17); et ideo quia detulerunt fidei testimonium, acceperunt fidei magisterium. Adoraverunt et angeli, de quibus scriptum est: Et adorent eum omnes angeli ejus (Hebr. I, 6).

75. And the apostles worshipped; and therefore they who bore the testimony of the faith received authority as to the faith. And the angels worshipped, of whom it is written: And let all His angels worship Him. Hebrews 1:6

76. Adorant autem non solum divinitatem ejus, sed etiam scabellum pedum ejus, sicut scriptum est: Et adorate scabellum pedum ejus; quoniam sanctum est (Psal. XCVIII, 5). Aut si negant quia in Christo etiam incarnationis adoranda mysteria sint, in quibus velut vestigia quaedam divinitatis expressa, et vias quasdam Verbi coelestis advertimus; legant quia et apostoli adorabant eum in carnis gloria resurgentem (Matth. XXVIII, 17).

76. But they worship not only His Godhead but also His Footstool, as it is written: And worship His footstool, for it is holy. Or if they deny that in Christ the mysteries also of His Incarnation are to be worshipped, in which we observe as it were certain express traces of His Godhead, and certain

ways of the Heavenly Word; let them read that even the apostles worshipped Him when He rose again in the glory of His Flesh. Matthew 28:17

77. Ergo si nihil derogat Christo, quod Deus adoratur in Christo; quia adoratur et Christus: nihil utique derogat etiam Spiritui, quia Deus adoratur in Spiritu; quia adoratur et Spiritus, sicut Apostolus dixit: Spiritui Dei servimus (Philip. III, 3). Qui enim servit, et adorat, sicut supra dictum est: Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et illi soli servies (Deut. VI, 13).

77. Therefore if it do not at all detract from Christ, that God is worshipped in Christ, for Christ too is worshipped; it certainly also detracts nothing from the Spirit that God is worshipped in the Spirit, for the Spirit also is worshipped, as the Apostle has said: We serve the Spirit of God, Philippians 3:3 for he who serves worships also, as it is said in an earlier passage: You shall worship the Lord your God, and Him only shall you serve. Deuteronomy 6:13

78. Sed ne forte propositum aliquis praeterfugere videatur exemplum, qua ratione ad incarnationis Dominicae sacramentum spectare videatur, quod ait Propheta: Adorate scabellum pedum ejus (Ps. XCVIII, 5), consideremus; non enim ex usu hominum aestimare debemus scabellum. Nam neque corporalis Deus, aut non immensus; ut tamquam fulcrum pedibus ejus scabellum subjectum putemus. Neque adorandum quidquam praeter Deum legimus; quia scriptum est: Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et ipsi soli servies (Deut. VI, 13). Quomodo ergo adversus Legem Propheta praeciperet, sub Lege nutritus, et eruditus in Lege. Non mediocris igitur quaestio, et ideo diligentius consideremus quid sit scabellum. Legimus enim alibi: Coelum mihi thronus, terra autem scabellum pedum meorum (Esa. LXVI, 1). Sed nec terra adoranda 681 est nobis, quia creatura est Dei.

78. But lest any one should perchance seem to elude the instance we have adduced, let us consider in what manner that which the prophet says, Worship His Footstool, appears to refer to the mystery of the divine Incarnation, for we must not estimate the footstool from the custom of men. For neither has God a body, neither is He other than beyond measure, that we should think a footstool was laid down as a support for His feet. And we read that nothing besides God is to be worshipped, for it is written: You shall worship the Lord your God, and Him only shall you serve. How, then, should the prophet, brought up under the Law, and instructed in the Law, give a precept against the Law? The question, then, is not unimportant, and so let us more diligently consider what the footstool is. For we read elsewhere: The heaven is My throne, and the earth the footstool of My feet. Isaiah 66:1 But the earth is not to be worshipped by us, for it is a creature of God.

79. Videamus tamen ne terram illam dicat adorandam Propheta, quam Dominus Jesus in carnis assumptione suscepit. Itaque per scabellum terra intelligitur: per terram autem caro Christi, quam hodieque in mysteriis adoramus, et quam apostoli in Domino Jesu, ut supra diximus, adorarunt; neque enim divisus est Christus, sed unus (I Cor. I, 13): neque cum adoratur tamquam Dei Filius, natus ex Virgine denegatur. Cum igitur incarnationis adorandum sit sacramentum, incarnatio autem opus Spiritus, sicut scriptum est: Spiritus sanctus superveniet in te, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi; et quod nascetur ex te sanctum, vocabitur Filius Dei (Luc. I, 35): haud dubie etiam sanctus Spiritus adorandus est; quando adoratur ille, qui secundum carnem natus ex Spiritu sancto est.

79. Let us, however, see whether the prophet does not say that that earth is to be worshipped which the Lord Jesus took upon Him in assuming flesh. And so, by footstool is understood earth, but by the earth the Flesh of

Christ, which we this day also adore in the mysteries, and which the apostles, as we said above, adored in the Lord Jesus; for Christ is not divided but is one; nor, when He is adored as the Son of God, is He denied to have been born of the Virgin. Since, then, the mystery of the Incarnation is to be adored, and the Incarnation is the work of the Spirit, as it is written, The Holy Spirit shall come upon you, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow you, and that Holy Thing Which shall be born of you shall be called the Son of God, Luke 1:35 without doubt the Holy Spirit also is to be adored, since He Who according to the flesh was born of the Holy Spirit is adored.

80. Ac ne quis hoc derivet ad Mariam virginem: Maria erat templum Dei, non Deus templi. Et ideo ille solus adorandus, qui operabatur in templo.

80. And let no one divert this to the Virgin Mary; Mary was the temple of God, not the God of the temple. And therefore He alone is to be worshipped Who was working in His temple.

81. Nihil ergo officit, quod Deus adoratur in Spiritu; quia et Spiritus adoratur. Quamquam si ipsa verba consideremus, quid aliud in Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto, nisi ejusdem potestatis unitatem intelligere debemus? Quid est enim: In Spiritu et veritate adorare oportet (Joan. IV, 24)? si tamen hoc non ad gratiam spiritalem referas, nec ad veram conscientiae fidem: sed, ut diximus, personaliter (si tamen dignum hoc verbum est majestatis expressione divinae) de Christo accipias et de Spiritu.

81. It makes, then, nothing against our argument that God is worshipped in Spirit, for the Spirit also is worshipped. Although if we consider the words themselves, what else ought we to understand in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, but the unity of the same power. For what is must worship in Spirit and in truth? If, however, you do not refer this to the grace of the

Spirit, nor the true faith of conscience; but, as we said, personally (if indeed this word person is fit to express the Divine Majesty), you must take it of Christ and of the Spirit.

82. Quid est ergo adoratur in Christo Pater, nisi quia est in Christo Pater, et loquitur in Christo Pater, et manet in Christo Pater? Non utique quasi corpus in corpore; non enim Deus corpus: nec quasi confusus in confuso; sed quasi verus in vero, Deus in Deo, lumen in lumine, quasi Pater sempiternus in Filio coaeterno. Non ergo insertio corporis intelligitur, sed unitas potestatis. Ergo per unitatem potestatis coadoratur in Patre Christus, cum Deus Pater 682 adoratur in Christo. Similiter itaque per unitatem potestatis ejusdem coadoratur in Deo Spiritus, dum Deus adoratur in Spiritu.

82. What means, then, the Father is worshipped in Christ, except that the Father is in Christ, and the Father speaks in Christ, and the Father abides in Christ. Not, indeed, as a body in a body, for God is not a body; nor as a confused mixture [*confusus in confuso*], but as the true in the true, God in God, Light in Light; as the eternal Father in the co-eternal Son. So not an ingrafting of a body is meant, but unity of power. Therefore, by unity of power, Christ is jointly worshipped in the Father when God the Father is worshipped in Christ. In like manner, then, by unity of the same power the Spirit is jointly worshipped in God, when God is worshipped in the Spirit.

83. Adhuc verbi istius vim atque sermonis diligentius pertractemus, et proprietatem ejus ex aliis colligamus: Omnia, inquit, in Sapientia fecisti (Ps. CIII, 24). Quid hic igitur intelligimus exsortem factorum esse Sapientiam? Sed omnia per ipsum facta sunt (Joan. I, 3). Et David ait: Verbo Domini coeli firmati sunt (Psal. XXXII, 6) Ergo ipse qui Dei Filium etiam coelestium dicit auctorem, ita utique dixit in Filio facta omnia, ut in operum instauratione Filium a Patre minime separaret, sed Patri jungeret.

83. Let us investigate the force of that word and expression more diligently, and deduce its proper meaning from other passages. You have, it is said, made them all in wisdom. Do we here understand that Wisdom was without a share in the things that were made? But all things were made by Him. John 1:3 And David says: By the Word of the Lord were the heavens established. So, then, he himself who calls the Son of God the maker even of heavenly things, has also plainly said that all things were made in the Son, that in the renewal of His works He might by no means separate the Son from the Father, but unite Him to the Father.

84. Paulus quoque ait: Quoniam in ipso condita sunt omnia in coelis et in terra, visibilia et invisibilia (Coloss. I, 16). Numquid cum dicit, in ipso, negavit per ipsum? Non negavit utique, sed asseruit. Denique et alibi dixit: Unus Dominus Jesus, per quem omnia (I Cor. VIII, 6). Ergo cum dicit, per ipsum, negavit in ipso condita esse omnia, per quem dicit esse omnia? Hanc vim habent verba haec: In ipso, et cum ipso (Coloss. I, 16); ut unum in his atque consimile, non contrarium intelligatur. Quod etiam in inferioribus manifestavit dicens: Omnia per ipsum, et in ipso creata sunt (Ibid.); haec enim tria in Christo unum esse: cum ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso, sicut supra diximus (Lib. II, ca, 9), Scriptura testatur. Habes enim per ipsum et in ipso condita esse omnia.

84. Paul, too, says: For in Him were all things created in the heavens and in the earth, visible and invisible. Colossians 1:16 Does he, then, when he says, in Him, deny that they were made through Him? Certainly he did not deny but affirmed it. And further he says in another place: One Lord Jesus, through Whom are all things. 1 Corinthians 8:6 In saying, then, through Him, has he denied that all things were made in Him, through Whom he says that all things exist? These words, in Him and with Him, have this force, that by them is understood one and like in all respects, not contrary.

Which he also made clear farther on, saying: All things have been created through Him and in Him; Colossians 1:16 for, as we said above, Scripture witnesses that these three expressions, with Him, and through Him, and in Him, are equivalent in Christ. For you read that all things were made through Him and in Him.

85. Accipe etiam quia cum ipso Pater, et ipse cum Patre erat; cum omnia conderentur. Sapientia dicit: Cum pararet coelos, cum illo eram; cum faceret fontes aquarum (Prov. VIII, 27). Et in veteri Testamento dicendo Pater, Faciamus (Gen. I, 26), ostendit Filium secum adorandum, quasi omnium conditorem. Sicut ergo in Filio creata dicuntur, quorum Filius creator accipitur; ita etiam cum in veritate adorari Deus dicitur, verbi ipsius proprietate in eumdem modum frequenter expressa debet intelligi, quod et Filius adoretur. Similiter itaque adoratur et Spiritus; quia Deus adoratur in Spiritu. Ergo Pater et cum Filio adoratur, et cum Spiritu, quia Trinitas adoratur.

85. Learn also that the Father was with Him, and He with the Father, when all things were being made. Wisdom says: When He was preparing the heavens I was with Him, when He was making the fountains of waters. Proverbs 8:27 And in the Old Testament the Father, by saying, Let Us make, Genesis 1:26 showed that the Son was to be worshipped with Himself as the Maker of all things. As, then, those things are said to have been created in the Son, of which the Son is received as the Creator; so, too, when God is said to be worshipped in truth by the proper meaning of the word itself often expressed after the same manner it ought to be understood, that the Son too is worshipped. So in like manner is the Spirit also worshipped because God is worshipped in Spirit. Therefore the Father is worshipped both with the Son and with the Spirit, because the Trinity is worshipped.

CAPUT XII.

EX EO QUOD in Trinitate divinitatis lucem, quam in Christo tres apostoli adoraverunt, inesse Paulus significaverit, adorandus etiam Spiritus declaratur. Ostenditur ex ipsis verbis Spiritum designatum ab Apostolo. Ejusdem Spiritus divinitas inde probatur, quod templum habeat, in quo non ut sacerdos habitet, sed ut Deus: nec non cum Patre ac Filio adoretur; unde in iisdem naturae unitas intelligitur.

CHAPTER 12.

From the fact that St. Paul has shown that the light of the Godhead which the three apostles worshipped in Christ is in the Trinity, it is made clear that the Spirit also is to be worshipped. It is shown from the words themselves that the Spirit is intended by the apostles. The Godhead of the same Spirit is proved from the fact that He has a temple wherein He dwells not as a priest, but as God: and is worshipped with the Father and the Son; whence is understood the oneness of nature in Them.

86. An vero negat aliquis adorandam divinitatem Trinitatis aeternae? cum et Scripturae divinae inexplicabilem majestatem exprimant Trinitatis, sicut alibi Apostolus dicit: Quoniam Deus, qui dixit de tenebris lumen splendescere, illuxit in cordibus nostris ad illuminationem scientiae claritatis Dei in facie Jesu Christi (II Cor. IV, 6).

86. But does any one deny that the Godhead of the eternal Trinity is to be worshipped? Whereas the Scriptures also express the inexplicable Majesty of the Divine Trinity, as the Apostle says elsewhere: Since God, Who said that light should shine out of darkness, shined in our hearts to give the light

of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. 2 Corinthians 4:6

87. Nempe hanc claritatem viderunt apostoli, cum Dominus Jesus divinitatis suae luce in monte fulgeret: Viderunt, inquit, apostoli, et in faciem prociderunt (Matth. XVII, 6). Putasne illos vel cum prociderent, adorasse; cum fulgorem divini luminis corporalibus oculis sustinere non possent, et splendor lucis aeternae aciem visus mortalis obduceret? Aut quid aliud tunc temporis dixerunt illi videntes gloriam ejus, nisi: Venite adoremus, et procidamus ante eum (Psal. XCIV, 6)? [Alias cap. XIII.] Illuxit enim Deus in cordibus nostris ad illuminationem scientiae claritatis Dei in facie Jesu Christi (II Cor. IV, 6).

87. The apostles truly saw this glory, when the Lord Jesus on the mount shone with the light of His Godhead: The apostles, it says, saw it and fell on their face. Matthew 17:6 Do not you think that they even, as they fell, worshipped, when they could not with their bodily eyes endure the brightness of the divine splendour, and the glory of eternal light dulled the keenness of mortal sight? Or what else did they who saw His glory say at that time, except, O come let us worship and fall down before Him? For God shined in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. 2 Corinthians 4:6

88. Quis est ergo qui illuxit, ut cognoscamus Deum in facie Christi Jesu? Dixit enim, Illuxit Deus, ut cognoscatur claritas Dei in facie Christi Jesu: quem putamus alium praeter Spiritum declaratum? Aut quis est alius praeter Spiritum sanctum, cui divinitatis potentia deferatur? Qui enim Spiritum excludunt, necesse est inducant alium, qui cum Patre et Filio gloriam divinitatis accipiat.

88. Who is He, then, Who shined that we might know God in the face of Jesus Christ? For he said, God shined, that the glory of God might be known in the face of Jesus Christ. Whom else do we think but the manifested Spirit? Or who else is there besides the Holy Spirit to Whom the power of the Godhead may be referred? For they who exclude the Spirit must necessarily bring in another, who may with the Father and the Son receive the glory of the Godhead.

89. Eadem igitur verba repetamus: Deus est qui illuxit ad illuminationem claritatis Dei in facie Jesu Christi. Habes Christum evidenter expressum. Cujus ergo claritas illuminare dicitur, nisi Spiritus? Ipsum ergo Deum expressit, quia claritatem Dei dixit: si Patris, superest ut qui dixit de tenebris lumen splendescere, et illuxit in cordibus nostris, Spiritus sanctus intelligatur; alium enim non possumus cum Patre Filioque venerari. Si igitur Spiritum intelligis, et hunc Apostolus Deum dixit; necesse est igitur deitatem Spiritus etiam vos fateamini, qui negatis.

89. Let us then go back to the same words: It is God Who shined in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. You have Christ plainly set forth. For Whose glory is said to give light but that of the Spirit? So, then, he set forth God Himself, since he spoke of the glory of God; if of the Father, it remains that He who said that light should shine out of darkness, and shine in our hearts, be understood to be the Holy Spirit, for we cannot venerate any other with the Father and the Son. If, then, you understand the Spirit, Him also has the Apostle called God; it is necessary, then, that you also confess the Godhead of the Spirit, who now deny it.

90. Sed quam impudenter negatis, cum legeritis quia templum habet Spiritus sanctus! Scriptum est enim: Templum Dei vos estis, et Spiritus sanctus habitat in vobis (I Cor. III, 16). Deus ergo templum habet, creatura

templum non habet verum. Spiritus autem habet templum, qui habitat in nobis. Nam scriptum est: Quia membra vestra templum sunt Spiritus sancti (I Cor. VI, 15).

90. But how shamelessly do you deny this, since you have read that the Holy Spirit has a temple. For it is written: You are the temple of God, and the Holy Spirit dwells in you. 1 Corinthians 3:16 Now God has a temple, a creature has no true temple. But the Spirit, Who dwells in us, has a temple. For it is written: Your members are temples of the Holy Spirit. 1 Corinthians 6:19

91. In templo autem non quasi sacerdos, nec quasi minister, sed quasi Deus inhabitat; quoniam ipse Dominus dixit Jesus: Inhabitabo in illis, et inter eos ambulabo; et ero illorum Deus, 684 et ipsi erunt mihi populus (Levit. XXVI, 12). Et David dicit: Dominus in templo sancto suo (Psal. X, 5). Ergo Spiritus habitat in templo sancto suo, sicut habitat Pater, habitat et Filius, qui ait: Ego et Pater veniemus, et mansionem apud eum faciemus (Joan. XIV, 23).

91. But He does not dwell in the temple as a priest, nor as a minister, but as God, since the Lord Jesus Himself said: I will dwell in them, and will walk among them, and will be their God, and they shall be My people. Leviticus 26:12 And David says: The Lord is in His holy temple. Therefore the Spirit dwells in His holy temple, as the Father dwells and as the Son dwells, Who says: I and the Father will come, and will make Our abode with him. John 14:23

91. Advertimus igitur quod Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus in uno eodemque per naturae ejusdem maneant unitatem. Ergo divinae est potestatis, qui habitat in templo; sicut enim Patris et Filii, ita et Spiritus

sancti sumus templum: non multa templa, sed unum templum; quia unius templum est potestatis.

92. But the Father abides in us through the Spirit, Whom He has given us. How, then, can different natures abide together? Certainly it is impossible. But the Spirit abides with the Father and the Son. Whence, too, the Apostle joined the Communion of the Holy Spirit with the grace of Jesus Christ and the love of God, saying: The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the Communion of the Holy Spirit be with you all. 2 Corinthians 13:14

92. Manet autem in nobis Pater per Spiritum, quem dedit nobis. Quomodo igitur potest simul dispar manere natura? Utique non potest. Manet autem cum Patre et Filio Spiritus sanctus. Unde et Apostolus cum gratia Jesu Christi et charitate Dei communicationem sancti Spiritus copulavit dicens: Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et charitas Dei, et communicatio Spiritus sancti cum omnibus vobis (II Cor. XIII, 13).

91. We observe, then, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit abide in one and the same [subject] through the oneness of the same nature. Therefore, He Who dwells in the temple has divine power, for as of the Father and of the Son, so are we also the temple of the Holy Spirit; not many temples, but one temple, for it is the temple of one Power.

CAPUT XIII.

OBJICIENTIBUS CATHOLICOS, DUM Spiritui attribuunt divinitatem, tres deos inducere, retorquetur ab ipsis ob eamdem causam induci duos deos, nisi divinitatem Filio negaverint. Deinde orthodoxa doctrina exponitur.

CHAPTER 13.

To those who object that Catholics, when they ascribe Godhead to the Holy Spirit, introduce three Gods, it is answered, that by the same argument they themselves bring in two Gods, unless they deny Godhead to the Son; after which the orthodox doctrine is set forth.

92. [Alias cap. XIV.] Sed quid veremini, an illud quod oblatrare consuestis, ne tres faciatis deos? Absit; ubi enim una deitas intelligitur, unus Deus dicitur. Neque enim cum Filium Deum dicimus, duos deos dicimus. Nam si cum deitatem Spiritus confitemini, putatis tres deos dici: ergo et cum deitatem Filii dicitis, quia non potestis eam negare, duos inducitis deos. Necesse est igitur juxta sententiam vestram, si Deum personae unius, non unius naturae nomen putatis, aut duos deos dicatis, aut Deum Filium denegetis.

92. But what do you fear? Is it that which you have been accustomed to carp at? Lest you should make three Gods. God forbid; for where the Godhead is understood as one, one God is spoken of. For neither when we call the Son God do we say there are two Gods. For if, when you confess the Godhead of the Spirit, you think that three Gods are spoken of, then, too, when you speak of the Godhead of the Son because you are not able to deny it, you bring in two Gods. For it is necessary according to your

opinion, if you think that God is the name of one person, not of one nature, that you either say that there are two Gods, or deny that the Son is God.

93. Sed excusemus vos ab inscientia, etsi non excusamus a culpa. Etenim secundum nostram sententiam quia unus Deus, una divinitas, et unitas intelligitur potestatis. Sicut unum Deum dicimus, et Patrem vero deitatis nomine confitentes, nec Filium denegantes; ita etiam Spiritum sanctum a deitatis non excludimus unitate, et tres deos non asserimus, sed negamus; quia pluralitatem non unitas facit, sed divisio potestatis. Quomodo enim pluralitatem recipit unitas divinitatis; cum pluralitas numeri sit, numerum autem non recipiat divina natura?

93. But let us free you from the charge of ignorance, though we do not excuse you from fault. For according to our opinion, because there is one God, one Godhead and oneness of power is understood. For as we say that there is one God, confessing the Father, and not denying the Son under the true Name of the Godhead; so, too, we exclude not the Holy Spirit from the Unity of the Godhead, and do not assert but deny that there are three Gods, because it is not unity but a division of power which makes plurality. For how can the Unity of the Godhead admit of plurality, seeing that plurality is of numbers, but the Divine Nature does not admit numbers?

CAPUT XIV.

PRAETER SUPERIORA TESTIMONIA, alios locos ad probandum trium personarum imperium afferri posse. Afferuntur duo ex epistolis ad Thessalon. et iisdem Spiritui dominatum sicut et aliis personis arrogari, aliorum Scripturae textuum collatione ostenditur. Demum citato alio ex altera ad Corinth. adhuc expressiore loco, et Dominum Spiritum esse, et ubi sit Dominus, Spiritum esse colligitur.

CHAPTER 14.

Besides the evidence adduced above, other passages can be brought to prove the sovereignty of the Three Persons. Two are quoted from the Epistles to the Thessalonians, and by collating other testimonies of the Scriptures it is shown that in them dominion is claimed for the Spirit as for the other Persons. Then, by quotation of another still more express passage in the second Epistle to the Corinthians, it is inferred both that the Spirit is Lord, and that where the Lord is, there is the Spirit.

94. [Alias cap. XV.] Unus ergo Deus, salva majestate Trinitatis aeternae, sicut proposito 685 declaratur exemplo. Nec eo tamen solo loco Trinitatem videmus nomine divinitatis expressam, sed cum plerisque locis, sicut et supra diximus, tum maxime in his epistolis quas ad Thessalonicenses Apostolus scripsit, divinitatem atque dominatum Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti evidentissime declaravit. Sic enim habes: Vos autem Dominus multiplicet, et abundare faciat in charitate invicem et in omnes, sicut et nos in vobis, ad confirmanda corda vestra sine querela in sanctificatione coram Deo et Patre nostro in adventu Domini Jesu (I Thess. III, 12, 13).

94. God, then, is One, without violation of the majesty of the eternal Trinity, as is declared in the instance set before us. And not in that place alone do

we see the Trinity expressed in the Name of the Godhead; but both in many places, as we have said also above, and especially in the epistles which the Apostle wrote to the Thessalonians, he most clearly set forth the Godhead and sovereignty of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. For you read as follows: The Lord make you to increase and abound in love one toward another, and toward all men, as we also do toward you, to the establishing of your hearts without blame in holiness before God and our Father at the coming of the Lord Jesus. 1 Thessalonians 3:12-13

95. Quis est igitur Dominus, qui multiplicet nos, et abundare faciat coram Deo et Patre nostro in adventu Domini Jesu? Patrem dixit, et Filium dixit: quem ergo cum Patre et Filio praeter Spiritum junxit? Quis est Dominus qui corda nostra in sanctificatione confirmet? Sanctificatio enim gratia spiritalis est, sicut et infra dixit: In sanctificatione Spiritus, et fide veritatis (II Thess. II, 12).

95. Who, then, is the Lord Who makes us to increase and abound before God and our Father at the coming of the Lord Jesus? He has named the Father and has named the Son; Whom, then, has he joined with the Father and the Son except the Spirit? Who is the Lord Who establishes our hearts in holiness. For holiness is a grace of the Spirit, as, too, is said farther on: In holiness of the Spirit and belief of the truth. 2 Thessalonians 2:13

96. Quem putatis ergo hic Dominum, praeter Spiritum nuncupatum? Nec Deus Pater docere vos potuit, qui ait: Super quem videris Spiritum descendentem et manentem super eum, hic est qui baptizat in Spiritu sancto (Joan. I, 33)? Descendit enim Spiritus in specie columbae (Luc. III, 22); ut et sapientiae testimonium ferret, et sacramentum lavacri spiritalis impleret, et unius se cum Patre et Filio operationis ostenderet.

96. Who, then, do you think is here named Lord, except the Spirit? And has not God the Father been able to teach you, Who says: Upon Whomsoever you shall see the Spirit descending and abiding upon Him, this is He Who baptizes in the Holy Spirit? John 1:33 For the Spirit descended in the likeness of a dove, Luke 3:22 that He might both bear witness to His wisdom, and perfect the sacrament of the spiritual laver, and show that His working is one with that of the Father and the Son.

97. Ac ne per imprudentiam aliquid excidisse Apostolo judicetis, sed scientem prudentemque et sancto infusum Spiritu significasse Dominum, quem Deum sentiebat, etiam in secunda ad Thessalonicenses epistola hoc idem repetivit dicens: Dominus autem dirigat corda vestra in dilectione Dei, et patientia Christi (II Thess. III, 5). Si dilectio Dei est, et Christi patientia, quis est dominus qui dirigat, debet ostendi, si directionem sancti Spiritus denegamus.

97. And that you should not suppose that anything had fallen from the Apostle by oversight, but that he knowingly and designedly and inspired by the Spirit designated Him Lord, Whom he felt to be God, he repeated the same in the second Epistle to the Thessalonians, saying: But the Lord direct your hearts in the love of God and in the patience of Christ. 2 Thessalonians 3:5 If love be of God and patience of Christ, it ought to be shown Who is the Lord Who directs, if we deny that the direction is of the Holy Spirit.

98. Sed negare non possumus, quoniam de ipso Dominus dixit: Adhuc multa habeo vobis dicere, sed non potestis illa portare modo. Cum autem venerit ille Spiritus veritatis, deducet vos in omnem veritatem (Joan. XVI, 12, 13). Et David de ipso dicit: Spiritus tuus bonus deducet me in viam rectam (Psal. CXLII, 10).

98. But we cannot deny it, since the Lord said of Him: I have yet many things to say unto you, but you cannot bear them now. But when He, the Spirit of Truth, shall come, He will lead you into all truth. John 16:12-13 And David says of Him: Your good Spirit shall lead me into the right way.

99. [Alias cap. XVI.] Vide quid de Spiritu sancto vox Dominica resultaverit. Filius Dei venit, et quia nondum infuderat Spiritum, parvulos quosdam nos degere sine Spiritu declaravit. Spiritum dixit esse venturum, qui faceret ex parvulis fortiores, incremento videlicet spiritalis aetatis. Quod ideo posuit, non quo virtutem Spiritus anteferret, sed ut in cognitione Trinitatis ostenderet plenitudinem esse virtutis.

99. See what the voice of the Lord uttered concerning the Holy Spirit. The Son of God came, and because He had not yet shed forth the Spirit, He declared that we were living like little children without the Spirit. He said that the Spirit was to come Who should make of these little children stronger men, by an increase, namely, of spiritual age. And this He laid down not that He might set the power of the Spirit in the first place, but that He might show that the fullness of strength consists in the knowledge of the Trinity.

100. Necesse est igitur aut quartum aliquem dicatis, quem sentire praeter Spiritum debeatis: aut certe non alium Dominum judicetis, nisi Spiritum designatum.

100. It is therefore necessary either that you mention some fourth person besides the Spirit of whom you ought to be conscious, or assuredly that you do not consider another to be Lord, except the Spirit Who has been pointed out.

101. Quod si evidentem conceptionem verborum exigitis, quibus Dominum Spiritum Scriptura memoraverit, nec id latere vos potuit; 686 quia scriptum

est: Dominus autem Spiritus est (II Cor. III, 17). Quod utique dictum de Spiritu sancto totius series lectionis ostendit. Et ideo Apostolica consideremus eloquia: Quoties legitur Moyses, inquit, velamen positum est super cor eorum: cum vero conversi fuerint ad Dominum, auferetur velamen. Dominus autem Spiritus est: ubi autem Spiritus Domini, ibi libertas (Ibid., XV, 16).

101. But if you require the plain statement of the words in which Scripture has spoken of the Spirit as Lord, it cannot have escaped you that it is written: Now the Lord is the Spirit. 2 Corinthians 3:17 Which the course of the whole passage shows to have been certainly said of the Holy Spirit. And so let us consider the apostolic statement: As often as Moses is read, says he, a veil is laid over their heart; but when they shall be turned to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away. Now the Lord is the Spirit; but where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. 2 Corinthians 3:15-17

102. Non solum itaque Spiritum dominum dixit, sed etiam addidit: Ubi autem Spiritus Domini, ibi libertas. Nos itaque omnes revelata facie gloriam Domini speculantes, ad eamdem imaginem reformamur a gloria in gloriam, sicut a Domini Spiritu (Ibid., 18), hoc est, qui ad Dominum sumus ante conversi, ut spiritali intellectu quasi in quodam speculo Scripturarum Domini gloriam videremus, nunc ab hac gloria quae nos convertit ad Dominum, in illam coelestem gloriam reformamur. Ergo cum Dominus sit ad quem convertimur, Dominus autem Spiritus sit a quo reformamur, qui conversi ad Dominum sumus, Dominus utique Spiritus sanctus est designatus; ipse enim conversos suscipit, qui reformat. Nam quomodo quos non susceperat, reformaret?

102. So he not only called the Spirit Lord, but also added: But where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. So we all with unveiled face, reflecting the glory of the Lord, are formed anew into the same image from glory to

glory, as from the Lord the Spirit; 2 Corinthians 3:17-18 that is, we who have been before converted to the Lord, so as by spiritual understanding to see the glory of the Lord, as it were, in the mirror of the Scriptures, are now being transformed from that glory which converted us to the Lord, to the heavenly glory. Therefore since it is the Lord to Whom we are converted, but the Lord is that Spirit by Whom we are formed anew, who are converted to the Lord, assuredly the Holy Ghost is pointed out, for He Who forms anew receives those who are converted. For how should He form again those whom He had not received.

103. Quamquam quid expressionem quaerimus vocis, ubi expressionem cernimus unitatis? Nam etsi Dominum Spiritumque distinguas; negare tamen non potes quia ubi Dominus, ibi et Spiritus: et qui fuerit conversus ad Dominum, erit conversus ad Spiritum. Si litteram calumniaris, unitatem non inficiaris: si unitatem vis secernere, potestatis Dominum ipsum Spiritum confiteris.

103. Though why should we seek for the expression of words, where we see the expression of unity? For although you may distinguish between Lord and Spirit, you cannot deny that where the Lord is, there too is the Spirit, and he who has been converted to the Lord will have been converted to the Spirit. If you cavil at the letter, you cannot injure the Unity; if you wish to separate the Unity, you confess the Spirit Himself as the Lord of power.

CAPUT XV.

ETSI SPIRITUS DOMINUS appelletur, tres tamen Dominos hinc non induci; cum ex eo quod Filius non secus ac Pater in variis Scripturae locis Dominus appellatur, non inducantur duo Domini: dominationem enim in divinitate esse, et in dominatione divinitatem, quae tribus personis indivisim congruant.

CHAPTER 15.

Though the Spirit be called Lord, three Lords are not thereby implied; inasmuch as two Lords are not implied by the fact that the Son in the same manner as the Father is called Lord in many passages of Scripture; for Lordship exists in the Godhead, and the Godhead in Lordship, and these coincide without division in the Three Persons.

104. [Alias cap. XVII.] Sed fortassis iterum dicas: Si Dominum Spiritum dixero, tres Dominos declarabo. Numquid cum Dominum Filium dicis, aut Filium negas, aut duos Dominos confiteris? Absit; ipse enim Filius dixit: Nolite duobus dominis servire (Matth. VI, 24). Sed non utique aut se aut Patrem Dominum denegavit; nam et Patrem Dominum dixit, sicut habes: Confiteor tibi, Pater, Domine coeli et terrae (Matth. XI, 25). Et se memoravit Dominum, sicut in Evangelio legimus: Vocatis me Dominum et magistrum, et bene facitis; sum etenim (Joan. XIII, 13). Sed non duos Dominos dixit; immo ostendit se non duos Dominos dixisse, cum praemonet: Nolite duobus dominis servire. Non sunt enim duo domini, ubi dominatus unus est; quia Pater in Filio, et Filius in Patre; et ideo Dominus unus.

104. But perhaps, again, you may say: If I call the Spirit Lord, I shall set forth three Lords. Do you then when you call the Son Lord either deny the Son or confess two Lords? God forbid, for the Son Himself said: Do not serve two lords. Matthew 6:24 But certainly He denied not either Himself or the Father to be Lord; for He called the Father Lord, as you read: I thank You, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth. Matthew 11:25 And the Lord spoke of Himself, as we read in the Gospel: You call Me Master and Lord, and you do well, for so I am. John 13:13 But He spoke not of two Lords; indeed He shows that He did not speak of two Lords, when He warns them: Do not serve two lords. For there are not two Lords where the Lordship is but one, for the Father is in the Son and the Son in the Father, and so there is one Lord.

105. Sic et Lex docuit: Audi, Israel, Dominus Deus tuus Dominus unus est (Deut. VI, 4): hoc est, immutabilis, 687 semper in unitate permanens potestatis, semper idem, nulla accessione, nulla diminutione mutatur. Ergo unum dixit Moyses, et idem tamen Dominum a Domino pluisse memoravit (Gen. XIX, 14). Apostolus quoque: Det, inquit, Dominus misericordiam invenire a Domino (II Tim. I, 18). Dominus pluit a Domino, Dominus dat a Domino misericordiam: Dominus nec ibi discernitur, ubi pluit a Domino; nec hic separatur, ubi miseretur a Domino, sed utroque in loco unitas dominationis exprimitur.

105. Such, too, was the teaching of the Law: Hear, O Israel, the Lord your God is one Lord, Deuteronomy 6:4 that is, unchangeable, always abiding in unity of power, always the same, and not altered by any accession or diminution. Therefore Moses called Him One, and yet also relates that the Lord rained down fire from the Lord. Genesis 19:24 The Apostle, too, says: The Lord grant unto him to find mercy of the Lord. 2 Timothy 1:18 The Lord rains down from the Lord; the Lord grants mercy from the Lord. The

Lord is neither divided when He rains from the Lord, nor is there a separation when He grants mercy from the Lord, but in each case the oneness of the Lordship is expressed.

106. In psalmis quoque habes: Dixit Dominus Domino meo (Psal. CIX, 1). Nec ideo Patrem suum Dominum denegavit, quia Filium Dominum suum esse memoravit: sed ideo Filium Dominum suum dixit, ne crederes Filium prophetae fuisse, sed Dominum: quod in Evangelio ipse Dominus manifestavit dicens: Si enim David in spiritu vocat eum Dominum, quomodo Filius ejus est (Matth. XXII, 43)? In spiritu dicit David Dominum, non Spiritus dicit. Aut si hinc calumniantur, quia Dominum Spiritus dixit, necesse est pari sacrilegio Filium Dei etiam Spritus sancti Filium videantur asserere.

106. In the Psalms, too, you find: The Lord said to my Lord. And he did not therefore deny that the Father was his Lord, because he spoke of the Son as his Lord; but therefore called the Son his Lord, that you might not think Him to be the Son, but the Lord of the prophet, as the Lord Himself showed in the Gospel, when He said: If David in the Spirit called Him Lord, how is he his Son? Matthew 22:43, 45 David, not the Spirit, calls Him Lord in the Spirit. Or if they falsely infer from this that the Spirit called Him Lord, they must necessarily by a like sacrilege seem to assert that the Son of God is also the Son of the Spirit.

107. Ergo quemadmodum duos non dicimus Dominos, cum et Patrem et Filium designamus; ita nec tres Dominos dicimus, cum dominum Spiritum confitemur. Sicut enim sacrilegium est tres Dominos aut Deos dicere, ita etiam hoc plenum sacrilegii est duos Dominos aut Deos dicere; quia unus Deus, unus Dominus, unus est Spiritus sanctus: et qui Deus, Dominus: et qui Dominus, Deus: quia et in dominatione divinitas, et in divinitate dominatus est.

107. So, as we do not say that there are two Lords, when we so style both the Father and the Son, so, too, we do not say that there are three Lords, when we confess the Spirit to be Lord. For as it is profane to say that there are three Lords or three Gods, so, too, is it utter profanity to speak of two Lords or two Gods; for there is one God, one Lord, one Holy Spirit; and He Who is God is Lord, and He Who is Lord is God, for the Godhead is in the Lordship, and the Lordship is in the Godhead.

108. Denique et Dominum et Deum legisti Patrem: Domine Deus meus, clamabo ad te, exaudi me (Psal. CXL, 1). Et Dominum et Deum habes Filium, sicut in Evangelio legisti, quia cum tetigisset Thomas latus Christi, ait: Dominus meus et Deus meus (Joan. XX, 28). Ergo sicut Pater Deus, et Filius Dominus: ita et Filius Deus, et Pater Dominus. Alternatur pia significatio, non alternatur divina natura, sed immutabilis manet gratia. Non enim largitatis collativa, sed naturalis placita charitatis sunt, quia et unitas proprietatem habet, et proprietas unitatem.

108. Lastly, you have read that the Father is both Lord and God: O Lord my God, I will call upon You, hear me. You find the Son to be both Lord and God, as you have read in the Gospel, that, when Thomas had touched the side of Christ, he said, My Lord and my God. John 20:28 So in like manner as the Father is God and the Son Lord, so too the Son is God and the Father Lord. The holy designation changes from one to the other, the divine nature changes not, but the dignity remains unchangeable. For they are not [as it were] contributions gathered from bounty, but free-will gifts of natural love; for both Unity has its special property, and the special properties are bound together in unity.

CAPUT XVI.

PATREM SANCTUM ESSE, ac similiter Filium et Spiritum, atque hinc trisagio eodem celebrari: nec posse a nobis Deum praedicari dignius, quam si eumdem sanctum dicamus; unde clarum fit Spiritui sancto non derogandum. Eidem inesse omnia quae Dei sunt, cum in baptismate una cum Patre et Filio nominetur, eique Pater dederit quod majus omnibus est, nec quisquam ipsi valeat eripere. Igitur e loco Joannis unde calumniam conflabant haeretici, Trinitatis aequalitatem unitatemque astrui deitatis. Tandem ubi expositum est quo pacto Filius a Patre accipiat, quemadmodum citato loco jugulentur varii haeretici, aperitur.

CHAPTER 16.

The Father is holy, and likewise the Son and the Spirit, and so They are honoured in the same Trisagion: nor can we speak more worthily of God than by calling Him Holy; whence it is clear that we must not derogate from the dignity of the Holy Spirit. In Him is all which pertains to God, since in baptism He is named with the Father and the Son, and the Father has given to Him to be greater than all, nor can any one deprive Him of this. And so from the very passage of St. John which heretics used against His dignity, the equality of the Trinity and the Unity of the Godhead is established. Lastly, after explaining how the Son receives from the Father, St. Ambrose shows how various heresies are refuted by the passage cited.

109. (Alias cap. XVIII.) Ergo sanctus Pater, sanctus Filius, sanctus et Spiritus: sed non tres sancti; quia unus est Deus sanctus, unus est Dominus.

Una est enim vera sanctitas, sicut una est vera divinitas, una illa vera sanctitas naturalis.

109. So, then, the Father is holy, the Son is holy, and the Spirit is holy, but they are not three Holies; for there is one Holy God, one Lord. For the true holiness is one, as the true Godhead is one, as that true holiness belonging to the Divine Nature is one.

110. Ideo omnia haec quae sancta nos credimus, illam solam praedicant sanctitatem. Cherubim et Seraphim indefessis vocibus laudant et dicunt: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth (Esai. VI, 3). Non semel dicunt, i.e singularitatem credas: non bis dicunt, ne Spiritum excludas: non sanctos dicunt, ne pluralitatem aestimes: sed ter repetunt, et idem dicunt, ut etiam in hymno distinctionem Trinitatis, et divinitatis intelligas unitatem: hoc cum dicunt, Deum praedicant.

110. So everything which we esteem holy proclaims that Sole Holiness. Cherubim and Seraphim with unwearied voices praise Him and say: Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord God of Sabaoth. Isaiah 6:3 They say it, not once, lest you should believe that there is but one; not twice, lest you should exclude the Spirit; they say not holies [in the plural], lest you should imagine that there is plurality, but they repeat thrice and say the same word, that even in a hymn you may understand the distinction of Persons in the Trinity, and the oneness of the Godhead and while they say this they proclaim God.

111. Nos quoque nihil pretiosius invenimus quo Deum praedicare possimus, nisi ut sanctum appellemus. Quodlibet aliud inferius Deo, inferius est Domino. Ergo hinc quoque considerate utrum aliquid sancto Spiritui derogandum sit, cujus nomen Dei laus est. Sic enim laudatur Pater, sic laudatur et Filius, quemadmodum et Spiritus nominatur et laudatur.

Seraphim laudat, omnis beatorum chorus laudat, ut sanctum Deum dicat, sanctum Filium, sanctum Spiritum.

111. We too find nothing of more worth, whereby we are able to proclaim God, than the calling Him holy. Everything is too low for God, too low for the Lord. And therefore consider from this fact also whether one ought at all to derogate from the Holy Spirit, whose Name is the praise of God. For thus is the Father praised, thus is the Son also praised, in the same manner as the Spirit also is named and praised. The Seraphim utter praise, the whole company of the blessed utter praise, inasmuch as they call God holy, the Son holy, the Spirit holy.

112. Quomodo igitur non omnia habet quae Dei sunt, qui cum Patre et Filio a sacerdotibus in baptismate nominatur et in oblationibus invocatur cum Patre et Filio a Seraphim in coelestibus praedicatur cum Patre et Filio habitat in sanctis, infunditur justis, inspiratur prophetis. Unde et in Scriptura divina θεόπνευστος omnis ex hoc dicitur, quod Deus inspiret quae locutus est Spiritus (II Tim. III, 16).

112. How, then, does He not possess all that pertains to God, Who is named by priests in baptism with the Father and the Son, and is invoked in the oblations, is proclaimed by the Seraphim in heaven with the Father and the Son, dwells in the Saints with the Father and the Son, is poured upon the just, is given as the source of inspiration to the prophets? And for this reason in the divine Scripture all is called θεόπνευστος, because God inspires what the Spirit has spoken.

113. Aut si nolunt omnia habere quae Dei sunt, et posse omnia Spiritum sanctum, dicant quid non habeat, quidve non possit. Nam sicut omnia habet Filius, nec invidet Pater quominus omnia naturaliter det Filio, qui dedit 689 quod majus est omnibus, quemadmodum Scriptura testatur dicens: Pater

quod dedit mihi, majus est omnibus (Joan. X, 29); ita etiam Spiritus Christi habet, quod majus est omnibus, quia justitia nescit invidiam.

113. Or if they are unwilling to allow that the Holy Spirit has all things which pertain to God, and can do all things, let them say what He has not, and what He cannot do. For like as the Son has all things, and the Father grudges not to give all things to the Son according to His nature, having given to Him that which is greater than all, as the Scripture bears witness, saying: That which My Father has given unto Me is greater than all. John 10:29 So too the Spirit has of Christ that which is greater than all, because righteousness knows not grudging.

114. Itaque si diligenter advertamus, etiam hic divinae potestatis comprehendimus unitatem. Pater, inquit, quod dedit mihi majus omnibus est: et nemo potest rapere ea de manu Patris mei. Ego et Pater unum sumus (Ib. 30). Nam si recte supra ostendimus (Lib. III, ca) manum Dei esse Spiritum sanctum, eadem utique manus Patris est, quae Filii est manus; quoniam idem Spiritus Patris, qui Spiritus Filii est. Ideo sicut non rapitur Patri, ita non rapitur Filio, ita non rapitur et Spiritui, quicumque de nobis in hoc nomine Trinitatis vitam accepit aeternam.

114. So, then, if we attend diligently, we comprehend here also the oneness of the Divine Power. He says: That which My Father has given unto Me is greater than all, and no one is able to snatch them out of My Father’s hand. I and the Father are One. John 10:29-30 For if we rightly showed above that the Holy Spirit is the Hand of the Father, the same is certainly the Hand of the Father which is the Hand of the Son, since the Same is the Spirit of the Father Who is the Spirit of the Son. Therefore whosoever of us receives eternal life in this Name of the Trinity, as he is not torn from the Father; so he is not torn from the Son, so too he is not torn from the Spirit.

115. Ex ipso autem quod et dedisse Filio Pater, et accepisse a Filio Spiritus dicitur; quia scriptum est (Joan. XVI, 14): Ille me clarificabit, quia de meo accipiet, et annuntiabit vobis (quod de munere magis dispensationis videtur, quam de potestatis divinae jure dixisse, quia quos Filius redemit, Spiritus quoque sanctificaturus accepit); ex istis ipsis, inquam, verbis, de quibus calumniam instruunt, unitas divinitatis advertitur, non indigentia largitatis.

115. Again, from the very fact that the Father is said to have given to the Son, and the Spirit to have received from the Son, as it is written: He shall glorify Me, for He shall take of Mine, and shall declare it unto you John 16:14 (which He seems to have said rather of the office of distributing, than of the prerogative of Divine Power, for those whom the Son redeemed the Spirit also, Who was to sanctify them, received), from those very words, I say, from which they construct their sophistry, the Unity of the Godhead is perceived, not the need of a gift.

116. Dedit Pater per generationem, non per adoptionem: dedit quasi id quod esset in ipso divinae jure naturae, non quasi liberalitatis gratia, quod deesset. Et ideo quia sic acquisit Filius populos ut Pater, sic vivificat Filius ut Pater, aequalitatem suam ad Patrem unitate potestatis expressit dicens: Ego et Pater unum sumus. Cum enim dicit: Ego et Pater, revelatur aequalitas: cum dicit: Unum sumus, unitas declaratur. Aequalitas confusionem excludit, unitas separationem: aequalitas Patrem Filiumque distinguit, unitas Patrem Filiumque non separat.

116. The Father gave by begetting, not by adoption; He gave as it were that which was contained in the very prerogative of the Divine Nature, not what was lacking as it were by favour of His bounty. And so because the Son acquires persons to Himself as the Father does; so gives life as does the Father, He expressed His equality with the Father in the Unity of Power, saying: I and the Father are One. For when He says, I and the Father,

equality is revealed; when He says, are One, Unity is asserted. Equality excludes confusion; Unity excludes separation. Equality distinguishes between the Father and the Son; Unity does not separate the Father and the Son.

117. Ergo cum dicit, Ego et Pater, Sabellianum repellit; quia alium se, alium Patrem dixit: repellit Photinianum, quia se cum Deo Patre junxit. Illos superioribus repellit, quia dixit, Ego et Pater: inferioribus Arianos, quia dicit: Unum sumus; tamen et in superioribus et in inferioribus haereticam jugulat saevitatem Sabellianorum; quia unum dixit sumus, non unus sumus: Arianorum; quia ego et Pater, non Pater et ego dixit. Quod utique non contumaciae, sed pietatis et praescientiae fuit; ne nos errorem in ordine putaremus. Nescit enim unitas ordinem, gradum nescit aequalitas: nec cadit in Dei Filium, ut per contumaciam pietatem laederet magister ipse pietatis.

117. Therefore, when He says, I and the Father, He rejects the Sabellian, for He says that He is one, the Father another; He rejects the Photinian, for He joins Himself with God the Father. With the former words He rejects those, for He said: I and the Father; with the latter words He rejects the Arians, for He says: are One. Yet in both the former and the latter words He refutes the heretical violence (1) of the Sabellians, for He said: We are One [Substance], not We are One [Person]. And (2) of the Arians, for He said: I and the Father, not the Father and I. Which was certainly not a sign of rudeness, but of dutifulness and foreknowledge, that we might not think wrongly from the order of the words. For unity knows no order, equality knows no gradation; nor can it be laid to the Son of God that the Teacher Himself of dutifulness should offend against dutifulness by rudeness.

CAPUT XVII.

UBI AD INTELLIGENTIAM verborum Domini loca, in quibus verba illa dicta fuerint, juvare exemplis ostendit Ambrosius, Christum sententiam ex Joanne citatam locutum esse in porticu Salomonis, per quam sapientis anima significatur, docet; eum enim haec in corde stulti aut turbulenti negat fuisse prolaturum, et quamobrem. Addit ab iis qui fidem non habeant iisdem verbis, Christum lapidari: et quemadmodum Petro, quod illa sit confessus, claves coeli datae fuerunt; ita Iscariotem, quod haec ipsa non crediderit, male periisse. Per hanc occasionem in Judaeos, qui Dei Filium emerunt, ac vendiderunt Josephum, invehitur. Mystice utriusque pretia edisserit; ac murmure proditoris de unguento Magdalenae eadem ratione exposito, subjicit alio modo Christum emi ab haereticis, alio a catholicis, illosque nequicquam sibi nomen usurpare christianorum, si Spiritum a Patre diviserint.

CHAPTER 17.

St. Ambrose shows by instances that the places in which those words were spoken help to the understanding of the words of the Lord; he shows that Christ uttered the passage quoted from St. John in Solomon’s porch, by which is signified the mind of a wise man, for he says that Christ would not have uttered this saying in the heart of a foolish or contentious man. He goes on to say that Christ is stoned by those who believe not these words, and as the keys of heaven were given to Peter for his confession of them, so Iscariot, because he believed not the same, perished evilly. He takes this opportunity to inveigh against the Jews who bought the Son of God and sold Joseph. He explains the price paid for each mystically; and having in

the same manner expounded the murmuring of the traitor concerning Magdalene's ointment, he adds that Christ is bought in one way by heretics in another way by Catholics, and that those in vain take to themselves the name of Christians who sever the Spirit from the Father.

118. Refert itaque advertere quo loci haec Dominus disputaverit; frequenter enim ejus oracula ex locorum in quibus diversatus est, qualitatibus aestimantur. Jejunaturus, ab Spiritu, sicut legimus (Matth. IV, 1), ducitur in desertum, ut evacuaret diaboli tentamenta. Nam etsi in abundantia copiarum contineater vixisse laudandum est; tamen in divitiis et amoenitatibus frequentior tentationis illecebra est. Denique tentator ut tentet, copias pollicetar: et Dominus ut vincat, famem nutrit. Nec ego diffiteor in divitiis esse posse continentiam: sed etsi qui mare navigat, frequenter evadit; magis tamen obnoxius est periculo, quam qui navigare noluerit.

118. It is worth while to notice in what place the Lord held this discussion, for His utterances are often [better] estimated by the kind of places in which He conversed. When about to fast, He is led (as we read) into the wilderness to render vain the devil's temptations. For although it deserves praise to have lived temperately in the midst of abundance, yet the enticements of temptation are more frequent among riches and pleasures. Then the tempter, in order to try Him, promises Him abundance, and the Lord in order to overcome cherishes hunger. Now I do not deny that temperance can exist in the midst of riches; but although he who navigates the sea often escapes, yet he is more exposed to peril than he who will not go to sea.

119. Videamus caetera. Promissurus regnum coelorum Jesus montem ascendit (Matth. V, 1). Alibi per sata ducit discipulos (Matth. XII, 1), seminaturus in eorum affectibus coelestium segetem praeceptorum; ut messis animorum fecunda flavesceret. Consummaturus susceptae carnis officia, cum perfectionem in discipulis jam videret, quos verborum suorum

radice fundaverat, hortum ingreditur (Joan. XVIII, 1), ut olearum novellas in domo Domini plantaret, et justum palmae florentem modo, vitemque fecundam rivo sui sanguinis irrigaret (Psal. CXXVII, 3).

119. Let us consider some other points. When about to promise the kingdom of heaven, Jesus went up into a mountain. At another time He leads His disciples through the grain-fields, when about to sow in their minds the crop of heavenly precepts, so that a plentiful harvest of souls should ripen. When about to consummate the work of the flesh which He had taken, having now seen perfection in His disciples, whom He had established upon the root of His words, He enters a garden, that He might plant the young olive-trees in the house of the Lord, and that He might water the just flourishing like a palm-tree, and the fruitful vine with the stream of His Blood.

120. Hoc quoque loco in porticu Salomonis deambulabat dedicationis, ut legimus (Joan. X, 23), die, hoc est, in pectore sapientis atque pacifici deambulabat Christus, ejus sibi dedicaturus affectum. Quae ista porticus sit, docet Propheta dicens: Deambulabam in innocentia cordis mei in medio domus tuae (Psal. C, 2). Habemus ergo in nobis domum Dei, habemus atria, habemus et porticus, habemus et plateas; quia scriptum est: Inque plateis tuis superfluant aquae tuae (Prov. V, 16). Dilata ergo hanc porticum tui cordis Dei Verbo, quod tibi dicit: Dilata os tuum et adimplebo illud (Psal. LX, 11).

120. In this passage too He was walking, as we read, in Solomon’s porch on the day of the dedication, that is, Christ was walking in the breast of the wise and prudent, to dedicate his good affection to Himself. What that porch was the prophet teaches, saying: I will walk in the midst of Your house in the innocency of my heart. So, then, we have in our own selves the house of God, we have the halls, we have also the porches, and we have the

courts, for it is written: Let your waters flow abroad in your courts. Proverbs 5:16 Open, then, this porch of your heart to the Word of God, Who says to you: Open your mouth wide and I will fill it.

121. Ergo deambulans in corde sapientis 691 atque pacifici Dei Verbum, audiamus quid loquatur: Ego et Pater unum sumus (Joan. X, 30). Non dicet hoc in pectore perturbatoris et stulti; quia Animalis homo non percipit quae sunt Spiritus Dei; stultitia enim illi est (I Cor. II, 14). Non capiunt fidei magnitudinem angusta impiorum pectora. Denique Judaei audientes: Ego et Pater unum sumus; tulerunt lapides, ut lapidarent eum (Joan. X, 31).

121. Let us, therefore, hear what the Word of God, walking in the heart of the wise and peaceful, says: I and My Father are One. John 10:30 He will not say this in the breast of the unquiet and foolish, for the natural man receives not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him. 2 Corinthians 2:14 The narrow breasts of sinners do not take in the greatness of the faith. Lastly, the Jews hearing, I and the Father are One, took up stones to stone Him. John 10:31

122. Qui hoc audire non potest, Judaeus est: qui hoc audire non potest, lapidat Christum asperioribus omni caure perfidiae suae saxis; et si mihi creditis, vulnerat Christum. Nam etsi ille jam nunc vulnus sentire non possit: Nunc enim secundum carnem jam non novimus Christum (II Cor. V, 16); tamen Arianorum impietate lapidatur, qui Ecclesiae pietate laetatur.

122. He who cannot listen to this is a Jew; he who cannot listen to this stones Christ with the stones of his treachery, rougher than any rock, and if you believe me, he wounds Christ. For although He cannot now feel a wound: For now henceforth we know not Christ after the flesh, 2 Corinthians 5:16 yet He Who rejoices in the love of the Church is stoned by the impiety of the Arians.

123. Bonum mihi est, Domine, lex oris tui (Psal. CXVIII, 72); servo praeceptum tuum. Unum te esse cum Patre ipse dixisti. Quia hoc credidit Petrus, claves regni coelorum accepit (Matth. XVI, 19), et sui securus peccata donavit; quia hoc non credidit Judas, impietatis suae se laqueo strangulavit (Matth. XXVII, 5). O dura infidelium saxa verborum! O informem laqueum proditoris, sed deformius pretium Judaeorum! O argentum improbum, quo aut emitur ad necem justus, aut venditur! Joseph venditus (Gen. XXXVII, 28), emptus Jesus Christus (Matth. XXVI, 15): alter ad servitutem, alter ad mortem. Detestabilis haereditas, feralis auctio, quae aut fratrem vendit injuriae, aut Dominum licitatur exitio, salutis omnium redemptorem.

123. The law of Your mouth, O Lord, is good unto me, I keep Your commandments. You have Yourself said that You are one with the Father. Because Peter believed this, he received the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and without anxiety for himself forgave sins. Judas, because he believed not this, strangled himself with the cord of his own wickedness. O the hard stones of unbelieving words! O the unseemly cord of the betrayer, and the still more hideous purchase-money of the Jews! O hateful money wherewith either the just is bought for death, or sold! Joseph was sold, Jesus Christ was bought, the one to slavery, the Other to death. O detestable inheritance, O deadly sale, which either sells a brother to suffering or sets a price on the Lord to destroy Him, the Purchaser of the salvation of all.

124. Duo igitur quae praestantiora sunt omnibus, Judaea violavit, fidem atque pietatem; sed in utroque Christum fidei et pietatis auctorem. Nam et in patriarcha Joseph typus Christi fuit, et in veritate sui corporis Christus: Qui non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo, sed formam servi accepit (Phil. II, 6, 7); propter lapsus videlicet nostros suscipiens servitutem, nec refugiens passionem.

124. The Jews did violence to two things which are chief of all, faith and duty, and in each to Christ the Author of faith and duty. For both in the patriarch Joseph was there a type of Christ, and Christ Himself came in the truth of His Body, Who counted it not robbery that He should be equal with God, but took on Him the form of a servant, Philippians 2:6-7 because of our fall, that is to say, taking slavery upon Himself and not shrinking from suffering.

125. Alibi viginti aureis emitur, alibi triginta. Quomodo enim poterat verum ejus pretium comprehendi, cujus non potest meritum definiri? Erratur in pretio, quia erratur in studio. Viginti aureis in veteri Testamento venditur, triginta in Evangelio; pretiosior enim typo veritas, largior gratia, quam disciplina: opimior Lege praesentia; quia Lex promisit adventum, Legem adventus implevit.

125. In one place the sale is for twenty pieces, in the other for thirty. For how could His true price be apprehended, Whose value cannot be limited? There is error in the price because there is error in the inquiry. The sale is for twenty pieces in the Old Testament, for thirty in the New; for the Truth is of more value than the type, Grace is more generous than training, the Presence is better than the Law, for the Law promised the Coming, the Coming fulfilled the Law.

126. Viginti aureis emunt Ismaelitae, triginta Judaei. Nec hic figura mediocris. Ad sacrilegium perfidi largiores, quam ad salutem fideles sunt. Utriusque tamen contractus considerare convenit qualitatem. Viginti aurei pretium servitutis, triginta aurei crucis sunt. Quamvis enim simili modo assumptionis et passionis sint admiranda mysteria; plenitudo tamen fidei in sacramento est passionis. Non minoris quidem aestimo sanctae Virginis partum: sed gratius sumo benedicti corporis sacramentum. Quid clementius quam quod mihi suas donavit injurias? 692 Plenius tamen est, quod tantum

contulit nobis; ut qui moriturus non erat, quia Deus erat; nostra ille morte moreretur, ut nos ejus Spiritu viveremus.

126. The Ishmaelites made their purchase for twenty pieces, the Jews for thirty. And this is no trivial figure. The faithless are more lavish for iniquity than the faithful for salvation. It is, however, fitting to consider the quality of each agreement. Twenty pieces are the price of him sold to slavery, thirty pieces of Him delivered to the Cross. For although the Mysteries of the Incarnation and of the Passion must be in like manner matters of amazement, yet the fulfilment of faith is in the Mystery of the Passion. I do not indeed value less the birth from the Holy Virgin, but I receive even more gratefully the Mystery of the sacred Body. What is more full of mercy than that He should forgive me the wrongs done to Himself? But it is even fuller measure that He gave us so great a gift, that He Who was not to die because He was God, should die by our death, that we might live by His Spirit.

127. Denique non otiose et Judas Iscarioth unguentum illud trecentis denariis aestimavit (Joan. XII, 5): quod utique ipsius pretii definitione crucem videretur Domini declarare. Unde et Dominus ait: Haec enim mittens hoc unguentum in corpus meum, ad sepeliendum me fecit (Matth. XXVI, 12). Cur igitur Judas hoc charius aestimavit? Quia peccatoribus pluris constat remissio peccatorum, et indulgentia videtur esse pretiosior. Denique habes scriptum: Quia cui multum dimittitur, plus diligit (Luc. VII, 47). Ergo et ipsi peccatores Dominicae passionis, quam perdiderunt, gratiam confitentur, et testimonium ferunt Christo, qui Christum sunt persecuti.

127. Lastly, it was not without meaning that Judas Iscariot valued that ointment at three hundred pence, which seems certainly by the statement of the price itself to set forth the Lord’s cross. Whence, too, the Lord says: For

she, pouring this ointment on My body, did it for My burial. Matthew 26:12 Why, then, did Judas value this at so high a rate? Because remission of sins is of more value to sinners, and forgiveness seems to be more precious. Lastly, you find it written: To whom much is forgiven the same loves more. Luke 7:47 Therefore sinners themselves also confess the grace of the Lord's Passion which they have lost, and they bear witness to Christ who persecuted Him.

128. Aut quia in malevolam animam non intrat sapientia (Sap. I, 4); etiam hoc loquebatur proditoris affectus, charius aestimabat Dominici corporis passionem; ut omnes a fide pretii enormitate revocaret. Ideoque Dominus gratis se obtulit, ne quem revocaret a Christo paupertatis necessitas. Patriarchae eum vili vendiderunt, ut omnes emerent. Esaias dixit: Quicumque non habetis argentum, ite, emite, et bibite: manducate sine argento (Esa. LV, 1); ut eum acquireret, qui non habebat argentum. O Juda proditor, unguentum passionis ejus trecentis denariis aestimas, et passionem ejus triginta denariis vendis (Matth. XXVI, 15)! Dives in aestimatione, vilis in scelere.

128. Or because, into a malicious soul wisdom does not enter, Wisdom 1:4 the evil disposition of the traitor uttered this, and he valued the suffering of the Lord's body at a dearer rate, that by the immensity of the price he might draw all away from the faith. And therefore the Lord offered Himself without price, that the necessity of poverty might hold no one back from Christ. The patriarchs sold Him for a small price that all might buy. Isaiah said: You that have no money go buy and drink; eat ye without money, Isaiah 55:1 that he might gain him who had no money. O traitor Judas, you value the ointment of His Passion at three hundred pence, and sell His Passion for thirty pence. Profuse in valuing, mean in selling.

129. Ergo non omnes eodem pretio emunt Christum. Alio emit Photinus, qui ad mortem emit: alio Arianus, qui emit ad injuriam: alio catholicus, qui emit ad gloriam. Sed emit sine pecunia, secundum quod scriptum est: Qui non habet pecuniam, emat sine pretio (Esai. LV, 1).

129. So, then, all do not buy Christ at the same price; Photinus, who buys Him for death, buys Him at one price; the Arian, who buys Him to wrong Him, at another price; the Catholic, who buys Him to glorify Him, at another. But he buys Him without money according to that which is written: He that has no money let him buy without price. Isaiah 55:1-2

130. Non omnes, inquit, qui dicunt mihi, Domine, Domine, intrabunt in regnum coelorum (Matth. VII, 21). Etsi multi se nominent christianos, nomen usurpant, non tamen omnes mercedem habent. Et Cain obtulit sacrificium (Gen. IV, 3), et Judas accepit osculum (Luc. XXII, 48), sed audivit: Juda, osculo Filium hominis tradis? hoc est, amoris pignore scelus imples, ac pacis instrumento odia seris, et charitatis officio mortem irrogas.

130. Not all, says Christ, that say unto Me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven! Matthew 7:21 Although many call themselves Christians, and make use of the name, yet not all shall receive the reward. Both Cain offered sacrifice, and Judas received the kiss, but it was said to him, Judas, do you betray the Son of Man with a kiss? Luke 22:48 that is, you fill up your wickedness with the pledge of affection, and sow hatred with the implement of peace, and inflict death with the outward token of love.

131. Ergo nec Ariani sibi usurpato nomine blandiantur, quia christianos esse se dicunt. Respondebit eis Dominus: Nomen meum praetenditis, et substantiam denegatis: sed non agnosco nomen meum, ubi non est mea sempiterna divinitas. Non est nomen meum, quod a Patre dividitur, ab

Spiritu separatur: non agnosco nomen meum, ubi non agnosco doctrinam meam: non agnosco nomen meum, ubi non agnosco Spiritum meum. Nescit enim se Spiritus Patris comparare servitiis, quae creavit. De quo multa jam diximus (Lib. I, ca et seq.). 693

131. Let not, then, the Arians flatter themselves with the employment of the name, because they call themselves Christians. The Lord will answer them: You set forward My Name, and deny My Substance, but I do not recognize My Name where My eternal Godhead is not. That is not My Name which is divided from the Father, and separated from the Spirit; I do not recognize My Name where I do not recognize My doctrine; I do not recognize My Name where I do not recognize My Spirit. For he knows not that he is comparing the Spirit of the Father to those servants whom He created. Concerning which point we have already spoken at length.

CAPUT XVIII.

SPIRITUS SANCTI DIVINITATEM ex iis quae hactenus disputata sunt, confirmaturus, nonnulla iterum tractanda sumit, nimirum peccata eum non habere, sed condonare: creaturam non esse, sed creatorem: ac demum non adorare, sed adorari.

CHAPTER 18.

As he purposes to establish the Godhead of the Holy Spirit by the points already discussed, St. Ambrose touches again on some of them; for instance, that He does not commit but forgives sin; that He is not a creature but the Creator; and lastly, that He does not offer but receives worship.

132. [Alias cap. XIX.] Ad summam tamen, ut in fine quae disperse dicta sunt, expressius colligamus; cum ex caeteris, tum ex quatuor istis prae caeteris manifesta divinitatis gloria comprobatur: Deus enim ex eo cognoscitur, aut quia sine peccato est, aut quia peccata condonat: aut quia creatura non est, sed creator est: aut quia non adorat, sed adoratur.

132. But to sum up, in order at the end more distinctly to gather up the arguments which have been used here and there, the evident glory of the Godhead is proved both by other arguments, and most especially by these four. God is known by these marks: either that He is without sin; or that He forgives sin; or that He is not a creature but the Creator; or that He does not give but receives worship.

133. Sine peccato itaque nemo est, nisi unus Deus; quia nemo sine peccato, nisi unus Deus. Peccata quoque nemo condonat, nisi unus Deus; quia aeque

scriptum est: Quis potest peccata donare, nisi solus Deus (Luc. V, 21)? Creator quoque omnium non potest esse, nisi qui creatura non est: qui autem creatura non est, sine dubio Deus est: quia scriptum est: Servierunt creaturae potius quam creatori, qui est Deus benedictus in saecula (Rom. I, 23). Deus quoque non adorat, sed adoratur; quia scriptum est: Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et illi soli servies (Deutur. VI, 13).

133. So, then, no one is without sin except God alone, for no one is without sin except God. Matthew 19:17 Also, no one forgives sins except God alone, for it is also written: Who can forgive sins but God alone? Luke 5:21 And one cannot be the Creator of all except he be not a creature, and he who is not a creature is without doubt God; for it is written: They worshipped the creature rather than the Creator, Who is God blessed forever. Romans 1:25 God also does not worship, but is worshipped, for it is written: You shall worship the Lord your God, and Him only shall you serve. Deuteronomy 6:13

134. Consideremus ergo utrum horum aliquid habeat Spiritus sanctus, quae testimonium afferant divinitatis. Primum igitur de eo tractemus, quia nemo sine peccato nisi unus Deus: et exigamus ut doceant quod peccatum habeat Spiritus sanctus.

134. Let us therefore consider whether the Holy Spirit have any of these marks which may bear witness to His Godhead. And first let us treat of the point that none is without sin except God alone, and demand that they prove that the Holy Spirit has sin.

135. Sed docere non possunt, et auctoritatem requirunt, ut lectione doceamus, quia non peccavit Spiritus sanctus, sicut de Filio lectum est, quia peccatum non fecit (I Petr. II, 22). Et hoc accipiant Scripturarum auctoritate nos docere; scriptum est enim: Quia in Sapientia est Spiritus intelligentiae,

sanctus, unicus, multiplex, subtilis, bene mobilis, disertus, immaculatus (Sap. VII, 22). Immaculatum dicit Scriptura: numquid mentita est de Filio, ut de Spiritu credas esse mentitam? Dixit enim propheta in eodem loco de Sapientia, quia nihil maculosum in illam incurrit. Ipsa immaculata est, et immaculatus ejus est Spiritus. Ergo si peccatum non habet Spiritus, Deus est.

135. But they are unable to show us this, and demand our authority from us, namely, that we should show by texts that the Holy Spirit has not sinned, as it is said of the Son that He did no sin. 1 Peter 2:22 Let them learn that we teach by authority of the Scriptures; for it is written: For in Wisdom is a Spirit of understanding, holy, one only, manifold, subtle, easy to move, eloquent, undefiled. Wisdom 7:22 The Scripture says He is undefiled, has it lied concerning the Son, that you should believe it to have lied concerning the Spirit? For the prophet said in the same place concerning Wisdom, that nothing that defiles enters into her. She herself is undefiled, and her Spirit is undefiled. Therefore if the Spirit have not sin, He is God.

136. Sed quomodo reus potest esse peccati, qui donat ipse peccata? Ergo peccatum non fecit: et quia sine peccato est, creatura non est. Omnis enim creatura peccatorum capacitati obnoxia est: sola autem est a peccato immunis et immaculata sempiterna divinitas.

136. But how can He be guilty of sin Who Himself forgives sins? Therefore He has not committed sin, and if He be without sin He is not a creature. For every creature is exposed to the capability of sin, and the eternal Godhead alone is free from sin and undefiled.

137. Nunc videamus utrum peccata donet Spiritus. Sed hic dubitari non potest, cum ipse Dominus dixerit: Accipite Spiritum sanctum: quorum remiseritis peccata, remissa erunt (Joan. XX, 22). Ecce quia per Spiritum

sanctum peccata donantur. Homines autem in remissionem peccatorum ministerium suum exhibent, non jus alicujus 694 potestatis exercent. Neque enim in suo, sed in Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti nomine peccata dimittunt. Isti rogant, divinitas donat; humanum enim obsequium, sed munificentia supernae est potestatis.

137. Let us now see whether the Spirit forgives sins. But on this point there can be no doubt, since the Lord Himself said: Receive the Holy Spirit. Whosesoever sins you forgive they shall be forgiven. John 20:22 See that sins are forgiven through the Holy Spirit. But men make use of their ministry for the forgiveness of sins, they do not exercise the right of any power of their own. For they forgive sins not in their own name but in that of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. They ask, the Godhead gives, the service is of man, the gift is of the Power on high.

138. Per baptismum quoque peccata donari non est ambiguum: in baptismo autem operatio Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti est. Ergo si peccatum donat Spiritus, cum scriptum sit: Quis potest dimittere peccata, nisi unus Deus (Marc. II, 7); utique qui non potest ab unitate naturalis nominis separari, non potest etiam a Dei potestate secerni. Si autem a Dei non secernitur potestate, quomodo a Dei appellatione secernitur?

138. And it is not doubtful that sin is forgiven by means of baptism, but in baptism the operation is that of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. If, therefore, the Spirit forgives sin, since it is written, Who can forgive sins except God alone? Mark 2:7 certainly He Who cannot be separated from the oneness of the name of the Nature is also incapable of being severed from the power of God. Now if He is not severed from the power of God, how is He severed from the name of God.

139. Videamus nunc utrum creatura sit, an creator? Sed cum supra (Lib. II, ca, 6) creatorem evidentissime probaverimus, quia scriptum est: Spiritus divinus qui fecit me (Job. XXXIII, 4): et innovari faciem terrae per Spiritum (Psal. CIII, 30), et sine Spiritu fatiscere omnia declaratum sit; apparet Spiritum esse creatorem. Sed quis hoc dubitet, quando, sicut supra ostendimus, ne Domini quidem ex Virgine assumpta generatio, quae praestantior omnibus creaturis est, operationis exsors sit spiritalis?

139. Let us now see whether He be a creature or the Creator. But since we have above most clearly proved Him to be the Creator, as it is written: The Spirit of God Who has made me; Job 33:4 and it has been declared that the face of the earth is renewed by the Spirit, and that all things languish without the Spirit, it is clear that the Spirit is the Creator. But who can doubt this, since, as we have shown above, not even the generation of the Lord from the Virgin, which is more excellent than all creatures, is without the operation of the Spirit?

140. Non ergo creatura Spiritus, sed creator est: qui autem creator, non utique creatura. Et quia creatura non est, sine dubio creator est, qui Patri et Filio cooperator est omnium. Si autem creator, utique dicendo Apostolus in condemnationem gentilitatis: Quia servierunt creaturae potius quam Creatori, qui est Deus benedictus in saecula (Rom. I, 23): suadendo quoque, ut supra (Lib. II, ca, 6) docuimus, serviendum esse Spiritui sancto; et creatorem ostendit, et quia creator est, Deum appellari debere monstravit. Quod etiam in epistola quae ad Hebraeos scripta est, comprehendit dicens: Quoniam qui omnia creavit, Deus est (Hebr. III, 4). Aut dicant igitur quid sit quod sine Patre et Filio et Spiritu sit creatum, aut Spiritum quoque unius cum Patre et Filio deitatis esse fateantur.

140. Therefore the Spirit is not a creature, but the Creator, and He Who is Creator is certainly not a creature. And because He is not a creature,

without doubt He is the Creator Who produces all things together with the Father and the Son. But if He be the Creator, certainly the Apostle, by saying in condemnation of the Gentiles, Who served the creature rather than the Creator, Who is God blessed for ever, Romans 1:25 and by warning men, as I said above, that the Holy Spirit is to be served, both showed Him to be the Creator, and because He is the Creator demonstrated that He ought to be called God. Which he also sums up in the Epistle written to the Hebrews, saying: For He that created all things is God. Hebrews 3:4 Let them, therefore, either say what it is which has been created without the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, or let them confess that the Spirit also is of one Godhead with the Father and the Son.

141. Adorandum quoque docuit, quem Dominum et Deum dixit. Qui enim Deus universitatis et dominus, utique ab omnibus adorandus est; sic enim scriptum est: Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et ipsi soli servies (Deut. VI, 13).

141. The writer taught also that He was to be worshipped, Whom he called Lord and God. For He Who is the God and Lord of the Universe is certainly to be worshipped by all, for it is thus written: You shall worship the Lord your God, and Him only shall you serve. Deuteronomy 6:13

142. Aut dicant ubi legerint quia adorat Spiritus. Dictum est enim de Dei Filio: Adorent eum omnes angeli ejus (Hebr. I, 6): non lectum est, adoret Spiritus. Quomodo enim potest adorare, qui non inter famulos et ministros est, sed cum Patre et Filio servitia habet subjecta justorum; quia scriptam est: Spiritui Dei servimus (Phil. III, 3). Adorandus igitur est nobis, cui serviendum a nobis Apostolus docuit: cui autem servimus, hunc et adoramus, juxta quod scriptum est, ut eadem saepe repetamus: Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et illi soli servies.

142. Or let them say where they have read that the Spirit worships. For it is said of the Son of God: Let all the Angels of God worship Him; Hebrews 1:6 we do not read, Let the Spirit worship Him. For how can He worship Who is not among servants and ministers, but, together with the Father and the Son, has the service of the just under Him, for it is written: We serve the Spirit of God. Philippians 3:3 He is, therefore, to be worshipped by us, Whom the Apostle taught that we must serve, and Whom we serve we also adore, according to that which is written, to repeat the same words again: You shall worship the Lord your God, and Him only shall you serve.

143. Quamquam nec hoc praetermiserit Apostolus, quin et Spiritum diceret adorandum. 695 Cum enim docuerimus quia Spiritus in prophetis est, nec hoc quisquam possit ambigere, quia per Spiritum prophetia datur, utique cum adoratur qui in prophetis est, idem Spiritus adoratur. Itaque sic habes: Si conveniat universa Ecclesia in unum, et omnes linguis loquantur, intret autem idiota aut infidelis, nonne dicet quod insanitis. Sin autem prophetent omnes, intret autem quis idiota aut infidelis, convincitur ab omnibus, dijudicatur ab omnibus. Occulta etiam cordis ejus manifesta fiunt; et ita cadens in faciem, adorabit Deum, pronuntians quod vere Deus sit in vobis (I Cor. XIV, 23 et seq.). Deus est ergo qui adoratur, Deus qui manet, et qui loquitur in prophetis: manet autem et loquitur Spiritus; ergo et Spiritus adoratur.

143. Although the Apostle has not omitted even this point, so as to omit to teach us that the Spirit is to be worshipped. For since we have demonstrated that the Spirit is in the prophets, no one can doubt that prophecy is given by the Spirit, and plainly when He Who is in the prophets is worshipped, the same Spirit is worshipped. And so you find: If the whole Church be assembled together, and all speak with tongues, and there come in one unlearned or unbelieving, will he not say that you are mad? But if all

prophesy, and there come in one unlearned and unbelieving, he is convicted by all, he is judged by all. For the secrets of his heart are made manifest, and so falling down on his face he will worship God, declaring that God is in truth among you. 1 Corinthians 14:23-25 It is, therefore, God Who is worshipped, God Who abides and Who speaks in the prophets; but the Spirit thus abides and speaks, therefore, also, the Spirit is worshipped.

CAPUT XIX.

EX EO QUOD supra probatum et Spiritum manere et loqui in prophetis, colligit ab eo cognosci omnia, quae Dei sunt; atque adeo unum esse cum Patre et Filio. Hoc ipsum exinde iterum confirmat quod omnia habet, quae habet Deus, nempe divinitatem, cordis cognitionem, veritatem, nomen super omne nomen, potestatem mortuos suscitandi, quod ultimum eidem adjudicat ex Exechiele, in quo et ipsum Filio aequalem probat.

CHAPTER 19.

Having proved above that the Spirit abides and speaks in the prophets, St. Ambrose infers that He knows all things which are of God, and therefore is One with the Father and the Son. This same point he establishes again from the fact that He possesses all that God possesses, namely, Godhead, knowledge of the heart, truth, a Name above every name, and power to raise the dead, as is proved from Ezekiel, and in this He is equal to the Son.

144. Itaque sicut Pater et Filius unum sunt; quia Filius omnia habet, quae Pater habet (Joan. XVI, 15): ita. et Spiritus unum est cum Patre et Filio; quia et ipse omnia Dei novit (I Cor. II, 10). Non enim extorsit, ne sit amittentis injuria: non rapuit, ne damnum sit ejus, cui videtur ereptum. Neque enim aut per indigentiam rapuit, aut per excellentiam virtutis validioris extorsit, sed per unitatem possidet potestatis. Ergo si haec omnia operatur, quia omnia operatur unus atque idem Spiritus (I Cor. XII, 11); quomodo non Deus, qui omnia habet, quae Deus habet?

144. And so as the Father and the Son are One, because the Son has all things which the Father has, so too the Spirit is one with the Father and the

Son, because He too knows all the things of God. For He did not obtain it by force, so that there should be any injury as of one who had suffered loss; He did not seize it, lest the loss should be his from whom it might seem to have been plundered. For neither did He seize it through need, nor through superiority of greater power did He take it by force, but He possesses it by unity of power. Therefore, if He works all these things, for one and the same Spirit works all, 1 Corinthians 12:11 how is He not God Who has all things which God has?

145. Aut consideremus quid habeat Deus, quod non habeat Spiritus sanctus. Habet Deus Pater divinitatem, habet et Filius, in quo habitat plenitudo divinitatis: habet et Spiritus; quia scriptum est: Spiritus divinus qui est in naribus meis (Job. XVII, 3).

145. Or let us consider what God may have which the Holy Spirit has not. God the Father has Godhead, and the Son, too, in Whom dwells the fullness of the Godhead, has it, and the Spirit has it, for it is written: The Spirit of God is in my nostrils. Job 27:3

146. Habet Deus ut scrutetur corda et renes; quia scriptum est: Deus scrutans corda et renes (Psal. VII, 10). Habet et Filius, qui dicebat: Quid cogitatis in cordibus vestris mala (Matth. IX, 4)? Sciebat enim Jesus cogitationes eorum. Habet et Spiritus, qui etiam prophetis alieni cordis occulta manifestat, sicut supra divimus (Lib. II, c. 13), quia occulta cordis ejus manifesta fiunt. Et quid miramur si hominum scrutatur occulta, qui scrutatur etiam alta Dei (I Cor. II, 10) ?

146. God, again, searches the hearts and reins, for it is written: God searches the hearts and reins. The Son also has this power, Who said, Why do you think evil in your hearts? Matthew 9:4 For Jesus knew their thoughts. And the Spirit has the same power, Who manifests to the prophets

also the secrets of the hearts of others, as we said above: for the secrets of his heart are made manifest. And why do we wonder if He searches the hidden things of man Who searches even the deep things of God?

147. Habet Deus ut verax sit; quia scriptum est: Sit autem Deus verax, omnis autem homo mendax (Rom. III, 4). Et alibi scriptum est: Fidelis Deus, qui non mentitur (Tit. I, 2). Numquid mentitur Spiritus, qui est Spiritus veritatis; immo quem docuimus veritatem dictum; quia et ipsum Joannes veritatem sicut Filium nuncupavit (Joan. XVI, 13)? Et in psalmo ait David: Emitte lucem tuam, et veritatem tuam; ipsa me deduxerunt, et adduxerunt in montem sanctum tuum, et in tabernacula tua (Psal. XLII, 3). Si lucem 696 hic Filium putas, ergo Spiritus veritas est: aut si Filium putas veritatem, ergo Spiritus lux est.

147. God has as an attribute that He is true for it is written: Let God be true and every man a liar. Romans 3:4 Does the Spirit lie Who is the Spirit of Truth? John 16:13 and Whom we have shown to be called the Truth, since John called Him too the Truth, as also the Son? And David says in the psalm: Send out Your light and Your truth, they have led me and brought me to Your holy hill and to Your tabernacles. If you consider that in this passage the Son is the light, then the Spirit is the Truth, or if you consider the Son to be the Truth, then the Spirit is the light.

148. Habet Deus nomen super omne nomen, et dedit Filio nomen; sicut legimus (Phil. II, 9), ut omnes in nomine Jesu genua flectant. Hoc nomen utrum habeat Spiritus consideremus. Sed et scriptum est: Ite, baptizate gentes in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti (Marc. XVI, 15). Habet ergo nomen super omne nomen. Quod ergo habet Pater et Filius, habet et Spiritus per naturalis nominis unitatem.

148. God has a Name which is above every name, and has given a name to the Son, as we read that in the Name of Jesus knees should bow. Let us consider whether the Spirit has this Name. But it is written Go, baptize the nations in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Matthew 28:19 He has, then, a Name above every name. What, therefore, the Father and the Son have, the Holy Spirit also has through the oneness of the Name of His nature.

149. [Alias cap. XX.] Habet Deus quod suscitat mortuos: Sicut enim Pater suscitat mortuos et vivificat: sic et Filius quos vult, vivificat (Joan. V, 21). Suscitat autem etiam Spiritus, per quem Deus suscitat, quia scriptum est: Vivificabit et mortalia corpora vestra per habitantem Spiritum ejus in vobis (Rom. VIII, 11). Tamen ne infirmam gratiam putes, audi quia et Spiritus suscitat; dicit enim propheta Ezechiel: Veni, Spiritus, et insuffla in mortuos istos, et vivent. Et prophetavi sicut mandavit mihi, et intravit in eos Spiritus vitae, et vixerunt, et steterunt in pedibus suis congregatio nimis multa (Ezech. XXXVII, 9, 10). Et infra Deus dicit: Scietis quod ego sum Dominus, cum aperiam sepulcra vestra; ut educam de sepulcris populum meum: et dabo Spiritum meum in vos, et vivetis (Ibid., 13, 14).

149. It is a prerogative of God to raise the dead. For as the Father raises the dead and quickens them, so the Son also quickens whom He will. John 5:21 But the Spirit also (by Whom God raises) raises them, for it is written: He shall quicken also your mortal bodies through His Spirit that dwells in you. Romans 8:11 But that you may not think this a trivial grace, learn that the Spirit also raises, for the prophet Ezekiel says: Come, O Spirit, and breathe upon these dead, and they shall live. And I prophesied as He commanded me, and the Spirit of life entered into them, and they lived, and stood up on their feet an exceeding great company. Ezekiel 37:9-10 And farther on God says: You shall know that I am the Lord, when I shall open your graves, that

I may bring My people out of their graves, and I will give you My Spirit, and you shall live. Ezekiel 37:13-14

150. Utique cum Spiritum suum dixerit, numquid alium praeter Spiritum sanctum nuncupavit? Neque enim flatilem spiritum suum diceret, nec hic spiritus a quatuor mundi posset venire cardinibus; quia ventorum flatus hic, quem videmus, partis non universitatis est: et hic spiritus quo vivimus, singulorum non universorum est: Spiritus autem sancti est, ut et super omnes, et in omnibus sit. Itaque ex verbis propheticis spectare licet quemadmodum ossa, dudum resolutorum membrorum compage dispersa, in formam redivivi corporis, vivificante Spiritu, revertantur; et in suos artus favilla concrescat, sensu prius animata coeundi, quam specie reformata vivendi.

150. When He spoke of His Spirit, did He mention any other besides the Holy Spirit? For He would neither have spoken of His Spirit as produced by blowing, nor could this Spirit come from the four quarters of the world, for the blowing of these winds, which we experience, is partial, not universal; and this spirit by which we live is also individual, not universal. But it is the nature of the Holy Spirit to be both over all and in all. Therefore from the words of the prophet we may see how (the frame-work of the members long since fallen asunder being scattered) the bones may come together again to the form of a revived body, when the Spirit quickens them; and the ashes may come together on the limbs belonging to them, animated by a disposition to come together before being formed anew in the appearance of living.

151. Nonne in facti similitudine unitatem divinae recognoscimus potestatis? Sic suscitat Spiritus, sicut et Dominus in passione propria suscitavit; cum subito in momento oculi defunctorum sepulcra patuerunt, et rediviva

corpora surrexere de tumulis (Matth. XXVII, 52), mortisque fetore deterso, ac vitae odore reparato, exspirantium favillae spirantium faciem receperunt.

151. Do we not in the likeness of what is done recognize the oneness of the divine power? The Spirit raises after the same manner as the Lord raised at the time of His own Passion, when suddenly in the twinkling of an eye the graves of the dead were opened, and the bodies living again arose from the tombs, and the smell of death being removed, and the scent of life restored, the ashes of those who were dead took again the likeness of the living.

152. Habet ergo Spiritus, quod habet Christus: habet igitur quod habet Deus; quia omnia quae habet Pater, habet et Filius; ideoque dixit: Omnia quae habet Pater, mea sunt (Joan. XVI, 15).

152. So, then, the Spirit has that which Christ has, and therefore what God has, for all things which the Father has the Son also has, and therefore He said: All things which the Father has are Mine. John 16:15

CAPUT XX.

IN FLUMINE DE sede Dei promanante figuram fuisse Spiritus sancti; per aquas vero quas David memorat, coelestes virtutes designari. Regnum Dei opus esse Spiritus: nec mirum, si hic idem conregnet cum Filio, quando nos etiam Filio conregnaturos promittat Paulus.

CHAPTER 20.

The river flowing from the Throne of God is a figure of the Holy Spirit, but by the waters spoken of by David the powers of heaven are intended. The kingdom of God is the work of the Spirit; and it is no matter for wonder if He reigns in this together with the Son, since St. Paul promises that we too shall reign with the Son.

153. [Alias cap. XXI.] Nec illud mediocre, quod de throno Dei exire fluvium legimus. Sic enim habes, 697 dicente Joanne evangelista: Et ostendit mihi flumen aquae vivae, splendidum tamquam crystallum, procedens de sede Dei et agni: in medio plateae ejus, et ex utraque parte lignum vitae, faciens fructus duodecim, per singulos menses reddens fructum suum, et folia ligni ad medicinam omnium gentium (Apoc. XXII, 1, 2).

153. And this, again, is not a trivial matter that we read that a river goes forth from the throne of God. For you read the words of the Evangelist John to this purport: And He showed me a river of living water, bright as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb. In the midst of the street thereof, and on either side, was the tree of life, bearing twelve kinds

of fruits, yielding its fruit every month, and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of all nations. Revelation 22:1-2

154. Hic est utique fluvius de Dei sede procedens, hoc est, Spiritus sanctus, quem bibit qui credit in Christum, sicut ipse ait: Si quis sitit, veniat ad me, et bibat: Qui credit in me, sicut dicit Scriptura, flumina de ventre ejus fluent aquae vivae. Hoc autem dicebat de Spiritu (Joan. VII, 37, 38). Ergo flumen est Spiritus.

154. This is certainly the River proceeding from the throne of God, that is, the Holy Spirit, Whom he drinks who believes in Christ, as He Himself says: If any man thirst, let him come to Me and drink. He that believes in Me, as says the Scripture, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water. But this spoke He of the Spirit. John 7:37-38 Therefore the river is the Spirit.

155. Hic igitur est in Dei sede; neque enim aqua abluit Dei sedem. Denique David non supra sedem Dei dixit, sed supra coelos esse, quamlibet illam intelligas aquam; quia scriptum est: Et aquae quae super coelos sunt, laudent nomen Domini (Psal. CXLVIII, 4). Laudent, dixit, non laudet. Nam si aquae elementum voluisset intelligi, laudet utique dixisset: dicendo autem pluraliter, virtutes voluit aestimari.

155. This, then, is in the throne of God, for the water washes not the throne of God. Then, whatever you may understand by that water, David said not that it was above the throne of God, but above the heavens, for it is written: Let the waters which are above the heavens praise the Name of the Lord. Let *them* praise, he says, not let *it* praise. For if he had intended us to understand the element of water, he would certainly have said, Let it praise, but by using the plural he intended the Powers to be understood.

156. Et quid mirum, si in sede Dei Spiritus sanctus est, cum ipsum regnum Dei operatio Spiritus sit, sicut scriptum est: Quia non est regnum Dei esca et potus, sed justitia et pax, et gaudium in Spiritu sancto (Rom. XIV, 17)? Et ipse cum dicit Salvator: Omne regnum in se ipsum divisum destruetur (Matth. XII, 25). Deinde subjiciendo: Quod si in Spiritu Dei ego ejicio daemonia, profecto pervenit in vos regnum Dei (Ibid., 28); ostendit regnum Dei individuum sibi esse cum Spiritu.

156. And what wonder is it if the Holy Spirit is in the throne of God, since the kingdom of God itself is the work of the Holy Spirit, as it is written: For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit. Romans 14:17 And when the Saviour Himself says, Every kingdom divided against itself shall be destroyed, Matthew 12:25 by adding afterwards, But if I, by the Spirit of God, cast out devils, without doubt the kingdom of God has come upon you, Matthew 12:27 He shows that the kingdom of God is held undivided by Himself and by the Spirit.

157. Quid autem dementius, quam ut neget quisquam Christo conregnare Spiritum sanctum; cum etiam nos in Christi regno conregnaturos Christo Apostolus dicat: Si enim commortui sumus, et convivemus; si sustinemus, et conregnabimus (II Tim. II, 11, 12): sed nos per adoptionem, ille per potestatem: nos gratia, ille natura.

157. But what is more foolish than for any one to deny that the Holy Spirit reigns together with Christ when the Apostle says that even we shall reign together with Christ in the kingdom of Christ: If we are dead with Him, we shall also live with Him; if we endure, we shall also reign with Him. 2 Timothy 2:11-12 But we by adoption, He by power; we by grace, He by nature.

158. Habet igitur consortium regni cum Patre et Filio etiam Spiritus sanctus, qui unius naturae, unius dominationis, unius etiam potestatis est.

158. The Holy Spirit, therefore, shares in the kingdom with the Father and the Son, and He is of one nature with Them, of one Lordship, and also of one power.

CAPUT XXI.

MISSUM A SPIRITU fuisse Esaiam, proindeque eumdem Spiritum ab eo visum. Quid per currentes rotas, alasque diversas intelligendum, et qua ratione cum Spiritus a Seraphim praedicetur Deus Sabaoth, hoc ei nomen negari nisi ab impiis neutiquam possit.

CHAPTER 21.

Isaiah was sent by the Spirit, and accordingly the same Spirit was seen by him. What is meant by the revolving wheels, and the various wings, and how since the Spirit is proclaimed Lord of Sabaoth by the Seraphim, certainly none but impious men can deny Him this title.

159. [Alias cap. XXIII.] Itaque cum habeat consortium regni, quid obstat quominus Spiritum sanctum intelligamus, a quo Esaias missus est? Neque enim Paulo possumus auctore dubitare, cujus sententiam in Actibus apostolorum Lucas evangelista sic probavit, ut scriberet. Denique sic habes, dicente Paulo: Bene locutus est Spiritus sanctus per Esaiam ad patres nostros, dicens: Vade ad plebem istam, et dic: Aure audietis, et non intelligetis; et videntes videbitis, et non aspicietis (Act. XXVIII, 25, 26).

159. Since, then, He has a share in the kingdom, what hinders us from understanding that it was the Holy Spirit by Whom Isaiah was sent? For on the authority of Paul we cannot doubt, whose judgment the Evangelist Luke so much approved in the Acts of the Apostles as to write as follows in Paul’s words: Well spoke the Holy Spirit through Isaiah the prophet to our fathers, saying: Go to this people and say, You shall hear with the ear and

shall not understand, and seeing you shall see and shall not perceive. Acts 28:25-26

160. Spiritus ergo est, qui misit Esaiam. Si 698 Spiritus misit, Spiritus est utique quem, mortuo Ozia rege, vidit Esaias, quando dixit: Vidi Dominum Sabaoth sedentem super thronum excelsum et elevatum, et plena erat domus majestatis ejus: et Seraphim stabant in circuitu ejus; sex alae uni, et sex alae alteri, et duabus velabant faciem ejus, et duabus velabant pedes ejus, et duabus volabant; et clamabant alter ad alterum, et dicebant: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth: plena est universa terra majestate ejus (Esai. VI, 1 et seq.).

160. It is, then, the Spirit Who sent Isaiah. If the Spirit sent him, it is certainly the Spirit Whom, after Uzziah's death, Isaiah saw, when he said: I saw the Lord of Sabaoth sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and the house was full of His majesty. And the Seraphim stood round about Him, each one had six wings, and with two they were covering His face, and with two they were covering His feet, and with two they were flying; and they cried out one to the other, and said, Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Sabaoth, the whole earth is full of His majesty. Isaiah 6:1-3

161. Si stabant Seraphim, quomodo volabant? Si volabant, quomodo stabant? Si hoc non possumus comprehendere, quomodo Deum comprehendere volumus, quem non videmus?

161. If the Seraphim were standing, how were they flying? If they were flying, how were they standing? If we cannot understand this, how is it that we want to understand God, Whom we have not seen?

162. Sed sicut rotam intra rotam (Ezech. I, 16) vidit propheta currentem (quod utique non ad corporalis refertur speciem visionis, sed ad utriusque gratiam Testamenti; quia teres vita sanctorum sit, et ita sibi concinens, ut

superioribus posteriora respondeant. Rota igitur intra rotam est vita sub Lege, vita sub gratia; eo quod Judaea intra Ecclesiam sit, Lex intra gratiam. Nam intra Ecclesiam est, qui Judaeus est in occulto: et circumcisio cordis intra Ecclesiam sacramentum est. Sed illa Judaea intra Ecclesiam, de qua scriptum est (Psal. LXXXV, 1): Notus in Judaea Deus: ergo sicut rota intra rotam currit, similiter alae stabant, et alae volabant.

162. But as the prophet saw a wheel running within a wheel Ezekiel 1:16 (which certainly does not refer to any appearance to the bodily sight, but to the grace of each Testament; for the life of the saints is polished, and so consistent with itself that later portions agree with the former). The wheel, then, within a wheel is life under the Law, life under grace; inasmuch as Jews are within the Church, the Law is included in grace. For he is within the Church who is a Jew secretly; and circumcision of the heart is a sacrament within the Church. But that Jewry is within the Church of which it is written: In Jewry is God known; therefore as wheel runs within wheel, so in like manner the wings were still, and the wings were flying.

163. Similiter et Seraphim duabus alis faciem, et duabus pedes velabant, et duabus volabant. Nam hic quoque spiritalis sapientiae sacramentum est. Stant tempora, volant tempora: stant praeterita, volant futura: et quasi alae Seraphim, ita faciem Dei, vel pedes velant; eo quod in Deo qui nec principium nec finem habet, omnis ab hac cognitione principii ejus et finis cursus temporum feriatur. Stant ergo praeterita vel futura, praesentia volant. Ne quaeras principii ejus, vel finis arcana, quae non sunt. Habes praesentia: sed laudato, non discute.

163. In like manner, too, the Seraphim were veiling His face with two wings, and with two were veiling His feet, and with two were flying. For here also is a mystery of spiritual wisdom. Seasons stand, seasons fly; the past stand, the future are flying, and like the wings of the Seraphim, so they

veil the face or the feet of God; inasmuch as in God, Who has neither beginning nor end, the whole course of times and seasons, from this knowledge of its beginning and its end, is at rest. So, then, times past and future stand, the present fly. Ask not after the secrets of His beginning or His end, for there is neither. You have the present, but you must praise Him, not question.

164. Seraphim indefessis vocibus laudant, et tu discutis? Quod utique cum faciunt, ostendunt nobis non aliquando discutiendum Deum, sed semper esse laudandum. Ergo Dominus Sabaoth et Spiritus sanctus est. [Alias cap. XXIII.] Nisi forte displicet impiis doctor, quem Christus elegit: aut Dominum virtutum negare possunt Spiritum sanctum, qui donat quas voluerit ipse virtutes.

164. The Seraphim with unwearied voices praise, and do you question? And certainly when they do this they show us that we must not sometimes question about God, but always praise Him. Therefore the Holy Spirit is also the Lord of Sabaoth. Unless perchance the Teacher Whom Christ chose pleases not the impious, or they can deny that the Holy Spirit is the Lord of powers, Who gives whatever powers He Himself wills.

CAPUT XXII.

UT REGNI UNITAS probetur in tribus personis, citatus Esaiae locus expenditur: et in iis a quibus vel de Patre vel de Filio vel de Spiritu expositus sit, nullam sensus diversitatem fuisse declaratur. Ad haec majestate Spiritui inde asserta, quod crucifixus dicatur Dominus majestatis, ejus cum Patre ac Filio tanta aequalitas ostenditur, ut ipsum hinc numquam dejecturi sint Ariani.

CHAPTER 22.

In proof of the Unity in Trinity the passage of Isaiah which has been cited is considered, and it is shown that there is no difference as to its sense among those who expound it of the Father, or of the Son, or of the Spirit. If He Who was crucified was Lord of glory, so, too, is the Holy Spirit equal in all things to the Father and the Son, and the Arians will never be able to diminish His glory.

165. Nunc unitatem majestatis et regni licet in Patre, Filioque, et sancto Spiritu cognoscere. Nam plerique dicunt Patrem 699 Deum ab Esaia hoc tempore visum (Esai. VI, 1), Paulus Spiritum dixit, Lucas probavit (Act. XXVIII, 25), Joannes Evangelista ad Filium retulit. Sic enim scriptum est de Filio (Joan. XII, 36): Haec locutus est Jesus, et abiit, et abscondit se ab his. Cum autem tanta signa fecisset coram eis, non credebant in eum; ut sermo Esaiae impleretur, quem dixit: Domine, quis credidit auditui nostro, et brachium Domini cui revelatum est (Esai. LIII, 1)? Propterea non poterant credere, quia iterum dixit Esaias: Excaecavit oculos eorum, et induravit cor eorum, ut non videant oculis, et corde intelligant, et

convertantur, et sanabo eos (Esai. VI, 10). Haec dicit Esaias, quando vidit majestatem ejus, et locutus est de eo.

165. It is now possible to recognize the oneness of the majesty and rule in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. For many say that it was God the Father Who was seen at that time by Isaiah. Paul says it was the Spirit, and Luke supports him. John the Evangelist refers it to the Son. For thus has he written of the Son: These things spoke Jesus, and departed and hid Himself from them. But though He had done so great signs before them, they did not believe in Him, that the word of Isaiah might be fulfilled which he spoke, Lord, who has believed our report, and to whom has the Arm of the Lord been revealed? Isaiah 53:1 Therefore, they could not believe, because Isaiah said again, He has blinded their eyes and hardened their heart, that they might not see with their eyes and understand with their heart and be converted, and I should heal them. Isaiah 6:10 These things said Isaiah when he saw His glory, and spoke of Him. John 12:36-41

166. Ipsa verba dixit Joannes dixisse Esaiam, et majestatem ei Filii apparuisse evidentissime revelavit: Paulus autem Spiritum haec dixisse memoravit. Unde igitur ista diversitas?

166. John says that Isaiah spoke these words, and revealed most clearly that the glory of the Son appeared to him. Paul, however, relates that the Spirit said these things. Whence, then, is this difference?

167. Diversitas quidem verborum, non sensuum est. Nam licet diversa dixerint, nullus erravit; quia et Pater videtur in Filio, qui dixit: Qui me videt, videt et Patrem (Joan. XIV, 9). Et Filius videtur in Spiritu; quia sicut nemo dicit Dominum Jesum nisi in Spiritu sancto (I Cor. XII, 3); ita non carnali oculo, sed spiritali gratia Christus videtur. Unde et Scriptura ait: Surge, qui dormis, et exsurge a mortuis, et illucescet tibi Christus (Ephes. V, 14). Et

Paulus cum oculos perdidisset, quomodo nisi in Spiritu 700 Christum videbat (Act. IX, 8)? Unde et Dominus ait: Ad hoc enim tibi visus sum, ut constituerem te ministrum et testem quibus vidisti me, et in quibus visurus es (Act. XXVI, 16). Nam et prophetae Spiritum accipiebant, et Christum videbant.

167. There is, indeed, a difference of words, not of meaning. For though they said different things, neither was in error, for both the Father is seen in the Son, Who said, He that sees Me sees the Father also, John 14:9 and the Son is seen in the Spirit; for as no man says Lord Jesus, except in the Holy Spirit, 1 Corinthians 12:3 so Christ is seen not by the eye of flesh, but by the grace of the Spirit. Whence, too, the Scripture says: Rise, you that sleep, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall shine upon you. Ephesians 5:14 And Paul, when he had lost his eyesight, how did he see Christ except in the Spirit? Acts 9:8 Wherefore the Lord says: For to this end I have appeared unto you, to appoint you a minister and a witness of the things wherein you have seen Me, and of the things wherein you shall see Me. Acts 26:16 For the prophets also received the Spirit and saw Christ.

168. Una igitur visio, una praeceptio, una majestas. An negamus etiam Dominum majestatis esse Spiritum sanctum (I Cor. II, 12), cum Dominus majestatis sit crucifixus, qui natus est de Spiritu sancto ex virgine Maria? Quia non alter Christus, sed unus est: et ante saecula ex Patre, ut Dei filius natus; et in saeculo, ut homo carnis assumptione generatus.

168. One, then, is the vision, one the right to command, one the glory. Do we deny that the Holy Spirit is also the Lord of glory when the Lord of glory was crucified who was born from the Holy Spirit of the Virgin Mary? For Christ is not one of two, but is one, and was born as Son of God of the Father before the world; and in the world born as man by taking flesh.

169. Quid autem dicam, quia sicut Pater et Filius, ita etiam Spiritus immaculatus est et omnipotens (Sap. VII, 22); quia Graece παντοδύναμον, πανεπίσκοπον Salomon dixit, eo quod omnipotens et speculator sit omnium, sicut lectum esse in libro Sapientiae supra est demonstratum (Ca, num. 135). Ergo et Spiritus in honore est et in majestate.

169. And why should I say that, as the Father and the Son, so, too, the Spirit is free from stain and Almighty, for Solomon called Him in Greek παντοδύναμον, πᾶνέπίσχοπον, because He is Almighty and beholds all things, Wisdom 7:22 as we showed above to be, is read in the Book of Wisdom. Therefore the Spirit enjoys honour and glory.

170. Intuere nunc, ne quid eum forte non deceat: aut si tibi displicet, Ariane, detrahe eum de Patris Filiique consortio. Sed si detrahere volueris, coelos supra te reverti videbis; quia virtus eorum omnis ab Spiritu est (Psal. XXXII, 6). Si detrahere volueris, in Deum tibi prius mittenda est manus; quia Deus Spiritus (Joan. IV, 24). Sed quomodo detrahes eum, qui alta scrutatur Dei (I Cor. II, 10)?

170. Consider now lest perchance something may not beseem Him, or if this displease you, O Arian, drag Him down from His fellowship with the Father and the Son. But if you choose to drag Him down you will see the heavens reversed above you, for all their strength is from the Spirit. If you choose to drag Him down, you must first lay hands on God, for the Spirit is God. But how will you drag Him down, Who searches the deep things of God?

De excessu fratris sui Satyri (On the Decease of His Brother Satyrus)

CONTENTS

LIBER I.

LIBER II.

LIBER I.

BOOK I.

1. DEDUXIMUS, FRATRES dilectissimi, hostiam meam, hostiam incontaminatam, hostiam Deo placentem, domnum et fratrem meum Satyrum. Memineram esse mortalem, nec fefellit opinio, sed superabundavit gratia. Itaque nihil habeo quod querar, et habeo in quo Deo gratias agam; quia semper optavi, ut si quae perturbationes vel Ecclesiam vel me manerent, in me potius ac meam deciderent domum. Deo igitur gratias, quia in hoc omnium metu, cum omnia motibus sint suspecta Barbaricis, communem moerorem privato dolore transegi, et in me conversum est quidquid timebam omnibus. Atque utinam hic consummatum sit, ut dolor meus publici doloris redemptio sit!

1. We have brought hither, dearest brethren, my sacrifice, a sacrifice undefiled, a sacrifice well pleasing to God, my lord and brother Satyrus. I did not forget that he was mortal, nor did my feelings deceive me, but grace abounded more exceedingly. And so I have nothing to complain of, but have cause for thankfulness to God, for I always desired that if any troubles should await either the Church or myself, they should rather fall on me and on my house. Thanks, therefore, be to God, that in this time of common fear, when everything is dreaded from the barbarian movements, I ended the trouble of all by my personal grief, and that I dreaded for all which was turned upon me. And may this be fully accomplished, so that my grief may be a ransom for the grief of all.

2. Nihil quidem habui, fratres charissimi, in rebus humanis tanto fratre pretiosius, nihil amabilius, nihil charius; sed praestant privatis publica. Ipsius quoque sententiam si quis sciscitaretur, mallet occidi pro aliis, quam sibi vivere; propterea enim pro omnibus secundum carnem Christus est mortuus, ut nos non solis nobis vivere disceremus (II Cor. V, 15).

2. Nothing among things of earth, dearest brethren, was more precious to me, nothing more worthy of love, nothing more dear than such a brother, but public matters come before private. And should any one enquire what was his feeling; he would rather be slain for others than live for himself, because Christ died according to the flesh for all, that we might learn not to live for ourselves alone.

3. Accedit illud quod ingratus divinitati esse non possum: laetandum est enim magis quod talem fratrem habuerim, quam dolendum quod fratrem amiserim; illud enim munus, hoc debitum est. Itaque perfunctus sum, quamdiu licuit, commisso mihi fenore: qui deposuit pignus, recepit. Nihil interest utrum abjures depositum, an doleas restitutum. In utroque fidei ambiguum, vitae periculum est. An si pecuniam neges, culpa est: si hostiam neges, pietas est? cum pecuniae fenerator illudi possit, naturae auctor, et necessitudinis creditor fraudari non queat. Itaque quanto uberior fenoris summa, tanto gratior sortis usura.

3. To this must be added that I cannot be ungrateful to God; for I must rather rejoice that I had such a brother than grieve that I had lost a brother, for the former is a gift, the latter a debt to be paid. And so, as long as I might, I enjoyed the loan entrusted to me, now He Who deposited the pledge has taken it back. There is no difference between denying that a pledge has been deposited and grieving at its being returned. In each there is untrustworthiness, and in each [eternal] life is risked. It is a fault if you refuse repayment, and piety if you refuse a sacrifice. Since, too, the lender

of money can be made a fool of, but the Author of nature, the Lender of all that we need, cannot be cheated. And so the larger the amount of the loan, so much the more gratitude is due for the use of the capital.

4. Unde ingrati de fratre esse non possumus; quia quod naturae communis fuit, reddidit: quod gratiae singularis est, meruit. Quis enim communem conditionem recuset? Quis doleat sibi proprium pignus ereptum cum ad solatium nostri Filium suum unicum pro nobis Pater tradiderit ad mortem (Rom. VIII, 32)? Quis exceptum se putet esse debere a conditione moriendi, qui non sit exceptus a conditione nascendi? Magnum pietatis mysterium, ut mors corporis nec in Christo esset excepta; ac licet naturae Dominus, carnis tamen quam susceperat, legem non recusaret. Et mihi necesse est mori, illi necesse non fuit. An qui de servo dicit: Si eum volo sic manere, donec venio, quid ad te (Joan. XXI, 22)? Non potuit ipse sic manere, si vellet? Sed perpetuitate vitae hujus sibi pretium, mihi sacrificium perdidisset. Quod igitur majus est solatium nostri, quam quod secundum carnem et Christus mortuus est? Aut cur ego vehementius fleam fratrem, cum sciam illam mori non potuisse pietatem?

4. Wherefore, I cannot be ungrateful concerning my brother, for he has given back that which was common to nature, and has gained what is peculiar to grace alone. For who would refuse the common lot? Who would grieve that a pledge specially entrusted to him is taken away, since the Father gave up His only Son to death for us? Who would think that he ought to be excepted from the lot of dying, who has not been excepted from the lot of being born? It is a great mystery of divine love, that not even in Christ was exception made of the death of the body; and although He was the Lord of nature, He refused not the law of the flesh which He had taken upon Him. It is necessary for me to die, for Him it was not necessary. Could not He Who said of His servant, If I will that he tarry thus until I come,

what is that to you? John 21:22 not have remained as He was, if so He willed? But by continuance of my brother's life here, he would have destroyed his reward and my sacrifice. What is a greater consolation to us than that according to the flesh Christ also died? Or why should I weep too violently for my brother, knowing as I do that that divine love could not die.

5. Cur solus prae caeteris fleam, quem fletis omnes? Privatum dolorem communi dolore digessi, praesertim cum meae lacrymae nihil prosint, vestrae autem lacrymae fidem astruant, consolationem afferant. Fletis divites, et flendo probatis nihil opitulari repositas divitias ad salutem; cum pecuniae pretio mors differri non queat, et pari usu divitem, inopemque dies supremus eripiat. Fletis senes, quod in hoc liberorum sortem pavetis; et ideo quia vitam corporis producere non potestis, instituite liberos non ad usum corporis, sed ad virtutis officium. Fletis et juvenes, quod naturae finis non sit maturitas senectutis. Fleverunt et pauperes, et quod multo est pretiosius, multoque uberius, lacrymis suis ejus delicta laverunt. Illae sunt lacrymae redemptrices, illi gemitus qui dolorem mortis abscondunt, ille dolor qui, perpetuae ubertate laetitiae, veteris sensum doloris obducat. Itaque licet privatum funus, fletus tamen est publicus; et ideo non potest fletus esse diuturnus, qui universorum est affectibus consecratus.

5. Why should I alone weep more than others for him for whom you all weep? I have merged my personal grief in the grief of all, especially because my tears are of no use, whereas yours strengthen faith and bring consolation. You who are rich weep, and by weeping prove that riches gathered together are of no avail for safety, since death cannot be put off by a money payment, and the last day carries off alike the rich and the poor. You that are old weep, because in him you fear that you see the lot of your own children; and for this reason, since you cannot prolong the life of the body, train your children not to bodily enjoyment but to virtuous duties.

And you that are young weep too, because the end of life is not the ripeness of old age. The poor too wept, and, which is of much more worth, and much more fruitful, washed away his transgressions with their tears. Those are redeeming tears, those are groanings which hide the grief of death, that grief which through the plenteousness of eternal joy covers over the feeling of former grief. And so, though the funeral be that of a private person, yet is the mourning public; and therefore cannot the weeping last long which is hallowed by the affection of all.

6. Nam quid te, mi frater amantissime, fleam, qui mihi sic ereptus es, ut esses omnium? Non enim perdidi usum tui, sed commutavi: ante corpore inseparabilis, nunc individuus affectu; manes enim mecum, at semper manebis. Et quidem cum viveres nobiscum, numquam te patria eripuit mihi, nec ipse mihi umquam patriam praetulisti: et nunc alteram praestitisti: coepi enim jam hic non esse peregrinus, ubi melior mei portio est. Numquam enim totus in me fui, sed in altero nostri pars major amborum: uterque autem eramus in Christo, in quo et summa universitatis, et portio singulorum est. Hic mihi tumulus genitali solo gratior, in quo non naturae, sed gratiae meae fructus est; in isto enim corpore, quod nunc exanimum jacet, praestantior vitae meae functio; quia in hoc quoque quod gero corpore, uberior tui portio.

6. For why should I weep for you, my most loving brother, who wast thus torn from me that you might be the brother of all? For I have not lost but changed my intercourse with you; before we were inseparable in the body, now we are undivided in affection; for you remain with me, and ever will remain. And, indeed, while you were living with me, our country never tore you from me, nor did you yourself ever prefer our country to me; and now you have become surety for that other country, for I begin to be no stranger there where the better portion of myself already is. I was never wholly

engrossed in myself, but the greater part of each of us was in the other, yet we were each of us in Christ, in Whom is the whole sum of all, and the portion of each severally. This grave is more pleasing to me than your natal soil, in which is the fruit not of nature but of grace, for in that body which now lies lifeless lies the better work of my life, since in this body, too, which I bear is the richer portion of yourself.

7. Atque utinam ut memoriae, ut gratiae; ita etiam vitae tuae hoc quidquid est, quod spiramus, spirare possemus, dimidiumque meorum decideret temporum, quod ad tuorum proficeret usum! Par enim erat, ut quibus indivisum semper fuit patrimonium facultatum, non esset vitae tempus divisum: vel certe qui indistincta semper habuimus vivendi consortia, non haberemus distincta moriendi.

7. And would that, as memory and gratitude are devoted to you, so, too, whatever time I have still to breathe this air, I could breathe it into your life, and that half of my time might be struck off from me and be added to yours! For it had been just that for those, whose use of hereditary property was always undivided, the period of life should not have been divided, or at least that we, who always without difference shared everything in common during life, should not have a difference in our deaths.

8. Nunc vero, frater, quo progrediar, quove convertar? Bos bovem requirit, seque non totum putat, et frequenti mugitu pium testatur amorem, si forte defecerit cum quo ducere collo aratra consuevit: et ego te, frater, non requiram? Aut possum umquam oblivisci tui, cum quo vitae hujus semper aratra sustinui? Labore inferior, sed amore conjunctior: non tam mea virtute habilis, quam tua patientia tolerabilis, qui pio semper sollicitus affectu latus meum tuo latere sepiebas: charitate, ut frater: cura, ut pater; sollicitudine, ut senior: reverentia, ut junior. Ita in unius necessitudinis gradu complurium mihi necessitudinum officia impendebas; ut in te non unum, sed plures

amissos requiram, in quo uno ignorata adulatio, expressa est pietas. Neque enim habebas quod simulatione adderes, qui totum pietate comprehenderes, ut nec incrementa receperis, nec vicem exspectaris.

8. But now, brother, whither shall I advance, or whither shall I turn? The ox seeks his fellow, and conceives itself incomplete, and by frequent lowing shows its tender longing, if perchance that one is wanting with whom it has been wont to draw the plough. And shall I, my brother, not long after you? Or can I ever forget you, with whom I always drew the plough of this life? In work I was inferior, but in love more closely bound; not so much fit through my strength, as endurable through your patience, who with the care of anxious affection ever protected my side with yours, as a brother in your love, as a father in your care, as older in watchfulness, as younger in respect. So in the one degree of relationship you expended on me the duties of many, so that I long after not one only but many lost in you, in whom alone flattery was unknown, dutifulness was portrayed. For you had nothing to which to add by pretence, inasmuch as all was comprised in your dutifulness, so as neither to receive addition nor await a change.

9. Sed quo immemor officii, memor gratiae, immodico dolore progredior? Revocat Apostolus, et tamquam frenos moerori inducit, dicens sicut nuper audistis: Nolumus vos ignorare, fratres, de dormientibus; ut non tristes sitis, sicut et caeteri qui spem non habent (I Thess. IV, 12). Date veniam, fratres charissimi. Neque enim omnes possumus dicere: Imitatores mei estole, sicut et ego Christi (I Cor. IV, 16); sed ad imitandum si auctorem quaeritis, habetis quem possitis imitari. Non omnes ad docendum idonei, utinam omnes ad discendum habiles!

9. But whither am I going, in my immoderate grief, forgetful of my duty, mindful of kindness received? The Apostle calls me back, and as it were puts a bit upon my sorrow, saying, as you heard just now: We would not

that you should be ignorant, brethren, concerning them that sleep, that you be not sorrowful, as the rest which have no hope. 1 Thessalonians 4:14 Pardon me, dearest brethren. For we are not all able to say: Be imitators of me, as I also am of Christ. 1 Corinthians 4:16 But if you seek one to imitate, you have One Whom you may imitate. All are not fitted to teach, would that all were apt to learn.

10. At non gravem lacrymis contraximus culpam: non omnis infidelitatis aut infirmitatis est fletus. Alius est naturae dolor, alia est tristitia diffidentiae: et plurimum refert desiderare, quod habueris; et lugere, quod amiseris. Non solus dolor lacrymas habet, habet et laetitia lacrymas suas, et pietas fletum excitat, et oratio stratum rigat, et precatio, juxta Propheticum dictum (Psal. VI, 7), lectulum lavat. Fecerunt et fletum magnum sui cum patriarchae sepelirentur. Lacrymae ergo, pietatis indices, non illices sunt doloris. Lacrymavi ergo, fateor, etiam ego, sed lacrymavit et Dominus. Ille alienum, ego fratrem (Joan. XI, 35): ille in uno lacrymavit omnes, ego in omnibus lacrymabo te, frater.

10. But we have not incurred any grievous sin by our tears. Not all weeping proceeds from unbelief or weakness. Natural grief is one thing, distrustful sadness is another, and there is a very great difference between longing for what you have lost and lamenting that you have lost it. Not only grief has tears, joy also has tears of its own. Both piety excites weeping, and prayer waters the couch, and supplication, according to the prophet’s saying, washes the bed. Their friends made a great mourning when the patriarchs were buried. Tears, then, are marks of devotion, not producers of grief. I confess, then, that I too wept, but the Lord also wept. He wept for one not related to Him, I for my brother. He wept for all in weeping for one, I will weep for you in all, my brother.

11. Ille nostro, non suo lacrymavit affectu; neque enim divinitas lacrymas habet: sed lacrymavit eo, quo tristis fuit (Matth. XXVI, 38): lacrymavit eo, quo crucifixus est, quo mortuus, quo sepultus est: lacrymavit in eo, de quo hodie nobis insinuavit propheta, dicens: Mater Sion dicet: Homo, et homo factus est in ea, et ipse fundavit eam Altissimus (Psal. LXXXVI, 5). Eo lacrymavit, quo matrem Sion dixit, genitus in Judaea, susceptus ex Virgine. Matrem autem secundum divinitatem habere non potuit, quia auctor est matris. Ille factus est non divina generatione, sed humana; quia homo factus est, Deus natus est.

11. He wept for what affected us, not Himself; for the Godhead sheds no tears; but He wept in that nature in which He was sad; He wept in that in which He was crucified, in that in which He died, in that in which He was buried. He wept in that which the prophet this day brought to our minds: Mother Sion shall say, A man, yea, a man was made in her, and the Most High Himself established her. He wept in that nature in which He called Sion Mother, born in Judæa, conceived by the Virgin. But according to His Divine Nature He could not have a mother, for He is the Creator of His mother. So far as He was made, it was not by divine but by human generation, because He was made man, God was born.

12. Sic et alibi habes: Puer natus est nobis, Filius datus est nobis (Esai. IX, 6). In puero enim nomen aetatis, in Filio plenitudo divinitatis est. Factus ex matre, natus ex Patre; idem tamen et natus est et datus: non diversum, sed unum putes. Unus enim Dei Filius, et natus ex Patre, et ortus ex Virgine, distanti ordine, sed in unum concurrente nomine, sicut et praesens lectio docet, quia et homo factus est in ea, et ipse fundavit eam Altissimus (Psal. LXXXVI, 5), homo utique corpore, altissimus potestate. Et si Deus et homo diversitate naturae; idem tamen non alter in utroque. Aliud ergo speciale

naturae suae, aliud commune nobiscum: sed in utroque unus, et utroque perfectus.

12. But you read in another place: Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given. Isaiah 9:6 In the word Child is an indication of age, in that of Son the fullness of the Godhead. Made of His mother, born of the Father yet the Same Person was both born and given, you must not think of two but of one. For one is the Son of God, both born of the Father and sprung from the Virgin, differing in order, but in name agreeing in one, as, too, the lesson just heard teaches for a man was made in her and the Most High Himself established her; man indeed in the body, the Most High in power. And though He be God and man in diversity of nature, yet is He at the same time one in each nature. One property, then, is peculiar to His own nature, another He has in common with us, but in both is He one, and in both is He perfect.

13. Non igitur mirandum est, quia et Dominum eum et Christum fecit Deus. Fecit ergo Jesum, eum utique qui ex corpore nomen accepit; fecit eum de quo etiam patriarcha scribit David: Mater Sion dicet: Homo, et homo factus est in ea. (Homo autem factus) dissimilis utique est non divinitate, sed corpore: nec discretus a Patre, sed exceptus in munere: manens in consortio potestatis, segregatus in mysterio passionis.

13. Therefore it is no subject of wonder that God made Him to be both Lord and Christ. He made Him Jesus, Him, that is, Who received the name in His bodily nature; He made Him of Whom also the patriarch David writes: Mother Sion shall say, A man, yea, a man is made in her. But being made man He is unlike the Father, not in Godhead but in His body; not separated from the Father, but differing in office, abiding united in power, but separated in the mystery of the Passion.

14. Plura loci hujus tractatus exposcit, quibus possimus ostendere auctoritatem Patris, proprietatem Filii, Trinitatis totius unitatem: sed consolandi hodie, non tractandi partes recepi; quamquam abducere a moerore animum intentione tractandi consolationis sit usus. Sed temperandus mihi magis moeror, quam alienandus affectus; ut mulceantur magis desideria, quam sopiantur. Non libet enim abire a fratre longius, et occupatione subduci; cum velut comitandi ejus gratia hic sermo susceptus sit, ut diutius sensu prosequar proficiscentem: et quem oculis teneo, mente complectar. In illo enim totam oculorum aciem figere libet, cum illo totis animorum officiis immorari, illum toto blanditiarum ambire obsequio; dum stupet animus, nec amissum credo, quem adhuc cerno praesentem: nec mortuum puto, cujus adhuc officia non requiro, quibus ego vitae meae usum et spirandi omne munus addixeram.

14. The treatment of this topic demands more arguments, by which to demonstrate the authority of the Father, the special property of the Son, and the Unity of the whole Trinity; but today I have undertaken the office of consolation, not of discussion, although it is customary in consoling to draw away the mind from its grief by application to discussion. But I would rather moderate the grief than alter the affection, that the longing may rather be assuaged than lulled to sleep. For I have no wish to turn away too far from my brother, and to be led off by other thoughts, seeing that this discourse has been undertaken, as it were, for the sake of accompanying him, that I might follow in affection him departing, and embrace in mind him whom I see with my eyes. For it gives me pleasure to fix the whole gaze of my eyes on him, to encompass him with kindly endearments; while my mind is stupefied, and I feel as though he were not lost whom I am able still to see present; and I think him not dead, my services to whom I do not as yet perceive to be wanting, services to which I had devoted the whole of my life and the drawing of every breath.

15. Quid enim referam tantae gratiae, tanto labori? Ego te, frater, haeredem feceram, tu me haeredem reliquisti: ego te superstitem optabam, tu me superstitem dimisisti. Ego pro muneribus tuis, ut compensarem beneficia, vota referebam: nunc et vota perdidi, sed tamen tua beneficia non amisi. Quid agam, mei successor haeredis? quid agam, meae vitae superstes? quid agam exsors hujus, quod capio luminis? quas grates, quae munera referam tibi? Nihil a me praeter lacrymas habes. Aut fortasse securus meriti tui, quas solas superstites habeo lacrymas, non requiris. Nam etiam cum adhuc viveres, flere prohibebas: moeroremque magis nostrum, quam tuam mortem tibi esse testabaris dolori. Prohibent ulterius prodire lacrymae, fletusque revocant. Prohibet etiam tui gratia; ne dum nostra deflemus, de tuis meritis desperare videamur.

15. What, then, can I pay back in return for such kindness and such pains? I had made you, my brother, my heir; you have left me as the heir; I hoped to leave you as survivor, and you have left me. I, in return for your kindnesses, that I might repay your benefits, gave wishes; now I have lost my wishes yet not your benefits. What shall I, succeeding to my own heir, do? What shall I do who outlive my own life? What shall I do, no longer sharing this light which yet shines on me? What thanks, what good offices, can I repay to you? You have nothing from me but tears. And perchance, secure of your reward, you desire not those tears which are all that I have left. For even when you were yet alive, you forbade me to weep, and showed that our grief was more pain to you than your own death. Tears are bidden to flow no longer, and weeping is repressed. And gratitude to you forbids them too, lest while we weep for our loss we seem to despair concerning your merits.

16. At certe nobis tu etiam moeroris istius minuis acerbitatem: non habeo quod timeam, qui timebam tibi; non habeo quod mihi jam mundus eripiat. Etsi sancta supersit soror, integritate venerabilis, aequalis moribus, non

impar officiis; tibi tamen ambo plus timebamus, in te vitae hujus jucunditatem repositam putabamus. Propter te vivere delectabat, propter te mori non pigebat; te enim ambo superstitem precabamur, tibi nos supervivere non juvabat. Quando non cohorruit animus, cum metus hujusmodi titillaret? Quomodo consternata mens erat aegritudinis tuae nuntio!

16. But for myself at least you lessen the bitterness of that grief; I have nothing to fear who used to fear for you. I have nothing which the world can now snatch from me. Although our holy sister still survives, venerable for her blameless life, your equal in character, and not falling short in kindly offices; yet we both used to fear more for you, we felt that all the sweetness of this life was stored up in you. To live for your sake was a delight, to die for you were no cause of sorrow, for we both used to pray that you might survive, it was no pleasure that we should survive you. When did not our very soul shudder when a dread of this kind touched us? How were our minds dismayed by the tidings of your sickness!

17. Vae miserae opinioni! Putabamus redditum, quem videmus dilatum; tuis enim votis apud sanctum martyrem Laurentium impetratum esse nunc cognoscimus commeatum. Atque utinam non solum commeatum, sed etiam prolixum vitae tempus rogasses! Potuisti annos plurimos impetrare vivendi, qui potuisti commeatum impetrare veniendi. Et quidem tibi, omnipotens aeterne Deus, gratias ago, quod vel haec nobis suprema solatia non negasti, quod amantissimi fratris ex Siculis Africanisve regionibus exoptatum nobis reditum contulisti; ita enim mature, postquam venit, ereptus est; quasi propter hoc solum videretur esse dilatus, ut ad fratres rediret.

17. Alas for our wretched hopes! We thought that he was restored to us whom we see carried off, and we now recognize that your departure hence was obtained by your vows to the holy martyr Lawrence! And indeed I

would that you had obtained not only a safe passage hence, but also a longer time of life! You could have obtained many years of life, since you were able to obtain your departure hence. And I indeed thank You, Almighty Everlasting God, that You have not denied us at least this last comfort, that You have granted us the longed-for return of our much loved brother from the regions of Sicily and Africa; for he was snatched away so soon after his return as though his death were delayed for this alone, that he might return to his brethren.

18. Habeo plane pignus meum, quod nulla mihi peregrinatio jam possit avellere: habeo quas complectar, reliquias: habeo tumulum, quem corpore tegam; habeo sepulcrum, super quod jaceam; et commendabiliorem Deo futurum esse me credam, quod supra sancti corporis ossa requiescam. Utinam sic potuissem adversus mortem quoque tuam meum corpus objicere! Si gladiis petitus esses, me pro te potius suffigendum dedissem: si exeuntem potuissem revocare animam, meam potius obtulissem.

18. Now, I clearly have my pledge which no change can any more tear from me; I have the relics which I may embrace, I have the tomb which I may cover with my body, I have the grave on which I may lie, and I shall believe that I am more acceptable to God, because I shall rest upon the bones of that holy body. Would that I had been able in like manner to place my body in the way of your death! Had you been attacked with the sword, I would have rather offered myself to be pierced for you; had I been able to recall your life as it was passing away, I would have rather offered my own.

19. Nihil mihi profuit ultimos hausisse anhelitus, nihil flatus in os inspirasse morienti; putabam enim quod aut tuam mortem ipse susciperem, aut meam vitam in te ipse transfunderem. O infelicia illa, sed tamen dulcia suprema osculorum pignora! O amplexus miseri, inter quos exanimum corpus obriguit, halitus supremus evanuit! Stringebam quidem brachia, sed jam

perdideram, quem tenebam; et extremum spiritum ore relegebam, ut consortium mortis haurirem. Sed nescio quomodo vitalis ille mihi halitus factus est, et majorem gratiam in ipsa morte redolebat. Atque utinam si tuam nequivi meo spiritu vitam producere, vel ultimi anhelitus tui vigor transfundi potuisset in meam mentem, et illam tui animi puritatem atque innocentiam noster spirasset affectus! Hanc mihi haereditatem, frater charissime, reliquisses, quae non lacrymabili dolore percuteret affectum, sed memorabili gratia commendaret haeredem.

19. It profited me nothing to receive your last breath, nor to have breathed into the mouth of you dying, for I thought that either I myself should receive your death, or should transfer my life to you. O that sad, yet sweet pledge of the last kiss! O the misery of that embrace, in which the lifeless body began to stiffen, the last breath vanished! I tightened my arms indeed, but had already lost him whom I was holding; I drew in your last breath with my mouth, that I might share your death. But in some way that breath became lifegiving to me, and even in death diffused an odour of greater love. And if I was unable to lengthen your life by my breath, would that at least the strength of your last breath might have been transfused into my mind, and that our affection might have inspired me with that purity and innocence of yours. You would have left me, dearest brother, this inheritance, which would not smite the affections with tears of grief, but commend your heir by notable grace.

20. Quid igitur nunc agam, cum omnes vitae istius suavitates, cuncta solatia, cuncta denique ornamenta amiserim? Tu enim mihi unus eras domi solatio, foris decori: tu, inquam, in consiliis arbiter, curae particeps, deprecator sollicitudinis, depulsor moeroris: tu meorum assertor actuum, cogitationumque defensor: tu postremo unus, in quo domestica sollicitudo resideret, publica cura requiesceret. Testor sanctam animam tuam, me in

fabricis Ecclesiae id saepe veritum esse, ne displicerem tibi. Denique ubi rediisti, objurgasti moram: ita domi forisque eruditor quidam et arbiter sacerdotis, ut domestica cogitare non sineres, publica curare censeres. At non verear, ne videar arroganter dicere; haec enim laudis tuae portio est, quia sine offensione ulla et gubernasti fratris domum, et commendasti sacerdotium.

20. What, then, shall I now do, since all the sweetness, all the solace, in fine, all the charms of that life are lost to me? For you were alone my solace at home, my charm abroad; you, I say, my adviser in counsel, the sharer in my cares, the averter of anxiety, the driver away of sorrow; you were the protector of my acts and the defender of my thoughts; you, lastly, the only one on whom rested care of home and of public matters. I call your holy soul to witness that, in the building of the church, I often feared lest I might displease you. Lastly, when you came back you chided your delay. So were you, at home and abroad, the instructor and teacher of the priest, that you did not allow him to think of domestic matters, and took thought to care for public matters. But I may not fear to seem to speak boastingly, for this is your meed of praise, that you, without displeasing any, both managed your brother’s house and recommend his priesthood.

21. Sentio equidem quod repetendis officiis tuis, recensendisque virtutibus, afficiatur animus: sed tamen in ipsa mei affectione requiesco, atque hae mihi recordationes etsi dolorem renovant, tamen afferunt voluptatem. An ego possum aut non cogitare de te, aut umquam sine lacrymis cogitare? Et potero umquam aut tanti non meminisse fratris, aut sine lacrymabili quadam meminisse gratia? Quid enim mihi umquam jucundum, quod non esset ex te profectum? Quid, inquam, mihi sine te, aut tibi umquam sine me voluptati fuit? Quis non usus nobis, et prope visus ipse, somnusque communis? Quae

discreta umquam voluntas? Quod non commune vestigium? fere ut cum gradum tollerem, vel tu meum, vel ego tuum corpus videremur attollere.

21. I feel, indeed, that my mind is touched by the repetition of your services and the enumeration of your virtues, and yet in being thus affected I find my rest, and although these memories renew my grief, they nevertheless bring pleasure. Am I able either not to think of you, or ever to think of you without tears? And shall I ever be able either not to remember such a brother, or to remember him without tearful gratitude? For what has ever been pleasant to me that has not had its source in you? What, I say, has ever been a pleasure to me without you, or to you without me? Had we not every practice in common, almost to our very eyesight and our sleep? Were our wills ever at variance? And what step did we not take in common? So that we almost seemed in raising our feet to move each other's body.

22. Quod si quando sine altero prodeundum fuit, intectum latus putares, affectum vultum cerneres, moestum animum judicares: non assueta gratia, non vigor solitus praenitebat: suspecta omnibus solitudo metum alicujus aegritudinis afferebat. Ita novum videbatur omnibus nos dividi! Ego certe fraternae impatiens et non oblitus absentiae, quasi praesentem reflexa saepius cervice quaerebam, et coram alloqui atque aspicere videbar mihi: sed tamquam suspenso collo jugum, ubi speratis excideram, trahere me putabam, difficilis progredi, verecundus videri, et redire properans, quod sine te procedere non liberet.

22. But if ever either had to go forth without the other, one would think that his side was unprotected, one could see his countenance troubled, one would suppose that his soul was sad, the accustomed grace, the usual vigour did not shine forth, the loneliness was a subject of dread to all, and made them fearful of some sickness. Such a strange thing it seemed to all that we were separated. I certainly, impatient at my brother's absence, and having it

constantly in mind, kept on turning my head seeking him, as it were, present, and seemed to myself then to see him and speak to him. But if I was disappointed in my hope, I seemed to myself, as it were, to be dragging a yoke on my bowed down neck, to advance with difficulty, to meet others with diffidence, and to return home hurriedly, since it gave me no pleasure to go farther without you.

23. At vero ubi ambobus prodeundum fuit, non plura in itinere vestigia, quam verba; nec incessus, quam sermo crebrior: nec ambulandi cura, sed colloquendi gratia; uterque enim nostrum ex alterius ore pendebat. Non intento aspectu legere iter, sed mutuo sollicitos experiri sermones, haurire oculorum gratiam, spirare fraternae imaginis voluptates. Quam virtutes tuas tacitus mecum ipse mirabar! quam plaudebam mihi, quod tali me Dominus fratre donaverat, tam pudico, tam efficaci, tam innocenti, tam simplici; ut cum tuam innocentiam cogitarem, efficaciam desperarem: cum efficaciam cernerem, innocentiam non putarem! Sed utrumque mira quadam virtute jungebas.

23. But when we both had to go forth, there were not more steps on the way than words, nor was our pace quicker than our talk, and it was less for the sake of walking than for the pleasure of conversing, for each of us hung on the lips of the other. We thought not of gazing intently on the view as we passed along, but listened to each other’s anxious talk, drank in the kindly expression of the eyes, and inhaled the delight of the brother’s appearance. How I used silently to admire within myself your virtues, how I congratulated myself that God had given me such a brother, so modest, so capable, so innocent, so simple, so that when I thought of your innocence I began to doubt your capability, when I saw your capability I could hardly imagine your innocence! But you combined both with wonderful perfection.

24. Denique ea quae ambo nequiveramus concludere, solus implesti. Plaudebat sibi, ut audio, Prosper, quod sacerdotii mei occasione redditurum se, quae abstulerat, non putabat: sed vehementiorem tuam unius efficaciam expertus est, quam duorum. Itaque solvit omnia, nec moderationi ingratus tuae, nec illudens pudori: sed et modestiae gratus, nec insolens efficaciae. Sed cui, frater, illa quaesisti? Nos enim idem volebamus laborum tuorum esse praemium, quod documentum erat. Peregisti omnia, et ubi perfunctus omnibus revertisti, tu solus nobis, qui omnibus es praeferendus, eriperis; quasi ideo mortem distuleris, ut consummares pietatis officium, palmam efficaciae reportares.

24. Lastly, what we both had been unable to effect, you accomplished alone. Prosper, as I hear, congratulated himself because he thought that on account of my priesthood he need not restore what he had purloined, but he found your power alone to be greater than that of us both together. And so he paid all, and was not ungrateful for your moderation, and did not scoff at your modesty. But for whom, brother, did you seek to gain that? We wished that should be the reward of your labours which was the proof of them. You accomplished everything, and when having done all you returned, you alone, who art to be preferred to all, art torn from us; as if you had put off death for this end, that you might fulfil the office of affection, and then carry off the palm for capability.

25. Quam nec ipsi nos, frater charissime, saeculi hujus delectabant honores, quod nos a nobis invicem dividebant! Quos ideo adepti sumus, non quia fuit eorum expetenda perceptio, sed ne vilis dissimulatio videretur. Aut fortasse ideo sunt tributi, ut quia immaturo tui obitu nostrae futurus eras voluptatis occasus, sine nobis jam vivere disceremus.

25. How little, dearest brother, did the honours of this world delight us, because they separated us from one another! And we accepted them, not

because the acquisition of them was to be desired, but that there might be no appearance of paltry dissimulation. Or perhaps they were therefore granted to us, that, inasmuch as by your early death you were about to shatter our pleasure, we might learn to live without each other.

26. Et quidem praesagae mentis agnosco formidinem, dum repeto saepe, quae scripserim. Revocabam te, frater, ne ipse Africam peteres, ac potius aliquem destinares. Timebam te committere viae, fluctibus credere, et solito metus major incesserat animum: sed et peregrinationem explicuisti, et rem ordinasti, et veteri et sentinoso, ut audio, navigio iterum te fluctibus credidisti. Namque cum celeritatem aucuparis, cautelam praetermisisti, avidus nostrae gratiae, dissimulans periculi tui.

26. And indeed I recognize the foreboding dread of my mind, when I often go again through what I have written. I endeavoured to restrain you, brother, from visiting Africa yourself, and wished you rather to send some one. I was afraid to let you go that journey, to trust you to the waves, and a greater fear than usual came over my mind; but you arranged the journey, and order the business, and, as I hear, entrusted yourself again to the waves in an old and leaky vessel. For since you were aiming at speed, you set caution aside; eager to do me a kindness, you made nothing of your danger.

27. O fallax laetitia! o incerta humanarum rerum curricula! Ex Africa redditum, ex mari restitutum, ex naufragio servatum, putabamus jam nobis non posse eripi: sed graviora naufragia in terris positi sustinemus; nam quem non potuerunt naufragia maris ad mortem deducere, strenuis natatibus evitata, ejus mors coepit nobis esse naufragio. Quid enim superest suavitatis, quibus tam praedulce decus, tam clarum in his mundi tenebris lumen exstinctum est: in quo non nostrae solum familiae, sed totius patriae decus occidit?

27. O deceitful joy! O the uncertain course of earthly affairs! We thought that he who was returned from Africa, restored from the sea, preserved after shipwreck, could not now be snatched from us; but, though on land, we suffered a more grievous shipwreck, for the death of him whom shipwreck at sea owing to strong swimming could not kill is shipwreck to us. For what enjoyment remains to us, from whom so sweet an ornament has been taken, so bright a light in this world's darkness has been extinguished? For in him an ornament not only of our family but of the whole fatherland has perished.

28. Habeo sane vobis, fratres dilectissimi, plebs sancta, maximam gratiam, quod non alium dolorem meum, quam vestrum putatis; quod vobis accidisse hanc nostri creditis solitudinem, quod fletum totius civitatis, aetatum omnium, ordinum omnium vota, nova quadam pietate defertis. Non enim misericordiae privatae dolor, sed quoddam publicae officium et munus est gratiae: aut si qua vos mei tangit misericordia, quod talem fratrem amiserim, habeo fructum uberem, habeo vestri pignus affectus. Mallem fratrem viventem; sed tamen publicum officium in secundis rebus jucundius est, in adversis gratius.

28. I feel, indeed, the deepest gratitude to you, dearest brethren, holy people, that you esteem my grief as no other than your own, that you feel this bereavement as having happened to yourselves, that you offer me the tears of the whole city, of every age, and the good wishes of every rank, with unusual affection. For this is not the grief of private sympathy, but as it were a service and offering of public good-will. And should any sympathy with me because of the loss of such a brother touch you, I have abundant fruit from it, I have the pledge of your affection. I might prefer that my brother were living, but yet public kindness is in prosperity very pleasant, and in adversity very grateful.

29. Neque vero mihi mediocre meritum tanti videtur officii. Neque enim otiose vel in Actibus apostolorum (Act. IX, 39), Thabita mortua, flentes viduae describuntur, vel in Evangelio (Luc. VII, 12) mota lacrymis viduae prosequens turba funus adolescentis inducitur, cui resurrectio debebatur; illam tamen Thabitam viduae, hunc tota civitas flevit. Non ergo dubium est vestris lacrymis apostolorum patrocinium comparari: non, inquam, dubium est Christum misericordia motum, cum vos flentes videret. Etsi nunc non tetigit loculum, suscepit tamen commendatum spiritum: et si non appellavit corporis voce defunctum; divinae tamen potestatis auctoritate a cruciatibus mortis, et a nequitiae spiritalis incursionibus ejus animam liberavit: et si non resedit in loculo, qui erat mortuus; tamen requievit in Christo: et si non locutus est nobis; tamen ea quae supra nos sunt, cernit: et quae potiora sunt nobis, jam se videre laetatur. Per ea enim quae in Evangelio legimus, quae futura sunt intelligimus: et praesentium species indicium est futurorum.

29. And, indeed, so great kindness seems to me to merit no ordinary gratitude. For not without a purpose are the widows in the Acts of the Apostles described as weeping when Tabitha was dead, Acts 9:39 or the crowd in the Gospel, moved by the widow’s tears and accompanying the funeral of the young man who was to be raised again. Luke 7:12 There is, then, no doubt that by your tears the protection of the apostles is obtained; no doubt, I say, that Christ is moved to mercy, seeing you weeping. Though He has not now touched the bier, yet He has received the spirit commended to Him, and if He have not called the dead by the bodily voice, yet He has by the authority of His divine power delivered my brother’s soul from the pains of death and from the attacks of wicked spirits. And though he that was dead has not sat up on the bier, yet he has found rest in Christ; and if he have not spoken to us, yet he sees those things which are above us, and rejoices in that he now sees higher things than we. For by the things which

we read in the Gospels we understand what shall be, and what we see at present is a sign of what is to be.

30. Non opus fuit ei resurrectio temporalis, cui aeterna debetur. Quid enim in hanc miseram et aerumnosissimam recideret labem, atque in hanc flebilem vitam rediret, quem raptum magis esse ex tam imminentibus malis urgentibusque periculis gaudere debemus? Nam si pacato saeculo, bellisque cessantibus, raptum Enoch (Gen. V, 24) nemo deflevit, sed magis propheta laudavit, sicut de illo Scriptura dixit: Raptus est, ne malitia mutaret cor ejus (Sap. IV, 11); quanto magis nunc jure dicendum est, cum ad saeculi lubricum, vitae accedat ambiguum! Raptus est, ne in manus incideret Barbarorum: raptus est, ne totius orbis excidia, mundi finem, propinquorum funera, civium mortes, ne postremo sanctarum virginum atque viduarum, quod omni morte acerbius est, colluvionem videret.

30. He had no need of being raised again for time, for whom the raising again for eternity is waiting. For why should he fall back into this wretched and miserable state of corruption, and return to this mournful life, for whose rescue from such imminent evils and threatening dangers we ought rather to rejoice? For if no one mourns for Enoch, who was translated Genesis 5:24 when the world was at peace and wars were not raging, but the people rather congratulated him, as Scripture says concerning him: He was taken away, lest that wickedness should alter his understanding, Wisdom 4:11 with how much greater justice must this now be said, when to the dangers of the world is added the uncertainty of life. He was taken away that he might not fall into the hands of the barbarians; he was taken away that he might not see the ruin of the whole earth, the end of the world, the burial of his relatives, the death of fellow citizens; lest, lastly, which is more bitter than any death, he should see the pollution of the holy virgins and widows.

31. Ego vero te, frater, cum vitae tuae flore, tum mortis commoditate beatum arbitror. Non enim nobis ereptus es, sed periculis: non vitam amisisti, sed ingruentium acerbitatum formidine caruisti. Nam qua eras sanctae mentis misericordia in tuos, si nunc urgeri Italiam tam propinquo hoste cognosceres, quantum ingemisceres, quam doleres in Alpium vallo summam nostrae salutis consistere, lignorumque concaedibus construi murum pudoris! Qua afflictione moereres tam tenui discrimine tuos ab hoste distineri, ab hoste impuro atque crudeli, qui nec pudicitiae parceret, nec saluti!

31. So then, brother, I esteem you happy both in the beauty of your life and in the opportuneness of your death. For you were snatched away not from us but from dangers; thou did not lose life but escaped the fear of threatening troubles. For with the pity of your holy mind for those near to you, if you knew that Italy was now oppressed by the nearness of the enemy, how would you groan, how would you grieve that our safety wholly depended on the barrier of the Alps, and that the protection of purity consisted in barricades of trees! With what sorrow would you mourn that your friends were separated from the enemy by so slight a division, from an enemy, too, both impure and cruel, who spares neither chastity nor life.

32. Quonam, inquam, haec modo ferres, quae nos perpeti, et fortasse (quod gravius est) spectare cogemur, rapi virgines, et avulsos a complexu parentum parvulos liberos supra tela jactari, incestari sacrata Deo corpora, et senilem viduae maturioris uterum in usus desuetos oncrum redire, non pignorum? Quonam, inquam, modo ista tolerares, qui etiam ultimo spiritu tui jam fortassis oblitus, et adhuc nostri non immemor, de cavenda incursione Barbarorum nos saepius admonebas, commemorans non frustra te dixisse fugiendum. Fortasse ideo quod nos destitui tua morte cernebas: quod non infirmitate animi, sed pietate faciebas; et si infirmus pro nobis,

tamen firmus tibi. Qui cum a viro nobili revocareris Symmacho tuo parente, quod ardere bello Italia diceretur, quod in periculum tenderes, quod in hostem incurreres; respondisti hanc ipsam tibi causam esse veniendi, ne nostro deesses periculo, ut consortem te fraterni discriminis exhiberes.

32. How, I say, could thou bear these things which we are compelled to endure, and perchance (which is more grievous) to behold virgins ravished, little children torn from the embrace of their parents and tossed on javelins, the bodies consecrated to God defiled, and even aged widows polluted? How, I say, could thou endure these things, who even with your last breath, forgetful of yourself, yet not without thought for us, warned us concerning the invasion of the barbarians, saying that not in vain had you said that we ought to flee. Perchance was it because you saw that we were left destitute by your death, and you did it, not out of weakness of spirit, but from affection, and wast weak with respect to us, but strong with respect to yourself. For when you were summoned home by the noble man Symmachus your parent, because Italy was said to be blazing with war, because you were going into danger, because you were likely to fall among enemies, you answered that this was the cause of your coming, that you might not fail us in danger, that you might show yourself a sharer in your brother’s peril.

33. Felix igitur tam opportuno obitu, quia non est in hunc servatus dolorem. Certe felicior quam sancta soror, quae tuo solatio destituta, de suo pudore sollicita, duobus nuper beata germanis, nunc ex duobus fratribus aerumnosa, neque alterum sequi potest, neque alterum derelinquere: cui tumulus hospitium tuus, et corporis tui sepulcrum est domus. Atque utinam vel hoc tutum diversorium! Cibus in fletibus, potus in lacrymis; cibum etenim dedisti nobis panem lacrymarum, et potum dedisti nobis in lacrymis in mensura, aut fortasse ultra mensuram (Psal. LXXIX, 6).

33. Happy, then, was he in so opportune a death, because he has not been preserved for this sorrow. Certainly you are happier than your holy sister, deprived of your comfort, anxious for her own modesty, lately blessed with two brothers, now wretched because of both, being able neither to follow the one nor to leave the other; for whom your tomb is a lodging, and the burying-place of your body a home. And would that even this resting-place were safe! Our food is mingled with weeping and our drink with tears, for you have given us the bread of tears as food, and tears to drink in large measure, nay, even beyond measure.

34. Nam quid de me loquar, cui neque mori licet, ne sororem relinquam: neque vivere libet, ne a te avellar? Quid enim mihi sine te potest esse jucundum, in quo omnis semper fuit nostra jucunditas? aut quid diutius in hac vita degere juvat, atque in terris morari, in quibus tamdiu jucunde viximus, quamdiu simul viximus! Etsi esset quod hic delectare nos posset, sine te delectare non posset: et si quando voluissemus impense vitam producere, jam tamen sine te esse nollemus.

34. What now shall I say of myself, who may not die lest I leave my sister, and desire not to live lest I be separated from you? For what can ever be pleasant to me without you, in whom was always my whole pleasure? Or what satisfaction is it to remain longer in this life, and to linger on the earth where we lived with pleasure so long as we lived together? If there were anything which could delight us here, it could not delight without you; and if ever we had earnestly desired to prolong our life, now at any rate we would not exist without you.

35. Haec intolerabilia. Quid enim tolerabile sine te tanto vitae comite, tanto laborum meorum officiorumque consorte? Cujus ego casum quo esset tolerabilior, nec praemeditari potui; ita pavebat animus de illo tale aliquid cogitare! non quo conditionem ignorarem, sed quidam votorum usus

sensum communis fragilitatis obduxerat; ut de illo nisi secunda omnia cogitare nescirem.

35. This is indeed unendurable. For what can be endured without you, such a companion of my life, such a sharer of my toil and partaker of my duties? And I could not even make his loss more endurable by dwelling on it beforehand, so much did my mind fear to think of any such thing concerning him! Not that I was ignorant of his condition, but a certain kind of prayers and vows had so clouded the sense of common frailty, that I knew not how to think anything concerning him except entire prosperity.

36. Denique proxime cum gravi (quodam atque utinam supremo!) urgerer occasu; hoc solum dolebam, quod non ipse assideres lectulo, ac votivum mihi cum sancta sorore partitus officium, morientis oculos digitis tuis clauderes. Quid optaveram! Quid rependo! Quae vota deficiunt! Quae ministeria succedunt! Aliud praeparabam, aliud exhibere compellor; non jam ipse ministerium funeris, sed minister. O dura oculorum lumina, quae potuistis fratrem videre morientem! O immites et asperae manus, quae clausistis oculos, in quibus plus videbam! O durior cervix, quae tam lugubre onus, consolabili licet obsequio, gestare potuisti!

36. And then lately, when I was oppressed by a severe attack (would that it had been fatal), I grieved only that you were not sitting by my couch, and sharing the kindly duty with my holy sister might with your fingers close my eyes when dead. What had I wished? What am I now pondering? What vows are wanting? What services are to succeed? I was preparing one thing, I am compelled to set forth another; not being the subject of the funeral rites but the minister. O hard eyes, which could behold my brother dying! O cruel and unkind hands, which closed those eyes in which I used to see so much! O still harder neck, which could bear so sad a burden, though it were in a service full of consolation.

37. Haec tu, frater, mihi justius exhiberes. Haec ego a te exspectabam, haec ego officia desiderabam. Nunc vero ipsae meae vitae superstes, quod sine te solatium capiam, qui solus moerentem solari solebas, excitare laetitiam, moestitudinem propulsare? Qualem te nunc ego, frater, aspicio, jam nulla mihi verba referentem, jam nulla offerentem oscula! Quamquam ita mutuus semper utrique nostrum insederit amor, ut interiore potius foveretur affectu, quam forensi blanditia divulgaretur; neque enim aliorum quaerebamus testimonium, qui tantam nostri gratiam tenebamus. Ita virilis se utrique nostrum germanitatis succus infuderat, ut non blanditiis probare amorem, sed conscia mente pietatis interno amore contenti, fucum blanditiarum non requirere videremur, quos et ipsa in amorem mutuum imago formaret; nescio enim qua expressione mentis, qua corporis similitudine alter in altero videbamur.

37. You, my brother, had more justly done these things for me. I used to expect these services at your hands, I used to long for them. But now, having survived my own life, what comfort can I find without you, who alone used to comfort me when mourning, to excite my happiness and drive away my sorrow? How do I now behold you, my brother, who now addresses no words to me and offers me no kiss? Though, indeed, our mutual love was so deeply seated in each of us, that it was cherished rather by inward affection than made public by open caresses, for we who professed such mutual trust and love did not seek the testimony of others. The strong spirit of our brotherhood had so infused itself into each of us, that there was no need to prove our love by caresses; but our minds being conscious of our affection, we, satisfied with our inward love, did not seem to require the show of caresses, whom the very appearance of each other fashioned for mutual love; for we seemed, I know not by what spiritual stamp or bodily likeness, to be the one in the other.

38. Quis te aspexit, qui non me visum putaret? Quoties aliquos salutavi, qui quoniam te prius consalutaverant, se a me jam dicerent salutatos! Quanti tibi dixerunt aliquid, qui se mihi dixisse memorarent! Quae mihi hinc gaudia, quanta frequenter oborta laetitia, quod eos errare in nobis cernerem! Quam gratus error, quam jucunda prolapsio, quam religiosa fallacia, quam suavis calumnia! Neque enim de tuis erat aliquid aut factis aut sermonibus, quod timerem, qui mihi tua laetabar ascribi.

38. Who saw you, and did not think that he had seen me? How often have I saluted those who, because they had previously saluted you, said that they had been already saluted by me? How many said something to you, and related that they had said it to me? What pleasure, what amusement often was given me by this, because I saw that they were mistaken in us? What an agreeable mistake, what a pleasant slip, how innocent a deceit, how sweet a trick! For there was nothing for me to fear in your words or acts, and I rejoiced when they were ascribed to me.

39. Tamen si vehementius contenderent, quod se mihi aliquid intimasse memorarent, respondebam ridens et gaudens: Videte ne fratri dixeritis. Nam cum omnia nobis essent nostra communia, individuus spiritus, individuus affectus; solum tamen commune non erat secretum amicorum: non quo conferendi periculum vereremur, sed tenendi servaremus fidem. Sane si consilio pendenda res esset, erat semper commune consilium, nec semper commune secretum. Nam etsi amici ita alteri nostrum dicerent, ut dicta sua ad alterum pervenirent; tamen scio plerumque ita fidem secreti esse servatam, ut nec fratri committeretur. Erat enim fidele indicium, et extraneo non esse proditum, quod non esset cum fratre collatum.

39. But if they insisted all too vehemently that they had given me some information, I used to smile and answer with delight: Take care that it was not my brother whom you told. For since we had everything in common,

one spirit and one disposition, yet the secrets of friends alone were not common property, not that we were afraid of danger in the communication, but that we might keep faith by withholding it. Yet if we had a matter to be consulted about, our counsel was always in common, though the secret was not always made common. For although our friends spoke to either of us, so that what they said might reach the other; yet I know that secrets were for the most part kept with such good faith that they were not imparted even to the other brother. For this is a convincing proof that was not betrayed without which had not been imparted to the brother.

40. His igitur tantis ac talibus bonis in excessum quemdam, fateor, mentis elatus, superstitem me timere desieram, quod illum vita crederem digniorem: et ideo excepi plagam, quam ferre non possum; tolerabiliora enim tanti doloris praemeditata, quam inexplorata vulnera. Quis jam moestum solabitur? Quis afflictum levabit? Cum quo participabo curas? Quis me ab istius mundi vindicabit usura? Tu enim auctor negotiorum, censor servulorum, arbiter fratrum; non litis, sed pietatis arbiter.

40. I confess, then, that being raised by these so great and excellent benefits to a kind of mental ecstasy, I had ceased to fear that I might be the survivor, because I thought him more worthy to live, and therefore received the blow which I am unable to endure, for the wounds of such pain are more easily borne when dwelt upon beforehand than when unexpected. Who will now console me full of sorrows? Who will raise up him that is smitten down? With whom shall I share my cares? Who will set me free from the business of this world? For you were the manager of our affairs, the censor of the servants, the decider between brother and sister, the decider not in matters of strife but of affection.

41. Nam si quando aliquid cum sancta sorore mihi conferendum fuit, utra melior videretur sententia, te judicem sumebamus, qui nullius laederes os,

atque utrique satisfacere gestiens, et amandi affectum tenebas, et censendi modum; ut et utrumque gratum dimitteres, et utriusque tibi gratiam vindicares. Aut si ipse aliquid disceptandum deferres, quam grata contentio tua! quam sine felle ipsa indignatio! quam servulis ipsis coercitio non amara; cum te fratribus magis deferre, quam ex affectu disceres vindicare! Nobis enim professio repressit studia coercendi; immo tu, frater, ab omni nos abducebas coercitionis affectu, vindicare pollicens, et lenire desiderans.

41. For if at any time there was a discussion between me and my holy sister on any matter, as to which was the preferable opinion, we used to take you as judge, who would hurt no one, and anxious to satisfy each, kept to your loving affection and the right measure in deciding, so as to let each depart satisfied, and gain for yourself the thanks of each. Or if you yourself brought anything for discussion, how pleasantly did you argue! And your very indignation, how free from bitterness it was! How was your discipline not unpleasant to the servants themselves! since you strove rather to blame yourself before your brethren than to punish through excitement! For our profession restrained in us the zeal for correction, and, indeed, you, my brother, removed from us every inclination to correct, when you promised to punish and desire to alleviate.

42. Non mediocris igitur prudentiae testimonium, quae ita a sapientibus definitur: Bonorum primum esse Deum scire, et verum illud atque divinum pia mente venerari, illam amabilem et concupiscendam aeternae pulchritudinem veritatis tota mentis charitate diligere. Secundum autem, in proximos a divino illo fonte atque coelesti naturae derivare pietatem: quod etiam mundi sapientes nostris hausere de legibus. Neque enim derivare ista in hominum disciplinas, nisi de coelesti illo divinae legis fonte potuissent.

42. That is, then, evidence of no ordinary prudence, which virtue is thus defined by the wise. The first of good things is to know God, and with a

pious mind to reverence Him as true and divine, and to delight in that loveable and desirable beauty of the eternal Truth with the whole affection of the mind. And the second consists in deriving from that divine and heavenly source of nature, love towards our neighbours, since even the wise of this world have borrowed from our laws. For they never could have obtained those points for the discipline of men, except from that heavenly fount of the divine law.

43. Quid igitur observantiam ejus erga Dei cultum praedicem? Qui priusquam perfectioribus esset initiatus mysteriis, in naufragio constitutus, cum ea qua veheretur, navis scopuloso illisa vado, et urgentibus hinc atque inde fluctibus solveretur, non mortem metuens, sed ne vacuus mysterii exiret e vita; quos initiatos esse cognoverat, ab his divinum illud fidelium sacramentum poposcit: non ut curiosos oculos inferret arcanis, sed ut fidei suae consequeretur auxilium. Etenim ligari fecit in orario, et orarium involvit collo, atque ita se dejecit in mare, non requirens de navis compage resolutam tabulam, cui supernatans juvaretur, quoniam fidei solius arma quaesierat. Itaque his se tectum atque munitum satis credens, alia auxilia non desideravit.

43. What, then, shall I say of his reverence in regard to the worship of God? He, before being initiated in the more perfect mysteries, being in danger of shipwreck when the ship that bore him, dashed upon rocky shallows, was being broken up by the waves tossing it hither and there, fearing not death but lest he should depart this life without the Mystery, asked of those whom he knew to be initiated the divine Sacrament of the faithful; not that he might gaze on secret things with curious eyes, but to obtain aid for his faith. For he caused it to be bound in a napkin, and the napkin round his neck, and so cast himself into the sea, not seeking a plank loosened from the framework of the ship, by floating on which he might be rescued, for he

sought the means of faith alone. And so believing that he was sufficiently protected and defended by this, he sought no other aid.

44. Simul fortitudinem ejus spectare licet, qui fatiscente remigio, non quasi naufragus tabulam sumpserit, sed quasi fortis ex se ipso adminiculum suae virtutis assumpserit: nec deseruit spes, nec fefellit opinio. Denique primus servatus ex undis, et in portum terrenae stationis evectus, praesulem suum, cui se crediderat, recognovit: statimque ubi etiam caeteros servulos suos vel ipse liberavit, vel liberatos comperit, negligens facultatum, nec amissa desiderans, Dei ecclesiam requisivit; ut ageret gratias liberatus, et mysteria aeterna cognosceret, pronuntians nullum referenda gratia majus esse officium. Quod si homini non referre, simile homicidio judicatum est; quantum crimen est non referre Deo!

44. One may consider his courage at the same time, for he, when the vessel was breaking up, did not as a shipwrecked man seize a plank, but as a brave man found in himself the support of his courage, nor did his hope fail nor his expectation deceive him. And then, when preserved from the waves and brought safe to land in the port, he first recognized his Leader, to Whom he had committed himself, and at once after either himself rescuing the servants, or seeing that they were rescued, disregarding his goods, and not longing for what was lost, he sought the Church of God, that he might return thanks for his deliverance, and acknowledge the eternal mysteries, declaring that there was no greater duty than thanksgiving. But if not to be grateful to man has been judged like to murder, how enormous a crime is it not to be grateful to God!

45. Est ergo prudentis agnoscere se ipsum, et quemadmodum a sapientibus definitum est, secundum naturam vivere. Quid enim est tam secundum naturam, quam referre auctori gratiam? Aspice coelum hoc; nonne auctori refert gratiam, cum videtur? Coeli enim enarrant gloriam Dei, et opera

manuum ejus annuntiat firmamentum (Psal. XVIII, 2). Mare ipsum cum sedatum atque tranquillum est, divinae serenitatis testatur indicium: cum movetur, indignatio superna terrori est. Nonne omnes Dei gratiam jure miramur, cum advertimus quod insensibilis natura quadam sensibili ratione suos fluctus coerceat, et fines suos unda cognoscat? Nam de terris quid loquar, quae divino obedientes praecepto omnibus sponte animantibus pabulum subministrant (Gen. I, 11); atque id quod acceperint agri, velut crescentibus usuris multiplicatum, cumulatumque restituunt?

45. Now it is the mark of a prudent man to know himself, and, as it has been defined by the wise, to live in accordance with nature. What, then, is so much in accordance with nature as to be grateful to the Creator? Behold this heaven, does it not render thanks to its Creator when He is seen? For the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament proclaims His handywork. The sea itself when it is quiet and at rest sets forth a representation of the Divine Quiet; when it is stirred up, it shows that the wrath on high is terrible. Do we not all rightly admire the grace of God, when we observe that senseless nature restrains its waves as it were with sense and reason, and that the waves know their own limit? And what shall I say of the earth, which in obedience to the divine command freely supplies food to all living things; and the fields restore what they have received multiplied as it were by accumulating interest, and heaped up.

46. Ergo ille qui natura duce divini rationem operis igneo mentis vigore perceperat, scivit primo omnium servatori suo gratiam esse referendam: sed quia referre non poterat, habere poterat. Est enim hujuscemodi gratiae vis, ut et cum refertur, habeatur; et habendo referatur. Referebat igitur gratiam, deferebat fidem. Nam qui tantum mysterii coelestis involuti in orario praesidium fuisset expertus, quantum arbitrabatur si ore sumeret, et toto

pectoris hauriret arcano! quam majus putabat fusum in viscera, quod tantum sibi tectum orario profuisset!

46. So he who by the guidance of nature had grasped the methods of the divine work in the ardent vigour of his mind, knew that thanks should be paid first of all to the Preserver of all; but inasmuch as he could not repay, he could at least feel grateful. For the essence of this thankfulness is that when it is offered it is felt, and by being felt is offered. So he offered thanks and brought away faith. For he who had felt such protection on the part of the heavenly Mystery wrapped in a napkin, how much did he expect if he received it with his mouth and drew it to the very depth of his bosom? How much more must he have been expecting of that, when received into his breast, which had so benefited him when covered with a napkin?

47. Sed non ita avidus fuit, ut esset incautus; scimus enim plerosque aviditate studii praetermittere cautionem. Advocavit ad se episcopum (24, q. 1, cap. Advocavit), nec ullam veram putavit nisi verae fidei gratiam, percontatusque ex eo est utrumnam cum episcopis catholicis, hoc est, cum Romana Ecclesia conveniret? Et forte ad id locorum in schismate regionis illius Ecclesia erat; Lucifer enim se a nostra tunc temporis communione diviserat, et quamquam pro fide exsulasset, et fidei suae reliquisset haeredes; non putavit tamen fidem esse in schismate. Nam etsi fidem erga Deum tenerent, tamen erga Dei Ecclesiam non tenebant, cujus patiebantur velut quosdam artus dividi, et membra lacerari. Etenim cum propter Ecclesiam Christus passus sit, et Christi corpus Ecclesia sit (Ephes. V, 25); non videtur ab his exhiberi Christo fides, a quibus evacuatur ejus passio, corpusque distrahitur.

47. But he was not so eager as to lay aside caution. He called the bishop to him, and esteeming that there can be no true thankfulness except it spring from true faith, he enquired whether he agreed with the Catholic bishops,

that is, with the Roman Church? And possibly at that place the Church of the district was in schism. For at that time Lucifer had withdrawn from our communion, and although he had been an exile for the faith, and had left inheritors of his own faith, yet my brother did not think that there could be true faith in schism. For though schismatics kept the faith towards God, yet they kept it not towards the Church of God, certain of whose limbs they suffered as it were to be divided, and her members to be torn. For since Christ suffered for the Church, and the Church is the body of Christ, it does not seem that faith in Christ is shown by those by whom His Passion is made of none effect, and His body divided.

48. Itaque quamvis gratiae fenus teneret, et metueret tanti nominis debitor navigare; tamen eo transire maluit, ubi tuto posset exsolvere: judicabat enim divinae solutionem gratiae in affectu ac fide esse; quam quidem statim ubi primum copia liberior Ecclesiae fuit, implere non distulit. Deique gratiam et accepit desideratam, et servavit acceptam. Nihil igitur ea prudentia sapientius, quae divina et humana secernit.

48. And so though he retained the deposit of faith, and feared to voyage as debtor of so vast an amount, yet he preferred to cross over to a place where he could make his payment in safety, for he was convinced that the payment of thankfulness to God consists in dispositions and faith, which payment, so soon as he had free access to the Church, he delayed not to make. And he both received the grace of God which he longed for, and preserved it when received. Nothing, then, can be wiser than that prudence which distinguishes between divine and human matters.

49. Nam quid spectatam in stipendiis forensibus ejus facundiam loquar? Quam incredibili admiratione in auditorio praefecturae sublimis emicuit! Sed malo illa laudare, quae perceptis mysteriis Dei duxit humanis esse potiora.

49. Why should I speak of his well-known eloquence in his forensic duties? What incredible admiration did he excite in the hall of justice of the high prefecture! But I prefer to speak of those things which he esteemed, through consideration of the mysteries of God, to be preferable to human matters.

50. Fortitudinem quoque ejus si quis plenius spectare volet, consideret quoties post naufragium invicto quodam contemptu vitae hujus, maria transfretaverit: diffusasque regiones obeundo peragrarit: postremo quod hoc ipso tempore periculum non refugerit, sed ad periculum venerit, patiens injuriae, negligens frigoris, atque utinam sollicitus cautionis! Sed hoc ipso beatus, quod dum licuit vigore uti corporis, inoffenso ad exsequenda quae vellet, functus juventutis officio, vitam vixit, debilitatem ignoravit.

50. And should any one wish more fully to regard his fortitude, let him consider how often after his shipwreck with invincible disregard of this life he crossed the sea and travelled through widespread regions in his journeys, and at last that at this very time he did not shrink from danger, but met it. Patient under injustice, regardless of cold, would that he had been equally thoughtful in taking precautions. But exactly herein was he blessed, that he, so long as his bodily strength allowed, spent his life fulfilling the work of youth, uninterruptedly carrying out what he wished to do, and paid no attention to his weakness.

51. Qua vero prosecutione simplicitatem ejus edisseram? Ea est enim quaedam morum temperantia, mentisque sobrietas. Date, quaeso, veniam, et permittite dolori meo; ut de eo mihi paulo uberius liceat loqui, cum quo jam non conceditur colloqui. Certe et vobis proficit, ut advertatis non fragilitate quadam vos hoc officium, sed judicio detulisse: nec misericordia mortis impulsos, sed virtutum honorificentia provocatos; anima enim benedicta omnis simplex (Prov., XI). Tanta autem simplicitas erat, ut conversus in puerum, simplicitate illius aetatis innoxiae, perfectae virtutis effigie, et

quodam innocentium morum speculo eluceret. Intravit igitur in regnum coelorum, quoniam credidit Dei verbo; quoniam sicut puer artem repulit adulandi, injuriae dolorem clementer absorbuit, quam inclementius vindicavit: querelae quam dolo promptior, satisfactioni facilis, difficilis ambitioni, sanctus pudori; ut frequenter in eo superfluam magis verecundiam praedicares, quam necessariam quaereres.

51. But in what words can I set forth his simplicity? By this I mean a certain moderation of character and soberness of mind. Pardon me, I beseech you, and attribute it to my grief, if I allow myself to speak somewhat fully about him with whom I am no longer permitted to converse. And certainly it is an advantage for you to see that you have performed this kindly office not led by weak feelings, but by sound judgment; not as impelled by pity for his death, but moved by desire to do honour to his virtues; for every simple soul is blessed. And so great was his simplicity, that, converted as it were into a child, he was conspicuous for the simplicity belonging to that guileless age, for the likeness of perfect virtue, and for reflecting as in a mirror innocence of character. Therefore he entered into the kingdom of heaven, because he believed the word of God, because he, like a child, rejected the artifices of flattery, and chose rather to accept with gentleness the pain of injustice than to avenge himself sharply; he was more ready to listen to complaints than to guile, ready for conciliation, inaccessible to ambition, holy in modesty, so that in him one would rather speak of excess of bashfulness than have to seek for such as is needful.

52. Sed numquam superflua fundamenta virtutis; pudor enim non revocat, sed commendat officium. Itaque velut quadam virginali verecundia suffusus ora, cum vultu affectum proderet, si forte aliquam subito veniens offendisset parentem, velut depressus et quasi demersus in terram, licet in ipso nequaquam dissimilis coetu virorum, rarus attollere os, elevare oculos,

referre sermonem: quod pudico quodam mentis pudore faciebat, cum quo castimonia quoque corporis congruebat. Etenim intemerata sacri baptismatis dona servavit, mundus corpore, purior corde: non minus adulterini sermonis opprobrium, quam corporis perhorrescens: non minorem ratus pudicitiae reverentiam deferendam integritate verborum, quam corporis castitate.

52. But the foundations of virtue are never in excess, for modesty does not hinder but rather commends the discharge of duty. And so was his face suffused with a certain virginal modesty, showing forth his inward feeling in his countenance, if perchance he had, coming on a sudden, met some female relative, he was as it were bowed down and sunk to the earth, though he was not different in company with men, he seldom lifted up his face, raised his eyes, or spoke; when he did one of these things, it was with a kind of bashful modesty of heart, with which, too, the chastity of his body agreed. For he preserved the gifts of holy baptism inviolate, being pure in body and still more pure in heart; fearing not less the shame of impurity in conversation than in his body; and thinking that no less regard was to be paid to modesty in purity of words than in chastity of body.

53. Denique in tantum castimoniam dilexit, ut nec uxorem expeteret; licet in eo non solum castitatis appetentia fuerit, sed etiam pietatis gratia. Miro autem modo et conjugium dissimulabat, et jactantiam declinabat: tantaque erat dissimulatio, ut nobis quoque urgentibus, differre magis consortium, quam refugere videretur. Hoc unum itaque fuit, quod nec fratribus crederet: non aliqua cunctationis haesitantia, sed virtutis verecundia.

53. In fine, he so loved chastity as never to seek a wife, although in him it was not merely the desire of chastity, but also the grace of his love for us. But in a wonderful manner he concealed his feeling as to marriage, and avoided all boastfulness; and so carefully did he conceal his feeling, that even when we pressed it on him, he appeared rather to postpone wedlock

than to avoid it. So this was the one point with which he did not trust his brother and sister, not through any doubtful hesitation, but simply through virtuous modesty.

54. Quis igitur non miretur virum inter fratres duos alterum virginem, alterum sacerdotem, aetate medium, magnanimitate non imparem, ita inter duo maxima munera praestitisse; ut alterius muneris castitatem, alterius sanctitatem referret, non professionis vinculo, sed virtutis officio? Ergo si libido atque iracundia reliquorum vitiorum educatrices sunt, jure castitatem atque clementiam dixerim quasdam virtutum parentes; quamquam pietas quoque ut omnium principatus bonorum, ita etiam seminarium virtutum est caeterarum.

54. Who, then, could refrain from wondering that a man in age between a brother and a sister, the one a virgin, the other a priest, yet in greatness of soul not below either, should so excel in two great gifts, as to reflect the chastity of one vocation and the sanctity of the other, being bound not by profession but by the exercise of virtue. If, then, lust and anger bring forth other vices, I may rightly call chastity and gentleness as it were the parents of virtues; although, as it is the origin of all good things, so too is piety the seed-plot of other virtues.

55. Nam de parcimonia quid loquar, et quadam habendi castitate? Is enim non quaerit aliena, qui sua servat: nec inflatur immodico, qui contentus est proprio. Nihil ergo aliud nisi proprium recuperare voluit; magis ne fraudaretur, quam ut ditaretur. Nam eos qui aliena quaererent, recte accipitres pecuniae nominabat. Quod si radix malorum omnium avaritia est; utique vitia exuit, qui pecuniam non requirit (I Tim. VI, 10).

55. What, then, shall I say of his economy, a kind of continence regarding possessions? For he who takes care of his own does not seek other men’s

goods, nor is he puffed up by abundance who is contented with his own. For he did not wish to recover anything except his own, and that rather that he might not be cheated than that he might be richer. For he rightly called those who seek other men's goods hawks of money. But if avarice be the root of all evils, 1 Timothy 6:10 he who does not seek for money has certainly stripped himself of vices.

56. Non umquam accuratioribus epulis aut congestis ferculis delectatus est, nisi cum amicos rogaret: quantum naturae satis esset, non quantum voluptati superesset, requirens. Et certe erat non pauper opibus, sed tamen pauper spiritu. De istius beatitudine. (Matth. V, 3) nequaquam utique dubitare debemus, qui neque ut opulens, exsultavit in divitiis: neque ut pauper, exiguum quod habuit, judicavit.

56. Nor did he ever delight in more carefully prepared feasts or many dishes, except when he invited friends, wishing for what was sufficient for nature, not for superabundance for pleasure's sake. And, indeed, he was not poor in means, but was so in spirit. Matthew 5:3 Certainly we ought by no means to doubt of his happiness, who neither as a wealthy man delighted in riches, nor as a poor man thought that what he had was scanty.

57. Superest ut ad conclusionem cardinalium virtutum, etiam justitiae partes in eo debeamus advertere. Nam etsi cognatae sint inter se, concretaeque virtutes; tamen singularum quaedam forma expressior desideratur, maximeque justitiae. Ea enim sibi parcior foris tota est, et quidquid habet quadam inclementia sui, dum rapitur amore communi, transfundit in proximos.

57. It remains that, to come to the end of the cardinal virtues, we should notice in him the constituents of justice. For although virtues are related to each other and connected, still as it were a more distinct sketch of each is

wanted, and especially of justice. For it being somewhat niggardly towards itself is wholly devoted to what is without, and whatever it has through a certain rigour towards self, being carried away by love for all, it pours forth on its neighbours.

58. Sed hujus multiplex est species. Alia erga propinquos, alia erga universos, alia erga Dei cultum, vel adjumentum inopum. Itaque qualis in universos fuerit, provincialium, quibus praefuit, studia docent: qui parentem magis fuisse proprium, quam judicem loquebantur: gratum piae necessitudinis arbitrum, constantem aequi juris disceptatorem.

58. But there are many kinds of this virtue. One towards friends, another towards all men, another with respect to the worship of God or the relief of the poor. So what he was towards all, the affection of the people of the province over which he was set shows; who used to say that he was rather their parent than a judge, a kind umpire for loving clients, a steadfast awarder of just law.

59. Inter fratres autem qualis fuerit, licet omne hominum genus benevolentia complecteretur, indivisum patrimonium docet: nec distributa aut delibata, sed reservata haereditas. Etenim pietatem sibi causam esse negavit testandi. Nam hoc quoque ultimo sermone signavit, cum quos dilexerat, commendaret; sibi nec uxoris arbitrium fuisse ducendae, ne a fratribus divelleretur: nec testamenti faciendi voluntatem, ne nostrum in aliquo arbitrium laederetur. Denique et oratus et obsecratus a nobis, nihil tamen condendum putavit: non oblitus tamen pauperum, sed tantum obsecrans esse tribuendum, quantum nobis justum videretur.

59. But what he was with his brother and sister, though all men were embraced in his good-will, our undivided patrimony testifies, and the inheritance neither distributed nor diminished, but preserved. For he said

that love was no reason for making a will. This, too, he signified with his last words, when commending those whom he had loved, saying that it was his choice never to marry a wife, that he might not be separated from his brother and sister, and that he would not make a will, lest our feelings should in any point be hurt. Lastly, though begged and entreated by us, he thought that nothing ought to be determined by himself, not, however, forgetting the poor, but only asking that so much should be given to them as should seem just to us.

60. Quo uno satis et divini timoris expressit indicium, et humanae edidit religionis exemplum. Nam quod pauperibus contulit, Deo detulit; quoniam qui largitur pauperi, Deo fenerat (Prov. XIX, 17): et postulando quod justum est, non exiguum, sed totum reliquit. Haec enim est summa justitiae, vendere quae habeas, et conferre pauperibus. Qui enim dispersit, dedit pauperibus, justitia ejus manet in aeternum (Psal. CXI, 9). Ergo dispensatores nos, non haeredes reliquit; nam haereditas successori quaeritur, dispensatio pauperibus obligatur.

60. By this alone he gave a sufficient proof of his fear of God, and set an example of religious feeling as regards men. For what he gave to the poor he offered to God, since he that distributes to the poor lends unto God; Proverbs 19:17 and by requiring what was just, he left them not a little, but the whole. For this is the total sum of justice, to sell what one has and give to the poor. For he who has dispersed, and has given to the poor, his righteousness endures forever. So he left us as stewards, not heirs; for the inheritance is to the heirs a matter of question, the stewardship is a duty to the poor.

61. Unde non immerito quantus fuerit, hodie quoque per vocem lectoris parvuli, Spiritus sanctus expressit: Innocens manibus, et mundo corde, qui non accepit in vanum animam suam, nec fecit proximo suo dolum: haec est

generatio requirentium Deum (Psal. XXIII, 4, 6). Hic ergo et in montem Domini ascendet, et in tabernaculo habitabit Dei; quia ingressus sine macula, operatus est justitiam, locutus est veritatem, non decepit proximum (Psal. XIV, 2, 3): nec pecuniam feneratus est suam, qui semper voluit recuperare haereditariam. Agnosco oraculum; quod enim nulla ordinavit dispositio, Spiritus revelavit.

61. So that one may rightly say that the Holy Spirit has this day told us by the voice of the boy reader: He that is innocent in his hands and of a clean heart, who has not lifted up his soul to vanity, nor used deceit unto his neighbour, this is the generation of them that seek the Lord. He, then, shall both ascend into the hill of the Lord and dwell in the tabernacle of God; because he has walked without spot, he has worked righteousness, he has spoken truth, he has not deceived his neighbour; nor did he lend his money for usury, who always wished [no more than] to retain that which was inherited.

62. Quid vero illud recenseam, quod supra ipsam justitiam pietate progressus; cum quaedam incubatori communium fructuum mei contemplatione muneris putasset esse tribuenda, largitatis me jactabat auctorem, portionis suae lucrum ad commune consortium conferebat.

62. Why should I relate that in his piety he went beyond mere justice, when he, having thought that in consideration of my office something ought to be given to the unlawful possessor of our property, declared that I was the author of the bounty, but made over the receipts of his own share to the common fund.

63. Haec et alia, quae mihi tunc erant voluptati, maxime nunc recordationem doloris exasperant. Manent tamen, eruntque semper, nec umquam velut umbra praetereunt, neque enim virtutis gratia cum corpore

occidit, nec idem naturae meritorumque finis; licet ipsius naturae usus non in aeternum occidat, sed temporali quadam vacatione requiescat.

63. These and other matters, which were then a pleasure to me, now sharpen the remembrance of my grief. They abide, however, and always will do so, nor do they ever pass away like a shadow; for the grace of virtue dies not with the body, nor do natural life and merits come to an end at the same time, although the use of natural life does not perish for ever, but rests in a kind of exemption for a time.

64. Talibus igitur perfunctum virtutibus, ereptum periculis desiderio magis quam amissione flebo. Suadet enim ipsa opportunitas mortis, ut prosequendum magis gratia, quam dolendum putemus; scriptum est enim in communi dolore proprium vacare debere (IV Esdr. X, 11 et seq.). Neque enim prophetico sermone uni illi mulieri, quae figuratur, sed singulis dicitur, cum Ecclesiae dictum videtur.

64. For one, then, who has performed such good deeds, and is rescued from perils, I shall weep rather from longing for him than for the loss. For the very opportuneness of his death bids us bear in mind that we must follow him rather with grateful veneration than grieve for him, for it is written that private grief should cease in public sorrow. This is said in the prophetical language, not only to that one woman, who is figured there, but to each, since it seems to be said to the Church.

65. Dicitur ergo et ad me, et dicit Scriptura coelestis: Hoccine doces, sic instituis Dei plebem? An nescis quia exemplum tuum periculum caeterorum est? Nisi forte exauditum non esse te quereris. Primum istud arrogantis est impudentiae, mereri solum velle, quod multis etiam sanctis negatum noveris; cum scias, quia non est personarum acceptor Deus (Act. X, 34). Nam etsi misericors Deus, tamen si semper exaudiret omnes, non jam ex

voluntate libera, sed ex quadam velut necessitate facere videretur; Deinde cum omnes rogent, si exaudiret omnes, nemo moreretur. Pro quantis ergo quotidie rogas! Numquid constitutio Dei contemplatione solvenda est tui? Cur ergo non impetratum aliquando doles, quod non semper impetrabile esse cognoscis?

65. To me, then, does this message come, and Holy Scripture says: Do you teach this, is it thus that you instruct the people of God? Do you not know that your example is a danger to others? save that perchance you complain that your prayer is not heard. First of all this is shameless arrogance, to desire to obtain for yourself what you know to have been denied to many, even saints, when you are aware that God is no respecter of persons? Acts 10:34 For although God is merciful, yet if He always heard all, He would appear to act no longer of His own free will, but by a kind of necessity. Then, since all ask, if He were to hear all, no one would die. For how much do you daily pray? Is, then, God’s appointment to be made void in consideration of you? Why, then, do you lament that is sometimes not obtained, which you know cannot always be obtained?

66. Stulte, inquit, super omnes mulieres, nonne vides luctum nostrum, et quae nobis contigerunt, quoniam Sion mater nostra omnium tristitia contristatur, et humilitate humiliata est. Lugete validissime et nunc, quoniam omnes lugemus; et tristes sitis, quoniam omnes contristati sumus: tu enim contristaris in fratre. Interroga terram et dicet tibi, quoniam haec est quae debeat lugere, tantorum superstes germinum: et ex ipsa, inquit, ab initio omnes nati, et alii venient, et ecce pene omnes in perditionem ambulant, et in exterminium fit multitudo eorum. Et quis ergo debet lugere magis, nisi quae tam magnam multitudinem perdidit, quam tu qui pro uno doles (IV Reg. X, 6 et seq.)?

66. You fool, it says, above all women, do you not see our mourning, and what has happened to us, how that Sion our mother is saddened with all sadness, and humbled with humbling. Mourn now also very sore, since we all mourn, and be sad since we all are sad, and you are grieved for a brother. Ask the earth and she shall tell you that it is she which ought to mourn, outliving so many that grow upon her. And out of her, it says, were all born in the beginning, and out of her shall others come, and, behold, they walk almost all into destruction, and a multitude of them is utterly rooted out. Who, then, ought to make more mourning than she that has lost so great a multitude, and not thou, which art sorry but for one?

67. Absorbeat igitur nostrum dolorem communis dolor, et acerbitatem proprii moeroris excludat. Non enim dolere debemus eos, quos cernimus liberatos; neque enim otiose tam sanctas hoc tempore animas corporeis vinculis reminiscimur absolutas. Namque velut divino judicio tam graves viduas, ita uno tempore defunctas videmus, ut profectionis quidam videatur excessus, non mortis occasus; ne veterana emeritis stipendiis pudicitia in dubium diu servati pudoris incideret. Quos gemitus mihi, quos dolores tam acerba excitat recordatio! Et si moeroribus non vacabam; tamen in ipso dolore privato, in ipso tantorum amisso flore meritorum, communis quaedam naturae me conditio solabatur: defixusque in uno dolor acerbitatem publici funeris, domesticae specie pietatis obduxerat.

67. Let, then, the common mourning swallow up ours and cut off the bitterness of our private sorrow. For we ought not to grieve for those whom we see to be set free, and we bear in mind that so many holy souls are not without a purpose at this time loosed from the chains of the body. For we see, as if by God’s decree, such reverend widows dying so closely at one time, that it seems to be a sort of setting out on a journey, not a sinking in death, lest their chastity in which they have served God their full time

should be exposed to peril. What groans, what mourning, does so bitter a recollection stir up in me! And if I had no leisure for mourning, yet in my own personal grief, in the loss of the very flower of so much merit, the common lot of nature consoled me; and my grief in consideration of one alone veiled the bitterness of the public funeral by the show of piety at home.

68. Repeto ergo, sacra Scriptura, solatia tua; juvat enim tuis praeceptis, tuis sententiis immorari. Quam facilius est coelum et terram praeterire, quam de Lege unum apicem cadere (Luc. XVI, 17)! Sed jam audiamus quae scripta sunt: Nunc, inquit, retine apud temet ipsam dolorem tuum, et fortiter fer, qui tibi contigerunt, casus. Si enim justificaveris terminum Dei, et filium tuum recipies in tempore, et in mulieribus collaudaberis (IV Esdr. X, 15, 16). Si hoc ad mulierem, quanto magis ad sacerdotem? Si de filio, non utique absurdum etiam de fratrum amissione talia posse memorari; quamquam si mihi fuisset filius, numquam eum amplius dilexissem. Nam sicut in obitu liberorum effusi labores, suscepti frustra dolores moerorem videntur augere; ita etiam in fratribus consuetudinis usus atque collegii acerbitatem doloris accendunt.

68. I seek again, then, O sacred Scripture, your consolations, for it delights me to dwell on your precepts and on your sentences. How far more easy is it for heaven and earth to pass away, than for one tittle of the law to fail! But let us now listen to what is written: Now, it says, keep your sorrow to yourself, and bear with a good courage the things which have befallen you. For if you shall acknowledge the determination of God to be just, you shall both receive your son in time, and shall be praised among women. If this is said to a woman, how much more to a priest! If such words are said of a son it is certainly not unfitting that they should be uttered also concerning the loss of a brother; though if he had been my son I could never have loved

him more. For as in the death of children, the lost labour and the pain borne to no purpose seem to increase the sorrow; so, too, in the case of brothers the habits of intercourse and joint occupations inflame the bitterness of grief.

69. Sed ecce dicentem Scripturam audio: Noli facere hunc sermonem, sed consenti persuaderi. Qui enim casus Sion? Consolare propter dolorem Hierusalem. Vides enim quia sancta nostra contaminata sunt, et nomen quod nominatum est super nos, pene profanatum est, et illi nostri contumeliam passi sunt, et sacerdotes nostri succensi sunt, et levitae nostri in captivitate fuerunt, et mulieres nostrae contaminatae sunt, et virgines nostrae vim passae, et justi nostri rapti, et parvuli nostri proditi sunt, et juvenes nostri servierunt, et fortes nostri invalilidi facti sunt. Et quod omnium majus, signaculum Sion quoniam resignata est de gloria sua, nunc et tradita est in manibus eorum, qui nos oderunt. Tu ergo excute tuam multam tristitiam, et depone abs te multitudinem dolorum; ut tibi repropitietur fortis, et requiem faciat tibi Altissimus requietione dolorum (Ibid., 20 et seq.).

69. But, lo! I hear the Scripture saying: Do not continue this discourse, but allow yourself to be persuaded. For how great are the misfortunes of Sion! Be comforted in regard of the sorrow of Jerusalem. For you see that our holy places are polluted and the name that was called upon us is almost profaned, they that are ours have suffered shame, our priests are burnt, our Levites gone into captivity, our wives are polluted, our virgins suffer violence, our righteous men are carried away, our little ones given up, our young men brought in bondage, and our strong men become weak. And, which is the greatest of all, the seal of Sion hast lost her glory, since now she is delivered into the hands of them that hate us. Do thou, then, shake off your great heaviness, and put from you the multitude of sorrows, that the

Mighty may be merciful to you again, and the Highest shall give you rest by easing your labours.

70. Cessabunt igitur lacrymae, parendum est enim remediis salutaribus, quia debet aliquid inter fidos et perfidos interesse. Fleant ergo qui spem resurrectionis habere non possunt, quam non sententia Dei eripit, sed fidei inclementia. Intersit inter Christi servulos, idolorumque cultores; ut illi fleant suos, quos in perpetuum existimant interiisse: illi nullas habeant lacrymarum ferias, nullam tristitiae requiem consequantur, qui nullam putant requiem mortuorum. Nobis vero quibus mors non naturae, sed vitae istius finis est; quoniam in melius ipsa natura reparatur, fletus omnes casus mortis abstergat.

70. So, then, my tears shall cease, for one must yield to healthful remedies, since there ought to be some difference between believers and unbelievers. Let them, therefore, weep who cannot have the hope of the resurrection, of which not the sentence of God but the strictness of the faith deprives them. Let there be this difference between the servants of Christ and the worshippers of idols, that the latter weep for their friends, whom they suppose to have perished for ever; that they should never cease from tears, and gain no rest from sorrow, who think that the dead have no rest. But from us, for whom death is the end not of our nature but of this life only, since our nature itself is restored to a better state, let the advent of death wipe away all tears.

71. Certe si illi sibi aliqua solatia repererunt, qui finem sensus, defectumque naturae mortem arbitrati sunt; quanto magis nos, quibus meliora post mortem praemia bonorum factorum conscientia pollicetur! Habent gentiles solatia sua, quia requiem malorum omnium mortem existimant: et ut vitae fructu carent, ita etiam caruisse se putant omni sensu et dolore poenarum, quas in hac vita graves et assiduas sustinemus. Nos vero ut erectiores

praemio, ita etiam patientiores solatio esse debemus; non enim amitti, sed praemitti videntur, quos non assumptura mors, sed aeternitas receptura est.

71. And certainly if they have ever found any consolation who have thought that death is the end of sensation and the failing of our nature, how much more must we find it so to whom the consciousness of good done brings the promise of better rewards! The heathen have their consolation, because they think that death is a cessation of all evils, and as they are without the fruit of life, so, too, they think that they have escaped all the feeling and pain of those severe and constant sufferings which we have to endure in this life. We, however, as we are better supported by our rewards, so, too, ought we to be more patient through our consolation, for they seem to be not lost but sent before, whom death is not going to swallow up, but eternity to receive.

72. Cessabunt ergo lacrymae: aut si cessare non poterunt, in communibus lamentis flebo te, frater, et sub dolore publico domesticos gemitus tegam. Nam cessare qui poterunt, cum ad omnem sonum nominis tui lacrymae subrepant, vel cum usus ipse recordationem excitat, vel cum affectus imaginem repraesentat, vel cum recordatio dolorem renovat? Quando enim dees, qui tantis officiis repraesentaris? Ades, inquam, et semper offunderis, et toto te animo ac mente complector, aspicio, alloquor, osculor, comprehendo vel in ipsa quiete nocturna, vel in luce clara; cum revisere et consolari dignaris moerentem. Denique ipsae jam noctes, quae quasi molestiores, vivente te, videbantur; quod mutui conspectus copiam denegarent: ipse jam somnus colloquiorum nostrorum dudum interruptor inamabilis, dulcis esse jam coepit; quia te mihi reddidit. Non igitur miseri, sed beati; quorum nec praesentia deficit, nec cura minuitur, et augetur gratia. Etenim somni similis imago mortis.

72. My tears shall therefore cease, or if they cannot cease, I will weep for you, my brother, in the common sorrow, and will hide my private groaning

in the public grief. For how can my tears wholly cease, since they break forth at every utterance of your name, or when my very habitual actions arouse your memory, or when my affection pictures your likeness, or when recollection renews my grief. For how can you be absent who art again made present in so many occupations? You are present, I say, and art always brought before me, and with my whole mind and soul do I embrace you, gaze upon you, address you, kiss you; I grasp you whether in the gloomy night or in the clear light, when you vouch-safe to revisit and console me sorrowing. And now the very nights which used to seem irksome in your lifetime, because they denied us the power of looking on each other; and sleep itself, lately, the odious interrupter of our converse, have commenced to be sweet, because they restore you to me. They, then, are not wretched but blessed whose mutual presence fails not, whose care for each other is not lessened, whose mutual esteem is increased. For sleep is a likeness and image of death.

73. Quod si in quiete nocturna vinculis adhuc corporeis inhaerentes, et quasi inter carceraria religatae claustra membrorum; possunt tamen animae altiora et discreta perspicere: quanto magis spectant haec, cum jam puro aethereoque sensu nulla corporeae labis impedimenta patiuntur! Meritoque mihi conquerenti, vergente quodam jam in occasum die, quod non reviseres quiescentem, totus omni tempore individuus adfuisti; ita ut illo perfusus sopore membrorum, cum ego vigilarem tibi, tu viveres mihi, dicerem: Quid est mors, frater? Nam certe nullis a me separabare momentis; ita enim ubique praesto eras, ut quam in istius vitae usu habere nostri copiam nequibamus, nunc nobis semper et ubique praesto sit. Nam tunc utique omnia praesto esse non poterant; nec enim complexiones nostrae, conspectusque et osculorum corporalium suavitates locis omnibus et omnibus temporibus suppetebant. Animorum imagines semper nobiscum

erant, etiam quando non eramus una: quae ne nunc quidem occiderunt, assiduoque advolant, quo majore desiderio, eo majore copia.

73. But if, in the quiet of night, our souls still cleaving to the chains of the body, and as it were bound within the prison bars of the limbs, yet are able to see higher and separate things, how much more do they see these, when in their pure and heavenly senses they suffer from no hindrances of bodily weakness. And so when, as a certain evening was drawing on, I was complaining that thou did not revisit me when at rest, you were wholly present always. So that, as I lay with my limbs bathed in sleep, while I was [in mind] awake for you, you were alive to me, I could say, What is death, my brother? For certainly you were not separated from me for a single moment, for you were so present with me everywhere, that enjoyment of each other, which we were unable to have in the intercourse of this life, is now always and everywhere with us. For at that time certainly all things could not be present, for neither did our physical constitution allow it, nor could the sight of each other, nor the sweetness of our bodily embraces at all times and in all places be enjoyed. But the pictures in our souls were always present with us, even when we were not together, and these have not come to an end, but constantly come back to us, and the greater the longing the greater abundance have we of them.

74. Teneo igitur te, frater, nec mihi te aut mors aut tempus avellet. Ipsae dulces lacrymae sunt, ipsi fletus jucundi, quibus restinguitur ardor animi, et quasi relaxatus evaporat affectus. Neque enim sine te esse possum, aut tui non meminisse umquam, aut meminisse sine lacrymis. O amari dies, qui interruptam copulam proditis! O flebiles noctes, quae tam bonum consortem quietis, et individuum mihi comitem perdidistis! Quas ederetis cruces, nisi se offunderet imago praesentis, nisi visiones animi repraesentarent, quem species corporis denegaret!

74. So, then, I hold you, my brother, and neither death nor time shall tear you from me. Tears themselves are sweet, and weeping itself a pleasure, for by these the eagerness of the soul is assuaged, and affection being eased is quieted. For neither can I be without you, nor ever forget you, or think of you without tears. O bitter days, which show that our union is broken! O nights worthy of tears, which have lost for me so good a sharer of my rest, so inseparable a companion! What sufferings would you cause me, unless the likeness of him present offered itself to me, unless the visions of my soul represented him whom my bodily sight shows me no more!

75. Jam jam, frater animo meo charissime, quamquam tu immaturo decesseris obitu; beatus tamen, qui ista non sustines, nec amissum fratrem moerere compelleris, quem absentem diu ferre non poteras, sed recursu celeri revisebas.

Quod si tunc solitudinis meae taedia repellere, moestitiam fraternae mentis ablevare properabas; quanto nunc crebrius afflictum animum debes revisere, et ex te conceptum, per te lenire moerorem!

75. Now, now, O brother, dearest to my soul, although you are gone by too early a death, happy at least are you, who dost not endure these sorrows, and art not compelled to mourn the loss of a brother, separation from whom you could not long endure, but quickly returned and visit him again. But if then you hastened to banish the weariness of my loneliness, to lighten the sadness of your brother’s mind, how much more often ought thou now to revisit my afflicted soul, and yourself lighten the sorrow which has its origin from you!

76. At mihi tamen dat aliquas officii usus inducias, et obsequii sacerdotalis intentio abducit animum: sanctae vero sorori quid fiet, quae licet divino metu pietatem temperet; rursus tamen ipsum pietatis dolorem studio

religionis accendit, strata humi et totum gremio sui complexa tumulum, laborioso fessa incessu, tristis affectu, dies noctesque moerorem integrat? Nam licet fletum plerumque sermone suspendat, in oratione renovat: et quamvis Scripturarum memoria consolationes serentibus praecurrat; flendi tamen desiderium precandi assiduitate compensat, lacrymarum ubertatem tunc praecipue, quando nemo interrumpere possit, instaurans. Ita quod miserearis, habes: quod reprehendas, non habes; flere enim in oratione virtutis est. Et quamquam istud familiare virginibus, quibus mollior sexus, tenerior affectus, contuitu communis fragilitatis in lacrymas etiam sine domestici sensu doloris exuberat; tamen cum major causa moerendi est, finis moeroribus excluditur.

76. But the exercise of my office now bids me rest awhile, and attention to my priestly duties draws my mind away; but what will happen to my holy sister, who though she moderates her affection by the fear of God, yet again kindles the grief itself of the affection by the zeal of her devotion? Prostrate on the ground, embracing her brother’s tomb, wearied with toilsome walking, sad in spirit, day and night she renews her grief. For though she often breaks off her weeping by speech, she renews it in prayer; and although in her knowledge of her Scriptures she excels those who bring consolation, she makes up for her desire of weeping by the constancy of her prayers, renewing the abundance of her tears then chiefly, when no one can interrupt her. So you have that which you may pity, not what you may blame, for to weep in prayer is a sign of virtue. And although that be a common thing with virgins, whose softer sex and more tender affection abound in tears at the sight of the common weakness, even without the feeling of family grief, yet when there is a greater cause for sorrowing, no limit is set to that sorrow.

77. Deest igitur consolandi via, quia suppetit excusandi gratia. Neque enim possis prohibere, quod doceas; praesertim cum religionis astruat lacrymas, non doloris; et communis seriem deplorationis metu pudoris obtexat. Consolare ergo qui potes adire animum, penetrare mentem. Cernat te esse praesentem, sentiat non esse defunctum; ut cujus secura de merito, ejus functa solatio, discat pro eo non graviter dolere, qui se admonuerit non esse dolendum.

77. The means of consolation, then, are wanting since excuses abound. For you can not forbid that which you teach, especially when she attributes her tears to devotion, not to sorrow, and conceals the course of the common grief for fear of shame. Console her, therefore, you who can approach her soul, and penetrate her mind. Let her perceive that you are present, feel that you are not departed, that having enjoyed his consolation of whose merit she is assured, she may learn not to grieve heavily for him, who warned her that he was not to be mourned for.

78. Sed quid ego te morer, frater? quid exspectem, ut nostra tecum commoriatur, et quasi consepeliatur oratio? Licet ipsa species et exanimis corporis forma soletur, oculosque manens gratia et permanens figura demulceat; nihil, inquam, moror, procedamus ad tumulum. Sed prius ultimum coram populo vale dico, pacem praedico, osculum solvo. Praecede ad illam communem omnibus et debitam, sed jam mihi prae caeteris desiderabilem domum. Para hospiti consortium; et quemadmodum hic omnia nobis fuere communia, ita illic quoque jus dividuum nesciamus.

78. But why should I delay you, brother, why should I wait that my address should die and as it were be buried with you? Although the sight and form of your lifeless body, and its remaining comeliness and figure abiding here, comfort the eyes, I delay no longer, let us go on to the tomb. But first, before the people I utter the last farewell, declare peace to you, and pay the

last kiss. Go before us to that home, common and waiting for all, and certainly now longed for by me beyond others. Prepare a common dwelling for him with whom you have dwelt, and as here we have had all things in common, so there, too, let us know no divided rights.

79. Ne, quaeso, cupientem tui diu differas, properantem exspecta, festinantem adjuva, et si diutius morari tibi videbor, accerse. Neque enim umquam prolixius abfuimus a nobis, tu tamen solebas revisere. Nunc quoniam tu redire jam non potes, nos ad te ibimus: aequum est ut officium rependamus, subeamus vicem. Numquam nobis fuit vitae conditio discretior: semper aut sanitas aut aegritudo communis; ut cum alter aegresceret, alter in morbum incurreret: et cum alter revalesceret, uterque consurgeret. Quomodo jus nostrum amisimus? Et nunc consortium aegritudinis fuit, quomodo mortis consortium non fuit?

79. Do not, I pray you, long put off him who is desirous of you, expect him who is hastening after you, help him who is hurrying, and if I seem to you to delay too long, summon me. For we have not ever been long separated from each other, but you were always wont to return. Nor since you can not return again, I will go to you; it is just that I should repay the kindness and take my turn. Never was there much difference in the condition of our life; whether health or sickness, it was common to both, so that if one sickened the other fell ill, and when one began to recover, the other, too, was convalescent. How have we lost our rights? This time, too, we had our sickness in common, how is it that death was not ours in common?

80. Tibi nunc, omnipotens Deus, innoxiam commendo animam, tibi hostiam meam offero: cape propitius ac serenus fraternum munus, sacrificium sacerdotis. Haec mei jam libamina praemitto, in hoc ad te pignore venio, non pecuniae, sed vitae pignore; ne me diutius residere facias tanti fenoris

debitorem. Non mediocris est fraterni amoris usura, nec vilis naturae sors, quam cumulant incrementa virtutis. Possum ferre, si cito cogar exsolvere.

80. And now to You, Almighty God, I commend this guileless soul, to You I offer my sacrifice; accept favourably and mercifully the gift of a brother, the offering of a priest. I offer beforehand these first libations of myself. I come to You with this pledge, a pledge not of money but of life, cause me not to remain too long a debtor of such an amount. It is not the ordinary interest of a brother’s love, nor the common course of nature, which is increased by such an amount of virtue. I can bear it, if I shall be soon compelled to pay it.

LIBER II.

DE FIDE RESURRECTIONIS.

BOOK II.

On the Belief in the Resurrection.

1. Superiore libro aliquid indulsimus desiderio, ne tamquam ferventi plagae austeriora adhibita medicamenta exasperarent magis, quam lenirent dolorem: simul quia fratrem saepius allocuti sumus, et oculis tenebamus, absurdum non fuit relaxare paulisper affectum naturae, qui lacrymis magis pascitur, fletibus delinitur, stupore defigitur. Mollis enim et tenera species est forma pietatis, nihil insolens amat, nihil immite, nihil durum: ferendo autem magis probatur patientia, quam resistendo.

1. In the former book I indulged my longing to some extent, lest too sharp remedies applied to a burning wound might rather increase than assuage the pain. And as at the same time I often addressed my brother, and had him before my eyes, it was not out of place to let natural feelings have a little play, since they are somewhat satisfied by tears, soothed by weeping, and numbed by a shock. For the outward expression of affection is of a soft and tender nature, it loves nothing extravagant, nothing stern, nothing hard; and patience is proved by enduring rather than by resisting.

2. Ergo quia dudum dies mortis inter lacrymabiles aspectus debuit animum declinare fraternum, quia totum tenebat; nunc quoniam die septimo ad sepulcrum redimus, qui dies symbolum futurae quietis est, a fratre paululum ad communem humani generis cohortationem juvat derivare mentem,

intentionemque transfundere; ita ut neque toti sensibus defigamur in fratre, ne obrepat affectus: neque tantae exsules pietatis et gratiae eum, quem diligimus, deseramus; et vere ipsi nobis tanti doloris augeamus injuriam, si hodie nobis et in sermone moriatur.

2. So, since the death-day might well, lately, by the sad spectacle draw aside the mind of a brother, because it occupied him wholly, now, inasmuch as on the seventh day, the symbol of the future rest, we return to the grave, it is profitable to turn our thoughts somewhat from my brother to a general exhortation addressed to all, and to give our attention to this; so as neither to cling to my brother with all our minds, lest our feelings overcome us, nor forgetting such devotion and desert, to turn wholly away from him; and in truth we should but increase the suffering of our intense grief, if his death were again the subject of today's address.

3. Unde, proposuimus, fratres charissimi, solari nos communi usu, nec durum putare, quidquid universos maneret; et ideo mortem non esse lugendam: primum, quia communis sit, et cunctis debita: deinde, quia nos saeculi hujus absolvat aerumnis: postremo, quia somni specie ubi ab istius mundi labore requietum sit, vigor nobis vivacior refundatur. Quem dolorem non soletur resurrectionis gratia? quem non excludat moerorem, si credas nihil perire morte; immo ipsius mortis celeritate fieri, ut plus perire non possit? Erit ergo, fratres charissimi, ut in adhortatione communi, etiam fratri nostrum pendamus affectum: nec ab eo longius deviasse videamur, si per resurrectionis spem, et futurae gloriae suavitatem, etiam in sermone nobis hodie reviviscat.

3. Wherefore we propose, dearest brethren, to console ourselves with the common course of nature, and not to think anything hard which awaits all. And therefore we deem that death is not to be mourned over; firstly, because it is common and due to all; next, because it frees us from the

miseries of this life and, lastly, because when in the likeness of sleep we are at rest from the toils of this world, a more lively vigour is shed upon us. What grief is there which the grace of the Resurrection does not console? What sorrow is not excluded by the belief that nothing perishes in death? Nay, indeed, that by the hastening of death it comes to pass that much is preserved from perishing. So it will happen, dearest brethren, that in our general exhortation we shall turn our affections to my brother, and shall not seem to have wandered too far from him, if through hope of the Resurrection and the sweetness of future glory even in our discourse he should live again for us.

4. Ordiamur igitur ab eo, ut lugendum nobis nostrorum obitum non esse doceamus. Quid enim absurdius, quam ut id quod scias omnibus esse praescriptum, quasi speciale deplores? Hoc est animum supra conditionem extollere, legem non recipere communem, naturae consortium recusare, mentem carnis inflari, et carnis ipsius nescire mensuram. Quid absurdius, quam nescire qui sis, affectare quod non sis? Aut quid imprudentius, quam quod futurum scias, id cum acciderit, ferre non posse? Natura ipsa nos revocat, et ab hujuscemodi moeroribus quadam sui consolatione subducit. Quis est enim tam gravis luctus, aut tam acerbus dolor, in quo non interdum relaxetur animus? Habet hoc natura, ut quamvis homines in tristibus rebus sint; tamen si modo homines sunt, a moerore mentem paulisper abducant.

4. Let us then begin at this point, that we show that the departure of our loved ones should not be mourned by us. For what is more absurd than to deplore as though it were a special misfortune, what one knows is appointed unto all? This were to lift up the mind above the condition of men, not to accept the common law, to reject the fellowship of nature, to be puffed up in a fleshly mind, and not to recognize the measure of the flesh itself. What is more absurd than not to recognize what one is, to pretend to be what one is

not? Or what can be a sign of less forethought than to be unable to bear, when it has happened, what one knew was going to happen? Nature herself calls us back, and draws us aside from sorrow of this sort by a kind of consolation of her own. For what so deep mourning is there, or so bitter grief, in which the mind is not at times relieved? For human nature has this peculiarity, that although men may be in sad circumstances, yet if only they be men, they sometimes turn their thoughts a little away from sadness.

5. Fuisse etiam quidam feruntur populi, qui ortus hominum lugerent, obitusque celebrarent. Nec imprudenter; eos enim qui in hoc vitae salum venissent, moerendos putabant: eos vero qui ex istius mundi procellis et fluctibus emersissent, non injusto gaudio prosequendos arbitrabantur. Nos quoque ipsi natales dies defunctorum obliviscimur, et eum quo obierunt diem, celebri solemnitate renovamus.

5. It is said, indeed, that there have been certain tribes who mourned at the birth of human beings, and kept festival at their deaths, and this not without reason, for they thought that those who had entered upon this ocean of life should be mourned over, but that they who had escaped from the waves and storms of this world should be accompanied by rejoicing not without good reason. And we too forget the birthdays of the departed, and commemorate with festal solemnity the day on which they died.

6. Non est ergo gravis subeundus moeror secundum naturam; ne aut excellentiorem aliquam naturae exceptionem nobis arrogare videamur, aut communem recusare. Etenim mors aequalis est omnibus, indiscreta pauperibus, inexcepta divitibus. Et ideo licet per unius peccatum, in omnes tamen pertransivit (Rom. V, 18); ut quem generis non refugimus auctorem, non refugiamus et mortis: et sit nobis sicut per unum mors, ita per unum etiam resurrectio; nec recusemus aerumnam, ut perveniamus ad gratiam: Venit enim, ut legimus, Christus salvum facere, quod perierat (Luc. XIX,

10): et ut non solum vivorum, sed etiam mortuorum dominetur (Rom. XIV, 9). Lapsus sum in Adam, de paradiso ejectus in Adam, mortuus in Adam; quomodo revocet, nisi me in Adam invenerit, ut in illo culpae obnoxium, morti debitum, ita in Christo justificatum (S. Aug. de Pecc. orig., ca)? Si ergo debitum est mortis, solutio debet esse tolerabilis. Sed hic locus posterioribus partibus reservandus.

6. Therefore, in accordance with nature, excessive grief must not be yielded to, lest we should seem either to claim for ourselves either an exceptional superiority of nature, or to reject the common lot. For death is alike to all, without difference for the poor, without exception for the rich. And so although through the sin of one alone, yet it passed upon all; Romans 5:12 that we may not refuse to acknowledge Him to be also the Author of death, Whom we do not refuse to acknowledge as the Author of our race; and that, as through one death is ours, so should be also the resurrection; and that we should not refuse the misery, that we may attain to the gift. For, as we read, Christ has come to save that which was lost, Luke 19:10 and to be Lord both of the dead and living. Romans 14:9 In Adam I fell, in Adam I was cast out of Paradise, in Adam I died; how shall the Lord call me back, except He find me in Adam; guilty as I was in him, so now justified in Christ. If, then, death be the debt of all, we must be able to endure the payment. But this topic must be reserved for later treatment.

7. Nunc propositum est asserere mortem graviori non debere esse moerori, quod eum natura ipsa respuat. Denique Lyciorum feruntur esse praecepta, quae viros jubeant mulierum vestem induere, si moerori indulgeant; eo quod mollem et effeminatum judicaverint in viro luctum. Deforme est enim eos qui pro fide, pro religione, pro patria, pro aequitate judicii, atque intentione virtutis obvium morti debent pectus offerre, moerere in alio gravius, quod in se, si causa exegerit, sit expetendum. Nam quemadmodum

potes in te non refugere, quod impatientius alii doleas accidisse? Depone moerorem, si potes: include, si non potes.

7. It is now our purpose to demonstrate that death ought not to cause too heavy grief, because nature itself rejects this. And so they say that there was a law among the Lycians, commanding that men who gave way to grief should be clothed in female apparel, inasmuch as they judged mourning to be soft and effeminate in a man. And it is inconsistent that those who ought to offer their breast to death for the faith, for religion, for their country, for righteous judgment, and the endeavour after virtue, should grieve too bitterly for that in the case of others which, if a fitting cause required, they would seek for themselves. For how can one help shrinking from that in ourselves which one mourns with too little patience when it has happened to others? Put aside your grief, if you can; if you cannot, keep it to yourself.

8. Aut absorbendus omnis, aut premendus est dolor. Cur enim moestitiam tuam non ratio potius, quam dies leniat? Non quod oblitteratura est temporis series, melius prudentia mitigabit. Quin etiam hoc ipsum irreligiosum puto erga ipsorum memoriam, quos dolemus amissos; ut oblivisci eorum malimus, quam consolatione mulceri: aut cum horrore reminisci, quam meminisse cum gratia: recordationem timere, quorum imago debeat esse voluptati: diffidere potius quam sperare de meritis defunctorum: et poenae addictos, quam immortalitati debitos, quos dilexeris, aestimare.

8. Is, then, all sorrow to be kept within or repressed? Why should not reason rather than time lighten one’s sadness? Shall not wisdom better assuage that which the passage of time will obliterate? Further, it seems to me that it is a want of due feeling with regard to the memory of those whose loss we mourn, when we prefer to forget them rather than that our sorrow should be lessened by consolation; and to shrink from the recollection of them, rather than remember them with thankfulness; that we fear the calling to mind of

those whose image in our hearts ought to be a delight; that we are rather distrustful than hopeful regarding the acceptance of the departed, and think of those we loved rather as liable to punishment than as heirs of immortality.

9. Sed dicis: Quos diligebamus, amisimus. Nonne haec nobis cum ipso mundo elementisque communia sunt; quia ad tempus credita in perpetuum tenere non possumus? Gemit terra sub aratris, imbribus caeditur, tempestate concutitur, stringitur frigore, sole torretur: ut fructus annuos feta parturiat: et cum se vario flore vestierit, proprio exuitur et spoliatur ornatu. Quantos haec raptores habet? Nec fructum suum queritur amissum, quem ideo generavit, ut amitteret: nec imposterum negat, quem sibi meminit auferendum.

9. But you may say: We have lost those whom we used to love. Is not this the common lot of ourselves and the earth and elements, that we cannot keep for ever what has been entrusted to us for a time? The earth groans under the plough, is lashed by rains, struck by tempests, bound by cold, burnt by the sun, that it may bring forth its yearly fruits; and when it has clothed itself with a variety of flowers, it is stripped and spoiled of its own adornment. How many plunderers it has! And it does not complain of the loss of its fruits, to which it gave birth that it might lose them, nor thereafter does it refuse to produce what it remembers will be taken from it.

10. Coelum ipsum non semper stellarum micantium globis fulget, quibus quasi quibusdam insignitur coronis. Non semper ortu lucis albescit, radiis solis irrutilat: sed assiduis vicibus ille quidam mundi vultus gratissimus, humenti noctium caligat horrore. Quid gratius luce? quid sole jacundius? quae quotidie occidunt; decessisse tamen haec nobis non moleste ferimus, quia eum redire praesumimus. Doceris in his quam in tuis debeas exhibere

patientiam. Si superiora tibi occidunt, nec dolori sunt; cur si occiderint humana, doleantur?

10. The heavens themselves do not always shine with the globes of twinkling stars, wherewith as with coronets they are adorned. They are not always growing bright with the dawn of light, or ruddy with the rays of the sun; but in constant succession that most pleasing appearance of the world grows dark with the damp chill of night. What is more grateful than the light? What more pleasant than the sun? Each of which daily comes to an end; yet we do not take it ill that these have passed away from us, because we expect them to return. You are taught in these things what patience you ought to manifest with regard to those who belong to you. If things above pass away from you, and cause no grief, why should the passing away of man be mourned?

11. Sit tamen patiens dolor, sit in tristibus modus, qui exigitur in secundis. An si immoderate gaudere non convenit, lugere convenit? Non enim mediocre malum est immoderatio doloris, aut metus mortis. Quantos ad laqueum impulit, armavit ad gladium; ut in eo ipso amentiam suam proderent, mortem non ferentes, et mortem appetentes: et quod pro malo fugerent, pro remedio adsciscerent? Qui quoniam consentaneum naturae suae ferre ac perpeti nequiverunt, contrarium voto incidunt; ut ab his in perpetuum separentur, quos sequi desideraverint. Sed haec rara; quoniam natura ipsa revocat, etsi praecipitet amentia.

11. Let, then, grief be patient, let there be that moderation in adversity which is required in prosperity. If it be not seemly to rejoice immoderately, is it seemly so to mourn? For want of moderation in grief or fear of death is no small evil. How many has it driven to the halter, in how many hands has it placed the sword, that they might by that very means demonstrate their madness in not enduring death, and yet seeking it; in adopting that as a

remedy which they flee from as an evil. And because they were unable to endure and to suffer what is in agreement with their nature, they fall into that which is contrary to their desire, being separated for ever from those whom they desired to follow. But this is not common, since nature herself restrains although madness drives men on.

12. Illud vero frequens in mulieribus, ut clamores publicos serant, quasi metuant ne earum ignoretur aerumna: ut illuviem vestis affectent, quasi in ea sit sensus dolendi: ut impexum sordibus immadident caput: ut postremo, quod plerisque in locis vulgo fieri solet, discisso amictu, diloricata veste, secreti pudoris nuda prostituant, quasi ipsum lenocinentur pudorem, quia pudoris sui praemia perdiderunt. Sic procaces oculi provocantur, ut concupiscant, ut amare incipiant membra nudata: quae si non aspicerent, non amarent. Atque utinam sordidata illa tegumenta corporis non speciem, sed mentem obnuberent! Latet plerumque sub tristi amictu mentis lascivia: et deformis horror vestis obtexitur; ut secreta petulantium tegantur animorum.

12. But it is common with women to make public wailing, as though they feared that their misery might not be known. They affect soiled clothing, as though the feeling of sorrow consisted therein; they moisten their unkempt hair with filth; and lastly, which is done habitually in many places, with their clothing torn and their dress rent in two, they prostitute their modesty in nakedness, as if they were ready to sacrifice that modesty because they have lost that which was its reward. And so wanton eyes are excited, and lust after those naked limbs, which were they not made bare they would not desire. Would that those filthy garments covered the mind rather than the bodily form. Lasciviousness of mind is often hidden under sad clothing, and the unseemly rudeness of dress is used as a covering to hide the secrets of wanton spirits.

13. Satis pie virum luget, quae servat pudorem, non deserit fidem. Haec bene defunctis officia impenduntur, ut vivant in mentibus, in affectibus perseverent. Non amisit virum, quae exhibet castitatem: non est viduata conjugio, quae non mutavit nomen mariti. Nec tu perdidisti haeredem, quae adjuvas cohaeredem: sed pro successore corruptibilium, mutasti consortem immortalium. Habes qui tibi repraesentet haeredem: solve pauperi, quod debetur haeredi; ut non solum maternae aut paternae senectutis, sed etiam vitae propriae sit superstes. Plus successori tuo relinquis, si portio ejus non ad luxum praesentium proficiat, sed ad pretium futurorum.

13. She mourns for her husband with sufficient devotion who preserves her modesty and does not give up her constancy. The best duties to discharge to the departed are that they live in our memories and continue in our affection. She has not lost her husband who manifests her chastity, nor is she widowed as regards her union who has not changed her husband's name. Nor have you lost the heir when you assist the joint-heir, but in exchange for a successor in perishable things you have a sharer in things eternal. You have one to represent your heir, pay to the poor what was due to the heir, that there may remain one to survive, not only the old age of father or mother, but your own life. You leave your successor all the more, if his share conduce not to luxury in things present, but to the purchasing of things to come.

14. Sed desideramus amissos. Duo sunt enim quae maxime angunt, aut desiderium eorum, quos amiserimus, sicut meo exemplo metior: aut quod eos vitae suavitate privatos, creptos laboris sui fructibus arbitremur. Tenera enim amoris est titillatio, quae improvisum affectum excitat, ut sedandi magis, quam excludendi doloris facultas relinquatur: simul quia pium videtur desiderare quod amiseris, et specie virtutis adolescit infirmitas.

14. But we long for those whom we have lost. For two things specially pain us: either the longing for those we have lost, which I experience in my own case; or that we think them deprived of the sweetness of life, and snatched away from the fruits of their toil. For there is a tender movement of love, which suddenly kindles the affection, so as to have the effect rather of soothing than of hindering the pain; inasmuch as it seems a dutiful thing to long for what one has lost, and so under an appearance of virtue weakness increases.

15. Sed cur tu putes patientiorem illam esse debere, quae dilectum ad peregrina dimiserit, et militiae gratia, vel susceptae administrationis officio, vel negotiandi usu transfretasse compererit; quam te qui non fortuito arbitrio derelinqueris, aut studio pecuniae, sed lege naturae? At recuperandi tibi interclusa spes: quasi cuiquam certa sit redeundi. Et plerumque dubia plus fatigant, ubi periculi metus integer, graviusque est timere, ne acciderit, quam tolerare quod jam noveris accidisse. Aliud enim summam formidinis coacervat, aliud finem exspectat doloris.

15. But why do you think that she who has sent her beloved to foreign parts, and because of military service, or of undertaking some office, or has discovered that for the purpose of commerce he has crossed the sea, ought to be more patient than thou who art left, not because of some chance decision or desire of money, but by the law of nature? But, you say, the hope of regaining him is shut out. As though the return of any one were certain! And oftentimes doubt wearies the mind more where the fear of danger is strong; and it is more burdensome to fear lest something should happen than to bear what one already knows has happened. For the one increases the amount of fear, the other looks forward to the end of its grief.

16. An dominis jus est, quo decreverint, transferre mancipia, Deo non est? Sed non suppetit exspectare remeantem; suppetit tamen praecedentem

sequi. Et certe brevis vitae usus nec illi multum videtur eripuisse, qui ante praecessit: nec te differre diutius, qui remanseris.

16. But masters have the right to transfer their slaves wherever they determine. Has not God this right? It is not granted to us to look for their return, but it is granted us to follow those gone before. And certainly the usual shortness of life seems neither to have deprived them of much who have gone before, nor to delay very long him who remains.

17. Quod si desiderium tuum mitigare non possis; nonne tamen videtur indignum pro desiderii tui studio rerum ordinem velle converti? Amantium ardentiora utique desideria sunt, et tamen necessitatis contuitu temperantur: et si dolent deseri, lugere tamen non solent: destituti amare impatientius erubescunt. Ita patientia desiderii plus probatur.

17. But if one cannot mitigate one's grief, does it not seem unbecoming to wish that because of our longing the whole course of things should be upset? The longings of lovers are certainly more intense, and yet they are tempered by regard to what is necessary; and though they grieve at being forsaken they are not wont to mourn, rather being deserted they blush at loving too hastily. And so patience in regret is all the more manifested.

18. Quid autem de his loquar, qui defunctos putant vitae suavitate privari? Nulla potest esse jucunditas inter has vitae nostrae amaritudines aut dolores, quae vel ex corporis ipsius infirmitate, vel extrinsecus accidentium incommoditate generantur. Anxii enim semper, et ad ipsa laetiorum vota suspensi, quodam fluctuamus incerto, sperantes dubia pro certis, incommoda pro secundis, caduca pro solidis: nihil habentes potestatis in arbitrio, nihil firmitatis in voto. At si aliquid contra voluntatem acciderit, perditos nos putamus; plusque adversorum dolore frangimur, quam

secundorum fructu potimur. Quibus igitur carent bonis, qui magis eripiuntur incommodis?

18. But what shall I say of those who think that the departed are deprived of the sweetness of life? There can be no real sweetness in the midst of the bitternesses and pains of this life, which are caused either by the infirmity of the body itself, or by the discomfort of things happening from without. For we are always anxious and in suspense as to our wishes for happier circumstances; we waver in uncertainty, our hope setting before us doubtful things for certain, inconvenient for satisfactory, things that will fail for what is firm, and we have neither any strength in our will nor certainty in our wishes. But if anything happens against our wish, we think we are lost, and are rather broken down by pain at adversity than cheered by the enjoyment of prosperity. What good, then, are they deprived of who are rather freed from troubles?

19. Valetudo, credo, bona plus adjuvat, quam affligit mala: aut opulentia plus delectat, quam egestas afficit: aut filiorum magis amabilis gratia, quam lugubris amissio: aut adolescentia jucundior, quam senectus tristior. Quam plerumque suorum taedet votorum et optati poenitet; ut doleat impetratum, quod non impetrare metuebat. Exsilia vero, et caeterarum poenarum acerbitates, quae potest compensare patria? quae voluptates? Quae etiam cum adsunt; debilitantur tamen, aut non utendi affectu, aut amittendi metu.

19. Good health, I doubt not, is more beneficial to us than bad health is hurtful. Riches bring more delights than poverty annoyance, the satisfaction in children’s love is greater than the sorrow at their loss, and youth is more pleasant than old age is sad. How often is the attainment of one’s wishes a weariness, and what one has longed for a regret; so that one grieves at having obtained what one was not afraid of obtaining. But what fatherland, what pleasures, can compensate for exile and the bitterness of other

penalties? For even when we have these, the pleasure is weakened either by the disinclination to use or by the fear of losing them.

20. Esto tamen: maneat inoffensus, immunis a doloribus, perpes in voluptatibus vitae cursus humanae; quid tamen commodi consequi potest anima in istiusmodi corporis inclusa compagibus, et quibusdam membrorum angustiis coarctata? Si caro nostra carcerem fugit, si detestatur omne quidquid evagandi facultatem negat; quae utique parvis ultra se audiendi videndique excurrere videtur sensibus: quanto magis anima nostra corporeum istud evadere gestit ergastulum, quae motu aereo libera, nescimus quo vadat, aut unde veniat (Joan. III, 8)!

20. But suppose that some one remains unharmed, free from grief, in uninterrupted enjoyment of the pleasures of the whole course of man's life, what comfort can the soul attain to, enclosed in the bonds of a body of such a kind, and restrained by the narrow limits of the limbs? If our flesh shrinks from prison, if it abhors everything which denies it the power of roaming about; when it seems, indeed, to be always going forth, with its little powers of hearing or seeing what is beyond itself, how much more does our soul desire to escape from that prison-house of the body, which, being free with movement like the air, goes whither we know not, and comes whence we know not.

21. Scimus tamen quod corpori supervivat, et ea, jam depositis proprii sensus repagulis expedita, libero cernat obtutu, quae ante sita in corpore non videbat. Quod exemplo dormientium possumus aestimare (quorum animi velut sepulto quieti corpore, ad altiora se subrigunt, et renuntiant corpori) rerum absentium, vel etiam coelestium visiones. Ergo si mors carnis ex saeculi nos absolvit aerummis, utique malum non est, quae libertatem restituit, excludit dolorem.

21. We know, however, that it survives the body, and that being set free from the bars of the body, it sees with clear gaze those things which before, dwelling in the body, it could not see. And we are able to judge of this by the instance of those who have visions of things absent and even heavenly in sleep (whose minds, when the body is as it were buried in sleep, rise to higher things and relate them to the body). So, then, if death frees us from the miseries of this world, it is certainly no evil, inasmuch as it restores liberty and excludes suffering.

22. Hinc igitur nobis adoriendus disputandi locus mortem malum non esse; quia aerumnarum omnium malorumque perfugium est, et fida statio securitatis, ac portus quietis. Nam quid in hac vita non experimur adversi? Quas non procellas, tempestatesque perpetimur? quibus non exagitamur incommodis? cujus parcitur meritis?

22. At this point the right place occurs for arguing that death is not an evil, because it is the refuge from all miseries and all evils, a safe harbour of security, and a haven of rest. For what adversity is there which we do not experience in this life? What storms and tempests do we not suffer? By what discomforts are we not harassed? Whose merits are spared?

23. Sanctus patriarcha Israel profugus patria, fratre, parentibus, domum mutavit exsilio (Gen. XXVIII, 5), stuprum filiae (Gen. XXXIV, 2), generi necem flevit (Gen. XLIX, 5), famen pertulit, sepulturam defunctus amisit; transferri enim ossa sua, ne vel mortuus requiesceret, obsecravit.

23. The holy patriarch Israel fled from his country, was exiled from his father, relatives, and home, Genesis 28:5 he mourned over the shame of his daughter Genesis 34:2 and the death of his son, he endured famine, when dead he lost his own grave, for he entreated that his bones should be translated, Genesis 49:29 lest even in death he should find rest.

24. Sanctus Joseph odia fratrum, insidias invidorum, servulorum obsequia, mercatorum imperia (Genes. XXXVII, 4 et seq.), dominae petulantiam, mariti inscitiam, carceris quoque est expertus aerumnam (Gen. XXXIX, 12 et seq.).

24. Holy Joseph experienced the hatred of his brethren, the guile of those who envied him, the service of slavery, the mastership of merchantmen, the wantonness of his mistress, the ignorance of her husband, and the misery of prison.

25. Sanctus David filios amisit duos: unum incestum (II Reg. XIII, 29), alterum parricidam (II Reg. XVIII, 14). Hos habuisse pudoris est, doloris est perdidisse. Amisit et tertium, quem amabat, parvulum. Hunc viventem adhuc flevit, mortuum non desideravit. Sic enim legimus (II Reg. XII, 18) quod, aegrotante puero, deprecabatur David Dominum pro eo, et jejunavit, et in cilicio jacuit, et astantibus majoribus natu, ut excitarent eum de terra, nec surgendum sibi, nec coenandum putavit. Ubi vero defunctum puerum comperit surrexit de terra, lavit illico, unctus est, vestimenta mutavit, adoravit Dominum, cibum sumpsit (Ibid., 20). Cum haec miranda pueris suis viderentur, respondit eis recte se, infante vivente, jejunasse et plorasse; quia jure arbitrabatur Dominum posse misereri, nec dubitandum quod vitam posset servare viventis, qui posset vivificare defunctos: jam vero, obita morte, quid jejunaret, qui jam non posset reducere mortuum exanimemque revocare: Ego, inquit, ibo ad eum: ipse autem non revertetur ad me (Ib. 23).

25. Holy David lost two sons; the one incestuous, 2 Samuel 13:29 the other a parricide. 2 Samuel 18:14 To have had them was a disgrace, to have lost them a grief. And he lost a third, the infant whom he loved. Him he wept for while still alive, but did not long for when dead. For so we read, that, while the child was sick, David entreated the Lord for him, and fasted and lay in sackcloth, and when the elders came near to raise him from the earth,

he would neither rise nor eat. But when he heard that the child was dead, he changed his clothes, worshipped God, and took food. When this seemed strange to his servants, he answered that he had rightly fasted and wept while the child was alive, because he justly thought that God might have mercy, and it could not be doubted that He could preserve the life of one alive Who could give life to the departed, but now, when death had taken place, why should he fast, for he could not now bring back him that was dead, and recall him who was lifeless. I, said he, shall go to him, but he shall not return to me.

26. O maximum solatium desiderantis! O verum sapientis judicium! O miram sapientiam servientis! ut nemo sibi adversi aliquid accidisse indigne ferat, et contra meritum suum se queratur afflictum. Quis enim tu es, qui de tuo merito ante pronunties? Cur praevenire desideras cognitorem? Cur eripis sententiam judicaturo? Nec sanctis istud permissum est, nec a sanctis impune umquam est usurpatum. David se propterea flagellatum suo carmine confitetur: Ecce ipsi peccatores et abundantes in saeculo, obtinuerunt divitias. Ergo sine causa justificavi cor meum, et lavi inter innocentes manus meas: et fui flagellatus tota die, et index meus in matutinum (Ps. LXXII, 12 et seq.).

26. O greatest consolation for him who mourns! O true judgment of a wise man! O wonderful wisdom of one who is a bond-man! That none should take it ill that anything adverse has happened to him, or complain that he is afflicted contrary to his deserts. For who are you who beforehand proclaims your deserts? Why do you desire to anticipate Him Who takes cognizance of all? Why do you snatch away the verdict from Him Who is going to judge? This is permitted not even to the saints, nor has it ever been done by the saints with impunity. David confesses that he was scourged for this in his psalm: Behold, these are the ungodly, who prosper in the world, they

have obtained riches. Therefore I have cleansed my heart in vain, and washed my hands among the innocent; and I was scourged all the day long, and my accusation came every morning.

27. Petrus quoque quamvis plenus fide devotionis; tamen quia nondum conscius nostrae infirmitatis praesumptive dixerat Domino: Animam meam pro te ponam (Joan. XIII, 37); tentationem praesumptionis antequam tertio gallus cantaret incurrit (Joan. XVIII, 27). Licet illa tentatio documentum fuerit ad salutem; ut discamus non contemnere carnis infirmitatem, ne contemnendo tentemur. Si Petrus tentatus est, quis praesumat, quis astruat se non posse tentari? Atque haud dubie pro nobis tentatus est Petrus, ut in fortiore non esset tentamenti periculum: sed in illo disceremus quemadmodum in persecutionibus resistentes, etsi vitae studio tentaremur; tentationis tamen aculeum patientiae lacrymis vinceremus.

27. Peter also, though full of faith and devotion, yet because, not yet conscious of our common weakness, he had presumptuously said to the Lord, I will lay down my life for Your sake, John 13:37 fell into the trial of his presumption before the cock crowed thrice. Luke 22:60-61 Although, indeed, that trial was a lesson for our salvation, that we might learn not to think little of the weakness of the flesh, lest through thus thinking little of it we should be tempted. If Peter was tempted, who can presume? Who can maintain that he cannot be tempted? And without doubt for our sakes was Peter tempted, so that, the proving of the temptation did not take place in a stronger than he, but that in him we should learn how, resisting in temptations, although tried even by care for our lives, we might yet overcome the sting of the temptation with tears of patience.

28. Idem tamen David, ne quem fortassis Scripturarum tenacem moveat factorum diversitas: idem, inquam, David parricidam mortuum flevit, qui non fleverat innocentem. Denique cum ploraret et lugeret, dixit: Filius meus

Abessalon, filius meus Abessalon; quis dabit mihi mortem pro te (II Reg. XVIII, 33)? Non solus ergo fletur Abessalon, fletur parricida, fletur Ammon (II Reg. XIII, 36). Non solum fletur incestus, sed etiam vindicatur: alter contemptu regni, alter fratris exsilio. Fletur sceleratus, non fletur dilectus. Quae causa? quae ratio? Non mediocris igitur in prudentibus deliberatio, sapientibus confirmatio; magna enim prudentiae in tanta factorum diversitate constantia, una fides. Et illos mortuos flevit, et flendum infantem mortuum non putavit; illos enim sibi periisse credebat, hunc resurrecturum sperabat.

28. But that same David, that the difference of his actions may not perhaps disturb those who cling to the words of Scripture; that same David, I say, who had not wept for the innocent infant, wept for the parricide when dead. For at the last, when he was wailing and mourning, he said, O my son Absalom, my son Absalom! Who will grant me to die for you! But not only is Absalom the parricide wept over, Amnon is wept over; not only is the incestuous wept over, but is even avenged; the one by the scorn of the kingdom, the other by the exile of his brothers. The wicked is wept over, not the innocent. What is the cause? What is the reason? There is no little deliberation with the prudent and confirmation of results with the wise; for there is great consistency of prudence in so great a difference of actions, but the belief is one. He wept for those who were dead, but did not think that he ought to weep for the dead infant, for he thought that they were lost to him, but hoped that the latter would rise again.

29. Sed de resurrectione posterius, nunc ad proposita revertamur. Praemisimus enim etiam sanctos viros gravia in hoc mundo et multa perpessos sine suffragatione meritorum, cum aerumna laborum. Unde regressus ad se David, in posterioribus dicit: Memento, Domine, quia pulvis sumus, homo tamquam foenum, dies ejus (Ps. CII, 15); et alibi: Homo

vanitati similis factus est, dies ejus sicut umbra praetereunt (Ps. CXLIII, 4). Quid enim nobis miserius, qui tamquam spoliati et nudi projicimur in hanc vitam, corpore fragili, corde lubrico, imbecillo animo, anxii ad sollicitudines, desidiosi ad labores, proni ad voluptates?

29. But concerning the Resurrection more will be said later on; let us now return to our immediate subject. We have set forth that even holy men have without any consideration for their merits, suffered many and heavy things in this world, together with toil and misery. So David, entering into himself, says: Remember; Lord, that we are dust; as for man, his days are but as grass; and in another place: Man is like to vanity, his days pass away as a shadow. For what is more wretched than we, who are sent into this life as it were plundered and naked, with frail bodies, deceitful hearts, weak minds, anxious in respect of cares, slothful as to labour, prone to pleasures.

30. Non nasci igitur longe optimum, secundum sancti Salomonis sententiam. Ipsum enim etiam ii qui sibi visi sunt in philosophia excellere secuti sunt. Nam ipse illis anterior, nostris posterior, ita in Ecclesiaste locutus est: Et laudavi ego omnes defunctos qui jam mortui sunt, magis quam viventes, quicumque vivunt usque adhuc. Et optimus super hos duos, qui nondum natus est, et qui non vidit hoc opus malum, quod factum est sub sole. Et vidi ego universum laborem, et omnem virtutem operis hujus; quia aemulatio viro ab altero ejus. Et quidem hoc vanitas, et praesumptio spiritus (Eccles. IV, 2 et seq.).

30. Not to be born is then by far the best, according to Solomon’s sentence. For they also who have seemed to themselves to excel most in philosophy have followed him. For he, before these philosophers in time, but later than many of our writers, spoke thus in Ecclesiastes: And I praised all the departed, which are already dead, more than the living, who are yet alive. And better than both they is he who has not yet been born, and who has not

seen this evil work which has been done under the sun. And I saw all travail, and all the good of this labour, that for this a man is envied of his neighbour. And, indeed, this is vanity and vexation of spirit.

31. Et quis hoc dixit, nisi ille qui sapientiam poposcit et impetravit (Sap. VII, 7); ut sciret compositionem orbis terrarum, et virtutem elementorum, anni cursus, et stellarum dispositiones, non ignoraret naturas animalium, et iras colligeret bestiarum, vim ventorum, et cogitationes hominum deprehenderet? Quem igitur non latuerunt coelestia, quemadmodum laterent mortalia? Qui cogitationem mulieris investigavit sibi infantem vindicantis alienum (III Reg. III, 27), qui naturas animalium, quas non acceperat, divina tamen gratia aspirante cognovit (Sap. VII, 20): hic de suae conditione naturae, quam in se expertus est, errare aut mentiri potuit?

31. And who said this but he who asked for and obtained wisdom, to know how the world was made, and the power of the elements, the course of the year, and the dispositions of stars, to be acquainted with the natures of living creatures, the furies of wild beasts, and the violence of winds, and to understand the thoughts of man! How, then, should mortal matters be hidden from him, from whom heavenly things were not hidden? He who penetrated the thoughts of the woman who was claiming the child of another, who by the inspiration of divine grace knew the natures of living creatures which he did not share; could he err or say what was untrue with regard to the circumstances of that nature, which he found in his own personal experience?

32. Sed non solus hoc sensit, etsi solus expressit. Legerat sanctum dixisse Job: Pereat dies ille, in quo natus sum (Job. III, 3); et cognoverat nasci malorum omnium esse principium: et ideo diem quo natus est, perire optavit; ut tolleretur origo incommodorum: et optavit perire diem generationis suae; ut diem resurrectionis acciperet. Audierat etiam Salomon

dixisse patrem suum: Notum fac mihi, Domine, finem meum, et numerum, dierum meorum; ut sciam quid desit mihi (Ps. XXXVIII, 5). Noverat enim David non posse id quod perfectum est, hic comprehendi, et ideo ad ea quae sunt futura, properabat. Nunc enim ex parte scimus, et ex parte cognoscimus: tunc autem id quod perfectum est, poterit comprehendi; cum revelata facie nobis speculandae majestatis aeternitatisque divinae coeperit relucere non umbra, sed veritas (I Cor. XIII, 12).

32. But Solomon was not the only person who felt this, though he alone gave expression to it. He had read the words of holy Job: Let the day perish wherein I was born. Job 3:3 Job had recognized that to be born is the beginning of all woes, and therefore wished that the day on which he was born might perish, so that the origin of all troubles might be removed, and wished that the day of his birth might perish that he might receive the day of resurrection. For Solomon had heard his father’s saying: Lord, make me to know mine end, and the number of my days, that I may know what is lacking unto me. For David knew that what is perfect cannot be grasped here, and therefore hastened on to those things which are to come. For now we know in part, and understand in part, but then it will be possible for that which is perfect to be grasped, when not the shadow but the reality of the Divine Majesty and eternity shall begin to shine so as to be gazed upon by us with unveiled face. 1 Corinthians 13:12

33. Nemo tamen festinaret ad finem, nisi vitae istius fugeret incommoditatem. Et ideo etiam David quare ad finem festinet, exposuit dicens: Ecce veteres posuisti dies meos, et habitudo mea tamquam nihil ante te: verumtamen universa vanitas, omnis homo vivens (Ps. XXXVIII, 6). Quid igitur moramur fugere vanitatem? aut quid nos delectat in hoc saeculo vane conturbari, thesaurum pecuniarum condere, et ignorare cui congregamus haeredi? Petamus amoveri a nobis plagas, eripi nos ex

insipienti saeculo, carere peregrinatione diuturna, ad illam redire patriam et naturalem domum. In hac enim terra advenae sumus atque peregrini (Ephes. II, 19): remigrandum eo, unde descendimus: ambiendum et obsecrandum non perfunctorie, sed obnixe; ut a dolis et ab iniquitate loquacium liberemur. Et ille qui remedium noverat, prolongatum tamen suum ingemit incolatum, et cum peccatoribus et iniquis se habitare deplorat (Ps. CXIX, 5). Quid ego faciam, qui et peccatum habeo, et ignoro remedium?

33. But no one would hasten to the end, except he were fleeing from the discomfort of this life. And so David also explained why he hastened to the end, when he said: Behold You have made my days old, and my being is as nothing before You, surely all things are vanity, even every man that lives. Why, then, do we hesitate to flee from vanity? Or why does it please us to be troubled to no purpose in this world, to lay up treasures, and not know for what heir we are gathering them? Let us pray that troubles be removed from us, that we be taken out of this foolish world, that we may be free from our daily pilgrimage, and return to that country and our natural home. For on this earth we are strangers and foreigners; we have to return there whence we have come down, we must strive and pray not perfunctorily but earnestly to be delivered from the guile and wickedness of men full of words. And he who knew the remedy groaned that his sojourn was prolonged, and that he must dwell with the unjust and sinners. What shall I do, who both am sinful and know not the remedy?

34. Hieremias quoque quod generatus sit, et ipse deplorat his verbis, dicens: Heu me, mater! ut quid me peperisti virum causam dicentem judicii in omni terra? Non profui, neque profuit mihi quisquam: virtus mea defecit (Jerem. XV, 10). Si igitur sancti viri vitam fugiunt, quorum vita etsi nobis utilis, sibi tamen inutilis aestimatur; quid nos facere oportet, qui nec aliis prodesse

possumus, et nobis vitam hanc quasi fenebrem pecuniam usurario quodam cumulo gravescentem onerari in dies peccatorum aere sentimus?

34. Jeremiah also bewails his birth in these words: Woe is me, my mother! Why have you borne me a man of contention in all the earth? I have not benefited others, nor has any one benefited me, my strength has failed. If, then, holy men shrink from life whose life, though profitable to us, is esteemed unprofitable to themselves; what ought we to do who am not able to profit others, and who feel that it, like money borrowed at interest, grows more heavily weighted every day with an increasing mass of sins?

35. Quotidie morior, Apostolus dicit (I Cor. XV, 31). Melius utique, quam illi, qui meditationem mortis philosophiam esse dixerunt: illi enim studium praedicarunt, hic usum ipsum mortis exercuit. Et illi quidem propter se: Paulus autem ipse perfectus moriebatur non propter suam, sed propter nostram infirmitatem. Quid autem est mortis meditatio, nisi quaedam corporis et animae segregatio; quia mors ipsa non aliud quam corporis atque animae secessio definitur? Sed hoc secundum communem opinionem.

35. I die daily, 1 Corinthians 15:31 says the Apostle. Better certainly is this saying than theirs who said that meditation on death was true philosophy, for they praised the study, he exercised the practice of death. And they acted for themselves only, but Paul, himself perfect, died not for his own weakness but for ours. But what is meditation on death but a kind of separation of body and soul, for death itself is defined as nothing else than the separation of body and soul? But this is in accordance with common opinion.

36. Secundum Scripturas autem triplicem esse mortem accipimus. Una est cum morimur peccato, Deo vivimus (Rom. VI, 10). Beata igitur mors, quae culpae refuga, Domino dedita, a mortali nos separat, immortali nos

consecrat. Alia mors est vitae hujus excessus, qua mortuus est patriarcha Abraham, patriarcha David, et sepulti sunt cum patribus suis; cum anima nexu corporis liberatur. Tertia mors est, de qua dictum est: Dimitte mortuos sepelire mortuos suos (Matth. VIII, 22). Ea morte non solum caro, sed etiam anima moritur: Anima enim quae peccaverit, ipsa morietur (Ezech. XVIII, 4). Moritur enim Domino, non naturae infirmitate, sed culpae. Sed haec mors non perfunctio hujus est vitae, sed lapsus erroris.

36. But according to the Scriptures we have been taught that death is threefold. One death is when we die to sin, but live to God. Blessed, then, is that death which, escaping from sin, and devoted to God, separates us from what is mortal and consecrates us to Him Who is immortal. Another death is the departure from this life, as the patriarch Abraham died, and the patriarch David, and were buried with their fathers; when the soul is set free from the bonds of the body. The third death is that of which it is said: Leave the dead to bury their own dead. Matthew 8:22 In that death not only the flesh but also the soul dies, for the soul that sins, it shall die. Ezekiel 18:4 For it dies to the Lord, through the weakness not of nature but of guilt. But this death is not the discharge from this life, but a fall through error.

37. Una ergo est mors spiritalis, alia naturalis, tertia poenalis. Sed non quae naturalis, eadem poenalis; non enim pro poena Dominus, sed pro remedio dedit mortem. Denique Adae peccanti praescriptum est aliud pro poena, aliud pro remedio; pro poena, cum dicitur: Quoniam audisti vocem uxoris tuae, et manducasti de ligno, de quo praeceperam tibi ab eo solo ne manducares, maledicta terra in operibus tuis: in tristitia manducabis fructum ejus omnibus diebus vitae tuae. Spinas et tribulos germinabit tibi, et edes pabulum agri. Cum sudore vultus tui manducabis panem tuum, donec revertaris in terram, de qua assumptus es (Gen. III, 17 et seq.).

37. Spiritual death, then, is one thing, natural death another, a third the death of punishment. But that which is natural is not also penal, for the Lord did not inflict death as a penalty, but as a remedy. And to Adam when he sinned, one thing was appointed as a penalty, another for a remedy, when it was said: Because you have hearkened unto the voice of your wife, and hast eaten of the tree of which I had commanded you that of it alone you should not eat, cursed is the ground in your labor; in sorrow shall you eat its fruit all the days of your life. Thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to you, and you shall eat the herb of the field. In the sweat of your face shall you eat your bread, till thou return to the earth from which you were taken.

38. Habes poenarum ferias, quia adversus spinas saeculi hujus et sollicitudines mundi, voluptatesque divitiarum, quae Verbum excludunt, poenam includunt (Luc. VIII, 12); mors pro remedio data est, quasi finis malorum. Non enim dixit: Quoniam audisti vocem mulieris, reverteris in terram; haec enim esset poenalis sententia, quemadmodum est illa: Maledicta terra spinas et tribulos germinabit tibi; sed dixit: Manducabis panem tuum in sudore, donec revertaris in terram. Vides mortem magis metam esse nostrarum poenarum, qua cursus hujus vitae inciditur?

38. Here you have the days of rest from penalties, for they contain the punishment decreed against the thorns of this life, the cares of the world, and the pleasures of riches which shut out the Word. Death is given for a remedy, because it is the end of evils. For God said not, Because you have hearkened to the voice of the woman you shall return to the earth, for this would have been a penal sentence, as this one is, The earth under curse shall bring forth thorns and thistles to you; but He said: In sweat shall you eat your bread until thou return to the earth. You see that death is rather the goal of our penalties, by which an end is put to the course of this life.

39. Ergo mors non solum malum non est, sed etiam bonum est. Denique pro bono quaeritur, sicut scriptum est: Quaerent homines mortem et non invenient eam (Apoc. IX, 6). Quaerent enim illi qui dicturi sunt montibus: Cadite super nos, et collibus: Operite nos (Luc. XXIII, 30). Quaeret etiam anima illa, quae peccat. Quaerit dives ille positus in inferno, qui vult digito Lazari refrigerari linguam suam (Luc. XVI, 24).

39. So, then, death is not only not an evil, but is even a good thing. So that it is sought as a good, as it is written: Men shall seek death and shall not find it. Revelation 9:6 They will seek it who shall say to the mountains: Fall on us, and to the hills, Cover us. Luke 23:30 That soul, too, shall seek it which has sinned. That rich man lying in hell shall seek it, who wishes that his tongue should be cooled with the finger of Lazarus. Luke 16:24

40. Videmus itaque quod et mors haec lucrum est, et vita poena est. Unde et Paulus ait: Mihi vivere Christus est, et mori lucrum (Phil. I, 21). Quid est Christus, nisi mors corporis, spiritus vitae? Et ideo commoriamur cum eo, ut vivamus cum eo. Sit quidam quotidianus usus in nobis, affectusque moriendi; ut per illam, quam diximus, segregationem a corporeis cupiditatibus anima nostra se discat extrahere, et tamquam in sublimi locata, quo terrenae adire libidines, et eam sibi glutinare non possint, suscipiat mortis imaginem, ne poenam mortis incurrat. Repugnat enim lex carnis legi mentis, et eam legi erroris addicit, sicut Apostolus revelavit, dicens: Video enim legem carnis meae repugnantem legi mentis meae, et captivantem me in lege peccati (Rom. VII, 23). Omnes impugnamur, omnes sentimus: sed non omnes liberamur. Et ideo infelix ego homo, nisi remedium quaeram.

40. We see, then, that this death is a gain and life a penalty, so that Paul says: To me to live is Christ and to die is gain. Philippians 1:21 What is Christ but the death of the body, the breath of life? And so let us die with Him, that we may live with Him. Let there then be in us as it were a daily

practice and inclination to dying, that by this separation from bodily desires, of which we have spoken, our soul may learn to withdraw itself, and, as it were placed on high, when earthly lusts cannot approach and attach it to themselves, may take upon herself the likeness of death, that she incur not the penalty of death. For the law of the flesh wars against the law of the mind, and makes it over to the law of error, as the Apostle has made known to us, saying: For I see a law of the flesh in my members warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity in the law of sin. Romans 7:23 We are all attached, we all feel this; but we are not all delivered. And so a miserable man am I, unless I seek the remedy.

41. Sed quod remedium? Quis me liberabit de corpore mortis hujus? Gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum (Ibid., 24, 25). Habemus medicum, sequamur remedium. Remedium nostrum Christi gratia est, et corpus mortis corpus est nostrum. Ergo peregrinemur a corpore, ne peregrinemur a Christo: etsi in corpore sumus, tamen quae sunt corporis non sequamur, nec deseramus jura naturae, sed dona gratiae praeoptemus: Dissolvi enim, et cum Christo esse multo melius: permanere autem in carne magis necessarium propter vos (Phil. I, 23, 24).

41. But what remedy? Who shall deliver me out of the body of this death? Thanks be to God through Jesus Christ our Lord. Romans 7:24-25 We have a physician, let us use the remedy. Our remedy is the grace of Christ, and the body of death is our body. Let us therefore be as strangers to our body, lest we be strangers to Christ. Though we are in the body, let us not follow the things which are of the body, let us not reject the rightful claims of nature, but desire before all the gifts of grace: For to be dissolved and to be with Christ is far better; yet to abide in the flesh is more needful for your sakes. Philippians 1:23-24

42. Sed non omnibus necessarium, Domine Jesu: non mihi, qui nulli utilis sum; nam mihi lucrum est mori, ne plura peccem. Lucrum mihi est mori, qui ipso libro quo alios consolor, quasi vehementiore monitore ad desiderium amissi fratris impellor; quoniam me ejus non sinit oblivisci. Nunc magis amo, et vehementius desidero. Desidero cum loquor, desidero cum relego; et ideo hoc potius scribendum arbitror, ne quando ab ejus recordatione divellar. Quod non contra Scripturas facio, sed cum Scripturis sentio; ut patientius doleam, impatientius desiderem.

42. But this need is not the case of all, Lord Jesus; it is not so with me, who am profitable to none; for to me death is a gain, that I may sin no more. To die is gain to me, who, in the very treatise in which I comfort others, am incited as it were by an intense impulse to the longing for my lost brother, since it suffers me not to forget him. Now I love him more, and long for him more intensely. I long for him when I speak, I long for him when I read again what I have written, and I think that I am more impelled to write this, that I may not ever be without the recollection of him. And in this I am not acting contrary to Scripture, but I am of the same mind with Scripture, that I may grieve with more patience, and long with greater intensity.

43. Praestitisti mihi, frater, ne mortem timerem, atque utinam moriatur anima mea in anima tua; hoc enim sibi Balaam pro maximo bono optat, donatus Spiritu prophetandi: Moriatur, inquit, anima mea in animis justorum, et fiat semen meum sicut semen istorum (Num. XXIII, 10). Et vere hoc secundum prophetiam optat; qui enim viderat ortum Christi, vidit ejus triumphale, vidit mortem, vidit in eo perennem hominum resurrectionem; et ideo mori non timet resurrecturus. Non moriatur ergo anima mea in peccato, neque peccatum in se recipiat: sed moriatur in anima justi: ut ejus recipiat aequitatem. Denique qui moritur in Christo, fit ejus gratiae particeps in lavacro.

43. You have caused me, my brother, not to fear death, and I only would that my life might die with yours! This Balaam wished for as the greatest good for himself, when, inspired by the spirit of prophecy, he said: Let my soul die in the souls of the righteous, and let my seed be like the seed of them. And in truth he wished this according to the spirit of prophecy, for as he saw the rising of Christ, so also he saw His triumph, he saw His death, but saw also in Him the everlasting resurrection of men, and therefore feared not to die as he was to rise again. Let not then my soul die in sin, nor admit sin into itself, but let it die in the soul of the righteous, that it may receive his righteousness. Then, too, he who dies in Christ is made a partaker of His grace in the Font.

44. Non ergo formidabilis mors, nec amara egentibus, nec gravior divitibus, nec injusta senioribus, nec ignava fortibus, nec perpetua fidelibus, nec improvisa sapientibus. Quam multi enim vitam solo mortis titulo consecrarunt, quantos vivere puduit, mori profuit? Morte unius plerumque accepimus maximos populos liberatos: morte imperatoris fugatos exercitus hostium, quos vivus vincere nequivisset.

44. Death is not, then, an object of dread, nor bitter to those in need, nor too bitter to the rich, nor unkind to the old, nor a mark of cowardice to the brave, nor everlasting to the faithful nor unexpected to the wise. For how many have consecrated their life by the renown of their death alone, how many have been ashamed to live, and have found death a gain! We have read how often by the death of one great nations have been delivered; the armies of the enemy have been put to flight by the death of the general, who had been unable to conquer them when alive.

45. Morte martyrum religio defensa, cumulata fides, Ecclesia roborata est: vicerunt mortui, victi persecutores sunt. Itaque quorum vitam nescimus, horum mortem celebramus. Unde et David prophetice gloriatus in suae

mentis excessu: Pretiosa, inquit, in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus (Psal. CXV, 15). Mortem maluit praeferre, quam vitam. Ipsa mors martyrum praemium vitae est. Morte etiam inimicorum odia solvuntur.

45. By the death of martyrs religion has been defended, faith increased, the Church strengthened; the dead have conquered, the persecutors have been overcome. And so we celebrate the death of those of whose lives we are ignorant. So, too, David rejoiced in prophecy at the departure of his own soul, saying: Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints. He esteemed death better than life. The death itself of the martyrs is the prize of their life. And again, by the death of those at variance hatred is put an end to.

46. Quid plura? Unius morte mundus redemptus est. Potuit enim Christus non mori, si voluisset: sed neque refugiendam mortem quasi ignavam putavit, neque melius nos quam moriendo servasset. Itaque mors ejus vita est omnium. Morte ejus signamur, mortem ejus orantes annuntiamus, mortem ejus offerentes praedicamus: mors ejus victoria est, mors ejus sacramentum est, mors ejus annua solemnitas mundi est. Quid praeterea de ejus morte dicamus, cum divino probemus exemplo, quia immortalitatem mors sola quaesivit, atque ipsa se mors redemit? Non igitur moerenda mors, quae causa salutis est publicae: non fugienda mors, quam Dei Filius non dedignatus est, non refugit. Non solvendus ordo naturae; quod enim commune est omnibus, exceptum in singulis esse non potest.

46. Why should more be said? By the death of One the world was redeemed. For Christ, had He willed, need not have died, but He neither thought that death should be shunned as though there were any cowardice in it, nor could He have saved us better than by dying. And so His death is the life of all. We are signed with the sign of His death, we show forth His death when we pray; when we offer the Sacrifice we declare His death, for

His death is victory, His death is our mystery, His death is the yearly recurring solemnity of the world. What now should we say concerning His death, since we prove by this Divine Example that death alone found immortality, and that death itself redeemed itself. Death, then, is not to be mourned over, for it is the cause of salvation for all; death is not to be shunned, for the Son of God did not think it unworthy of Him, and did not shun it. The order of nature is not to be loosed, for what is common to all cannot admit of exception in individuals.

47. Et mors quidem in natura non fuit, sed conversa est in naturam; non enim a principio Deus mortem instituit, sed pro remedio dedit. Et consideremus ne videatur esse contrarium. Nam si bonum est mors, cur scriptum est, quia Deus mortem non fecit: sed malitia hominum mors introivit in orbem terrarum (Sap. I, 13; II, 24). Revera enim mors divino operi necessaria non fuit, cum in paradiso positis bonorum omnium jugis successus afflueret; sed praevaricatione damnata in labore diuturno, gemituque intolerando vita hominum coepit esse miserabilis: debuitque dari finis malorum, ut mors restitueret, quod vita amiserat. Immortalitas enim oneri potius quam usui est, nisi aspiret gratia.

47. And, indeed, death was no part of man’s nature, but became natural; for God did not institute death at first, but gave it as a remedy. Let us then take heed that it do not seem to be the opposite. For if death is a good, why is it written that God made not death, but by the malice of men death entered into the world? For of a truth death was no necessary part of the divine operation, since for those who were placed in paradise a continual succession of all good things streamed forth; but because of transgression the life of man, condemned to lengthened labour, began to be wretched with intolerable groaning; so that it was fitting that an end should be set to the

evils, and that death should restore what life had lost. For immortality, unless grace breathed upon it, would be rather a burden than an advantage.

48. Et si bene discutias, non naturae mors ista est, sed malitiae; manet enim natura, malitia moritur. Resurgit quod fuit: atque utinam ut jam peccandi liberum, ita vacuum culpae prioris! Sed hoc ipsum indicio est mortem non esse naturae, quia iidem erimus, qui fuimus. Itaque aut peccatorum nostrorum supplicia pendemus, aut bene gestorum gratiam consequemur. Resurget enim natura eadem, jam stipendiis mortis honoratior. Denique mortui, qui in Christo sunt, resurgent primi: deinde et nos qui vivimus, inquit, simul cum illis rapiemur in nubibus obviam Christo in aera; et ita semper cum Domino erimus (I Thess. IV, 15, 16). Illi primi, viventes autem secundi. Illi cum Jesu, viventes per Jesum. Illis dulcior vita post requiem: viventibus etsi grata compendia, tamen ignota remedia.

48. And if one consider accurately, it is not the death of our being, but of evil, for being continues, it is evil that perishes. That which has been rises again; would that as it is now free from sinning, so it were without former guilt! But this very thing is a proof that it is not the death of being, that we shall be the same persons as we were. And so we shall either pay the penalty of our sins, or attain to the reward of our good deeds. For the same being will rise again, now more honourable for having paid the tax of death. And then the dead who are in Christ shall rise first; then, too, we who are alive, it is said, shall together with them be caught up in the clouds into the air to meet the Lord, and so we shall always be with the Lord. 1 Thessalonians 4:16-17 They first, but those that are alive second. They with Jesus, those that are alive through Jesus. To them life will be sweeter after rest, and though the living will have a delightful gain, yet they will be without experience of the remedy.

49. Nihil est igitur quod in morte timeamus, nihil quod debeamus dolere; si aut naturae repetenti vita, quae accepta est, rependatur: aut petenti impendatur officio, in quo religionis cultus, aut virtutis usus est. Neque enim quisquam sibi, ut sic maneret, optavit. Joanni promissum aestimatum est, sed non est creditum. Verba tenemus, sententiam derivamus. Ipse in libro negat sibi, quod non moreretur, esse promissum; ne quem vana spes exemplo incesseret.

Quod si id velle spes insolens; quanto insolentius, quod non praeter modum acciderit, ultra modum dolere?

49. There is, then, nothing for us to fear in death, nothing for us to mourn, whether life which was received from nature be rendered up to her again, or whether it be sacrificed to some duty which claims it, and this will be either an act of religion or the exercise of some virtue. And no one ever wished to remain as at present. This has been supposed to have been promised to John, but it is not the truth. We hold fast to the words, and deduce the meaning from them. He himself in his own writing John 21:23 denies that there was a promise that he should not die, that no one from that instance might yield to an empty hope. But if to wish for this would be an extravagant hope, how much more extravagant were it to grieve without rule for what has happened according to rule!

50. Gentiles plerumque se consolantur viri, vel de communitate aerumnae, vel de jure naturae, vel de immortalitate animae. Quibus utinam sermo constaret, ac non miseram animam in varia portentorum ludibria formasque transfunderent! Quid igitur nos facere oportet, quorum stipendium resurrectio est? cujus gratiam quoniam negare plerique non possunt, fidem abnuunt. Et ideo eam non uno argumento aliquo, sed pluribus modis, ut possumus, astruamus.

50. The heathen mostly console themselves with the thought, either of the common misery, or of the law of nature, or of the immortality of the soul. And would that their utterances were consistent, and that they did not transmit the wretched soul into a number of ludicrous monstrosities and figures! But what ought we to do, whose reward is the resurrection, though many, not being able to deny the greatness of this gift, refuse to believe in it? And for this reason will we maintain it, not by one casual argument only, but by as many as we are able.

51. Et quidem omnia aut usu, aut ratione, aut exemplo, aut eo quia decorum sit ea esse, ideo esse creduntur; et ad fidem singula suffragantur. Usus, quia movemur: ratio, quia quod movet, virtutis alterius convenit aestimari: exemplum, quia generavit ager fruges, et ideo generaturum esse praesumimus: decorum, quia et ubi fructum non putamus, decere tamen credimus, ut virtutis opera minime deseramus.

51. All things, indeed, are believed to be, either because of experience, or on grounds of reason, or from similar instances, or because it is fitting that they be, and each of these supports our belief. Experience teaches us that we are moved; reason, that which moves us must be considered the property of another power; similar instances show that the field has borne crops, and therefore we expect that it will continue to bear them. Fitness, because even where we do not think that there will be results, yet we believe that it is by no means fitting to give up the works of virtue.

52. Singula igitur singulis astruuntur. Tribus tamen evidentius colligitur resurrectionis fides, quibus omnia comprehenduntur: ratione, universitatis exemplo, testimonio rei gestae; quia plurimi surrexerunt. Ratio evidens est; quia cum omnis vitae nostrae usus in corporis animaeque consortio sit, resurrectio autem aut boni actus praemium habeat, aut poenam improbi; necesse sit corpus resurgere, cujus actus expenditur. Quomodo enim in

judicium vocabitur anima sine corpore, cum de suo et corporis contubernio ratio praestanda sit?

52. Each, then, is supported by each. But belief in the resurrection is inferred most clearly on three grounds, in which all are included. These are reason, analogy from universal example, and the evidence of what has happened, since many have risen. Reason is clear. For since the whole course of our life consists in the union of body and soul, and the resurrection brings with it either the reward of good works, or the punishment of wicked ones, it is necessary that the body, whose actions are weighed, rise again. For how shall the soul be summoned to judgment without the body, when account has to be rendered of the companionship of itself and the body?

53. Resurrectio omnibus attributa est: sed ideo difficile creditur, quia non nostrum meritum, sed Dei munus est. Prima igitur resurrectionis fides usus est mundi, rerumque status omnium, generationum series, successionum vices, obitus ortusque signorum, diei et noctis occasus, eorumque quotidie tamquam rediviva successio. Temperamenti quoque genitalis hujus terrae aliter ratio subesse non posset, nisi humoris ipsius quo omnia terrena generantur, quantum diurni solis aestus excoqueret, tantum rore nocturno dispositio divina repararet. Nam quid de fructibus loquar? Nonne tibi videntur occidere, cum decidunt: resurgere, cum revirescunt? Quod satum est, resurgit: quod mortuum est, resurgit; et in eadem genera, in easdem species reformatur. Hos terra primum reddidit fructus, in his primum natura nostra speciem resurrectionis imitata est.

53. Rising again is the lot of all, but there is a difficulty in believing this, because it is not due to our deserts, but is the gift of God. The first argument for the resurrection is the course of the world, and the condition of all things, the series of generations, the changes in the way of succession, the

setting and rising of constellations, the ending of day and night, and their daily succession coming as it were again to life. And no other reason can exist for the fertile temperament of this earth, but that the divine order restores by the dews of night as much of that moisture from which all earthly things are produced, as the heat of the sun dries up by day. Why should I speak of the fruits of the earth? Do they not seem to die when they fall, to rise again when they grow green once more? That which is sown rises again, that which is dead rises again, and they are formed once more into the same classes and kinds as before. The earth first gave back these fruits, in these first our nature found the pattern of the resurrection.

54. Quid dubitas de corpore corpus resurgere? Granum seritur, granum resurgit: pomum decidit, pomum resurgit; sed flore granum induitur, folliculoque vestitur: Et hoc mortale oportet induere immortalitatem, et hoc corruptibile induere incorruptionem (I Cor. XV, 53). Flos resurrectionis immortalitas est, flos resurrectionis incorruptio est. Quid enim uberius quiete perpetua? quid locupletius securitate diuturna? Hic est multiplex fructus, cujus proventu pullulat fecundior hominum natura post mortem.

54. Why doubt that body shall rise again from body? Grain is sown, grain comes up again: fruit is sown, fruit comes up again; but the grain is clothed with blossom and husk. And this mortal must put on immortality, and this corruptible must put on incorruption. 1 Corinthians 15:53 The blossom of the resurrection is immortality, the blossom of the resurrection is incorruption. For what is more fruitful than perpetual rest? What supplied with richer store than everlasting security? Here is that abundant fruit, by whose increase man’s nature shoots forth more abundantly after death.

55. Sed miraris quemadmodum putrefacta solidentur, dispersa coeant, absumpta reparentur, non miraris quemadmodum semina vapore et compressu terrae soluta viridescant. Nam utique etiam ipsa terreno coalitu

putrefacta solvuntur, et cum occaecata et mortua soli genitalis succus animaverit, quodam calore vitali spiritum quemdam herbae viridantis exhalant. Deinde paulatim teneram spicae adolescentis aetatem culmo erigit, et vaginis quibusdam natura tamquam sedula mater includit; ne pubescentem glacies adurat aspera, atque a nimio solis defendat ardore: frugem quoque ipsam adhuc quasi primis erumpentem cunabulis, mox adultam ne pluvia decutiat, ne aura dispergat, ne avium minorum morsus interimat, vallo aristarum sepire consuevit.

55. But you wonder how what has yielded to putrefaction can again become solid, how scattered particles can come together, those that are consumed be made good: you do not wonder how seeds broken up under the moist pressure of the earth grow green. For certainly they too, rotting under contact with the earth, are broken up, and when the fertilising moisture of the soil gives life to the dead and hidden seeds, and, by the vital warmth, as it were breathes out a kind of soul of the green herb. Then little by little nature raises from the ground the tender stalk of the growing ear, and as a careful mother folds it in certain sheaths, lest the sharp ice should hurt it as it grows, and to protect it from too great heat of the sun; and lest after this the rain should break down the fruit itself escaping as it were from its first cradle and just grown up, or lest the wind should scatter it, or small birds destroy it, she usually hedges it around with a fence of bristling awn.

56. Quid igitur miraris si homines, quos acceperit, terra restituat; cum seminum corpora quaecumque susceperit, vivificet, erigat, vestiat, muniat, atque defendat? Desine ergo dubitare quod depositum generis humani terrae fides reddat, quae commendata sibi semina usurario quodam fenore multiplicata restituat. Nam quid de generibus arborum loquar, quae posito surgunt de semine, fructusque resolutos rediviva fecunditate resuscitant, et formae veteri atque imagini suae reddunt, multasque aetates quaedam

arborum corpora reparata transmittunt; ut ipsa durando vincant saecula? Putrescere videmus acinum, vitem resurgere: surculus inseritur, arbor renascitur. An de reparandis arboribus divina est providentia, de hominibus nulla cura? Et qui ea quae ad usus hominum dedit, perire non passus est; hominem perire patietur, quem ad imaginem sui fecit?

56. Why should one, then, be surprised if the earth give back those bodies of men which it has received, seeing that it gives life to, raises, clothes, protects, and defends whatsoever bodies of seeds it has received? Cease then to doubt that the trustworthy earth, which restores multiplied as it were by usury the seeds committed to it, will also restore the entrusted deposit of the race of man. And why should I speak of the kinds of trees, which spring up from seed sown, and with revivified fruitfulness bear again their opening fruits, and repeat the old shape and likeness, and certain trees being renewed continue through many generations, and in their endurance overpass the very centuries? We see the grape rot, and the vine come up again: a graft is inserted and the tree is born again. Is there this divine foresight for restoring trees, and no care for men? And He Who has not suffered to perish that which He gave for man’s use, shall He suffer man to perish, whom he made after His own image?

57. Sed incredibile tibi videtur, ut mortui reviviscant: Insipiens tu ipse quod seminas, nonne prius moritur, ut vivificetur (Ibid., 36)? Sere quemlibet fructum arentem, resuscitatur. Sed habet succum. Et nostrum corpus habet sanguinem suum, habet humorem suum. Hic nostri succus est corporis. Unde illud quoque explosum arbitror, quod arentem surculum quidam reviviscere negant, idque ad praejudicium carnis derivare nituntur. Non enim caro arida, cum caro omnis e limo sit, limus in humore, humor e terris. Denique multa gignentia quamvis jugi serenitate humo arida arenosaque nascuntur; quoniam ipsa sibi terra humorem sufficit.

Num igitur in hominibus terra degenerat, quae omnia regenerare consuevit? Unde claret non esse dubitandum quod secundum naturam magis, quam contra naturam est; ex natura enim est resurgere nascentia omnia, contra naturam est interire.

57. But it appears incredible to you that the dead rise again? You foolish one, that which you yourself sow, does it not first die that it may be quickened? 1 Corinthians 15:36 Sow any dry seed you please, it is raised up. But, you answer, it has the life-juice in itself. And our body has its blood, has its own moisture. This is the life-juice of our body. So that I think that the objection is exploded which some allege that a dry twig does not revive, and then endeavour to argue from this to the prejudice of the flesh. For the flesh is not dry, since all flesh is of clay, clay comes from moisture — moisture from the earth. Then, again, many growing plants, though always fresh, spring from dry and sandy soil, since the earth itself supplies sufficient moisture for itself. Does the earth then, which continually restores all things, fail with regard to man? From what has been said it is clear that we must not doubt that it is rather in accordance with than contrary to nature; for it is natural that all things living should rise again, but contrary to nature that they should perish.

58. Sequitur illud quod gentiles plerumque perturbat, quomodo fieri possit ut quos mare absorbuerit, ferae dilaceraverint, bestiae devoraverint, terra restituat. Quo ita demum veniatur necesse est, ut non de fide resurrectionis, sed de parte dubitetur. Esto enim ut laceratorum corpora non resurgant, resurgunt caeteri: nec resurrectio destruitur, si conditio excipitur. Miror tamen cur vel de his dubitandum putent, quasi non omnia quae ex terris sunt, in terram redeant, et in terram resolvantur (Eccles. III, 20). Mare quoque ipsum quaecumque corpora humana demerserit, vicinis exspuit unda plerumque littoribus. Quod ni ita esset, difficile, credo, Deo foret

dispersa connectere, dissipata sociare; cui mundus obtemperat, muta obsequuntur elementa, servit natura: quasi non majoris miraculi sit limum animare quam jungere?

58. We come now to a point which much troubles the heathen, how it can be that the earth should restore those whom the sea has swallowed up, wild beasts have torn to pieces or have devoured. So, then, at last we necessarily come to the conclusion that the doubt is not as to belief in resurrection in general, but as to a part. For, granted that the bodies of those torn in pieces do not rise again, the others do so, and the resurrection is not disproved, but a certain class is an exception. Yet I wonder why they think there is any doubt even concerning these, as though not all things which are of the earth return to the earth, and crumble again into earth. And the sea itself for the most part casts up on neighbouring shores whatever human bodies it has swallowed. And if this were not so, I suppose we are to believe that it would not be difficult for God to join together what was dispersed, to unite what was scattered; God, Whom the universe obeys, to Whom the dumb elements submit and nature serves; as though it were not a greater wonder to give life to clay than to join it together.

59. Avis in regione Arabiae, cui nomen est phoenix, redivivo suae carnis humore reparabilis, cum mortua fuerit, reviviscit; solos non credimus homines resuscitari? Atqui hoc relatione crebra, et scripturarum auctoritate cognovimus memoratam avem quingentorum annorum spatia vitalis usus habere praescripta; eamque cum sibi finem vitae adesse praesaga quadam naturae suae aestimatione cognoverit, thecam sibi de thure et myrrha, et caeteris odoribus adornare, completoque opere pariter ac tempore, intrare illo, atque emori: ex cujus humore oriri vermem, paulatimque eum in avis ejusdem figuram concrescere, usumque formari, subnixam quoque remigio pennarum, renovatae vitae officia munere pietatis ordiri. Nam thecam illam,

vel tumulum corporis, vel incunabulum resurgentis, in qua deficiens occidit, et occidens resurgit, ex Aethiopia in Lycaoniam vehit: atque ita resurrectione avis hujus, locorum incolae completum quingentorum annorum tempus intelligunt. Ergo isti avi quingentesimus resurrectionis annus est, nobis millesimus: illi in hoc saeculo, nobis in consummatione mundi. Plerique etiam opinantur quod avis haec rogum sibi ipsa succendat, et rursus de favillis suis et cineribus reviviscat.

59. That bird in the country of Arabia, which is called the Phoenix, restored by the renovating juices of its flesh, after being dead comes to life again: shall we believe that men alone are not raised up again? Yet we know this by common report and the authority of writings, namely, that the bird referred to has a fixed period of life of five hundred years, and when by some warning of nature it knows that the end of its life is at hand, it furnishes for itself a casket of frankincense and myrrh and other perfumes, and its work and the time being together ended, it enters the casket and dies. Then from its juices a worm comes forth, and grows by degrees into the fashion of the same bird, and its former habits are restored, and borne up by the oarage of its wings it commences once more the course of its renewed life, and discharges a debt of gratitude. For it conveys that casket, whether the tomb of its body or the cradle of its resurrection, in which quitting life it died, and dying it rose again, from Ethiopia to Lycaonia; and so by the resurrection of this bird the people of those regions understand that a period of five hundred years is accomplished. So to that bird the five hundredth is the year of resurrection, but to us the thousandth: it has its resurrection in this world, we have ours at the end of the world. Many think also that this bird kindles its own funeral pile, and comes to life again from its own ashes.

60. Sed fortasse natura discretior, fidei quoque discretionem videatur afferre: in originem principiumque hominis procreandi mens nostra redeat.

Viri estis, feminae estis quae humana sunt, non ignoratis: et si qui ignoratis, ex nihilo putatis esse, quod nascimur. Quam ex parvo quanti exsurgimus! Et si non exprimimus, intelligitis tamen quid velimus, vel potius quid nolimus dicere. Unde hoc caput, et vultus iste mirabilis, cujus artificem non videmus, opus videmus, in varia officia ususque formatur? Unde forma erectior, status excelsior, faciendi vis, sentiendi vivacitas, gradiendi facultas? Ignota certe nobis sunt naturae organa, sed nota ministeria. Et tu semen fuisti, et tuum corpus semen est resurrecturi. Audi Paulum, et disce quia semen es: Seminatur in corruptione, surget in incorruptione: seminatur in ignobilitate, surget in gloria: seminatur in infirmitate, surget in virtute, seminatur corpus animale, surget corpus spiritale (I Cor. XV, 42 et seq.). Et tu ergo seminaris ut caetera, quid miraris si resurges ut caetera? Sed illa credis, quia vides: ista non credis, quia non vides: Beati qui non viderunt, et crediderunt (Joan. XX, 29).

60. But perhaps nature if more deeply investigated will seem to give a deeper reason for our belief: let our thoughts turn back to the origin and commencement of the creation of man. You are men and women, you are not ignorant of the things which have to do with human nature, and if any of you have not this knowledge, you know that we are born of nothing. But how small an origin for being so great as we are! And if I do not speak more plainly, yet you understand what I mean, or rather what I will not say. Whence, then, is this head, and that wonderful countenance, whose maker we see not? We see the work, it is fashioned for various purposes and uses. Whence is this upright figure, this lofty stature, this power of action, this quickness of perception, this capacity for walking upright? Doubtless the organs of nature are not known to us, but that which they effect is known. Thou too wast once seed, and your body is the seed of that which shall rise again. Listen to Paul and learn that you are this seed: It is sown in corruption, it shall rise in incorruption; it is sown in dishonour, it shall rise

in glory; it is sown in weakness, it shall rise in power; it is sown a natural body, it shall rise a spiritual body. Thou also, then, art sown as are other things, why do you wonder if you shall rise again as shall others? But you believe as to them, because you see, you believe not this, because you see it not: Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed. John 20:29

61. Tamen antequam tempus veniat, nec illa creduntur; non enim omne tempus accommodum ad resuscitanda semina. Alio triticum seminatur, alio nascitur: alio vitis inseritur, alio gemmantia sarmenta pubescunt, luxuriat pampinus, uva formatur: alio plantatur olea, alio velut alvo gravis et onusta prole baccarum, fructus sui ubertate curvescit. Ante vero quam suum cuique tempus adveniat, fetura restrictior est: nec generationis aetatem habet in potestate generandi ipsa, quae generat. Nunc informem situ, nunc fetu nudam, nunc virentem floribus, nunc arentem ipsam omnium cernas parentem. Quae utique vellet omnibus se vestire temporibus, nec umquam aurea segetum aut viridantia pratorum indumenta deponere: ipsa sui egens, et proventuum suorum, quae in alios transfuderit, indotata compendiis.

61. However, before the season comes, those things also are not believed, for every season is not suited for the raising of seeds. Wheat is sown at one time, and comes up at another; at one time the vine is planted, at another the budding twigs begin to shoot, the foliage grows luxuriant, and the grape is formed; at one time the olive is planted, at another time, as though pregnant and loaded with its offspring of berries, it is bent down by the abundance of its fruit. But before its own period arrives for each, the produce is restricted, and that which bears has not the age of bearing in its own power. One may see the mother of all at one time disfigured with mould, at another bare of produce, at another green and full of flowers, at another dried up. Any spot which might wish to be always clothed and never to lay aside the golden dress of its seeds, or the green dress of the meadows, would be barren in

itself and unendowed with the gain of its own produce which it would have transferred to others.

62. Ergo et nostram resurrectionem et si non credis fide, non credis exemplo, usu es crediturus. Et aliis quidem fructibus, ut viti, oleae, pomisque diversis anni aetas extrema habilis maturandis: nobis quoque mundi consummatio tamquam extremus anni finis accommodam resurgendi praescripsit aetatem. Et bene in consummatione mundi resurrectio mortuorum est; ne post resurrectionem in hoc malum nobis esset saeculum recidendum. Ideo enim Christus est passus, ut nos ex hoc malo saeculo liberaret; ne iterum nos hujus saeculi tentamenta subruerent et obesset renasci, si renasceremur ad culpam.

62. So, then, even if you will not believe in our resurrection by faith nor by example, you will believe by experience. For many products, as the vine, the olive, and different fruits, the end of the year is the fit time for ripening; and for us also the consummation of the world, as though the end of the year has set the fitting time for rising again. And fitly is the resurrection of the dead at the consummation of the world, lest after the resurrection we should have to fall back into this evil age. For this cause Christ suffered that He might deliver us from this evil world; lest the temptations of this world should overthrow us again, and it should be an injury to us to come again to life, if we came to life again for sin.

63. Et rationem igitur resurrectionis, et tempus tenemus: rationem quia in omnibus sibi fetibus aeque natura respondet, nec in sola hominum successione degenerat: tempus, quia omnia in anni fine generantur. Mundi tempora annus unus est. Et quid mirum si annus unus est, quando dies una est? Una enim die Dominus operarios conduxit ad vineam, dicens: Quid hic statis tota die otiosi (Matth. XX, 6)?

63. So then we have both a reason and a time for the resurrection: a reason because nature in all its produce remains consistent with itself, and does not fail in the generation of men alone; a time because all things are produced at the end of the year. For the seasons of the world consist of one year. What wonder if the year be one since the day is one. For on one day the Lord hired the labourers to work in the vineyard, when He said, Why stand ye here all the day idle? Matthew 20:6

64. Causae originum semina sunt. Semen esse corpus humanum gentium Doctor asseruit (I Cor. XV, 42). Est ergo substantia resurgendi, quando est series seminandi. Quod si substantia aut causa non esset, arduum quisquam putaret Deo unde vellet, vel quomodo vellet, homines regenerare, qui mundum ex nulla materia, nulla substantia esse jussit, et factus est? Coelum aspice, terram intuere. Unde stellarum ignes? unde orbis solis et radii? unde lunae globus? unde montium vertices, dura saxorum, nemorosa silvarum? unde vel diffusus aer, vel infusae vel superfusae aquae? Sed si haec omnia Deus fecit ex nihilo (Ipse enim (Psal. CXLVIII, 5) dixit et facta sunt: ipse mandavit, et creata sunt), cur miremur renasci posse, quod fuerit; cum videamus natum esse, quod non fuit?

64. The causes of the beginnings of all things are seeds. And the Apostle of the Gentiles has said that the human body is a seed. 1 Corinthians 15:43 And so in succession after sowing there is the substance needful for the resurrection. But even if there were no substance and no cause, who could think it difficult for God to create man anew whence He will and as He wills. Who commanded the world to come into being out of no matter and no substance? Look at the heaven, behold the earth. Whence are the fires of the stars? Whence the orb and rays of the sun? Whence the globe of the moon? Whence the mountain heights, the hard rocks, the woody groves? Whence are the air diffused around, and the waters, whether enclosed or

poured abroad? But if God made all these things out of nothing (for He spoke and they were made, He commanded and they were created), why should we wonder that which has been should be brought to life again, since we see produced that which had not been?

65. Illud mirum, quod cum resurrectionem non credant, tamen ne genus pereat hominum, clementi quadam benignitate prospiciunt; et ideo transire ac demigrare in corpora dicunt animas, ne mundus intereat. Sed quid sit difficilius, ipsi asserant, transire animas an redire: sua repetere, an nova quaerere.

65. It is a cause for wonder that though they do not believe in the resurrection, yet in their kindly care they make provision that the human race should not perish, and so say that souls pass and migrate into other bodies that the world may not pass away. But let them say which is the most difficult, for souls to migrate, or to return; come back to that which is their own, or seek for fresh dwelling places.

66. Sed illi dubitent, qui non didicerunt: nos vero qui legimus Legem, prophetas, apostolos, Evangelium, dubitare fas non est. Quis enim dubitet, cum legit: Et in tempore illo salvabitur omnis plebs tua, quae scripta est in libro: et multi dormientium in terrae fossis, una apertione exsurgent, hi in vitam aeternam, et hi in opprobrium et in confusionem perpetuam: et intelligentes splendebunt ut splendor firmamenti, et ex justis multi sicut stellae in saecula (Dan. XII, 1 et seq.)? Bene itaque dormientium dixit quietem, ut intelligas mortem non esse perpetuam, quae somni vice initur ad tempus, et ad tempus excluditur: melioremque profectum vitae ejus ostendit, quae futura post mortem est, quam ejus quae ante mortem moerore ac dolore transigitur. Siquidem illa stellis comparatur, haec aerumnae addicitur.

66. But let those who have not been taught doubt. For us who have read the Law, the Prophets, the Apostles, and the Gospel it is not lawful to doubt. For who can doubt when he reads: And in that time shall all your people be saved which is written in the book; and many of them that sleep in the graves of the earth shall arise with one opening, these to everlasting life, and those to shame and everlasting confusion. And they that have understanding shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and of the just many shall be as the stars forever. Well, then, did he speak of the rest of those that sleep, that one may understand that death lasts not for ever, which like sleep is undergone for a time, and is put off at its time; and he shows that the progress of that life which shall be after death is better than that which is passed in sorrow and pain before death, inasmuch as the former is compared to the stars, the latter is assigned to trouble.

67. Nam quid illa contexam, quae alio loco scripta sunt: Suscitabis me et confitebor tibi? Quid etiam illud, quod Job sanctus vitae istius expertus injurias, et adversa omnia patientia virtutis exsuperans, compensationem sibi malorum praesentium de resurrectione promisit dicens: Suscitabis corpus meum hoc, quod multa mala passum est (Job. XIX, 26)? Esaias quoque resurrectionem populis annuntians, Dominici se nuntium dixit esse responsi; sic enim habes: Os enim Domini locutum est, et dicent die illa (Esai. XXV, 8). Quid igitur os Domini locutum sit populos esse dicturos, in posterioribus declaratur, ubi scriptum est: Propter timorem tuum, Domine, in utero accepimus et parturivimus spiritum salutis tuae, quem effudisti super terram. Cadent qui inhabitant terram, resurgent qui in monumentis sunt (Esai. XXVI, 18): ros enim qui abs te, sanitas est illis, terra vero impiorum peribit. Ambula, populus meus, et intra in recessus tuos. Abscondere aliquantulum, donec transeat ira Dei.

67. And why should I bring together what is written elsewhere: You shall raise me up and I will praise You. Or that other passage in which holy Job, after experiencing the miseries of this life, and overcoming all adversity by his virtuous patience, promised himself a recompense for present evils in the resurrection, saying: You shall raise up this body of mine which has suffered many evils. Isaiah also, proclaiming the resurrection to the people, says that he is the announcer of the Lord's message, for we read thus: For the mouth of the Lord has spoken, and they shall say in that day. Isaiah 25:8-9 And what the mouth of the Lord declared that the people should say is set forth later on, where it is written: Because of Your fear, O Lord, we have been with child and have brought forth the Spirit of Your Salvation, which You have poured forth upon the earth. They that inhabit the earth shall fall, they shall rise that are in the graves. For the dew which is from You is health for them but the land of the wicked shall perish. Go, O my people, and enter into your chambers; hide yourself for a little until the Lord's wrath pass by.

68. Quam bene recessus esse signavit tumulos mortuorum, quibus pauxillulum abscondimur; ut in judicium Dei, quod pro nostris sceleribus jus debitae indignationis assumet, tolerabilius transire possimus! Vivit igitur qui absconditur et quiescit, quasi e medio se subtrahens et recedens; ne eum arctioribus laqueis mundi hujus involvat aerumna, quibus repositam resurrectionis esse laetitiam, sanitatemque corporum solutorum divino rore reparabilem; coelestia oracula propheticis vocibus pollicentur. Et bene ros significatur, quo genitalia omnia terrarum semina suscitantur. Quid igitur mirum si fatiscentis quoque corporis nostri cineres ac favillae pinguedine coelestis roris exuberant, et accepto humore vitali in compaginem suam membrorum nostrorum habitus reformantur?

68. How well did he by the chambers point out the tombs of the dead, in which for a brief space we are hidden, that we may be better able to pass to the judgment of God, which shall try us with the indignation due for our wickednesses. He, then, is alive who is hidden and at rest, as though withdrawing himself from our midst and retiring, lest the misery of this world should entangle him with closer snares, for whom the heavenly oracles affirm by the voices of the prophets that the joy of the resurrection is reserved, and the soundness of their freed bodies procured by the divine deed. And dew is well used as a sign, since by it all vital seeds of the earth are raised to growth. What wonder is it, then, if the dust and ashes also of our failing body grow vigorous by the richness of the heavenly dew, and by the reception of this vital moistening the shapes of our limbs are refashioned and connected again with each other?

69. Docet etiam sanctus Ezechiel propheta, et plena expositione describit, quemadmodum arentibus vigor ossibus refundatur, sensus redeat, motus accedat, nervisque redeuntibus, corporis compago rigescat humani: quemadmodum nimis arida renatis ossa visceribus vestiantur, venarumque hiatus, et sanguinis rivulos extentae cutis velamen obducat. In ipsis, dum legimus, propheticis sermonibus humanorum videtur seges corporum rediviva consurgere, atque ipsa spatia diffusa camporum novis videas pullulare seminibus.

69. And the holy prophet Ezekiel teaches and describes with a full exposition how vigour is restored to the dry bones, the senses return, motion is added, and the sinews coming back, the joints of the human body grow strong; how the bones which were very dry are clothed with restored flesh, and the course of the veins and the flow of the blood is covered by the veil of the skin drawn over them. As we read, the reviving multitude of human

bodies seems to spring up under the very words of the prophet, and one can see on the widespread plain the new seed shoot forth.

70. Quod si veteres sapientes satis hydri dentibus in regione Thebana inhorruisse armatorum segetem crediderunt: cum utique alterius naturae semina certum sit in naturam verti alteram nequivisse, nec partum suis discordem fudisse seminibus; ut ex serpente homines nascerentur, ut caro ex dentibus gigneretur: quanto magis utique credendum est, quaecumque sunt seminata, in suam naturam resurgere, nec a satione sua segetes discrepare, nec duris mollia, nec mollibus dura viviscere, nec in sanguinem venena converti; sed carnem de carne, os de ossibus, sanguinem de sanguine, humorem de humore reparari. Potestis ergo, gentiles, reformationem negare naturae, qui mutationem potestis asserere? Potestis non credere oraculis, non Evangelio, non prophetiis, qui fabulis inanibus creditis?

70. But if the wise men of old believed that a crop of armed men sprang up in the district of Thebes from the sowing of the hydra's teeth, whereas it is certainly established that seeds of one kind cannot be changed into another kind of plant, nor bring forth produce differing from its own seeds, so that men should spring from serpents and flesh from teeth; how much more, indeed, is it to be believed that whatever has been sown rises again in its own nature, and that crops do not differ from their seed, that soft things do not spring from hard, nor hard from soft, nor is poison changed into blood; but that flesh is restored from flesh, bone from bone, blood from blood, the humours of the body from humours. Can you then, you heathen, who are able to assert a change, deny a restoration of the nature? Can you refuse to believe the oracles of God, the Gospel, and the prophets, who believe empty fables?

71. Sed jam ipsum audiamus prophetam; sic enim ait: Et facta est super me manus Domini, et eduxit me in spiritu Dominus, et posuit me in medio

campo, et hic erat plenus ossibus humanis: et circumduxit me per gyrum eorum, et ecce ossa multa valde in facie campi, arida nimis. Et ait ad me: Fili hominis, si vivent ossa ista? Et dixi: Domine tu scis. Et ait ad me: Prophetiza super ossa ista, et dices illis: Ossa arida haec, audite verbum Domini. Haec dicit Dominus ossibus istis: Ecce ego induco in vos spiritum vitae, et dabo in vos nervos, et adducam super vos viscera, et extendam super vos cutem, et dabo Spiritum meum in vos; et vivetis, et scietis quod ego sum Dominus. Et prophetavi sicut mandavit mihi. Et factum est cum prophetarem haec omnia, ecce factus est terrae motus magnus (Ezech. XXXVII, 1 et seq.).

71. But let us now hear the prophet himself, who speaks thus: The hand of the Lord was upon me, and the Lord led me forth in the Spirit, and placed me in the midst of the plain, and it was full of men's bones; and He led me through them round about, and, lo, there were very many bones on the face of the plain, and they were very dry. And He said to me: Son of man, can these bones live? And I said: Lord, You know; and He said to me: Prophesy over these bones, and you shall say unto them: O you dry bones, hear the word of the Lord. Thus says the Lord to these bones: Behold I bring upon you the Spirit of life, and I will lay sinews upon you, and will bring up flesh upon you, and will stretch skin over you, and will put My Spirit into you, and you shall live, and know that I am the Lord. And I prophesied as He commanded me. And it came to pass when I was prophesying all these things, lo, there was a great earthquake. Ezekiel 37:1-7

72. Vide nunc quemadmodum et auditum in ossibus, et motum prius ostendat esse, quam vitae spiritus refundatur. Nam et supra ossa arida jubentur audire, quasi sensum habeant audiendi: et hic accessisse eorum unumquodque ad suam compaginem prophetico sermone signatur; sic enim habes: Et accedebant ossa, unumquodque ad suam compaginem. Et vidi, et

ecce super illa nervi et viscera nascebantur, et ascendebat super ea cutis desuper, et spiritus in his non erat (Ibid., 7 et seq.).

72. Note how the prophet shows that there was hearing and movement in the bones before the Spirit of life was poured upon them. For, above, both the dry bones are bidden to hear, as if they had the sense of hearing, and that upon this each of them came to its own joint is pointed out by the words of the prophet, for we read as follows: And the bones came together, each one to its joint. And I beheld, and, lo, sinews and flesh were forming upon them, and skin came upon them from above, and there was no Spirit in them. Ezekiel 5:7

73. Magna Domini gratia, quod futurae resurrectionis propheta testis adhibetur, ut nos quoque eam illius oculis videremus. Neque enim omnes testes adhiberi poterant, sed in uno omnes testes sumus: quia nec in virum sanctum cadit mendacium, nec in tantum error prophetam.

73. Great is the lovingkindness of the Lord, that the prophet is taken as a witness of the future resurrection, that we, too might see it with his eyes. For all could not be taken as witnesses, but in that one all we are witnesses, for neither does lying come upon a holy man, nor error upon so great a prophet.

74. Nec nimus verisimile debet videri, quia jubente Deo, ossa in suam compaginem reformantur; cum utique innumera habeamus exempla, quibus natura rerum coelestibus est obsecuta praeceptis; ut terra pabulum gignere juberetur, et gigneret (Gen. I, 11); ut ad virgae tactum sitientibus populis petra vomeret aquam (Num. XX, 11), atque aestu torridis miseratione divina undarent fluenta dura saxorum (Exod. IV, 3). Virga in serpentem versa quid aliud indicavit, nisi volente Deo ex insensibilibus sensibilia posse generari? An vero incredibilius putas quod ossa, cum jubentur, accedunt (Ezech.

XXXVII, 7); quam quod retrorsum fluenta vertuntur, maria fugiunt? Sic enim propheta testatur; Mare vidit et fugit, Jordanis conversus est retrorsum (Psal. CXIII, 3). Nec super hoc ambigi potest, quod duorum populorum alterius salute, alterius obitu comprobatum est, aquarum cursus stetisse frenatos eosdemque aliis circumfusos, aliis ad mortem refusos, ut alios mergerent, alios reservarent (Exod. XIV, 22 et seq.). Quid in ipso Evangelio? Nonne ibi probavit Dominus, quod verbo unda mitescat (Matth. VIII, 26), fugentur coeli nubila, cedantflabra ventorum, placidisque littoribus muta Deo famulentur elementa?

74. Nor ought it to appear at all improbable, that at the command of God the bones were fitted again to their joints, since we have numberless instances in which nature has obeyed the commands of heaven; as the earth was bidden to bring forth the green herb, Genesis 1:11 and did bring it forth; as the rock at the touch of the rod gave forth water for the thirsting people; and the hard stone poured forth streams by the mercy of God for those parched with heat. What else did the rod changed into a serpent Exodus 4:3 signify, than that at the will of God living things can be produced from those that are without life? Do you think it more incredible that bones should come together when bidden, than that streams should be turned back or the sea flee? For thus does the prophet testify: The sea saw it and fled, Jordan was driven back. Nor can there be any doubt about this fact, which was proved by the rescue of one and the destruction of the other of two peoples, that the waves of the sea stood restrained, and at the same time surrounded one people, and poured back upon the other for their death, that they might overwhelm the one, but preserve the other. And what do we find in the Gospel itself? Did not the Lord Himself prove there that the sea grew calm at a word, the clouds were driven away, the blasts of the winds yielded, and that on the quieted shores the dumb elements obeyed God?

75. Sed persequamur caetera, ut quemadmodum spiritu vitae animentur defuncti, surgant jacentes, sepulcra reserentur, possimus advertere. Et ait ad me: Prophetiza, fili hominis, et dic spiritui: Haec dicit Dominus: A quatuor ventis coeli veni, spiritus, et insuffla in mortuos istos, et vivant. Et prophetavi sicut mandavit mihi, et intravit in eos spiritus vitae, et vixerunt, et steterunt in pedibus suis congregatio nimis multa. Et locutus est Dominus ad me, dicens: Fili hominis, ossa haec omnis domus Israel. Ipsi enim dicunt: Arida facta sunt ossa nostra, periit spes nostra, interibimus. Propterea prophetiza et dic: Haec dicit Dominus: Ecce ego aperio vobis monumenta vestra, et educam vos de monumentis vestris in terram Israel, et scietis quod ego sum Dominus, cum aperiam sepulcra vestra, et educam de sepulcris populum meum, et dabo Spiritum meum in vobis, et vivetis, et ponam vos super terram vestram, et scietis quia ego sum Dominus: locutus sum, et faciam, dicit Dominus (Ezech. XXXVII, 9 et seq.).

75. But let us go on with the other points, that we may observe how by the Spirit of life the dead are quickened, they that lie in the graves arise, and the tombs are opened: And He said to me: Prophesy, son of man, and say to the Spirit, Come from the four winds of heaven, O Spirit, and breathe upon these dead, that they may live. And I prophesied as He commanded me, and the Spirit of life entered into them, and they lived, and stood up on their feet, an exceeding great company. And the Lord spoke unto me, saying: Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel. For they say, Our bones have become dry, our hope is lost, we shall perish. Therefore, prophesy and say: Thus says the Lord: Behold I will open your graves, and will bring you up out of your graves into the land of Israel, and you shall know that I am the Lord, when I shall open your graves, and bring forth My people out of the graves, and shall put My Spirit in you, and place you in your own land, and you shall know that I am the Lord; I have spoken, and I will perform it, says the Lord. Ezekiel 37:9-14

76. Advertimus quemadmodum vitalis spiritus commercia resumantur, cognovimus quemadmodum dehiscentibus tumulis, mortui suscitentur. An vero mirandum est jussu Domini mortuorum sepulcra reserari, cum tota suis terminis uno tonitruo terra quatiatur, mare suis exundet finibus, idemque suarum cursus refrenet undarum? Denique ille qui credidit quia in momento, in ictu oculi, in novissima tuba (canet enim tuba) mortui resurgent (I Cor. XV, 52); cum primis rapietur in nubibus obviam Christo in aera (I Thess. IV, 16); qui non credidit, relinquetur, et perfidia sua subdet se ipse sententiae.

76. We notice here how the operations of the Spirit of life are again resumed; we know after what manner the dead are raised from the opening tombs. And is it in truth a matter of wonder that the sepulchres of the dead are unclosed at the bidding of the Lord, when the whole earth from its utmost limits is shaken by one thunderclap, the sea overflows its bounds, and again checks the course of its waves? And finally, he who has believed that the dead shall rise again in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump (for the trumpet shall sound), 1 Corinthians 15:52 shall be caught up among the first in the clouds to meet Christ in the air; 1 Thessalonians 4:17 he who has not believed shall be left, and subject himself to the sentence by his own unbelief.

77. Ostendit tibi Dominus etiam in Evangelio, ut jam ad exempla veniamus, quemadmodum resurgas. Non enim unum Lazarum, sed fidem omnium suscitavit: quod tu si credas, cum legis, mens quoque tua, quae mortua fuerat, in illo Lazaro reviviscit. quid enim sibi vult quod Dominus ad monumentum accessit, magna voce clamavit: Lazare, exi foras (Joan. XI, 44)? nisi ut futurae resurrectionis specimen praestaret, exemplum ederet? Cur voce clamavit, quasi spiritu non soleat operari, quasi tacitus non soleat imperare? Sed ut illud ostenderet, quod scriptum est: Quoniam in momento,

in ictu oculi, in novissima tuba, et mortui resurgent incorrupti (I Cor. XV, 52); tubarum enim crepitus vocis metitur elatio. Et clamavit: Lazare, exi foras. Cur etiam nomen additur; nisi forte ne alius resuscitatus pro alio videretur, aut fortuita magis resurrectio, quam imperata?

77. The Lord also shows us in the Gospel, to come now to instances, after what manner we shall rise again. For He raised not Lazarus alone, but the faith of all; and if you believe, as you read, your spirit also, which was dead, revives with Lazarus. For what does it mean, that the Lord went to the sepulchre and cried with a loud voice, Lazarus, come forth, John 11:43 except that He would give us a visible proof, would set forth an example of the future resurrection? Why did He cry with a loud voice, as though He were not wont to work in the Spirit, to command in silence, but only that He might show that which is written: In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump the dead shall rise again incorruptible? 1 Corinthians 15:52 For the raising of the voice answers to the peal of trumpets. And He cried, Lazarus, come forth. Why is the name added, except perchance lest one might seem to be raised instead of another, or that the resurrection were rather accidental than commanded.

78. Audivit ergo defunctus, et exivit foras de monumento, ligatus pedes et manus institis, et facies ejus orario colligata erat (Joan. XI, 44). Comprehende, si potes, quemadmodum clausis oculis iter carpat, vinctis pedibus gradum dirigat, inseparabili gressu, separabilique progressu. Manebant vincula, nec tenebant: tegebantur oculi, sed videbant. Videbat denique qui resurgebat, qui ambulabat, qui deserebat sepulcrum. Virtute enim divinae praeceptionis operante, natura suum non requirebat officium; et tamquam in excessu posita, non jam suo ordini, sed divino nutui serviebat. Rumpebantur prius mortis quam sepulturae vincula: agebatur priusquam parabatur incessus.

78. So, then, the dead man heard, and came forth from the tomb, bound hand and foot with grave cloths, and his face was bound with a napkin. Conceive, if you can, how he makes his way with closed eyes, directs his steps with bound feet, and moves as though free with fastened limbs. The bands remained on him but did not restrain him, his eyes were covered yet they saw. So, then, he saw who was rising again, who was walking, who was leaving the sepulchre. For when the power of the divine command was working, nature did not require its own functions, and brought, as it were, into extremity, obeyed no longer its own course, but the divine will. The bands of death were burst before those of the grave. The power of moving was exercised before the means of moving were supplied.

79. Si miraris haec, disce quis imperaverit, ut mirari desinas. Jesus Christus Dei virtus; vita, lux, resurrectio mortuorum: virtus erexit jacentem, vita gressum extulit, lux fugavit tenebras, reparavit obtutum, resurrectio vivendi gratiam reformavit.

79. If you marvel at this, consider Who gave the command, that you may cease to wonder; Jesus Christ. the Power of God, the Life, the Light, the Resurrection of the dead. The Power raised up him that was lying prostrate, the Life produced his steps, the Light drove away the darkness and restored his sight, the Resurrection renewed the gift of life.

80. Fortasse moveat quod Judaei lapidem tollunt, Judaei institas solvunt; ne forte et tu sollicitus sis, quis lapidem de monumento tuo tollat (Ibid., 41). Quasi vero qui spiritum refundere poterat, lapidem removere non poterat: aut vincula rumpere, qui vinctum fecerat ambulare: aut deoperire faciem, qui opertis oculis lumen infuderat: aut findere petram, qui poterat reformare naturam? Sed ut vel oculis suis crederent, qui credere mente nolebant, removent lapidem, vident cadaver, fetorem sentiunt, institas rumpunt. Non possunt negare defunctum, quem aspiciunt resurgentem, vident signa

mortis, et vitae munera. Quid si dum conantur, labore ipso emendantur? quid si dum audiunt, vel auribus suis credunt? quid si dum intuentur, vel oculis suis corriguntur? quid si dum rumpunt vincula, mentes suas solvunt? quid si dum Lazarus exuitur, populus liberatur? dum Lazarum abire permittunt, ipsi ad Dominum revertuntur? Denique multi qui venerant ad Mariam, videntes quae facta sunt, crediderunt (Ibid., 45).

80. Perchance it may trouble you that the Jews took away the stone and loosened the grave cloths, and you may haply be anxious as to who shall move the stone from your tomb. As though He Who could restore the Spirit could not remove the stone; or He Who made the bound to walk could not burst the bonds; or He Who had shed light upon the covered eyes could not uncover the face; or He Who could renew the course of nature could not cleave the stone! But, in order that they may believe their eyes who will not believe with their heart, they remove the stone, they see the corpse, they smell the stench, they loose the grave cloths. They cannot deny that he is dead whom they behold rising again; they see the signs of death and the proofs of life. What if, while they are busied, they are converted by the very toil itself? What if, while they hear, they believe their own ears? What if, while they behold, they are instructed by their own eyes? What if, while they loose the bonds, they free their own minds? What if, while Lazarus is being unbound, the people is set free, while they let Lazarus go, themselves return to the Lord? For, lastly, many who had come to Mary, seeing what had taken place, believed.

81. Nec hoc solum exemplum edidit Dominus noster Jesus Christus; sed alios quoque resuscitavit, ut nos vel exemplis uberioribus crederemus. Resuscitavit adolescentem fletu viduae matris inflexus, quando accessit et tetigit loculum, dicens: Adolescens, tibi dico surge: et resedit qui erat

mortuus, et coepit loqui (Luc. VII, 14). Statim ut audivit, statim resedit, statim locutus est. Alia ergo virtutis gratia, alius ordo naturae.

81. And this was not the only instance which our Lord Jesus Christ set forth, but He raised others also, that we might at any rate believe more numerous instances. He raised the young man again, moved by the tears of his widowed mother, when He came and touched the bier, and said: Young man, I say unto you, arise, and he that was dead sat up and began to speak. Luke 14:7-8 As soon as he heard he immediately sat up, he immediately spoke. The working of power, then, is one thing, the order of nature is another.

82. Nam quid de archisynagogi filia loquar, in cujus obitu flebant turbae, tibicines personabant? Etenim ad fidem mortis pompa funeris exhibetur. Quam cito ad vocem Domini convertitur spiritus, redivivum corpus erigitur, cibus sumitur; ut vitae testimonium crederetur.

82. And what shall I say of the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue, at whose death multitudes were weeping and the flute-players piping? For the funeral solemnities were being performed because of the conviction of death. How quickly at the word of the Lord does the spirit return, the reviving body rise up, and food is taken, that the evidence of life may be believed! Mark 5:38-43

83. Et quid miremur ad vocem Dei refundi animam, redire ossibus viscera; cum meminerimus prophetici tactu corporis mortuum suscitatum (IV Reg. 13, 21)? Elias oravit, et defunctum suscitavit infantem (III Reg. XVII, 22): Petrus in nomine Christi Tabitham surgere atque ambulare praecepit, et redditam sibi pauperes gratulati crediderunt pro alimentis (Act. IX, 40); et nos adhuc pro salute non credimus? Illi resurrectionem alienam suis lacrymis redemerunt, nos nostram nec Christi credimus passione? Qui cum

emitteret spiritum, ut ostenderet pro nostra resurrectione se mortuum, seriem ipsam resurrectionis exercuit; simul enim ut clamans iterum voce magna emisit spiritum; et terra mota est, et petrae scissae sunt, et monumenta aperta sunt, et multa corpora sanctorum dormientium resurrexerunt, et exeuntes de monumento post resurrectionem ejus venerunt in sanctam civitatem, et multis apparuerunt (Matth. XXVII, 51, 52).

83. And why should we wonder that the soul is restored at the word of God, that flesh returns to the bones, when we remember the dead raised by the touch of the prophet's body? Elijah prayed, and raised the dead child. Peter in the name of Christ bade Tabitha rise and walk, Acts 9:40 and the poor rejoicing believed for the food's sake which she ministered to them, and shall we not believe for our salvation's sake? They purchased the resurrection of another by their tears, shall we not believe in the purchase of ours by the Passion of Christ? Who when He gave up the ghost, in order to show that He died for our resurrection, worked out the course of the resurrection; for so soon as He cried again with a loud voice and gave up the ghost, the earth did quake, and the rocks were rent, and the tombs were opened, and many bodies of the saints which slept arose, and, going forth out of the tombs after His resurrection, came into the holy city and appeared unto many. Matthew 27:50-53

84. Si haec facta sunt, cum emitteret spiritum, cur incredibilia putamus, cum redire coeperit ad judicium? praesertim cum haec resurrectio documentum illius resurrectionis, et futurae sit veritatis exemplum: minus autem exemplum est, quam veritas. Quis igitur in Domini passione monumenta aperuit, manum resurgentibus dedit, viam qua civitatem sanctam peterent, demonstravit? si nemo fuit, fuit utique vis divina, quae operaretur in corporibus mortuorum. Hominis tu quaeris auxilium, ubi opus Dei cernis?

84. If these things happened when He gave up the ghost, why should we think them incredible when He shall return to judgment? Especially since this earlier resurrection is a pledge of that future resurrection, and a pattern of that reality Which is to come; indeed, it is rather itself truth than a pattern. Who, then, at the Lord's resurrection opened the graves, gave a hand to those who were rising, showed them the road to find the holy city? If there was no one, it was certainly the Divine Power which was working in the bodies of the dead. Shall one seek for the aid of man where one sees the work of God?

85. Non egent humanis divina ministeriis. Coelum Deus fieri jussit, et factum est: terram creari statuit, et creata est (Gen. I, 6 et seq.). Quis humeris saxa convexit? quis congessit impensas? quis laboranti Deo suam operam ministravit? In momento haec facta sunt. Vis scire quam brevi? Dixit, et facta sunt (Psal. CXLIII, 5). Si dicto elementa consurgunt, cur dicto mortui non resurgant? Qui licet mortui sint, tamen aliquando vixerunt, habuerunt spiritum sentiendi, habuerunt vires agendi; plurimumque refert capax animi non fuisse, et exanimum remansisse. Diabolus dixit: Dic lapidi huic, ut fiat panis (Luc. IV, 3). Confitetur, jubente Deo, converti posse naturam; tu non credis, jubente Deo, reformari posse naturam?

85. Divine action has no need of human assistance. God commanded that the heavens should come into existence, and it was done; He determined that the earth should be created, and it was created. Who carried together the stones on his shoulders? Who supplied the expenses? Who furnished assistance to God as He toiled? These things were made in a moment. Would you know how quickly? He spoke and they were made. If the elements spring up at a word, why should the dead not rise at a word? For though they be dead, yet they once lived, once had the breath of life for feeling, and strength for acting; and there is a very great difference between

not having been capable of life, and having remained lifeless. The devil said: Command this stone that it become bread. Luke 4:3 He confesses that at the command of God nature can be transformed, do you not believe that at the command of God nature can be remade?

86. De solis cursu coelique ratione philosophi disputant, et sunt qui putant his esse credendum; cum quid loquantur, ignorent. Neque enim coelum ascenderunt, axem dimensi, mundum oculis perscrutati sunt; quia nullus eorum cum Deo in principio fuit, nullus eorum de Deo dixit: Cum pararet coelum, cum ipso eram, et eram cum eo componens, ego eram cui adgaudebat (Prov. VIII, 27, 30). Si ergo illis creditur, non creditur Deo, qui ait: Quemadmodum coelum novum, et terra nova, quae ego facio manere coram me, dicit Dominus, sic stabit nomen vestrum, et semen vestrum: et erit mensis ex mense, et sabbatum ex sabbato: et veniet omnis caro in conspectu meo, ut adorent in Hierusalem, dicit Dominus Deus: et exibunt, et videbunt membra hominum, qui praevaricati sunt in me. Nam vermis eorum non morietur, et ignis eorum non exstinguetur, et erunt in aspectum universae carni (Esai. LXVI, 22 et seq.)

86. Philosophers dispute about the course of the sun and the system of the heavens, and there are those who think that these should be believed when they are ignorant of what they are talking about. For neither have they climbed up into the heavens, nor measured the sky, nor examined the universe with their eyes; for none of them was with God in the beginning, none of them has said of God: When He was preparing the heavens I was with Him, I was with Him as a master workman, I was he in whom He delighted. If, then, they are believed, is God not believed, Who says: As the new heavens and the new earth, which I make to remain before Me, says the Lord; so shall your name and your seed abide; and month shall be after month, and sabbath after sabbath, and all flesh shall come in My sight to

worship in Jerusalem, says the Lord God; and they shall go forth, and shall see the limbs of men who have transgressed against Me. For their worm shall not die and their fire shall not be quenched and they shall be a sight to all flesh. Isaiah 66:22-24

87. Si terra renovatur et coelum, cur dubitemus hominem posse renovari, propter quem terra facta et coelum est? Si praevaricator servatur ad poenam, cur justus non perpetuatur ad gloriam? Si vermis non moritur peccatorum, quemadmodum interibit caro justorum? Haec est enim resurrectio, sicut verbi ipsius sonus exprimit; ut quod cecidit, hoc resurgat: quod mortuum fuerit, reviviscat.

87. If the earth and heaven are renewed, why should we doubt that man, on account of whom heaven and earth were made, can be renewed? If the transgressor be reserved for punishment, why should not the just be kept for glory? If the worm of sins does not die, how shall the flesh of the just perish? For the resurrection, as the very form of the word shows, is this, that what has fallen should rise again, that which has died should come to life again.

88. Et haec est series et causa justitiae, ut quoniam corporis animique communis est actus (quia quae animus cogitavit, corpus effecit) utrumque in judicium veniat, utrumque aut poenae dedatur, aut gloriae reservetur. Nam propemodum absurdum videtur, ut cum animi legem lex carnis impugnet, et mens plerumque quod odit, hoc faciat, quando inhabitans in homine peccatum carnis operatur; animus subdatur injuriae alienae reus culpae, caro quiete potiatur auctor aerumnae: et solus atteratur, qui non solus erravit: aut solus gloriam referat, qui non solus gratiae militavit.

88. And this is the course and ground of justice, that since the action of body and soul is common to both (for what the soul has conceived the body

has carried out), each should come into judgment, and each should be either given over to punishment or reserved for glory. For it would seem almost inconsistent that, since the law of the mind fights against the law of the flesh, and the mind often, when sin dwelling in man acts, does that which it hates; the mind guilty of a fault shared by another should be subjected to penalty, and the flesh, the author of the evil, should enjoy rest: and that should alone suffer which had not sinned alone, or should alone attain to glory, not having fought alone with the help of grace.

89. Plena, ni fallor, et justa ratio: sed ego rationem a Christo non exigo. Si ratione convincor, fidem abnuo. Credidit Abraham Deo (Gen. XV, 6), et nos credamus; ut qui sumus generis, etiam fidei simus haeredes. Credidit et David, propter quod et locutus est (Psal. CXV, 10): et nos credamus, ut possimus loqui, scientes quoniam, qui suscitavit Dominum Jesum Christum, et nos cum Jesu suscitabit (II Cor. IV, 14). Hoc enim promisit, qui numquam mentitur, Deus (Tit. I, 2): hoc promisit veritas in Evangelio suo, dicens: Haec est autem voluntas ejus qui misit me, ut omne quod dedit mihi, non perdam ex eo: sed resuscitem illud in novissimo die (Joan. VI, 39). Nec satis putavit semel dixisse, sed etiam repetita expressione signavit; sic enim sequitur: Haec est enim voluntas Patris mei, qui misit me, ut omnis qui videt Filium, et credit in eum, habeat vitam aeternam, et ego resuscitabo eum in novissimo die (Ibid., 40).

89. The reason, unless I am mistaken, is complete and just, but I do not require a reason from Christ. If I am convinced by reason I reject faith. Abraham believed God, Genesis 15:6 let us also believe Him, that we who are heirs of his race may also be heirs of his faith. David likewise believed, and therefore did he speak; let us also believe that we may be able to speak, knowing that He Who raised up the Lord Jesus shall raise up us also with Jesus. 2 Corinthians 4:14 For God, Who never lies, promised this; the Truth

promised this in His Gospel, when He said: This is the will of Him that sent Me, that of all that which He has given Me I should lose nothing, but should raise it up at the last day. John 6:39 And He thought it not sufficient to have said this once, but marked it by express repetition, for this follows: For this is the will of My Father, Who sent Me, that every one that sees the Son and believes in Him should have eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day.

90. Quis hoc dicit? Utique is qui mortuus plurima defunctorum corpora suscitavit. Si Deo non credimus, nec exemplo credimus? Non credimus quod promisit; quando etiam quod non promisit, effecit? Ipse autem quam causam moriendi habuisset, nisi habuisset et causam resurgendi? Etenim quoniam Deus mori non poterat, mori non poterat sapientia: resurgere autem non poterat, quod mortuum non erat; assumitur caro, quae mori posset; ut dum moritur, quod solet, quod mortuum fuerat, hoc resurgeret. Neque enim poterat esse nisi per hominem resurrectio; quoniam sicut per hominem mors, ita et per hominem resurrectio mortuorum (I Cor. XV, 21).

90. Who was He that said this? He in truth Who when dead raised up many bodies of the departed. If we believe not God, shall we not believe evidence? Do we not believe what He promised, since He did even that which He did not promise? And what reason would He have had for dying, had He not also had a reason for rising again? For, seeing that God could not die, Wisdom could not die; and inasmuch as that could not rise again which had not died, flesh is assumed, which can die, that while that, whose nature it is, dies, that which had died should rise again. For the resurrection could not be effected except by man; since, as by man came death, so too by man came the resurrection of the dead. 1 Corinthians 15:21

91. Ergo resurrexit homo, quoniam homo mortuus est: resuscitatus homo, sed resuscitans Deus. Tunc secundum carnem homo, nunc per omnia Deus:

nunc enim secundum carnem jam non novimus Christum, sed carnis gratiam tenemus; ut ipsum primitias quiescentium, ipsum primogenitum ex mortuis noverimus. Primitiae utique ejusdem sunt generis atque naturae, cujus et reliqui fructus quorum pro laetiore proventu primitiva Deo munera deferuntur, sacrum munus pro omnibus, et quasi reparatae quaedam libamina naturae. Primitiae ergo quiescentium Christus. Sed utrum suorum quiescentium, qui quasi mortis exsortes dulci quodam sopore teneantur, an omnium mortuorum? Sed sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur, ita et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur (I Cor. XV, 22). Itaque sicut primitiae mortis in Adam, ita etiam primitiae resurrectionis in Christo.

91. So, then, man rose because man died; man was raised again, but God raised him. Then it was man according to the Flesh, now God is all in all. 1 Corinthians 15:28 For now we know not Christ according to the flesh, 2 Corinthians 5:16 but we possess the grace of that Flesh, so that we know Him the firstfruits of them that rest, 1 Corinthians 15:23 the firstborn of the dead. Colossians 1:18 Now the first-fruits are undoubtedly of the same nature and kind as the remaining fruits, the first of which are offered to God as a petition for a richer increase, as a holy thank-offering for all gifts, and as a kind of libation of that nature which has been restored. Christ, then, is the firstfruits of them that rest. But is this of His own who are at rest, who, as it were, freed from death, are holden by a kind of sweet slumber, or of all those who are dead? As in Christ all die, so too in Christ shall all be made alive. 1 Corinthians 15:22 So, then, as the firstfruits of death were in Adam, so also the firstfruits of the resurrection are in Christ.

92. Omnes resurgunt, sed nemo desperet, neque justus doleat commune consortium resurgendi; cum praecipuum fructum virtutis exspectet. Omnes quidem resurgent, sed unusquisque, ut ait Apostolus, in suo ordine (Ibid., 23). Communis est divinae fructus clementiae, sed distinctus ordo

meritorum. Dies omnibus lucet, sol omnes populos fovet, pluvia possessiones omnium uberiore imbre fecundat.

92. All men rise again, but let no one lose heart, and let not the just grieve at the common lot of rising again, since he awaits the chief fruit of his virtue. All indeed shall rise again, 1 Corinthians 15:23 but, as says the Apostle, each in his own order. The fruit of the Divine Mercy is common to all, but the order of merit differs. The day gives light to all, the sun warms all, the rain fertilises the possessions of all with genial showers.

93. Omnes nascimur, omnes resurgemus: sed in utroque vel vivendi, vel reviviscendi gratia dispar, diversa conditio. In momento enim, in ictu oculi, in novissima tuba mortui resurgent incorrupti, et nos immutabimur (Ibid., 52). Quinetiam in ipsa morte quiescunt alii, vivunt alii. Bona quies, sed vita melior. Denique Paulus ad vitam excitat quiescentem, dicens: Surge, qui dormis, et exsurge a mortuis, et illuminabit tibi Christus (Ephes. V, 14). Ergo hic excitatur, ut vivat, ut similis Pauli sit, ut possit dicere: Quia nos qui vivimus, non praeveniemus eos qui dormierunt (I Thess. IV, 14). Non enim communem hunc vivendi loquitur usum, spirandique commercium, sed meritum resurgendi. Nam cum dixisset. Et mortui qui in Christo sunt, resurgent primi (Ibid., 15); subjecit deinde: Et nos qui vivimus, simul cum illis rapiemur in nubibus obviam Christo in aera.

93. We are all born, and we shall all rise again, but in each state, whether of living or of living again, grace differs and the condition differs. For, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump, the dead shall rise incorruptible and we shall be changed. 1 Corinthians 15:52 Moreover, in death itself some rest, and some live. Rest is good, but life is better. And so the Apostle rouses him that is resting to life, saying: Rise, you that sleep, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give you light. Ephesians 5:14 Therefore he is aroused that he may live, that he may be like to Paul, that he

may be able to say: For we that are alive shall not prevent those that are aslee Thessalonians 4:14 He speaks not here of the common manner of life, and the breath which we all alike enjoy, but of the merit of the resurrection. For, having said, And the dead which are in Christ shall rise first, he adds further; And we that are alive shall together with them be caught up in the clouds, to meet Christ in the air. 1 Thessalonians 4:17

94. Utique mortuus est Paulus, et passione venerabili vitam corporis cum immortali gloria commutavit: num fefellit ergo qui se viventem scripsit in nubibus obviam Christo esse rapiendum? Hoc enim de Enoch legimus (Gen. V, 24), aut Elia (IV Reg. II, 11): sed et tu rapieris in spiritu. Ecce currus Eliae, ecce ignes, etsi non videntur, parantur; ut justus ascendat, innocens transferatur, et tua vita mori nesciat. Denique apostoli mori nescierunt; unde et dictum est: Amen, amen dico vobis, multi ex his astantibus non gustabunt mortem, donec videant Filium hominis venientem in regno suo (Matth. XVI, 28). Vivit enim qui non habet, quod moriatur in eo, qui non habet ex Aegypto calceamentum aliquod aut vinculum: sed exuit illud priusquam corporis hujus deponat officium. Non solus itaque Enoch vivit, quia non solus est raptus: rapitur et Paulus obviam Christo.

94. Paul certainly is dead, and by his honourable passion exchanged the life of the body for everlasting glory; did he then deceive himself when he wrote that he should be caught up alive in the clouds to meet Christ? We read the same too of Enoch Genesis 5:24 and of Elijah, and thou too shall be caught up in the Spirit. Lo the chariot of Elijah, lo the fire, though not seen are prepared, that the just may ascend, the innocent be borne forth, and your life may not know death. For indeed the apostles knew not death, according to that which was said: Verily, verily, I say unto you, many of those standing here shall not taste death until they see the Son of man coming in His kingdom. Matthew 16:28 For he lives, who has nothing in

him which can die, who has not from Egypt any shoe or bond, but has put it off before laying aside the service of this body. And so not Enoch alone is alive, for not he alone was caught up; Paul also was caught up to meet Christ.

95. Vivunt etiam patriarchae; neque enim aliter Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, et Deus Jacob, nisi mortui viverent, diceretur; Deus enim mortuorum non est, sed viventium (Luc. XX, 38). Vivemus et nos, si gesta moresque majorum voluerimus imitari. Miramur patriarcharum praemia, imitemur obsequia: praedicamus gratiam, sequamur obedientiam, non escis inducti, saeculi laqueos incidamus. Arripiamus opportunitatem temporis, praescriptum Legis, clementiam vocationis, desiderium passionis. Exierunt de terra sua patriarchae, et nos exeamus proposito de corporis potestate; nos exeamus proposito, illi exsilio: sed exsilium non putarunt, quod devotio obiret, non necessitas imperaret. Illi terram solo mutarunt, nos terram coelo mutemus: illi habitatione, nos spiritu. Illis illuminatum stellis coelum ostenderit sapientia, nostri cordis oculos illuminet. Sic typus veritati, et veritas concurrit typo.

95. The patriarchs also live, for God could not be called the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, except the dead were living; for He is not the God of the dead but of the living. Luke 20:38 And we, too, shall live if we be willing to copy the deeds and habits of our predecessors. We are astonished at the rewards of the patriarchs, let us copy their faithfulness; we tell of their grace, let us follow their obedience; let us not, enticed by appetite, fall into the snares of the world. Let us lay hold of the opportunity, of the commandment of the Law, the mercy of our vocation, the desire of suffering. The patriarchs went forth from their own land, let us go forth in purpose from the power of the body; let us go forth in purpose as they in exile; but they esteemed that not to be exile which the fear of God caused,

necessity did not enforce. They changed their land for another soil, let us change earth for heaven; they changed in earthly habitation, let us change in spirit. To them Wisdom showed the heaven illuminated with stars, Genesis 15:5 let it enlighten the eyes of our heart. Thus does the type agree with the truth, and the truth with the type.

96. Abraham paratus excipiendis hospitibus (Gen. XVIII, 2), fidelis Deo, impiger ministerio promptus officio, Trinitatem in typo vidit, hospitalitatem religione cumulavit, tres suspiciens, unum adorans; et personarum distinctione servata, unum tamen Dominum nominabat, tribus honorificentiam muneris deferens, et unam significans potestatem. Loquebatur enim in eo non doctrina, sed gratia: et melius credebat ille, quod non didicerat, quam nos qui didicimus. Nemo enim typum falsaverat veritatis, et ideo tres videt, sed unitatem veneratur. Tres mensuras similaginis promit, unum immolat vitulum; satis credens unum esse sacrificium, trium munus: unam hostiam, trium gratiam. Nam in quatuor regibus (Gen. XIV, 1 et seq.) quis non intelligat quod materialis elementa naturae, praefiguratae Dominicae passionis indicio, et omnia sibi mundana subjecerit? Fidelis in bello, abstemius in triumpho, qui donis non hominum ditescere, sed Dei mallet.

96. Abraham, ready to receive strangers, faithful towards God, devoted in ministering, quick in his service, saw the Trinity in a type; Genesis 18:2 he added religious duty to hospitality, when beholding Three he worshipped One, and preserving the distinction of the Persons, yet addressed one Lord, he offered to Three the honour of his gift, while acknowledging one Power. It was not learning but grace which spoke in him, and he believed better what he had not learned than we who have learned. No one had falsified the representation of the truth, and so he sees Three, but worships the Unity. He brings forth three measures of fine meal, and slays one victim, considering

that one sacrifice is sufficient, but a triple gift; one victim, an offering of three. And in the four kings, Genesis xiv who does not understand that he subjected to himself the elements of the material creation, and all earthly things in a sign whereby the Lord's Passion was prefigured? Faithful in war, moderate in his triumph, in that he preferred not to become richer by the gifts of men, but by those of God.

97. Generare se posse filium senex credidit, immolare posse se filium pater judicavit (Gen. XXII, 11): nec patrius trepidavit affectus, cum senis dexteram pietas adjuvaret; sciebat enim acceptiorem Deo filium immolatum esse, quam sanum. Ergo adducit ad sacrificium filium dilectissimum; et quem sero susceperat, cito obtulit: nec paterni nominis appellatione revocatur, cum ille patrem vocaret, hic filium. Chara quidem nominum pignora, sed amabiliora Dei praecepta. Itaque licet compaterentur corda, vota durabant. Distrinxit super filium gladium paterna manu, et patrio percussit affectu, ne periret poena: trepidavit, ne ictus erraret, dextera deficeret. Sensit pietatis affectum, sed non omisit devotionis negotium: et properabat obsequium, etiam cum audiret oraculum. Unde nos quoque Deum omnibus, quos diligimus, praeferamus, patri, fratribus, matri; ut possit nobis servare dilectos, sicut in Abraham uberiorem remuneratorem, quam ministrum videmus.

97. He believed that he when old could beget a son, Genesis 15:6 and judged himself when a father able to sacrifice his son; nor did his fatherly affection tremble when duty aided the right hand of the old man, Genesis 22:11 for he knew that his son would be more acceptable to God when sacrificed than when whole. Therefore he brings his well-beloved son to be sacrificed, and offered promptly him whom he had received late; nor is he restrained by being called by the name of father, when his son called him Father, and he replied, My son. Dear pledges of love are these names, but

the commands of God are loved still more. And so although their hearts felt for each other, their purpose remained firm. The father's hand stretched out the knife over his son, and the father's heart struck the blow that the sentence might not fail of being carried out; he feared lest the stroke should miss, lest his right hand should fail. He felt the movings of fatherly affection, but did not shrink from the work of submission, and hastened his obedience, even when he heard the voice from heaven. Let us then set God before all those whom we love, father, brother, mother, that He may preserve for us those whom we love, as in the case of Abraham we behold rather the liberal Rewarder than the servant.

98. Obtulit quidem filium pater, sed Deus non sanguine, sed pietate placatur. Ovem pro homine demonstravit in ligno; ut et filium patri redderet, nec periret hostia sacerdoti. Itaque nec Abraham parricidio cruentatus est, nec Deus sacrificio defraudatus. Vidit propheta, nec affectavit jactantiam, nec tenuit pertinaciam: ovem pro homine mutavit. Quo magis ostenditur, quam religiose obtulerit, quem tam libenter recepit. Et tu si Deo munus tuum offeras, non amittis. Sed avari sumus. Deus unicum Filium morti pro nobis obtulit (Rom. VIII, 32), nos nostros negamus. Vidit hoc Abraham, et agnovit mysterium, salutem nobis in ligno futuram: nec latuit in uno eodemque sacrificio aliud esse quod videretur offerri, aliud quod posset occidi.

98. The father offered indeed his son, but God is appeased not by blood but by dutiful obedience. He showed the ram in the thicket Genesis 22:13 in the stead of the lad, that He might restore the son to his father, and yet the victim not fail the priest. And so Abraham was not stained with his son's blood, nor was God deprived of the sacrifice. The prophet spoke, and neither yielded to boastfulness nor continued obstinate, but took the ram in exchange for the lad. And by this is shown the more how piously he offered

him whom he now so gladly received back. And thou, if you offer your gift to God, dost not lose it. But we are tenacious of our own; God gave His only Son for us, Romans 8:32 we refuse ours. Abraham saw this and recognized the mystery, that salvation should be to us from the Tree, nor did it escape his notice that in one and the same sacrifice it was One that seemed to be offered, Another which could be slain.

99. Imitemur ergo Abrahae devotionem, imitemur Isaac bonitatem, imitemur castimoniam. Bonus plane et pudicus vir, devotus Deo, castus uxori: qui injuriam non reddidit, excludentibus cessit, poenitentes eosdem recepit, nec protervus contumaciae, nec durus gratiae. Litium fugitans, cum recederet: facilis veniae, cum reciperet: profusior bonitate, cum ignosceret. Petebatur societatis consortium, adjunxit convivium voluptatis.

99. Let us, then, imitate the devotion of Abraham, let us imitate the goodness of Isaac, let us imitate his purity. The man was plainly good and chaste, full of devotion towards God, chaste towards his wife. He returned not evil for evil, yielded to those who would thrust him out, received them again on their repentance, neither violent towards insolence, nor stubborn towards kindness. Fleeing from strife when he went away from others, ready to forgive when he received them again, and still more lavish of goodness when he forgave them. The fellowship of his company was sought, he gave in addition a feast of pleasure.

100. Imitemur etiam in Jacob typum Christi, sit ejus in nobis aliqua similitudo factorum. Erimus consortes, si fuerimus imitatores. Matri obedivit, fratri cessit, socero servivit, mercedem de lucris, non de gregis divisione quaesivit. Non avara divisio, ubi lucrativa portio. Nec illa otiosa significatio, scala de coelo (Gen. XXVIII, 12), quod per crucem Christi angelorum atque hominum futura consortia viderentur. Cui obstupefactum

est femur (Gen. XXXII, 29), ut in femore suo agnosceret generationis haeredem, et obstupefactio femoris passionem prophetaret haeredis.

100. In Jacob, too, let us imitate the type of Christ, let there be some likeness of his actions in ourselves. We shall have our share with him, if we imitate him. He was obedient to his mother, he yielded to his brother, he served his father-in-law, he sought his wages from the increase, not from a division of the flocks. There was no covetous division, where his portion brought such gain. Nor was that sign without a purpose, the ladder from earth to heaven, Genesis 28:12 wherein was seen the future fellowship between men and angels through the cross of Christ, whose thigh was paralyzed, Genesis 32:25 that in his thigh he might recognize the Heir of his body, and foretell by the paralyzing of his thigh the Passion of his Heir.

101. Videmus igitur coelum patere virtuti, nec hoc esse paucorum: Multi enim venient ab Oriente, et ab Occidente, et Aquilone et Austro, et recumbent in regno Dei (Matth. VIII, 11), delectationem perpetuae quietis sepultis animorum motibus exprimentes. Sequamur Abraham moribus, ut nos recipiat in gremium suum, et tamquam Lazarum suae humilitatis haeredem (Luc. XVI, 23) propriis circumfusum virtutibus pio foveat amplexu. Non enim nos in gremio corporali, sed in quodam bonorum factorum amictu sancti patriarchae probata Deo successio fovet. Nolite, inquit, seduci, Deus non deridetur (Galat. VI, 7).

101. We see, then, that heaven is open to virtue, and that this is the privilege not only of a few: For many shall come from the east and from the west, and the north and the south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God, Matthew 8:11 giving expression to the enjoyment of perpetual rest since the motions of their souls are stilled. Let us follow Abraham in our habits, that he may receive us into his bosom, and cherish us with loving embrace, like Lazarus the inheritor of his humility surrounded by his own special virtues.

The followers of the holy patriarch, approved of God, cherish us not in a bodily bosom, but in a clothing as it were of good works. Be not deceived, says the Apostle, God is not mocked. Galatians 6:7

102. Advertimus quam grave sit sacrilegium resurrectionem non credere; si enim non resurgimus, ergo Christus gratis mortuus est, ergo Christus non surrexit (I Cor. XV, 13). Si enim nobis non resurrexit, utique non resurrexit, qui sibi cur resurgeret, non habebat. Resurrexit in eo mundus, resurrexit in eo coelum, resurrexit in eo terra; erit enim coelum novum et terra nova (Apoc. XXI, 1). Sibi autem ubi erat necessaria resurrectio, quem mortis vincula non tenebant? Nam etsi secundum hominem mortuus, in ipsis tamen erat liber infernis.

102. We have seen, then, how grave an offense it is not to believe the resurrection; for if we rise not again, then Christ died in vain, then Christ rose not again. 1 Corinthians 15:13 For if He rose not for us, He certainly rose not at all, for He had no need to rise for Himself. The universe rose again in Him, the heaven rose again in Him, the earth rose again in Him, for there shall be a new heaven and a new earth. Revelation 21:1 But where was the necessity of a resurrection for Him Whom the claims of death held not? For though He died as man, yet was He free in hell itself.

103. Vis scire quam liber? Factus sum sicut homo sine adjutorio, inter mortuos liber (Psal. LXXXVII, 5). Et bene liber, qui se poterat suscitare, juxta quod scriptum est: Solvite hoc templum, et in triduo resuscitabo illud (Joan. II, 19). Et bene liber, qui alios descenderat redempturus. Factus est autem sicut homo, non specie utique, sed veritate formatus; quia et homo est, et quis cognoscet eum? Etenim in similitudinem hominum factus, et specie inventus ut homo, humiliavit semetipsum, factus obediens usque ad mortem (Phil. II, 7, 8); ut per illam scilicet obedientiam ejus gloriam videremus, gloriam quasi unigeniti a Patre secundum Joannem sanctum

(Joan. I, 14). Ita enim Scripturae figura servatur, ut et unigeniti gloria, et perfecti hominis natura servetur in Christo.

103. Will you know how free? I have become as a man that has no help, free among the dead. And well is He called free, Who had power to raise Himself, according to that which is written: Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up. John 2:19 And well is He called free, Who had descended to rescue others. For He was made as a man, not, indeed, in appearance only, but so fashioned in truth, for He is man, and who shall know Him? For, being made in the likeness of men, and being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself, becoming obedient even unto death, Philippians 2:7-8 in order that through that obedience we might see His glory, the glory as of the Only-begotten of the Father, John 1:14 according to Saint John. For thus is the statement of Scripture preserved, if both the glory of the Only-begotten and the nature of perfect man are preserved in Christ.

104. Itaque adjutore non eguit: neque enim eguit, cum faceret mundum; ut egeret, cum redimeret. Non legatus, non nuntius, sed ipse Dominus salvum fecit eum: Ipse dixit, et facta sunt (Psal. XXXII, 9). Ipse Dominus salvum fecit eum: ubique ipse, quia per ipsum omnia (Coloss. I, 17). Quis autem adjuvaret eum, in quo creata sunt omnia, et omnia in ipso constant? Quis adjuvaret eum, qui omnia in momento facit, et in novissima tuba mortuos suscitat (I Cor. XV, 52)? Non quia aut prima, aut secunda non possit, aut tertia: sed ordo servatur, non quo difficultas sero vincenda, sed legitimus numerus explicandus sit.

104. And so He needed no helper. For He needed none when He made the world, so as to need none when He would redeem it. No legate, no messenger, but the Lord Himself made it whole. He spoke and it was done. The Lord Himself made it whole, Himself in every part, because all things

were by Him. For who should help Him in Whom all things were created and by Whom all things consist? Colossians 1:17 Who should help Him Who makes all things in a moment, and raises the dead at the last trump? 1 Corinthians 15:52 The last, not as though He could not raise them at the first, or the second, or the third, but an order is observed, not that a difficulty may be at last overcome, but that the prescribed number be accomplished.

105. Tempus autem, arbitror, de tubarum specie dicere, quoniam sermo propinquat ad finem; ut nostri quoque consummandi eloquii tuba sit signum. Septem tubas legimus in Apocalypsi Joannis, quas septem sumpsere angeli (Apoc. VIII, 2). Ubi habes quoniam septimus angelus tuba cecinit, et facta est vox magna de coelo dicens: Factum est regnum hujus mundi Dei nostri, et Christi ejus, et regnabit in saecula saeculorum (Apoc. XI, 15). Tuba quidem et pro voce accipitur, quia habes: Quoniam ecce ostium apertum in coelo, et vox prima, quam audivi, sicut tubam loquentem mecum et dicentem: Ascende huc, et ostendam tibi quae oportet fieri (Apoc. IV, 1). Legimus etiam: Canite initio mensis tuba (Psal. LXXX, 4); sed etiam alibi: Laudate eum in sono tubae (Psal. CL, 3).

105. But it is now time, I think, to speak of the trumpets since my discourse is nearing its end, that the trumpet may also be the sign of the finishing of my address. We read of seven trumpets in the Revelation of John, which seven angels received. Revelation 8:2 And there you read that when the seventh angel sounded his trumpet, there was a great voice from heaven, saying: The kingdom of this world has become the kingdom of our God and of His Christ, and He shall reign for ever and ever. Revelation 11:15 The word trumpet is also used for a voice, as you read: Behold a door opened in heaven, and the first voice which I heard, as of a trumpet speaking with me and saying, Come up hither, and I will show you the things which must

come to pass. Revelation 4:1 We read also: Blow up the trumpet at the beginning of the month [the new moon]; and again elsewhere: Praise Him with the sound of the trumpet.

106. Ergo quid sibi velit tubarum significatio, omni virtute debemus advertere; ne quasi fabulam aniliter accipientes periclitemur, si indigna dogmate spiritali, nec convenientia Scripturarum eminentiae sentiamus. Nam cum legerimus bellum nobis esse non adversus carnem et sanguinem, sed adversus spiritalia nequitiae, quae sunt in coelestibus (Ephes. VI, 12); non carnalia utique arma, sed fortia Deo aestimare debemus (II Cor. X, 4). Non enim satis est tubam te videre, nec sonum ejus audire, nisi proprietatem sonitus intelligas. Etenim si incertam vocem det tuba, quomodo quis parabit se ad bellum? Unde oportet vocis tubae nos scire virtutem, ne videamur barbari, cum tubas hujusmodi aut audimus, aut loquimur. Et ideo cum loquimur, oremus ut eas nobis Spiritus sanctus interpretetur.

106. Therefore we ought with all our power to observe what is the signification of the trumpets, lest, accepting them, like old women, as part of the story, we should be in danger if we were to think things unworthy of spiritual teaching, or not befitting the dignity of the Scriptures. For when we read that our warfare is not against flesh and blood, but against spiritual hosts of wickedness, which are in high places, Ephesians 6:12 we ought not to think of weapons of the flesh, but of such as are mighty before God. 2 Corinthians 10:4 It is not enough that one see the trumpet or hear its sound, unless one understands the signification of the sound. For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, how shall one prepare himself for war? 1 Corinthians 14:8 Wherefore it is important that we understand the meaning of the voice of the trumpet, lest we seem barbarians, when we either hear or utter trumpet-sounds of this sort. And therefore when we speak, let us pray that the Holy Spirit would interpret them to us.

107. Requiramus igitur in Scripturis veteribus quid de tubarum genere legerimus, consentientes eas solemnitates, quae Judaeis Lege praescriptae sunt, superiorum esse umbram celebritatum, coelestiumque festorum. Hic enim umbra, illic veritas. Per umbram ad veritatem pervenire nitamur. Cujus figura etiam alibi expressa est hoc modo; habes enim quia locutus est Dominus ad Moysen: Loquere filiis Israel, dicens: Mense septimo, una mensis, erit vobis requies in memoriale tubarum, vocata sancta erit vobis. Omne opus servile non facietis, et accendetis holocaustum Domino (Levit. XXIII, 24). In Numeris autem: Locutus est Dominus ad Moysen, dicens: Fac tibi duas tubas ductiles, argenteas facies eas, et erunt tibi ad evocandam synagogam, et promovenda castra: et tuba canes in illis, et colligetur omnis turba ad ostium tabernaculi testimonii. Si autem in una tuba cecineris, ad te venient omnes principes et duces Israel, et tuba canetis significationem primam, et promovebunt castra, et constituentur ad Orientem. Et tuba canetis significationem secundam, et promovebunt castra, et constituentur ad Libanum.

Et tuba canetis significationem tertiam, et promovebunt castra, quae constituentur ad Boream. Et tuba canetis significationem quartam, et promovebunt castra, quae constituentur ad Aquilonem. Significationem tuba canent in promotu eorum. Et cum congregabitis synagogam, tuba canite, et non significationem. Et filii Aaron sacerdotes tubis canent, et erit vobis legitimum aeternum in progenies vestras. Si autem exieritis in bellum in terram vestram ad adversarios, qui resistunt vobis, significabitis tubis, et reminiscemini coram Domino, et liberationem habebitis a mortuis vestris. Et in diebus laetitiae vestrae, et in diebus festis vestris, et in neomeniis vestris concinite tubis, et in holocaustis et sacrificiis salutaribus vestris, et erit vobis in commemoratione vestra coram Domino, ait Dominus (Num. X, 1 et seq.).

107. Let us, then, investigate what we read in the Old Testament concerning the kinds of trumpets, considering that those festivals which were enjoined on the Jews by the Law are the shadow of joys above and of heavenly festivals. For here is the shadow, there the truth. Let us endeavour to attain to the truth by means of the shadow. Of which truth the figure is expressed in this manner, where we read that the Lord said to Moses: Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, In the seventh month, on the first day of the month, shall be a rest unto you, a memorial of blowing of trumpets, it shall be called holy unto you. You shall not do any servile work, and you shall kindle a whole burnt-offering unto the Lord. Leviticus 23:24-25 And in the Book of Numbers: The Lord spoke unto Moses, saying: Make you two trumpets of beaten work, of silver shall you make them, and they shall be to you for calling the assembly and for the journeying of the camp. And you shall blow with them, and all the congregation shall be gathered together at the door of the tabernacle of witness. But if you blow with one trumpet, all the princes and leaders of Israel shall come to you; and you shall blow a signal with the trumpet the first time, and they shall move the camp forward, and place it on the east. And you shall blow a signal with the trumpet the second time, and they shall move the camp forward, and place it towards Libanus. And you shall blow a signal with the trumpet the third time, and they shall move the camp forward, which shall be placed towards the north [Boream]. And you shall blow a signal with the trumpet the fourth time, and they shall move the camp forward, which shall be placed towards the north [Aquilonem]. They shall blow a signal with the trumpet when they move forward. And when you shall gather together the assembly, blow with the trumpet, but not the signal. And the sons of Aaron, the priests, shall blow with the trumpets, and it shall be for you a statute for ever throughout your generations. But if you shall go out to war into your own land, against the adversaries who resist you, you shall sound a signal with the trumpets

and you shall be remembered before the Lord, and have deliverance from your dead. Also in the days of your gladness, and on your feast days, and on your new moons, you shall blow with the trumpets, and at your whole burnt sacrifices and at your peace-offerings, and it shall be for you for your memorial before the Lord, says the Lord. Numbers 10:1-10

108. Quid igitur, dies festos in potu et in epulis aestimabimus? Sed nemo nos in manducando dijudicet; novimus enim quia Lex spiritalis est (Rom. VII, 14): Nemo ergo nos judicet in escis aliquibus aut in potu, aut in parte diei festi, aut neomeniis, aut sabbato; quae sunt umbra futurorum, corpus autem Christi (Coloss. II, 16). Corpus itaque Christi requiramus, quod vobis quasi novissima tuba vox de coelo paterna monstravit, tunc cum dicebant Judaei, quia tonitruum factum est illi (Joan. XII, 28): corpus Christi quod iterum tuba nobis novissima revelabit; quoniam ipse Dominus in jussu archangeli, et in tuba Dei descendet de coelo: et mortui qui in Christo sunt, resurgent (I Thess. IV, 15); ubi enim corpus, illic et aquilae (Luc. XVII, 37): ubi Christi corpus, ibi veritas.

108. What then? Shall we esteem festival days by eating and drinking? But let no man judge us in respect of eating; for we know that the Law is spiritual. Romans 7:14 Let no man therefore judge us in any meats or in drink, or in respect of a feast day or new moons, or a sabbath day, which are a shadow of the things to come, but the body is of Christ. Colossians 2:16 Let us, then, seek the body of Christ which the voice of the Father, from heaven, as it were the last trumpet, has shown to you at the time when the Jews said that it thundered; John 12:29 the body of Christ, which again the last trump shall reveal; for the Lord Himself shall descend from heaven at the voice of the Archangel, and at the trump of God, and they that are dead in Christ shall rise again; 1 Thessalonians 4:16 for where the body is, there too are the eagles, Luke 17:37 where the body of Christ is, there is the truth.

108. Septima igitur tuba hebdomadis requiem videtur significare, quae non solum in diebus et annis et periodis aestimatur (unde et jubilaeus sacratus est numerus), sed etiam annum septuagesimum comprehendit, quando in Hierusalem regressus est populus, qui septuaginta annis in captivitate duravit. In centesimis quoque et in millesimis sacri observatio numeri minime praeteritur; neque enim otiose Deus dixit: Reliqui mihi septem millia virorum, qui non curvaverunt genua ante Baal (III Reg. XIX, 18). Ergo umbra futurae quietis in diebus, mensibus, annis, mundi ipsius tempore figuratur; et ideo per Moysen mandatur filiis Israel, ut septimo mense, una mensis, singulis fiat requies in memoriale tubarum: nec servile aliquod opus, sed Deo sacrificium offeratur; eo quod in ipso fine hebdomadis, quasi mundi sabbato, spiritalia a nobis non carnalia opera flagitantur. Quod enim carnale, servile; quia animo caro servit: liberum vero innocentia facit, culpa vernaculum.

108. The seventh trumpet, then, seems to signify the sabbath of the week, which is reckoned not only in days and years and periods (for which reason the number of the jubilee is sacred), but includes also the seventieth year, when the people returned to Jerusalem, who had remained seventy years in captivity. In hundreds also and in thousands the observation of the sacred number is by no means passed over, for not without a meaning did the Lord say: I have left the seven thousand men, who have not bent their knees before Baal. Therefore the shadow of the future rest is figured in time in the days, months, and years of this world, and therefore the children of Israel are commanded by Moses, that in the seventh month, on the first day of the month, a rest should be established for all at the memorial of the trumpets; and that no servile work should be done, but a sacrifice be offered to God, because that at the end of the week, as it were the sabbath of the world, spiritual and not bodily work is required of us. For that which is bodily is

servile, for the body serves the soul, but innocence makes free, guilt reduces to slavery.

109. Oportuit igitur per speculum et in aenigmate fieri spiritalia: Nunc enim per speculum videmus, tunc autem facie ad faciem (I Cor. XIII, 12). Nunc secundum carnem militamus, tunc spiritu videbimus divina mysteria. Et ideo verae legis character in nostris moribus exprimatur, qui in Dei ambulamos imagine; quoniam jam legis umbra transivit: umbra Judaeis carnalibus, imago nobis, veritas resurrecturis. Tria enim haec secundum Legem esse cognovimus, umbram, imaginem, veritatem: umbram in Lege, imaginem in Evangilio, veritatem in judicio. Sed Christi omnia, et in Christo omnia, quem nunc secundum veritatem videre non possumus: sed videmus quasi in quadam imagine futurorum, quorum umbram in Lege perspeximus. Ergo Christus non umbra, sed imago Dei: non vacua imago, sed veritas. Et ideo per Moysen Lex; quia umbra per hominem, figura per Legem, per Jesum veritas (Joan. I, 17). Neque enim veritas aliunde, nisi ex veritate procederet.

109. It was necessary, then, that spiritual things should be made known as in a mirror and in a riddle; For now we see by means of a mirror, but then face to face. 1 Corinthians 13:12 Now we war after the flesh, then in the Spirit we shall see the divine mysteries. Let, then, the character of the true law be expressed in our manner of life, who walk in the image of God, for the shadow of the Law has now passed away. The carnal Jews had the shadow, the likeness is ours, the reality theirs who shall rise again. For we know that according to the Law there are these three, the shadow, the image or likeness, and the reality; the shadow in the Law, the image in the Gospel, the truth in the judgment. But all is Christ’s, and all is in Christ, Whom now we cannot see according to the reality, but we see Him, as it were, in a kind of likeness of future things, of which we have seen the shadow in the Law.

So, then, Christ is not the shadow but the likeness of God, not an empty likeness but the reality. And so the Law was by Moses, for the shadow was through man, the likeness was through the Law, the reality through Jesus. For reality cannot proceed from any other source than from reality.

110. Si quis ergo hanc imaginem Dei videre desiderat, debet diligere Deum ut diligatur a Deo: et sit jam non servus, sed amicus, qui mandata Dei fecerit; ut possit introire in nubem, ubi est Deus (Exod. XXIV, 15). Ipse faciat sibi rationabiles tubas duas ductiles argento probato (Num. X, 1), hoc est, pretioso verbo compositas et ornatas; quibus non raucum increpans, terribili sonitu murmur interstrepat, sed sublimes gratiae Deo continua jubilatione fundantur. Talium enim tubarum sonitu mortui suscitantur, non crepitu utique aeris, sed verbo veritatis animati. Et fortasse duae istae tubae sunt, per quas divino spiritu Paulus increpuit dicens: Orabo spiritu, orabo et mente: psallam spiritu, psallam et mente (I Cor. XIV, 15); alterum enim sine altero nequaquam videtur evocationem habere perfectam.

110. If, then, any one desires to see this Image of God, he must love God, that he may be loved by God; and be no longer a servant but a friend, because he has kept the commandments of God, that he may enter into the cloud where God is. Exodus 24:15 Let him make to himself two reasonable trumpets of beaten work of proved silver, that is, composed of precious words and adorned, from which not a harsh shrill sound with dread-inspiring voice may be uttered, but high thanks to God may be poured forth with continuous exultation. For by the voice of such trumpets the dead are raised, not indeed by the sound of the metal, but aroused by the word of truth. And perchance it is those two trumpets by which Paul, through the Divine Spirit, spoke when he said: I will pray with the Spirit, and I will pray with the understanding, I will sing with the Spirit, and I will sing with the

understanding; 1 Corinthians 14:15 for the one without the other seems by no means to have perfect utterance.

111. Nec tamen omnium est utraque canere tuba, nec est omnium universam colligere synagogam: sed solis sacerdotibus, et ministris Dei canentibus ista praerogativa defertur (Num. X, 2 et seq.); ut quicumque audierit, secutus eo fuerit, ubi est Dei gloria, et ad tabernaculum testimonii praematura intentione convenerit: et opera possit spectare divina, et legitimum illud aeternumque domicilium in suae posteritatis seriem promereri. Tunc enim bellum conficitur, hostis fugatur; quando Spiritus gratia concinit, et mentis industria.

111. Yet it is not every one's business to sound each trumpet, nor every one's business to call together the whole assembly, but that prerogative is granted to the priests alone, Numbers 10:8 and the ministers of God who sound the trumpets, so that whosoever shall hear and follow there where the glory of the Lord is, and shall with early determination come to the tabernacle of witness, may be able also to see the divine works, and merit that appointed and eternal home for the entire succession of his posterity. For then is the war finished and the enemy put to flight, when the grace of the Spirit and the energy of the soul act together.

112. Sunt et illae salutares tubae, si corde credas, et ore confitearis: Corde enim creditur ad justitiam ore autem confessio fit ad salutem (Rom. X, 10). Hac igitur gemina tuba ad illam sanctam terram, resurrectionis scilicet gratiam, pervenitur; et ideo semper tibi concinant, ut semper audias Dei vocem: semper te angelorum prophetarumque oracula excitent atque commoveant, ut ad superiora festines.

112. And these are salutary trumpets also, if one believe with the heart, and confess with the mouth; For with the heart man believes unto righteousness,

and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation. For with this twofold trumpet man arrives at that holy land, namely, the grace of the resurrection. Let them, then, ever sound to you, that you may ever hear the voice of God; may the utterances of the Angels and Prophets ever incite and move you, that you may hasten to things above.

113. Hanc intentionem David versabat in pectore, cum dicebat: Quoniam transibo in locum tabernaculi admirabilis, usque ad domum Dei; in voce exsultationis et confessionis, sonus epulantis (Psal. XLI, 5). Non enim soli hostes harum tubarum sonitu vincuntur: sed et delectationes, et dies festi, et neomeniae sine his esse non possunt. Nemo enim potest nisi divini hauriat promissa sermonis, et resultantibus credat oraculis, exsultare laetitia, dies festos aut neomenias agere, quibus se corporali gratia, et saeculari occupatione vacuatum, Christi repleri luce desideret. Sacrificia quoque ipsa Deo probata esse non possunt, nisi confessio vocis aspiret, quae sacerdotali oblatione ad obsecrandam Dei gratiam populos excitare consuevit.

113. David was thinking of this purpose in his breast when he said: For I will pass into the place of the marvellous tabernacle, even to the house of God, with the voice of exultation and thanksgiving, the sound of one that feasts. For not only are enemies overcome by the sound of these trumpets; but without them there could not be rejoicings, and festivals or new moons. For no one, unless he have received the promises of the Divine Word, and believes the message derived therefrom, can keep festivals or new moons, in which he desires to fill himself, freed from bodily pleasure and secular occupation, with the light of Christ. And sacrifices themselves cannot be pleasing to Christ unless confession of the mouth accompanies them, which according to custom stirs up the people to implore the grace of God at the priestly oblation.

114. Itaque simus praedicatores Domini, et laudemus eum in voce tubae (Psal. CL, 3), non exigua de virtute ejus et vilia sentientes, sed ea quae possint aurem mentis implere, et intimae conscientiae penetrare secretum; ut ea quae corpori conveniunt, divinitati non putemus aptanda: nec divinae magnitudinem potestatis humanis viribus metiamur; ut quaeramus quomodo quis resurgat, aut quali corpore veniat, aut quemadmodum soluta coeant, lapsa reparentur; haec enim arbitrio Dei simul ut statuuntur, implentur. Nec sensibilis tubarum exspectatur auditus, sed invisibilis potentia magnificentiae coelestis operatur; Deo enim velle pro facto est: nec resurrectionis requirendus nisus, sed fructus nobis est expetendus. Quae proclivius celebrabitur, si exinaniti vitiis plenitudinem spiritalis mysterii consequamur, gratiamque renovata caro sumat a spiritu, et fulgorem lucis aeternae anima mutuetur a Christo.

114. Let us therefore be preachers of the Lord, and praise Him in the sound of the trumpet, not thinking little or lightly of its power, but such things as can fill the ear of the mind, and enter into the depths of our inmost consciousness, so that we think not that what suits to the body is to be applied to the Godhead, nor measure the greatness of Divine Power by human might, so as to enquire how any one can rise again, or with what kind of body he will come, or how that which has been dissolved can again coalesce, and what is lost be restored, for all these things are accomplished as soon as they are determined by the Divine Will. And it is not a sound of a trumpet distinguishable by the bodily senses which is expected, but the invisible power of the Majesty of heaven operates; for with God to will is to do; nor need we enquire into the force required for the resurrection, but seek its fruit for ourselves. Which will be accomplished all the more easily, if freed from faults we attain to the fullness of the spiritual mystery, and the renewed flesh receives grace from the Spirit, and the soul obtains from Christ the brightness of eternal light.

115. Sed non solum singulorum, verum etiam universitatis sunt ista mysteria. Adverte enim juxta typum Legis, ordinem gratiae. Cum tuba prima cecinerit, orientales congregat, quasi praecipuos et electos: cum secunda, suppares meritis, qui secundum libanum siti, dereliquerint ludibria nationum: cum tertia, eos qui tamquam in mari exagitati istius freto mundi, saeculi hujus fluctibus vacillaverint: cum quarta, illos qui duritiam mentium nequaquam satis potuerint eloquii spiritalis mollire praecepto; et ideo secundum boream vocati sunt, boreas enim secundum Salomonem durus est ventus (Prov. XXVII, 16).

115. But those mysteries pertain not to individuals only, but to the whole human race. For observe the order of grace according to the type of the Law. When the first trumpet sounds, it collects those towards the east, as the chief and elect; when the second sounds, those nearly equal in merit, who, being placed towards Libanus, have abandoned the follies of the nations; when the third, those who as it were, tossed on the sea of this world, have been driven here and there by the waves of this life; when the fourth, those who have by no means been able sufficiently to soften the hardness of their hearts by the commandments of spiritual utterance, and therefore are said to be towards the north — for, according to Solomon, the north is a hard wind.

116. Itaque licet momento resuscitentur omnes, omnes tamen meritorum ordine suscitantur. Et ideo primi resurgunt, qui maturo devotionis occursu, et quodam antelucano fidei exortu prodeuntes, solis aeterni radios receperunt. Quod vel de patriarchis juxta veteris seriem Testamenti, vel de apostolis juxta Evangelium jure memoraverim. Secundi autem, qui ritum gentium relinquentes, ab errore sacrilego transierunt in Ecclesiae disciplinam. Et ideo illi primi ex patribus, isti secundi ex gentibus; ab illis enim lux fidei coepit, in istis usque ad mundi occasum suscepta duravit. Tertii suscitantur, et quarti, qui ab austro, et qui ab aquilone sunt. His

quatuor terra distinguitur, his quatuor annus includitur, his quatuor mundus impletur, his quatuor Ecclesia congregatur. Omnes enim qui sacrosanctae Ecclesiae copulati, divini nominis appellatione censentur, praerogativam resurrectionis et delectationis aeternae gratiam consequentur; quoniam venient ab Oriente et Occidente, ab Aquilone et Austro, et recumbent in regno Dei (Luc. XIII, 29).

116. And so although all are raised again in a moment, yet all are raised in the order of their merits. And therefore they rise first, who yielding early to the impulses of devotion, and as it were going forth before the rising dawn of faith, received the rays of the eternal Sun. This one may rightly say either of the patriarchs in the course of the Old Testament, or of the apostles under the Gospel. And the second are they who, forsaking the rites of the Gentiles, passed from unholy error under the training of the Church. So, then, those first were of the fathers, those second of the Gentiles, for the light of faith took its beginning from those, among these it will remain to the end of the world. In the third place and in the fourth, those are raised who are in the south and in the north. The earth is divided into these four, of these four is the year made up, in these four is the earth completed, and from these four is the Church collected. For all who are considered to be joined to holy Church, by being called by the Divine Name, shall obtain the privilege of the resurrection and the grace of eternal bliss, for they shall come from the east and west, and from the north and south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God. Luke 13:26

117. Non enim exigua mundum suum Christus luce complectitur; quandoquidem a summo coelo egressio ejus, et occursus ejus usque ad summum ejus: nec est qui se abscondat a calore ejus (Psal. XVIII, 7). Omnes enim benignus illustrat, nec refutare levem, sed emendare vult: nec excludere durum Ecclesia, sed mollire desiderat. Et ideo in Canticis

canticorum eos Ecclesia, in Evangelio Christus invitat dicens: Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis, et onerati estis: et ego reficiam vos. Tollite jugum meum super vos, et discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde (Mat. XI, 28, 29).

117. For it is no small light wherewith Christ encompasses His world: since His going forth is from the height of heaven, and His progress to the height thereof, nor is there any who can hide himself from His heat. For with His Goodness He enlightens all, and wills not to reject but to amend the foolish, and desires not to exclude the hard-hearted from the Church, but to soften them. And so the Church in the Song of Songs and Christ in the Gospel invites them, saying: Come unto Me, all you who labour and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you; take My yoke upon you and learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly in heart. Matthew 12:28-29

118. Ecclesiae quoque vocem invitantis agnosce; dicit enim: Exsurge, aquilo, et veni, auster; perfla hortum meum, et defluant unguenta mea. Descendat frater meus in hortum suum, et edat fructum pomiferarum suarum (Cant. IV, 16; V, 1). Sciens enim jam tunc etiam horum tibi fore opera fructuosa, Christo tuo fructum de talibus pollicebare: et quae primo te in cubiculum dixisti Regis inductam, diligens ubera super vinum, cum diligentem amares, lactantem quaereres, pericula pro religione contemneres.

118. And you may recognize also the voice of the invitation of the Church, for she says: Awake, O north wind, and come, thou south, blow upon my garden, and let my ointment flow forth. Let my brother come down into his garden and eat the fruit of his precious trees. Song of Songs 4:16 For knowing even then, O holy Church, that from those also there would be fruitful works for you, you promised to your Christ fruit from such as they, thou who first said that you were brought into the King’s chamber, loving

His breast above wine, since you loved Him Who loved you, sought Him Who fed you, and despised dangers for religion's sake.

119. Deinde a Libano, sponsa, rogaris ut venias, judicio Domini adhuc tota formosa, adhuc tota irreprehensibilis. Sic enim scriptum est: Tota es formosa, proxima mea, et reprehensio non est in te. Ades huc a Libano, sponsa, ades huc a Libano (Cant. IV, 7, 8).

119. And then, O Bride, you are called to come from Libanus, being in the Lord's judgment all fair and without fault. For thus it is written: You are all fair, my love, and there is no fault in you. Come hither from Libanus, my bride, come hither from Libanus. Song of Songs 4:7-8

120. Postea ipsa jam nullos aquae lapsus, jam nullos impetus descendentes a Libano pertimescens, aquilonem et austrum advocas, perflari cupiens hortum tuum; ut in aliis unguenta tua defluant, in aliis multiplices fecunditatis tuae fructus offeras Christo.

120. Afterwards, you, fearing no rushing waters, no torrents coming down from Libanus, callest the north and south winds, wishing them to blow upon your garden, that your ointment may flow forth upon others, and that you may offer to Christ in others the manifold fruits of your productiveness.

121. Et ideo beatus qui custodit verba prophetiae hujus (Apoc. XXIII, 7), quae nobis resurrectionem evidentioribus testimoniis revelavit dicens: Et vidi mortuos magnos et pusillos stantes ante sedem, et libros aperuerunt: et alius liber apertus est, qui est vitae: et judicati sunt mortui de scriptis in libris, secundum facta sua. Et dedit mare mortuos, qui in ipso erant: et inferi dederunt mortuos, qui penes se erant (Apoc. XX 12). Ne ergo dubites quemadmodum resurgant, quor inferi revomunt, mare reddidit.

121. And therefore blessed is he who keeps the words of this prophecy, Revelation 21:7 which has revealed the resurrection to us by clearer testimony, saying: And I saw the dead, great and small, standing before the throne, and they opened the books; and another book was opened, which is the book of life; and the dead were judged out of the things which were written in the books, according to their works. And the sea gave up the dead which were in it, and hell gave up the dead which were in it. Revelation 20:12-13 We must, then, not question how they shall rise again, whom hell gives up and the sea restores.

122. Accipe etiam quando promittatur gratia futura justorum: Et audivi, inquit, vocem magnam de throno dicentem: Ecce tabernaculum Dei cum hominibus, et habitabit cum illis; et ipsi populus ejus erunt, et ipse Deus cum illis erit illorum Deus. Et delebit omnem lacrymam de oculis eorum, et mors non erit amplius, neque luctus, neque clamor, neque dolor ultra erit. (Apoc. XXI, 3, 4).

122. Hear also when the future grace of the just is promised: And I heard, he says, a great voice from the throne saying: Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and He shall dwell with them, and they shall be His people, and God Himself shall be their God with them: and He shall wipe away every tear from their eyes; and death shall be no more, nor mourning, nor crying, nor pain, any more. Revelation 21:3

123. Compara nunc, si placet, atque contende vitam hanc cum illa vita, et elige, si potes, perpetuam corporis vitam in labore aerumnaque miserabili tantarum commutationum, votorumque taedio, fastidio voluptatum. Nonne si Deus ista perpetuare velit, illa deligeres? Nam si per se ipsa vita fugienda est, ut sit molestiarum fuga, requies aerumnarum; quanto magis ea requies est expetenda, cui futurae resurrectionis voluptas perpetua succedet; ubi nulla criminum series, nulla illecebra delictorum?

123. Compare now, if you will, and contrast this life with that; and choose, if you then can, unending bodily existence in toil, and in the wretched misery of such changes as we endure, in satiety when we have our wishes, in that disgust which attends our pleasures. If God were willing to let these last for ever, would you choose them? For if on its own account life is to be escaped from, that there may be an avoidance of troubles and rest from miseries, how much more is that rest to be sought for, which shall be followed by the eternal pleasure of the resurrection to come, where there is no succession of faults, no enticement to sin?

124. Quis in dolore tam patiens, qui non mortem oret? quis in infirmitate tam constans, ut non optet mori se potius, quam debilem vivere? quis in moerore tam fortis, ut non desideret eo se vel moriendo defungi? Quod si ipsi nobis dum vivimus, displicemus, cum vivendo finem praestitum esse noverimus; quanto amplius vitae nos taederet istius, si sine fine futuros nobis labores hujus corporis cerneremus? Quis est igitur qui se velit mortis exsortem? Aut quid gravius immortalitate miserabili? Si in hac vita, inquit, in Christo tantum sperantes sumus, miserabiliores sumus omnibus hominibus (I Cor. XV, 19); non quod in Christo sperare sit miserum, sed quia Christus sperantibus in se vitam alteram praeparaverit. Haec enim peccato obnoxia est, illa praemio reservata.

124. Who is so patient in suffering as not to pray for death? Who has such endurance in weakness as not to wish rather to die than to live in debility? Who is so brave in sorrow as not to desire to escape from it even by death? But if we ourselves are dissatisfied while life lasts, although we know that a limit is fixed for it, how much more weary should we become of this life if we saw that the troubles of the body would be with us without end! For who is there who would wish to be excepted from death? Or what would be more unendurable than a miserable immortality? If in this life only, he says,

we hope in Christ, we are more miserable than all men; 1 Corinthians 15:19 not because to hope in Christ is miserable, but because Christ has prepared another life for those who hope in Him. For this life is liable to sin, that life is reserved for the reward.

124. Ipsos cursus breves nostrarum aetatum quantum videmus nobis afferre fastidium? Puer adolescentiam desiderat, adolescens annos sibi majoris metitur aetatis, juvenis beneficio aevi florentis ingratus, senilem honorificentiam concupiscit. Ita omnibus ex natura venit velle mutari; quia ejus nos quod sumus, poenitet. Denique etiam ipsa post usum vota fastidio sunt: et quae mereri optavimus, cum meruerimus, abdicamus.

124. And how much weariness do we find that the short stages of our lives bring us! The boy longs to be a young man; the youth counts the years leading to riper age; the young man, unthankful for the advantage of his vigorous time of life, desires the honour of old age. And so to all there comes naturally the desire of change, because we are dissatisfied with that which we now are. And lastly, even the things we have desired are wearisome to us; and what we have wished to obtain, when we have obtained it, we dislike.

125. Unde non immerito etiam sancti viri prolongatum incolatum suum saepe doluerunt (Psal. CXIX, 5): doluit David, doluit Jeremias (Jerem. XX, 17), doluit Elias (III Reg. XIX, 4). Si sapientibus creditur, et hi in quibus divinus Spiritus loquebatur, ad meliora properabant: si reliquorum judicia sciscitamur, ut cognoscamus omnes in unam convenire sententiam; quanti mortem moerori, quanti mortem formidini praetulerunt? judicantes videlicet graviorem metum mortis esse, quam mortem. Adeo suis malis mors non timetur, sed vitae miseriis antefertur! cum expetitur morientis exitus, et evitatur formido viventis.

125. Wherefore holy men have not without reason often lamented their lengthy dwelling here: David lamented it, Jeremiah Jeremiah 20:18 lamented it, and Elijah 1 Kings 19:4 lamented it. If we believe wise men, and those in whom the Divine Spirit dwelt, they were hastening to better things; and if we enquire as to the judgment of others, that we may ascertain that all agree in one opinion, what great men have preferred death to sorrow, what great men have preferred it to fear! esteeming forsooth the fear of death to be worse than death itself. So death is not feared on account of evils which belong to it, but is preferred to the miseries of life, since the departure of the dying is desired and the dread of the living is avoided.

126. Sed esto, huic vitae resurrectio praeferatur.

Quid, philosophi ipsi genus post mortem aliquod repererunt, quo nos uti magis, quam resurgere delectabit? Et illi quidem qui dicunt animas immortales esse, non satis mulcere me possunt, cum pro parte me redimunt. Nam quae potest esse gratia, ubi non totus evasi? quae vita, si in me opus Dei occidat? quae justitia, si naturae finis mors sit, erranti justove communis? quae veritas, ut quia ipsa se moveat, et semper moveatur anima, immortalis esse credatur? Quod nobis in corpore commune cum bestiis, ante corpus quid geratur incertum; nec ex contrariis colligatur veritas, sed destruatur.

126. So be it, then. Granted that the Resurrection is preferable to this life. What! Have philosophers themselves found anything with which we should have a greater delight to continue than to rise again? Even those indeed who say that souls are immortal do not satisfy me, seeing they only allow me a partial redemption. What grace can that be by which I am not wholly benefited? What life is that if the operation of God dies out in me? What righteousness is that which, if death is the end of natural existence, is common to the sinner and the just? What is that truth, that the soul should

be considered immortal, because it moves itself and is always in motion? As regards that which in the body is common to us with beasts, it is perhaps uncertain what happens before the body exists, and the truth is not to be gathered from these differences but destroyed.

127. An vero illorum sententia placet, qui nostras animas, ubi ex hoc corpore emigraverint, in corpora ferarum, variorumque animantium transire commemorant? At certe haec circeis medicamentorum illecebris composita esse ludibria poetarum ipsi philosophi disserere solent: nec tam illos qui perpessi ista simulentur, quam sensus eorum qui ista confinxerint, velut circeo poculo ferunt in varia bestiarum monstra conversos. Quid enim tam simile prodigii, quam homines credere in habitum ferarum potuisse mutari? Quanto majoris est prodigii gubernatricem hominis animam, adversam humano generi bestiarum suscipere naturam, capacemque rationis ad irrationabile animal posse transire, quam corporis effigies esse mutatas? Vos ipsi haec destruitis, qui docetis. Nam magicis incantata carminibus portentosae hujus conversionis genera tradidistis.

127. But is their opinion preferable, who say that our souls, when they have passed out of these bodies, migrate into the bodies of beasts, or of various other living creatures? Philosophers, indeed, themselves are wont to argue that these are ridiculous fancies of poets, such as might be produced by draughts of the drugs of Circe; and they say that not so much they who are represented to have undergone such things, as the senses of those who have invented such tales are changed into the forms of various beasts as it were by Circe’s cup. For what is so like a marvel as to believe that men could have been changed into the forms of beasts? How much greater a marvel, however, would it be that the soul which rules man should take on itself the nature of a beast so opposed to that of man, and being capable of reason should be able to pass over to an irrational animal, than that the form of the

body should have been changed? You yourselves, who teach these things, destroy what you teach. For you have given up the production of these portentous conversions by means of magic incantations.

128. Ludunt haec poetae, reprehendunt philosophi: et quae putant ficta de viventibus, haec arbitrantur vera de mortuis. Illi autem qui ista finxerunt, non suam probare fabulam, sed philosophorum errores irridere voluerunt: qui putant quod illa anima quae miti humilique proposito iracundiam vincere, patientiam assumere, cruore abstinere consueverat, eadem frementi motu leonis incensa, irae impatiens, effrena rabie, sitire sanguinem, caedemque possit expetere: et illa quae populorum fremitus varios regali quodam consilio temperabat, et rationabili voce mulcebat; eadem se inter devia atque deserta ritu luporum patiatur ululare: aut quae injusto sub onere gemeus, dures aratri labores questu miserabili mugiebat; eadem postea in figuram hominis commutata, levi cornua quaerat in fronte: vel illa quam praepetes prius pennae usque ad alta coeli per sublime aeris alarum remigiis evehebant; eadem postea volatus jam non suos requirat, et se humani doleat corporis gravitate pigrescere.

128. Poets say these things in sport, and philosophers blame them and at the same time they imagine that those very things are true of the dead which they consider fictitious as regards the living. For they who invented such tales did not intend to assert the truth of their own fable, but to deride the errors of philosophers, who think that that same soul which was accustomed to overcome anger by gentle and lowly purpose, can now, inflamed by the raging impulses of a lion, impatient with anger and with unbridled rage, thirst for blood and seek for slaughter. Or again, that that soul, which as it were by royal counsel used to moderate the various storms of the people, and to calm them with the voice of reason, can now endure to howl in pathless and desert places after the fashion of a wolf; or that that soul

which, groaning under a heavy burden, used to low in sad complaint over the labours of the plough, now changed into the fashion of a man, seeks for horns on his smooth brow; or that another, which used of old to be borne aloft on rapid wing to the heights of heaven, now thinks of flight no longer in its power, and mourns that it grows sluggish in the weight of a human body.

129. Hinc fortasse et illum Icarum perdidistis, quod persuasionibus vestris inductus adolescens, prius avem se fuisse fortasse crediderat. Hinc etiam senes plerique decepti sunt, ut gravi immorerentur dolori, cygneis male creduli fabulis, dum putant modulis se mulcendo flebilibus albentem molli pluma mutare canitiem.

129. Perchance you destroyed Icarus through some such teaching, because the youth, led on by your persuasion, imagined, it may be, that he had been a bird. By such means too have many old men been deceived so as to submit to grievous pain, having unhappily believed the fables about swans, and thought that they, while soothing their pain with mournful strains, would be able to transmute their gray hair into downy feathers.

130. Haec quam incredibilia! quam deformia! Quanto illud est convenientius, ut credas secundum naturam, credas secundum usum fructuum caeterorum, credas secundum gestorum exempla, oracula prophetarum, Christi coeleste promissum. Quid vero praestantius, quam ut opus Dei judices non perire, et secundum imaginem et similitudinem Dei factos transferri non posse in effigies bestiarum; cum utique ad similitudinem Dei non corporis sit imago, sed spiritus? Nam quemadmodum homo, cui subjecta sunt animantium genera caeterorum, in subjectum sibi animal meliore sui parte demigret? Non patitur hoc natura, et si pateretur natura, non pateretur gratia.

130. How incredible are these things! How odious! How much more fitting is it to believe in accordance with nature, in accordance with what takes place in every kind of fruit; to believe in accordance with the pattern of what has happened, in accordance with the utterances of prophets, and the heavenly promise of Christ! For what is better than to be sure that the work of God does not perish, and that those who are made in the image and likeness of God cannot be transformed into the shapes of beasts; since in truth it is not the form of the body but of the spirit which is made after the likeness of God. For in what manner could man, to whom are subjected the other kinds of living creatures, migrate with the better part of himself into an animal subjected to himself? Nature does not suffer this, and if nature did grace would not.

131. Sed videro quid vos de vobis, gentes, opinionis habeatis; neque enim mirum debet videri, quod creditis vos in bestias posse mutari, qui bestias adoratis. Ego tamen malim de vestro merito melius judicetis; ut non inter coetus ferarum, sed inter angelorum consortia vos credatis futuros.

131. But I have seen what you, Gentiles, think of each other, and indeed it ought not to seem strange that you who worship beasts should believe that you can be changed into beasts. But I had rather that you judged better concerning what is due to you, that you may believe that you will be not in the company of wild beasts, but in the companionship of angels.

132. Habet animus ex hoc jam vitae anfractu, et terreni corporis colluvione discedere, et ad illa concilia superna contendere, etsi sanctorum sit pervenire, laudem dicere Deo (quam citharizantes illos (Apoc. XIV, 2) dicere prophetica lectione (Apoc. XV, 3, 4) comperimus: Quia magna mirabilia opera tua, Domine Deus omnipotens: justae et verae viae tuae, Rex gentium! Quis non timebit et magnificabit nomen tuum; quia solus sanctus es, quia omnes gentes venient et adorabunt ante te; videre quoque

tuas, Jesu, nuptias, in quibus de terrenis ad coelestia, concinentibus omnium gaudiis sponsa deducitur; ad te enim omnis caro veniet (Psal. LXIV, 3), jam non saeculo obnoxia, sed spiritui copulata: videre thalamos ornatos byssino, rosis, liliis, et coronis. Cujus enim alterius sic ornantur nuptiae? Ornantur enim confessorum livore, martyrum sanguine, lillis virginum, coronis etiam sacerdotum?

132. The soul has to depart from the surroundings of this life, and the pollutions of the earthly body, and to press on to those heavenly companies, though it is for the saints alone, to attain to them, and to sing praise to God (as in the prophet's words we hear of those who are harping Revelation 14:2 and saying: For great are Your marvellous works, O Lord God Almighty, just and true are Your ways, Thou King of the nations; who shall not fear and magnify Your Name, for Thou only art holy, for all nations shall come and worship before You), Revelation 15:3-4 and to see Your marriage feast, O Lord Jesus, in which the Bride is led from earthly to heavenly things, while all rejoice in harmony, for to You shall all flesh come, now no longer subject to transitory things, but joined to the Spirit, to see the chambers adorned with linen, roses, lilies, and garlands. Of whom else is the marriage so adorned? For it is adorned with the purple stripes of confessors, the blood of martyrs, the lilies of virgins, and the crowns of priests.

133. Hoc sibi prae caeteris David sanctus optavit, ut haec spectaret et cerneret. Denique ait: Unam petivi a Domino, hanc requiram; ut inhabitem in domo Domini omnes dies vitae meae, et videam voluptatem Domini (Ps. XXVI, 4, 5).

133. Holy David desired beyond all else for himself that he might behold and gaze upon this, for he says: One thing have I asked of the Lord, that will I seek after; that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, and see the pleasure of the Lord.

134. Juvat hoc credere, sperare delectat: certe non credidisse poena est, sperasse gratia. Quod si in hoc erro, quia angelis me post mortem sociari malo, quam bestiis; libenter in hoc erro, neque umquam hac me opinione, dum vivo, fraudari patiar.

134. It is a pleasure to believe this, a joy to hope for it; and certainly, not to have believed it is a pain, to have lived in this hope a grace. But if I am mistaken in this, that I prefer to be associated after death with angels rather than with beasts, I am gladly mistaken, and so long as I live will never suffer myself to be cheated of this hope.

135. Quid enim mihi superest solatii, quam quod me citius ad te, frater, spero venturum, nec digressus tui inter nos longa divortia fore; tuisque intercessionibus mihi hoc posse conferri, ut citius desiderantem tui advoces. Quis enim est, qui non sibi debeat istud optare prae caeteris; ut corruptibile hoc induat incorruptelam, et mortale hoc induat immortalitatem (I Cor. XV, 53)? ut qui nunc morti corporis fragilitate succumbimus, supra naturam siti, mortem jam timere nequeamus.

135. For what comfort have I left but that I hope to come quickly to you, my brother, and that your departure will not cause a long severance between us, and that it may be granted me, through your intercessions, that you may quickly call me who long for you. For who is there who ought not to wish for himself beyond all else that this corruptible should put on incorruption, and this mortal put on immortality? 1 Corinthians 15:53 that we who succumb to death through the frailty of the body, being raised above nature, may no longer have to fear death.

De fide ad Gratianum Augustum (Exposition of the Christian Faith)

CONTENTS

LIBER PRIMUS.

PROLOGUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

CAPUT II.

CAPUT III.

CAPUT IV.

CAPUT V.

CAPUT VI.

CAPUT VII.

CAPUT VIII.

CAPUT IX.

CAPUT X.

CAPUT XI.

CAPUT XII.

CAPUT XIII.

CAPUT XIV.

CAPUT XV.

CAPUT XVI.

CAPUT XVII.

CAPUT XVIII.

CAPUT XIX.

CAPUT XX.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

PROLOGUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.
CAPUT VII.
CAPUT VIII.
CAPUT IX.
CAPUT X.
CAPUT XI.
CAPUT XII.
CAPUT XIII.
CAPUT XIV.
CAPUT XV.
CAPUT XVI.

LIBER TERTIUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.
CAPUT VII.
CAPUT VIII.
CAPUT IX.
CAPUT X.
CAPUT XI.

CAPUT XII.
CAPUT XIII.
CAPUT XIV.
CAPUT XV.
CAPUT XVI.
CAPUT XVII.

LIBER QUARTUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.
CAPUT VII.
CAPUT VIII.
CAPUT IX.
CAPUT X.
CAPUT XI.
CAPUT XII.

LIBER QUINTUS.

PROLOGUS.
CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.
CAPUT VII.

CAPUT VIII.
CAPUT IX.
CAPUT X.
CAPUT XI.
CAPUT XII.
CAPUT XIII.
CAPUT XIV.
CAPUT XV.
CAPUT XVI.
CAPUT XVII.
CAPUT XVIII.
CAPUT XIX.

LIBER PRIMUS.

BOOK I.

PROLOGUS.

GRATIANUM OB ARDOREM discendae fidei laudat Ambrosius, semet vero deprimit. Quamquam autem illum humana doctrina indigere neget, quippe qui a Deo ipso fuerit institutus, addit tamen eumdem hac sua pietate viam sibi ad victoriam munire. Tum difficultate operis insinuata, non tam rationem quam auctoritatem, maxime vero Nicaeni concilii, secuturum se profitetur.

PROLOGUE.

The author praises Gratian's zeal for instruction in the Faith, and speaks lowly of his own merits. Taught of God Himself, the Emperor stands in no need of human instruction; yet this his devoutness prepares the way to victory. The task appointed to the author is difficult: in the accomplishment whereof he will be guided not so much by reason and argument as by authority, especially that of the Nicene Council.

1. Regina Austri venit audire sapientiam Salomonis, ut in libro Regnorum legimus (III Reg. X, 1 et seq.). Hiram quoque rex ad Salomonem misit, ut cognosceret eum (III Reg. V, 1). Tu quoque, sancte imperator Gratiane, veteris imitator historiae, fidem meam audire voluisti. Sed non ego Salomon, cujus mireris sapientiam: neque tu unius gentis, sed totius orbis Augustus fidem libello exprimi censuisti: non ut disceres, sed ut probares.

1. The Queen of the South, as we read in the Book of the Kings, came to hear the wisdom of Solomon. 1 Kings 10:1 Likewise King Hiram sent to Solomon that he might prove him. 1 Kings 5:1 So also your sacred Majesty, following these examples of old time, has decreed to hear my confession of

faith. But I am no Solomon, that you should wonder at my wisdom, and your Majesty is not the sovereign of a single people; it is the Augustus, ruler of the whole world, that has commanded the setting forth of the Faith in a book, not for your instruction, but for your approval.

2. Quid enim discas, imperator Auguste, quam ab ipsis incunabulis pio fovisti semper affectu? Priusquam te, inquit, formarem in utero matris tuae, novi te: et priusquam exires de vulva, sanctificavi te (Jerem. I, 5). Santificatio ergo non traditur, sed infunditur; et ideo divina dona custodi. Quod enim nemo te docuit, utique Deus auctor infudit.

2. For why, august Emperor, should your Majesty learn that Faith which, from your earliest childhood, you have ever devoutly and lovingly kept? Before I formed you in your mother's belly I knew you, says the Scripture, and before you came forth out of the womb I sanctified you. Sanctification, therefore, comes not of tradition, but of inspiration; therefore keep watch over the gifts of God. For that which no man has taught you, God has surely given and inspired.

3. Petis a me fidei libellum, sancte imperator, 444 profecturus ad praelium; nosti enim fide magis imperatoris quam virtute militum quaeri solere victoriam. Nam et Abraham trecentos decem et octo duxit ad bellum, et ex innumeris tropaea hostibus reportavit; signoque Dominicae crucis et nominis, quinque regum victriciumque turmarum subacto robore, et ultus est proximum, et fratris filium meruit et triumphum (Gen. XIV, 14 et seq.). Jesus quoque filius Nave hostes quos totius exercitus manu valida superare non poterat, septem tubarum sacerdotalium sono vicit, ubi ducem militiae coelestis agnovit (Jos. VI, 6 et seq.). Ergo et tu vincere paras, qui Christum adoras: vincere paras, qui fidem vindicas, cujus a me libellum petisti.

3. Your sacred Majesty, being about to go forth to war, requires of me a book, expounding the Faith, since your Majesty knows that victories are gained more by faith in the commander, than by valour in the soldiers. For Abraham led into battle three hundred and eighteen men, and brought home the spoils of countless foes; and having, by the power of that which was the sign of our Lord's Cross and Name, overcome the might of five kings and conquering hosts, he both avenged his neighbour and gained victory and the ransom of his brother's son. So also Joshua the Son of Nun, when he could not prevail against the enemy with the might of all his army, Joshua 6:6 overcame by sound of seven sacred trumpets, in the place where he saw and knew the Captain of the heavenly host. For victory, then, your Majesty makes ready, being Christ's loyal servant and defender of the Faith, which you would have me set forth in writing.

4. Mallem quidem cohortandi ad fidem subire officium, quam de fide disceptandi; in altero enim religiosa confessio est, in altero incauta praesumptio: sed quoniam neque tu cohortatione indiges, neque ego excusandi liber, ubi pietatis officium est, audax negotium verecunda occasione suscipiam; ut de fide pauca disceptem, de testimoniis plura contexam.

4. Truly, I would rather take upon me the duty of exhortation to keep the Faith, than that of disputing thereon; for the former means devout confession, whereas the latter is liable to rash presumption. Howbeit, forasmuch as your Majesty has no need of exhortation, while I may not pray to be excused from the duty of loyalty, I will take in hand a bold enterprise, yet modestly withal, not so much reasoning and disputing concerning the Faith as gathering together a multitude of witness.

5. De conciliis id potissimum sequar, quod trecenti decem et octo sacerdotes, tamquam Abrahae electi judicio, consona fidei virtute victores,

velut tropaeum, toto orbe subactis perfidis, extulerunt; ut mihi videatur hoc esse divinum, quod eodem numero in conciliis fidei habemus oraculum, quo in historia pietatis exemplum.

5. Of the Acts of Councils, I shall let that one be my chief guide which three hundred and eighteen priests, appointed, as it were, after the judgment of Abraham, made (so to speak) a trophy raised to proclaim their victory over the infidel throughout the world, prevailing by that courage of the Faith, wherein all agreed. Verily, as it seems to me, one may herein see the hand of God, forasmuch as the same number is our authority in the Councils of the Faith, and an example of loyalty in the records of old.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

CATHOLICAM FIDEM A gentilium, Judaeorum, ac haereticorum erroribus distinguit: expositoque vocum Dei et Domini significatu, personarum discrimen, et naturae unitatem demonstrat: quam dum separant Ariani, non tres Deos tantum inducunt, sed etiam Trinitatis regnum destruunt.

CHAPTER 1.

The author distinguishes the faith from the errors of Pagans, Jews, and Heretics, and after explaining the significance of the names God and Lord, shows clearly the difference of Persons in Unity of Essence. In dividing the Essence, the Arians not only bring in the doctrine of three Gods, but even overthrow the dominion of the Trinity.

6. Assertio autem nostrae fidei haec est, ut unum Deum esse dicamus: neque, ut gentes, Filium separemus: neque ut Judaei, natum ex Patre ante tempora, et ex Virgine postea editum denegemus: neque ut Sabellius, Patrem confundamus et Verbum; ut eumdem Patrem asseramus et Filium: neque ut Photinus, initium Filii ex Virgine disputemus: neque ut Arius, plures credendo et dissimiles potestates, plures deos gentili errore faciamus, quia scriptum est: Audi, Israel, Dominus Deus tuus, Deus unus est (Deut. VI, 4).

6. Now this is the declaration of our Faith, that we say that God is One, neither dividing His Son from Him, as do the heathen, nor denying, with the Jews, that He was begotten of the Father before all worlds, and afterwards born of the Virgin; nor yet, like Sabellius, confounding the Father with the Word, and so maintaining that Father and Son are one and the same Person;

nor again, as does Photinus, holding that the Son first came into existence in the Virgin's womb: nor believing, with Arius, in a number of diverse Powers, and so, like the benighted heathen, making out more than one God. For it is written: Hear, O Israel: the Lord your God is one God.

7. Deus enim et Dominus nomen magnificentiae, nomen est potestatis, sicut ipse dicit: Dominus nomen est mihi. Et sicut alibi Propheta asserit: Dominus omnipotens nomen est ei (Esai. XLII, 8). Dominus ergo et Deus vel quod dominetur omnibus, vel quod spectet omnia, et timeatur a cunctis.

7. For God and Lord is a name of majesty, a name of power, even as God Himself says: The Lord is My name, Exodus 3:15 and as in another place the prophet declares: The Lord Almighty is His name. God is He, therefore, and Lord, either because His rule is over all, or because He beholds all things, and is feared by all, without difference.

8. Si ergo unus Deus, unum nomen, potestas una est Trinitatis. Denique ipse dicit: Ite, baptizate gentes in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti (Matth. XXVIII, 19). In nomine utique, non in nominibus.

8. If, then, God is One, one is the name, one is the power, of the Trinity. Christ Himself, indeed, says: Go, baptize the nations in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Matthew 28:19 In the *name*, mark you, not in the *names.*

9. Ipse etiam dicit: Ego et Pater unum sumus (Joan. X, 30). Unum dixit, ne fiat discretio potestatis et naturae: sumus addidit, ut Patrem Filiumque cognoscas; quod perfectus Pater perfectum Filium genuisse credatur: et Pater et Filius unum sint, non confusione personae, sed unitate naturae.

9. Moreover, Christ Himself says: I and the Father are One. John 10:30 One, said He, that there be no separation of power and nature; but again, *We*

are, that you may recognize Father and Son, forasmuch as the perfect Father is believed to have begotten the perfect Son, Matthew 5:48 and the Father and the Son are One, not by confusion of Person, but by unity of nature.

10. [Alias cap. II.] Unum ergo Deum, non duos aut tres deos dicimus; ut impia Arianorum haeresis dum criminatur, incurrit. Tres enim deos dicit, qui divinitatem separat Trinitatis; cum Dominus dicendo: Ite, baptizate gentes in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti, unius esse Trinitatem potestatis ostenderit. Nos Patrem 446 et Filium et Spiritum sanctum confitemur; ita ut in Trinitate perfecta et plenitudo sit divinitatis, et unitas potestatis.

10. We say, then, that there is one God, not two or three Gods, this being the error into which the impious heresy of the Arians does run with its blasphemies. For it says that there are three Gods, in that it divides the Godhead of the Trinity; whereas the Lord, in saying, Go, baptize the nations in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, has shown that the Trinity is of one power. We confess Father, Son, and Spirit, understanding in a perfect Trinity both fullness of Divinity and unity of power.

11. Omne regnum in se divisum facile destruetur, Dominus hoc dicit (Matth. XII, 25). Non ergo divisum est regnum Trinitatis. Si ergo divisum non est, unum est; quod enim unum non est, divisum est. Tale ergo regnum esse cupiunt Trinitatis, quod divisione sui facile destruatur. Immo quia non potest destrui, constat non esse divisum. Non enim dividitur unitas, nec scinditur; et ideo nec corruptelae subditur, nec aetati.

11. Every kingdom divided against itself shall quickly be overthrown, says the Lord. Now the kingdom of the Trinity is not divided. If, therefore, it is

not divided, it is one; for that which is not one is divided. The Arians, however, would have the kingdom of the Trinity to be such as may easily be overthrown, by division against itself. But truly, seeing that it cannot be overthrown, it is plainly undivided. For no unity is divided or rent asunder, and therefore neither age nor corruption has any power over it.

CAPUT II.

IMPERATOREM AD FIDEI zelum exhortatus, ab ea quae Christo cum Patre inest, voluntatis atque operationis unitate ipsum Deum esse ostendit. Quapropter expositis divinis attributis, eadem Christo etiam convenire affirmat: cujus praeterea varias appellationes prosecutus, iis substantialem unitatem personalemque distinctionem probari docet: tum exemplis aliquot ad explicandam unitatem illam adductis, negat aliter Dei unitatem defendi posse.

CHAPTER 2.

The Emperor is exhorted to display zeal in the Faith. Christ's perfect Godhead is shown from the unity of will and working which He has with the Father. The attributes of Divinity are shown to be proper to Christ, Whose various titles prove His essential unity, with distinction of Person. In no other way can the unity of God be maintained.

12. Non quicumque, inquit, mihi dicit: Domine, Domine, intrabit in regnum coelorum (Matth. VII, 21). Non ergo perfunctoria fides debet esse, imperator Auguste; scriptum est enim: Zelus domus tuae comedit me (Psal. LXVIII, 10). Itaque fideli spiritu et mente devota Jesum Dominum invocemus, Deum esse credamus; ut in nomine ejus quidquid a Patre petimus, impetremus; Pater enim se per Filium vult rogari, Filius vult rogari Patrem.

12. Not every one that says unto Me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, Matthew 7:21 says the Scripture. Faith, therefore, august Sovereign, must not be a mere matter of performance, for it is

written, The zeal of your house has devoured me. Let us then with faithful spirit and devout mind call upon Jesus our Lord, let us believe that He is God, to the end that whatever we ask of the Father, we may obtain in His name. For the Father's will is, that He be entreated through the Son, the Son's that the Father be entreated.

13. Concordat pietatis gratia, nec virtutis facta discordant. Quaecumque enim Pater facit, eadem et Filius facit similiter. Et similiter facit, et eadem facit Filius: sed vult rogari Patrem in eo, quod ipse facturus est; uti non impossibilitatis indicium, sed unitatem potestatis agnoscas. Jure igitur adorandus atque venerandus est Dei Filius, qui mundum divinitate sua condidit, et nostrum pietate sua informavit affectum.

13. The grace of His submission makes for agreement [with our teaching], and the acts of His power are not at variance therewith. For whatsoever things the Father does, the same also does the Son, in like manner. The Son both does the same things, and does them in like manner, but it is the Father's will that He be entreated in the matter of what He Himself proposes to do, that you may understand, not that He cannot do it otherwise, but that there is one power displayed. Truly, then, is the Son of God to be adored and worshipped, Who by the power of His Godhead has laid the foundations of the world, and by His submission informed our affections.

14. Et ideo bonum Deum, sempiternum, perfectum, omnipotentem, verum debemus 447 credere, ut in Lege accepimus et prophetis, Scripturisque divinis caeteris, quia sine his Deus non est. Non potest enim bonus non esse, qui Deus est, cum in natura Dei plenitudo bonitatis sit: neque ex tempore Deus potest esse, qui fecit tempora: neque potest imperfectus Deus esse; qui enim minor est, imperfectus utique est, cui desit aliquid, quo majori possit aequari. Haec igitur fidei praedicatio: Deus malus non est,

Deo impossibile nihil est: Deus temporalis non est, Deus minor non est. Si fallor, redarguant.

14. Therefore we ought to believe that God is good, eternal, perfect, almighty, and true, such as we find Him in the Law and the Prophets, and the rest of the holy Scriptures, for otherwise there is no God. For He Who is God cannot but be good, seeing that fullness of goodness is of the nature of God: nor can God, Who made time, be in time; nor, again, can God be imperfect, for a lesser being is plainly imperfect, seeing that it lacks somewhat whereby it could be made equal to a greater. This, then, is the teaching of our faith — that God is not evil, that with God nothing is impossible, that God exists not in time, that God is beneath no being. If I am in error, let my adversaries prove it.

15. Quia igitur Deus Christus: et bonus utique, et omnipotens, et sempiternus, et perfectus, et verus est; haec enim in natura divinitatis sunt. Aut igitur negent naturam divinitatis in Christo, aut quae divinae naturae sunt, Deo negare non possunt.

15. Seeing, then, that Christ is God, He is, by consequence, good and almighty and eternal and perfect and true; for these attributes belong to the essential nature of the Godhead. Let our adversaries, therefore, deny the Divine Nature in Christ — otherwise they cannot refuse to God what is proper to the Divine Nature.

16. Certe ne quis possit errare, sequatur ea quibus Scriptura sancta, ut intelligere possimus Filium, significavit. Verbum dicitur, Filius dicitur, Dei virtus dicitur, dicitur Dei sapientia. Verbum, quia immaculatus: virtus, quia perfectus; Filius, quia genitus ex Patre: sapientia, quia unum cum Patre, unum aeternitate, unum divinitate. Non enim Pater ipse, qui Filius: sed inter

Patrem et Filium generationis expressa distinctio est; ut ex Deo Deus, ex manente manens, plenus e pleno sit.

16. Further, that none may fall into error, let a man attend to those signs vouchsafed us by holy Scripture, whereby we may know the Son. He is called the Word, the Son, the Power of God, the Wisdom of God. The Word, because He is without blemish; the Power, because He is perfect; the Son, because He is begotten of the Father; the Wisdom, because He is one with the Father, one in eternity, one in Divinity. Not that the Father is one Person with the Son; between Father and Son is the plain distinction that comes of generation; so that Christ is God of God, Everlasting of Everlasting, Fulness of Fulness.

17. Non sunt igitur haec nuda nomina, sed operatricis virtutis indicia; est enim plenitudo divinitatis in Patre, est plenitudo divinitatis in Filio, non discrepans, sed una divinitas. Nec confusum, quod unum est: nec multiplex, quod indifferens.

17. Now these are not mere names, but signs of power manifesting itself in works, for while there is fullness of Godhead in the Father, there is also fullness of Godhead in the Son, not diverse, but one. The Godhead is nothing confused, for it is an unity: nothing manifold, for in it there is no difference.

18. Etenim si omnium credentium, sicut scriptum est (Act. IV, 32), erat anima una et cor unum: si omnis qui adhaeret Domino, unus spiritus est, ut Apostolus dixit (I Cor. VI, 27): si vir et uxor in carne una sunt: si omnes homines, quantum ad naturam pertinet, unius substantiae sumus: si hoc de humanis Scriptura dicit, quia multi unum sunt, quorum nulla potest esse cum divinis comparatio; quanto magis Pater et Filius divinitate unum sunt, ubi nec substantiae nec voluntatis ulla est differentia?

18. Moreover, if in all them that believed there was, as it is written, one soul and one heart: Acts 4:32 if every one that cleaves to the Lord is one spirit, 1 Corinthians 6:17 as the Apostle has said: if a man and his wife are one flesh: if all we mortal men are, so far as regards our general nature, of one substance: if this is what the Scripture says of created men, that, being many, they are one, who can in no way be compared to Divine Persons, how much more are the Father and the Son one in Divinity, with Whom there is no difference either of substance or of will!

19. Namque aliter quomodo unum Deum dicemus? Diversitas plures facit, unitas potestatis excludit numeri quantitatem; quia unitas numerus non est, sed haec omnium ipsa principium est.

19. For how else shall we say that God is One? Divinity makes plurality, but unity of power debars quantity of number, seeing that unity is not number, but itself is the principle of all numbers.

CAPUT III.

PATRIS AC FILII unitatem Scripturae testimoniis probat, et primo Esaiae locum aliorum comparatione ita illustrat, ut nullam a Patris natura in Filio inesse differentiam astruat, nisi quantum ad carnem, ac proinde unam utriusque deitatem esse. Quod ubi auctoritate Baruch confirmatum est, fidem prophetis hac in re habendam tradit.

CHAPTER 3.

By evidence gathered from Scripture the unity of Father and Son is proved, and firstly, a passage, taken from the Book of Isaiah, is compared with others and expounded in such sort as to show that in the Son there is no diversity from the Father's nature, save only as regards the flesh; whence it follows that the Godhead of both Persons is One. This conclusion is confirmed by the authority of Baruch.

20. Quantam vero Scriptura divina Patris et Filii secundum divinitatem expresserit unitatem, prophetica testantur oracula. Sic enim dicit Dominus sabaoth: Laboravit 448 Aegyptus, et mercatus Aethiopum et Sebaim: viri excelsi ad te transibunt, et tui erunt servi, et post te sequentur alligati vinculis, et adorabunt te, et in te deprecabuntur; quoniam in te est Deus, et non est Deus praeter te. Tu enim es Deus, et nesciebamus, Deus Israel (Esa. XLV, 14).

20. Now the oracles of the prophets bear witness what close unity holy Scripture declares to subsist between the Father and the Son as regards their Godhead. For thus says the Lord of Sabaoth: Egypt has laboured, and the commerce of the Ethiopians and Sabeans: mighty men shall come over to

you, and shall be your servants, and in your train shall they follow, bound in fetters, and they shall fall down before you, and to you shall they make supplication: for God is in you, and there is no God beside you. For you are God, and we knew it not, O God of Israel.

21. Audi propheticam vocem: In te, inquit, est Deus, et non est Deus praeter te. Quomodo hoc secundum Arianos convenit? Necesse est negent aut Patris aut Filii divinitatem, nisi ejusdem divinitatis crediderint unitatem.

21. Hear the voice of the prophet: In You, he says, is God, and there is no God beside You. How agrees this with the Arians' teaching? They must deny either the Father's or the Son's Divinity, unless they believe, once for all, unity of the same Divinity.

22. In te, inquit, est Deus; quoniam in Filio Pater. Scriptum est enim: Pater qui in me manet, ipse loquitur; et: Opera quae ego facio, et ipse facit (Joan. V, 5). Sed et alibi in Patre Filius est, qui dicit: Ego in Patre, et Pater in me est (Joan. XIV, 10). Dissolvant, si possunt, hanc naturae proprietatem, et operis unitatem.

22. In You, says he, is God — forasmuch as the Father is in the Son. For it is written, The Father, Who abides in Me, Himself speaks, and The works that I do, He Himself also does. John 14:10 And yet again we read that the Son is in the Father, saying, I am in the Father, and the Father in Me. John 14:10 Let the Arians, if they can, make away with this kinship in nature and unity in work.

23. Deus igitur in Deo est, sed non duo dii; scriptum est enim, quia unus Deus (Deut. VI, 4): et Dominus in Domino, sed non duo Domini; quia aeque scriptum est: Nolite duobus dominis servire (Matth. VI, 24). Et lex dicit: Audi, Israel, Dominus Deus tuus Deus unus est (Deut. VI, 4). Et utique in eodem est Testamento: Pluit Dominus a Domino (Gen. XIX, 24).

Dominus, inquit, a Domino pluit. Sic et in Genesi habes: Et dixit Deus, et fecit Deus; et infra: Et fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem Dei (Gen. I, 3, 26); sed tamen non duo Dii, sed unus Deus lecit. Utromque igitur unitas operationis servatur et nominis. Nam utique cum legimus, Deus ex Deo, non duos deos dicimus.

23. There is, therefore, God in God, but not two Gods; for it is written that there is one God, and there is Lord in Lord, but not two Lords, forasmuch as it is likewise written: Serve not two lords. Matthew 6:24 And the Law says: Hear, O Israel! The Lord your God is one God; Deuteronomy 6:4 moreover, in the same Testament it is written: The Lord rained from the Lord. Genesis 19:24 The Lord, it is said, sent rain from the Lord. So also you may read in Genesis: And God said — and God made, Genesis 1:6-7 and, lower down, And God made man in the image of God; Genesis 1:26-27 yet it was not two gods, but one God, that made [man]. In the one place, then, as in the other, the unity of operation and of name is maintained. For surely, when we read God of God, we do not speak of two Gods.

24. Denique habes in Psalmo quadragesimo quarto, quod et Deum Patrem dixit Propheta, et Deum Filium declaravit, dicens: Sedes tua, Deus, in saeculum saeculi; et infra: Unxit te Deus Deus tuus oleo laetitiae prae consortibus tuis (Psal XLIV, 7, 8). Deus est qui ungit, et Deus qui secundum carnem ungitur Dei Filius. Denique quos habet unctionis suae Christus nisi in carne consortes? Vides igitur quia Deus a Deo unctus: sed in assumptione naturae unctus humanae Dei Filius designatur, nec Legis forma violatur.

24. Again, you may read in the forty-fourth psalm how the prophet not only calls the Father God but also proclaims the Son as God, saying: Your throne, O God, is for ever and ever. And further on: God, even your God, has anointed you with the oil of gladness above your fellows. This God Who anoints, and God Who in the flesh is anointed, is the Son of God. For

what fellows in His anointing has Christ, except such as are in the flesh? You see, then, that God is by God anointed, but being anointed in taking upon Him the nature of mankind, He is proclaimed the Son of God; yet is the principle of the Law not broken.

25. Et hic ergo cum dicitur: Pluit Dominus a Domino, unitatem divinitatis agnosce. Operationis enim unitas non facit pluralem divinitatem, sicut ipse Dominus ostendit, dicens: Credite mihi, quia ego in Patre, et Pater in me: alioquin vel propter opera ipsa credite (Joan. X, 38). Et hic advertimus quod unitatem divinitatis per unitatem operum designaverit.

25. So again, when you read, The Lord rained from the Lord, acknowledge the unity of Godhead, for unity in operation does not allow of more than one individual God, even as the Lord Himself has shown, saying: Believe Me, that I am in the Father, and the Father in Me: or believe Me for the very works' sake. Here, too, we see that unity of Godhead is signified by unity in operation.

26. Ut autem una deitas et Patris et Filii, et una dominatio probaretur; ne gentilis aut Judaicae impietatis incurreremus errorem, providens Apostolus, quid sequi deberemus ostendit dicens: Unus Deus Pater, ex quo omnia, et nos in ipso: et unus Dominus Jesus Christus, per quem omnia, et nos per ipsum (I Cor. VIII, 6). Sicut enim unum dicendo Dominum Jesum Christum, Patrem Dominum non negavit; ita unum dicendo Deum Patrem, aeque a deitatis veritate nec Filium separavit. Unde nec pluralitatem divinitatis, sed unitatem potestatis ostendit; quia et in dominatione divinitas, et in divinitate dominatus est; sicut scriptum est: Scitote quoniam 449 Dominus ipse est Deus; ipse fecit nos, et non ipsi nos (Psal. XCIX, 3).

26. The Apostle, careful to prove that there is one Godhead of both Father and Son, and one Lordship, lest we should run into any error, whether of

heathen or of Jewish ungodliness, showed us the rule we ought to follow, saying: One God, the Father, from Whom are all things, and we in Him, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, by Whom are all things, and we by Him. For just as, in calling Jesus Christ Lord, he did not deny that the Father was Lord, even so, in saying, One God, the Father, he did not deny true Godhead to the Son, and thus he taught, not that there was more than one God, but that the source of power was one, forasmuch as Godhead consists in Lordship, and Lordship in Godhead, as it is written: Be sure that the Lord, He is God. It is He that has made us, and not we ourselves.

27. In te igitur est Deus, per unitatem naturae: et non est Deus praeter te, per proprietatem substantiae, repulsa differentia.

27. In you, therefore, is God, by unity of nature, and there is no God beside You, by reason of personal possession of the Substance, without any reserve or difference.

28. In Hieremiae quoque libro unum Deum Scriptura dicit, et tamen et Patrem et Filium confitetur. Itaque sic habes: Hic Deus noster, et non reputabitur alius ad eum. Hic adinvenit omnem viam disciplinae, et dedit eam Jacob puero suo, et Israel dilecto suo. Post haec in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est (Baruc. III, 36, 37).

28. Again, Scripture speaks, in the Book of Jeremiah, of One God, and yet acknowledges both Father and Son. Thus we read: He is our God, and in comparison with Him none other shall be accounted of. He has discovered all the way of teaching, and given it to Jacob, His servant, and to Israel, His beloved. After these things He appeared upon earth, and conversed with men.

29. De Filio dicit: Ipse enim est cum hominibus conversatus; et dicit: Hic Deus noster, et non aestimabitur alius ad eum. Quid discutimus eum, de quo

tantus dicit propheta, quod ad eum non possit alius aestimari? Quae enim potest esse alia aestimatio, ubi deitatis unitas est? Confitebatur hoc populus in periculis constitutus: nesciebat serere quaestiones qui religionem timebat.

29. The prophet speaks of the Son, for it was the Son Himself Who conversed with men, and this is what he says: He is our God, and in comparison with Him none other shall be accounted of. Why do we call Him in question, of Whom so great a prophet says that no other can be compared with Him? What comparison of another *can* be made, when the Godhead is One? This was the confession of a people set in the midst of dangers; reverencing religion, and therefore unskilled in strife of argument.

30. Adesto, sancte Spiritus, prophetis tuis, quibus inesse consuesti, quibus credimus. Si prophetis non credimus, sapientibus credam hujus mundi? Sed ubi sapiens, ubi scriba? Rusticus noster cum ficus insereret, invenit quod philosophus ignoravit. Quae stulta sunt enim hujus mundi, elegit Deus, ut confundat quae sunt fortia (I Cor. I, 27). Credimus Judaeis, quia notus aliquando in Judaea Deus (Psal. LXXV, 2)? Sed hoc ipsum negant propter quod credimus, quia non norunt Patrem, qui Filium negaverunt.

30. Come, Holy Spirit, and help Your prophets, in whom You are wont to dwell, in whom we believe. Shall we believe the wise of this world, if we believe not the prophets? But where is the wise man, where is the scribe? When our peasant planted figs, he found that whereof the philosopher knew nothing, for God has chosen the foolish things of this world to confound the strong. Are we to believe the Jews? For God was once known in Jewry. Nay, but they deny that very thing, which is the foundation of our belief, seeing that they know not the Father, who have denied the Son.

CAPUT IV.

ARGUMENTIS ALIQUOT AD probandam Dei unitatem collectim propositis, in tribus magorum muneribus Christi divinitatem humanitatemque adumbratas ostendit; non secus ac in angelo cum tribus pueris inter flammas deambulante, divinitatis ac trinitatis veritatem.

CHAPTER 4.

The Unity of God is necessarily implied in the order of Nature, in the Faith, and in Baptism. The gifts of the Magi declare (1) the Unity of the Godhead; (2) Christ's Godhead and Manhood. The truth of the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity is shown in the Angel walking in the midst of the furnace with Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego.

31. Unum Deum communis natura testatur, quia unus est mundus. Unum Deum fides significat, quia una fides novi et veteris Testamenti. Unum Spiritum sanctum testificatur gratia, quia unum baptisma in nomine Trinitatis est. Unum Deum Prophetae dicunt, Apostoli audiunt. Unum Deum Magi crediderunt, et aurum, thus et myrrham supplices ad Christi cunabula detulerunt, auro regem fatentes, ut Deum thure venerantes. Thesaurus enim regni, sacrificium Dei, myrrha est sepulturae.

31. All nature testifies to the Unity of God, inasmuch as the universe is one. The Faith declares that there is one God, seeing that there is one belief in both the Old and the New Testament. That there is one Spirit, all holy, grace witnesses, because there is one Baptism, in the Name of the Trinity. The prophets proclaim, the apostles hear, the voice of one God. In one God did the Magi believe, and they brought, in adoration, gold, frankincense, and

myrrh to Christ's cradle, confessing, by the gift of gold, His Royalty, and with the incense worshipping Him as God. For gold is the sign of kingdom, incense of God, myrrh of burial.

32. Quid igitur voluerunt sibi mystica munera inter abjecta praesepia, nisi ut intelligeremus in Christo differentiam divinitatis et carnis? 450 Ut homo cernitur, ut Dominus adoratur: jacet in pannis, sed fulget in stellis: cunae nascentem indicant, et stellae dominantem: caro est quae involvitur: divinitas, cui ab angelis ministratur. Ita nec dignitas naturalis majestatis amittitur, et assumptae carnis veritas comprobatur.

32. What, then, was the meaning of the mystic offerings in the lowly cattle-stalls, save that we should discern in Christ the difference between the Godhead and the flesh? He is seen as man, Philippians 2:7 He is adored as Lord. He lies in swaddling-clothes, but shines amid the stars; the cradle shows His birth, the stars His dominion; it is the flesh that is wrapped in clothes, the Godhead that receives the ministry of angels. Thus the dignity of His natural majesty is not lost, and His true assumption of the flesh is proved.

33. Haec est fides nostra. Sic se Deus cognosci voluit ab omnibus, sic tres pueri crediderunt, nec incendia circumjecta senserunt; cum infidos noxius ignis exureret, et fidelibus innoxia flamma roraret, quibus aliorum incendia refrigerabant; quia merito fidei perdiderat suam poena naturam. Aderat enim in specie angeli qui monebat ut in numero Trinitatis, unius esset laudatio potestatis. Benedicebatur Deus, videbatur in angelo Dei Filius, sancta et spiritalis in pueris gratia loquebatur.

33. This is our Faith. Thus did God will that He should be known by all, thus believed the three children, Daniel 4:17 and felt not the fire into the midst whereof they were cast, which destroyed and burnt up unbelievers,

Daniel 4:22 while it fell harmless as dew upon the faithful, Hosea 14:5 for whom the flames kindled by others became cold, seeing that the torment had justly lost its power in conflict with faith. For with them there was One in the form of an angel, Daniel 4:28 comforting them, Luke 22:43 to the end that in the number of the Trinity one Supreme Power might be praised. God was praised, the Son of God was seen in God's angel, holy and spiritual grace spoke in the children.

CAPUT V.

ARIANORUM VARIAE IN Christum blasphemiae referuntur, quibus antequam respondeatur, monentur Catholici caveant a sophismatis philosophorum; eo quod scilicet in illis haeretici spem praecipuam collocarent.

CHAPTER 5.

The various blasphemies uttered by the Arians against Christ are cited. Before these are replied to, the orthodox are admonished to beware of the captious arguments of philosophers, forasmuch as in these especially did the heretics put their trust.

34. [Alias cap. III.] Nunc consideremus quas Ariani de Dei Filio inferant quaestiones.

34. Now let us consider the disputings of the Arians concerning the Son of God.

35. Dissimilem Patri dicunt esse Dei Filium. Hoc si homini objiciatur, injuria est.

35. They say that the Son of God is unlike His Father. To say this of a man would be an insult.

36. Ex tempore coepisse dicunt Dei Filium; cum conditor ipse sit temporum. Homines sumus, et esse nolumus temporales. Ex tempore coepimus, et sine tempore futuros esse nos credimus. Fieri nos optamus

aeternos, et quomodo negare possumus Dei Filium sempiternum, quem sempiternum docet atque demonstrat natura, non gratia?

36. They say that the Son of God had a beginning in time, whereas He Himself is the source and ordainer of time and all that therein is. We are men, and we would not be limited to time. We began to exist once, and we believe that we shall have a timeless existence. We desire after immortality — how, then, can we deny the eternity of God's Son, Whom God declares to be eternal by nature, not by grace?

37. Creatum dicunt. Quis auctorem inter opera sua deputet, ut videatur id esse quod fecit?

37. They say that He was created. But who would reckon an author with his works, and have him seem to be what he has himself made?

38. Bonum negant. Sacrilega vox ipsa se damnat, ut indulgentiam sperare non possit.

38. They deny His goodness. Their blaspheming is its own condemnation, and so cannot hope for pardon.

39. Negant verum Dei Filium, negant omnipotentem; cum fateantur omnia facta per Filium, omnia creata per Dei esse virtutem. Quid est enim virtus, nisi perfecta natura?

39. They deny that He is truly Son of God, they deny His omnipotence, in that while they admit that all things are made by the ministry of the Son, they attribute the original source of their being to the power of God. But what is power, save perfection of nature?

40. Negant etiam divinitate unum esse cum Patre. Deleant ergo Evangelium, deleant Christi vocem. Ipse enim dixit: Ego et Pater unum

sumus (Joan. X, 30). Non ego hoc dico, Christus dixit. Numquid fallax, ut mentiretur? Numquid impius, ut quod non erat usurparet? Sed singula suis locis plenius digerentur.

40. Furthermore, the Arians deny that in Godhead He is One with the Father. Let them annul the Gospel, then, and silence the voice of Christ. For Christ Himself has said: I and the Father are one. John 10:30 It is not I who say this: Christ has said it. Is He a deceiver, that He should lie? Numbers 23:19 Is He unrighteous, that He should claim to be what He never was? But of these matters we will deal severally, at greater length, in their proper place.

41. Nunc quoniam haereticus dicit esse dissimilem, idque versutis disputationibus astruere nititur, dicendum est nobis quod scriptum est: 451 Cavete ne quis vos depraedetur per philosophiam, et inanem seductionem secundum traditionem hominum, et secundum elementa hujus mundi, et non secundum Christum: quia in ipso habitat omnis plenitudo divinitatis corporaliter (Coloss. II, 8, 9).

41. Seeing, then, that the heretic says that Christ is unlike His Father, and seeks to maintain this by force of subtle disputation, we must cite the Scripture: Take heed that no man make spoil of you by philosophy and vain deceit, according to the tradition of men, and after the rudiments of this world, not according to Christ; for in Him dwells all the fullness of Godhead in bodily shape.

42. Omnem enim vim venenorum suorum in dialectica disputatione constituunt, quae philosophorum sententia definitur non astruendi vim habere, sed studium destruendi. Sed non in dialectica complacuit Deo salvum facere populum suum: Regnum enim Dei in simplicitate fidei est, non in contentione sermonis (I Cor. IV, 20).

42. For they store up all the strength of their poisons in dialetical disputation, which by the judgment of philosophers is defined as having no power to establish anything, and aiming only at destruction. But it was not by dialectic that it pleased God to save His people; for the kingdom of God consists in simplicity of faith, not in wordy contention.

CAPUT VI.

CHRISTUM PATRI DISSIMILEM non esse probaturus, memoratis celebrioribus Arianorum ducibus, quam male inter eos conveniat, aperit, atque adversus eos, tamquam in monstra quaedam, praesidium Scripturarum ostendit.

CHAPTER 6.

By way of leading up to his proof that Christ is not different from the Father, St. Ambrose cites the more famous leaders of the Arian party, and explains how little their witness agrees, and shows what defense the Scriptures provide against them.

43. [Alias cap. IV.] Dissimilem igitur dicunt esse: nos negamus; immo potius horremus hanc vocem. Sed nolo argumento credas, sancte Imperator, et nostrae disputationi: Scripturas interrogemus, interrogemus apostolos, interrogemus prophetas, interrogemus Christum. Quid multa? Patrem interrogemus, cujus honori studere se dicunt, si Filius degener judicetur. Sed non est honorificentia boni Patris, Filii injuria. Non potest bono Patri placere, si Filius degenerasse potius a Patre, quam Patrem aequasse credatur.

43. The Arians, then, say that Christ is unlike the Father; we deny it. Nay, indeed, we shrink in dread from the word. Nevertheless I would not that your sacred Majesty should trust to argument and our disputation. Let us enquire of the Scriptures, of apostles, of prophets, of Christ. In a word, let us enquire of the Father, Whose honour these men say they uphold, if the Son be judged inferior to Him. But insult to the Son brings no honour to the

good Father. It cannot please the good Father, if the Son be judged inferior, rather than equal, to His Father.

44. Da veniam, sancte Imperator, si ad ipsos paulisper verba converto. Sed quem potissimum legam Eunomiumne, an Arium, vel Aetium ejus magistros? Plura enim nomina, sed una perfidia, impietate non dissonans, communione discordans: non dissimilis fraude, sed coitione discreta. Cur enim secum nolint convenire, non intelligo. 452

44. I pray your sacred Majesty to suffer me, if for a little while I address myself particularly to these men. But whom shall I choose out to cite? Eunomius? or Arius and Aëtius, his instructors? For there are many names, but one unbelief, constant in wickedness, but in conversation divided against itself; without difference in respect of deceit, but in common enterprise breeding dissent. But wherefore they will not agree together I understand not.

45. Eunomii personam defugiunt Ariani, sed ejus perfidiam asserunt, impietatem exsequuntur. Aiunt eum prodidisse effusius, quae Arius scripserit. Magna caecitatis effusio! Auctorem probant, exsecutorem refutant. Itaque nunc in plures sese divisere formas. Alii Eunomium, vel Aetium, alii Palladium, vel Demophilum atque Auxentium, vel perfidiae hujus haeredes sequuntur, alii diversos. Numquid divisus est Christus? Sed qui eum a Patre dividunt, ipsi se scindunt.

45. The Arians reject the person of Eunomius, but they maintain his unbelief and walk in the ways of his iniquity. They say that he has too generously published the writings of Arius. Truly, a plentiful lavishing of error! They praise him who gave the command, and deny him who executed it! Wherefore they have now fallen apart into several sects. Some follow after Eunomius or Aëtius, others after Palladius or Demophilus and

Auxentius, or the inheritors of this form of unbelief. Others, again, follow different teachers. Is Christ, then, divided? 1 Corinthians 1:13 Nay; but those who divide Him from the Father do with their own hands cut themselves asunder.

46. Et ideo quoniam communiter adversus Ecclesiam Dei, quibus inter seipsos non convenit, conspirarunt, communi nomine haereticos, quibus respondendum est, nominabo. Haeresis enim, velut quaedam Hydra fabularum, vulneribus suis crevit: et dum saepe reciditur, pullulavit, igni debita, incendioque peritura: aut velut quaedam monstruosi Scylla portenti in varias formas distincta perfidiae, velut supervacuum Christianae sectae nomen obtendit: sed quos in illo impietatis suae freto miseros inter naufragia fidei reperit fluctuantes, belluinis succincta prodigiis, tetri dogmatis saevo dente dilacerat.

46. Seeing, therefore, that men who agree not among themselves have all alike conspired against the Church of God, I shall call those whom I have to answer by the common name of heretics. For heresy, like some hydra of fable, has waxed great from its wounds, and, being ofttimes lopped short, has grown afresh, being appointed to find meet destruction in flames of fire. Or, like some dread and monstrous Scylla, divided into many shapes of unbelief, she displays, as a mask to her guile, the pretence of being a Christian sect, but those wretched men whom she finds tossed to and fro in the waves of her unhallowed strait, amid the wreckage of their faith, she, girt with beastly monsters, rends with the cruel fang of her blasphemous doctrine.

47. Cujus speluncam, sancte Imperator, ut ferunt nautae, caecis latebris inhorrentem, omnemque ejus viciniam caeruleis canibus inter perfidiae saxa resonantem, clausa quodammodo praeterire aure debemus. Scriptum est enim: Sepi aures tuas spinis (Eccl. XXVIII, 28). Et alibi: Videte canes,

videte malos operarios (Philip. III, 2). Et iterum: Haereticum hominem post primam correptionem devita, sciens quia subversus est qui ejusmodi est, et delinquit, cum sit proprio judicio damnatus (Tit. III, 10, 11). Itaque tamquam boni gubernatores quo tutius praetermeare possimus, fidei vela tendamus, Scripturarumque relegamus ordinem.

47. This monster’s cavern, your sacred Majesty, thick laid, as seafaring men do say it is, with hidden lairs, and all the neighbourhood thereof, where the rocks of unbelief echo to the howling of her black dogs, we must pass by with ears in a manner stopped. For it is written: Hedge your ears about with thorns; Sirach 28:28 and again: Beware of dogs, beware of evil workers; Philippians 3:2 and yet again: A man that is an heretic, avoid after the first reproof, knowing that such an one is fallen, and is in sin, being condemned of his own judgment. Titus 3:10-11 So then, like prudent pilots, let us set the sails of our faith for the course wherein we may pass by most safely, and again follow the coasts of the Scriptures.

CAPUT VII.

EX PAULO, PROPHETIS atque Evangelio Christus asseritur Patri similis; maxime vero ex hominis ad similitudinem divinam creatione.

CHAPTER 7.

The likeness of Christ to the Father is asserted on the authority of St. Paul, the prophets, and the Gospel, and especially in reliance upon the creation of man in God's image.

48. Apostolus dicit imaginem Patris Christum esse; ait enim quod ipse sit imago Dei invisibilis, primogenitus universae creaturae (Coloss. I, 15). Primogenitus, inquit, non primocreatus; ut et genitus pro natura, et primus pro perpetuitate credatur. Alibi quoque Apostolus asseruit quod ipsum posuit haeredem omnium, per quem fecit et saecula, qui est splendor gloriae, et character substantiae ejus (Hebr. I, 2). Imaginem Apostolus dicit, et Arius dicit esse dissimilem: cur imago, si similitudinem non habet? in picturis homines nolunt esse dissimiles, et Arius dissimilem Patrem contendit Filio, et vult ut Pater dissimilem genuerit sui, quasi impotens qui generare similem non potuerit.

48. The Apostle says that Christ is the image of the Father — for he calls Him the image of the invisible God, the first-begotten of all creation. First-begotten, mark you, not first-created, in order that He may be believed to be both begotten, in virtue of His nature, and first in virtue of His eternity. In another place also the Apostle has declared that God made the Son heir of all things, by Whom also He made the worlds, Who is the brightness of His glory, and the express image of His substance. Hebrews 1:2 The Apostle

calls Christ the image of the Father, and Arius says that He is unlike the Father. Why, then, is He called an image, if He has no likeness? Men will not have their portraits unlike them, and Arius contends that the Father is unlike the Son, and would have it that the Father has begotten one unlike Himself, as though unable to generate His like.

49. Prophetae dicunt: In lumine tuo videbimus lumen (Psal. XXXV, 10). Prophetae dicunt: Splendor est enim lucis aeternae, et speculum sine macula Dei majestatis, et imago bonitatis illius (Sap. VII, 26). Vide quanta dicantur. Splendor; quod claritas paternae lucis in Filio sit: speculum sine macula; quod Pater videatur in Filio: imago bonitatis; quod non corpus in corpore, sed virtus in Filio tota cernatur. Imago docet non esse dissimilem, character expressum esse significat, splendor signat aeternum. Imago utique non vultus est corporalis, non fucis composita, non ceris: sed simplex de Deo, egressa de Patre, expressa de fonte.

49. The prophets say: In Your light we shall see light; and again: Wisdom is the brightness of everlasting light, and the spotless mirror of God's majesty, the image of His goodness. Wisdom 7:26 See what great names are declared! Brightness, because in the Son the Father's glory shines clearly: spotless mirror, because the Father is seen in the Son: John 12:45 image of goodness, because it is not one body seen reflected in another, but the whole power [of the Godhead] in the Son. The word image teaches us that there is no difference; expression, that He is the counterpart of the Father's form; and brightness declares His eternity. The image in truth is not that of a bodily countenance, not one made up of colors, nor modelled in wax, but simply derived from God, coming out from the Father, drawn from the fountainhead.

50. Per hanc imaginem Philippo Patrem Dominus demonstravit, dicens: Philippe, qui me videt, videt et Patrem. Et quomodo tu dicis: Ostende nobis

Patrem? Non credis quia ego in Patre, et Pater in me est (Joan. XIV, 9 et 10)? Videt enim in imagine Patrem, qui videt in Filio. Vides quam imaginem dicat? Imago ista veritas est, imago ista justitia est, imago ista Dei virtus est: non muta, quia Verbum est: non insensibilis, quia sapientia est: non inanis, quia virtus est: non vacua, quia vita est: non mortua, quia resurrectio est. Vides ergo quia dum imago dicitur, Patrem significat esse cujus imago sit Filius; quia nemo potest ipse sibi imago sua esse.

50. By means of this image the Lord showed Philip the Father, saying, Philip, he that sees Me, sees the Father also. How then do you say, Show us the Father? Do you not believe that I am in the Father, and the Father in Me? John 14:9-10 Yes, he who looks upon the Son sees, in portrait, the Father. Mark what manner of portrait is spoken of. It is Truth, Righteousness, the Power of God: not dumb, for it is the Word; not insensible, for it is Wisdom; not vain and foolish, for it is Power; not soulless, for it is the Life; not dead, for it is the Resurrection. You see, then, that while an image is spoken of, the meaning is that it is the Father, Whose image the Son is, seeing that no one can be his own image.

51. Plura possem de Filii testimoniis dicere, sed ne forte ipse sibi nimium favisse dicatur, Patrem interrogemus. Nempe ipse dixit: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram (Gen. I, 26). Pater Filio dicit: Ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram; et tu dissimilem Filium Dei dicis?

51. More might I set down from the Son’s testimony; howbeit, lest He perchance appear to have asserted Himself overmuch, let us enquire of the Father. For the Father said, Let us make man in Our image and likeness. Genesis 1:26 The Father says to the Son in *Our* image and likeness, and you say that the Son of God is unlike the Father.

52. Joannes dicit: Dilecti, filii Dei sumus, et nondum apparet quid erimus: scimus quia si revelatum fuerit, similes ei erimus (I Joan. III, 2). O improvida amentia! o impudens pervicacia! Homines sumus, et in quo possumus, ad similitudinem Dei erimus; et similem audemus Dei Filium denegare? 454

52. John says, Beloved, we are sons of God, and it does not yet appear what we shall be: we know that if He be revealed, we shall be like Him. 1 John 3:2 O blind madness! O shameless obstinacy! We are men, and, so far as we may, we shall be in the likeness of God: dare we deny that the Son is like God?

53. Ergo Pater dixit: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram. In principio ipsius mundi Patrem et Filium esse audio, et unum opus cerno. Audio loquentem, agnosco facientem; sed et Patris et Filii unam imaginem, unam similitudinem lego. Similitudo haec non diversitatis, sed unitatis est. Quod igitur tibi usurpas, Filio Dei derogas; cum utique nisi per imaginem Dei, ad imaginem Dei esse non possis.

53. Therefore the Father has said: Let us make man in Our image and likeness. At the beginning of the universe itself, as I read, the Father and the Son existed, and I see one creation. I hear Him that speaks. I acknowledge Him that does: but it is of one image, one likeness, that I read. This likeness belongs not to diversity but to unity. What, therefore, you claim for yourself, you take from the Son of God, seeing, indeed, that you can not be in the image of God, save by help of the image of God.

CAPUT VIII.

EX PROBATA FILII cum Patre similitudine, eumdem aeternum etiam esse haud aegre demonstrari, quod nihilominus astruitur e prophetia Esaiae, ac Joannis Evangelio; cujus ultimi auctoritate obrui haeresiarchae declarantur.

CHAPTER 8.

The likeness of the Son to the Father being proved, it is not hard to prove the Son's eternity, though, indeed, this may be established on the authority of the Prophet Isaiah and St. John the Evangelist, by which authority the heretical leaders are shown to be refuted.

54. [Alias cap. V.] Claret igitur non esse dissimilem, et ideo proclivior via est, ut etiam sempiternum esse fateamur, cum similis sempiterni utique sempiternus sit. Si autem Patrem sempiternum dicimus, et hoc idem Filium denegamus, dicimus esse dissimilem; sempiterno enim temporale dissimile est. Clamat Propheta sempiternum, clamat et Apostolus sempiternum: plenum est vetus Testamentum testimoniis Filii sempiterni, plenum est novum.

54. It is plain, therefore, that the Son is not unlike the Father, and so we may confess the more readily that He is also eternal, seeing that He Who is like the Eternal must needs be eternal. But if we say that the Father is eternal, and yet deny this of the Son, we say that the Son is unlike the Father, for the temporal differs from the eternal. The Prophet proclaims Him eternal, and the Apostle proclaims Him eternal; the Testaments, Old and New alike, are full of witness to the Son's eternity.

55. Ordinem ergo teneamus. Scriptum est in veteri Testamento, ut vel unum de pluribus dicam: Ante me non fuit alius Deus, et post me non erit (Esai. XLIII, 10). Nihil ergo argumentabor, teipsum interrogo. Quis hoc dicit, Pater, an Filius? Utrum dixeris, eo te convinci intelliges: vel si credas, doceri? Quis ergo hoc dicit, Pater, an Filius? Si Filius: Ante me, inquit, non fuit alius Deus: Si Pater: Post me, inquit, non erit. Hic priorem, ille posteriorem non habet: invicem in se et Pater in Filio, et Filius in Patre cognoscitur. Cum enim Patrem dixeris, ejus etiam Filium designasti; quia nemo ipse sibi pater est: cum Filium nominas, etiam Patrem ejus fateris; quia nemo ipse sibi filius est. Itaque nec Filius sine Patre, nec Pater potest esse sine Filio. Semper igitur Pater, semper et Filius.

55. Let us take them, then, in their order. In the Old Testament — to cite one out of a multitude of testimonies — it is written: Before Me has there been no other God, and after Me shall there be none. Isaiah 43:10 I will not comment on this place, but ask you straight: Who speaks these words — the Father or the Son? Whichever of the two you say, you will find yourself convinced, or, if a believer, instructed. Who, then, speaks these words, the Father or the Son? If it is the Son, He says, Before Me has there been no other God; if the Father, He says, After Me shall there be none. The One has none before Him, the Other none that comes after; as the Father is known in the Son, so also is the Son known in the Father, for whenever you speak of the Father, you speak also by implication of His Son, seeing that none is his own father; and when you name the Son, you do also acknowledge His Father, inasmuch as none can be his own son. And so neither can the Son exist without the Father, nor the Father without the Son. The Father, therefore, is eternal, and the Son also eternal.

56. In principio enim erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum, hoc erat in principio apud Deum (Joan. I, 1). Erat, inquit, apud

Deum. Erat, erat, erat, erat: ecce quater erat. Ubi impius invenit quod non erat? Alibi quoque Joannes in epistola sua dicit: Quod erat in principio (I Joan. I, 1); indefinite tenditur, erat: quidquid excogitaveris, erat Filius.

56. In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. Was, mark you, with God. Was — see, we have was four times over. Where did the blasphemer find it written that He was not. Again, John, in another passage — in his Epistle — speaks of That which was in the beginning. 1 John 1:1 The extension of the was is infinite. Conceive any length of time you will, yet still the Son was.

57. Omnes autem haereses hoc capitulo brevi piscator noster exclusit. Quod enim erat in principio, non includitur tempore, non principio praevenitur. Ergo Arius conticescat. Quod autem erat apud Deum, non permixtione confunditur: sed manentis Verbi apud Patrem solida perfectione distinguitur, ut Sabellius obmutescat. Et Deus erat Verbum. Non ergo in prolatione sermonis hoc Verbum est, sed in illa coelestis designatione virtutis, ut confutetur 455 Photinus. Quod vero erat in principio apud Deum, sempiternae divinitatis in Patre et Filio inseparabilis unitas edocetur ut erubescat Eunomius. Postremo cum omnia per ipsum facta dicantur, ipse conditor novi utique Testamenti et veteris designatur; ut Manichaeus locum tentationis habere non possit. Ita piscator bonus intra unum omnes rete conclusit; ut faceret inhabiles fraudi, quamvis essent inutiles captioni.

57. Now in this short passage our fisherman has barred the way of all heresy. For that which was in the beginning is not comprehended in time, is not preceded by any beginning. Let Arius, therefore, hold his peace. Moreover, that which was with God is not confounded and mingled with Him, but is distinguished by the perfection unblemished which it has as the Word abiding with God; and so let Sabellius keep silence. And the Word

was God. This Word, therefore, consists not in uttered speech, but in the designation of celestial excellence, so that Photinus' teaching is refuted. Furthermore, by the fact that in the beginning He was with God is proven the indivisible unity of eternal Godhead in Father and Son, to the shame and confusion of Eunomius. Lastly, seeing that all things are said to have been made by Him, He is plainly shown to be author of the Old and of the New Testament alike; so that the Manichæan can find no ground for his assaults. Thus has the good fisherman caught them all in one net, to make them powerless to deceive, albeit unprofitable fish to take.

CAPUT IX.

HAERETICOS INTERROGAT VIR sanctus, ostensaque illorum responsione, qua Filium omni quidem tempore priorem, Patre autem posteriorem esse affirmabant, in Deum induci mutationem, aeternitatem utrique personae tribuendam colligit.

CHAPTER 9.

St. Ambrose questions the heretics and exhibits their answer, which is, that the Son existed, indeed, before all time, yet was not co-eternal with the Father, whereat the Saint shows that they represent the Godhead as changeable, and further, that each Person must be believed to be eternal.

58. Dic mihi, haeretice, dat enim veniam elementissimus imperator, ut te non colloquendi studio, nec audiendi cupiditate, sed exponendi gratia, paulisper alloquar: dic mihi, inquam, fuitne aliquando tempus quo omnipotens Deus Pater non erat, et Deus erat? Tempus, inquis, non astruo. Bene et argute. Si enim tempus dixeris, te ipse convinces: quia necesse est asseras fuisse tempus ante Filium, cum Filius temporis auctor sit et creator; non potest enim post opus suum ipse coepisse: necesse est igitur auctorem operis sui esse fatearis.

58. Tell me, thou heretic — for the surpassing clemency of the Emperor grants me this indulgence of addressing you for a short space, not that I desire to confer with you, or am greedy to hear your arguments, but because I am willing to exhibit them — tell me, I say, whether there was ever a time when God Almighty was not the Father, and yet was God. I say nothing about time, is your answer. Well and subtly objected! For if you bring time

into the dispute, you will condemn yourself, seeing that you must acknowledge that there was a time when the Son was not, whereas the Son is the ruler and creator of time. He cannot have begun to exist after His own work. You, therefore, must needs allow Him to be the ruler and maker of His work.

59. Ante tempora, inquis, non nego Filium: sed cum Filium dico, ostendo priorem Patrem, quia Pater, inquis, Filio prior. Quid est hoc? Negas esse tempus ante Filium, et tamen nescio quid ante Filium vis praecessise, quod temporis sit; et ostendis media nescio quae molimina fuisse generandi, in quo generationem Patris significas temporalem. Nam si Pater esse coepit, Deus ergo primo erat, postea Pater factus est. Quomodo ergo immutabilis Deus? Si enim ante Deus, postea Pater: utique generationis accessione mutatus est.

59. I do not say, do you answer, that the Son existed not before time; but when I call Him Son, I declare that His Father existed before Him, for, as you say, father exists before son. But what means this? You deny that time was before the Son, and yet you will have it that something preceded the existence of the Son — some creature of time — and you show certain stages of generation intervening, whereby thou dost give us to understand that the generation from the Father was a process in time. For if He began to be a Father, then, in the first instance, He was God, and afterwards He became a Father. How, then, is God unchangeable? For if He was first God, and then the Father, surely He has undergone change by reason of the added and later act of generation.

60. Sed avertat Deus hanc amentiam; nos enim ad impietatem eorum redarguendam, hanc retulimus quaestionem. Pia namque mens generationem sine tempore asserit; ut et sempiternum Patrem cum Filio dicat, nec aliquando asserat esse mutatum.

60. But may God preserve us from this madness; for it was but to confute the impiety of the heretics that we brought in this question. The devout spirit affirms a generation that is not in time, and so declares Father and Son to be co-eternal, and does not maintain that God has ever suffered change.

61. Jungat igitur honorificentia Patri Filium, quem divinitas junxit: non separet impietas, quem generationis proprietas copulavit. Honorificemus Filium, ut honorificemus et Patrem, sicut et in Evangelio scriptum est (Joan. V, 23). Sempiternitas Filii Paternae majestatis insigne est. Si iste non semper fuit, ergo ille mutatus est: sed semper fuit Filius, ergo nec Pater aliquando mutatus est; quia immutabilis semper est. Itaque videmus quod illi qui volunt negare Filium sempiternum, volunt Patrem docere esse mutatum. 456

61. Let Father and Son, therefore, be associated in worship, even as They are associated in Godhead; let not blasphemy put asunder those whom the close bond of generation has joined together. Let us honour the Son, that we may honour the Father also, as it is written in the Gospel. John 5:23 The Son’s eternity is the adornment of the Father’s majesty. If the Son has not been from everlasting, then the Father has suffered change; but the Son is from all eternity, therefore has the Father never changed, for He is always unchangeable. And thus we see that they who would deny the Son’s eternity would teach that the Father is mutable.

CAPUT X.

UBI CHRISTI AETERNITATEM confirmavit ex Apostolo, Divinam generationem non ad humanae modulum exigendam, aut curiosius excutiendam, at declinatis quae hinc nascuntur, difficultatibus, quidquid more corporeo de hac generatione dicitur, spiritali sensu intelligendum esse declarat.

CHAPTER 10.

Christ's eternity being proved from the Apostle's teaching, St. Ambrose admonishes us that the Divine Generation is not to be thought of after the fashion of human procreation, nor to be too curiously pried into. With the difficulties thence arising he refuses to deal, saying that whatsoever terms, taken from our knowledge of body, are used in speaking of this Divine Generation, must be understood with a spiritual meaning.

62. Accipe aliud quo clareat Filium sempiternum. Apostolus dicit quod Dei sempiterna virtus sit atque divinitas (Rom. I, 20): virtus autem Dei Christus; scriptum est enim Christum esse Dei virtutem, et Dei sapientiam (I Cor. I, 24). Ergo si Christus est Dei virtus, quia virtus Dei sempiterna: sempiternus igitur et Christus.

62. Hear now another argument, showing clearly the eternity of the Son. The Apostle says that God's Power and Godhead are eternal, and that Christ is the Power of God — for it is written that Christ is the Power of God and the Wisdom of God. If, then, Christ is the Power of God, it follows that, forasmuch as God's Power is eternal, Christ also is eternal.

63. Non ergo ex usu generationis humanae calumniam, haeretice, struas; neque ex nostro sermone componas. Neque enim angustis sermonibus nostris immensae magnitudinem possumus divinitatis includere, cujus magnitudinis non est finis (Ps. CXLIV, 3). Namque hominis generationem si definire contendas, tempus ostendis: generatio autem divina supra omnia est: late patet, supra omnes cogitationes ascendit et sensus. Scriptum est enim: Nemo venit ad Patrem, nisi per me (Joan. XIV, 6). Quidquid igitur de Patre cogitaveris, quamlibet ejus aeternitatem, non potes de eo aliquid nisi per Filium cogitare: nec potest ullus ad Patrem nisi per Filium transire sensus. Hic est, inquit, Filius meus dilectissimus (Matth. XVII, 5). Est, inquit, qui quod est, semper est. Unde et David: In aeternum, inquit, Domine, permanet Verbum tuum in coelo (Ps. CXVIII, 89). Quod enim manet, nec substantia, nec aeternitate deficit.

63. You can not, then, heretic, build up a false doctrine from the custom of human procreation, nor yet gather the wherewithal for such work from our discourse, for we cannot compass the greatness of infinite Godhead, of Whose greatness there is no end, in our straitened speech. If you should seek to give an account of a man’s birth, you must needs point to a time. But the Divine Generation is above all things; it reaches far and wide, it rises high above all thought and feeling. For it is written: No man comes to the Father, save by Me. John 14:6 Whatsoever, therefore, thou dost conceive concerning the Father — yea, be it even His eternity — you can not conceive anything concerning Him save by the Son’s aid, nor can any understanding ascend to the Father save through the Son. This is My dearly-beloved Son, the Father says. Is mark you — He Who is, what He is, forever. Hence also David is moved to say: O Lord, Your Word abides for ever in heaven, — for what abides fails neither in existence nor in eternity.

64. Quaeris a me quomodo Filius sit, si non priorem habeat Patrem? Quaero item abs te, quando aut quomodo Filium putes esse generatum? Mihi enim impossibile est generationis scire secretum: mens deficit, vox silet, non mea tantum, sed et angelorum. Supra Potestates, supra Angelos, supra Cherubim, supra Seraphim, supra omnem sensum est; quia scriptum est; Pax autem Christi quae est supra omnem sensum (Phil. IV, 7). Si pax Christi supra omnem sensum est, quemadmodum non est supra omnem sensum tanta generatio?

64. Do you ask me how He is a Son, if He have not a Father existing before Him? I ask of you, in turn, when, or how, do you think that the Son was begotten. For me the knowledge of the mystery of His generation is more than I can attain to, — the mind fails, the voice is dumb — ay, and not mine alone, but the angels' also. It is above Powers, above Angels, above Cherubim, Seraphim, and all that has feeling and thought, for it is written: The peace of Christ, which passes all understanding. If the peace of Christ passes all understanding, how can so wondrous a generation but be above all understanding?

65. Tu quoque manum ori admove, scrutari non licet superna mysteria. Licet scire quod natus sit: non licet discutere quemadmodum natus sit. Illud negare mihi non licet, hoc quaerere metus est. Nam si Paulus ea quae audivit raptus in tertium coelum, ineffabilia dicit, quomodo nos exprimere possumus paternae generationis arcanum, quod nec sentire potuimus, nec audire?

65. Do thou, then (like the angels), cover your face with your hands, for it is not given you to look into surpassing mysteries! We are suffered to know that the Son is begotten, not to dispute upon the manner of His begetting. I cannot deny the one; the other I fear to search into, for if Paul says that the words which he heard when caught up into the third heaven might not be

uttered, 2 Corinthians 12:2-5 how can we explain the secret of this generation from and of the Father, which we can neither hear nor attain to with our understanding?

66. Verum si me ad consuetudinem trahis generationis humanae, ut Patrem dicas priorem; vide utrum ad generationem Dei terrenae generationis exempla conveniant. Si secundum hominem loquamur, negare non poteris priores esse in homine patris quam filii passiones. 457 Prior crevit, prior senuit, prior doluit, prior flevit. Si igitur hic tempore minor, ille antiquior passione. Si hic generationis incurrit aetatem, nec ille generandi evasit pudorem.

66. But if you will constrain me to the rule of human generation, that you may be allowed to say that the Father existed before the Son, then consider whether instances, taken from the generation of earthly creatures, are suitable to show forth the Divine Generation. If we speak according to what is customary among men, you cannot deny that, in man, the changes in the father's existence happen before those in the son's. The father is the first to grow, to enter old age, to grieve, to weep. If, then, the son is after him in time, he is older in experience than the son. If the child comes to be born, the parent escapes not the shame of begetting.

67. Quid te ista quaestionum tormenta delectant? Audis Dei Filium: aut dele nomen, aut agnosce naturam. Audis uterum, agnosce generationis perspicuae veritatem. Audis cor, Verbum intellige. Audis dexteram, agnosce virtutem. Audis os, agnosce sapientiam. Non haec sunt in Deo corporaliter aestimanda. Incomprehensibiliter generatur Filius: impassibiliter generat Pater; et tamen ex se generavit, et ante omnem intellectum generavit Deus verus Deum verum. Pater diligit, et tu discutis: Pater complacet, et tu cum Judaeis invides: Pater honorificat, et tu cum gentibus conviciaris.

67. Why take such delight in that rack of questioning? You hear the name of the Son of God; abolish it, then, or acknowledge His true nature. You hear speak of the womb — acknowledge the truth of undoubted begetting. Of His heart — know that here is God's word. Of His right hand — confess His power. Of His face — acknowledge His wisdom. These words are not to be understood, when we speak of God, as when we speak of bodies. The generation of the Son is incomprehensible, the Father begets impassibly, and yet of Himself and in ages inconceivably remote has very God begotten very God. The Father loves the Son, John 5:20 and you anxiously examine His Person; the Father is well pleased in Him, you, joining the Jews, look upon Him with an evil eye; the Father knows the Son, and you join the heathen in reviling Him. Luke 23:36-37

CAPUT XI.

NON POSSE PROBARI e Scriptura Patrem Filio priorem esse; neque etiam argumentis ex hominum generatione desumptis; cum inde innumera secutura essent absurda: quod autem Christum ex tempore natum audent pronuntiare, id cumulum esse impietatis.

CHAPTER 11.

It cannot be proved from Scripture that the Father existed before the Son, nor yet can arguments taken from human reproduction avail to this end, since they bring in absurdities without end. To dare to affirm that Christ began to exist in the course of time is the height of blasphemy.

68. Quaeris a me utrum prior non possit esse, qui Pater est. Quaero a te, ut doceas quando Pater prior fuerit, testimoniis, aut argumentis collige veritatem. Si testimoniis, accepisti utique sempiternam Dei esse virtutem. Legisti etiam dicentem: Israel, si me audieris, non erit in te Deus recens, neque adorabis Deum alienum (Ps. LXXX, 10). Aliud horum aeternitatem, aliud proprietatem substantiae indifferentis significat; ut neque posteriorem Patre, neque alterius divinitatis Filium esse credamus. Nam si Patre posterior est, recens est: et si unius non est divinitatis, alienus est. Sed nec posterior; quia recens non est: nec alienus, quia ex Patre natus; quia supra omnia est Deus benedictus in saecula (Rom. IX, 5), sicut scriptum est.

68. You ask me whether it is possible that He Who is the Father should not be prior in existence. I ask you to tell me when the Father existed, the Son as yet being not; prove this, gather it from argument or evidence of Scripture. If you lean upon arguments, you have doubtless been taught that

God's power is eternal. Again, you have read the Scripture that says: O Israel, if you will hearken unto Me, there shall be no new God in you, neither shall you worship a strange God. The first of these commands betokens [the Son's] eternity, the second His possession of an identical nature, so that we can neither believe Him to have come into existence after the Father, nor suppose Him the Son of another Divinity. For if He existed not always with the Father, He is a new [God]; if He is not of one Divinity with the Father, He is a strange [God]. But He is not after the Father, for He is not a new God; nor is He a strange God, for He is begotten of the Father, and because, as it is written, He is God above all, blessed forever. Romans 9:5

69. Sed si alienum putant, cur adorant eum, cum scriptum sit: Neque adorabis Deum alienum (Ps. LXXX, 10)? Aut si non adorant, fateantur, et finis est; ne quem sub religiosi nominis professione decipiant. Haec nempe sunt testimonia Scripturarum. Aut si habes aliud, proferre debebis.

69. But if the Arians believe Him to be a strange God, why do they worship Him, when it is written: You shall worship no strange God? Else, if they do not worship the Son, let them confess thereto, and the case is at an end — that they deceive no one by their professions of religion. This, then, we see, is the witness of the Scriptures. If you have any others to produce, it will be your business to do so.

70. Superest ut et argumentis veritas colligatur. Quamquam etiam humanis testimoniis argumenta cedere soleant; argumentare tamen, haeretice, ut voles. Usu, inquis, accipimus eo qui nascitur, priorem esse qui generat. Persequere igitur omnia vestigia consuetudinis, et sicaetera conveniunt, non obsisto quin et istud requiras: si autem nulla concordant, quemadmodum cum desint caetera, hoc solum exigis? Ergo quia usum requiris, quando generatus est ex Patre, parvulus fuit. Vidisti in cunis infantulum vagientem,

processus aliquos accepit aetatis; si enim infirmitatem generationis habuit, necesse est 458 ut non solum nascendi, sed etiam vivendi inciderit infirmitatem.

70. Let us now go further, and gather the truth in conclusion from arguments. For although arguments usually give place, even to human evidence, still, heretic, argue as you will. Experience teaches us, you say, that the being which generates is prior to that which is generated. I answer: Follow our customary experience through all its departments, and if the rest agree herewith, I oppose not your claim that your point be granted; but if there be no such agreement, how can you claim assent on this one point, when in all the rest you lack support? Seeing, then, that you call for what is customary, it comes about that the Son, when He was begotten of the Father, was a little child. You have seen Him an infant, crying in the cradle. As the years passed, He has gone forward from strength to strength — for if He was weak with the weakness of things begotten, He must also have fallen under the weakness, not only of birth, but of life also.

71. Sed fortasse eo prolabaris amentiae, ut de Dei Filio ista non abnuas, qui eum ex infirmitate metiris humana; quid si Deum negare non potes nomine, infirmitate tamen hominem vis probare? Quid si dum Filium discutis, Patrem arguis: et dum Christo praejudicas, Patrem adjudicas?

71. But perchance you run to such a pitch of folly as not to flinch from asserting these things of the Son of God, measuring Him, as you do, by the rule of human infirmity. What, then, if, while you cannot refuse Him the name of God, you are bent to prove Him, by reason of weakness, to be a man? What if, while you examine the Person of the Son, you are calling the Father in question, and while you hastily pass sentence upon the Former, you include the Latter in the same condemnation!

72. Nam si divina generatio subjecta tempori fuit, et id ex usu generationis usurpatur humanae; ergo et Pater corporali utero portavit Filium, decem mensium curriculis onus vexit. Sed quomodo sine sexu altero generationis usus? Vides solemnem generationis seriem non coepisse, et tu partus cujusdam corporeae necessitatis putas fuisse solemnes. Tu usum quaeris, ego sexum: tu tempus exigis, ego ordinem: tu finem discutis, ego quaero principium, Nempe finis ex principio, non principium pendet ex fine.

72. If the Divine Generation has been subject to the limits of time — if we suppose this, borrowing from the custom of human generation, then it follows, further, that the Father bare the Son in a bodily womb, and laboured under the burden while ten months sped their courses. But how can generation, as it commonly takes place, be brought about without the help of the other sex? You see that the common order of generation was not the commencement, and you think that the courses of generation, which are ruled by certain necessities whereunto bodies are subject, have always prevailed. You require the customary course, I ask for difference of sex: you demand the supposition of time, I that of order: you enquire into the end, I into the beginning. Now surely it is the end that depends on the beginning, not the beginning on the end.

73. Omne, inquis, quod natum est, principium habet; et ideo quia Filius est, principium habet, et ex tempore esse coepit. Quod ipsorum ore sit dictum. Ego autem Filium natum esse profiteor: quod reliquum est impietatis, horresco. Deum confiteris, homo, et tali circumscribis calumnia? Deus hanc averruncet amentiam.

73. Everything, say you, that is begotten has a beginning, and therefore because the Son is the Son, He has a beginning, and came first into existence within limits of time. Let this be taken as the word of their own mouth; as for myself, I confess that the Son is begotten, but the rest of their

declaration makes me shudder. Man, do you confess God, and diminish His honour by such slander? From this madness may God deliver us.

CAPUT XII.

ITERATAE IN FILIUM objectioni iterum respondetur eam retorqueri etiam in Patrem posse; cum ergo Pater nec loco, nec tempore, aliave ulla creatura indigeat, sic nec eorum indigentiam attribuendam Filio: cujus singularis generatio est non solum e Patre, sed etiam e Virgine; proptereaque cum in hac non sexus aut similia locum habuerint, in illa quoque non habuisse.

CHAPTER 12.

Further objections to the Godhead of the Son are met by the same answer — to wit, that they may equally be urged against the Father also. The Father, then, being in no way confined by time, place, or anything else created, no such limitation is to be imposed upon the Son, Whose marvellous generation is not only of the Father, but of the Virgin also, and therefore, since in His generation of the Father no distinction of sex, or the like, was involved, neither was it in His generation of the Virgin.

74. Rursus objiciunt: Ergo non est Filius, si non habet quae habent filii. Ignoscat mihi Pater, ignoscat Filius, ignoscat et Spiritus sanctus, quaestionem pro pietate referre cupienti. Est certe Pater, et manet semper: sunt etiam creaturae pro dispositione divina. Est ergo aliquid earum quod non subjectum sit aut locis, aut temporibus, aut creationi, aut causae alicui vel auctori? Profecto nihil. Quid ergo dicitis? Est horum aliquid quo egeat Pater? Impium est dicere. Ergo aut desinite, quae creaturarum sunt, aptare divinitati: aut si comparare contenditis, considerate quo vestra procedat impietas; quod absit ut vel in sensus nostros aliquando veniat.

74. The next objection is this: If the Son has not those properties which all sons have, He is no Son. May Father, Son, and Holy Spirit pardon me, for I would propound the question in all devoutness. Surely the Father is, and abides for ever: created things, too, are as God has ordained them. Is there any one, then, among these creatures which is not subject to the limitations of place, time, or the fact of having been created, or to some originating cause or creator. Surely, none. What, then? Is there any one of them whereof the Father stands in need? So to say were blasphemy. Cease, then, to apply to the Godhead what is proper only to created existences, or, if you insist upon forcing the comparison, bethink you whither your wickedness leads. God forbid that we should even behold the end thereof.

75. Nos enim piam responsionem tenemus. Namque omnipotens Deus est, et ideo nullo eorum Pater indiget, qui non habet mutationem sui aliquam, vel profectum quo nos egemus, quorum infirmitas ex hujusmodi rebus profectum accipit. Qui autem omnipotens est, 459 utique non creatus, et sine loco, et supra tempora est. Nihil enim ante Deum, immo hoc ipsum Verbum, ante Deum dicere esse aliquid, grave. Ergo si ita est, quia nihil horum est in Deo Patre, quae profectum significent; quia Deus est: nihil horum aptari etiam potest Dei Filio, ut vel initium accipiat, vel profectum; quia Deus verus ex Deo vero est.

75. We maintain the answer given by piety. God is Almighty, and therefore God the Father needs none of those things, for in Him there is no changing, nor any place for such help as we need, we whose weakness is supported by means of things of this kind. But He Who is Almighty, plainly He is uncreate, and not confined to any place, and surpasses time. Before God was not anything — nay, even to speak about anything being before God is a grave sin. If, then, you grant that in the nature of God the Father there is nought that implies a being sustained, because He is God, it follows that

nothing of this sort can be supposed to exist in the Son of God, nothing that connotes a beginning, or growth, forasmuch as He is very God of very God.

76. Ergo quia usitatum non reperimus ordinem, acquiesce, Ariane, praecipuam Filii generationem fuisse. Acquiesce, inquam; et si mihi non credis, erubesce vel Dei vocem dicentis: Cui me similem aestimastis (Esai. XLVI, 5)? Et iterum: Quia non sicut homo, ita et Deus (Num. XXIII, 19). Etenim si operatio Dei praecipua est, quia non manibus operatur aliquid, non labore conficit, non diebus absolvit; Ipse enim dixit, et facta sunt, ipse mandavit, et creata sunt (Psal. CXLVIII, 5): cur non credamus praecipuam generationem esse ejus in Filio, cujus praecipuam creationem in operibus agnoscimus? Dignum certe est ut specialiter et praecipue videatur generasse Filium. Habeat generationis inusitatae gloriam, qui habet potestatis inusitatae gratiam.

76. Seeing, then, that we find not the customary order prevailing, be content, Arian, to believe in a miraculous generation of the Son. Be content, I say, and if you believe me not, at least have respect unto the voice of God saying, To whom have you esteemed Me to be like? Isaiah 46:5 and again: God is not like a man that He should repent. Numbers 23:19 If, indeed, God works mysteriously, seeing that He does not work any work, or fashion anything, or bring it to completion, by labor of hands, or in any course of days, for He spoke, and they were made; He gave the word and they were created, why should we not believe that He Whom we acknowledge as a Creator, mysteriously working, discerning it in His works, also begot His Son in a mysterious manner? Surely it is fitting that He should be regarded as having begotten the Son in a special and mysterious way. Let Him Who has the grace of majesty unrivalled likewise have the glory of mysterious generation.

77. Non sola admirabilis ex Patre generatio Christi, admirabilis etiam ipsa generatio ejus ex Virgine. Tu illam dicis nostrae similem conceptionis, et ego probo et istam nostrae esse dissimilem, immo te ipsum cogam fateri. Dic quemadmodum sit natus ex Maria, quo usu uterus eum habuerit virginalis, quomodo sine semine viri partus, unde virgo praegnans, quemadmodum puella mater ante fetus, quam copulam ut uxor experta? Causa deerat, et generabatur filius. Unde ergo legis novatae partus?

77. Not only Christ's generation of the Father, but His birth also of the Virgin, demands our wonder. You say that the former is like the manner wherein we men are conceived. I will show — nay more, I will compel you yourself to confess, that the latter also has no likeness to the manner of our birth. Tell me how it was that He was born of Mary, with what law did His conception in a Virgin's womb agree, how there could be any birth without the seed of a man, how a maiden could become great with child, how she became a mother before experience of such intercourse as is between wives and husbands. There was no [visible] cause — and yet a son was begotten. How, then, came about this birth, under a new law?

78. Si igitur in Virgine usus defuit generationis humanae, quemadmodum in Deo Patre propriae generationis usum requiris? Certe usus in sexu est, quia sexus in carne est: ubi ergo caro non est, quemadmodum carnis infirmitatem exigis? Nemo meliorem discutit: credere tibi jussum est, non discutere permissum est. Scriptum est enim: Credidit Abraham Deo, et reputatum est illi ad justitiam (Gen. XV, 6). Nec solum in generatione Filii sermo deficit, sed etiam in operibus Dei. Scriptum est enim: Omnia opera ejus in fide (Psal. XXXII, 4). Opera ergo in fide, generatio sine fide? Et discutimus quae non videmus, qui jubemur credere magis quam discutere, quae videmus.

78. If, then, the common order of human generation was not found in the case of the Virgin Mary, how can you demand that God the Father should beget in such wise as you were begotten in? Surely the common order is determined by difference of sex; for this is implanted in the nature of our flesh, but where flesh is not, how can you expect to find the infirmity of flesh? No man calls in question one who is better than he is: to believe is enjoined upon you, without permission to question. For it is written, Abraham believed God, and it was accounted to him for righteousness. Genesis 15:6 Language is vain to set forth, not only the generation of the Son, but even the works of God, for it is written: All His works are executed in faithfulness; His works, then, are done in faithfulness, but not His generation? Ay, we call in question that which we see not, we who are bidden to believe rather than enquire of that we see.

CAPUT XIII.

QUAESTIONEM QUOMODO GENITUS sit Filius solvit sanctus Doctor; et revelationi credendum Nabuchodonosoris ac Petri exemplo docet. Hujus ultimi visione aeternitatem divinitatemque Filii signatam esse; atque adeo illi credendum neglectis philosophis, quibus jam ubique fides abrogabatur. Contra vero gentilibus ostenduntur similes Ariani.

CHAPTER 13.

Discussion of the Divine Generation is continued. St. Ambrose illustrates its method by the same example as that employed by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The duty of believing what is revealed is shown by the example of Nebuchadnezzar and St. Peter. By the vision granted to St. Peter was shown the Son's Eternity and Godhead — the Apostle, then, must be believed in preference to the teachers of philosophy, whose authority was everywhere falling into discredit. The Arians, on the other hand, are shown to be like the heathen.

79. Dicet aliquis: Quomodo generatus est Filius? Quasi sempiternus, quasi Verbum, 460 quasi splendor lucis aeternae, quia simul splendor operatur, ut nascitur. Apostoli istud exemplum est, non est meum. Noli ergo credere quod fuerit vel momentum aliquod quo fuerit sine sapientia Deus, aut sine splendore lux (Hebr. I, 3). Noli, Ariane, ex nostris aestimare divina: sed divina crede, ubi humana non invenis.

79. It will be asked: In what sort was the Son begotten? As one who is for ever, as the Word, as the brightness of eternal light, Hebrews 1:3 for brightness takes effect in the instant of its coming into existence. Which

example is the Apostle's, not mine. Think not, then, that there was ever a moment of time when God was without wisdom, any more than that there was ever a time when light was without radiance. Judge not, Arian, divine things by human, but believe the divine where you find not the human.

80. Rex gentilis in igne cum tribus pueris Hebraeis quarti quasi angeli vidit figuram: et quia praestare putabat angelis, Dei Filium, quem non legit, sed credidit, judicavit (Dan. III, 92). Abraham quoque tres vidit, et unum adoravit (Gen. XVIII, 2).

80. The heathen king saw in the fire, together with the three Hebrew children, the form of a fourth, like as of an angel, Daniel 3:25 and because he thought that this angel excelled all angels, he judged Him to be the Son of God, Whom he had not read of, but in Whom he believed. Abraham, also, saw Three, and adored One. Genesis 18:1-3

81. Petrus in monte Moysen et Eliam cum Filio Dei vidit, nec erravit in natura, nec erravit in gloria. Denique quid facere deberet, non illos, sed Christum interrogavit; nam etsi tribus parabat obsequium, unius tamen exspectabat imperium. Sed quoniam vel tabernaculorum numerum deferendum tribus simpliciter aestimavit, emendatur Dei Patris auctoritate dicentis: Hic est Filius meus dilectissimus, ipsum audite (Matth. XVII, 5), id est: Quid conservos tuos cum Domino socias tuo? Hic est Filius meus. Non Moyses filius, non Elias filius: sed hic Filius. Sensit emendationem apostolus, procidit in faciem, consternatus Patris voce, et Filii claritate: sed sublevatur a Filio, qui jacentes erigere consuevit. Unum vidit, solum vidit Dei Filium. Recesserunt enim servuli, ut solus Dominus, qui solus designabatur Filius, videretur.

81. Peter, when he saw Moses and Elias on the mountain, with the Son of God, was not deceived as to their nature and glory. For he enquired, not of

them, but of Christ, what he ought to do, inasmuch as though he prepared to do homage to all three, yet he waited for the command of one. But since he ignorantly thought that for three persons three tabernacles should be set up, he was corrected by the sovereign voice of God the Father, saying, This is My dearly beloved Son: hear Him. Matthew 17:5 That is to say: Why do you join your fellow-servants in equality with your Lord? This is My Son. Not Moses is My Son, nor Elias is My Son, but This is My Son. The Apostle was not dull to understand the rebuke; he fell on his face, brought low by the Father's voice and the glorious beauty of the Son, but he was raised up by the Son, Whose wont it is to raise up them that are fallen. Matthew 17:6-8 Then he saw one only, Matthew 17:8 the Son of God alone, for the servants had withdrawn, that He might be seen to be Lord alone, Who alone was entitled Son.

82. Quid igitur sibi voluit illa visio, non aequalitatem Christi servorumque significans, sed mysterium signans, nisi ut appareret nobis quod Lex et Prophetae cum Evangelio congruentes, sempiternum Dei Filium, quem annuntiaverant, revelarent? Ergo et nos cum audimus ex utero Filium, ex corde Verbum, credamus quia non plasmatus manibus, sed ex Patre natus: non artificis opus, sed progenies est parentis.

82. What, then, was the purpose of that vision, which signified not that Christ and His servants were equal, but betokened a mystery, save that it should be made plain to us that the Law and the Prophets, in agreement with the Gospel, revealed as eternal the Son of God, Whom they had heralded. When we, therefore, hear of the Son coming forth of the womb, the Word from the heart, let us believe that the Son was not fashioned with hands but begotten of the Father, not the work of a craftsman but the offspring of a parent.

83. Et ideo qui dicit: Hic est Filius meus, non dixit: Hic est temporalis; non dixit: Haec est creatura mea, haec factura mea, hic servus meus; sed hic Filius meus, quem videtis in gloria. Hic est Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob, qui apparuit in rubo Moysi, de quo Moyses ait: Qui est, misit me (Exod. III, 14). Non Pater in rubo, non Pater in eremo: sed Filius Moysi locutus est. Denique de ipso Stephanus dixit: Hic est qui fuit in Ecclesia, in eremo, cum angelo (Act. VII, 38). Hic est ergo qui Legem dedit, ipse qui locutus est Moysi, dicens: Ego sum Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob (Exod. III, 16). Hic est ergo Deus patriarcharum, hic Deus est prophetarum.

83. He, therefore, Who said, This is My Son, said not, This is a creature of time, nor This being is of My creation, My making, My servant, but This is My Son, Whom you see glorified. This is the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, Who appeared to Moses in the bush, Exodus 3:14 concerning Whom Moses says, He Who is has sent me. It was not the Father Who spoke to Moses in the bush or in the desert, but the Son. It was of this Moses that Stephen said, This is He Who was in the church, in the wilderness, with the Angel. Acts 7:38 This, then, is He Who gave the Law, Who spoke with Moses, saying, I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob. This, then, is the God of the patriarchs, this is the God of the prophets.

84. Filium ergo legimus: mens tua percipit lectionem, edat lingua confessionem. Aufer hinc argumenta, ubi fides quaeritur: in ipsis gymnasiis suis jam dialectica taceat. Non quaero quid loquantur philosophi, requiro quid faciant. Soli in suis gymnasiis remanserunt. Vide 461 quam fides argumentis praeponderet. Illi quotidie a suis consortibus deseruntur, qui copiose disputant: isti quotidie crescunt, qui simpliciter credunt. Non creditur philosophis, creditur piscatoribus: non creditur dialecticis, creditur

publicanis. Illi voluptatibus et deliciis orbem ligarunt, isti jejuniis et doloribus exuerunt. Plures itaque jam coepit illicere injuria, quam voluptas.

84. It is of the Son, therefore, that we read, your mind understands the reading, let your tongue make confession. Away with arguments, where faith is required; now let dialectic hold her peace, even in the midst of her schools. I ask not what it is that philosophers say, but I would know what they do. They sit desolate in their schools. See the victory of faith over argument. They who dispute subtly are forsaken daily by their fellows; they who with simplicity believe are daily increased. Not philosophers but fishermen, not masters of dialectic but tax-gatherers, now find credence. The one sort, through pleasures and luxuries, have bound the world's burden upon themselves; the other, by fasting and mortification, have cast it off, and so does sorrow now begin to win over more followers than pleasure.

85. Nunc videamus quo distant a gentilibus Ariani. Illi deos appellant dispares sexu, dissimiles potestate: isti Trinitatem asserunt differentis divinitatis, et dissimilis potestatis. Illi deorum suorum principium asseverant temporale; et isti Christum coepisse ex tempore mentiuntur. Nonne ex philosophia omnem impietatis suae traxerunt colorem? Illi tamen quod venerantur, amplificant: isti Dei Filium creaturam asserunt esse, qui Deus est.

85. Let us now see how far Arians and pagans do differ. The latter call upon gods, who are different in sex and unequal in power; the former affirm a Trinity where there is likewise inequality of power and diversity of Godhead. The pagans assert that their Gods began to exist once upon a time; the Arians lyingly declare that Christ began to exist in the course of time. Have they not all dyed their impiety in the vats of philosophy? But

indeed the pagans do extol that which they worship, the Arians maintain that the Son of God, Who is God, is a creature.

CAPUT XIV.

CREATURAM NON ESSE Dei Filium hinc astruitur, quod non jusserit sibi praedicari Evangelium, quod creatura vanitati subdita sit, quod omnia creaverit, quod legatur genitus, quod tandem tradita fuerit generationis et adoptionis differentia: ubi utraque natura in ipso declaratur. Quae tot ac tanta testimonia Apostolici expositione confirmantur.

CHAPTER 14.

That the Son of God is not a created being is proved by the following arguments: (1) That He commanded not that the Gospel should be preached to Himself; (2) that a created being is given over unto vanity; (3) that the Son has created all things; (4) that we read of Him as begotten; and (5) that the difference of generation and adoption has always been understood in those places where both natures — the divine and the human — are declared to co-exist in Him. All of which testimony is confirmed by the Apostle's interpretation.

86. [Alias cap. VI.] Patuit, ut arbitror, sancte Imperator, neque dissimilem Patri, neque ex tempore esse Dominum Jesum. Restat ut illud quoque sacrilegium redarguatur, et probemus creaturam non esse Dei Filium: in quo nobis praesentis oraculum lectionis aspirat; audivimus enim legi, dicente Domino: Ite in orbem universum, et praedicate Evangelium universae creaturae (Marc. LXVI, 15). Qui universam creaturam dicit, nullam excipit. Et ideo ubi sunt, qui creaturam Christum appellant? Nam si creatura esset, numquid ipse sibi mandaret Evangelium praedicari? Non igitur creatura est, sed creator, qui docendae creaturae discipulis suis mandat officium.

86. It is now made plain, as I believe, your sacred Majesty, that the Lord Jesus is neither unlike the Father, nor one that began to exist in course of time. We have yet to confute another blasphemy, and to show that the Son of God is not a created being. Herein is the quickening word that we read as our help, for we have heard the passage read where the Lord says: Go into all the world, and preach the Gospel to all creation. Mark 16:15 He Who says all creation excepts nothing. How, then, do they stand who call Christ a creature? If He were a creature, could He have commanded that the Gospel should be preached to Himself? It is not, therefore, a creature, but the Creator, Who commits to His disciples the work of teaching created beings.

87. Non creatura Christus: Vanitati enim creatura subjecta est, sicut Apostolus dixit (Rom. VIII, 20). Numquid ergo Christus subjectus est vanitati? Rursus juxta eumdem Apostolum: Creatura congemiscit et comparturit usque nunc (Ibid., 22). Numquid ergo Christus congemiscit et comparturit, qui nostros a morte gemitus liberavit? Creatura, inquit, liberabitur a servitute corruptionis (Ibid., 21). Videmus igitur magnam inter creaturam et Dominum esse distantiam; quia servitus creatura est; Dominus autem spiritus est; ubi autem spiritus Domini est, ibi libertas (II Cor. III, 17).

87. Christ, then, is no created being; for created beings are, as the Apostle has said, given over to vanity. Romans 8:20 Is Christ given over unto vanity? Again, creation — according to the same Apostle — groans and travails together even until now. What, then? Does Christ take any part in this groaning and travailing — He Who has set us miserable mourners free from death? Creation, says the Apostle, shall be set free from the slavery of corruption. Romans 8:21-22 We see, then, that between creation and its Lord there is a vast difference, for creation is enslaved, but the Lord is the

Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom. 2 Corinthians 3:17

88. Quis hunc induxit errorem, ut eum qui creavit omnia, qui fecit omnia, diceret creaturam? Numquid ipse Dominus se creavit? Si enim lectum est quod per ipsum omnia facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil (Joan. I, 3): numquid ipse se fecit? 462 Si lectum est, quod negari non potest, quia Deus in sapientia fecit omnia: numquid verisimile videri potest quia in se ipsa est facta sapientia (Psal. CIII, 24)?

88. Who was it that led first into this error, of declaring Him Who created and made all things to be a creature? Did the Lord, I would ask, create Himself? We read that all things were made by Him, and without Him was nothing made. John 1:3 This being so, did He make Himself? We read — and who shall deny? — that in wisdom has God made all things. If so, how can we suppose that wisdom was made in itself?

89. Legimus genitum; quia Pater dixit: Ego ex utero ante Luciferum genui te (Psal. CIX, 3). Legimus primogenitum (Matth. I, 25): Filium, legimus unigenitum (Joan. I, 14)? primogenitum, quia nemo ante ipsum: unigenitum, quia nemo post ipsum: legimus etiam: Generationem ejus quis enarrabit (Esai. LIII, 8? Generationem, inquit, non creationem. Quid his tantis ac talibus conferri potest.

89. We read that the Son is begotten, inasmuch as the Father says: I brought you forth from the womb before the morning star. We read of the first-born Son, Colossians 1:15 of the only-begotten John 1:14 — first-born, because there is none before Him; only-begotten, because there is none after Him. Again, we read: Who shall declare His generation? Isaiah 53:8 Generation, mark you, not creation. What argument can be brought to meet testimonies so great and mighty as these?

90. Ostendit etiam Dei Filius distantiam generationis et gratiae, dicens: Ascendo ad Patrem meum, et Patrem vestrum: Deum meum, et Deum vestrum (Joan. XX, 17). Non dixit: Ascendo ad Patrem nostrum, sed: Ascendo ad Patremmeum, et Patrem vestrum. Separatio ista diversitatem ostendit, quod illius generator, noster creator sit.

90. Moreover, God's Son discovers the difference between generation and grace when He says: I go up to My Father and your Father, to My God and your God. He did not say, I go up to our Father, but I go up to My Father and your Father. This distinction is the sign of a difference, inasmuch as He Who is Christ's Father is our Creator.

91. Et addidit: Deum meum, et Deum vestrum; quia licet ipse et Pater unum sint, et illi Pater sit proprietate naturae, nobis Deus Pater coeperit esse per Filium, non naturae jure, sed gratiae; tamen utramque naturam hic significare videtur in Christo et divinitatis et carnis, divinitatis ex Patre, carnis ex matre, illamque ante omnia, istamque ex Virgine. Denique ante Patrem ut Filius nominavit, Deum postea ut homo nuncupavit.

91. Furthermore He said, to My God and your God, because although He and the Father are One, and the Father is His Father by possession of the same nature, while God began to be our Father through the office of the Son, not by virtue of nature, but of grace — still He seems to point us here to the existence in Christ of both natures, Godhead and Manhood — Godhead of His Father, Manhood of His Mother, the former being before all things, the latter derived from the Virgin. For the first, speaking as the Son, He called God His Father, and afterward, speaking as man, named Him as God.

92. Ubique autem Deum suum quod ex persona dicat hominis, testimonia docent: Deus, Deus meus, respice me; quare me dereliquisti (Psal. XXI, 1)?

Et alibi: De ventre matris meae Deus meus es tu (Ibid., 11). Et supra quasi homo patitur: et infra homo est, qui ex matris ventre jactatur. Itaque cum dicit: De ventre matris meae Deus meus es tu; significat cum qui Pater semper erat, ex eo Deum sibi esse, ex quo de ventre matris jactatus est.

92. Everywhere, indeed, we have witness in the Scriptures to show that Christ, in naming God as His God, does so as man. My God, My God, why have You forsaken Me? And again: From My mother's womb You are My God. In the former place He suffers as a man; in the latter it is a man who is brought forth from his mother's womb. And so when He says, From My mother's womb You are My God, He means that He Who was always His Father is His God from the moment when He was brought forth from His Mother's womb.

93. Cum igitur in Evangelio, in Apostolo, in prophetis generationem Christi legerimus, unde audent dicere creatum esse vel factum? Et quidem in quo creatum legerint, in quo factum, considerare deberent. Edoctum est enim Dei Filium de Deo esse genitum, de Deo natum: factum autem in quo legerint, diligenter advertant; non enim Deus factus, sed Deus Dei Filius natus est: postea autem secundum carnem homo factus ex Maria est.

93. Seeing, then, that we read in the Gospel, in the Apostle, in the Prophets, of Christ as begotten, how dare the Arians to say that He was created or made? But, indeed, they ought to have bethought them, where they have read of Him as created, where as made. For it has been plainly shown that the Son of God is begotten of God, born of God — let them, then, consider with care where they have read that He was made, seeing that He was not made God, but born as God, the Son of God; afterward, however, He was, according to the flesh, made man of Mary.

94. Si mihi non credunt, credant Apostolo dicenti: Postquam vero venit plenitudo temporis, misit Deus Filium suum factum ex muliere, factum sub Lege (Galat. IV, 4). Filium, inquit, suum, non unum de multis: non communem, sed suum. Suum cum dicit, generationis aeternae proprietatem signavit. Hunc postea factum ex muliere asseruit, ut factura non divinitati, sed assumptioni corporis ascriberetur: factum ex muliere per carnis susceptionem: factum sub Lege per observantiam Legis: generatio autem illa coelestis ante Legem, ista post Legem (Conc. Chalcedon. act. I, in exposit. fid. Nic.). 463

94. But when the fullness of time had come, God sent His Son, *made* of a woman, made under the Law. *His* Son, observe, not as one of many, not as His in common with another, but His own, and in saying His Son, the Apostle showed that it is of the Son’s nature that His generation is eternal. Him the Apostle has affirmed to have been afterwards made of a woman, in order that the making might be understood not of the Godhead, but of the putting on of a body — made of a woman, then, by taking on of flesh; made under the Law through observance of the Law. Howbeit, the former, the spiritual generation is before the Law was, the latter is after the Law.

CAPUT XV.

DUOBUS SCRIPTURAE LOCIS quibus factus et creatus Christus dicitur, ut satisfaciat sanctus Praesul: illos non nisi secundum naturam hominis ipsi convenire declarat: in quibus etiam praeteritum pro futuro positum esse ex sacrorum codicum auctoritate planum facit.

CHAPTER 15.

An explanation of Acts 2:36 and Proverbs 8:22 , which are shown to refer properly to Christ's manhood alone.

95. [Alias cap. VII.] Unde et illud vane jactare consuerunt quod scriptum est: Et Dominum eum et Christum fecit Deus. Imperiti legant totum, et intelligant; sic enim scriptum est: Et Dominum eum fecit, et Christum fecit Deus hunc Jesum, quem vos crucifixistis (Act. II, 36). Non divinitas crucifixa, sed caro est. Hoc utique fieri potuit, quod potuit crucifigi. Non ergo factura Dei Filius.

95. To no purpose, then, is the heretics' customary citation of the Scripture, that God made Him both Lord and Christ. Let these ignorant persons read the whole passage, and understand it. For thus it is written. God made this Jesus, Whom you crucified, both Lord and Christ. It was not the Godhead, but the flesh, that was crucified. This, indeed, was possible, because the flesh allowed of being crucified. It follows not, then, that the Son of God is a created being.

96. Facessat igitur et illud, de quo calumniari solent, et discant quemadmodum dictum sit: Dominus creavit me. (Prov. VIII, 22). Non dixit:

Pater creavit, sed Dominus creavit me. Caro Dominum agnoscit, gloria Patrem significat: creatura nostra Dominum confitetur, charitas Patrem novit. Itaque quis ignoret quia ob causam incorporationis hoc dicitur? In eo igitur se creatum dicit, in quo et hominem testificatur dicens: Quid me quaeritis occidere hominem, qui veritatem locutus sum vobis (Joan. VII, 20)? Hominem dicit, in quo et crucifixus et mortuus, et sepultus est.

96. Let us dispatch, then, that passage also, which they do use to misrepresent — let them learn what is the sense of the words, The Lord created Me. It is not the Father created, but the Lord created Me. The flesh acknowledges its Lord, praise declares the Father: our created nature confesses the first, loves, knows the latter. Who, then, cannot but perceive that these words announce the Incarnation? Thus the Son speaks of Himself as created in respect of that wherein he witnesses to Himself as being man, when He says, Why do you seek to kill Me, a *man*, Who have told you the truth? He speaks of His Manhood, wherein He was crucified, and died, and was buried.

97. Nec dubitandum quod praeteritum posuit, quod erat futurum: haec enim consuetudo est prophetiae, ut quae futura sunt, vel quasi praesentia, vel quasi facta dicantur. Denique in psalmo XXI legisti: Tauri pingues obsederunt me (Psal. XXI, 13); legisti etiam: Diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea (Ibid., 19): quod evangelista de tempore passionis prophetatum esse significat; Deo enim quae sunt futura, praesentia sunt: et ei cui praecognita sunt omnia, ventura pro factis sunt, sicut scriptum est: Qui fecit quae ventura sunt (Esai. XLV).

97. Furthermore, there is no doubt but that the writer set down as past that which was to come; for this is the usage of prophecy, that things to come are spoken of as though they were already present or past. For example, in the twenty-first psalm you have read: Fat bulls (of Bashan) have beset me,

and again: They parted My garments among them. This the Evangelist shows to have been spoken prophetically of the time of the Passion, for to God the things that are to come are present, and for Him Who foreknows all things, they are as though they were past and over; as it is written, Who has made the things that are to be.

98. Nec mirum si ante saecula fundatum se esse dicit, cum legeris praedestinatum ante tempora saecularia. Quam vere de incarnatione id videatur expressum, declarant sequentia: Sapientia, inquit, aedificavit sibi domum, et subdidit columnas septem, et interfecit suas hostias: miscuit in cratera vinum suum, et paravit suam mensam; et misit suos servos, convocans cum altissima praedicatione, dicens: Qui est insipiens declinet ad me (Prov. IX, 1 et seq.). Nonne in Evangelio post incarnationem haec omnia videmus esse completa, quod sacri convivii celebravit mysteria, quod apostolos misit, voce magna clamavit dicens: Si quis sitit, veniat ad me, et bibat (Joan. VII, 37)? Ergo sequentia respondent prioribus, et totius cursum incarnationis videmus prophetiae expositione digestum.

98. It is no wonder that He should declare His place to have been set fast before all worlds, seeing that the Scripture tells us that He was foreordained before the times and ages. The following passage discovers how the words in question present themselves as a true prophecy of the Incarnation: Wisdom has built her a house, and set up seven pillars to support it, and she has slain her victims. She has mingled her wine in the bowl, and made ready her table, and sent her servants, calling men together with a mighty voice of proclamation, saying: ‘He who is simple, let him turn in to me.’ Do we not see, in the Gospel, that all these things were fulfilled after the Incarnation, in that Christ disclosed the mysteries of the Holy Supper, sent forth His apostles, and cried with a loud voice, saying, If any man thirst, let him come to Me and drink. John 7:37 That which follows, then, answers to

that which went before, and we behold the whole story of the Incarnation set forth in brief by prophecy.

99. Multa alia documenta praesto esse possent hujusmodi de incarnatione dicta videri: sed non me involvo libris, ne tractatus videatur esse diffusior.

99. Many other passages might readily be seen to be prophecies of this sort concerning the Incarnation, but I will not delay over books, lest the treatise appear too wordy

CAPUT XVI.

ARIANOS, SI CREATUM et genitum illis idem sit, Christo inferre injuriam: sin autem illa distare credant, quem legerint genitum, creaturae loco non habendum. Hoc Pauli ne creaturae serviatur, prohibentis; Christi tamen se servum esse profitentis, testimonio confirmari: cui potius credendum quam Ario. Subditur etiam creaturam in Deo non esse, cum simplex sit: nec Filium in creaturae ordinem redigendum; cum in eo Patri complaceat.

CHAPTER 16.

The Arians blaspheme Christ, if by the words created and begotten they mean and understand one and the same thing. If, however, they regard the words as distinct in meaning, they must not speak of Him, of Whom they have read that He was begotten, as if He were a created being. This rule is upheld by the witness of St. Paul, who, professing himself a servant of Christ, forbade worship of a created being. God being a substance pure and uncompounded, there is no created nature in Him; furthermore, the Son is not to be degraded to the level of things created, seeing that in Him the Father is well pleased.

100. Nunc ipsos Arianos interrogo, utrum idem putent esse genitum, quod creatum? Si enim idem dicunt, nihil utique distat inter generare et creare. Ergo quoniam et nos creati sumus, inter nos et Christum et elementa nulla distantia est. Sed quamvis amentes sint, id tamen non audebunt dicere.

100. Now will I enquire particularly of the Arians, whether they think that begotten and created are one and the same. If they call them the same, then is there no difference between generation and creation. It follows, then, that

forasmuch as we also are created, there is between us and Christ and the elements no difference. Thus much, however, great as their madness is, they will not venture to say.

101. Postremo ut insipientiae eorum quod verum non est, indulgeam; si nihil, ut putant, distat in verbo: cur non eum quem colunt, meliore appellant nomine? cur verbo non utuntur Patris? cur abjiciunt quod honorificentiae est, assumunt quod injuriae?

101. Furthermore — to concede that which is no truth, to their folly — I ask them, if there is, as they think, no difference in the words, why do they not call upon Him Whom they worship by the better title? Why do they not avail themselves of the Father's word? Why do they reject the title of honour, and use a dishonouring name?

102. Si autem distat inter creatum et genitum, ut ego arbitror, cum legerimus genitum, non utique idem et genitum intelligimus et creatum. Dicant igitur generatum ex Patre, ex Virgine procreatum: aut dicant quomodo Dei Filius et genitus et creatus. Una natura, et maxime Deus diversitatem non recipit.

102. If, however, there is — as I think there is — a distinction between created and begotten, then, when we have read that He is begotten, we shall surely not understand the same by the terms begotten and created. Let them therefore confess Him to be begotten of the Father, born of the Virgin, or let them say how the Son of God can be both begotten and created. A single nature, above all, the Divine Being, rejects strife (within itself).

103. Certe facessat nostra sententia: Paulum interrogemus, qui Spiritu Dei plenus has praevidens quaestiones; generaliter contra gentes, specialiter contra Arianos locutus, ait divino judicio eos esse damnatos, qui servirent creaturae potius quam Creatori. Denique sic habes: Tradidit illos Deus in

desideria cordis ipsorum, ut contumeliis afficiant corpora sua inter semetipsos: qui commutaverunt veritatem Dei in mendacium, et coluerunt, et servierunt creaturae potius quam Creatori, qui est Deus benedictus in saecula (Rom. I, 24, 25).

103. But in any case let our private judgment pass: let us enquire of Paul, who, filled with the Spirit of God, and so foreseeing these questionings, has given sentence against pagans in general and Arians in particular, saying that they were by God's judgment condemned, who served the creature rather than the Creator. Thus, in fact, you may read: God gave them over to the lusts of their own heart, that they might one with another dishonour their bodies, they who changed God's truth into a lie, and worshipped and served the thing created rather than the Creator, Who is God, blessed forever. Romans 1:24-25

104. Prohibet itaque me Paulus creaturae servire, et Christo admonet serviendum. Non ergo creatura Christus, Paulus, inquit, servus Jesu Christi (Ibid., 1). Et bonus servus qui Dominum recognoscit, ipse creaturae servire nos prohibet: quemadmodum ergo Christo ipse serviret, si creaturam Christum putaret? Aut igitur desinant colere quem creaturam appellant, aut desinant quem colere se simulant, dicere creaturam; ne sub appellatione cultorum sacrilegia graviora committant. Detestabilior enim domesticus hostis quam extraneus: et gravius scelus ut adversus Christum abutantur Christi nomine.

104. Thus Paul forbids me to worship a creature, and admonishes me of my duty to serve Christ. It follows, then, that Christ is not a created being. The Apostle calls himself Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, Romans 1:1 and this good servant, who acknowledges his Lord, will likewise have us not worship that which is created. How, then, could he have been himself a servant of Christ, if he thought that Christ was a created person? Let these

heretics, then, cease either to worship Him Whom they call a created being, or to call Him a creature, Whom they feign to worship, lest under color of being worshippers they fall into worse impiety. For a domestic is worse than a foreign foe, and that these men should use the Name of Christ to Christ's dishonour increases their guilt.

105. Quem igitur meliorem interpretem quaerimus Scripturarum, quam illum doctorem gentium, vas electionis, electum de persecutoribus? Qui Jesum persecutus fuerat, fatetur. Legerat 465 utique Salomonem plus quam Arius, et erat peritus in Lege; et ideo quia legerat, non creatum Christum dicit esse, sed genitum. Legerat enim: Ipse dixit, et facta sunt: ipse mandavit, et creata sunt (Psal. CXLVIII, 5). Numquid dicto factus est Christus? numquid mandato creatus est Christus?

105. What better expounder of the Scriptures do we indeed look for than that teacher of the Gentiles, that chosen vessel — chosen from the number of the persecutors? He who had been the persecutor of Christ confesses Him. He had read Solomon more, in any case, than Arius has, and he was well learned in the Law, and so, because he had read, he said not that Christ was created, but that He was begotten. For he had read, He spoke, and they were made: He commanded, and they were created. Was Christ, I ask, made at a word? Was He created at a command?

106. Quomodo autem creatura in Deo esse potest? Etenim Deus naturae simplicis est, non conjunctae atque compositae: cui nihil accedat, sed solum quod divinum est in natura habeat sua: complens omnia, nusquam ipse confusus: penetrans omnia, nusquam ipse penetrandus: ubique totus, eodemque tempore vel in coelo, vel in terris, vel in novissimo maris praesens: visu incomprehensibilis, fatu ininterpretabilis, sensu inaestimabilis, fide sequendus, religione venerandus; ut quidquid religiosus

sentiri potest, quidquid praestantius ad decorem, quidquid sublimius ad potestatem, hoc Deo intelligas convenire.

106. Moreover, *how* can there be any created nature in God? In truth, God is of an uncompounded nature; nothing can be added to Him, and that alone which is Divine has He in His nature; filling all things, yet nowhere Himself confounded with anything; penetrating all things, yet Himself nowhere to be penetrated; present in all His fullness at one and the same moment, in heaven, in earth, in the deepest depth of the sea, to sight invisible, by speech not to be declared, by feeling not to be measured; to be followed by faith, to be adored with devotion; so that whatsoever title excels in depth of spiritual import, in setting forth glory and honour, in exalting power, this you may know to belong of right to God.

107. Ergo quia in Filio complacet Pater (Matth. XVII, 5), crede quia dignus Patre Filius, crede quia a Deo exivit Filius, ut ipse testatur dicens: Ex Deo processi, et veni (Joan. VIII, 42); et alibi: A Deo exivi (Joan. XVI, 27). Qui ex Deo processit, et a Deo exivit, nihil aliud potest habere, nisi quod Dei est.

107. Since, then, the Father is well pleased in the Son; believe that the Son is worthy of the Father, that He came out from God, as He Himself bears witness, saying: I went out from God, and have come; John 8:42 and again: I went out from God. John 16:27 He Who proceeded and came forth from God can have no attributes but such as are proper to God.

CAPUT XVII.

CHRISTUM DEUM VERUM esse ex eo probat, quod sit proprius Dei Filius; praemissaque difficultatis suborientis solutione, eamdem rem inde confirmat, quod sit genitus, quodque ex Deo exierit. His subdit Patris ac Filii unitatem operationis ac voluntatis. Tum apostolis et Centurione quem cum Arianis contendit, in testimonium adductis Esaiam jungit ac Joannem.

CHAPTER 17.

That Christ is very God is proved from the fact that He is God's own Son, also from His having been begotten and having come forth from God, and further, from the unity of will and operation subsisting in Father and Son. The witness of the apostles and of the centurion — which St. Ambrose sets over against the Arian teaching — is adduced, together with that of Isaiah and St. John.

108. Unde non solum Deus, sed etiam verus Deus, verus e vero, et adeo verus, ut ipse sit veritas. Itaque si nomen quaerimus, veritas est: si majestatem quaerimus naturalem, eo usque Filius Dei verus est, ut et proprius. Scriptum est enim: Qui proprio Filio non pepercit, sed pro nobis tradidit eum (Rom. VIII, 32): tradidit utique secundum carnem. Proprietas divinitatis est, veritas proprietatis, misericordia pietatis, oblatio securitatis.

108. Hence it is that Christ is not only God, but very God indeed — very God of very God, insomuch that He Himself is the Truth. John 14:6 If, then, we enquire His Name, it is the Truth; if we seek to know His natural rank and dignity, He is so truly the very Son of God, that He is indeed God's *own* Son; as it is written, Who spared not His own Son, but gave Him up for our

sakes, Romans 8:32 gave Him up, that is, so far as the flesh was concerned. That He is God's own Son declares His Godhead; that He is very God shows that He is God's own Son; His pitifulness is the earnest of His submission, His sacrifice, of our salvation.

109. Sed ne calumniarentur, quia scriptum est: Tradidit eum Pater; ipse Apostolus alibi dixit: Pax a Deo Patre, et Domino nostro Jesu Christo, qui se dedit pro peccatis nostris (Galat. I, 3, 4); et alibi: Sicut Christus dilexit nos, et tradidit semetipsum pro nobis (Ephes. V, 2). Si ergo et traditus est a Patre, et ipse se tradidit, apparet unam esse operationem, unam esse Patris et Filii voluntatem.

109. Lest, however, men should wrest the Scripture, that God gave Him up, the Apostle himself has said in another place, Galatians 1:3-4 Peace from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, Who gave Himself for our sins; and again: Ephesians 5:2 Even as Christ has loved us, and given Himself for us. If, then, He both was given up by the Father, and gave Himself up of His own accord, it is plain that the working and the will of Father and Son is one.

110. Si naturalem ergo majestatem quaerimus, genitus est. Qui genitum inficiatur, proprium negat: qui proprium abnuit, communem caeteris arbitratur. Sin vero generationis ipsius proprietatem requirimus, ex Deo exivit. Nam 466 cum in usu nostro id sit exire quod jam sit, et ex interioribus secretis prodire videatur, quod exire perhibetur: angustis licet sermonibus proprietatem divinae generationis advertimus; ut non ex loco aliquo videatur exisse, sed ut Deus ex Deo, Filius ex Patre; nec videatur coepisse ex tempore, qui ex Patre nascendo prodit, ut dixit ipse qui natus est: Ex ore Altissimi prodii (Eccles. XXIV, 5).

110. If, then, we enquire into His natural pre-eminence, we find it to consist in being begotten. To deny that the Son of God is begotten [of God] is to deny that He is God's *own* Son, and to deny Christ to be God's own Son is to class Him with the rest of mankind, as no more a Son than any of the rest. If, however, we enquire into the distinctive property of His generation, it is this, that He came forth from God. For while, in our experience, to come out implies something already existent, and that which is said to come out seems to proceed forth from hidden and inward places, we, though it be presented but in short passages, observe the peculiar attribute of the Divine Generation, that the Son does not seem to have come forth out of any place, but as God from God, a Son from a Father, nor to have had a beginning in the course of time, having come forth from the Father by being born, as He Himself Who was born said: I came forth from the mouth of the Most High. Sirach 24:3

111. Sed si naturam non agnoscunt, si non credunt Scripturis, vel operibus credant. Cui dicit Pater: Faciamus hominem (Gen. I, 26), nisi ei quem verum Filium sciret? In quo nisi in vero suam imaginem recognosceret? Non est unum adoptivus et verus; nec Filius diceret: Unum sumus (Joan. XVI, 22); si se cum vero, qui verus non esset ipse, conferret. Faciamus ergo dicit Pater. Qui dixit, verus est: potestne ergo verus non esse ille, qui fecit; et quod dicenti defertur, facienti negatur?

111. But if the Arians acknowledge not the Son's nature, if they believe not the Scriptures, let them at least believe the mighty works. To whom does the Father say, Let *us* make man? Genesis 1:26 save to Him Whom He knew to be His true Son? In Whom, save in one who was true, could He recognize His Image? The son by adoption is not the same as the true Son; nor would the Son say, I and the Father are one, John 10:30 if He, being Himself not true, were measuring Himself with One Who is true. The

Father, therefore, says, Let us make. He Who spoke is true; can He, then, Who made be not true? Shall the honour rendered to Him Who speaks be withheld from Him Who makes?

112. Quomodo autem nisi verum Filium sciret, committeret ei voluntatis suae unitatem, et operis veritatem? Cum enim eadem faciat Filius opera, quae Pater facit, et quos vult vivificet Filius, sicut scriptum est (Joan. V, 19, 21); nec differens potestate, et liber est voluntate: ita unitas servatur; quia et virtus Dei in divinitatis proprietate est; et libertas non in aliqua differentia, sed in unitate est voluntatis.

112. But how, unless the Father knew Him to be His true Son, should He commend to Him His will, for perfect co-operation, and His works, for perfect bringing in out in actuality? Seeing that the Son works the works which the Father does, and that the Son quickens whom He will, as it is written, He is then equal in power and free in respect of His will. And thus is the Unity maintained, forasmuch as God's power consists in that the Godhead is proper to each Person, and freedom lies not in any difference, but in unity of will.

113. Turbati in freto apostoli, licet adhuc non credentes corde, ubi primum sub pedibus Domini ludere aquas, et inquieto maris aestu deambulantis Domini super aquas intrepida videre vestigia; subitoque navi quae fluctibus turbaretur, ubi eam tamen Christus ascendit; placidata aequora, et elementa conspexere famulantia, verum Dei Filium crediderunt, dicentes: Vere Dei Filius es (Matth. XIV, 25 et seq.).

113. The apostles, being storm-tossed in the sea, as soon as they saw the waters leaping up round their Lord's feet, and beheld His fearless footsteps on the water, as He walked amid the raging waves of the sea, and the ship, which was beaten upon by the waves, had rest as soon as Christ entered it,

and they saw the waves and the winds obeying Him — then, though as yet they did not believe in their hearts they believed Him to be God's true Son, saying, Truly You are the Son of God. Matthew 14:33

114. Hoc idem Centurio cum aliis qui secum erant, tremefactis mundi cardinibus in passione Domini confitetur: et tu, haeretice, negas! Centurio dicit: Vere Filius Dei erat iste (Matth. XXVII, 54). Erat, inquit Centurio, et Arianus dicit, non erat. Ille ergo generationis et veritatem et aeternitatem asserit manu cruentus, sed mente devotus: tu, haeretice, veritatem generationis negas, tempus ascribis. Utinam manus potius quam animam cruentasses! Sed nec manu innocens, et mente feralis, quantum in te est, mortem infers, qui infirmum opinaris; immo, quod gravius est, etsi divinitas vulnus sentire non possit, quod in te tamen est, majestatem suam in Christo, non corpus interficere conaris.

114. To the same effect the confession of the centurion, and others who were with him, when the foundations of the world were shaken at the Lord's Passion, — and this, heretic, you deny. The centurion said, Truly this was the Son of God. Matthew 27:54 Was said the centurion — Was *not* says the Arian. The centurion, then, with bloodstained hands, but devout mind, declares both the truth and the eternity of Christ's generation; and thou, O heretic, deniest its truth, and makest it matter of time! Would that you had imbued your hands rather than your soul! But you, unclean even of hand, and murderous of intent, seekest Christ's death, so far as in you lies, seeing that you think of Him as mean and weak; nay, and this is a worse sin, you, albeit the Godhead can feel no wound, still would do your diligence to slay in Christ, not His Body, but His Glory.

115. Verum igitur Deum dubitare non possumus, quem verum Dei Filium et carnifices crediderunt, et daemones fatebantur: quorum nunc non testimonia

requiruntur, sed tuis tamen sacrilegiis praeferuntur. Illos nominavimus, ut erubesceres divina quoque responsa adhibuimus, ut crederes. 467

115. We cannot then doubt that He is very God, Whose true Godhead even executioners believed in and devils confessed. Their testimony we require not now, but it is withal greater than your blasphemies. We have called them in to witness, to put you to the blush, while we have also cited the oracles of God, to the end that you should believe.

116. Clamat Dominus per Esaiam: Servientibus mihi vocabitur nomen novum, quod benedicetur super terram, et benedicent Deum verum: et qui jurant super terram, jurabunt per Deum verum (Esai. LXV, 16). Haec, inquam, dixit Esaias, quando vidit majestatem ejus. Hoc in Evangelio designatur, quod majestatem viderit Christi, et locutus sit de eo.

116. The Lord proclaims by the mouth of Isaiah: In the mouth of them that serve Me shall a new name be called upon, which shall be blessed over all the earth, and they shall bless the true God, and they who swear upon earth shall swear by the true God. Isaiah 65:16 These words, I say, Isaiah spoke when he saw God's Glory, and thus in the Gospel it is plainly said that he saw the Glory of Christ and spoke of Him. John 12:41

117. Accipe tamen quid etiam scripserit Evangelista Joannes in epistola sua dicens: Scimus quia Filius Dei apparuit, et dedit nobis sensum, ut cognoscamus Patrem, et simus in vero Filio ejus Jesu Christo Domino nostro. Hic est verus Deus, et vita aeterna (I Joan. V, 20). Verum Joannes Filium Dei, et verum Deum dicit: ergo si verus Deus, utique non creatus, nihil fallax habens atque fucatum, nihil confusum atque dissimile.

117. But hear again what John the Evangelist has written in his Epistle, saying: We know that the Son of God has appeared, and has given us discernment, to know the Father, and to be in His true Son Jesus Christ, our

Lord. He is very God, and Life Eternal. 1 John 5:20 John calls Him true Son of God and very God. If, then, He be very God, He is surely uncreate, without spot of lying or deceit, having in Himself no confusion, nor unlikeness to His Father.

CAPUT XVIII.

IN NICAENA DEFINITIONE Arianos errores, ne quem decipiant, commemorari. Iidem cum anathemate suo referuntur, quod non modo Nicaeae latum dicitur, sed et Arimini semel ac iterum.

CHAPTER 18.

The errors of the Arians are mentioned in the Nicene Definition of the Faith, to prevent their deceiving anybody. These errors are recited, together with the anathema pronounced against them, which is said to have been not only pronounced at Nicæa, but also twice renewed at Ariminum.

118. [Alias cap. VIII.] Deus igitur ex Deo, lumen de lumine, Deus verus de Deo vero, ex Patre natus, non factus, unius substantiae cum Patre.

118. Christ, therefore, is God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God; begotten of the Father, not made; of one substance with the Father.

119. Sic nempe nostri secundum Scripturas dixerunt Patres, qui etiam sacrilega dogmata ideo suis inserenda putavere decretis, ut Arii perfidia ipsa se proderet; ne quasi fucis quibusdam et coloribus illita velaretur. Fucum enim faciunt, qui non audent explicare quod sentiunt. Censorie itaque impietas Ariana non expositione reseratur, sed damnatione detegitur; ut qui curiose gestit audire, prius damnatam cognosceret, ne laberetur, quam expositam audiret, ut crederet.

119. So, indeed, following the guidance of the Scriptures, our fathers declared, holding, moreover, that impious doctrines should be included in the record of their decrees, in order that the unbelief of Arius should

discover itself, and not, as it were, mask itself with dye or face-paint. For they give a false color to their thoughts who dare not unfold them openly. After the manner of the censor's rolls, then, the Arian heresy is not discovered by name, but marked out by the condemnation pronounced, in order that he who is curious and eager to hear it should be preserved from falling by knowing that it is condemned already, before he hears, it set forth to the end that he should believe.

120. [Alias cap. IX.] Eos, inquit, qui dicunt: Erat quando non erat, et antequam nasceretur non erat: et qui ex nihilo factum, aut ex alia substantia vel οὐσίᾳ dicunt esse, aut mutabilem, aut convertibilem Dei Filium, anathematizat catholica et apostolica Ecclesia.

120. Those, runs the decree, who say that there was a time when the Son of God was not, and that before He was born He was not, and who say that he was made out of nothing, or is of another substance or οὐσια, or that He is capable of changing, or that with Him is any shadow of turning — them the Catholic and Apostolic Church declares accursed.

121. Accepisti, sancte Imperator, eos qui talia asserunt, jure damnatos. Non humana industria, non composito aliquo trecenti decem et octo, ut supra pressius dixi (Prolog. n. 5), episcopi ad concilium convenerunt: sed ut in numero eorum 468 per signum suae passionis et nominis Dominus Jesus suo probaret se adesse concilio; Crux in trecentis, Jesu nomen in decem et octo est sacerdotibus.

121. Your sacred Majesty has agreed that they who utter such doctrines are rightly condemned. It was of no determination by man, of no human counsel, that three hundred and eighteen bishops met, as I showed above more at length, in Council, but that in their number the Lord Jesus might prove, by the sign of His Name and Passion, that He was in the midst,

where His own were gathered together. Matthew 18:20 In the number of three hundred was the sign of His Cross, in that of eighteen was the sign of the Name Jesus.

122. Hoc et in Ariminensi concilio habuit prima confessio, et post Ariminense concilium secunda correctio. Confessionem epistola ad imperatorem Constantium missa testatur, correctionem secuta concilia confitentur.

122. This also was the teaching of the First Confession in the Council of Ariminum, and of the Second Correction, after that Council. Of the Confession, the letter sent to the Emperor Constantine bears witness, and the Council that followed declares the Correction.

CAPUT XIX.

UBI ARIO PRIMUM e memoratis erroribus attribuit, eumdem refellit Joannis testimonio, ac e re nata tragicam haeresiarchae mortem describit. Mox singillatim reliquas ejusdem blasphemias expendit et confutat.

CHAPTER 19.

Arius is charged with the first of the above-mentioned errors, and refuted by the testimony of St. John. The miserable death of the Heresiarch is described, and the rest of his blasphemous errors are one by one examined and disproved.

123. Arius ergo dicit: Erat quando non erat; sed Scriptura dicit, Erat, non dicit, non erat. Denique Joannes scripsit: In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum: hoc erat in principio apud Deum (Joan. I, 1). Ecce quoties erat et nusquam dixit quod non erat. Cui ergo credimus? Joanni in Christi pectore recumbenti, an Ario inter effusa se sua viscera volutanti; ut agnosceremus similem Judae proditoris Arii quoque fuisse perfidiam, quem similis poena damnavit?

123. Arius, then, says: There was a time when the Son of God existed not, but Scripture says: He was, not that He was not. Furthermore, St. John has written: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. John 1:1-3 Observe how often the verb was appears, whereas was not is nowhere found. Whom, then, are we to believe? — St. John, who lay on Christ's bosom, or Arius, wallowing amid the outgush of his very bowels? — so

wallowing that we might understand how Arius in his teaching showed himself like Judas, being visited with like punishment.

124. Effusa sunt enim et Arii viscera, pudet dicere ubi, atque ita crepuit medius, prostratus in faciem; ea quibus Christum negaverat, foeda ora pollutus. Crepuit enim, sicut etiam de Juda Petrus apostolus dixit (Act. I, 18), quia possedit agrum de mercede injustitiae, et in faciem prostratus crepuit medius, et effusa sunt omnia viscera ejus. Non est fortuita mors, ubi in sacrilegio pari poenae parilis processit exemplum; ut idem subirent supplicium qui eumdem Dominum negaverunt; et qui eumdem Dominum prodiderunt.

124. For Arius' bowels also gushed out — decency forbids to say where — and so he burst asunder in the midst, falling headlong, and besmirching those foul lips wherewith he had denied Christ. He was rent, even as the Apostle Peter said of Judas, because he bought a field with the price of evil-doing, and falling headlong he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out. It was no chance manner of death, seeing that like wickedness was visited with like punishment, to the end that those who denied and betrayed the same Lord might likewise undergo the same torment.

125. Veniamus ad alia. Arius dicit: Antequam nasceretur, non erat: sed Scriptura dicit omnia esse per Filium. Quomodo ergo aliis dedit esse, qui non erat? Cum autem dicit impius, quando et ante, haec utique duo verba tempus ostendunt. Quomodo ergo negant tempus ante Filium, et volunt prius fuisse quae temporis sunt: cum idipsum, quando et ante et aliquando non fuisse, sit temporis? 469

125. Let us pass on to further points. Arius says: Before He was born, the Son of God was not, but the Scripture says that all things are maintained in existence by the Son's office. How, then, could He, Who existed not,

bestow existence upon others? Again, when the blasphemer uses the words when and before, he certainly uses words which are marks of time. How, then, do the Arians deny that time was ere the Son was, and yet will have things created in time to exist before the Son, seeing that the very words, when, before, and did not exist once, announce the idea of time?

126. Arius dicit ex nihilo Dei Filium. Quomodo ergo Dei Filius? quomodo paterno generatus ex utero? quomodo eructatum ex corde Verbum legitur, nisi ut ex intimo et inaestimabili Patris intelligatur, ut scriptum est, prodiisse secreto? Filius enim aut per adoptionem, aut per naturam est: per adoptionem nos filii dicimur, ille per veritatem naturae est. Quomodo ergo ex nihilo ille, qui ex nihilo fecit omnia (Psal. XLIV, 1)?

126. Arius says that the Son of God came into being out of nought. How, then, is He Son of God — how was He begotten from the womb of the Father — how do we read of Him as the Word spoken of the heart's abundance, save to the end that we should believe that He came forth, as it is written, from the Father's inmost, unapproachable sanctuary? Now a son is so called either by means of adoption or by nature, as we are called sons by means of adoption. Christ is the Son of God by virtue of His real and abiding nature. How, then, can He, Who out of nothing fashioned all things, be Himself created out of nothing?

127. Non habet Filium, qui nescit unde sit. Denique nec Judaei habebant Filium, quia unde esset nesciebant. Et ideo dixit his Dominus: Nescitis unde veni (Joan. VIII, 14); et infra: Neque me nostis, neque Patrem meum scitis (Ibid. 19). Qui enim negat ex Patre Filium, nec Patrem ex quo est Filius, novit: neque Filium novit; quia Patrem nescit (Galat. IV, 5).

127. He who knows not whence the Son is has not the Son. The Jews therefore had not the Son, for they knew not whence He was. Wherefore the

Lord said to them: You know not whence I came; John 8:14 and again: You neither have found out Who I am, nor know My Father, for he who denies that the Son is of the Father knows not the Father, of Whom the Son is; and again, he knows not the Son, because he knows not the Father.

128. Arius dicit: Ex alia substantia. Quae igitur alia substantia aequatur Dei Filio, ut ex ipsa Dei Filius sit? Aut quomodo reprehendunt quia nos in Deo aut οὐσίαν Graece, aut Latine substantiam dicimus, cum ex alia dicendo substantia Dei esse Filium, etiam ipsi substantiam Dei esse confirment?

128. Arius says: [The Son is] of another Substance. But what other substance is exalted to equality with the Son of God, so that simply in virtue thereof He is Son of God? Or what right have the Arians for censuring us because we speak, in Greek, of the οὐσία, or in Latin, of the *Substantia* of God, when they themselves, in saying that the Son of God is of another Substance, assert a divine *Substantia*.

129. Sed si de nomine substantiae aut naturae divinae voluerint dicere, facile revincentur; quia et οὐσίαν Graece, et Latine substantiam frequenter Scriptura memoravit. Et Petrus vult nos, ut legimus (II Petr. I, 4), divinae consortes fieri naturae. Quod si ex alia substantia Filium dicent, ipsi se revincunt, et verbum substantiae quod metuunt confitendo, et Filium creaturis quibus praeferre se simulant, conferendo.

129. Howbeit, should they desire to dispute the use of the words divine Substance or divine Nature, they shall easily be refuted, for Holy Writ oft-times has spoken of οὐσία in Greek, or *Substantia* in Latin, and St. Peter, as we read, would have us become partakers in the divine Nature. But if they will have it that the Son is of another Substance, they with their own lips confute themselves, in that they both acknowledge the term Substance,

whereof they are so afraid, and rank the Son on a level with the creatures above which they feign to exalt Him.

130. Arius dicit creaturam Dei Filium, non sicut caeteras creaturas. Quae enim creatura non sicut alia creatura non est? Homo non ut Angelus, terra non ut coelum, sol non ut aqua, lumen non ut tenebrae. Nihil ergo praeferendo donavit, sed ad simplices decipiendos misero colore fraudem suae impietatis obduxit.

130. Arius calls the Son of God a creature, but not as the rest of the creatures. Yet what created being is not different from another? Man is not as angel, earth is not as heaven, the sun is not as water, nor light as darkness. Arius' preference, therefore, is empty — he has but disguised with a sorry dye his deceitful blasphemies, in order to take the foolish.

131. Arius dicit mutabilem et convertibilem Dei Filium. Quomodo ergo Deus, si mutabilis; cum ipse dixerit: Ego sum, ego sum, et non sum mutatus (Malac. III, 6)?

131. Arius declares that the Son of God may change and swerve. How, then, is He God if He is changeable, seeing that He Himself has said: I am, I am, and I change not?

CAPUT XX.

OPTAT AD SE mundandum ut olim ad Esaiam Seraphim aliquem advolare; immo vero ad se, ad Imperatorem aliosque lectores suos Christum invitat: ac tandem Dominico poculo mystice designato, ut ejus virtute Gratianus caeterique fideles inebrientur, petit.

CHAPTER 20.

St. Ambrose declares his desire that some angel would fly to him to purify him, as once the Seraph did to Isaiah — nay more, that Christ Himself would come to him, to the Emperor, and to his readers, and finally prays that Gratian and the rest of the faithful may be exalted by the power and spell of the Lord's Cup, which he describes in mystic language.

132. Verum nunc mihi propheticum illud est confitendum, quod prophetaturus de Domino praemittit Esaias dicens: O miser ego, et compuncto corde, qui cum immunda labia habeam, in medio quoque populi inhabitem immunda labia habentis; vidi Dominum Sabaoth (Esai. VI, 5). Ergo si Esaias miserum se dicit, qui vidit Dominum 470 Sabaoth: quid ego de me dicam, qui cum immunda labia habeam, cogor de Dei generatione tractare? Quo igitur de iis quae metuo, locuturus erumpo; cum David de iis quae sciat ori suo custodiam petat (Psal. XXXVIII, 2)? O si mihi quoque unus de Seraphim candentem illum carbonem, quem de altari divino sumpsit, utriusque forcipe deferens Testamenti, immunda adurat labia!

132. Howbeit, now must I needs confess the Prophet Isaiah's confession, which he makes before declaring the word of the Lord: Woe is me, my heart is smitten, for I, a man of unclean lips, and living in the midst of a people of

unclean lips, have seen the Lord of Sabaoth. Now if Isaiah said Woe is me, who looked upon the Lord of Sabaoth, what shall I say of myself, who, being a man of unclean lips, am constrained to treat of the divine generation? How shall I break forth into speech of things whereof I am afraid, when David prays that a watch may be set over his mouth in the matter of things whereof he has knowledge? O that to me also one of the Seraphim would bring the burning coal from the celestial altar, taking it in the tongs of the two testaments, and with the fire thereof purge my unclean lips!

133. At quia tunc Seraphim descendit in figura ad prophetam (Esai. VI, 6): tu autem, Domine, revelato mysterio ad nos in carne venisti, non per legatum, neque per nuntium, sed ipse per te, ab occultis meis conscientiam meam mundes; ut ego quoque dudum immundus, sed jam per tuam misericordiam fide mundus, illud Davidicum canam, dicens: Psallam tibi in cithara, Deus Israel: gaudebunt labia mea, dum cantavero tibi; et anima mea, quam redemisti (Psal. VII, 22, 23).

133. But forasmuch as then the Seraph came down in a vision to the Prophet, while You, O Lord, in revelation of the mystery have come to us in the flesh, do Thou, not by any deputy, nor by any messenger, but You Yourself cleanse my conscience from my secret sins, that I too, erstwhile unclean, but now by Your mercy made clean through faith, may sing in the words of David: I will make music to You upon a harp, O God of Israel, my lips shall rejoice, in all my song to You, and so, too, shall my soul, whom You have redeemed.

134. Itaque, Domine, calumniatores tuos et hostes relinquens, confer te ad nos; et sanctifica aures principis Gratiani, omniumque praeterea quorum in manus hic libellus venerit, vacuas mihi praesta aures; necubi auditae perfidiae sordes resideant. Emunda ergo, emunda aurem non fontanis

poculis, nec fluviali haustu, nec susurro praetermeantis rivuli: sed sermonibus ad vicem aquarum operantibus, supra nitorem aquarum perspicuis, et omni purioribus nive; illis utique sermonibus, quibus dixisti: Si fuerint peccata vestra sicut phoenicium, ut nivem dealbabo (Esai. I, 18).

134. And so, O Lord, leaving them that slander and hate You, come unto us, sanctify the ears of our sovereign ruler, Gratian, and all besides into whose hands this little book shall come — and purge my ears, that no stains of the infidelity they have heard remain anywhere. Cleanse thoroughly, then, our ears, not with water of well, river, or rippling and purling brook, but with words cleansing like water, clearer than any water, and purer than any snow — even the words You have spoken — Though your sins be as scarlet, I will make them white as snow. Isaiah 1:18

135. Est etiam poculum quo secreta mentis mundare consuevisti, poculum non naturae veteris, nec ex vite solemni: sed poculum novum de coelo delatum in terram, expressum ex illo botryone peregrino, qui sicut uva de vite, ita ille in carne crucis pependit e ligno. Ex hoc ergo botryone est vinum quod laetificat cor hominis, sobrietatem inebriat, crapulam fidei et verae religionis exhalat, crapulam castitatis infundit.

135. Moreover, there is a Cup, which You use to purify the hidden chambers of the soul, a Cup not of the old order, nor filled from a common Vine — a new Cup, brought down from heaven to earth, filled with wine pressed from the wondrous cluster, which hung in fleshly form upon the tree of the Cross, even as the grape hangs upon the Vine. From this Cluster, then, is the Wine that makes glad the heart of man, Judges 9:13 uplifts the sorrowful, is fragrant with, pours into us, the ecstasy of faith, true devotion, and purity.

136. Hoc igitur vino, Domine meus, domini aures Augusti mentis emunda, ut sicut vino naturali homines inebriati, quietem diligunt, timorem mortis expellunt, injurias non sentiunt, aliena non quaerunt, suorum obliviscuntur: ita etiam vino tuo crapulatus, pacem diligat, et fidei exsultatione securus, mortem infidelitatis ignoret, patientiam charitatis exhibeat, sacrilegia aliena non teneat, fidem etiam pignoribus suis praeferat, secundum quod scriptum est: Relinque omnia tua, et veni, sequere me (Matth. XIX, 21).

136. With this Wine, therefore, O Lord my God, cleanse the spiritual ears of our sovereign Emperor, to the end that, just as men, being uplifted with common wine, love rest and quietness, cast out the fear of death, have no feeling of injuries, seek not that which belongs to others, and forget their own; and so he, too, intoxicated with your wine, may love peace, and, confident in the exultation of faith, may never know the death of unbelief, and may display loving patience, have no part in other men's profanities, and hold the faith of more account even than kindred and children, as it is written: Leave all that you have, and come, follow Me. Matthew 19:21

137. Hoc vino, Domine Jesu, sensus etiam nostros dilue, ut te adoremus, te colamus visibilium et invisibilium creatorem. Non potes ergo invisibilis aut bonus non esse, qui id etiam tuis operibus contulisti.

137. With this Wine, also, Lord Jesus, purify our senses, that we may adore You, and worship You, the Creator of things visible and invisible. Truly, You can not fail of being Yourself invisible and good, Who hast given invisibility and goodness to the works of Your Hands.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

BOOK II.

PROLOGUS.

AMBROSIUS LIBRO SUPERIORI hunc adjecturus, duodecim nomina Filii Dei primo trifariam divisa non ejus tantum, sed Patris etiam aeternitatem probare docet. Mox eadem cum duodecim sacerdotalis vestis lapidibus cursim comparans, quam necessario conjungenda sint, inducta ipsorum nova distributione patefacit. Deinde ad propositam comparationem rediens, allegorice memorati amictus texturam ac lapillos laudat. Hinc mystica etiam geminae divisionis ratione allata, institutam comparationem pergit exponere; ex qua fidem operibus colligens attexendam esse, contractam ejusdem fidei de Filio descriptionem subdit.

INTRODUCTION.

Twelve names of the Son of God are recounted, being distributed into three classes. These names are so many proofs of the eternity not only of the Son, but of the Father also. Furthermore, they are compared with the twelve stones in the High Priest's breastplate, and their inseparability is shown by a new distribution of them. Returning to the comparison with the High Priest's breastplate, the writer sets forth the beauty of the woven-work and the precious stones of the mystic raiment, and the hidden meaning of that division into woven-work and precious stones, which being done, he expounds the comparison drawn by him, showing that faith must be woven in with works, and adds a short summary of the same faith, as concerning the Son.

1. Satis, ut arbitror, libro superiore, sancte Imperator, edoctum est sempiternum esse Dei Filium, non dissimilem Patri, genitum, non creatum:

Deum quoque verum Dei Filium Scripturarum lectionibus approbavimus, et apertis majestatis suae indiciis designatum.

1. Enough has been said, as I think, your sacred Majesty, in the book preceding to show that the Son of God is an eternal being, not diverse from the Father, begotten, not created: we have also proved, from passages of the Scriptures, that God's true Son is God, and is declared so to be by the evident tokens of His Majesty.

2. Itaque quamvis ista ad fidem copiose redundantia sint, quod a fontis meatu magnitudo plerumque decurrentis fluminis aestimatur; tamen quo purius niteat fides nostra, tripartito videtur derivanda distinctio. Sunt enim evidentia indicia quae proprietatem deitatis ostendant: sunt quae similitudinem Patris et Filii: sunt etiam quae perspicuant divinae majestatis exprimant unitatem. Proprietatis itaque sunt, generatio, Deus, Filius, Verbum: similitudinis, splendor, character, speculum, imago: unitatis aeternae, sapientia, virtus, veritas, vita.

2. Wherefore, albeit what has already been set forth is plentiful even to overflowing for maintaining the Faith — seeing that the greatness of a river is mostly judged of from the manner in which its springs rise and flow forth — still, to the end that our belief may be the plainer to sight, the waters of our spring ought, methinks, to be parted off into three channels. There are, then, firstly, plain tokens declaring essential inherence in the Godhead; secondly, the expressions of the likeness of the Father and the Son; and lastly, those of the undoubtable unity of the Divine Majesty. Now of the first sort are the names begetting, God, Son, The Word; of the second, brightness, expression, mirror, image; and of the third, wisdom, power, truth, life.

3. Haec indicia ita Dei Filium signant, ut ex his et sempiternum Patrem esse cognoscas, nec ab eo Filium discrepantem. Ex eo enim qui est, generatio; ex sempiterno Deus, ex Patre Filius, ex Deo Verbum, splendor gloriae, character substantiae, speculum Dei, majestatis imago, de bono bonitas, de sapiente sapientia, de forti virtus, de vero veritas, de vivente vita. Concordant igitur Patris et Filii indicia, quibus non discrepare inter se, sed unius majestatis esse nemo dubitaverit. Quorum singulorum proferremus exempla nominum, nisi coarctandi sermonis studio teneremur.

3. These tokens so declare the nature of the Son, that by them you may know both that the Father is eternal, and that the Son is not diverse from Him; for the source of generation is He Who is, and as begotten of the Eternal, He is God; coming forth from the Father, He is the Son; from God, He is the Word; He is the radiance of the Father's glory, the expression of His substance, the counterpart of God, the image of His majesty; the Bounty of Him Who is bountiful, the Wisdom of Him Who is wise, the Power of the Mighty One, the Truth of Him Who is true, the Life of the Living One. In agreement, therefore, stand the attributes of Father and Son, that none may suppose any diversity, or doubt but that they are of one Majesty. For each and all of these names would we furnish examples of their use were we not constrained by a desire to maintain our discourse within bounds.

4. His duodecim tamquam lapidibus pretiosis fidei columna consurgit. Hi sunt enim pretiosi illi lapides (Exod. XXVIII, 17 et seq.), sardius, jaspis, smaragdus, chrysolithus, et caeteri, quibus sancti Aaron, illius utique qui figuram gerit Christi, veri scilicet vestimentum sacerdotis intexitur: circumdati auro lapides, et insculpti de nominibus 472 filiorum Israel, duodecim lapides sibi invicem cohaerentes. Nam si eos aliquis separet atque secernat, omnis fidei structura dissolvitur.

4. Of these twelve, as of twelve precious stones, is the pillar of our faith built up. For these are the precious stones — sardius, jasper, smaragd, chrysolite, and the rest — woven into the robe of holy Aaron, even of him who bears the likeness of Christ, that is, of the true Priest; stones set in gold, and inscribed with the names of the sons of Israel, twelve stones close joined and fitting one into another, for if any should sunder or separate them, the whole fabric of the faith falls in ruins.

5. Itaque principium fidei nostrae est scire quo genitus est Dei Filius: si genitus non est, nec Filius est. Nec satis est dixisse Filium, nisi et unigenitum Filium designaveris. Si creatura est, Deus non est: si Deus non est, nec vita est: si non est vita, nec veritas est.

5. This, then, is the foundation of our faith — to know that the Son of God is begotten; if He be not begotten, neither is He the Son. Nor yet is it sufficient to call Him Son, unless you shall also distinguish Him as the Only-begotten Son. If He is a creature, He is not God; if He is not God, He is not the Life; if He is not the Life, then is He not the Truth.

6. Ergo tria illa, id est, generatio, Filius, unigenitus, principaliter et proprie indicant ex Deo Filium.

6. The first three tokens, therefore, that is to say, the names generation, Son, Only-begotten, do show that the Son is of God originally and by virtue of His own nature.

7. Tria sequentia, id est, Deus, vita, veritas, virtutem ejus manifestant, qua condidit et fecit subsistere creaturam: In ipso enim vivimus, movemur et sumus, sicut Paulus dixit (Act. XVII, 28). Et ideo in illis tribus proprietas Filii, in istis aliis paternae ac Filii operationis unitas declaratur.

7. The three that follow — to wit, the names God, Life, Truth, reveal His Power, whereby He has laid the foundations of, and upheld, the created world. For, as Paul said, in Him we live and move and have our being; Acts 17:28 and therefore, in the first three the Son's natural right, in the other three the unity of action subsisting between Father and Son is made manifest.

8. Imago quoque et splendor et character dicitur Dei Filius, quia haec incomprehensibilem et investigabilem paternae majestatis divinitatem in Filio, et expressam similitudinem revelarunt. Haec quoque tria videmus ad similitudinem pertinere.

8. The Son of God is also called the image and effulgence and expression [of God], for these names have disclosed the Father's incomprehensible and unsearchable Majesty dwelling in the Son, and the expression of His likeness in Him. These three names, then, as we see, refer to [the Son's] likeness [to the Father].

9. Reliquum est, virtus, sapientia, justitia; ut his singulis operationibus aeternitas probaretur.

9. We have yet the operations of Power, Wisdom, and Justice left, wherewith, severally, to prove [the Son's] eternity.

10. Hoc igitur est illud vestimentum pretiosis lapidibus adornatum, hic veri amictus est sacerdotis, haec vestis nuptialis; hic textor propheticus, qui bene noverit ista contexere. Neque vilis ista textura est, de qua Dominus dicit per prophetam: Quis dedit mulieribus texturae sapientiam (Job. XXXVIII, 36). Nec communes isti lapides, lapides, ut legimus, supplementi: omnis enim in eo perfectio est, si nihil desit. Lapides compositi et circumdati auro, intelligibili scilicet natura; si eos bene mens nostra componat, naturalisque sensus probabili ratione compaginet. Denique quam non mediocres lapides

sint, lectio docet (Exod. XXXV, 27), quod cum alii alia viliora deferrent; istos tamen lapides super humeros suos religiosi principes attulerunt, ex quibus fecerunt rationale, opus textile (Ibid.). Textile enim opus est, quando fidei facta concordant.

10. This, then, is that robe, adorned with precious stones; this is the amice of the true Priest; this the bridal garment; here is the inspired weaver, who well knew how to weave that work. No common woven work is it, whereof the Lord spoke by His Prophet: Who gave to women their skill in weaving? No common stones again, are they — stones, as we find them called, of filling; for all perfection depends on this condition, that there be nought lacking. They are stones joined together and set in gold — that is, of a spiritual kind; the joining of them by our minds and their setting in convincing argument. Finally Scripture teaches us how far from common are these stones, inasmuch as, while some brought one kind, and others another, of less precious offerings, these the devout princes brought, wearing them upon their shoulders, and made of them the breastplate of judgment, that is, a piece of woven work. Now we have a woven work, when faith and action go together.

11. Nec me aliquis errare putet, quia supra tripartitam de quaternis, subter vero quadripartitam de ternis feci distinctionem. Boni operis gratia per diversas plus placet formas. Bona enim et illa quae textrinum indumenti sacerdotalis ostendit, vel lex scilicet, vel Ecclesia, quae binas vestes fecit viro suo, sicut scriptum est (Prov. XXXI, 22 et seq.): unam operis, alteram mentis, fidei intexens factorumque velamina. Itaque alibi, sicut legimus, aurum praetexit, et postea hyacinthum 473 ac purpuram cum cocco subjungit et bysso. Rursus alibi ex hyacintho et caeteris prius flosculos format, aurumque subnectit, et unus est habitus sacerdotis; ut iisdem

coloribus micans, gratiae decorisque diversitas ordinis diversitate resplendeat.

11. Let none suppose me to be misguided, in that I made at first a threefold division, each part containing four, and afterwards a fourfold division, each part containing three terms. The beauty of a good thing pleases the more, if it be shown under various aspects. For those are good things, whereof the texture of the priestly robe was the token, that is to say, either the Law, or the Church, which latter has made two garments for her spouse, as it is written — the one of action, the other of spirit, weaving together the threads of faith and works. Thus, in one place, as we read, she makes a groundwork of gold, and afterwards weaves thereon blue, and purple, with scarlet, and white. Again, [as we read] elsewhere, she first makes little flowerets of blue and other colors, and attaches gold, and there is made a single priestly robe, to the end that adornments of diverse grace and beauty, made up of the same bright colors, may gain fresh glory by diversity of arrangement.

12. Itaque ut etiam rationis typicae series digeratur, auro et argento probabili non est dubium eloquia Domini designari, quibus fides constat. Scriptum est enim: Eloquia Domini, eloquia casta, argentum igne examinatum, probatum terrae, purgatum septuplum (Psal. XI, 7). Hyacinthus autem aeris habet similitudinem, quem spiramus, et cujus carpimus flatum: purpura quoque speciem aquarum exprimit: per coccum ignis intelligitur: terra per byssum; haec enim ex terra gignitur. Ex his autem quatuor elementis corpus subsistit humanum.

12. Moreover (to complete our interpretation of these types), it is certain that by refined gold and silver are designated the oracles of the Lord, whereby our faith stands firm. The oracles of the Lord are pure oracles, silver tried in the fire, refined of dross, purified seven times. Now blue is like the air we breathe and draw in; purple, again, represents the appearance

of water; scarlet signifies fire; and white linen, earth, for its origin is in the earth. Of these four elements, again, the human body is composed.

13. Sive ergo mentis fidei praecedenti concinentia corporis facta subnectas: sive facta praecedant, et fides astipuletur comes religiosa factorum, hic religiosi ornatus antistitis, hoc velamen est sacerdotis.

13. Whether, then, you join to faith already present in the soul, bodily acts agreeing thereto; or acts come first, and faith be joined as their companion, presenting them to God — here is the robe of the minister of religion, here the priestly vestment.

14. Bona ergo fides, cum pulchro operum renitet ornatu: de qua, ut ad summam loquar, definitiones istae sunt, quae non queunt solvi. Si ex nihilo est, non est Filius: si creatura est, non est creator: si factura est, non est omnium factor: si discens, non praecognitor: si accipiens, non est perfectus: si proficiens, non est Deus: si dissimilis, non imago: si per gratiam, non per naturam: si divinitatis expers, auctor malitiae: Nemo bonus, nisi unus Deus (Marc. X, 18).

14. Faith is profitable, therefore, when her brow is bright with a fair crown of good works. James 2:14-26 This faith — that I may set the matter forth shortly — is contained in the following principles, which cannot be overthrown. If the Son had His origin in nothing, He is not Son; if He is a creature, He is not the Creator; if He was made, He did not make all things; if He needs to learn, He has no foreknowledge; if He is a receiver, He is not perfect; if He progress, He is not God. If He is unlike (the Father) He is not the (Father's) image; if He is Son by grace, He is not such by nature; if He have no part in the Godhead, He has it in Him to sin. There is none good, but Godhead. Mark 10:18

CAPUT PRIMUM.

ARIANORUM DEI FILIO bonitatem abrogantium objectionem non sine horrore propositam ut solvat, Christi sententiam ex personis loquentium, nec non ex ipsis dictionibus explicat.

CHAPTER 1.

The Arian argument from S. Mark 10:18 , There is none good but one, that is, God, refuted by explanation of these words of Christ.

15. Stupeo itaque ad reliqua, sancte imperator, et toto corpore animoque deficio, esse aliquos homines, vel potius non homines, sed humana adopertos specie, intus autem dementiae bestialis; qui post tanta Domini et tam divina beneficia, bonum negent ipsum auctorem bonorum.

15. The objection I have now to face, your sacred Majesty, fills me with bewilderment, my soul and body faint at the thought that there should be men, or rather not men, but beings with the outward appearance of men, but inwardly full of brutish folly — who can, after receiving at the hands of the Lord benefits so many and so great, say that the Author of all good things is Himself not good.

16. Scriptum est, inquiunt: Nemo bonus, nisi unus Deus. Scriptum agnosco: sed littera errorem non habet; utinam Ariana interpretatio non haberet! Apices sine crimine sunt, sensus in crimine. Dictum Domini Salvatoris agnosco: 474 sed consideremus quando dicat, cui dicat, qua circumspectione dicat.

16. It is written, say they, that There is none good but God alone. I acknowledge the Scripture — but there is no falsehood in the letter; would that there were none in the Arians' exposition thereof. The written signs are guiltless, it is the meaning in which they are taken that is to blame. I acknowledge the words as the words of our Lord and Saviour — but let us bethink ourselves when, to whom, and with what comprehension He speaks.

17. Dicit utique in hominis forma Dei Filius, et dicit Scribae, ei scilicet qui magistrum bonum Dei Filium nominaret, Deum negaret. Quod ille non credit, Christus adjungit; ut Dei Filium non ut bonum magistrum, sed ut bonum Deum credat. Nam sicubi unus Deus dicitur, nequaquam tamen Dei Filius ab unitatis plenitudine separatur; quomodo ubi unus Deus bonus nuncupatur, a plenitudine divinae bonitatis unigenitus excluditur? Necesse est igitur aut Deum negent Dei Filium, aut Deum bonum esse fateantur.

17. The Son of God is certainly speaking as man, and speaking to a scribe — to him, that is, who called the Son of God Good Master, but would not acknowledge Him as God. What he believes not, Christ further gives him to understand, to the end that he may believe in God's Son not as a good master, but as the good God, for if, wheresoever the One God is named, the Son of God is never sundered from the fullness of that unity, how, when God alone is said to be good, can the Only-begotten be excluded from the fullness of Divine Goodness? The Arians must therefore either deny that the Son of God is God, or confess that God is good.

18. Et ideo circumspectione coelesti non dixit: Nemo bonus, nisi unus Pater; sed: Nemo bonus, nisi unus Deus. Pater enim proprium generantis est nomen, Deus autem unus nequaquam deitatem Trinitatis excludit, et ideo natura laudatur. Bonitas ergo in natura est Dei, et in natura Dei etiam Dei Filius; et ideo non quod singularitatis, sed quod unitatis est, praedicatur.

18. With divinely inspired comprehension, then, our Lord said, *not* There is none good but the Father alone, but There is none good but God alone, and Father is the proper name of Him Who begets. But the unity of God by no means excludes the Godhead of the Three Persons, and therefore it is His Nature that is extolled. Goodness, therefore, is of the nature of God, and in the nature of God, again, exists the Son of God — wherefore that which the predicate expresses belongs not to one single Person, but to the [complete] unity [of the Godhead].

19. Non igitur a Domino bonitas negatur, sed talis discipulus refutatur. Nam cum scriba dixisset: Magister bone, respondit Dominus: Quid me dicis bonum (Mare., X, 28)? id est, quem Deum non credis, non est satis ut bonum dicas. Non tales ego quaero discipulos, qui me magis secundum hominem magistrum bonum, quam secundum divinitatem Deum bonum credant.

19. The Lord, then, does not deny His goodness — He rebukes this sort of disciple. For when the scribe said, Good Master, the Lord answered, Why do you call Me good? — which is to say, It is not enough to call Him good, Whom you believe not to be God. Not such do I seek to be My disciples — men who rather consider My manhood and reckon Me a good master, than look to My Godhead and believe Me to be the good God.

CAPUT II.

BONUM ESSE DEI Filium ab operibus probat, nimirum ab ejus in Israelitas sub Testamento veteri, et in Christianos sub novo, beneficiis. Tum ubi subjecit utile sibi esse ut bonum dominum ac judicem suum arbitretur: paternum de Filio testimonium affert; imo etiam partis non exiguae Judaeorum, quibus proinde pejores Ariani esse declarantur. Quae omnia verborum Sponsae, eamdem Christi bonitatem designantium, claudit expositio.

CHAPTER 2.

The goodness of the Son of God is proved from His works, namely, His benefits that He showed towards the people of Israel under the Old Covenant, and to Christians under the New. It is to one's own interest to believe in the goodness of Him Who is one's Lord and Judge. The Father's testimony to the Son. No small number of the Jewish people bear witness to the Son; the Arians therefore are plainly worse than the Jews. The words of the Bride, declaring the same goodness of Christ.

20. Sed nolo praerogativa naturae suae et privilegio potestatis utatur. Non dicatur bonus, si non meretur, a nobis. Si hoc non meretur operibus, si beneficiis non meretur, abdicetur suae jure naturae, subdatur nostro judicio. Qui judicaturus de nobis est, non dedignatur judicari; ut justificetur in sermonibus suis, et vincat cum judicatur (Psal. L, 6), 475

20. Howbeit, I would not that the Son should rely on the mere prerogative of His nature and the claims of peculiar rights of His Majesty. Let us not call Him good, if He merit not the title; and if He merit not this by works,

by acts of lovingkindness, let Him waive the right He enjoys by virtue of His nature, and be submitted to our judgment. He Who is to judge us disdains not to be brought to judgment, that He may be justified in His saying, and clear when He is judged.

21. Hiccine ergo non bonus, qui bona tribuit mihi (Psal. XII, 6)? Hiccine non bonus, qui cum sexcenta millia populi Judaeorum persecutoribus suis cederent, dehiscentem subito Rubri maris aestum individua aquarum mole divisit (Exod. XIV, 6 et seq.); ut fideles circumfusa unda muniret, infidos refusa demergeret?

21. Is He then not good, Who has shown me good things? Is He not good, Who when six hundred thousand of the people of the Jews fled before their pursuers, suddenly opened the tide of the Red Sea, an unbroken mass of waters? — so that the waves flowed round the faithful, and were walls to them, but poured back and overwhelmed the unbelievers.

22. Hiccine non bonus, cujus imperio maria solidata fugientibus, saxa humefacta sitientibus; ut opus veri agnosceretur auctoris, cum humor rigesceret, petra inundaret (Exod. XVII, 6)? Quod ut agnosceres opus Christi, Apostolus dixit: Petra autem erat Christus (I Cor. X, 4).

22. Is He not good, at Whose command the seas became firm ground for the feet of them that fled, and the rocks gave forth water for the thirsty? so that the handiwork of the true Creator might be known, when the fluid became solid, and the rock streamed with water? That we might acknowledge this as the handiwork of Christ, the Apostle said: And that rock was Christ. 1 Corinthians 10:4

23. Hiccine non bonus, qui tam innumera populi millia, ne qua incesseret fames, in deserto pavit pane coelesti, sine usu laboris, cum fructu quietis (Exod. XVI, 13 et seq.): ita ut eorum per quadraginta annos nec vestimenta

veterascerent, nec calceamenta tererentur (Deut. VIII, 4), instar fidelibus futurae resurrectionis ostendens, quod nec factorum decor splendidorum, nec circumfusae virtutis nitor, nec vitae cursus periret humanae?

23. Is He not good, Who in the wilderness fed with bread from heaven such countless thousands of the people, lest any famine should assail them, without need of toil, in the enjoyment of rest? — so that, for the space of forty years, their raiment grew not old, nor were their shoes worn, a figure to the faithful of the Resurrection that was to come, showing that neither the glory of great deeds, nor the beauty of the power wherewith He has clothed us, nor the stream of human life is made for nought?

24. Hiccine non bonus, qui nobis coelum fecit esse, quod terra est; ut sicut in coelo, quasi in speculo quodam, stellarum lucentium refulgerent globi; ita etiam apostolorum et martyrum et sacerdotum, vice stellarum fulgentium, toto illucescerent chori mundo?

24. Is He not good, Who exalted earth to heaven, so that, just as the bright companies of stars reflect His glory in the sky, as in a glass, so the choirs of apostles, martyrs, and priests, shining like glorious stars, might give light throughout the world.

25. Ergo non solum bonus, sed etiam pastor bonus, hoc est, non sibi tantum, sed etiam ovibus suis bonus: Bonus enim pastor animam suam ponit pro ovibus suis (Joan. X, 11). Posuit plane animam suam, ut nostram levaret: sed pro divinitatis potestate posuit et sumpsit, sicut scriptum est: Potestatem habeo ponendi animam meam, et potestatem habeo sumendi eam. Nullus eam tollit a me, sed ego a memetipso pono eam (Ibid., 17, 18).

25. Not only, then, is He good, but He is more. He is a good Shepherd, not only for Himself, but to His sheep also, for the good shepherd lays down his life for his sheep. Aye, He laid down His life to exalt ours — but it was in

the power of His Godhead that He laid it down and took it again: I have power to lay down My life, and I have power to take it. No man takes it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself.

26. Vides bonitatem, quia sponte posuit: vides potestatem, quia sumpsit; et tu bonum negas, cum ipse de se in Evangelio dixerit: Si ego bonus, quare oculus tuus nequam (Matth. XX, 15)? Ingrate, quid agis? Bonum negas, per quem bona speras, si tamen credas? Bonum negas, qui dedit nobis quae oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit (I Cor. II, 9)?

26. You see His goodness, in that He laid it down of His own accord: you see His power, in that He took it again — do you deny His goodness, when He has said of Himself in the Gospel, If I am good, why is your eye evil? Ungrateful wretch what are you doing? Do you deny His goodness, in Whom is your hope of good things — if, indeed, you believe this? Do you deny His goodness, Who has given us what eye has not seen, nor ear heard?

27. Mihi expedit ut bonum credam: Bonum est enim confidere Domino (Psal. CXVII, 8). Mihi expedit ut Dominum confitear; scriptum est enim: Confitemini Domino, quoniam bonus (Ibid., I).

27. It concerns my interest to believe Him to be good, for It is a good thing to trust in the Lord. It is to my interest to confess Him Lord, for it is written: Give thanks unto the Lord, for He is good.

28. Mihi expedit, ut judicem meum bonum arbitrer; Dominus enim judex bonus domui Israel. Ergo si judex Dei Filius, utique quoniam judex Deus bonus, judex autem Dei Filius est; Deus bonus judex et Dei Filius est.

28. It is to my interest to esteem my Judge to be good, for the Lord is a righteous Judge to the house of Israel. If, then, the Son of God is Judge, surely, seeing that the Judge is the righteous God and the Son of God is

Judge, [it follows that] He who is Judge and Son of God is the righteous God.

29. Sed fortasse non credas aliis, non credas Filio; audi Patrem dicentem: Eructavit cor meum Verbum bonum (Psal. XLIV, 1). Bonum ergo Verbum est, Verbum hoc de quo scriptum est: Et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum (Joan. I, 1). Ergo si Verbum bonum, Filius autem Dei Verbum est: bonus utique Deus est Dei Filius; etiamsi non 476 placeat Arianis. Erubescant aliquando.

29. But perchance you believe not others, nor the Son. Hear, then, the Father saying: My heart has brought forth out of its depth the good Word. The Word, then, is good — the Word, of Whom it is written: And the Word was with God, and the Word was God. John 1:1 If, therefore, the Word is good, and the Son is the Word of God, surely, though it displease the Arians, the Son of God is God. Let them now at least blush for shame.

30. Judaei dicebant: Bonus est (Joan. VII, 12). Etsi alii dicebant: Non est, alii dicebant tamen: Bonus est; et vos omnes bonum negatis.

30. The Jews used to say: He is good. Though some said: He is not, yet others said: He is good, — and you do *all* deny His goodness.

31. Bonus est, qui peccatum unius donat; et bonus non est, qui peccatum mundi abstulit? De ipso enim dictum est: Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccatum mundi (Joan. I, 29).

31. He is good who forgives the sin of one man; is He not good Who has taken away the sin of the world? For it was of Him that it was said: Behold the Lamb of God, behold Him Who takes away the sin of the world.

32. Sed quid dubitamus? Credidit jam Ecclesia bonum, et confessa est dicendo: Osculetur me ab osculis oris sui; quoniam bona ubera tua super

vinum (Cantic. I, 1); et alibi: Et faux tua tamquam vinum est optimum (Cantic. VII, 9). Bonus ergo ille nos Legis et gratiae nutrit uberibus, coelesti curas hominum praedicatione demulcens; et nos bonum negamus, cum sit imago bonitatis, exprimens aeternae in se bonitatis effigiem, sicut et supra ostendimus scriptum, quia ipse est speculum sine macula, et imago bonitatis illius (Sap. VII, 26).

32. But why do we doubt? The Church has believed in His goodness all these ages, and has confessed its faith in the saying: Let Him kiss me with the kisses of His mouth; for your breasts are better than wine; Song of Songs 1:1 and again: And your throat is like the goodliest wine. Of His goodness, therefore, He nourishes us with the breasts of the Law and Grace, soothing men’s sorrows with telling them of heavenly things; and do we, then, deny His goodness, when He is the manifestation of goodness, expressing in His Person the likeness of the Eternal Bounty, even as we showed above that it was written, that He is the spotless reflection and counterpart of that Bounty? Song of Songs 7:9

CAPUT III.

FILIUM DEI DEUM bonum ac verum esse, cum Deus unus sit.

CHAPTER 3.

Forasmuch as God is One, the Son of God is God, good and true.

33. [Alias cap. II.] Sed quid vobis videtur, qui bonum et verum Deum Dei Filium denegatis; cum scriptum sit quod nullus Deus, nisi unus (I Cor. VIII, 4)? Nam etsi sunt qui dicantur dii, an inter eos Christum annumeratis, qui dicuntur, et non sunt? Cum speciale sit ejus, ut semper sit: et praeter ipsum bonus et verus alius Deus non sit; quoniam in ipso est Deus: speciale autem etiam Patris sit, ut post ipsum verus alius Deus non sit; quia unus Deus, nec juxta Sabellianos Patrem Filiumque confundens, nec juxta Arianos Patrem Filiumque secernens. Pater enim et Filius distinctionem habent, ut Pater et Filius; separationem divinitatis non habent.

33. Yet what think you, who deny the goodness and true Godhead of the Son of God, though it is written that there is no God but One? 1 Corinthians 8:4 For although there be gods so-called, would you reckon Christ among them which are called gods, but are not, seeing that eternity is of His Essence, and that beside Him there is none other that is good and true God, forasmuch as God is in Him; John 17:22-23 while it follows from the very nature of the Father, that after Him there is no other true God, because God is One, neither confounding [the Persons of] the Father and Son, as the Sabellians do, nor, like the Arians, severing the Father and the Son. For the Father and the Son, as Father and Son, are distinct persons, but they admit no division of their Godhead.

CAPUT IV.

OMNIPOTENTEM ESSE DEI Filium prisci novique foederis auctoritate demonstratur.

CHAPTER 4.

The omnipotence of the Son of God, demonstrated on the authority of the Old and the New Testament.

34. [Alias cap. III.] Itaque cum verus et bonus Dei Filius, utique omnipotens Deus Dei Filius: num hinc quoque dubitari potest? Supra (lib. I, ca) diximus lectum quia Dominus omnipotens nomen est ei. Ergo quia Filius Dominus, Dominus autem omnipotens; omnipotens est Dei Filius.

34. Seeing, then, that the Son of God is true and good, surely He is Almighty God. Can there be yet any doubt on this point? We have already cited the place where it is read that the Lord Almighty is His Name. Because, then, the Son is Lord, and the Lord is Almighty, the Son of God is Almighty.

35. Sed accipe etiam eam de qua dubitare nequeas, lectionem: Ecce venit, inquit, cum nubibus, et videbit eum omnis oculus, et qui eum compunxerunt: et plangent se super eum omnes tribus terrae. Etiam, amen. Ego sum A et Ω, dicit Dominus Deus, qui est, et qui erat, et qui venturus est omnipotens (Apoc. I, 7, 8). Quem igitur compunxerunt, et quem speramus esse venturum, nisi Filium? Ergo omnipotens Dominus et Deus Christus est.

35. But hear also such a passage as you can build no doubts upon: Behold, He comes, says the Scripture, with the clouds, and every eye shall see Him,

and they which pierced Him, and all the tribes of the earth shall mourn because of Him. Yea, amen. I am Alpha and Omega, says the Lord God, Who is, and Who was, and Who is to come, the Almighty. Revelation 1:8 Whom, I ask, did they pierce? For Whose coming hope we but the Son's? Therefore, Christ is Almighty Lord, and God.

36. Accipe aliud, sancte Imperator, et accipe Christum loquentem: Haec dicit Dominus omnipotens: Post honorem misit me super gentes, quae 477 depraedaverunt vos; quoniam qui tangit vos, quasi qui tangit pupillam oculi ejus. Quia ecce ego injicio manum meam super eos, qui depraedaveruntvos, et eruam vos; et erunt in praedam, qui depraedaverunt vos, et scient quia Dominus omnipotens misit me (Zacchar. II, 8, 9). Utique qui dicit: Dominus est omnipotens: et qui misit, Dominus est omnipotens. Ergo et Patris et Filii omnipotentia: sed tamen Deus unus omnipotens; quia unitas potestatis est.

36. Hear another passage, your sacred Majesty, — hear the voice of Christ. Thus says the Lord Almighty: After His glory has He sent me against the nations which have made spoil of you, forasmuch as he that touches you is as he that touches the pupil of His eye. For lo, I lay my hand upon them which despoiled you, and I will save you, and they shall be for a spoil, which made spoil of you, and they shall know that the Lord Almighty has sent Me. Plainly, He Who speaks is the Lord Almighty, and He Who has sent is the Lord Almighty. By consequence, then, almighty power appertains both to the Father and to the Son; nevertheless, it is One Almighty God, for there is oneness of Majesty.

37. Atque ut scias, Imperator auguste, Christum esse, qui locutus est et in propheta et in Evangelio, tamquam in praedestinatione Evangelii per Esaiam dicit: Ipse qui loquebar, adsum (Esai. LII, 6), hoc est: Adsum in Evangelio, qui loquebar in Lege.

37. Moreover, that your most excellent Majesty may know that it is Christ which has spoken as in the Gospel, so also in the prophet, He says by the mouth of Isaiah, as though foreordaining the Gospel: I Myself, Who spoke, have come, that is to say, I, Who spoke in the Law, am present in the Gospel.

38. Deinde alibi: Omnia quae Pater habet, mea sunt (Joan. XVI, 25). Quae sunt omnia? Non utique locutus est de creatis; haec enim omnia facta sunt per Filium: sed ea quae Pater habet, id est, aeternitatem, majestatem, divinitatem, quae nascendo possedit. Ergo eum qui omnia habet, quae Pater habet (scriptum est enim: Omnia quae Pater habet, mea sunt), omnipotentem esse dubitare non possumus.

38. Elsewhere, again, He says: All things that the Father has are Mine. John 16:25 What means He by all things? Clearly, not things created, for all these were made by the Son, but the things that the Father has — that is to say, Eternity, Sovereignty, Godhead, which are His possession, as begotten of the Father. We cannot, then, doubt that He is Almighty, Who has all things that the Father has (for it is written: All things that the Father has are Mine).

CAPUT V.

OBJECTOS ADVERSUS CHRISTI omnipotentiam Scripturae textus exponit; ac maxime in eo immoratur, ut eumdem non raro ex humanae naturae affectu locutum probet.

CHAPTER 5.

Certain passages from Scripture, urged against the Omnipotence of Christ, are resolved; the writer is also at especial pains to show that Christ not seldom spoke in accordance with the affections of human nature.

39. Nec vereor ne quia scriptum est de Deo: Beatus et solus potens (I Tim. VI, 15), ab eo Dei Filius separetur; cum Scriptura Deum solum potentem dixerit, non Patrem solum: et ipse de Christo Deus Pater asserat per Prophetam: Posui adjutorium super potentem (Psal. LXXXVIII, 20). Non ergo Pater solus potens, sed potens etiam Deus Filius; in Patre enim laudatur et Filius.

39. Although it is written concerning God, Blessed and only Potentate, 1 Timothy 5:15 yet I have no misgiving that the Son of God is thereby severed from Him, seeing that the Scripture entitled God, not the Father by Himself, the only Potentate. The Father Himself also declares by the prophet, concerning Christ, that I have set help upon one that is mighty. It is not the Father alone, then, Who is the only Potentate; God the Son also is Potentate, for in the Father's praise the Son is praised too.

40. Certe ostendat aliquis quid sit, quod non possit Dei Filius: quis ei adjutor cum coelum faceret, fuit: quis adjutor cum conderet mundum? An

qui in constitutione Angelorum et Dominationum adjutore non eguit, eguit ut hominem liberaret?

40. Aye, let some one show what there is that the Son of God cannot do. Who was His helper, when He made the heavens, — Who, when He laid the foundations of the world? Had He any need of a helper to set men free, Who needed none in constituting angels and principalities? Colossians 1:15-16

41. Scriptum est, inquiunt: Pater meus, si possibile est, transfer a me calicem hunc (Matth. XXVI, 39; Luc. XXII, 42). Et ideo omnipotens est, quomodo de possibilitate 478 ambigit? Ergo quia omnipotentem probavi, probavi utique ambigere eum de possibilitate non posse.

41. It is written, say they: 'My Father, if it be possible, take away this cup from Me.' If, then, He is Almighty, how comes He to doubt of the possibility? Which means that, because I have proved Him to be Almighty, I have proved Him unable to doubt of possibility.

42. Verba, inquis, Christi sunt. Verum dicis: sed quando, et in qua forma loquatur, adverte. Hominis substantiam gessit, hominis assumpsit affectum. Denique supra habes quia progressus pusillum procidit in faciem suam, orans et dicens: Pater, si possibile est. Non ergo quasi Deus, sed quasi homo loquitur; Deus enim possibile aliquid aut impossibile nesciebat? Aut aliquid impossibile Deo, cum scriptum sit: Impossibile enim tibi nihil est (Job XXII, 17)?

42. The words, you say, are the words of Christ. True — consider, though, the occasion of His speaking them, and in what character He speaks. He has taken upon Him the substance of man, and therewith its affections. Again, you find in the place above cited, that He went forward a little further, and fell on His face, praying, and saying: Father, if it be possible. Not as God,

then, but as man, speaks He, for could God be ignorant of the possibility or impossibility of anything? Or is anything impossible for God, when the Scripture says: For You nothing is impossible? Job 22:17

43. De quo autem dubitat? de se, an de Patre? De eo utique qui dicit: Transfer: et dubitat hominis affectu. Ergo propheta non putat aliquid impossibile Deo. Propheta non dubitat, et Filium dubitare tu credis? Num infra homines constituis Deum? Et dubitat de Patre Deus, et de morte formidat? Timet ergo Christus; et cum Petrus non timeat, Christus timet? Petrus dicit: Animam meam pro te ponam (Joan. XIII, 37); Christus dicit: Anima mea turbatur (Joan. XII, 27).

43. Of Whom, howbeit, does He doubt — of Himself, or of the Father? Of Him, surely, Who says: Take away from Me, — being moved as man is moved to doubt. The prophet reckons nothing impossible with God. The prophet doubts not; think you that the Son doubts? Will you put God lower than man? What — God has doubts of His Father, and is fearful at the thought of death! Christ, then, is afraid — afraid, while Peter fears nothing. Peter says: I will lay down my life for Your sake. John 13:37 Christ says: My soul is troubled. John 12:27

44. Utrumque verum est, et plenum utrumque rationis; quod et ille qui est inferior, non timet: et ille qui superior est, gerit timentis affectum: ille enim quasi homo vim mortis ignorat, iste quasi Deus in corpore constitutus fragilitatem carnis exponit; ut eorum qui sacramentum Incarnationis abjurant, excluderetur impietas. Denique et haec dixit, et Manichaeus non credidit, Valentinus negavit, Marcion phantasma judicavit.

44. Both records are true, and it is equally natural that the person who is the less should not fear, as that He Who is the greater should endure this feeling, for the one has all a man’s ignorance of the might of death, while

the other, as being God inhabiting a body, displays the weakness of the flesh, that the wickedness of those who deny the mystery of the Incarnation might have no excuse. Thus, then, has He spoken, yet the Manichæan believed not; Valentinus denied, and Marcion judged Him to be a ghost.

45. Eousque autem hominem quem veritate corporis demonstrabat, aequabat affectu, ut diceret: Sed tamen non sicut ego volo, sed sicut tu vis (Matth. XXVI, 39); cum utique similiter, sit Christi velle, quod Pater vult: cujus similiter est facere, quod Pater facit.

45. But indeed He so far put Himself on a level with man, such as He showed Himself to be in the reality of His bodily frame, as to say, Nevertheless, not as I will, but as You will, Matthew 26:39 though truly it is Christ's special power to will what the Father wills, even as it is His to do what the Father does.

46. Quo loco etiam illa vestra quaestio conticescit, quam soletis objicere, quia dixit Dominus: Non sicut ego volo, sed sicut tu vis; et alibi: Ad hoc descendi de coelo, non ut facium voluntatem meam, sed voluntatem ejus qui me misit (Joan. VI, 38). 479

46. Here, then, let there be an end of the objection which it is your custom to oppose to us, on the ground that the Lord said, Not as I will, but as You will; and again, For this cause I came down from heaven, not to do My own will, but the will of Him that sent Me. John 6:38

CAPUT VI.

OCCASIONE SUPERIORUM SCRIPTURAE locorum tantisper digrediens, libertatem Domini primum ex eo quod eadem praeditus affirmetur Spiritus sanctus, deinde expressis quibus ipsa Filio Dei attribuitur, testimoniis demonstrat.

CHAPTER 6.

The passages of Scripture above cited are taken as an occasion for a digression, wherein our Lord's freedom of action is proved from the ascription to the Spirit of such freedom, and from places where it is attributed to the Son.

47. Ergo ut quasi interpositis plenioris expositionis paulisper induciis, cur dixerit: Si possibile est, voluntatis interim liberae Dominum fuisse doceamus. In tantum processistis impietatis, ut negetis quod Filius Dei liberae voluntatis sit! At certe soletis etiam sancto Spiritui derogare, et negare non potestis scriptum esse: Spiritus ubi vult, spirat (Joan. III, 8). Ubi vult, inquit, non ubi jubetur. Ergo si Spiritus ubi vult, spirat, Filius quod vult, non agit? Et certe idem Dei Filius in Evangelio suo dicit, ubi velit spirandi suppetere Spiritui facultatem. Numquid ergo superiorem fatetur; quia illi licet, quod sibi non licet?

47. Let us now, for the present, explain more fully why our Lord said, If it be possible, and so call a truce, as it were, while we show that He possessed freedom of will. You deny — so far are you gone in the way of iniquity — that the Son of God had a free will. Moreover, it is your wont to detract from the Holy Spirit, though you cannot deny that it is written: The Spirit

does breathe, where He will. Where He will, says the Scripture, not where He is ordered. If, then, the Spirit does breathe where He will, cannot the Son do what He will? Why, it is the very same Son of God Who in His Gospel says that the Spirit has power to breathe where He will. Does the Son, therefore, confess the Spirit to be greater, in that He has power to do what is not permitted to Himself?

48. Apostolus quoque dicit quia omnia operatur unus atque idem Spiritus, dividens singulis prout vult (I Cor. XII, 11). Prout vult, inquit, hoc est, pro liberae voluntatis arbitrio, non pro necessitatis obsequio. Et dividit Spiritus non mediocria; sed quae Deus consuevit operari, gratiam curationum, et operationem virtutum. Ergo dividit Spiritus prout vult, Filius Dei non liberat, quem vult? Sed audi etiam ipsum agere quod vult. Dixit enim: Ut faciam voluntatem tuam, Deus meus, volui (Psal. XXXIX, 9). Et alibi: Voluntarie sacrificabo tibi (Psal. LIII, 8).

48. The Apostle also says that all is the work of one and the same Spirit, distributing to each according to His will. 1 Corinthians 12:11 According to His will, mark you — that is, according to the judgment of a free will, not in obedience to compulsion. Furthermore, the gifts distributed by the Spirit are no mean gifts, but such works as God is wont to do — the gift of healing and of working deeds of power. While the Spirit, then, distributes as He will, the Son of God cannot set free whom He will. But hear Him speak when He does even as He will: I have willed to do Your will, O my God; and again: I will offer You a freewill offering.

49. Scivit sanctus apostolus Petrus Jesum in potestate habere quae vellet; et ideo cum videret ambulare eum supra mare, ait: Domine, si tu es, jube me venire ad te super aquas (Matth. XIV, 28). Petrus credidit quia si Christus jubeat, naturae possit conditio mutari; ut humanis se subjiciat unda vestigiis, et discrepantium naturarum possit convenire concordia. Petrus poscit ut

jubeat, non ut roget Christus: Christus non rogavit, sed jussit, et factum est: et Arius contradicit?

49. The holy Apostle later knew that Jesus had it in His power to do as He would, and therefore, seeing Him walk upon the sea, said: Lord, if it be You, bid me come to You over the waters. Matthew 14:28 Peter believed that if Christ commanded, the natural conditions could be changed, so that water might support human footsteps, and things discrepant be reduced to harmony and agreement. Peter asks of Christ to command, not to request: Christ requested not, but commanded, and it was done — and Arius denies it!

50. Quid est tamen quod Patre velit, Filius nolit: aut Filius velit et Patre nolit? Pater quos vult, vivificat; et Filius quos vult, vivificat, sicut scriptum est (Joan. V, 21). Dic nunc quos vivificaverit Filius, et Pater vivificare noluerit. Cum autem Filius quos velit vivificet, et operatio una sit; vides quia non solum Filius voluntatem Patris, sed etiam Pater Filii faciat voluntatem? Quid est autem vivificare, nisi per Filii passionem? Passio autem Christi voluntas est Patris. Quos ergo Filius vivificat, per Patris vivificat voluntatem. Una igitur est voluntas.

50. What indeed is there that the Father will have, but the Son will not, or that the Son will have, but the Father will not? The Father quickens whom He will, and the Son quickens whom He will, even as it is written. John 5:21 Tell me now whom the Son has quickened, and the Father would not quicken. Since, however, the Son quickens whom He will, and the action [of Father and Son] is one, you see that not only does the Son the Father’s will, but the Father also does the Son’s. For what is quickening but quickening through the passion of Christ? But the passion of Christ is the Father’s will. Whom, therefore, the Son quickens, He quickens by the will of the Father; therefore their will is one.

51. Quae autem voluntas Patris, nisi ut veniret Jesus in hunc mundum, et nos mundaret a vitiis? 480 Audi leprosum dicentem: Si vis, potes me mundare (Matth. VIII, 2). Respondit Christus, Volo; et statim secutus est effectus sanitatis. Vides quia Filius suae arbiter voluntatis est, et Christi voluntas eadem quae paterna est? Quamquam cum dixerit: Omnia quae Pater habet, mea sunt (Joan. XVI, 15): sine dubio quia nihil excipitur, quam Pater habet, eamdem habet et Filius voluntatem.

51. Again, what was the will of the Father, but that Jesus should come into the world and cleanse us from our sins? Hear the words of the leper: If You will, You can make me clean. Matthew 8:2 Christ answered, I will, and straightway health, the effect, followed. See you not that the Son is master of His own will, and Christ's will is the same as the Father's. Indeed, seeing that He has said, All things that the Father has are Mine, John 16:15 nothing of a certainty being excepted, the Son has the same will that the Father has.

CAPUT VII.

REDIT AD PROPOSITAE difficultatis solutionem, et voluntatem affectusque humanos a Christo vere susceptos esse, ac proinde quidquid in ipso non congruit divinitati, ex eisdem oriri docet, atque ad id quod simul Deus et homo erat, referri.

CHAPTER 7.

The resolution of the difficulty set forth for consideration is again taken in hand. Christ truly and really took upon Him a human will and affections, the source of whatsoever was not in agreement with His Godhead, and which must be therefore referred to the fact that He was at the same time both God and man.

52. Una ergo voluntas, ubi una operatio; in Deo enim voluntatis series operationis effectus est. Sed alia voluntas hominis, alia Dei. Denique ut scias vitam in voluntate esse hominis; quia mortem timemus: passionem autem Christi in voluntate divina; ut pateretur pro nobis: cum Petrus eum vellet a passione revocare, Dominus ait: Non sapis quae Dei sunt, sed quae sunt hominum (Matth. XVI, 23).

52. There is, therefore, unity of will where there is unity of working; for in God His will issues straightway in actual effect. But the will of God is one, and the human will another. Further, to show that life is the object of human will, because we fear death, while the passion of Christ depended on the Divine Will, that He should suffer for us, the Lord said, when Peter would have detained Him from suffering: You savour not of the things which be of God, but the things which be of men. Matthew 16:23

53. Suscepit ergo voluntatem meam, suscepit tristitiam meam. Confidenter tristitiam nomino, quia crucem praedico. Mea est voluntas, quam suam dixit; quia ut homo suscepit tristitiam meam, ut homo locutus est; et ideo ait: Non sicut ego volo, sed sicut tu vis (Matth. XXVI, 39). Mea est tristitia, quam meo suscepit affectu: nemo enim moriturus exsultat. Mihi compatitur, mihi tristis est, mihi dolet. Ergo pro me et in me doluit, qui pro se nihil habuit quod doleret.

53. My will, therefore, He took to Himself, my grief. In confidence I call it grief, because I preach His Cross. Mine is the will which He called His own, for as man He bore my grief, as man He spoke, and therefore said, Not as I will, but as You will. Mine was the grief, and mine the heaviness with which He bore it, for no man exults when at the point to die. With me and for me He suffers, for me He is sad, for me He is heavy. In my stead, therefore, and in me He grieved Who had no cause to grieve for Himself.

54. Doles igitur, Domine Jesu, non tua, sed mea vulnera: non tuam mortem, sed nostram infirmitatem, sicut ait propheta: Quia pro nobis dolet (Esai. LIII, 4): et nos, Domine, aestimavimus te esse in doloribus; cum tu non pro te, sed pro me doleres.

54. Not Your wounds, but mine, hurt You, Lord Jesus; not Your death, but our weakness, even as the Prophet says: For He is afflicted for our sakes Isaiah 53:4 — and we, Lord, esteemed You afflicted, when You grieved not for Yourself, but for me.

55. Et quid mirum si pro omnibus doluit, qui pro uno flevit? Quid mirum, si moriturus pro omnibus taedeat, qui Lazarum resuscitaturus illacrymat? Verum et ibi piae sororis lacrymis commovetur, quia mente humana tangebatur: et hic alto operatur affectu; ut sicut mors ejus mortem abstulit,

livor ejus ulcera nostra sanavit: ita etiam moerorem nostrum moeror ejus aboleret.

55. And what wonder if He grieved for all, Who wept for one? What wonder if, in the hour of death, He is heavy for all, Who wept when at the point to raise Lazarus from the dead? *Then*, indeed, He was moved by a loving sister's tears, for they touched His human heart — here by secret grief He brought it to pass that, even as His death made an end of death, and His stripes healed our scars, so also His sorrow took away our sorrow.

56. Ut homo ergo dubitat, ut homo turbatur. Non turbatur ejus virtus, non turbatur ejus divinitas: sed turbatur anima: turbatur secundum humanae fragilitatis assumptionem. Et ideo quia suscepit animam, suscepit et animae passiones; non enim Deus eo quod Deus erat, aut turbari aut mori potuisset. Denique, Deus, Deus, inquit, meus, quare me dereliquisti (Psal. XXI, 1)? Ut homo 481 ergo loquitur, meos circumferens metus; quod in periculis positi, a Domino deseri nos putamus. Ut homo turbatur, ut homo flet, ut homo crucifigitur.

56. As being man, therefore, He doubts; as man He is amazed. Neither His power nor His Godhead is amazed, but His soul; He is amazed by consequence of having taken human infirmity upon Him. Seeing, then, that He took upon Himself a soul He also took the affections of a soul, for God could not have been distressed or have died in respect of His being God. Finally, He cried: My God, My God, why have You forsaken Me? As being man, therefore, He speaks, bearing with Him my terrors, for when we are in the midst of dangers we think ourself abandoned by God. As man, therefore, He is distressed, as man He weeps, as man He is crucified.

57. Sic enim et apostolus Paulus dixit: Quia Christi carnem crucifixerunt (Galat. V, 24). Et alibi apostolus Petrus ait: Christo passo secundum carnem

(I Pet. IV, 1). Caro igitur est passa, divinitas autem mortis libera: passioni corpus naturae humanae lege concessit; an vero mori divinitas potest, cum anima non possit? Nolite, inquit, timere eos qui corpus possunt occidere, animam autem non possunt (Matth. X, 28). Si ergo anima occidi non potest, quomodo divinitas potest?

57. For so has the Apostle Paul likewise said: Because they have crucified the flesh of Christ. And again the Apostle Peter says: Christ having suffered according to the flesh. 1 Peter 4:1 It was the flesh, therefore, that suffered; the Godhead above secure from death; to suffering His body yielded, after the law of human nature; can the Godhead die, then, if the soul cannot? Fear not them, said our Lord, which can kill the body, but cannot kill the soul. Matthew 10:28 If the soul, then, cannot be killed, how can the Godhead?

58. [Alias cap. IV]. Unde illud quod lectum est, Dominum majestatis crucifixum esse, non quasi in majestate sua crucifixum putemus (I Cor. II, 8): sed quia idem Deus, idem homo, per divinitatem Deus, per susceptionem carnis homo Jesus Christus, Dominus majestatis dicitur crucifixus, quia consors utriusque naturae, id est, humanae atque divinae, in natura hominis subiit passionem; ut indiscrete et Dominus majestatis dicatur esse qui passus est, et Filius hominis, sicut scriptum est, qui descendit de coelo (Joan. III, 13).

58. When we read, then, that the Lord of glory was crucified, let us not suppose that He was crucified as in His glory. 1 Corinthians 2:8 It is because He Who is God is also man, God by virtue of His Divinity, and by taking upon Him of the flesh, the man Christ Jesus, that the Lord of glory is said to have been crucified; for, possessing both natures, that is, the human and the divine, He endured the Passion in His humanity, in order that without distinction He Who suffered should be called both Lord of glory

and Son of man, even as it is written: Who descended from heaven. John 3:13

CAPUT VIII.

EX PRINCIPIO PROXIME ante constituto illud solvitur, quod Christus dixit: Pater major me est. Quae verba et alia ejusdem rationis ubi secundum humanitatem intelligenda esse ostensum est, eumdem Dominum secundum naturam divinam dici non posse Patri inferiorem multis confirmatur.

CHAPTER 8.

Christ's saying, The Father is greater than I, is explained in accordance with the principle just established. Other like sayings are expounded in like fashion. Our Lord cannot, as touching His Godhead, be called inferior to the Father.

59. Per naturam igitur hominis et dubitavit, et taeduit et resurrexit; quod enim cecidit, hoc resurgit. Per naturam hominis dicit etiam illud, de quo calumniari solent; quia dictum est: Quoniam Pater major me est (Joan. XIV, 28).

59. It was due to His humanity, therefore, that our Lord doubted and was sore distressed, and rose from the dead, for that which fell does also rise again. Again, it was by reason of His humanity that He said those words, which our adversaries use to maliciously turn against Him: Because the Father is greater than I. John 14:28

60. Verum quia alibi dicitur: Exivi a Patre, et veni in mundum: iterum relinquo mundum, et vado ad Patrem (Joan. XVI, 28): quomodo vadit, nisi per mortem: et venit, nisi per resurrectionem? Denique addidit, ut de assumptione se dixisse signaret: Propterea dixi vobis priusquam fiat; ut cum

factum fuerit, credatis (Joan. XIV, 29). Loquebatur enim passionem sui corporis, et resurrectionem per quam credere coeperant, qui ante dubitabant; neque enim Deus de loco ad locum transit, qui ubique semper est. Ut homo est qui vadit, ipse est qui venit. Denique et alibi dicit: Surgit, eamus hinc (Ibid., 31). In eo ergo vadit et venit, quod est commune nobiscum.

60. But when in another passage we read: I came out from the Father, and have come into the world; again, I leave the world, and go to the Father, John 16:28 how does He go, except through death, and how comes He, save by rising again? Furthermore, He added, in order to show that He spoke concerning His Ascension: Therefore have I told you before it come to pass, in order that, when it shall have come to pass, you may believe. John 14:20 For He was speaking of the sufferings and resurrection of His body, and by that resurrection they who before doubted were led to believe — for, indeed, God, Who is always present in every place, passes not from place to place. As it is a man who goes, so it is He Himself Who comes. Furthermore, He says in another place: Rise, let us go hence. John 14:31 In that, therefore, does He go and come, which is common to Him and to us.

61. Nam quomodo potest minor esse Deus, cum Deus perfectus et plenus sit? Sed minor 482 in natura hominis et miraris si ex persona hominis Patrem dixit majorem, qui in persona hominis se vermem dixit esse, non hominem; dixit enim: Ego autem sum vermis et non homo (Psal. XXI, 7); et alibi: Sicut ovis ad occisionem ductus est (Esai. LIII, 7).

61. How, indeed, can He be a lesser God when He is perfect and true God? Yet in respect of His humanity He is less — and still you wonder that speaking in the person of a man He called the Father greater than Himself, when in the person of a man He called Himself a worm, and not a man, saying: But I am a worm, and no man; and again: He was led as a sheep to the slaughter. Isaiah 53:7

62. Si in hoc minorem dicis, negare non possum: sed, ut verbo utar Scripturae, non minor natus, sed minoratus (Hebr. II, 9), hoc est, minor factus est. Quomodo autem minor factus, nisi quia: Cum in forma Dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo, sed semetipsum exinanivit (Phil. II, 6, 7): non remittens utique quod erat, sed assumens quod non erat; quia formam servi accepit.

62. If you pronounce Him less than the Father in this respect, I cannot deny it; nevertheless, to speak in the words of Scripture, He was not begotten inferior, but made lower, Hebrews 2:9 that is, *made* inferior. And how was He made lower, except that, being in the form of God, He thought it not a prey that He should be equal with God, but emptied Himself; Philippians 2:6-7 not, indeed, parting with what He was, but taking up what He was not, for He took the form of a servant. Philippians 2:6-7

63. Denique ut sciremus per susceptionem corporis minoratum, de homine se David prophetare signavit dicens: Quid est homo, quod memor es ejus: aut Filius hominis, nisi quia visitas eum? Minorasti eum paulo minus ab angelis (Psal. VIII, 5, 6). Et hoc ipsum interpretatus Apostolus, ait: Nam paulo quam angelos minoratum videmus Jesum, propter passionem mortis gloria et honore coronatum; ut sine Deo pro omnibus gustaret mortem (Hebr. II, 9).

63. Moreover, to the end that we might know Him to have been made lower, by taking upon Him a body, David has shown that he is prophesying of a man, saying: What is man, that You are mindful of him, or the son of man, but that You visit him? You have made him a little lower than the angels. And in interpreting this same passage the Apostle says: For we see Jesus, made a little lower than the angels, crowned with glory and honour because that He suffered death, in order that apart from God He might taste death for all. Hebrews 2:9

64. Non solum ergo Patre, sed etiam angelis minor Filius Dei factus est. Et si hoc ad praejudicium trabis; num ergo Filius in natura Dei minor est, quam sui angeli qui ei serviunt et ministrant (Matth. IV, 6)? Ita dum minorem vultis asserere, impietatem incurritis; ut angelorum naturam Dei Filio praeferatis. Sed non est servus supra Dominum suum (Matth. X, 24). Denique et in carne constituto angeli ministrabant; ut nihil eum agnoscas per naturam corporis imminutum; neque enim Deus sui pati potuit detrimentum, cum id quod assumpsit ex Virgine, nec accessio divinae nec diminutio potestatis sit.

64. Thus, the Son of God was made lower than, not only the Father, but angels also. And if you will turn this to His dishonour; [I ask] is then the Son, in respect of His Godhead, less than His angels who serve Him and minister to Him? Thus, in your purpose to diminish His honour, you run into the blasphemy of exalting the nature of angels above the Son of God. But the servant is not above his master. Matthew 10:24 Again, angels ministered to Him even after His Incarnation, to the end that you should acknowledge Him to have suffered no loss of majesty by reason of His bodily nature, for God could not submit to any loss of Himself, while that which He has taken of the Virgin neither adds to nor takes away from His divine power.

65. Non est ergo secundum divinitatem minor, qui plenitudinem habet divinitatis et gloriae. Major enim et minor in iis quae corporalia sunt, distingui solent: aut statu major, aut plenitudine, aut certe aetate. Vacant ista, ubi de divinis tractatus inducitur. Major enim vulgo dici solet, qui aliquem instituit et informat: in Dei autem sapientiam non cadit, ut instituta sit alterius disciplinis; cum ipsa disciplinarum omnium tradiderit institutum. Quam bene autem posuit Apostolus: Ut sine Deo pro omnibus gustaret

mortem (Hebr. II, 9); ne divinitatis illam passionem putaremus fuisse, non carnis!

65. He, therefore, possessing the fullness of Divinity and glory, Colossians 2:9 is not, in respect of His Divinity, inferior. Greater and less are distinctions proper to corporeal existences; one who is greater is so in respect of rank, or qualities, or at any rate of age. These terms lose their meaning when we come to treat of the things of God. He is commonly entitled the greater who instructs and informs another, but it is not the case with God's Wisdom that it has been built up by teaching received from another, forasmuch as Itself has laid the foundation of all teaching. But how wisely wrote the Apostle: In order that apart from God He might taste death for all, — lest we should suppose the Godhead, not the flesh, to have endured that Passion!

66. Ergo si non invenerunt quemadmodum possent probare majorem, non verbis calumnientur, sed verborum rationem requirant. Ergo illos interrogo quo putent esse majorem? Si quia Pater est, eo majorem putant: sed non hic aetas et tempus, neque canities Patris, et 483 filii pueritia est; haec enim majorem solent facere patrem. Caeterum pater et filius generantis et nati nomina sunt, quae non videntur separare, sed jungere; non enim pietas naturae detrimentum est: namque homines sibi invicem conciliat necessitudo, non separat.

66. If our opponents, then, have found no means to prove [the Father] greater [than the Son], let them not pervert words unto false reports, but seek out their meaning. I ask them, therefore, as touching what do they esteem the Father the greater? If it is because He is the Father, then [I answer] here we have no question of age or of time — the Father is not distinguished by white hairs, nor the Son by youthfulness — and it is on these conditions that the greater dignity of a father depends. But father and

son are names, the one of the parent, the other of the child — names which seem to join rather than separate; for dutifulness inspires no loss of personal worth, inasmuch as kinship binds men together, and does not rend them asunder.

67. Itaque si nec de natura afferre possunt aliquam quaestionem, vel testimoniis credant. Denique Filium non esse eo minorem, quia Filius est, evangelista testatur; et aequalem esse, quia Filius est, ipse significat dicens: Propterea enim volebant eum occidere Judaei, quia non solum solvebat sabbatum, sed et Patrem proprium dicebat Deum, aequalem se faciens Deo (Joan. V, 18).

67. If, then, they cannot make the order of nature a support for any questioning, let them now believe the witness [of Scripture]. Now the Evangelist testifies that the Son is not lower [than the Father] by reason of being the Son; nay, he even declares that, in being the Son, He is equal, saying, For the Jews sought to kill Him for this cause, that not only did He break the Sabbath, but even called God His own Father, making Himself equal to God. John 5:10

68. Non Judaei hoc dicunt, sed Evangelista testatur, quod aequalem se faciebat Deo, proprium se Filium Dei dicens. Non enim scriptum est ex persona Judaeorum dicentium: Propterea volebamus eum occidere: sed evangelista ex sua persona dicit: Propterea enim volebant illum Judaei occidere. Et interpretatus est causam, ideo Judaeos ad necem ejus esse commotos, quod cum et sabbatum quasi Deus solveret, et Deum Patrem sibi proprium vindicaret, non solum in solutione sabbati majestatem divinae potestatis, sed etiam in Patris proprii nomine jus sibi aeternae aequalitatis adscisceret.

68. This is not what the Jews said — it is the Evangelist who testifies that, in calling Himself God's own Son, He made Himself equal to God, for the Jews are not presented as saying, For this cause we sought to kill Him; the Evangelist, speaking for himself, says, For the Jews sought to kill Him for this cause. Moreover, he has discovered the cause, [in saying] that the Jews were stirred with desire to slay Him because, when as God He broke the Sabbath, and also claimed God as His own Father, He ascribed to Himself not only the majesty of divine authority in breaking the Sabbath, but also, in speaking of His Father, the right appertaining to eternal equality.

69. Quibus aptissime respondit Dei Filius, ut et Dei se Filium, et aequalem probaret: Quaecumque, inquit, Pater fecerit, eadem et Filius facit similiter (Ibid., 19). Filius igitur Patri et dicitur et probatur aequalis. Bona aequalitas, quae et differentiam divinitatis excludit, et cum Filio Patrem signat, cui Filius sit aequalis; non est enim diversa, nec singularis aequalitas; quia nemo aequalis ipse sibi solus est. Ergo Evangelista interpretatus est quid sit proprium Filium Dei se dicere, hoc est, aequalem se facere Deo.

69. Most fitting was the answer which the Son of God made to these Jews, proving Himself the Son and equal of God. Whatsoever things, He said, the Father has done, the Son does also in like wise. John 5:19 The Son, therefore, is both entitled and proved the equal of the Father — a true equality, which both excludes difference of Godhead, and discovers, together with the Son, the Father also, to Whom the Son is equal; for there is no equality where there is difference, nor again where there is but one person, inasmuch as none is by himself equal to himself. Thus has the Evangelist shown why it is fitting that Christ should call Himself the Son of God, that is, make Himself equal with God.

70. Unde id secutus Apostolus dixit: Non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo (Phil. II, 6). Quod enim quis non habet, rapere conatur. Ergo

non quasi rapinam habebat aequalitatem cum Patre quam in substantia sui tamquam Deus et Dominus possidebat. Unde addidit: Formam servi accepit (Ibid. 7). Contrarium utique servus, et aequalis. Aequalis ergo in Dei forma; minor in susceptione carnis, et hominis passione. Nam quomodo eadem posset minor esse aequalisque natura? Quomodo autem, si minor est, eadem similiter facit, quae Pater facit? Nam quemadmodum eadem operatio diversae esset potestatis? Numquid sic potest minor, quemadmodum major operari? aut una operatio potest esse, ubi diversa substantia est?

70. Hence the Apostle, following this revelation, has said: He thought it not a prey that He should be equal with God. For that which a man has not he seeks to carry off as a prey. Equality with the Father, therefore, which, as God and Lord, He possessed in His own substance, He had not as a spoil wrongfully seized. Wherefore the Apostle added [the words]: He took the form of a servant. Now surely a servant is the opposite of an equal. Equal, therefore, is the Son, in the form of God, but inferior in taking upon Him of the flesh and in His sufferings as a man. For how could *the same* nature be both lower and equal? And how, if [the Son] be inferior, can He do the same things, in like manner, as the Father does? How, indeed, can there be sameness of operation with diversity of power? Can the inferior ever work such effects as the greater, or can there be unity of operation where there is diversity of substance?

71. Itaque accipe Christum secundum divinitatem minorem non posse dici. Ipse loquitur ad Abraham: Per me ipsum juravi (Gen. XXII, 16). Ostendit autem Apostolus eum qui per se jurat, minorem 484 esse non posse. Itaque sic ait: Abrahae cum repromisisset Deus, quoniam nullum alium majorem habebat, juravit per seipsum, dicens: Nisi benedicendo benedixero te, et multiplicando multiplicavero te (Hebr. VI, 13, 14). Ergo majorem non habuit Christus, et ideo per se juravit. Et bene addidit: Homines enim per

majorem se jurant; quia homines majorem habent, Deus non habet (Ibid., 16).

71. Admit, therefore, that Christ, as touching His Godhead, cannot be called inferior [to the Father]. Christ speaks to Abraham: By Myself have I sworn. Genesis 22:16 Now the Apostle shows that He Who swears by Himself cannot be lower than any. Thus he says, When God rewarded Abraham with His promise, He swore by Himself, forasmuch as He had none other that was greater, saying, Surely with blessing will I bless you, and with multiplying will I multiply you. Hebrews 6:13-14 Christ had, therefore, none greater, and for that cause swore He by Himself. Moreover, the Apostle has rightly added, for men swear by one greater than themselves, forasmuch as men have one who is greater than themselves, but God has none.

72. Aut si volunt de Patre dictum videri, reliqua non cohaerent; neque enim Pater visus est Abrahae, nec Deo Patri pedes lavit, sed ei in quo futuri hominis est figura. Denique Filius Dei dicit: Abraham diem meum vidit, et gravisus est (Joan. VIII, 56). Ipse est ergo qui per se juravit, quem Abraham vidit.

72. Otherwise, if our adversaries will understand this passage as referred to the Father, then the rest of the record does not agree with it. For the Father did not appear to Abraham, nor did Abraham wash the feet of God the Father, but the feet of Him in Whom is the image of the man that shall be. Moreover, the Son of God says, Abraham saw My day, and rejoiced. John 8:56 It is He, therefore, Who swore by Himself, [and] Whom Abraham saw.

73. Et revera quomodo majorem habet, qui divinitate cum Patre unum est (Joan. X, 30)? Quod enim unum est, dissimile non est: inter majorem autem minoremque discretio est. Ergo de Filio, et Patre praesentis docet lectionis

exemplum, quia nec Pater minorem habet, nec majorem Dei Filius; cum in Patre et Filio nulla distantia divinitatis sit, sed una majestas.

73. And how, indeed, has He any greater than Himself Who is one with the Father in Godhead? John 10:30 Where there is unity, there is no dissimilarity, whereas between greater and less there is a distinction. The teaching, therefore, of the instance from Scripture before us, with regard to the Father and the Son, is that neither is the Father greater, nor has the Son any that is above Him, inasmuch as in Father and Son there is no difference of Godhead parting them, but one majesty.

CAPUT IX.

OBJICIENTIBUS FILIUM CUM a Patre sit missus, eo utique minorem esse; respondetur illum etiam a Spiritu missum, quo tamen minor non habeatur. Additur etiam Spiritum mitti a Patre et Filio, ut utriusque operationum unitas designetur: Hinc admonemur sedulo distinguendum quae locutiones Christo ut Deo, quaeve eidem ut homini conveniant: quarum exempla non pauca subjiciuntur exponunturque.

CHAPTER 9.

The objection that the Son, being sent by the Father, is, in that regard at least, inferior, is met by the answer that He was also sent by the Spirit, Who is yet not considered greater than the Son. Furthermore, the Spirit, in His turn, is sent by the Father to the Son, in order that Their unity in action might be shown forth. It is our duty, therefore, carefully to distinguish what utterances are to be fitly ascribed to Christ as God, and what to be ascribed to Him as man.

74. Nec illud sane metuo, quod solent obtendere minorem esse, quia missus est. Si enim et minor non docetur, et honorificentiae docetur aequalitas; cum ita omnes honorificent Filium, sicut honorificant Patrem (Joan. V, 23), constat eo minorem non esse, quod missus est.

74. I have no fears in the matter of that commonly advanced objection, that Christ is inferior because He was sent. For even if He be inferior, yet this is not so proved; on the other hand, His equal title to honour is in truth proved. Since all honour the Son as they honour the Father, John 5:23 it is certain that the Son is not, in so far as being sent, inferior.

75. Non ergo humani sermonis angustias, sed verborum claritatem intuere, operibus crede. Considera quia Dominus noster Jesus Christus in Esaia locutus est ab Spiritu sancto esse se missum (Esa. LXI, 1). Numquid ergo Spiritu minor Filius, quia missus ab Spiritu est? Habes igitur scriptum quod Filius a Patre et Spiritu ejus dicat esse se missum: Ego sum, inquit, primus, et ego in aeternum, et manus mea fundavit terram, dextera mea solidavit coelum (Esai. XLVIII, 12, 13); et infra: Ego locutus sum, et ego vocavi; adduxi eum, et prosperum iter ejus feci. Accedite ad me, et audite haec: non in occulto ab initio locutus sum. Cum fierent, illic eram: et nunc Dominus misit me, et Spiritus ejus (Ibid., 15, 16). Utique qui coelum fecit et terram, ipse dicit a Domino et a Spiritu ejus esse se missum. Videtis ergo quod simplicitas sermonis, non injuria 485 missionis sit. Ipse igitur missus a Patre, ipse est missus ab Spiritu.

75. Regard not, therefore, the narrow bounds of human language, but the plain meaning of the words, and believe facts accomplished. Bethink you that our Lord Jesus Christ said in Isaiah that He had been sent by the Spirit. Is the Son, therefore, less than the Spirit because He was sent by the Spirit? Thus you have the record, that the Son declares Himself sent by the Father and His Spirit. I am the beginning, He says, Isaiah 48:12 and I live for ever, and My hand has laid the foundations of the earth, My right hand has made the heaven to stand abidingly; and further on: I have spoken, and I have called; I have brought him, and have made his way to prosper. Draw near to Me, and hear these things: not in secret have I spoken from the beginning. When they were made, I was there: and now has the Lord and His Spirit sent Me. Isaiah 48:15-16 Here, indeed, He Who made the heaven and the earth Himself says that He is sent by the Lord and His Spirit. You see, then, that the poverty of language takes not from the honour of His mission. He, then, is sent by the Father; by the Spirit also is He sent.

76. Et ut cognoscas nullam majestatis esse distantiam, etiam Filius Spiritum mittit, sicut ipse dixit: Cum venerit autem Paraclitus, quem ego mittam vobis a Patre meo, Spiritus veritatis, qui a Patre meo procedit (Joan. XV, 26). Hunc eumdem Paraclitum et a Patre esse mittendum supra docuit dicens: Paraclitus autem ille Spiritus sanctus, quem mittet Pater in nomine meo (Joan. XIV, 26). Vide unitatem, quia quem Deus Pater mittit, mittit et Filius: et quem mittit Pater, mittit et Spiritus. Aut si nolunt Filium missum, quia dexteram Patris Filium legimus; ipsi de Patre quod de Filio abnuunt, fatebuntur: nisi forte aut alterum sibi Patrem, aut alterum sibi Filium inveniant Ariani.

76. And that you may gather that there is no separating difference of majesty, the Son in turn sends the Spirit, even as He Himself has said: But when the Comforter has come, whom I will send you from My Father — the Spirit of truth, who comes forth from My Father. John 15:26 That this same Comforter is also to be sent by the Father He has already taught, saying, But the Comforter, that Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in My name. John 14:26 Behold their unity, inasmuch as whom God the Father sends, the Son sends also, and Whom the Father sends, the Spirit sends also. Else, if the Arians will not admit that the Son was sent, because we read that the Son is the right hand of the Father, then they themselves will confess with respect to the Father, what they deny concerning the Son, unless perchance they discover for themselves either another Father or another Son.

77. Sileant igitur inanes de sermonibus quaestiones; quia regnum Dei, sicut scriptum est (I Cor. II, 4), non in persuasione verbi est, sed in ostensione virtutis. Servemus distinctionem divinitatis et carnis. Unus in utraque loquitur Dei Flius; quia in eodem utraque natura est: et si idem loquitur, non uno semper loquitur modo. Intende in eo nunc gloriam Dei, nunc hominis

passiones. Quasi Deus loquitur quae sunt divina, quia Verbum est: quasi homo dicit quae sunt humana, quia in mea substantia loquebatur.

77. A truce, then, to vain wranglings over words, for the kingdom of God, as it is written, consists not in persuasive words, but in power plainly shown forth. Let us take heed to the distinction of the Godhead from the flesh. In each there speaks one and the same Son of God, for each nature is present in Him; yet while it is the same Person Who speaks, He speaks not always in the same manner. Behold in Him, now the glory of God, now the affections of man. As God He speaks the things of God, because He is the Word; as man He speaks the things of man, because He speaks in my nature.

78. Hic est panis vivus, qui descendit de coelo (Joan. VI, 51). Panis hic caro est, sicut ipse dixit: Hic panis quem ego dabo, caro mea est (Ibid., 52). Hic est qui descendit de coelo, hic est quem Pater sanctificavit, et misit in hunc mundum. Nec ipsa littera nos docet sanctificatione divinitatem eguisse, sed carnem. Denique ipse Dominus dixit: Et ego memetipsum sanctifico pro ipsis (Joan. XVII, 19); ut agnoscas quod et sanctificatur in carne pro nobis, et divinitate sanctificat.

78. This is the living bread, which came down from heaven. John 6:51 This bread is His flesh, even as He Himself said: This bread which I will give is My flesh. John 7:52 This is He Who came down from heaven, this is He Whom the Father has sanctified and sent into this world. Even the letter itself teaches us that not the Godhead but the flesh needed sanctification, for the Lord Himself said, And I sanctify Myself for them, John 17:19 in order that you may acknowledge that He is both sanctified in the flesh for us, and sanctifies by virtue of His Divinity.

79. Hic idem est quem Pater misit, sed factum ex muliere, factum sub Lege, ut Apostolus dixit (Galat. IV, 4). Hic est, qui ait: Spiritus Domini super me, propter quod unxit me: evangelizare pauperibus misit me (Luc. IV, 18). Hic est qui dicit: Mea doctrina non est mea, sed ejus qui misit me. Si quis voluerit voluntatem ejus facere, cognoscet de doctrina, utrum ex Deo est, an ego a me ipso loquar (Joan. VII, 16, 17). Alia ergo ex Deo doctrina, alia ex homine. Itaque Judaei cum doctrinam ejus secundum hominem quaererent, et dicerent: Quomodo hic litteras novit, cum non didicerit (Joan. VII, 15)? respondit Jesus, et dixit: Mea doctrina, non est mea; nam cum sine 486 eruditione litterarum doceat, non quasi homo, sed potius ut Deus videtur docere, qui doctrinam non didicerit, sed invenerit.

79. This is the same One Whom the Father sent, but born of a woman, born under the law, Galatians 4:4 as the Apostle has said. This is He Who says: The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me; wherefore He has anointed Me, to bring good tidings to the poor has He sent Me: This is He Who says: My doctrine is not Mine, but His, Who sent Me. If any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of Myself. John 7:16 Doctrine that is of God, then, is one thing; doctrine that is of man, another; and so when the Jews, regarding Him as man, called in question His teaching, and said, How knows this man letters, having never learned? Jesus answered and said, My doctrine is not Mine, for, in teaching without elegance of letters, He seems to teach not as man, but rather as God, having not learned, but devised His doctrine.

80. Adinvenit enim omnem viam disciplinae, ut supra lectum est; nam utique de Filio Dei dictum est: Hic est Deus noster, et non aestimabitur alius ad eum qui adinvenit omnem viam disciplinae. Post haec in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est (Baruc. III, 36 et seq). Quomodo ergo secundum divinitatem doctrinam suam non habet, qui adinvenit omnem

viam disciplinae, antequam videretur in terris? Aut quomodo minor, de quo dictum est: Non aestimabitur alius ad eum? Utique incomparabilis dicitur, ad quam nemo alius aestimari potest: sed ita incomparabilis, ut Patri nequeat anteferri. Quod si de Patre dictum putant, impietatem Sabellii non evadent, ut Patri susceptionem humanae carnis attribuant.

80. For He has found and devised all the way of discipline, as we read above, inasmuch as of the Son of God it has been said: This is our God, and none other shall be accounted of in comparison with Him, Who has found all the way of discipline. After these things He was seen on earth, and conversed with men. How, then, could He, as divine, not have His own doctrine — He Who has found all the way of discipline before He was seen on earth? Or how is He inferior, of Whom it is said, None shall be accounted of in comparison with Him? Surely He is entitled incomparable, in comparison of Whom none other can be accounted of — yet so that He cannot be accounted of before the Father. Now if men suppose that the Father is spoken of, they shall not escape running into the blasphemy of Sabellius, of ascribing the assumption of human nature to the Father.

81. Persequamur sequentia: Qui a semetipso, inquit, loquitur, gloriam suam quaerit (Joan. VII, 18). Vide unitatem, quae et Patrem signat et Filium. Non potest non esse, qui loquitur: sed non potest a semetipso esse quod loquitur, in quo naturaliter ex Patre sunt omnia.

81. Let us proceed with what follows. He who speaks of himself, seeks his own glory. John 7:18 See the unity wherein Father and Son are plainly revealed. He who speaks cannot but be; yet that which He speaks cannot be solely from Him, for in Him all that is, is naturally derived from the Father.

82. Quid est autem: Gloriam suam quaerit? Hoc est, non divisam a Patre gloriam; nam utique et Verbum Deus habet gloriam. Denique dicit: Ut

videant gloriam meam (Joan. XVII, 24). Sed illa verbi gloria eadem Patris gloria est, sicut scriptum est: Dominus Jesus Christus in gloria est Dei Patris (Philip. II, 11). Ita igitur secundum divinitatem Dei Filius suam gloriam habet, ut Patris et Filii una sit gloria. Non est ergo minor in claritate, quia una gloria: non minor divinitate, quia plenitudo divinitatis in Christo est.

82. What now is the meaning of the words seeks his own glory? That is, not a glory in which the Father has no part — for indeed the Word of God is His glory. Again, our Lord says: that they may see My glory. John 17:24 But that glory of the Word is also the glory of the Father, even as it is written: The Lord Jesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father. In regard of His Godhead, therefore, the Son of God so has His own glory, that the glory of Father and Son is one: He is not, therefore, inferior in splendour, for the glory is one, nor lower in Godhead, for the fullness of the Godhead is in Christ.

83. Et quomodo, inquis, scriptum est: Pater, venit hora, clarifica Filium tuum (Joan. XVII, 1)? Qui hoc dicit, clarificatione, inquis, indiget. Hucusque oculos habes: quod reliquum est non legisti; sequitur enim: Ut Filius tuus clarificet te (Ibid.). Numquid et Pater indiget, qui clarificandus a Filio est?

83. How, then, you ask, is it written, Father, the hour has come; glorify Your Son? John 17:1 He Who says these words needs to be glorified, say you. Thus far you have eyes to see; the remainder of the Scripture you have not read, for it proceeds: that Your Son may glorify You. Hath ever the Father need of any, in that He is to be glorified by the Son?

CAPUT X.

OBJECTIONEM A FILII obedientia desumptam solvit, ostensoque Trinitatis unam potentiam, divinitatem atque operationem esse, addit Christum etiam matri, qua minor dici neutiquam potest, obedientiam exhibuisse.

CHAPTER 10.

The objection taken on the ground of the Son's obedience is disproved, and the unity of power, Godhead, and operation in the Trinity set forth, Christ's obedience to His mother, to whom He certainly cannot be called inferior, is noticed.

84. Pari modo obedientiam Filii objicere solent, quia scriptum est: Et specie inventus 487 ut homo, humiliavit semetipsum, factus obediens usque ad mortem (Phil. II, 7, 8). Et hominem praemisit, et usque ad mortem dixit; ut intelligeremus obedientiam mortis non divinitatis fuisse, sed incarnationis: in qua et officia nostra suscepit et nomina.

84. In like manner our adversaries commonly make a difficulty of the Son's obedience, forasmuch as it is written: And being found in appearance as a man, He humbled Himself, and became obedient even unto death. Philippians 2:7-8 The writer has not only told us that the Son was obedient even unto death, but also first shown that He was man, in order that we might understand that obedience unto death was the part not of His Godhead but of His Incarnation, whereby He took upon Himself both the functions and the names belonging to our nature.

85. Didicimus itaque unam esse potentiam Trinitatis, quam nos in ipsa atque post ipsam docuit passionem; Filius enim patitur per corporis sacramentum, apostolis Spiritus sanctus infunditur: in manus Patris commendatur spiritus, Deus quoque Pater maxima voce signatur. Didicimus unam Patris et Filii esse imaginem, unam similitudinem, unam sanctificationem. Didicimus unam esse operationem, unam gloriam, unam quoque divinitatem.

85. Thus we have learned that the power of the Trinity is one, as we are taught both in and after the Passion itself: for the Son suffers through His body, which is the earnest of it; the Holy Spirit is poured upon the apostles: into the Father's hands the spirit is commended; furthermore, God is with a mighty voice proclaimed the Father. We have learned that there is one form, one likeness, one sanctification, of the Father and of the Son, one activity, one glory, finally, one Godhead.

86. Unus ergo et solus Deus; quia scriptum est: Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et illi soli servies (Deut. VI, 13). Unus Deus, non ut ipse sit Pater et Filius, sicut impius Sabellius asserit: sed quia Patris et Filii, Spiritusque sancti una divinitas sit: ubi autem una divinitas, una voluntas, una praeceptio.

86. There is, therefore, but one only God, for it is written: You shall worship the Lord your God, and Him only shall you serve. Deuteronomy 6:13 One God, not in the sense that the Father and the Son are the same Person, as the ungodly Sabellius affirms — but forasmuch as there is one Godhead of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. But where there is one Godhead, there is one will, one purpose.

87. Denique ut scias et Patrem esse, et Filium esse, et unum opus Patris ac Filii esse, Apostolum sequere, qui dixit: Ipse autem Deus, et Pater noster, et

Dominus noster Jesus dirigat viam nostram ad vos (I Thess. III, 11). Et Patrem loquitur, et Filium loquitur: sed unitas directionis est; quia unitas potestatis est. Sic et alibi habes: Ipse autem Dominus noster Jesus Christus, et Deus, et Pater noster qui dilexit nos, et dedit consolationem aeternam, et spem bonam in gratia; consoletur corda vestra, et confirmet (II Thess. II, 16, 17). Quantam unitatem ostendit, ut consolationis unitas, non pluralitas sit! Conticescat ergo perfidia, aut si ratione non vincitur, morali humanitate flectatur.

87. Again, that you may know that the Father is, and the Son is, and that the work of the Father and of the Son is one, follow the saying of the Apostle: Now may God Himself, and our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ direct our way unto you. 1 Thessalonians 3:11 Both Father and Son are named, but there is unity of direction, because unity of power. So also in another place we read: Now may our Lord Himself, Jesus Christ, and God and our Father, Who has loved us, and given us eternal consolation, and good hope in grace, console and strengthen your hearts. 2 Thessalonians 2:15-16 How perfect a unity it is that the Apostle presents to us, insomuch that the fount of consolation is not many, but one. Let doubt be dumb, then, or, if it will not be overcome by reason, let the thought of our Lord’s gracious kindliness bend it.

88. Consideremus quam moraliter egerit Dominus; ut nos non solum fidem, sed etiam mores doceret. Namque in forma hominis constitutus, subditus erat Joseph et Mariae (Luc. II, 51). Numquid ergo minor et hominibus, quia subditus? Aliud pietatis, aliud potestatis est: sed non praejudicat pietas potestati. In quo ergo legis subditum Patri? In corpore scilicet, in quo erat subditus matri.

88. Let us call to mind how kindly our Lord has dealt with us, in that He taught us not only faith but manners also. For, having taken His place in the

form of man, He was subject to Joseph and Mary. Luke 2:51 Was He less than all mankind, then, because He was subject? The part of dutifulness is one, that of sovereignty is another, but dutifulness does not exclude sovereignty. Wherein, then, was He subject to the Father's law? In His body, surely, wherein He was subject to His mother.

CAPUT XI.

PROPONIT CUM ARIANIS humaniter agere Christi exemplo vulnera vino et oleo curantis: ad quod coeleste medicamentum omnes invitans, quo consilio is carnem induerit, et qua utilitate, tradit. Hinc aperit quantum prosit fidem habere, qua Christum propter nos omnem infirmitatem suscepisse cognoscimus, cujus divinitas in passione erumpebat. Ex quibus intelligere est Dei Filium sine subjectione ulla missum fuisse: nec metuendum ne fides haec displiceat Patri; quippe qui in filio sibi complacere significet.

CHAPTER 11.

The purpose and healing effects of the Incarnation. The profitableness of faith, whereby we know that Christ bore all infirmities for our sakes — Christ, Whose Godhead revealed Itself in His Passion; whence we understand that the mission of the Son of God entailed no subservience, which belief we need not fear lest it displease the Father, Who declares Himself to be well pleased in His Son.

89. Agamus et nos moraliter, persuadeamus illis quod sibi prosit, obsecremus et ploremus ante Dominum qui fecit nos (Psal. XCIV, 6). Non enim 488 vincere volumus, sed sanare: non insidiose agimus, sed religiose monemus. Saepe flectit humanitas, quos nec virtus potuerit superare, nec ratio. Denique Dominus illum hominem qui ex Hiericho descendens, incidit in latrones, quem non asperioribus Legis medicamentis, non prophetico rigore curaverat, oleo curavit et vino (Luc. X, 30 et seq.).

89. Let us likewise deal kindly, let us persuade our adversaries of that which is to their profit, let us worship and lament before the Lord our Maker. For we would not overthrow, but rather heal; we lay no ambush for them, but warn them as in duty bound. Kindliness often bends those whom neither force nor argument will avail to overcome. Again, our Lord cured with oil and wine the man who, going down from Jerusalem to Jericho, fell among thieves; having forborne to treat him with the harsh remedies of the Law or the sternness of Prophecy.

90. Veniant ergo ad hunc omnes qui sanari volunt; accipiant medicamentum, quod et a Patre detulit, et praeparavit in coelo, ex illis confectum immortalibus succis. Hoc ex terra non pullulat; expers enim est omnis natura hujus confectionis. Divino enim consilio suscepit hanc carnem, ut ostenderet legem carnis legi esse subditam mentis. Suscepit carnem, ut quasi homo vinceret, qui homines erudiret.

90. To Him, therefore, let all come who would be made whole. Let them receive the medicine which He has brought down from His Father and made in heaven, preparing it of the juices of those celestial fruits that wither not. This is of no earthly growth, for nature nowhere possesses this compound. Of wondrous purpose took He our flesh, to the end that He might show that the law of the flesh had been subjected to the law of the mind. He was incarnate, that He, the Teacher of men, might overcome as man.

91. Quid mihi prodesset, si quasi Deus exerta potestate divinitatem suam tantummodo inviolabilem demonstrasset? Aut cur susciperet carnem, nisi ut tentari se naturae atque infirmitatis meae conditione pateretur? Tentari debuit, compati mihi debuit; ut scirem quemadmodum tentatus vincerem, compassus evaderem. Vicit per continentiam, vicit per contemptum divitiarum, vicit per fidem: calcavit ambitionem, fugavit intemperantiam, lasciviam relegavit.

91. Of what profit would it have been to me, had He, as God, bared the arm of His power, and only displayed His Godhead inviolate? Why should He take human nature upon Him, but to suffer Himself to be tempted under the conditions of my nature and my weakness? It was right that He should be tempted, that He should suffer with me, to the end that I might know how to conquer when tempted, how to escape when hard pressed. He overcame by force of continence, of contempt of riches, of faith; He trampled upon ambition, fled from intemperance, bade wantonness be far from Him.

92. Hoc medicamentum Petrus vidit, et retia sua, instrumenta videlicet quaestus et subsidia dereliquit, renuntians carnis concupiscentiae tamquam corruptae navi, in quam quasi sentina quaedam multarum ingreditur passionum. Magnum ergo medicamentum, quod non solum cicatricem vetusti vulneris amputavit, sed etiam causam passionis incidit. O fides thesauris omnibus opulentior! o vulnerum nostrorum, peccatorumque medicina praestantior!

92. This medicine Peter beheld, and left His nets, that is to say, the instruments and security of gain, renouncing the lust of the flesh as a leaky ship, that receives the bilge, as it were, of multitudinous passions. Truly a mighty remedy, that not only removed the scar of an old wound, but even cut the root and source of passion. O Faith, richer than all treasure-houses; O excellent remedy, healing our wounds and sins!

93. Consideremus quia nobis prodest bene credere. Mihi enim prodest scire quia propter me Christus suscepit meas infirmitates, mei corporis subiit passiones (Esai. LIII, 4): pro me peccatum, hoc est, pro omni homine, pro me maledictum factus est, pro me atque in me subditus atque subjectus, pro me agnus, pro me vitis, pro me lapis, pro me servus, pro me filius ancillae, pro me diem judicii ignorans, pro nobis nesciens diem aut horam.

93. Let us bethink ourselves of the profitableness of right belief. It is profitable to me to know that for my sake Christ bore my infirmities, submitted to the affections of my body, that for me, that is to say, for every man, He was made sin, and a curse, that for me and in me was He humbled and made subject, that for me He is the Lamb, the Vine, the Rock, the Servant, the Son of an handmaid, knowing not the day of judgment, for my sake ignorant of the day and the hour.

94. Nam quomodo posset diem nescire, qui dies fecit et tempora? Quomodo posset diem ignorare judicii, qui et horam futuri judicii expressit et causam? Factus ergo maledictum non secundum divinitatem, sed secundum carnem; scriptum est enim: Maledictus omnis qui pendet in ligno (Deut. XXI, 23). Secundum carnem utique pependit; et ideo maledictum, qui nostra maledicta suscepit. Ille flevit, ne tu homo diu fleres: ille injurias passus est, ne tu injuriam tuam doleres.

94. For how could He, Who has made days and times, be ignorant of the day? How could He not know the day, Who has declared both the season of Judgment to come, and the cause? A curse, then, He was made not in respect of His Godhead, but of His flesh; for it is written: Cursed is every one that hangs on a tree. In and after the flesh, therefore, He hung, and for this cause He, Who bore our curses, became a curse. He wept that thou, man, might not weep long. He endured insult, that you might not grieve over the wrong done to you.

95. Grande remedium, solatium habere de Christo. Ille enim pro nobis haec patientius tulit, et sumus qui patienter haec pro illius nomine ferre nequeamus! Quis appetitus non discat ignoscere, quando et pro persecutoribus 489 suis Christus etiam crucifixus orabat? Videsne illas quas tu putas Christi infirmitates, tuas esse virtutes? Cur de remediis nostris ei quaestionem movemus? Lacrymae illae nos lavant, fletus illi nos abluunt, ac

dubitatio illa nos firmat; ne tu si coeperis dubitare, desperes. Quanto major est injuria, tanto uberior debetur gratia.

95. A glorious remedy — to have consolation of Christ! For He bore these things with surpassing patience for our sakes — and we forsooth cannot bear them with common patience for the glory of His Name! Who may not learn to forgive, when assailed, seeing that Christ, even on the Cross, prayed — yea, for them that persecuted Him? See you not that those weaknesses, as you please to call them, of Christ's are your *strength?* Why question Him in the matter of remedies for us? His tears wash us, His weeping cleanses us — and there is strength in *this* doubt, at least, that if you begin to doubt, you will despair. The greater the insult, the greater is the gratitude due.

96. Sed in ipsis injuriis cognosce divinitatem. In cruce pendebat, et elementa ei omnia serviebant. Sol refugit, dies occidit, offusae et circumfusae tenebrae, terra tremuit: non tremuit qui pependit (Matth. XXVII, 51). Quid aliud haec, quam Auctoris reverentiam signant? Quia in cruce est, vides: quia regnum Dei donat, non vides. Quia mortem gustavit, legis: quia latronem quoque ad paradisum invitavit (Luc. XXIII, 43), non legis. Mulieres flentes intueris ad tumulum, non intueris angelos excubantes (Joan. XX, 12). Quid dixerit legis, quid gesserit non legis. Dicis Chananaeae mulieri dixisse Dominum: Non sum missus nisi ad oves quae perierunt domus Israel (Matth. XV, 24): non dicis, quoniam id quod ab ea rogatus est, fecit.

96. Even in the very hour of mockery and insult, acknowledge His Godhead. He hung upon the Cross, and all the elements did Him homage. Matthew 27:51 The sun withdrew his rays, the daylight vanished, darkness came down and covered the land, the earth trembled; yet He Who hung there trembled not. What was it that these signs betokened, but reverence

for the Creator? That He hangs upon the Cross — this, thou Arian, you regard, that He gives the kingdom of God — this, you regard not. That He tasted of death, you read, but that He also invited the robber into paradise, Luke 23:43 to this you give no heed. You gaze at the women weeping by the tomb, but not upon the angels keeping watch by it. John 20:11-12 What He *said*, you read, what He *did*, thou dost not read. You say that the Lord said to the Canaanitish woman: I am not sent, but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, Matthew 15:24 thou dost not say that He did what He was besought by her to do.

97. Unde intelligere te convenit, quia missus non id significat, quod alieno sit coactus imperio, sed quod voluntario functus sit arbitratu: alioquin contemptum ostendis Patris. Si enim, ut tu interpretaris, paternorum famulus praeceptorum Christus venerat in Judaeam, ut solis ejus incolis mederetur, et Chananaeae prius filiam, ut legimus, liberavit; non utique alieni fuit exsecutor imperii, sed voluntarii liber arbitrii. Ubi autem libertas voluntatis, ibi nulla praevaricatio missionis.

97. You should hereby understand that His being sent means not that He was compelled, at the command of another, but that He acted, of free will, according to His own judgment, otherwise thou dost accuse Him of despising His Father. For if, according to your expounding, Christ had come into Jewry, as one executing the Father's commands, to relieve the inhabitants of Jewry, and none besides, and yet before that was accomplished, set free the Canaanitish woman's daughter from her complaint, surely He was not only the executor of another's instruction, but was free to exercise His own judgment. But where there is freedom to act as one will, there can be no transgressing the terms of one's mission.

98. Nec vereare ne displiceat Patri, quod fecit Filius; cum ipse dicat. Quaecumque placita sunt ei, facio semper (Joan. VIII, 29); et alibi: Opera

quae ego facio, ipse facit (Joan. XIV, 12). Quomodo ergo Patri potuit displicere, quod ipse fecit per Filium? Unus enim Deus, sicut scriptum est, qui justificavit circumcisionem ex fide, et praeputium per fidem (Rom. III, 30).

98. Fear not that the Son's act displeased the Father, seeing that the Son Himself says: Whatsoever things are His good pleasure, I do always, and The works that I do, He Himself does. How, then, could the Father be displeased with that which He Himself did through the Son? For it is One God, Who, as it is written, has justified circumcision in consequence of faith, and uncircumcision through faith. Romans 3:30

99. Omnia lege, omnia diligenter adverte; invenies sic demonstrasse se Christum, ut Deus in homine cerneretur: nec malitiose accipias de Patre Filium gloriantem, cum audias Patrem in Filio complacentem (Matth. XVII, 5).

99. Read all the Scriptures, mark all diligently, you will then find that Christ so manifested Himself that God might be discerned in man. Misunderstand not maliciously the Son's exultation in the Father, when you hear the Father declaring His pleasure in the Son.

CAPUT XII.

CHRISTUM IN PERSONA judicis consideratum Catholici an Ariani melius sibi concilient, inquiritur. Objectio propter judicis sessionem ac Patris voces exorta dissolvitur; demonstraturque nullam in Filio nec subjectionem significari, quod sedeat a Patre invitatus: nec praelationem, quod ad ejus dextram sedeat. Denique ex Angelico Trisagio personarum in Deo Trinitatem, ac simul unitatem naturae significari declaratur.

CHAPTER 12.

Do the Catholics or the Arians take the better course to assure themselves of the favour of Christ as their Judge? An objection grounded on Psalm 110:1 is disposed of, it being shown that when the Son is invited by the Father to sit at His right hand, no subjection is intended to be signified — nor yet any preferment, in that the Son sits at the Father's right hand. The truth of the Trinity of Persons in God, and of the Unity of their Nature, is shown to be proved by the angelic Trisagion.

100. Sed si moralibus flecti non queunt, provocemus ad judicem. Ad quem tandem ibimus? Nempe ad eum qui judicium habet. Numquid ad Patrem? Sed Pater non judicat quemquam; omne enim judicium dedit Filio (Joan. V, 22). Dedit utique generando, non largiendo. Vide quam te noluerit Filio suo derogare, ut tibi ipsum judicem daret. 490

100. Howbeit, if our adversaries cannot be turned by kindness, let us summon them before the Judge. To what Judge, then, shall we go? Surely to Him Who has the Judgment. To the Father, then? Nay, but the Father judges no man, for He has given all judgment to the Son. John 5:22 He has given,

that is to say, not as of largess, but in the act of generation. See, then, how unwilling He was that you should dishonour His Son — even so that He gave Him to be your Judge.

101. Videamus ergo ante judicium quis causam meliorem habeat; ego, an tu. Nempe prudentis actoris est prius conciliare sibi judicem. Hominem honoras, Deum non honoras? Quid ergo conciliat cognitorem, honorificentia, an injuria? Pone me peccasse, quod non est; num offenditur honore suo Christus? Peccamus omnes: quis ergo veniam promerebitur, qui defert honorificentiam, an qui irrogat contumeliam?

101. Let us see, then, before the judgment which has the better cause, thou or I? Surely it is the care of a prudent party to a suit to gain first the favourable regard of the judge. You honour man — do you not honour God? Which of the two, I ask, wins the favour of the magistrate — respect or contempt? Suppose that I am in error — as I certainly am not: is Christ displeased with the honour shown Him? We are all sinners — who, then, will deserve forgiveness, he who renders worship, or he who displays insolence?

102. Aut si te ratio non movet, species saltem judicii ipsa commoveat. Attolle oculos ad judicem tuos, intuere qui sedeat, cum quo sedeat, ubi sedeat. Sedet Christus ad dexteram Patris. Aut si oculis hoc non potes comprehendere, audi dicentem Prophetam: Dixit Dominus Domino meo, sede ad dexteram meam (Psal. CIX, 1). Sedet ergo ad dexteram Patris Filius. Dic nunc qui de saecularibus arbitraris aestimanda divina, num tibi videatur inferior qui ad dexteram sedet? num injuria Patris, quia ad sinistram sedet? Pater honorat, et tu injuriam putas? Pater mavult id esse pietatis exemplum, et tu putas praeceptionis imperium? De morte surrexit, et ad dexteram Dei sedet.

102. If reasoning move you not, at least let the plain aspect of the judgment move you! Raise your eyes to the Judge, see Who it is that is seated, with Whom He is seated, and where. Christ sits at the right hand of the Father. If with your eyes you can not perceive this, hear the words of the prophet: The Lord said to my Lord, Sit on My right hand. The Son, therefore, sits at the right hand of the Father. Tell me now, thou who holdest that the things of God are to be judged of from the things of this world — say whether you think Him Who sits at the right hand to be lower? Is it any dishonour to the Father that He sits at the Son's left hand? The Father honours the Son, and you make it to be insult! The Father would have this invitation to be a sign of love and esteem, and you would make it an overlord's command! Christ has risen from the dead, and sits at the right hand of God.

103. Sed dixit, inquis, Pater. Accipe etiam ubi non dicit Pater, et praedicit Filius: Amodo videbitis Filium hominis sedentem ad dexteram virtutis (Matth. XXVI, 64). Et hoc de assumptione corporis dicit; huic dicit: Sede ad dexteram meam (Psal. CIX, 1). Nam si de aeterna sede divinitatis inquiris, interrogatus a Pilato si ipse esset rex Judaeorum, ait: In hoc sum natus (Joan. XVIII, 37). Unde et Apostolus monet hoc esse nobis utile, si Christum non ex praecepto, neque ex gratia, sed quasi dilectissimum Filium ad dexteram Dei sedere credamus. Sic enim habes: Quae sursum sunt, quaerite, ubi Christus est ad dexteram Dei sedens: quae sursum sunt, sapite (Coloss. III, 1, 2). Hoc est enim superiora sapere, credere quia Christus ut sedeat, non quasi jussus obsequitur, sed quasi Filius dilectissimus honoratur. Propter rationem ergo corporis dicit: Sede ad dexteram meam, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum (Psal. CIX, 1, 2.)

103. But, you object, the Father *said.* Good, hear now a passage where the Father does not speak, and the Son prophesies: Hereafter you shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power. Matthew 26:64 This He said

with regard to taking back to Himself His body — to Him the Father said: Sit at My right hand. If indeed you ask of the eternal abode of the Godhead, He said — when Pilate asked Him whether He were the King of the Jews — For this I was born. And so indeed the Apostle shows that it is good for us to believe that Christ sits at the right hand of God, not by command, nor of any boon, but as God's most dearly beloved Son. For it is written for you: Seek the things that are above, where Christ is, sitting at the right hand of God; savour the things that are above. Colossians 3:2 This is to savour the things that be above — to believe that Christ, in His sitting, does not obey as one who receives a command, but is honoured as the well-beloved Son. It is with regard, then, to Christ's Body that the Father says: Sit at My right hand, until I make Your enemies Your footstool.

104. Quod si et hoc ad calumniam trahis, quia Pater dixit: Ponam inimicos tuos; etiam Pater trahit ad Filium, quos Filius suscitet atque vivificet: Nemo enim, inquit, potest venire ad me, nisi Pater qui misit me, attraxerit eum: et ego resuscitabo eum in novissimo die (Joan. VI, 44). Et tu Filium Dei pro infirmitate dicis esse subjectum, cui Pater attrahit, quos ille in novissimo die suscitet? Haeccine tibi videtur esse subjectio, in qua regnum Patri paratur, cum Pater ad Filium trahat, et calumniae locus non sit, cum Patri regnum Filius tradat, nec aliquid praeferatur? Haec enim documenta pietatis sunt, quod et Pater Filio, et Filius Patri tradat; ita enim sibi tradunt, ut neque ille qui accipit, quasi alienum acquirat: nec qui tradit, amittat.

104. If, again, you seek to pervert the sense of these words, I will make Your enemies Your footstool, I answer that the Father also brings to the Son such as the Son raises up and quickens. For No man, says Christ, can come to Me, except the Father, Which has sent Me, draw him, and I will raise him up at the last day. John 6:44 And you say that the Son of God is subject by reason of weakness — the Son, to Whom the Father brings men that He

may raise them up in the last day. Seems this in your eyes to be subjection, I pray you, where the kingdom is prepared for the Father, and the Father brings to the Son and there is no place for perversion of words, since the Son gives the kingdom to the Father, and none is preferred before Him? For inasmuch as the Father renders to the Son, and the Son, again, to the Father, here are plain proofs of love and regard: seeing that They so render, the One to the Other, that neither He Who receives obtains as it were what was another's, nor He That renders loses.

105. Ad dexteram quoque sedere nulla praelatio est, neque ad sinistram injuria; divinitas enim gradum nescit, nec loco aliquo circumscribitur, nec temporibus definitur. Angustis animis homines ista pensamus. Nulla differentia charitatis, nullum discrimen est unitatis. 491

105. Moreover, the sitting at the right hand is no preferment, nor does that at the left hand betoken dishonour, for there are no degrees in the Godhead, Which is bound by no limits of space or time, which are the weights and measures of our puny human minds. There is no difference of love, nothing that divides the Unity.

106. Sed cur longius evagamur? Circumspectasti omnia, vidisti judicem, advertisti Angelos praedicantes. Illi laudant, et tu vituperas! Dominationes et Potestates venerantur, et tu calumniaris! Adorant omnes sancti ejus: non adorat Dei Filius, non adorat Spiritus sanctus. Seraphim dicunt: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus (Esai. VI, 3).

106. But wherefore roam so far afield? You have looked upon all around you, you have seen the Judge, you have remarked the angels proclaiming Him. *They* praise, and *thou* revilest Him! Dominations and powers fall down before Him — you speak evil of His Name! All His Saints adore

Him, but the Son of God adores not, nor the Holy Spirit. The seraphim say: Holy, Holy, Holy! Isaiah 6:3

107. Quid sibi vult sub uno nomine sanctitatis trina repetitio? Si trina repetitio, cur una laudatio? Si una laudatio, cur trina repetitio? Trina repetitio cur, nisi quia Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus sanctitate unum sunt? Non dixit semel, ne Filium sequestraret: non bis, ne Spiritum praeteriret: non quater, ne creaturas conjungeret. Et ut ostenderet Trinitatis unam esse deitatem, cum tertio dixisset: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus; addidit singulariter: Dominus Deus sabaoth (Esai. VI, 3). Sanctus igitur Pater, sanctus Filius, sanctus et Dei Spiritus. Adoratur igitur Trinitas, non adorat: laudatur Trinitas, non laudat. Ego malo sicut Seraphim credere, et sicut omnes Potestates Virtutesque coelestes adorare.

107. What means this threefold utterance of the same name Holy? If thrice repeated, why is it but one act of praise? If one act of praise, why a threefold repetition? Why the threefold repetition, unless that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are one in holiness? The seraph spoke the name, not once, lest he should exclude the Son; not twice, lest he should pass by the Holy Spirit; not four times, lest he should conjoin created beings [in the praise of the Creator]. Furthermore, to show that the Godhead of the Trinity is One, he, after the threefold Holy, added in the singular number the Lord God of Sabaoth. Holy, therefore, is the Father, holy the Son, holy likewise the Spirit of God, and therefore is the Trinity adored, but adores not, and is praised, but praises not. As for me, I will rather believe as the seraphim, and adore after the manner of all the principalities and powers of heaven.

CAPUT XIII.

CONTINUATA JUDICII DOMINICI allegoria, blasphemas Arianorum, Sabellianorum, et Manichaeorum de suo judice opiniones Ambrosius paucis refellit. Deinde propositis Christi de caeteris suis adversariis expostulationibus, judicium sibi mitius futurum sperat.

CHAPTER 13.

The wicked and dishonourable opinions held by Arians, Sabellians, and Manichæans as concerning their Judge are shortly refuted. Christ's remonstrances regarding the rest of His adversaries being set forth, St. Ambrose expresses a hope of milder judgment for himself.

108. Igitur prosecutionem tuam videamus, quemadmodum concilies tibi judicem. Dic sane, dic, inquam: Ego te, Christe, puto esse dissimilem Patri. Respondebit et ille: Discerne, si potes; discerne, inquam, in quo putes esse dissimilem.

108. Let us proceed, then, with your accusations, and see how you gain the favour of your Judge. Speak now, speak, I say, and tell Him: I consider You, O Christ, to be unlike Your Father; and He will answer: Mark, if you can, mark, I say, and tell Me wherein you hold Me to differ.

109. Dic aliud: Creaturam, inquies, te arbitror. Respondebit et Christus: Si duorum hominum testimonium verum est, tu nec mihi, nec Patri saltem credere debuisti, qui genitum nominavit?

109. Say again: I judge You to be a created being; and Christ will reply: If the witness of two men is true, ought you not to have believed both Me and

My Father, Who has called Me His Son?

110. Bonum, inquies, nego. Dicet et ille: Fiat tibi secundum fidem tuam, ut tibi bonus non sim.

110. Then you will say: I deny Your [perfect] goodness; and He will answer: Be it unto you according to your faith; so will I not be good to you.

111. Omnipotentem non arbitror. Respondebit et ipse: Non possum ergo tibi tua peccata donare.

111. That You are Almighty, I hold not; and He will answer, in turn: Then can I not forgive you your sins.

112. Subjectum dico. Referet ad hoc: Cur igitur libertatem ac veniam ab eo petis, quem putas pro servitio esse subjectum?

112. You are a subject being. Whereto He will reply: Why, then, do you seek freedom and pardon of Him Whom you think to be subject as a slave?

113. Video haerere prosecutionem tuam: non urgeo, quia peccatorum meorum ipse sum conscius. Non invideo veniam, quia ipse opto indulgentiam: votum tuum scire desidero. En allego apud judicem desideria tua: non prodo crimina, seriem tuorum exspecto votorum.

113. I see your accusation halt here. I press you not, forasmuch as I myself know my own sins. I grudge you not pardon, for I myself would obtain indulgence, but I would know the object of your prayers. Look, then, while I recite before the Judge your desires. I betray not your sins, but look to behold your prayers and wishes set forth in their order.

114. Dic itaque ea quae in communi voto sunt; dic, inquam: Domine, fac me ad imaginem Dei. Respondebit ille: Ad quam imaginem? Quam negasti?

114. Speak, therefore, those desires, which all alike would have granted to them. Lord, make me in the image of God. Whereto He will answer: In what image? The image which you have denied?

115. Dic: Fac me incorruptibilem. Referet utique: 492 Quomodo te incorruptibilem facere possum, quem tu creaturam dicendo, capacem corruptibilitatis esse voluisti? Mortui resurgent incorrupti, et tu corruptibilem dicis quem Deum cernis (I Cor. XV, 52)?

115. Make me incorruptible. Surely His reply will be: How can I make you incorruptible, I, Whom you call a created being, and so would make out to be corruptible? The dead shall rise purified from corruption — do you call Him corruptible Whom you see to be God?

116. Dic: Bonus esto mihi. Dicet tibi: Quid postulas, quod negasti? Ego te bonum esse volui, ego dixi: Estote sancti, quoniam ipse sanctus sum (Levit. XIX); et tu mihi id negare contendis? et tu exspectas veniam peccatorum? Sed nemo potest donare peccata, nisi solus Deus. Itaque cum verus et solus tibi Deus non sim, non possum utique tua peccata donare.

116. Be good to me. Why do you ask what you have denied [to Me]? I would have had you to be good, and I said ‘Be holy, for I Myself am holy,’ Leviticus 19:2 and you set yourself to deny that I am good? Do *you* then look for forgiveness of sins? Nay, none can forgive sins, but God alone. Mark 2:7 Seeing, then, that to you I am not the true and only God, I cannot by any means forgive you your sins.

117. Haec Arianus dicat, et Photinianus: Nego te, inquit, Deum. Respondebit ei Dominus: Dixit insipiens in corde suo: Non est Deus (Psal. LII, 1). De quo dictum putas, de Judaeo, de gentili, an de diabolo? De quovis dictum sit, Photiniane, tolerabilior est ille, qui tacuit: tu vero et voce ausus es dicere, ut insipiente insipientior probareris. Negas ergo, inquit,

Deum; cum ego dixerim: Dii estis, et filii excelsi omnes (Psal. LXXXI, 6). Et tu Deum negas, cujus opera divina circumspicis?

117. Thus let the followers of Arius and Photinus speak. I deny Your Godhead. To whom the Lord will make answer: ‘The fool has said in his heart: There is no God?’ Of whom, think you, is this said? — of Jew or Gentile, or of the devil. Whosoever he be of whom it is said, O disciple of Photinus, he is more to be borne with, who held his peace; thou, nevertheless, hast dared to lift up your voice to utter it, that you might be proved more foolish than the fool. You deny My Godhead, whereas I said, ‘You are gods, and you are all the children of the Most High?’ And you deny Him to be God, Whose godlike works you see around you.

118. Dicat et Sabellianus: Ego teipsum Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum arbitror. Respondebit et Dominus: Non audis Patrem, non audis Filium. Numquid hic ulla confusio est? Scriptura ipsa te docet Patrem esse, qui detulit judicium: Filium esse, qui judicat. Non audisti me dicentem: Solus non sum; sed ego, et qui misit me Pater (Joan. VIII, 29).

118. Let the Sabellian speak in his turn. I consider You, by Yourself, to be at once Father and Son and Holy Spirit. To whom the Lord: You hear neither the Father nor the Son. Is there any doubt on this matter? The Scripture itself teaches you that it is the Father Who gives over the judgment, and the Son Who judges. John 5:22 You have not given ear to My words: ‘I am not alone, but I and the Father, Who sent Me.’

119. Dicat et Manichaeus: Ego auctorem carnis nostrae diabolum credo. Respondebit ei: Ergo quid facies in coelestibus? Vade ad auctorem tuum. Ego eos volo mecum esse, quos dedit mihi Pater. Tu te a diabolo creatum, Manichaee, arbitraris: ad illius ergo festina sedem; ubi ignis et sulphur, ubi non restinguitur ejus incendium, ne umquam poena moriatur.

119. Now let the Manichæan have his word. I hold that the devil is the creator of our flesh. The Lord will answer him: What, then, are you doing in the heavenly places? Depart, go your way to your creator. ‘My will is that they be with Me, whom my Father has given Me.’ John 17:24 You, Manichæan, hold yourself for a creature of the devil; hasten, then, to his abode, the place of fire and brimstone, where the fire thereof is not quenched, lest ever the punishment have an end.

120. Mitto alia haereticorum portenta, non nomina; quid eis erit judicii, quae erit forma sententiae? Respondebit his omnibus et ille moraliter: Populus meus, quid feci tibi, aut quid constristavi te (Mich. VI, 3)? Nonne ex Aegypto eduxi te, et ex domo servitutis liberavi te?

120. I set aside other heretical — not persons, but portents. What manner of judgment awaits them, what shall be the form of their sentence? To all these He will, indeed, reply, rather in sorrow than in anger: O My people, what have I done unto you, wherein have I vexed you? Did I not bring you up out of Egypt, and lead you out of the house of bondage into liberty?

121. Sed parum est ex Aegypto liberasse, et ex domo servitutis eripuisse: plus est te ipsum dedisse pro nobis. Dices ergo: Nonne vestras omnes suscepi injurias? Nonne corpus meum pro vobis obtuli? Nonne mortem appetivi, quod non erat divinitatis meae, sed vestrae redemptionis? Haeccine referuntur gratiae? Hoc profecit sanguis meus, sicut in Propheta ipse jam dixi: Quae utilitas in sanguine meo; quia descendi in corruptionem (Psal. XXIX, 10)? Hoc ergo profecit, ut me impie negaretis, pro quibus ista sustinui.

121. But it is not enough to have brought us out of Egypt into freedom, and to have saved us from the house of bondage: a greater boon than this, You have given Yourself for us. You will say then: Have I not borne all your

sufferings? Isaiah 53:4 Have I not given My Body for you? Have I not sought death, which had no part in My Godhead, but was necessary for your redemption? Are *these* the thanks I am to receive? Is it this that My Blood has gained, even as I spoke in times past by the mouth of the prophet: ‘What profit is there in My Blood, for that I have gone down to corruption?’ Is this the profit, that you should wickedly deny Me — you, for whom I endured those things?

122. Ego vero tunc, Domine Jesu, et si gravium peccatorum mihi ipse sim conscius, dicam tamen: Non te negavi; habes quod ignoscas fragilitati carnis. Delictum fateor, peccatum non abnuo: Si vis, potes me mundare (Matth. VIII, 2); quia hoc dixit, emeruit. 493 Ne, quaeso, in judicium intres cum servo tuo (Psal. CXLII, 2). Non quaero ut judices, sed ut ignoscas.

122. As for me, Lord Jesu, though I am conscious within myself of great sin, yet will I say: I have not denied You; You may pardon the infirmity of my flesh. My transgression I confess; my sin I deny not. If You will You can make me clean. Matthew 8:2 For this saying, the leper obtained his request. Enter not, I pray, into judgment with Your servant. I ask, not that You may judge, but that You may forgive.

CAPUT XIV.

JUDICIS EXPONIT SENTENTIAM; discussisque adversariorum cavillis, ab ea provocationem non dari planum facit.

CHAPTER 14.

The sentence of the Judge is set forth, the counterpleas of the opposers are considered, and the finality of the sentence, from which there is no appeal, proved.

123. Quid putamus Christum judicaturum? Ego scio, judicaturum dico? Immo jam judicavit. Tenemus ejus sententiam: Omnes, inquit, honorificent Filium, sicut honorificant Patrem. Qui non honorificat Filium, non honorificat Patrem, qui misit illum (Joan. V, 23).

123. What verdict do we look for from Christ? That do I know. Do I say, what verdict *will* He give? Nay, He has already pronounced sentence. We have it in our hands. Let all, says He, honour the Son, even as they honour the Father. He that honours not the Son, honours not the Father, Who has sent Him. John 5:23

124. Si displicet sententia, appella ad Patrem, rescinde judicium, quod Pater detulit. Dic quia dissimilem habet Filium. Respondebit tibi: Ego ergo mentitus sum, qui dixi Filio: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram (Gen. I, 26).

124. If the sentence please you not, appeal to the Father, cancel the judgment that the Father has given. Say that He has a Son Who is unlike

Him. He will reply: Then have I lied, I, Who said to the Son, ‘Let us make man in Our image and likeness.’ Genesis 1:26

125. Dic quia creavit. Respondebit tibi: Cur ergo adorasti, quem creaturam putasti?

125. Tell the Father that He has created the Son, and He will answer: Why, then, have you worshipped One Whom you thought to be a created being?

126. Dic quia minorem generavit Filium. Respondebit: Metire, videamus.

126. Tell Him that He has begotten a Son Who is inferior to Himself, and He will reply: Compare Us, and let Us see.

127. Dic quia ei non debuisti credere. Referet ad hoc: Non tibi dixeram: Hic est filius meus dilectissimus, in quo complacui, ipsum audite (Matth. XVII, 5)? Quid est, ipsum audite? Dicentem utique: Omnia quae Pater habet, mea sunt (Joan. XVII, 10). Hoc audierunt apostoli, sicut scriptum est: Et ceciderunt in faciem suam, et timuerunt valde (Matt. XVII, 6). Si ceciderunt qui confessi sunt, quid facient qui negarunt? Sed illos Jesus tetigit et levavit: vos jacere patietur; ne videatis gloriam, quam negastis.

127. Tell Him that you owed no credence to the Son, whereto He will answer: Did I not say to you, ‘This is My well-beloved Son, in Whom I am well pleased: hear Him’? Matthew 17:5 What mean these words hear Him, if not Hear Him when He says: ‘All things that the Father has are Mine’? This did the apostles hear, even as it is written: And they fell upon their faces, and were greatly afraid. Matthew 17:6 If they who confessed Him fell to the earth, what shall they do who have denied Him? But Jesus laid His hand upon His apostles, and raised them up — you He will suffer to lie prone, that you may see not the glory you have denied.

128. Videamus ergo quoniam quem Filius damnat, et Pater damnat. Et ideo honorificemus Filium, sicut honorificamus Patrem; ut per Filium ad Patrem pervenire possimus.

128. Let us look to it, then, forasmuch as whom the Son condemns, the Father condemns also, and therefore let us honour the Son, even as we honour the Father, that by the Son we may be able to come to the Father.

CAPUT XV.

MODESTE SENTIT DE Opere suo: dicit tamen ad fidem illud sufficere; cum divinae generationi tot locis Scriptura suffragetur, cui obsurdescunt Ariani. Horum pervicaciam Judaicae plane similem patefaciens, adprecatur illis veritatis amorem. Postremo deserendos eos, utpote haereticos et Antichristos, docet.

CHAPTER 15.

St. Ambrose deprecates any praise of his own merits: in any case, the Faith is sufficiently defended by the authoritative support of holy Scripture, to whose voice the Arians, stubborn as the Jews, are deaf. He prays that they may be moved to love the truth; meanwhile, they are to be avoided, as heretics and enemies of Christ.

129. Haec ego, Imperator auguste, carptim ac breviter impolita magis proposui, quam enodata digessi. Quod si qua Ariani inconsummata arbitrantur, ego vix fateor inchoata: si qua adhuc superesse opinantur, ego prope omnia; infidelibus enim totum deest, abundat fidelibus. Denique una confessio Petri abundavit ad fidem Christo: Tu es Christus Filius Dei vivi (Matth. XVI, 16); sat est enim generationem scire divinam, non divisam, non diminutam, non derivatoriam, non creatam. 494

129. These arguments, your Majesty, I have set forth, briefly and summarily, in the rough, rather than in any form of full explanation and exact order. If indeed the Arians regard them as imperfect and unfinished, I indeed confess that they are scarce even begun; if they think that there be any still to be brought forward, I allow that there be nearly all; for whereas

the unbelievers are in uttermost need of arguments, the faithful have enough and to spare. Indeed, Peter's single confession was abundant to warrant faith in Christ: You are the Christ, the Son of the living God; for it is enough to know His Divine Generation, without division or diminution, being neither derivation nor creation.

130. Hoc etiam totis Scripturarum exponitur libris, nec adhuc ab impiis creditur: Incrassatum est enim, ut scriptum est, cor populi hujus, et auribus graviter audierunt, et oculos suos gravaverunt; ne quando oculis suis videant, et auribus audiant, et corde intelligant (Esai. 6, 10). Namque, more Judaico, aures suas Ariani claudere solent, aut serere tumultus, quotiescumque verbum salutis auditur.

130. This, indeed, is declared in the books of Holy Writ, one and all, and yet is still doubted by misbelievers: For, as it is written, the heart of this people has become gross, and with their ears they have been dull of hearing, and their eyes have they darkened, lest ever they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand in their heart. Isaiah 6:10 For, like the Jews, the Arians' wont is to stop their ears, or make an uproar, as often as the Word of salvation is heard.

131. Et quid mirum si humanis vocibus credere non soleant infideles, qui non credunt divinis? Filius Dei dicebat, sicut habes in Evangelio: Pater, clarifica nomen tuum. Vox Patris de coelo audita est dicentis: Et clarificavi, et iterum clarificabo (Act. IX, 4). Infideles haec audiebant, sed non credebant. Dicebat Filius, respondebat Pater; et dicebant Judaei: Tonitruum factum est illi (Ibid., 29); alii dicebant: Angelus locutus est ei (Joan. 12. 29).

131. And what wonder, if unbelievers doubt the word of man, when they refuse to believe the Word of God? The Son of God, as you will find it written in the Gospel, said: Father, glorify Your Name, and from heaven

was heard the voice of the Father, saying: I have both glorified it, and again will glorify. John 12:28 These words the unbelievers heard, but believed not. The Son spoke, the Father answered, and the Jews said: A peal of thunder answered Him; others said: An angel spoke to Him. John 12:29

132. Paulus quoque, sicut scriptum est in Actibus Apostolorum, cum voce Christi vocaretur ad gratiam, pluresque comites pariter incederent, solus vocem Christi audisse se dixit. Adeo, sancte Imperator, qui credit, audit; et audit, ut credat: qui non credit, non audit; sed nec vult, nec potest audire, ne credat!

132. Paul, moreover, as it is written in the Acts of the Apostles, Acts 22:9 when by the Voice of Christ he received the call of grace, several companions journeying with him at the same time, alone said that he had heard Christ's Voice. Thus, your sacred Majesty, he who believes, hears — and he hears, that he may believe, while he who believes not, hears not, nay, he will not, he cannot hear, lest he should believe!

133. Atque utinam, quod in me est, audire vellent, ut crederent: audire cum bona charitate et mansuetudine, ut verum quaerentes, non veritatem impugnantes. Scriptum est enim, ut non intendamus fabulis et genealogiis interminabilibus, quae quaestiones magis praestant quam aedificationem Dei, quae in fide est. Finis autem praecepti est charitas de corde puro, et conscientia bona, et fide non ficta. A quibus quidam aberrantes, conversi sunt in vaniloquium, volentes esse legis doctores, non intelligentes neque quae loquuntur, neque de quibus affirmant (I Tim. I, 4 et seq.). Alibi quoque idem Apostolus dicit: Stultas autem et sine disciplina quaestiones devita (II Tim. II, 23).

133. As for me, indeed, would that they might have a will to hear, that they might believe — to hear with true love and meekness, as men seeking what

is true, and not assailing all truth. For it is written that we pay no heed to endless fables and genealogies, which do rather raise disputes than set forward the godly edification, which is in faith. But the aim of the charge is love from a pure heart, and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned, whence some have erred and betaken themselves to empty babbling, desirous of being teachers of the law, without understanding the words they say, nor the things whereof they speak with assurance. In another place also the same Apostle says: But foolish and ignorant questionings do thou avoid. 2 Timothy 2:23

134. Tales deserendos Apostolus dicit, qui quaestiones serunt, hoc est, haereticos: de quibus et alibi dicit quod discedent quidam a fide, intendentes spiritibus erroris et doctrinis daemoniorum (I Tim. IV, 1).

134. Such men, who sow disputes — that is to say, heretics — the Apostle bids us leave alone. Of them he says in yet another place, that certain shall depart from the faith, giving heed to deceitful spirits, and the doctrines of devils. 1 Timothy 4:1

135. Et Joannes dicit haereticos esse Antichristos, Arianos utique designans (I Joan. II, 18). Haec enim haeresis post omnes haereses coepit, et ex omni haeresi venena collegit. Sicut enim de Antichristo scriptum est, quia aperuit os suum in blasphemiam ad Deum, blasphemare nomen ejus, et bellum facere cum sanctis ejus (Apoc. XIII, 6): ita et isti Filio Dei derogant, nec martyribus pepercerunt; et, quod fortasse ille non faciet, Scripturas falsavere divinas. Itaque qui dicit quia Jesus non est Christus, hic est Antichristus: qui negat Salvatorem mundi, negat Jesum: qui negat Filium, negat et Patrem; quia scriptum est: 495 Omnis qui negat Filium, negat et Patrem (I Joan. II, 23).

135. John, likewise, says that heretics are Antichrists, plainly marking out the Arians. For this [Arian] heresy began to be after all other heresies, and has gathered the poisons of all. As it is written of the Antichrist, that he opened his mouth to blasphemy against God, to blaspheme His Name, and to make war with His saints, Revelation 13:6 so do they also dishonour the Son of God, and His martyrs have they not spared. Moreover, that which perchance Antichrist will not do, they have falsified the holy Scriptures. And thus he who says that Jesus is not the Christ, the same is Antichrist; he who denies the Saviour of the world, denies Jesus; he who denies the Son, denies the Father also, for it is written; Every one which denies the Son, denies the Father likewise. 1 John 2:23

CAPUT XVI.

GRATIANO VICTORIAM SPONDENS, eam ab Ezechiele praedictam narrat. Ex pietate Imperatoris hanc spem confirmat, superiores clades haeresi Orientalium acceptas ferens. Deum tandem obsecrat, ut jam placatus, fideli exercitui, regioni, ac duci ferat auxilium.

CHAPTER 16.

St. Ambrose assures Gratian of victory, declaring that it has been foretold in the prophecies of Ezekiel. This hope is further stayed upon the emperor's piety, the former disasters being the punishment of Eastern heresy. The book closes with a prayer to God, that He will now show His mercy, and save the army, the land, and the sovereign of the faithful.

136. Neque vero te, Imperator, pluribus tenere debeo bello intentum, et victricia de barbaris trophaea meditantem. Progredere plane scuto fidei septus, et gladium spiritus habens: progredere ad victoriam superioribus promissam temporibus, et divinis oraculis prophetatam.

136. I must no further detain your Majesty, in this season of preparation for war, and the achievement of victory over the Barbarians. Go forth, sheltered, indeed, under the shield of faith, and girt with the sword of the Spirit; go forth to the victory, promised of old time, and foretold in oracles given by God.

137. Namque et futuram nostri depopulationem, et bella Gothorum Ezechiel illo jam tempore prophetavit; sic enim habes: Propterea prophetiza, fili hominis, et dic: O Gog, haec dicit Dominus: Nonne in die illa cum

constituetur habitare populus meus Israel in pace, surges et venies de loco tuo, ab extremo Aquilone: et gentes tecum multae, sessores equorum omnes, congregatio multa et magna, et virtus copiosa; et ascende ad populum meum Israel ut nubes operire terram in novissimis diebus, etc. (Ezech. XXXVIII, 14 et seq.).

137. For Ezekiel, in those far-off days, already prophesied the minishing of our people, and the Gothic wars, saying: Prophesy, therefore, Son of Man, and say: O Gog, thus says the Lord — Shall you not, in that day when My people Israel shall be established to dwell in peace, rise up and come forth from your place, from the far north, and many nations with you, all riders upon horses, a great and mighty gathering, and the valour of many hosts? Yea, go up against my people Israel, as clouds to cover the land, in the last days.

138. Gog iste Gothus est, quem jam videmus exisse, de quo promittitur nobis futura victoria, dicente Domino: Et depraedabuntur eos, qui depraedati eos fuerant, et despoliabunt eos, qui sibi spolia detraxerant, dicit Dominus. Eritque in die illa, dabo Gog, hoc est, Gothis, locum nominatum, monumentum Israel multorum virorum congestum, qui supervenerunt ad mare: et per circuitum struet os vallis, et obruet illic Gog et totam multitudinem ejus, et vocabitur Ge Polyandrium Gog; et obruet eos domus Israel, ut purgetur terra (Ezech. XXXIX, 10 et seq.). 496

138. That Gog is the Goth, whose coming forth we have already seen, and over whom victory in days to come is promised, according to the word of the Lord: And they shall spoil them, who had been their despoilers, and plunder them, who had carried off their goods for a prey, says the Lord. And it shall be in that day, that I will give to Gog — that is, to the Goths — a place that is famous, for Israel an high-heaped tomb of many men, of men who have made their way to the sea, and it shall reach round about, and

close the mouth of the valley, and there [the house of Israel shall] overthrow Gog and all his multitude, and it shall be called the valley of the multitude of Gog: and the house of Israel shall overwhelm them, that the land may be cleansed.

139. Nec ambiguum, sancte Imperator, quod qui perfidiae alienae pugnam excepimus, fidei catholicae in te vigentis habituri simus auxilium. Evidens enim antehac divinae indignationis causa praecessit; ut ibi primum fides Romano imperio frangeretur, ubi fracta est Deo.

139. Nor, furthermore, may we doubt, your sacred Majesty, that we, who have undertaken the contest with alien unbelief, shall enjoy the aid of the Catholic Faith that is strong in you. Plainly indeed the reason of God's wrath has been already made manifest, so that belief in the Roman Empire was first overthrown, where faith in God gave way.

140. Non libet confessorum neces, tormenta, exsilia recordari, piorum sacerdotia proditorum munera. Nonne de Thraciae partibus per Ripensem Daciam et Mysiam, omnemque Valeriam Pannoniorum, totum illum limitem sacrilegis pariter vocibus et Barbaricis motibus audivimus inhorrentem? Quid poterat nobis vicinia tam feralis invehere? aut quemadmodum res Romana tali tuta poterat esse custodia?

140. No desire have I to recount the deaths, tortures, and banishments of confessors, the offices of the faithful made into presents for traitors. Have we not heard, from all along the border — from Thrace, and through Dacia by the river, Mœsia, and all Valeria of the Pannonians — a mingled tumult of blasphemers preaching and barbarians invading? What profit could neighbours so bloodthirsty bring us, or how could the Roman State be safe with such defenders?

141. Sed jam satis superque, omnipotens Deus, nostro exsilio, nostroque sanguine, confessorum neces, exsilia sacerdotum, et nefas tantae impietatis eluimus: satis claruit eos qui violaverint fidem, tutos esse non posse. Convertere, Domine, fideique tuae attolle vexilla.

141. Enough, yea, more than enough, Almighty God, have we now atoned for the deaths of confessors, the banishment of priests, and the guilt of wickedness so overweening, by our own blood, our own banishment — sufficiently plain is it that they, who have broken faith, cannot be safe. Turn again, O Lord, and set up the banners of Your faith.

142. Non hic aquilae militares, neque volatus avium exercitum ducunt: sed tuum, Domine Jesu, nomen et cultus. Non hic infidelis aliqua regio, sed ea quae confessores mittere solet Italia; Italia aliquando tentata, mutata numquam: quam dudum ab hoste barbaro defendisti, nunc etiam vindicasti. Non hic in Imperatore mens lubrica, sed fides fixa.

142. No military eagles, no flight of birds, here lead the van of our army, but Your Name, Lord Jesus, and Your worship. This is no land of unbelievers, but the land whose custom it is to send forth confessors — Italy; Italy, ofttimes tempted, but never drawn away; Italy, which your Majesty has long defended, and now again rescued from the barbarian. No wavering mind in our emperor, but faith firm fixed.

143. Ostende nunc evidens tuae majestatis indicium; ut is qui te verum virtutum Dominum et coelestis militiae ducem: is qui te veram Dei virtutem credit esse atque sapientiam, non temporalem utique nec creatam, sed sempiternam, sicut scriptum est, Dei virtutem et divinitatem, tuae majestatis fultus auxilio, fidei suae tropaea mereatur (I Cor. I, 24).

143. Show forth now a plain sign of Your Majesty, that he who believes You to be the true Lord of Hosts, and Captain of the armies of heaven; he

who believes that You are the true Power and Wisdom of God, no being of time nor of creation, but even as it is written, the eternal Power and Divinity of God, 1 Corinthians 1:24 may, upheld by the aid of your Might Supreme, win the prize of victory for his Faith.

LIBER TERTIUS.

BOOK III.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

UBI PRAEMISIT AMBROSIUS quamobrem strictius tractata in prioribus libris, in his uberius tractanda suscipiat; objectum sibi fabularum usum exemplo Scripturae diluit cum alia poetica memorantis, tum maxime Sirenas, quae figurae sunt voluptatum: a quibus et Pauli verba et Christi facta oportet avocent Christianos.

CHAPTER 1.

Statement of the reasons wherefore the matters, treated of shortly in the two former, are dealt with more at length in the three later books. Defence of the employment of fables, which is supported by the example of Holy Writ, wherein are found various figures of poetic fable, in particular the Sirens, which are figures of sensual pleasures, and which Christians ought to be taught to avoid, by the words of Paul and the deeds of Christ.

1. Quoniam, clementissime Imperator, instruendi tui gratia, aliqua de fide mihi scribenda mandaveras, et verecundantem coram etiam ipse fueras adhortatus; ideo quasi in procinctu positus, duos tantum conscripsi libellos, quibus vias quasdam fidei et semitas demonstrarem.

1. Forasmuch as your most gracious Majesty had laid command upon me to write for your own instruction some treatise concerning the Faith, and had yourself called me to your presence and encouraged my timidity, I, being as one on the eve of battle, composed but two books only, for the pointing out of certain ways and paths by which our faith progresses.

2. Sed quoniam mens prava quorumdam serendis intenta quaestionibus, stylo lacessit uberiore confici; tuae quoque pia me cura clementiae ad caetera vocat, volens in pluribus experiri, quem in paucis probasti; ea quae perstricta paucis superius sunt, placuit mihi paulo latius exsequi; ne ea quasi diffidentia assertionis deseruisse potius, quam securitate fiduciae proposuisse videamur.

2. Seeing, however, that certain malicious minds, bent on sowing disputes, have not yet exhausted the force of their assaults, while your gracious Majesty's pious anxiety calls me to further labours, inasmuch as you desire to try in more things him whom you have proved in a few, I am resolved to deal somewhat more particularly with the matters whereof I have already treated in a few words, lest it should be thought, not that I have advanced those propositions in quietness and confidence, but that I, having asserted them, doubted and so abandoned their defense.

3. Et quia Hydraei nominis, et Scyllaei littoris comparationem induximus (Sup. lib. I, ca), ut ostenderemus vel rediviva plantaria cavenda perfidiae, vel famosa naufragia: si quis contra licitum putat colorem disputationis ejusmodi a poeticis fabulis derivatum, et cum in fide nihil quod vituperare possit invenerit, aliquid in sermone reprehendit; agnoscat non solum sententias, sed etiam versiculos poetarum Scripturis insertos esse divinis.

3. Again, seeing that we spoke of the Hydra and Scylla (I. vi. 46), and brought them in by way of comparison, to show how we must beware, whether of the ever-renewed outgrowths of infidelity, or the ill-omened shipwrecks made upon its shallows, if any one holds that such embellishments of an argument, borrowed from the romances of poets, are unlawful, and, from lack of opportunity to speak evil of my faith, assails something in my language, then let him know that not only phrases but complete verses of poetry have been woven into the text of Holy Writ.

4. Unde enim illud: Hujus et genus sumus (Act. XVII, 8), quod Paulus usu prophetico doctus usurpat? Nam et gigantes (Num. XIII, 34), et vallem Titanum (II Reg. V, 18) prophetici sermonis series non refugit. Et Esaias Sirenas, et filias passerum dixit (Esai. XLIII, 20). Et Hieremias de Babylonia memoravit quod habitabunt in ea filiae Sirenum (Jerem. XXVII, 39); ut ostenderet Babylonis, hoc est, saecularis confusionis illecebras, vetustae lasciviae fabulis comparandas; quae velut scopuloso in istius vitae littore, dulcem resonare quamdam, sed mortiferam cantilenam ad capiendos animos adolescentium viderentur: quam sapiens etiam ab ipso poeta Graeco inducitur (Hom. XII Odyss.), quasi quibusdam prudentiae suae circumdatus vinculis praeteriisse. Ita difficile judicatum est ante adventum Christi etiam fortiores non posse capi speciosae deliciis voluptatis!

4. Whence, for instance, came that verse, His offspring truly are we, Acts 17:28 whereof Paul, by prophetic experience, taught, makes use? The course of prophetic speech avoids neither the Giants nor the Valley of the Titans, and Isaiah spoke of sirens and the daughters of ostriches. Jeremiah also has prophesied concerning Babylon, that the daughters of sirens shall dwell therein, in order to show that the snares of Babylon, that is, of the tumult of this world, are to be likened to stories of old-time lust, that seemed upon this life’s rocky shores to sing some tuneful song, but deadly withal, to catch the souls of youth — which the Greek poet himself tells us that the wise man escaped through being bound, as it were, in the chains of his own prudence. So hard a thing, before Christ’s coming, was it esteemed, even for the stronger, to save themselves from the deceitful shows and allurements of pleasure.

5. [Alias cap. II.] Quod si poeta ille perniciosam mentibus hominum, et subeundis obnoxiam naufragiis, lasciviae saecularis illecebram judicavit; quid nos aestimare oportet, quibus scriptum est: Carnis curam ne feceritis in

concupiscentia (Rom. XIII, 14)? Et alibi: Castigo corpus meum et servituti redigo: ne aliis praedicans, ipse reprobus efficiar (I Cor. IX, 27). 498

5. But if the poet judged the enticement of worldly pleasure and licence destructive of men's minds and a sure cause of shipwreck, what ought we to think, for whom it has been written: Train not the flesh in concupiscence? And again: I chastise my body and bring it into servitude, lest while I preach to others, I myself become a castaway. 1 Corinthians 9:27

6. Non enim per luxuriam nobis Christus, sed per jejunium salutem attulit. Neque ille emerendae gratiae suae causa, sed nostrae eruditionis gratia jejunavit. Neque infirmitate corporis victus est, ut esuriret: sed esuriendo suscepti corporis fidem praestitit; ut non solum corpus, sed etiam infirmitates nostri corporis doceret a se esse susceptas, sicut scriptum est: Quoniam infirmitates nostras suscepit, et aegritudines nostras portavit (Esai. LIII, 4).

6. Truly, Christ won salvation for us, not by luxury but by fasting. Moreover, it was not to obtain favour for Himself, but to instruct us, that He fasted. Nor yet did He hunger because He was overcome by the weakness of the body, but by His hunger He proved that He had verily taken upon Himself a body; that so He might teach us that He had taken not only our body, but also the weaknesses of that body, even as it is written: Surely He has taken our infirmities and borne our sicknesses.

CAPUT II.

QUAE CORPORIS SUNT a Christo pro nobis suscepti, divinitati non tribuenda: secundum hanc illum altissimum; quod qui neget, eum Patri ascribere incarnationem. Cum Deus legitur solus esse, aut solus habere immortalitatem, id etiam intelligendum de Christo, tum ut memorata impietas declinetur, tum quia eadem Filii ac Patris asseritur operatio.

CHAPTER 2.

The incidents properly affecting the body which Christ for our sake took upon Him are not to be accounted to His Godhead, in respect whereof He is the Most Highest. To deny which is to say that the Father was incarnate. When we read that God is one, and that there is none other beside Him, or that He alone has immortality, this must be understood as true of Christ also, not only to avoid the sinful heresy above-mentioned (Patripassianism), but also because the activity of the Father and the Son is declared to be one and the same.

7. Corporis est igitur, hoc est, nostrum est, quod esurivit: nostrum est, quod flevit, quod tristis fuit usque ad mortem. Cur ad divinitatem quae sunt nostra referuntur? Corporis est, quod etiam factus asseritur. Denique sic habes: Mater Sion dicet: Homo, et homo factus est in ea, et ipse fundavit eam Altissimus (Psal. LXXXVI, 5). Homo, inquit, factus est, non Deus factus est.

7. It was a bodily weakness, then, that is to say, a weakness of ours, that He hungered; when He wept, and was sorrowful even unto death, it was of our nature. Why ascribe the properties and incidents of our nature to the

Godhead? That He was even, as we are told, made, is a property of a body. Thus, indeed, we read: Sion our mother shall say: ‘He is a man,’ and in her He was made man, and the Most High Himself laid her foundations. He was made man, mark you, not He was made God.

8. Qui autem idem altissimus, idem homo, nisi Mediator Dei, et hominum, homo Christus Jesus, qui dedit semetipsum redemptionem pro nobis (I Tim. II, 5, 6)? Et hoc utique ad incarnationem pertinet; redemptio enim nostra per sanguinem, remissio per potestatem, vita per gratiam. Quasi altissimus donat, quasi homo precatur: aliud creatoris, aliud redemptoris est. Distincta licet, unius tamen auctoris beneficia sunt; decuit enim ut ille nos redimeret, qui creavit.

8. But what is He Who is at once the Most High and man, what but the Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus Who gave Himself as a ransom for us? 1 Timothy 2:5 This place indeed refers properly to His Incarnation, for our redemption was made by His Blood, our pardon comes through His Power, our life is secured through His Grace. He gives as the Most High, He prays as man. The one is the office of the Creator, the other of a Redeemer. Be the gifts as distinct as they may, yet the Giver is one, for it was fitting that our Maker should be our Redeemer.

9. Quis autem neget Christum esse altissimum significatum? Nam qui aliter sentit, Deo Patri sacramentum incarnationis ascribit. Sed hinc dubitari non potest quod altissimus Christus sit; cum etiam alibi dixerit de mysterio passionis: Dedit vocem suam Altissimus, et mota est terra (Psal. XVII, 14). Et in Evangelio habes: Et tu, puer, propheta Altissimi vocaberis; praeibis enim ante faciem Domini parare vias ejus (Luc. I, 76). Qui altissimus? Dei Filius. Ergo qui altissimus Deus, Christus est.

9. Who indeed can deny that we have plain evidence that Christ is the Most High? He who knows otherwise makes the sacrament of Incarnation to be the work of God the Father. But that Christ is the Most High is removed beyond doubt by what Scripture has said in another place, concerning the mystery of the Passion: The Most High sent forth His Voice, and the earth was shaken. And in the Gospel you may read: And thou, child, shall be called the Prophet of the Highest; for you shall go before the face of the Lord, to prepare His ways. Luke 1:76 Who is the Highest? The Son of God. He, then, Who is the Most High God is Christ.

10. Et solus utique cum dicitur Deus, non separatur etiam Dei Filius. Qui enim altissimus, solus, sicut scriptum est: Et cognoscant quoniam nomen tibi Dominus, tu solus altissimus super omnem terram (Psal. LXXXII, 19).

10. Again, while God is everywhere said to be One God, the Son of God is not separated from this Unity. For He Who is the Most High is alone, as it is written: And let them know that Your Name is the Lord: You alone are Most High over all the earth.

11. Unde etiam illud explosum est, quod solent ad calumniam derivare, quia de Deo scriptum est: Qui solus habet immortalitatem, et lucem habitat inaccessibilem (I Tim. VI, 16); de Deo enim scriptum est, quod est commune nomen Patri et Filio. 499

11. And so the adversaries' injurious conclusion is rejected with contempt and disgrace, which they drew from the Scripture speaking of God: Who alone has immortality and dwells in light unapproachable; 1 Timothy 6:16 for these words are written of God, which Name belongs equally to Father and to Son.

12. Nam si ubicumque Deum legunt, negant etiam Filium designari; et impii sunt, divinitatis potentiam Filio denegando, et incarnatum Patrem

Sabelliana impietate astruere videbuntur. Dicant enim quomodo illud non impie de Patre intelligere possint, quod Apostolus ait: In quo et consurrexistis per fidem operationis Dei, qui suscitavit illum a mortuis (Coloss. II, 12); et advertant de sequentibus quid incurrant; sequitur enim: Et cum mortui essetis delictis et praeputio carnis vestrae, vivificavit nos cum illo, donans nobis omnia delicta, delens quod adversum nos erat chirographum decreti, quod erat contrarium nobis: et ipsum tulit de medio, affigens illud cruci, exuens se carne (Ibid., 13, 14).

12. If, indeed, wheresoever they read the Name of God, they deny that there is any thought of the Son [as well as the Father], they blaspheme, inasmuch as they deny the Son's Divine Sovereignty, and they shall appear as though they shared the sinful error of the Sabellians in teaching the Incarnation of the Father. Let them, indeed explain how they can fail to interpret in a sense blasphemous to the Father the words of the Apostle: In Whom you also rose again, by faith in the working of God, Who raised Him from the dead. Colossians 2:12 Let them also take warning from what follows of what they are running upon — for this is what comes after: And though you were dead in your sins and the uncircumcision of your flesh, He quickened us with Him, pardoning us all our offenses, blotting out the handwriting of the Ordinance, which was opposed to us, and removed it from our midst, nailing it to His Cross, divesting Himself of the flesh. Colossians 2:13-14

13. Ergo non Deus Pater solus intelligendus est, qui suscitavit carnem: et non etiam Filius, cujus templum resuscitatum est. Qui suscitavit, utique et vivificavit: qui vivificavit, et delicta donavit: qui delicta donavit, et chirographum tulit: qui chirographum tulit, affixit illud cruci: qui affixit illud cruci, carnem se exuit. Sed Pater non se exuit carnem; non enim Pater caro factus est, sed Verbum, sicut legimus, caro factum est (Joan. I, 14).

Videtis ergo quod Ariani dum separant a Patre Filium, in id periculum incidant, ut Patrem passum esse commemorent.

13. We are not, then, to suppose that the Father Who raised the flesh is alone [God]; nor, again, are we to suppose the like of the Son, Whose Body was raised again. He Who raised, did surely also quicken; and He who quickened, also pardoned sins; He who pardoned sins, also blotted out the handwriting; He Who blotted out the handwriting, also nailed it to the Cross: He who nailed it to the Cross, divested Himself of the flesh. But it was not the Father Who divested Himself of the flesh; for *not* the Father, but, as we read, the Word was made flesh. John 1:14 You see, then, that the Arians, in dividing the Father from the Son, run into danger of saying that the Father endured the Passion.

14. Nos autem facile docemus de Filii dictum operatione; nam et ipse corpus suum resuscitavit, sicut ipse dixit: Solvite templum hoc, et in triduo resuscitabo illud (Joan. II, 19). Et ipse vivificat nos cum suo corpore: Sicut enim Pater suscitat mortuos et vivificat; sic et Filius quos vult, vivificat (Joan. V, 21). Et ipse delicta donavit dicens: Dimissa sunt tibi peccata tua (Luc. V, 20). Et ipse chirographum affixit cruci, qui crucifixus est per corporis passionem. Nec alius se carnem exuit, nisi Dei Filius, qui carnem se induit. Ipse ergo significatur Deus, qui opus nostrae resurrectionis operatus est.

14. We, however, can easily show that the words treat of the Son's action, for the Son Himself indeed raised His own Body again, as He Himself said: Destroy this Temple, and in three days I will raise it again. John 2:19 And He Himself quickens us together with His Body: For as the Father raises the dead and quickens them, so also the Son quickens Whom He will. John 5:21 And He Himself has granted forgiveness for sins, saying, Your sins be forgiven you. Luke 5:20 He too has nailed the handwriting of the record to

His Cross, in that He was crucified, and suffered in the body. Nor did any divest Himself of the flesh, save the Son of God, Who invested Himself therewith. He, therefore, Who has achieved the work of our resurrection is plainly pointed out to be very God.

CAPUT III.

FILIUM A PATRE non separandum ex Apostolo confirmari, cum Filio quoque conveniat beatum esse, solum potentem ac immortalem, natura videlicet, non gratia qua ipsi etiam angeli sunt immortales; et lucem habitare inaccessibilem: quo ultimo qua ratione fiat explicato, quo pacto Pater solus, ac Filius pariter solus dicantur, ostenditur.

CHAPTER 3.

That the Father and the Son must not be divided is proved by the words of the Apostle, seeing that it is befitting to the Son that He should be blessed, only Potentate, and immortal, by nature, that is, and not by grace, as even the angels themselves are immortal, and that He should dwell in the unapproachable light. How it is that the Father and the Son are alike and equally said to be alone.

15. Ergo cum legis Deum, non separes Patrem, non separes Filium; quia deitas et Patris et Filii una eademque est. Et ideo nec ibi separes, ubi legis quia beatus et solus potens; de Deo enim dictum est, sicut habes: Praecipio coram Deo, qui vivificat omnia (I Tim. VI, 13); sed etiam Christus vivificat: convenit ergo et Patri et Filio Dei nomen; quando convenit et operationis effectus. 500 Persequamur et caetera. Praecipio, inquit, coram Deo qui vivificat omnia, et Christo Jesu.

15. When, therefore, you read the Name God, separate neither Father nor Son, for the Godhead of the Father and the Son is one and the same, and therefore separate them not, when you read the words blessed and only Potentate, 1 Timothy 6:15 for the words are spoken of God, even as you

may read: I charge you before God, Who quickens all things. 1 Timothy 6:13 Christ also indeed does quicken, and therefore the Name of God is meetly given both to the Father and to the Son, inasmuch as the effect of their activity is in agreement. Let us go on to the words following: I charge you, he says, before God, Who quickens all things, and Jesus Christ.

16. In Deo est etiam Verbum, sicut scriptum est: In Deo laudabo Verbum (Psal. LV, 11). In Deo sempiterna sua virtus est Jesus: in Deo igitur unitatem divinitatis, in Christi autem nomine incarnationis testificatus est sacramentum.

16. The Word is in God, even as it is written: In God will I praise His Word. In God is His Eternal Power, even Jesus; in [speaking of] God, therefore, the Apostle has witnessed to the unity of the Godhead, while by the Name of Christ he has witnessed to the sacrament of the Incarnation.

17. Denique ut de incarnatione Christi se dixisse ostenderet, subdidit: Qui testimonium reddidit sub Pontio Pilato bonam confessionem; ut serves mandatum sine macula usque in adventum Domini nostri Jesu Christi: quem suis temporibus ostendet beatus et solus potens, rex regum, et Dominus dominantium; qui solus habet immortalitatem, et lucem habitat inaccessibilem: quem vidit hominum nemo, sed nec videre potest (I Tim. VI, 13 et seq.). Ergo de Deo haec scripta sunt, cujus nominis et dignitas et veritas communis est Filio.

17. Furthermore, to show that he has spoken of the Incarnation of Christ, he added: Who bore witness under Pontius Pilate with the good confession, [I charge you] keep undefiled the commandment, until the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, Which in His own good time the blessed and only Potentate shall manifest, the King of kings and Lord of lords, Who alone has immortality, and dwells in light unapproachable, Whom no man has seen,

nor can see. 1 Timothy 6:13-16 Those words, then, are written with regard to God, of which Name the dignity and truth are common to [both the Father and] the Son.

18. Cur igitur hoc loco Filius separatur, cum etiam Filio haec cuncta conveniant? Aut si non conveniant, nega Deum; ut neges quae Deo sunt convenientia. Beatus negari non potest, qui beatitudines donat: Beati enim quibus remissae sunt iniquitates (Psal. XXXI, 1). Beatus negari non potest, qui sanam doctrinam tribuit, sicut scriptum est: quae est secundum Evangelium claritatis beati Dei (I Tim. I, 11). Potens abnui non potest, de quo Pater dicit: Posui adjutorium super potentem (Psal. LXXXVIII, 20). Immortalitatem autem ejus quis audeat diffiteri, cum etiam aliis immortalitatem ipse largitus sit, sicut scriptum est de sapientia Dei: Per hanc habebo immortalitatem (Sap. VIII, 13).

18. Why, then, should there be no thought of the Son in this place, seeing that all these things hold good of the Son also? If they do not so, then deny His Godhead, and so may thou deny what is proper to be said of God. His Blessedness cannot be denied, Who bestows blessings, for Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven. He cannot but be called Blessed, Who has given us wholesome teaching, even as it is written: Which is according to the Gospel of the beauty of the Blessed God. 1 Timothy 1:11 His Power cannot be denied, of Whom the Father says: I have laid help upon One that is mighty. And who dare refuse to acknowledge Him to be immortal, when He Himself has made others also immortal, as it is written of the Wisdom of God: By her shall I possess immortality. Wisdom 8:13

19. Sed alia immortalitas suae naturae, alia nostrae. Non sunt fragilia comparanda divinis: una sola substantia divinitatis est, quae mori nescit. Unde et Apostolus, cum sciret et animam et angelos immortales, quod solus Deus immortalitatem habeat praedicavit. Nam et anima moritur: Anima

enim quae peccat, ipsa morietur (Ezech. XVIII, 20); nec Angelus immortalis est naturaliter, cujus immortalitas in voluntate est Creatoris.

19. But the immortality of His Nature is one thing, that of ours is another. Things perishable are not to be compared to things divine. The Godhead is the one only Substance that death cannot touch, and therefore it is that the Apostle, though knowing both the [human] soul and angels to be immortal, declared that God only had immortality. In truth, even the soul may die: The soul that sins, it shall die, Ezekiel 18:20 and an angel is not absolutely immortal, his immortality depending on the will of the Creator.

20. Neque ad praejudicium trahas, quod non moritur Gabriel, non moritur Raphael, non moritur Uriel; et in ipsis enim naturae capacitas vitio obnoxia, sed non obnoxia disciplinae. Omnis enim rationabilis creatura accidentia recipit, et subjecta judicio est. In accidentibus autem et poena judicii, et corruptela est, et profectus. Unde et Ecclesiastes ait: Quoniam omne opus suum Deus adducet in judicium (Eccl. XII, 14). Ergo corruptelae et mortis, etiamsi non moriatur aut peccel, capax tamen omnis est creatura: nec ex immortali natura habet, sed ex disciplina vel gratia, si se in aliquibus ad vitia non mutat. Alia ergo immortalitas quae donatur, alia quae sine capacitate mutabilitatis est semper.

20. Do not hastily reject this, because Gabriel dies not, nor Raphaël, nor Uriel. Even in their nature there is a capacity of sin, though not one of improvement by discipline, for every reasonable creature is exposed to influences from without itself, and liable to judgment. It is on the influences which work upon us that the award of judgment, and corruption, or advance to perfection, do depend, and therefore Ecclesiastes says: For God shall bring all His work to judgment. Every creature, then, has within it the possibility of corruption and death, even though it do not [at present] die or commit sin; nor, if in anything it deliver not itself over to sin, has it this

boon of its immortal nature, but of discipline or of grace. Immortality, then, that is of a gift is one thing: immortality without the possibility of change is another.

21. An negatur immortalis divinitas Christi, quia in carne pro omnibus mortem gustavit? 501 Jam ergo melior Gabriel quam Christus; quia ille non est defunctus, hic mortuus est. Sed non est servus supra dominum (Matth. X, 24); alia enim carnis infirmitas, alia divinitatis aeternitas: mors carnis est, immortalitas potestatis. Quod si divinitas fecit ne caro videret corruptionem, quae utique corruptelae erat obnoxia per naturam; quomodo mori posset ipsa divinitas?

21. Do we deny the immortality of Christ's Godhead, because He tasted death for all in the flesh? Then is Gabriel better than Christ, for Gabriel never died, but Christ gave up the ghost. But the servant is not above his lord, Matthew 10:24 and we must discern the weakness of flesh from the eternity of Godhead. Christ's Death had its source in the flesh, immortality is of the nature of Christ's sovereignty. But if the Godhead brought it to pass that the flesh saw not corruption, the flesh being surely by nature liable to corruption, how could the Godhead itself have died?

22. Quomodo autem lucem inaccessibilem non habitat Filius, cum in sinu Patris Filius sit: lux autem Pater, lux etiam ipse sit Filius; quia Deus lux est (Joan. I, 9)? Aut si aliam lucem inaccessibilem nisi deitatis putamus, numquid melior Patre lux est; ut non sit in luce, qui sicut scriptum est, et apud Patrem est, et in Patre (Ibid., 2)? Non ergo separent Filium, cum legunt solum Deum: nec Patrem separent, cum legunt Filium solum.

22. And how is it that the Son dwells not in light unapproachable, if He is in the bosom of the Father, if the Father is Light, and the Son also is Light, because God is Light? 1 John 1:5 Or, if we suppose some other light, beside

the Light of the Godhead, to be the unapproachable Light, is, then, this Light better than the Father, so that He is not in that Light, Who, as it is written, is both with the Father and in the Father? Let men, therefore, not exclude the thought of the Son, when they read only of *God* — and let them not exclude that of the Father, when they read of the *Son* only. John 16:32

23. In terris Filius sine Patre non est, et putas quia Pater sine Filio sit in coelo? In carne est Filius, cum dico in carne est, vel in terris, secundum Evangelii tempora loquor; nunc enim secundum carnem jam non novimus Christum (II Cor. V, 16): ergo in carne est Filius, et solus non est, secundum quod scriptum est: Et non sum solus, quia Pater mecum est (Joan. VIII, 16); et putas quod sit Pater solus in luce?

23. On earth, the Son is not without *l.c.*John 10:30 the Father, and you think that the Father is without the Son in heaven? The Son is in the flesh — (when I say He is in the flesh or He is on earth, I speak as though we lived in the days whose story is in the Gospel, for now we no longer know Christ after the flesh 2 Corinthians 5:16) — He is in the flesh, and He is not alone, as it is written: And I am not alone, because the Father is with Me, John 8:16 and think you that the Father dwells alone in the Light?

24. At ne hoc argumentum putes, accipe etiam testimonium: Deum, inquit, nemo vidit umquam, nisi unigenitus Filius, qui est in sinu Patris, ipse enarravit (Joan. I, 18). Quomodo solus Pater, si in sinu Patris Filius est? quomodo enarrat, quem non videt? Non ergo solus Pater.

24. Lest you should regard this argument as mere speculation take this sentence of authority. No man, says the Scripture, John 1:18 has seen God at any time, save the Only-begotten Son, Who is in the bosom of the Father; He has revealed Him. How can the Father be in solitude, if the Son be in the

bosom of the Father? How does the Son reveal Him, Whom He sees not? The Father, then, exists not alone.

25. Accipe nunc et solum Patrem, et solum Filium. Solus Pater, quia alius Pater non est: solus Filius, quia alius Filius non est: solus Deus, quia una divinitas Trinitatis est.

25. Observe now what the solitude of the Father and of the Son is. The Father is alone, because there is no other Father; the Son is alone, because there is no other Son; God is alone, because the Godhead of the Trinity is One.

CAPUT IV.

CHRISTUM NON NISI secundum carnem factum narrari; quippe qui ut homines redimeret, non eguerit adjutorio, sicut nec ut se resuscitaret; cum aliis ut mortuos resuscitarent, oratione opus fuerit. Etsi autem ipse oraverit, hoc referendum ad humanitatem: divinitatem vero ex eo quod imperaverit, aestimandam; in quo diabolus Arianis anteponitur. Tum exposito cur Filius hominis potens dicatur, argumenti ponitur conclusio.

CHAPTER 4.

We are told that Christ was only made so far as regards the flesh. For the redemption of mankind He needed no means of aid, even as He needed none in order to His Resurrection, whereas others, in order to raise the dead, had need of recourse to prayer. Even when Christ prayed, the prayer was offered by Him in His capacity as human; while He must be accounted divine from the fact that He commanded (that such and such things should be done). On this point the devil's testimony is truer than the Arians' arguments. The discussion concludes with an explanation of the reason why the title of mighty is given to the Son of Man.

26. [Alias, cap. III.] Satis ergo claret et solum Deum non esse Patrem sine Filio, et solum Deum non intelligi Filium sine Patre; quia secundum carnem factus legitur Dei Filius, non secundum divinam generationem.

26. It is now sufficiently made plain that the Father is not God in solitude, without the Son, and that the Son cannot be thought of as God alone, without the Father, for it is in respect of His flesh that we read that the Son of God was made, not in respect of His generation from God the Father.

27. In quo autem factus sit, per os sancti patriarchae locutus asseruit, dicens: Quia repleta est malis anima mea, et vita mea inferno appropinquavit. Aestimatus sum cum descendentibus in lacum: factus sicut homo sine adjutorio inter mortuos liber (Psal. LXXXVII, 4 et seq.). Et hic sicut homo, inquit, non sicut Deus, factus sum. Et repleta est malis anima mea: anima utique, non divinitas. Factus est 502 in eo, in quo erat infernis debitus: factus est in eo, in quo cum aliis aestimatus est; divinitas enim similitudinem collationis abjurat. Et tamen in ipsa carne morti obnoxia majestatem adverte divinitatis in Christo. Et si factus est sicut homo, et sicut caro factus est; factus est tamen inter mortuos liber, et liber sine adjutorio.

27. Indeed, in what sense He was made He has declared by the mouth of the holy patriarch, saying: For My soul is filled with sorrow to overflowing, and My life has drawn near unto hell. I have been counted with them that go down into the pit; I have been made as a man free, without help, among the dead. Here, then, we read: I have been made as a man, not I have been made as God; and again: My soul overflows with sorrows. My soul, mark you, not My Godhead. He was made in so far as that was concerned wherein He was due to hell, wherein He was reckoned with others, for the Godhead admits of no likeness which may be ground for classing it with others. Yet mark how the majesty of Godhead shows itself in Christ, even in that flesh which was appointed to death. Although He was made as a man, and made as flesh, yet He was made free among the dead, free, without help.

28. Sed quomodo hic sine adjutorio fuisse se Filius dicit, cum supra (ca) dictum sit: Posui adjutorium super potentem (Psal. LXXXVIII, 20)? Ergo et hic distingue naturas. Adjutorium caro habet, divinitas non habet. Liber igitur est, quia mortis vincula nescivit; non captus ab inferis, sed qui operatus sit in infernis: sine adjutorio est, quia neque per nuntium, neque per legatum, sed ipse per se Dominus salvum fecit populum suum.

Quomodo enim potuit adjutorium sui corporis quaerere suscitandi, qui alios suscitavit?

28. But how can the Son say here that He was without help, when it has already been said: I have laid help upon One that is mighty? Distinguish here also the two natures present. The flesh has need of help, the Godhead has no need. He is free, then, because the chains of death had no hold upon Him. He was not made prisoner by the powers of darkness, it is He Who exerted power among them. He is without help, because He Himself, the Lord, has by no office of messenger or ambassador, but by His own might, saved His people. How could He, Who raised others to life, require any help in order to raise His own body?

29. Ac licet homines quoque suscitaverint mortuos; non in sua tamen virtute fecerunt, sed in Christi nomine. Aliud est rogare, aliud imperare: aliud mereri, aliud donare.

29. And though men also have raised the dead, still they did this not of their own power, but in the Name of Christ. To ask is one thing, to command is another; to obtain is different from bestowing.

30. Elias ergo suscitavit, sed oravit, non imperavit (III Reg. XVII, 21, 22). Elisaeus suscitavit configuratus mortuo: suscitavit etiam ipsius mortui corporis tactus; ut esset typus venturum eum qui missus in similitudinem carnis peccati, etiam sepultus mortuos suscitaret (IV Reg. XIII et XIV).

30. Elijah, then, raised the dead, but he prayed — he did not command. Elisha raised one to life after laying himself upon the dead body, in accordance with its posture; 2 Kings 4:34 and, again, the very contact of Elisha’s corpse gave life to the dead, that the prophet might foreshow the coming of Him, Who, being sent in the likeness of sinful flesh, should, even after His burial, raise the dead to life.

31. Petrus quoque, cum Aeneam curaret, ait: In nomine Jesu Nazareni surge et ambula (Act. II, 6): non in suo ait, sed in Christi nomine. Surge autem verbum est imperantis: sed fiducia de merito est, non praesumptio de potestate; et de nominis operatione, non de sua virtute praeceptionis auctoritas. Quid igitur Ariani dicunt? In nomine Christi et Petrus imperat, et illi nolunt imperasse Dei Filium, sed rogasse.

31. Peter, again, when he healed Aeneas, said: In the Name of Jesus of Nazareth, rise and walk. Not in his own name, but in the Name of Christ. But rise is a command; on the other hand, it is an instance of confidence in one's right, SeeMark 16:17-18 not an arrogant claim to power, and the authority of the command stood in the effective influence of the Name, not in its own might. What answer, then, make the Arians? Peter commands in the Name of Christ — this on the one hand: on the other, they will have it that the Son of God did not command, but requested.

32. Sed lectum est quia rogavit. Disce distantiam. Rogat quasi filius hominis, imperat quasi Dei Filius. Annon defertis hoc Dei Filio, quod etiam diabolus detulit, et vos majore sacrilegio derogatis? Ille dicit: Si Filius Dei es, dic lapidi huic ut fiat panis (Luc. IV, 3). Ille dicit, impera: vos dicitis, obsecra. Ille credit quod, jubente Dei Filio, elementorum rerumque natura in adversum vertatur: vos creditis quod nisi roget Dei Filius, nec voluntas ipsius impleatur. Et diabolus de potestate aestimandum putat Dei Filium, vos de infirmitate. Tolerabiliora sunt tentamenta diaboli, quam argumenta Arii.

32. We read, they objected, of His uttering a prayer. John 11:41 But take note of the difference. He prays as Son of *Man*, He commands as Son of *God*. Will you not ascribe unto the Son of God what even the devil has ascribed? Will you accuse yourselves of greater wickedness than Satan's? The devil says: If You be the Son of God, command this stone that it

become bread. Luke 4:3 Satan says command, you say entreat. The devil believes that, at the word of God's Son, the nature of an elementary substance may be exchanged for that of a composite one; you think that, unless the Son of God prefers a request, even His Will cannot be done. Again, the devil thinks that the Son of God is to be esteemed from His power, Romans 1:4 you that He is to be esteemed from His infirmity. The devil's temptations are more tolerable than the Arians' disputings.

33. Nec moveat quia potentem Filium dixit hominis, cum Dominum majestatis legeris crucifixum (I Cor. II, 2). Quae autem major potentia, quam supra coelestes potestates habere dominatum (Ephes. I, 21)? Habebat autem qui Thronis, Dominationibus, Angelis imperabat. Nam etsi erat inter bestias, sicut scriptum est (Marc. I, 13), tamen angeli ministrabant ei; ut agnoscas aliud incarnationis esse, aliud potestatis. Secundum carnem itaque tentatur a bestiis, secundum dignitatem ab angelis adoratur. 503

33. Let us not, then, be troubled if we find the Son of Man entitled mighty in one place, and yet in another, that the Lord of glory was crucified. 1 Corinthians 2:8 What might is greater than sovereignty over the powers of heaven? But this was in the hands of Him Who ruled over thrones, principalities, angels; for, although He was among the wild beasts, as it is written, yet angels ministered to Him, that you may perceive the difference between what is proper to the Incarnation, and what is proper to Sovereignty. So far as His flesh is concerned, then, He endures the assault of wild beasts; in regard of His Godhead, He is adored by angels.

34. Didicimus igitur factum esse hominem et ad hominem hoc esse referendum. Denique et alibi habes: Qui factus est ei ex semine David (Rom. I, 3), secundum carnem utique ex semine David factus est: Deus autem ante saecula ex Deo natus est.

34. We have learned, then, that He was made man, and that His being made must be referred to His manhood. Furthermore, in another passage of Scripture, you may read: Who was made for Him of the seed of David, Romans 1:3 that is to say, in respect of the flesh He was made of the seed of David, but He was God begotten of God before the worlds.

CAPUT V.

FACTUM IN SCRIPTURA non semper idem esse ac creatum exemplis ex ipsa petitis docet. Inde colligit non cavillandum ex littera more Judaeorum, quibus tamen haereticos pejores probat; atque iterum propositam confirmat sententiam.

CHAPTER 5.

Passages brought forward from Scripture to show that made does not always mean the same as created; whence it is concluded that the letter of Holy Writ should not be made the ground of captious arguments, after the manner of the Jews, who, however, are shown to be not so bad as the heretics, and thus the principle already set forth is confirmed anew.

35. Nec semper tamen factum esse ad creationem refertur; scriptum est enim: Domine, refugium factus es nobis (Ps. LXXXIX, 1); et: Factus es mihi in salutem (Ps. CXVII, 14). Non utique creationis definitio vel editio declaratur: sed refugium factus mihi, et conversus mihi dicitur ad salutem, sicut et Apostolus dixit: Qui factus est nobis sapientia a Deo, et justitia, et sanctificatio, et redemptio (I Cor. I, 30). Nobis factum non creatum ex Patre dixit. Denique quomodo dicat factum nobis esse sapientiam, in posterioribus exposuit dicens: Sed loquimur Dei sapientiam in mysterio, quae abscondita est, quam praedestinavit Deus ante tempora saecularia in gloriam nostram, quam nemo principum hujus saeculi cognovit. Si enim cognovissent, numquam Dominum majestatis crucifixissent (I Cor. II, 7, 8). Ubi mysterium passionis exprimitur, non utique generationis aeternae series declaratur.

35. At the same time, becoming does not always imply *creation;* for we read: Lord, You have become our refuge, and You have become my salvation. Plainly, here is no statement of the fact or purpose of a *creation*, but God is said to have become my refuge and have turned to my salvation, even as the Apostle has said: Who became for us 1 Corinthians 1:30 Wisdom from God, and Righteousness, and Sanctification, and Redemption, that is, that Christ was made for us, of the Father, not *created*. Again, the writer has explained in the sequel in what sense he says that Christ was made Wisdom for us: But we preach the Wisdom of God in doctrine of mystery, which Wisdom is hidden, foreordained by God before the existence of the world for our glory, and which none of the princes of this world knew, for had they known they would never have crucified the Lord of glory. When the mystery of the Passion is set forth, surely there is no speaking of an eternal process of generation.

36. Sapientia igitur mea crux Domini est, redemptio mea mors Domini est; sanguine enim pretioso redempti sumus, ut apostolus Petrus dixit (I Petr. I, 19). Sanguine igitur suo, quasi homo, Dominus nos redemit; idemque, quasi Deus, peccata donavit.

36. The Lord’s Cross, then, is my wisdom; the Lord’s Death my redemption; for we are redeemed with His precious blood, as the Apostle Peter has said. 1 Peter 1:19 With His blood, then, as man, the Lord redeemed us, Who also, as God, has forgiven sins. Mark 2:8-12

37. Non ergo in verbis quasdam constituamus insidias, et verborum tendiculas aucupemur; ut quia et aliud secundum impios significare putatur sermo qui legitur, non id quod sensus exprimat, sed quod littera ostendat, interpretemur. Sic perierunt Judaei, dum sensuum profunda despiciunt, et sequuntur nuda verborum; Littera enim occidit, spiritus autem vivificat (II Cor. III, 6).

37. Let us not, therefore, lay snares as it were in words, and eagerly seek out entanglements therein; let us not, because misbelievers make out the written word to mean that it means not, set forth only what this letter bears on the face of it, instead of the underlying sense. This way went the Jews to destruction, despising the deep-hidden meaning, and following only after the bare form of the word, for the letter kills, but the Spirit makes alive. 2 Corinthians 3:6

38. Et tamen inter duo gravia sacrilegia fortasse detestabilius sit ad divinitatem referre quae carnis sunt, quam ad litteram referre quae spiritus sunt. Illi timuerunt in Deo carnem credere; et ideo redemptionis gratiam perdiderunt, quia causam salutis abjurant: isti divinitatis majestatem usque ad carnis infirma deducunt. Detestandi Judaei, qui carnem Domini crucifixerunt: detestabiliores tamen eos arbitror, qui divinitatem Christi cruci subditam crediderunt. Denique qui cum Judaeis saepe tractabat: 504 Haereticum, inquit, post unam correptionem devita (Tit. III, 10).

38. And yet, of these two grievous impieties, to ascribe to the Godhead what is true only of manhood is perchance more detestable than to attribute to spirit what belongs only to letter. The Jews feared to believe in manhood taken up into God, and therefore have lost the grace of redemption, because they reject that on which salvation depends; the Arians degrade the majesty of Godhead to the weakness of humanity. Detestable as are the Jews, who crucified the Lord’s flesh, more detestable still do I hold them who have believed that the Godhead of Christ was nailed to the Cross. So one who ofttimes had dealings with Jews said: Avoid a heretic, after once reproving him Titus 3:10

39. Nec tamen sine injuria Patris factum nobis esse sapientiam, ad illam inenarrabilem, nec ullis temporibus momentisque obnoxiam Christi generationem sacrilega interpretatione derivant. Nam praeter id quod Filii

injuria Patris est contumelia, etiam in Patrem sacrilegia ista procedunt, de quo scriptum est: Fiat autem Deus verax, omnis autem homo mendax (Rom. III, 4). Aut si de Filio putant dictum, generationi quidem non praejudicant: Deum autem et Deum verum hujus lectionis auctoritate quod abnuunt, confitentur.

39. Nor, again, are these men careful to avoid doing dishonour to the Father, in their impious application of the fact, that Christ was made Wisdom for us, to His incomprehensible generation, that transcends all limits and divisions of time; for, leaving it out of account that dishonour done to the Son is an insult to the Father, they do even carry their blasphemy in assault upon the Father, of Whom it is written: Let God be made truthful, but every man a liar. Romans 3:4 If indeed they think that the Son is spoken of, they do not foreclose against His generation, but in that they rest on the authority of this text they do confess that which they reject, namely, that Christ is God, and true God.

40. Prolixum est si velim singula recensere, quoties factum legerimus, non utique per naturam, sed per gratiam. Nam et Moyses dicit: Adjutor et protector factus est mihi in salutem (Exod.XV, 2). Et David dicit: Esto mihi in Deum protectorem, et in domum refugii, ut salvum me facias (Ps. XXX, 3). Et Esaias dicit: Factus est omni civitati humili adjutor (Esai. XXV, 4). Non utique sancti Deo dicunt: Creatus es, sed protector et adjutor per gratiam tuam factus es nobis.

40. It would be a lengthy matter were I to pass in review each several place where we read of His being made, not indeed by nature, but by way of gracious dispensation. Moses, for example, says: You are made my Helper and Protector, to save me; Exodus 15:2 and David: Be unto me for a God of salvation, and a house of refuge, that You may save me; and Isaiah: He has become an Helper for every city that is lowly. Isaiah 25:4 Of a surety the

holy men say not to God: You have been created, but By Your grace You are made a Protector and Helper unto us.

CAPUT VI.

OBJECTIONEM EX JOANNE desumptam ut diluat, primo demonstrat Manichaeis patrocinari Arianum sensum: deinde varia distinguendorum verborum ejusdem loci exposita ratione, ipsum nullo modo ad substantiam divinam sine Patris injuria referri posse aperte probat, verumque illius exponit intellectum.

CHAPTER 6.

In order to dispose of an objection grounded on a text in St. John, St. Ambrose first shows that the Arian interpretation lends countenance to the Manichæans; then, after setting forth the different ways of dividing the words in this same passage, he shows plainly that it cannot, without dishonour to the Father, be understood with such reference to the Godhead as the Arians give it, and expounds the true meaning thereon.

41. Unde nec illud verendum est, quod solent Ariani saeva interpretatione componere, dicentes factum esse Dei Verbum; quia scriptum est, inquiunt: Quod factum est in ipso, vita est (Joan. I, 4).

41. We have no reason, therefore, to fear the argument which the Arians, in their reckless manner of expounding, use to construct, showing that the Word of God was made, for, say they, it is written: That which has been made in Him is life.

42. Primum intelligant si ad substantiam divinam referant, quod factum est; Manichaeorum se quaestionibus implicari. Objiciunt enim Manichaei: Si

quod in ipso factum est, vita est: est ergo aliquid quod in ipso factum non sit, et mors sit; ut duo impie inducant principia. Sed hoc damnat Ecclesia.

42. First of all, let them understand that if they make the words That which has been made to refer to the Godhead, they entangle themselves in the difficulties raised by the Manichæans, for these people argue: If that which has been made in Him is life, then there is something which has not been made in Him, and is death, so that they may impiously bring in two principles. But this teaching the Church condemns.

43. Deinde unde possunt docere sic pronuntiasse Evangelistam? Plerique enim docti et fideles sic pronuntiant: Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil quod factum est; alii sic: Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil; denique: Quod factum est, pronuntiant et subjungunt: in ipso, hoc est: Quidquid autem factum, est in ipso. Quid est, In ipso? Apostolus docet dicens: In ipso enim sumus, et vivimus et movemur (Act. XVII, 28).

43. Again, how can the Arians prove that the Evangelist actually said this? The most part of those who are learned in the Faith read the passage as follows: All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that has been made. Others read thus: All things were made by Him, and without Him was nothing made. Then they proceed: What has been made, and to this they join the words in Him; that is to say, But whatsover is has been made in Him. But what mean the words in Him? The Apostle tells us, when he says: In Him we have our being, and live, and move. Acts 17:28

44. Tamen etiamsi quemadmodum velint, pronuntient, non possunt hic calumniari Deo 505 Verbo, si ad substantiam ejus velint referre: Quod factum est; quin calumnientur et Patri Deo, de quo scriptum est: Qui autem

facit veritatem, venit ad lucem; ut manifestentur opera ejus, quia in Deo sunt facta (Joan. III, 21). Ecce hic opera hominis in Deo facta legimus, et ad substantiam tamen divinam referre non possumus: sed aut per ipsum facta cognoscimus, ut est etiam illud Apostolicum, quod omnia per ipsum, et in ipso creata sunt; et ipse est ante omnes, et omnia in ipso constant (Coloss. I, 16): aut, ut docet praesentis lectionis testimonium, virtutes quibus vitae aeternae fructus acquiritur, in Deo factas aestimare debemus, castitatem, pietatem, religionem, fidem et alia hujusmodi, quae in voluntate Dei facta sunt.

44. Howbeit, let them read the passage as they will, they cannot diminish the majesty of God the Word, in referring to His Person, as subject, the words That which was made, without also doing dishonour to God the Father, of Whom it is written: But he who does the truth comes to the light, that his works may be made manifest that they are wrought in God. John 3:21 See then — here we read of man's works being wrought in God, and yet for all that we cannot understand the Godhead as the subject of them. We must either recognize the works as wrought through Him, as the Apostle's affirmation shows that all things are through Him, and were created in Him, and He is before all, and all things *exist together* in Him, or, as the witness of the text here cited teaches us, we ought to regard the virtues whereby the fruit of life eternal is gained, as wrought in God — chastity, piety, devoutness, faith, and others of this kind, whereby the will of God is expressed.

45. Ergo sicut in Dei Patris, ita etiam in Christi voluntate et virtute facta sunt, sicut legimus: Creati in Christo in operibus bonis (Ephes. II, 10); et in psalmo: Fiat pax in virtute tua (Ps. CXXI, 7); et alibi: Omnia in sapientia fecisti (Ps. CIII, 24). In sapientia, inquit, fecisti, non sapientiam fecisti. Nam cum omnia in sapientia facta sint, Christus autem Dei sapientia sit (I

Cor. I, 24), non accidens utique, sed subsistens et permanens in aeternum; si facta est sapientia, jam deteriore conditione facta est quam omnia; quia sapientia fieri per se ipsam non potuit. Ergo si factum esse frequenter ad aliquid, non ad naturam refertur, etiam creatum esse ad causam refertur.

45. Just as the works, then, are the expression of the will and power of God the Father, so are they of Christ's, even as we read: Created in Christ in good works; Ephesians 2:10 and in the psalm: Peace be made in Your power; and again: In wisdom have You made them all. In wisdom have You made, mark you — not You have made wisdom; for since all things have been made in wisdom, and Christ is the Wisdom of God, then this Wisdom is plainly not an accident, but a substance, and an everlasting one, but if the Wisdom has been made, then is it made in a worse condition than all things, forasmuch as it could not, by itself, be made Wisdom. If, then, being made is oftentimes referred to something accidental, not to the essence of a thing, so may creation also be referred to some end had in view.

CAPUT VII.

QUOD A SALOMONE dictum est: Dominus creavit me, etc., incarnationem Christi ad redimenda Patris opera factam signare; quo ex ipsius Filii verbis declarato, principium ostendit etiam accipi posse de documentis virtutum, quarum omnium vias nobis Dominus aperuisse, ac vere principium exstitisse demonstratur.

CHAPTER 7.

Solomon's words, The Lord created Me, etc., mean that Christ's Incarnation was done for the redemption of the Father's creation, as is shown by the Son's own words. That He is the beginning may be understood from the visible proofs of His virtuousness, and it is shown how the Lord opened the ways of all virtues, and was their true beginning.

46. [Alias cap. IV.] Unde intelligimus illud quod de incarnatione Domini scriptum est: Dominus creavit me principium viarum suarum in opera sua (Prov. VIII, 22), id significare quod ad redimenda opera Patris Dominus Jesus ex Virgine sit creatus. Neque enim dubitari potest de incarnationis dictum esse mysterio, cum propter opera sua a corruptelae servitio liberanda Dominus susceperit carnem; ut illum qui imperium habebat mortis, per sui corporis destrueret passionem. Caro enim Christi propter opera, divinitas ante opera; quia ipse ante omnia, sed et omnia in ipso constant.

46. Hereby we are brought to understand that the prophecy of the Incarnation, The Lord created me the beginning of His ways for His works, Proverbs 8:22 means that the Lord Jesus was created of the Virgin for the redeeming of the Father's works. Truly, we cannot doubt that this is spoken

of the mystery of the Incarnation, forasmuch as the Lord took upon Him our flesh, in order to save the works of His hands from the slavery of corruption, so that He might, by the sufferings of His own body, overthrow him who had the power of death. For Christ's flesh is for the sake of things created, but His Godhead existed before them, seeing that He is before all things, while all things exist together in Him. Colossians 1:16

47. Non ergo divinitas propter opera, sed propter divinitatem opera; sicut Apostolus declaravit, dicens quod propter Filium Dei omnia. Sic enim habes: Decebat autem eum per quem omnia, et propter quem omnia, multis filiis in gloriam adductis, ducem salutis eorum per passionem consummari (Hebr. II, 10). Nonne evidenter exposuit quia Dei Filius qui propter divinitatem suam omnia creavit, is postea propter populi salutem et carnis suceptionem, et mortis assumpserit passionem?

47. His Godhead, then, is not by reason of creation, but creation exists because of the Godhead; even as the Apostle showed, saying that all things exist because of the Son of God, for we read as follows: But it was fitting that He, through Whom and because of Whom are all things, after bringing many sons to glory, should, as Captain of their salvation, be made perfect through suffering. Hebrews 2:10 Has he not plainly declared that the Son of God, Who, by reason of His Godhead, was the Creator of all, did in after time, for the salvation of His people, submit to the taking on of the flesh and the suffering of death?

48. Propter quae autem opera sit creatus ex Virgine, 506 ipse Dominus cum illum caecum curaret, ostendit dicens: In illo me oportet operari opera ejus, qui misit me (Joan. IX, 4). Et addidit, ut de incarnatione ejus dictum crederemus: Cum in hoc mundo sum, lux sum hujus mundi (Ibid., 5). Etenim quasi homo in hoc mundo pro tempore est; nam quasi Deus semper

est. Denique et alibi ait: Ecce ego vobiscum sum usque ad consummationem mundi (Matth. XXVIII, 20).

48. Now for the sake of what works the Lord was created of a virgin, He Himself, while healing the blind man, has shown, saying: In Him must I work the works of Him that sent Me. Furthermore He said in the same Scripture, that we might believe Him to speak of the Incarnation: As long as I am in this world, I am the Light of this world, John 9:5 for, so far as He is man, He is in this world for a season, but as God He exists at all times. In another place, too, He says: Lo, I am with you even unto the end of the world. Matthew 28:20

49. Nec de principio residet aliquid quaestionis, cum interrogatus in carne: Tu qui es? responderit: Principium quod et loquor vobis (Joan. VIII, 25). Quod non solum ad substantiam divinitatis aeternae refertur, sed etiam ad documenta virtutum. Ex hoc enim et Deum se probavit aeternum; quia omnium ipse principium est, et uniuscujusque virtutis auctor, quia Ecclesiae caput est, sicut scriptum est: Quia ipse est caput corporis Ecclesiae, qui est principium, primogenitus ex mortuis (Coloss. I, 18).

49. Nor is there any room for questioning with respect to the beginning, seeing that when, during His earthly life, He was asked, Who are You? He answered: The beginning, even as I tell you. This refers not only to the essential nature of the eternal Godhead, but also to the visible proofs of virtues, for hereby has He proved Himself the eternal God, in that He is the beginning of all things, and the Author of each several virtue, in that He is the Head of the Church, as it is written: Because He is the Head of the Body, of the Church; Colossians 1:18 Who is the beginning, first-begotten from the dead. Ephesians 4:15-16

50. Liquet igitur et de incarnatione dictum esse principium viarum suarum, quod ad sacramentum suscepti corporis videtur esse referendum. Ideo enim carnem suscepit, ut ad coelum nobis sterneret iter. Denique ait: Ascendo ad Patrem meum, et Patrem vestrum: Deum meum, et Deum vestrum (Joan. XX, 17). Denique ut scias quod vias suas omnipotens Pater secundum incarnationem praescripserit Filio, habes in Zacharia ad Jesum indutum vestimenta sordida ab Angelo dictum: Haec dicit Dominus omnipotens: Si in viis meis ambulaveris, et praecepta mea custodieris (Zach. III, 7). Quod est vestimentum illud sordidum, nisi carnis assumptio?

50. It is clear, then, that the words beginning of His ways, which, as it seems, we must refer to the mystery of the putting on of His body, are a prophecy of the Incarnation. For Christ's purpose in the Incarnation was to pave for us the road to heaven. Mark how He says: I go up to My Father and your Father, to My God and your God. John 20:17 Then, to give you to know that the Almighty Father appointed His ways to the Son, after the Incarnation, you have in Zechariah the words of the angel speaking to Joshua clothed in filthy garments: Thus says the Lord Almighty: If you will walk in My ways and observe My precepts. Zechariah 3:7 What is the meaning of that filthy garb save the putting on of the flesh?

51. Viae igitur Domini velut quidam tramites bonae vitae sunt, quae diriguntur a Christo, qui ait: Ego sum via, et veritas, et vita (Joan. XIV, 6). Via ergo superna est Dei virtus; Christus enim nobis via est. Et bona via, quae credentibus coeli regna patefecit. Viae autem Domini viae rectae sunt, sicut scriptum est: Vias tuas, Domine, notas fac mihi (Ps. XXIV, 4). Via castitas, via fides, via est abstinentia. Est namque via virtutis, est et via iniquitatis; scriptum est enim: Et vide si est via iniquitatis in me (Ps. CXXXVIII, 24).

51. Now the ways of the Lord are, we may say, certain courses taken in a good life, guided by Christ, Who says, I am the Way, and the Truth, and the Life. John 14:6 The way, then, is the surpassing power of God, for Christ, is our way, and a good way, too, is He, a way which has opened the kingdom of heaven to believers. Moreover, the ways of the Lord are straight, as it is written: Make Your ways known unto me, O Lord. Chastity is a way, faith is a way, abstinence is a way. There is, indeed, a way of virtue, and there is a way of wickedness; for it is written: And see if there be any way of wickedness in me.

52. Principium itaque nostrae virtutis est Christus. Principium integritatis, qui docuit virgines non viriles exspectare concubitus, sed integritatem mentis et corporis sancto magis dicare Spiritui, quam marito (II Cor. XI, 2). Principium parcimoniae Christus, qui pauper factus est, cum esset dives (II Cor. VIII, 9). Principium patientiae Christus, qui cum malediceretur, non remaledixit; cum percuteretur, non repercussit (I Petr. II, 23). Principium humilitatis Christus, qui formam servi accepit (Philip. II, 7); cum Patrem Deum majestate virtutis aequaret. Ex illo enim accepit virtus unaquaeque principium.

52. Christ, then, is the beginning of our virtue. He is the beginning of purity, Who taught maidens not to look for the embraces of men, but to yield the purity of their bodies and minds to the service of the Holy Spirit rather than to a husband. Christ is the beginning of frugality, for He became poor, though He was rich. 1 Corinthians 8:9 Christ is the beginning of patience, for when He was reviled, He reviled not again, when He was struck, He did not strike back. Christ is the beginning of humility, for He took the form of a servant, though in the majesty of His power He was equal with God the Father. From Him each several virtue has taken its origin.

53. Et ideo ut haec virtutum genera disceremus: Filius datus est nobis, cujus principium super humeros ejus (Esai. IX, 6). Principium illud crux Domini est; principium fortitudinis, quo via sanctis est reserata martyribus ad sacri certaminis passionem.

53. For this cause, then, that we might learn these various virtues, a Son was given us, Whose beginning was upon His shoulder. That beginning is the Lord’s Cross — the beginning of strong courage, wherewith a way has been opened for the holy martyrs to enter the sufferings of the Holy War.

CAPUT VIII.

VERSICULUS IN ESAIA proxime citatus de Christi humanitate ac divinitate explicatur, eoque varias haereses jugulari evincitur.

CHAPTER 8.

The prophecy of Christ's Godhead and Manhood, contained in the verse of Isaiah just now cited, is unfolded, and its force in refuting various heresies demonstrated.

54. Vidit hoc principium Esaias, et ideo ait: Puer natus est, Filius datus est nobis. Viderunt et Magi, et ideo cum parvalum in praesepi cernerent, adoraverunt dicentes: Puer natus est; cum stellam conspicerent, praedicantes: Filius datus est nobis (Matth. II, 11). Aliud munus e terris, aliud munus e coelo, et utrumque unus in utroque perfectus, et sine mutabilitate divinitatis, et sine humanae imminutione naturae. Unum adoraverunt, eidemque munera obtulerunt; ut ostenderent ipsum esse coeli Dominum, qui in praesepibus videretur.

54. This beginning did Isaiah see, and therefore he says: A Child is born, a Son is given to us, as also did the Magi, and therefore worshipped they, when they saw the little One in the stable, and said: A Child is born, and, when they saw the star, declared, A Son is given to us. On the one hand, a gift from earth — on the other, a gift from heaven — and both are One Person, perfect in respect of each, without any changeableness in the Godhead, as without any taking away from the fullness of the Manhood. One Person did the Magi adore, to one and the same they offered their gifts, to show that He Who was seen in the stall was the very Lord of heaven.

55. Distingue singulorum momenta verborum: Puer natus est, Filius datus est nobis. Etsi ex Patre natus, non tamen nobis natus, sed datus est; quia non Filius propter nos, sed nos propter Filium. Neque enim nobis natus est, qui et ante nos natus est, et totius est conditor creaturae: neque nunc primum nascitur, qui erat semper, et erat in principio: sed illud quod non erat, nobis nascitur. Quod etiam angelus pastoribus cum loqueretur, dixit esse generatum, sicut habes scriptum: Quia natus est nobis hodie Salvator, qui est Christus Dominus, in civitate David (Luc. II, 11). Nobis ergo quod non erat, natum est: hoc est, puer ex Virgine, corpus ex Maria; hoc enim post nos, illud ante nos.

55. Mark how the two verbs differ in their import: A Child is born, a Son is given. Though born of the Father, yet is He not born, but given to us, forasmuch as the Son is not for our sakes, but we for the Son's. For indeed He was not born to us, being born before us, and the maker of all things created: nor is He now brought to life for the first time, Who was always, and was in the beginning; John 1:1 on the other hand, that which before-time was not is born to us. Again we find it thus recorded, how that the angel, when he spoke to the shepherds, said that He had been born: Who is this day born to us a Saviour, Who is Christ the Lord, in the city of David. Luke 2:11 To us, then, was born that which was not before — that is, a child of the Virgin, a body from Mary — for this was made after man had been created, whereas [the Godhead] was before us.

56. Alii codices sic habent: Puer natus est nobis, Filius datus est nobis; hoc est, qui erat Filius Dei, hic ex Maria puer natus est nobis, et datus est nobis. Quia datus sit, audi Prophetam dicentem: Et salutare tuum da nobis (Psal. LXXXIV, 8). Quod enim supra nos est, datur: quod de coelo est, datur; sicut etiam de Spiritu legimus quod, Charitas Dei effusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis (Rom. V, 5).

56. Some manuscripts read as follows: A Child is born to us a Son is given to us; that is to say, He, Who is Son of God, is born as Mary's child for us, and given to us. As for the fact that He is given, listen to the prophet's words: And grant us Your salvation. But that which is above us is given: what is from heaven is given: even as indeed we read concerning the Spirit, that the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, Who is given unto us. Romans 5:5

57. Sed videte quemadmodum hic locus multas haereses exstinguat. Puer natus est nobis, non Judaeis: nobis, non Manichaeis: nobis, non Marcionitis. Propheta dicit: Nobis, hoc est credentibus, non incredulis. Et ille quidem misericordia sua omnibus natus est, sed perfidia haereticorum fecit, ut non omnibus nasceretur, qui omnibus natus est. Nam et lumen diei oriri jubetur super bonos et malos: sed oriri non videntibus non videtur (Matth. V, 15).

57. But note how this passage is as water upon fire to a crowd of heresies. A Child is born to *us*, not to the Jews; to *us*, not to the Manichæans; to *us*, not to the Marcionites. The prophet says to *us*, that is, to those who believe, not to unbelievers. And He indeed, in His pitifulness, was born for all, but it is the disloyalty of heretics that has brought it to pass that the birth of Him Who was born for all should not profit all. For the sun is bidden to rise upon the good and the bad, but to them that see not there is no appearance of sunrise.

58. Sicut ergo puer non omnibus natus est, sed fidelibus: sic Filius non infidelibus datus est, sed fidelibus. Nobis datus est, non Photinianis; illi enim non datum nobis Dei Filium dicunt esse, sed ab initio inter nos natum: nobis datus est, non Sabellianis; illi enim nolunt Filium datum, eumdem asserentes Patrem esse quem Filium: nobis, non Arianis; et ipsi enim non habent Filium pro salute datum, sed pro infirmitate transmissum: non habent consiliarium, quem putant futura nescisse: non habent Filium, quem

sempiternum non putant; cum 508 scriptum sit de Verbo Dei, quod erat in principio; et alibi: In principio, erat Verbum (Joan. I, 2). Denique ut ad propositum revertamur exemplum: In principio, inquit, antequam terram faceret, antequam abyssos faceret, et antequam produceret fontes aquarum, ante omnes colles genuit me (Prov. VIII, 23 et seq.).

58. Even as the Child, then, is born not unto all, but unto the faithful: so the Son is given to the faithful and not to the unbelieving. He is given to us, not to the Photinians; for they affirm that the Son of God was not given unto us, but was born and first began to exist among us. To us is He given, not to the Sabellians, who will not hear of a Son being given, maintaining that Father and Son are one and the same. Unto us is He given, not unto the Arians, in whose judgment the Son was not given for salvation, but sent over subject and inferior, to whom, moreover, He is no Counsellor, inasmuch as they hold that He knows nought of the future, no Son, since they believe not in His eternity, though of the Word of God it is written: That which was in the beginning; and again: In the beginning was the Word. John 1:1-2 To return to the passage we set before us to discuss. In the beginning, says the Scripture, before He made the earth, before He made the deeps, before He brought forth the springs of water, before all the hills He begot Me.

CAPUT IX.

DIFFICULTATEM EX LOCO Salomonis supra laudato exorientem solvit Ambrosius, illic et praeteritum sumi pro futuro, et geminam in Christo naturam designari patefaciens.

CHAPTER 9.

The preceding quotation from Solomon's Proverbs receives further explanation.

59. Fortasse dices, quomodo de incarnatione Christi dictum esse memoraverim: Dominus creavit me, cum ante incarnationem Christi creatura sit mundi? Sed considera quia moris est Scripturis divinis, et futura pro praeteritis dicere, et geminam in Christo significare substantiam divinitatis, et carnis; ne quis aut divinitatem neget ejus, aut carnem.

59. Perchance you will ask how I came to cite, as referring to the Incarnation of Christ, the place, The Lord created Me, seeing that the creation of the universe took place before the Incarnation of Christ? But consider that the use of holy Scripture is to speak of things to come as though already past, and to make intimation of the union of two natures, Godhead and Manhood, in Christ, lest any should deny either His Godhead or His Manhood.

60. Nam sicut in Esaia habes: Puer natus est nobis, et Filius datus est nobis (Esai. IX, 6); ita hic quoque ante praemisit creaturam carnis, et subtexuit assertionem divinitatis; ut scires non duos Christos, sed unum esse: qui et ante saecula generatus sit ex Patre, et ultimis temporibus creatus ex Virgine,

hoc est: Ego sum ille creatus ex homine, creatus ad causam, qui sum generatus ante saecula.

60. In Isaiah, for example, you may read: A Child is born unto us, and a Son is given unto us; so here also [in the Proverbs] the prophet sets forth first the creation of the flesh, and joined thereto the declaration of the Godhead, that you might know that Christ is not two, but One, being both begotten of the Father before the worlds, and in the last times created of the Virgin. And thus the meaning is: I, Who am begotten before the worlds, am He Who was created of mortal woman, created for a set purpose.

61. Denique dicturus: Dominus creavit me, praemisit: Commemorabo quae a saeculo sunt. Dicturus: Genuit, praemisit: In principio antequam terram faceret, ante omnes colles genuit me. Ante, cum dicitur, in infinitum retro sine aliqua definitione porrigitur. Denique, ante Abraham, inquit, ego sum (Joan. VIII, 58), non utique post Adam: et ante Luciferum (Psal. CIX, 3), non utique post angelos. Sed ante, cum dixit, non se intra aliquem, sed omnia intra se dixit; sic enim moris est aeternitatem Dei Scripturis significare divinis. Denique alibi habes: Priusquam montes fierent, et formaretur orbis terrae, a saeculo et usque in saeculum tu es (Psal. LXXXIX, 2).

61. Again, immediately before the declaration, The Lord created Me, He says, I will tell of the things which are from eternity, and before saying, He begot, He premised, In the beginning, before He made the earth, before all hills. In its extent, the preposition before reaches back into the past without end or limit, and so Before Abraham was, I am, John 8:58 clearly need not mean after Adam, just as before the Morning Star need not mean after the angels. But when He said before, He intended, not that He was included in any one’s existence, but that all things are included in His, for thus it is the custom of Holy Writ to show the eternity of God. Finally, in another

passage you may read: Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever the earth and the world were made, You are from everlasting to everlasting.

62. Ante omnia ergo generatio, inter omnia et propter omnia creatura. Natus ex Patre supra Legem, factus ex Maria sub Lege.

62. Before all created things, then, is the Son begotten; within all and for the good of all is He made; begotten of the Father, above the Law, Mark 2:28 brought forth of Mary, under the Law. Galatians 4:4

CAPUT X.

BAPTISTAE VERBA EX quibus Christum etiam ante incarnationem factum disputabant, soluturus, ubi praemisit ea referri posse ad praedestinationem; intelligenda tamen de incarnatione ab antecedentibus probat. Hinc progrediens ad mystica, ipsum dignitate ac merito ante Joannem fuisse declarat: maxime cum Ecclesiae, cujus typus in historia Ruth expressus fuerat, sponsus, etiam excluso Moyse, solus exstiterit: quam licet Synagoga non omnino neglecta, solus vocavit.

CHAPTER 10.

Observations on the words of John the Baptist (John 1:30), which may be referred to divine fore-ordinance, but at any rate, as explained by the foregoing considerations, must be understood of the Incarnation. The precedence of Christ is mystically expounded, with reference to the history of Ruth.

63. [Alias. cap. V.] Sed scriptum est: Post me venit vir, qui ante me factus est; quia prior me erat. Unde dicunt: Ecce qui erat, factus est. Ipsa verba perpendamus. Post me, inquit, venit vir (Joan. I, 30). Vir ergo est qui venit, ipse qui factus est. Vir 509 autem nomen est sexus: sexus autem non utique divinitati, sed naturae deputatur humanae.

63. But [say they] it is written: After me comes a Man, Who is made before me, because He was before me; John 1:30 and so they argue: See, He Who was aforetime is ‘made.’ Let us take the words by themselves. After me comes a Man. He, then, Who came is a Man, and this is the Man Who was

made. But the word man connotes sex, and sex is attributed to human nature, but never to the Godhead.

64. Possem ergo dicere: Erat in praecognitione quidem corporis, sed aeternitate virtutis; nam et Ecclesia erat, et sancti erant praedestinati ante saecula: sed non id hoc loco dico, at illud assero, factum esse non ad divinitatem, sed ad incarnationis pertinere naturam, sicut ipse Joannes dixit: Hic est de quo dixi: Post me venit vir, qui ante me factus est.

64. I might argue: The Man [Christ Jesus] was in pre-existence so far as His body was foreknown, though His power is from everlasting — for both the Church and the Saints were foreordained before the worlds began. But here I lay aside this argument, and urge that the being made concerns not the Godhead, but the nature of the Incarnation, even as John himself said: This is He of Whom I said: After me comes a Man, Who was made before me.

65. Itaque cum geminam, sicut supra dixi, in Christo substantiam proposuisset, ut utramque intelligas et divinitatis et carnis, hoc loco coepit a carne. Est enim Scripturis promiscua consuetudo divinis, ut interdum a divinitate Christi incipiant, et ad incarnationis sacramenta descendant; interdum ab humilitate incarnationis exordium sumant, et ad gloriam divinitatis assurgant, ut in prophetis, et in evangelistis frequenter, et in Paulo. Ergo et hic juxta memoratam consuetudinem ab incarnatione Domini coepit de ejus divinitate dicturus; non ut confunderet humana atque divina, sed ut distingueret. Verum Ariani, velut Judaici caupones, miscent aquam cum vino; quia divinam generationem humanamque confundunt, ad deitatem referentes, quod de carne sit dictum.

65. The Scripture, then, having, as I showed above, discovered the twofold nature in Christ, that you might understand the presence of both Godhead and Manhood, here begins with the flesh; for it is the custom of Holy Writ

to begin without fixed rule sometimes with the Godhead of Christ, and descend to the visible tokens of Incarnation; sometimes, on the other hand, to start from its humility, and rise to the glory of the Godhead, as oftentimes in the Prophets and Evangelists, and in St. Paul. Here, then, after this use, the writer begins with the Incarnation of our Lord, and then proclaims His Divinity, not to confound, but to distinguish, the human and the divine. But Arians, like Jew vintners, mix water with the wine, confounding the divine generation with the human, and ascribing to the majesty of God what is properly said only of the lowliness of the flesh.

66. Nec metuo quod objecturi videntur quia in superioribus non habet, Virum; sic enim habet: Qui post me venit. Sed videant et ibi quid praemiserit: Verbum, inquit, caro factum est (Joan. I, 14). Et ideo non addidit, Virum; quia carnem dixerat: per carnem autem istic virum intelligimus, et per virum carnem. Ergo quia dixerat: Verbum caro factum est, virum hoc loco nominare superfluum fuit, quem jam carnis expressione signaverat.

66. I have no fears of a certain objection they are likely to put forward, namely, that in the words cited we have a *man* — for some have, Who comes after me. But here, too, let them observe what precedes. The Word, it is said, was made flesh. John 1:14 Having said that the Word was made *flesh*, the Evangelist added no mention of *man*. We understand man there in the mention of flesh, and flesh by the mention of man. After the statement made, then, that the Word was made *flesh*, there was no need here to particularly mention man, whom he already intended by using the name flesh.

67. Quo exemplo in posterioribus quoque et agnum praemisit, qui tolleret peccata mundi; et ut incarnatum intelligeres, quem ante memoraverat, ait: Hic est de quo ante dixi: Post me venit vir, qui ante me factus est (Ibid., 29),

hoc est, virum dixi, non Deum factum. Sed ut ipsum incarnatum declararet esse, quia ante saecula erat; ne duos filios crederemus, ait: Quia prior me erat. Nam si, Factus est, ad divinam generationem retulisset, quid opus erat ut adhuc adderet tertium, atque iteraret quod supra dixerat? Sed quia ante de incarnatione tantum dixerat: Post me venit vir, qui ante me factus est; ideo addidit: Quia prior me erat, quoniam divinitatis aeternitas fuerat exprimenda. Et haec est causa praelationis, ut merito antelatus videatur, qui proprii Patris sempiterna virtus est.

67. Later on, St. John uses the lamb, that takes away the sins of the world, as an example; and to teach you plainly the Incarnation of Him, of Whom he had spoken before, he says: This is He of Whom I said before: After me comes a Man, Who is made before me, to wit, of Whom I said that He was made as being man, not as being God. However, to show that it was He Who was before the worlds, and none other, that became flesh, lest we should suppose two Sons of God, he adds: because He was before me. If the words was made had referred to the divine generation, what need was there that the writer should add this, and repeat himself? But, having first said, with regard to the Incarnation only, After me comes a Man, Who is made before me, he added: because He was before me, because it was needful to teach the eternity of [Christ's] Godhead; and this is the reason why St. John acknowledged Christ's priority, that He, Who is His own Father's eternal Power, may be presented as on that account duly preferred.

68. Dat tamen intellectus spiritalis ubertas, ut excurrere et evagari ad concludendos libeat Arianos, qui volunt factum hoc loco non ad virum, sed ad divinitatem referre. Quid est enim tenere quod possint; cum dixerit Baptista: Post me venit, qui ante me factus est; hoc est, supra meritum meum factus, supra meam gratiam, tempore carnis posterior, divinitatis honore venerabilis? Post me enim venit, temporis 510 est: prior me erat,

aeternitatis: ante me factus est, honoris; quia etiam Incarnationis mysterium supra humanam est gratiam.

68. But the abounding activity of the spiritual understanding makes it a pleasing exercise to sally forth and drive into a corner the Arians, who will understand the term made in this passage, not of the manhood, but of the Godhead [of Christ]. What ground, indeed, is left for them to take their stand upon, when the Baptist has declared that after me comes One Who is made before me, that is, Who, though in the course of earthly life He comes after me, yet is placed above the degree of my worth and grace, and Who has title to be worshipped as God. For the words comes after me belong to an event in time, but was before me signify Christ's eternity; and is made before me refer to His pre-eminence, forasmuch as, indeed, the mystery of the Incarnation is above human deserving.

69. Denique in inferioribus quid supra contexuisset expressit dicens: Post me venit vir, cujus non sum dignus calciamenta portare (Joan. I, 27); praestantiam utique dignitatis, non aeternitatem divinae generationis exponens. Quod eousque ad incarnationem pertinet, ut typum in hominibus mystici calciamenti ante praemiserit. Lege enim proximo defuncti vel fratri copula deferebatur ejus uxoris; ut semen fratris vel proximi resuscitaret (Num. XXXVI, 6). Unde quod Ruth, licet ipsa alienigena; tamen quia maritum habuerat ex Judaeis, qui reliquerat superstitem proximum, eamque colligentem manipulos suae messis, quibus alebat et se et socrum, Booz vidit et amavit: non aliter eam accipit uxorem, nisi calciamentum ejus ante solvisset, cui uxor debebatur ex Lege (Ruth. IV, 5-7).

69. Again, St. John Baptist also taught in less weighty language what ideas they were he had combined, saying: After me comes a Man, Whose shoes I am not worthy to bear, setting forth at least the more excellent dignity [of Christ], though not the eternity of His Divine Generation. Now these words

are so fully intended of the Incarnation, that Scripture has given us, in an earlier book, a human counterpart of the mystic sandal. For, by the Law, when a man died, the marriage bond with his wife was passed on to his brother, or other man next of kin, in order that the seed of the brother or next of kin might renew the life of the house, and thus it was that Ruth, though she was foreign-born, but yet had possessed a husband of the Jewish people, who had left a kinsman of near relation, being seen and loved of Boaz while gleaning and maintaining herself and her mother-in-law with that she gleaned, was yet not taken of Boaz to wife, until she had first loosed the shoe from [the foot of] him whose wife she ought, by the Law, to have become.

70. Historia simplex, sed alta mysteria; aliud enim gerebatur, aliud figurabatur. Nam si secundum litteram sensum torqueamus, prope quidam pudor et horror in verbo est, si ad commixtionis corporeae consuetudinem sententiam intellectumque referamus. Designabatur autem futurus ex Judaeis, ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, qui proximi sui, hoc est, populi mortui semen doctrinae coelestis semine suscitaret, cui calciamentum nuptiale Ecclesiae copulandae praescripta Legis spiritalia deferebant.

70. The story is a simple one, but deep are its hidden meanings, for that which was done was the outward betokening of somewhat further. If indeed we should rack the sense so as to fit the letter exactly, we should almost find the words an occasion of a certain shame and horror, that we should regard them as intending and conveying the thought of common bodily intercourse; but it was the foreshadowing of One Who was to arise from Jewry — whence Christ was, after the flesh — Who should, with the seed of heavenly teaching, revive the seed of his dead kinsman, that is to say, the

people, and to Whom the precepts of the Law, in their spiritual significance, assigned the sandal of marriage, for the espousals of the Church.

71. Non Moyses sponsus; illi enim dicitur: Solve calciamentum pedum tuorum (Exod. III, 5); ut Domino suo cedat. Non Jesus Nave filius sponsus; nam et ipsi dicitur: Solve calciamentum pedum tuorum (Josue V, 16); ne ex similitudine nominis sponsus Ecclesiae crederetur. Non alius sponsus, sed solus Christus est sponsus, de quo dixit Joannes: Qui habet sponsam sponsus est (Joan. III, 29). Illis igitur calciamentum solvitur, huic solvi non potest, sicut dixit Joannes: Non sum dignus solvere corrigiam calciamenti ejus (Joan. I, 27).

71. Moses was not the Bridegroom, for to him comes the word, Loose your shoe from off your foot, Exodus 3:5 that he might give place to his Lord. Nor was Joshua, the son of Nun, the Bridegroom, for to him also it was told, saying, Loose your shoe from off your foot, Joshua 5:16 lest, by reason of the likeness of his name, he should be thought the spouse of the Church. None other is the Bridegroom but Christ alone, of Whom St. John said: He Who has the bride is the Bridegroom. John 3:29 They, therefore, loose their shoes, but His shoe cannot be loosed, even as St. John said: I am not worthy to loose the latchet of His shoe. John 1:27

72. Solus ergo Christus est sponsus, cui illa veniens ex gentibus sponsa, ante inops atque jejuna, sed jam Christi messe dives, innubat: quae manipulos fecundae segetis, Verbique reliquias gremio legat mentis interno; ut exhaustam illam viduam morte filii, atque inopem defuncti populi matrem novis pascat alimentis, non relinquens destitutam viduam, et novos quaerens.

72. Christ alone, then, is the Bridegroom to Whom the Church, His bride, comes from the nations, and gives herself in wedlock; aforetime poor and

starving, but now rich with Christ's harvest; gathering in the hidden bosom of her mind handfuls of the rich crop and gleanings of the Word, that so she may nourish with fresh food her who is worn out, bereaved by the death of her son, and starving, even the mother of the dead people — leaving not the widow and destitute, while she seeks new children.

73. Solus ergo Christus est sponsus, qui nec Synagogae ipsi manipulos suae messis invideat. Utinam se non ipsa excluderet! Habuit quos per se colligeret: sed quia populus ejus est mortuus, quasi filio egena defuncto, per Ecclesiam manipulos, quibus viveret, colligebat; quos venientes in exsultatione portabunt, sicut scriptum est: Venientes autem venient in exsultatione, tollentes manipulos suos (Psal. CXXV, 6).

73. Christ, then, alone is the Bridegroom, grudging not even to the synagogue the sheaves of His harvest. Would that the synagogue had not of her own will shut herself out! She had sheaves that she might herself have gathered, but, her people being dead, she, like one bereaved by the death of her son, began to gather sheaves, whereby she might live, by the hand of the Church — the which sheaves they who come in joyfulness shall carry, even as it is written: Yet surely shall they come with joy, bringing their sheaves with them.

74. Quis enim sibi alius sponsam audeat Ecclesiam vindicare, quam a Libano unus et solus vocavit dicens: Ades huc a Libano, sponsa; 511 ades huc a Libano (Cant. IV, 8). Aut de quo alio potuit Ecclesia dicere: Fauces ejus dulcedines, et totus desiderium (Cant. V, 16)? Et quia de calciamento pedum tractatum sumpsimus, cui alii nisi Verbo Dei incarnato convenit dictum: Crura ejus columnae marmoreae, fundatae super bases aureas (Ibid., 13)? Solus enim Christus inambulat animis, et graditur in mente sanctorum, in quibus velut aureis basibus, fundamentisque pretiosis solidata vestigia Verbi coelestis haeserunt.

74. Who, indeed, but Christ could dare to claim the Church as His bride, whom He alone, and none other, has called from Libanus, saying: Come hither from Libanus, my bride; come hither from Libanus? Song of Songs 4:8 Or of Whom else could the Church have said: His throat is sweetness, and He is altogether desirable? Song of Songs 5:26 And seeing that we entered upon this discussion from speaking of the shoes of His feet — to Whom else but the Word of God incarnate can those words apply? His legs are pillars of marble, set upon bases of gold. Song of Songs 5:15 For Christ alone walks in the souls and makes His path in the minds of His saints, in which, as upon bases of gold and foundations of precious stone the heavenly Word has left His footprints ineffaceably impressed.

75. Claret igitur et virum et typum ad incarnationis spectare mysterium.

75. Clearly we see, then, that both the man and the type point to the mystery of the Incarnation.

CAPUT XI.

REDIT AD LOCUM propositum, et ubi Christus dicitur factus, hoc vel ad incarnationem vel ad causam sive adjunctum aliquod referri docet. Ad eum sensum plurima sacrorum codicum et Pauli imprimis testimonia edisserit: maxime autem in eo immoratur, ut Christum verum sacerdotem esse atque in Melchisedech praefiguratum, eique cum Patre operationis unitatem, non vero solam similitudinem inesse persuadeat.

CHAPTER 11.

St. Ambrose returns to the main question, and shows that whenever Christ is said to have been made (or become), this must be understood with reference to His Incarnation, or to certain limitations. In this sense several passages of Scripture — especially of St. Paul — are expounded. The eternal Priesthood of Christ, prefigured in Melchizedek. Christ possesses not only likeness, but oneness with the Father.

76. Non ergo ad substantiam divinitatis, sed ad incarnationem saepe, nonnumquam etiam ad causam pertinet, cum dicitur factus. Nam si ad divinitatem refers, ergo et in opprobrium Deus factus est; sic enim habes: Tu autem repulisti, et ad nihilum redegisti, dispulisti Christum tuum (Psal. LXXXVIII, 39); et infra: Et factus est in opprobrium vicinis suis (Ibid., 42). Vicinis, inquit, non civibus, non domesticis, non adhaerentibus; quoniam qui adhaeret Domino, unus spiritus est (I Cor. VI, 17): qui vicinus est, non adhaeret. Et, Factus est in opprobrium; quia crux Domini Judaeis scandalum, Graecis stultitia (I Cor. I, 23). Nam sapientibus per eamdem

crucem excelsior factus est coelis, excelsior angelis, et melioris testamenti factus est sponsor, ipse qui erat prioris.

76. When, therefore, Christ is said to have been made, to have become, the phrase relates, not to the substance of the Godhead, but often to the Incarnation — sometimes indeed to a particular office; for if you understand it of His Godhead, then God was made into an object of insult and derision inasmuch as it is written: But you have rejected your Christ, and brought Him to nought; you have driven Him to wander; and again: And He was made the derision of His neighbours. Of His neighbours, mark you — not of them of His household, not of them who clave to Him, for he who cleaves to the Lord is one Spirit; 1 Corinthians 6:17 he who is neighbour does not cleave to Him. Again, He was made a derision, because the Lord's Cross is to Jews a stumbling-block, and to Greeks is foolishness: 1 Corinthians 1:23 for to them that are wise He is, by that same Cross, *made* higher than the heavens, higher than angels, and is made the Mediator of the better covenant, even as He was Mediator of the former.

77. Vide quam non defugiam ista, ut etiam congeram: sed quomodo factus sit, considera.

77. Mark how I repeat the phrase; so far am I from seeking to avoid it. Yet take notice in what sense He is made.

78. Primum quod purificatione facta, considet in dextera magnitudinis in excelsis, tanto melior factus angelis (Hebr. I, 3, 4). Ubi purificatio, hostia: ubi hostia, corpus: ubi corpus, oblatio: ubi munus oblationis, ibi sacrificium passionis.

78. In the first place, having made purification, He sits on the right hand of Majesty on high, being made so much better than the angels. Hebrews 1:3-4 Now where purification is, there is a victim; where there is a victim, there is

also a body; where a body is, there is oblation; where there is the office of oblation, there also is sacrifice made with suffering.

79. Deinde sponsor melioris testamenti (Hebr. VII, 22). Ubi testamentum, mors necesse est praecedat testatoris (Hebr. IX, 16), sicut subter est scriptum: mors autem non ad divinitatis aeternitatem, sed ad fragilitatem refertur humanam.

79. In the next place, He is the Mediator of a better covenant. But where there is testamentary disposition, the death of the testator must first come to pass, as it is written a little further on. Howbeit, the death is not the death of His eternal Godhead, but of His weak human frame.

80. Excelsior quoque coelis factus quomodo sit, ostenditur: Immaculatus, inquit, segregatus a peccatoribus, et excelsior coelis factus: qui non habet quotidie necessitatem, sicut sacerdotes, prius pro suis delictis hostiam offerre, deinde pro populi. Hoc enim fecit semel se offerendo, sicut scriptum est (Hebr. VII, 26, 27). 512 Nemo excelsior factus dicitur, nisi qui in aliquo fuerit humilior: in eo igitur excelsior factus est, sedendo ad dexteram Patris, in quo se minor angelis factus, obtulit passioni (Hebr. II, 9).

80. Furthermore, we are taught how He is made higher than the heavens. Unspotted, says the Scripture, Hebrews 7:26-27 separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens; not having daily need, as the priests have need, to offer a victim first for his own sins, and then for those of the people. For this He did by sacrificing Himself once and for all. None is said to be made higher, save he who has in some respect been lower; Christ, then, is, by His sitting at the right hand of the Father, made higher in regard of that wherein, being made lower than the angels, He offered Himself to suffer.

81. Postremo ipse Apostolus ad Philippenses ait, quia in similitudine hominis factus, et specie inventus ut homo, humiliavit semetipsum, factus obediens usque ad mortem (Phil. II, 7, 8). Vide ubi factus sit: In similitudine, inquit, hominis, non in potestate Dei: et factus abediens usque ad mortem; ut obedientiam quidem hominis habuerit, regnum divinitatis.

81. Finally, the Apostle himself says to the Philippians, that being made in the likeness of man, and found in outward appearance as a man, He humbled Himself, being made obedient even unto death. Philippians 2:7-8 Mark that, in regard whereof He is made, He is made, the Apostle says, in the likeness of man, not in respect of Divine Sovereignty, and He was made obedient unto death, so that He displayed the obedience proper to man, and obtained the kingdom appertaining of right to Godhead.

82. Quantis igitur adhuc utemur exemplis ad incarnationem, vel ad aliquid referendum esse quod factus est! Quod autem et factum est, idem est et creatum: Dixit enim, et facta sunt: ipse mandavit, et creata sunt (Psal. CXLVIII, 5). Dominus creavit me (Prov. VIII, 22), secundum carnem dictum: creatum quoque supra ostendimus in libro primo (Ca et seq.) de incarnatione dictum videri.

82. How many passages need we cite further in evidence that His being made must be understood with reference to His Incarnation, or to some particular dispensation? Now whatsoever is made, the same is also created, for He spoke and they were made; He gave also the word, and they were created. The Lord created me. These words are spoken with regard to His Manhood; and we have also shown, in our First Book, that the word created appears to have reference to the Incarnation.

83. Ipse etiam Apostolus asserendo serviendum non esse creaturae, significavit ex Deo Filium non creatum esse, sed genitum (Rom. I, 25).

Tamen etiam alibi, ut manifestaret quomodo in Salomone sit lectum: Dominus creavit me; quid in Christo creatum esset, ostendit.

83. Again, the Apostle himself, by declaring that no worship is to be rendered to a created existence, has shown that the Son has not been created, but begotten, of God. Romans 1:25 At the same time he shows in other places what there was in Christ that was created, in order to make plain in what sense he has read in Solomon's book: The Lord created Me.

84. Itaque totius seriem capitis recenseamus; sic enim habes: Ergo quia filii participes sunt carnis et sanguinis, et ipse similiter particeps factus est eorumdem; ut per mortem destrueret hunc qui mortis habebat imperium (Hebr. II, 14). Quis ergo est qui nos participes suae voluit esse carnis et sanguinis? Utique Dei Filius. Quomodo nisi per carnem particeps factus est noster? aut per quam, nisi per corporis mortem mortis vincula dissolvit? Mortis enim mors facta est susceptio mortis in Christo. Ergo de incarnatione proposuit.

84. Let us now review a whole passage in order. Seeing, then, that the sons have parts of flesh and blood, He too likewise was made to have part in the same, to the end that by death He might overthrow him who had the power of death. Hebrews 2:14 Who, then, is He Who would have us to be partakers in His own flesh and blood? Surely the Son of God. How, save by means of the flesh, was He made partaker with us, or by what, save by bodily death, broke He the chains of death? For Christ's endurance of death was made the death of Death. 1 Corinthians 15:54-55 This text, then, speaks of the Incarnation.

85. Videamus sequentia: Nec enim statim Angelos, inquit, assumpsit, sed semen Abrahae. Unde habuit per omnia fratribus similari; ut misericors fieret et fidelis princeps, sacerdos ad Deum, ut expiaret peccata populi. In

quo enim passus est ipse; et tentatus, potest et tentatos juvare (Ibid., 16, 17). Propter quod, fratres sanctissimi, vocationis coelestis participes, intuemini apostolum et principem sacerdotum confessionis nostrae Jesum fidelem esse creatori suo, sicut et Moyses in domo ejus (Hebr. III, 1, 2). Haec nempe verba sunt Apostoli.

85. Let us see what follows: For He did not indeed [straightway] put on Him the nature of angels, but that of Abraham's seed. And thus was He able to be made like to His brethren in all things throughout, that He might become a compassionate and faithful Prince, a Priest unto God, to make propitiation for the sins of the people; for in that He Himself suffered He is able also to help them that are tempted. Wherefore, brethren most holy, you who have each his share in a heavenly calling, look upon the Apostle and High Priest of our confession, Jesus, regard His faithfulness to His Creator, even as Moses was in his house. These, then, are the Apostle's words.

86. Videtis in quo creatum dicat: in quo assumpsit, inquit, semen Abrahae, corporalem utique generationem asserit. In quo autem, nisi in corpore expiavit populi peccata? In quo passus est, nisi in corpore; sicut et supra diximus: Christo passo secundum carnem? In quo sacerdos, nisi in eo quod sacerdotali assumpsit ex genere?

86. You see what it is in respect whereof the writer calls Him created: In so far as He took upon Him the seed of Abraham; plainly asserting the begetting of a body. How, indeed, but in His body did He expiate the sins of the people? In what did He suffer, save in His body — even as we said above: Christ having suffered in the flesh? In what is He a priest, save in that which He took to Himself from the priestly nation?

87. Sacerdos enim aliquid debet offerre, et secundum Legem in sancta intrare per sanguinem (Hebr. IX, 25): 513 ergo quia sanguinem taurorum,

hircorumque repudiaverat Deus, hunc utique sacerdotem per suum sanguinem, sicut legisti, in sancta sanctorum coeli summa penetrantem oportebat intrare (Ibid. 12); ut aeterna nostrorum esset oblatio peccatorum. Idem ergo sacerdos, idem et hostia: et sacerdotium tamen, et sacrificium humanae conditionis officium est; nam et agnus ad immolandum ductus est, et sacerdos est secundum ordinem Melchisedech.

87. It is a priest's duty to offer something, and, according to the Law, to enter into the holy places by means of blood; seeing, then, that God had rejected the blood of bulls and goats, this High Priest was indeed bound to make passage and entry into the holy of holies in heaven through His own blood, in order that He might be the everlasting propitiation for our sins. Priest and victim, then, are one; the priesthood and sacrifice are, however, exercised under the conditions of humanity, for He was led as a lamb to the slaughter, and He is a priest after the order of Melchizedek.

88. Nemo igitur ubi ordinem cernit humanae conditionis, ibi jus divinitatis asserat. Nam et illum Melchisedech per quem Abraham hostias suas obtulit (Gen. XIV, 18), non angelum utique secundum Judaica ludibria intelligit Ecclesia, sed virum sanctum, ac sacerdotem Dei, qui typum gerens Domini, et sine Patre, et sine matre, et sine generationis enarratione, et sine initio, et sine fine describitur; ut ostenderet sempiternum Filium Dei in hunc mundum esse venturum, qui et sine Patre secundum incarnationem natus est, et sine matre secundum divinam generationem, et sine enarratione generationis; quia scriptum est: Generationem autem ejus quis enarrabit (Esa. LIII, 8)?

88. Let no man, therefore, when he beholds an order of human establishment, contend that in it resides the claim of Divinity; for even that Melchizedek, by whose office Abraham offered sacrifice, the Church does certainly not hold to be an angel (as some Jewish triflers do), but a holy

man and priest of God, who, *prefiguring* our Lord, is described as without father or mother, without history of his descent, without beginning and without end, in order to show beforehand the coming into this world of the eternal Son of God, Who likewise was incarnate and then brought forth without any father, begotten as God without mother, and was without history of descent, for it is written: His generation who shall declare? Isaiah 53:8

89. Ergo illum Melchisedech in Christi typo sacerdotem Dei accepimus: sed illum in typo, hunc in veritate: typus autem umbra est veritatis: illum in nomine unius civitatis, hunc regem in reconciliatione totius mundi; quia scriptum est: Deus erat in Christo, mundum reconcilians sibi (II Cor. V, 19); hoc est, sempiterna divinitas; aut, si Pater in Filio, sicut Filius in Patre, et substantiae utique et operationis unitas non negatur.

89. This Melchizedek, then, have we received as a priest of God made upon the model of Christ, but the one we regard as the type, the other as the original. Now a type is a shadow of the truth, and we have accepted the royalty of the one in the name of a single city, but that of the other as shown in the reconciliation of the whole world; for it is written: God was in Christ, reconciling the world to Himself; 2 Corinthians 5:19 that is to say, [in Christ was] eternal Godhead: or, if the Father is in the Son, even as the Son is in the Father, then Their unity in both nature and operation is plainly not denied.

90. Quomodo autem negare merito possunt, etiam si velint, cum scriptum sit: Pater autem qui in me manet, ipse facit opera; et: Opera quae ego facio, ipse facit (Joan. XIV, 10)? Non dixit: Et ipse facit; ne similitudinem magis, quam unitatem operis aestimares: sed dicendo: Quae ego facio, ipse facit, manifestum reliquit quod unum opus Patris et Filii credere debeamus.

90. But how, indeed, could our adversaries justly deny this, even if they would, when the Scripture says: But the Father, Who abides in Me, even He does the works; and The works that I do, He Himself works? John 14:10 Not He *also* does the works, but one should regard it as similarity rather than unity of work; in saying, The things that I do, He Himself does, the Apostle has left it clear that we ought to believe that the work of the Father and the work of the Son is one.

91. Denique ubi similitudinem operum, non unitatem voluit intelligi: Qui credit, inquit, in me, opera quae ego facio, et ipse faciet (Ibid., 12). Bene hic et interponendo, similitudinem nobis donavit; et tamen unitatem naturalem negavit. Unum est igitur opus Patris et Filii, etiamsi non placeat Arianis.

91. On the other hand, when He would have similarity, not unity, of works, to be understood, He said: He that believes in Me, the works which I do, shall he do also. John 14:12 Skilfully inserting here the word also, He has allowed us similarity, and yet has not ascribed natural unity. One, therefore, is the work of the Father and the work of the Son, whether the Arians please so to think or not.

CAPUT XII.

REGNUM PATRIS ATQUE Filii unum esse ac indivisum; et unam similiter utriusque divinitatem.

CHAPTER 12.

The kingdom of the Father and of the Son is one and undivided, so likewise is the Godhead of each.

92. Quaero autem quomodo regnum velint Patris et Filii esse divisum; cum Dominus dixerit, ut supra ostendimus; Omne regnum in se divisum, facile destruetur (Matth. XII, 25) ?

92. I would now ask how they suppose the kingdom of the Father and the Son to be divided, when the Lord has said, as we showed above: Every kingdom divided against itself shall be speedily overthrown. Matthew 12:25

93. Et ideo ad excludendum Arianae sacrilegium saevitatis, unum imperium Patris et Filii etiam 514 Petrus sanctus asseruit dicens: Quapropter satagite, fratres, certam vestram vocationem et electionem facere. Haec enim facientes non errabitis; sic enim abundantius ministrabitur vobis introitus in aeternum imperium Dei, et Domini nostri conservatoris Jesu Christi (II Petr. I, 10, 11).

93. Indeed, it was to debar the impious teaching of Arian enmity that Saint Peter himself asserted the dominion of the Father and the Son to be one, saying: Wherefore, my brethren, labour to make your calling and election sure, for so doing you shall not go astray, for thus your entrance into the

eternal realm of God and our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ shall be granted with the greater abundance of grace. 1 Peter 2:10-11

94. Aut si quis de Christi tantum imperio dictum putat, et hoc ideo sic accipit, ut Patrem Filiumque potestate secernat; is tamen et regnum Filii fatebitur, et aeternum. Itaque non solum duo inducent regna divisa, ut obnoxia sint defectui; sed etiam cum regna comparabilia nulla sint Dei regno, quod Filii esse, etiamsi velint negare non possunt: aut contra suam sententiam redibunt, ut idem Patris et Filii regnum esse fateantur: aut, quod sacrilegium est dicere, jus Patri regni minoris ascribent: aut, quod contrarium est, quem minorem divinitate impie memorant, ejus regnum fatebuntur aequale.

94. Now, if it be thought that Christ's dominion alone is spoken of, and the place be therefore understood in such sense that the Father and the Son are regarded as divided in authority — yet it will be still acknowledged that it is the dominion of the Son, and that an eternal one, and thus not only will two kingdoms, separate, and so liable to fail, be brought in, but, furthermore, inasmuch as no kingdom is to be compared with God's kingdom, which they cannot, however greatly they may desire to, deny to be the kingdom of the Son, they must either turn back upon their opinion, and acknowledge the kingdom of the Father and the Son to be one and the same; or they must ascribe to the Father the government of a lesser kingdom — which is blasphemy; or they must acknowledge Him, Whom they wickedly declare to be inferior in respect of Godhead, to possess an equal kingdom, which is inconsistent.

95. Sed hoc non quadrat, non congruit, non cohaeret. Dicant igitur unum esse regnum, sicut nos dicimus, et probamus: probamus autem non nostris, sed coelestibus testimoniis.

95. But this [their teaching] squares not, agrees not, holds not [with its premisses]. Let them confess, then, that the kingdom is one, even as we confess and prove, not indeed on our own evidence, but upon testimony vouchsafed from heaven.

96. Primum enim etiam aliis exemplis disce regnum coelorum, regnum etiam Filii esse: ipse enim dixit: Amen, amen, dico vobis quoniam sunt aliqui dehic astantibus, qui non gustabunt mortem, donec videant Filium hominis venientem in regnum suum (Matth. XVI, 28). Dubitari ergo non potest quod sit regnum Filii Dei.

96. To begin with, learn, from further testimonies [of Scripture], how that the kingdom of heaven is also the kingdom of the Son: Verily, verily, I say unto you, that there are some among those which stand here with us, who shall not taste death, until they see the Son of Man coming into His kingdom. Matthew 16:28 There is therefore no room for doubt that the kingdom appertains to the Son of God.

97. Sed accipe ipsum esse regnum Filii, quod Patris est: Amen dico vobis quod sunt quidam circumstantium, qui non gustabunt mortem, donec videant regnum Dei veniens in virtute (Marc. VIII, 39). Eo enim usque unum regnum est, ut unum sit praemium, idem haeres, eadem merita, idem sponsor.

97. Now learn that the kingdom of the Son is the very same as the kingdom of the Father: Verily, I say unto you that there be some of those which stand around us, who shall not taste death until they see the kingdom of God coming in power. Mark 8:39 So far, indeed, is it one kingdom, that the reward is one, the inheritor is one and the same, and so also the merit, and He Who promises [the reward].

98. Quomodo non idem regnum, cum praesertim ipse de se Filius dixerit : Tunc justi fulgebunt sicut sol in regno Patris mei (Matth. XIII, 43). Quod enim Patris est per majestatis proprietatem, id etiam Filii est per ejusdem claritudinis unitatem. Ergo et Patris regnum Scriptura dixit, et Filii (Joan. XVII, 5).

98. How can it but be one kingdom, above all when the Son Himself has said of Himself: Then shall the righteous shine like the sun in the kingdom of My Father? Matthew 13:43 For that which is the Father's, by fitness to His majesty, is also the Son's, by unity in the same glory. John 17:5 The Scripture, therefore, has declared the kingdom to be the kingdom both of the Father and of the Son.

99. Accipe nunc quia ubi regnum Dei dicit, nec Patris nec Filii separat potestatem; quia et paternum et Filii regnum uno Dei nomine comprehendit, sicut habes: Cum videritis Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, et omnes prophetas in regno Dei (Luc. XIII, 28). An negamus in regno Filii prophetas esse, cum et latroni dicenti: Memento mei, cum veneris in regnum tuum; responderit Dominus: Amen dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in paradiso (Luc. XXIII, 42, 43)? Aut quid est esse in regno Dei, nisi aeternam nescire mortem? Qui autem nesciunt aeternam mortem, vident Filium hominis venientem in regnum suum.

99. Now learn that where the kingdom of God is named, there is no putting aside of the authority either of the Father or of the Son, because both the kingdom of the Father and the kingdom of the Son is included under the single name of God, saying: When you shall see Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets, in the kingdom of God. Luke 13:28 Do we deny that the prophets are in the kingdom of the Son, when even to a dying robber who said, Remember me, when You come into Your kingdom, the Lord made answer: Verily, I say unto you, today shall you be with Me in

paradise. Luke 23:42-43 What, indeed, do we understand by being in the kingdom of God, if not the having escaped eternal death? But they who have escaped eternal death see the Son of Man coming into His kingdom.

100. Quomodo ergo potest non in potestate habere quod donat dicens: Tibi dabo claves regni coelorum (Matth. XVI, 19)? Et videto distantiam. Servus 515 aperit, Dominus largitur: iste per se, ille per Christum: famulus claves accipit, Dominus ordinat potestates: aliud jus donantis, aliud dispensantis obsequium est.

100. How, then, can He not have in His power that which He gives, saying: To you will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven? Matthew 16:19 See the gulf between [the one and the other]. The servant opens, the Lord bestows; the One through Himself, the other through Christ; the minister receives the keys, the Lord appoints powers: the one is the right of a giver, the other the duty of a steward.

101. Accipe adhuc unum regnum, unum imperium esse Patris et Filii. Habes ad Timotheum: Paulus apostolus Jesu Christi secundum imperium Dei Salvatoris nostri, et Christi Jesu spei nostrae (I Tim. I, 1). Unum igitur Patris et Filii regnum evidenter est declaratum, sicut et apostolus Paulus asseruit dicens: Hoc enim scitote quod omnis impudicus, aut immundus, aut avarus, quod est idololatria, non habet haereditatem in regno Christi et Dei (Ephes. V, 5). Ergo unum regnum, et una divinitas.

101. See now yet another proof that the kingdom, the government, of the Father and the Son is one. It is written in the Epistle to Timothy: Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ, according to the government of God, our Saviour, and Christ Jesus, our Hope. 1 Timothy 1:1 One, therefore, the kingdom of the Father and the Son is plainly declared to be, even as Paul the Apostle also asserted, saying: For know this, that no shameless person, none that is

impure, or covetous (which means idolatry), has inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God. Ephesians 5:5 It is, therefore, one kingdom, one Godhead.

102. Unam divinitatem lex probavit, quae dicit unum Deum (Deut. VI, 4). Probavit et Apostolus, dicendo de Christo: In quo habitat omnis plenitudo divinitatis corporaliter (Coloss. II, 9). Si enim juxta Apostolum plenitudo omnis corporaliter divinitatis in Christo est, aut unius divinitatis Patrem et Filium fatebuntur: aut si Patris et Filii divinitatem cupiunt separare, cum omnem plenitudinem divinitatis corporaliter Filius habeat; quid est quod existimant amplius reservandum, cum amplius nihil sit plenitudine perfectionis? Ergo una divinitas.

102. Oneness in Godhead the Law has proved, which speaks of one God, Deuteronomy 6:4 as also the Apostle, by saying of Christ; In Whom dwells all the fullness of the Godhead bodily. For if, as the Apostle says, all the fullness of the Godhead, bodily, is in Christ, then must the Father and the Son be confessed to be of one Godhead; or if it is desired to sunder the Godhead of the Son from the Godhead of the Father, while the Son possesses all the fullness of the Godhead bodily, what is supposed to be further reserved, seeing that nothing remains over and above the fullness of perfection? Therefore the Godhead is one.

CAPUT XIII.

FILIO MAJESTATEM SUAM esse, ac paternae aequalem: cujus socii non sint angeli, sed spectatores.

CHAPTER 13.

The majesty of the Son is His own, and equal to that of the Father, and the angels are not partakers, but beholders thereof.

103. [Alias cap. VI.] Imaginem autem unam, et similitudinem unam supra diximus (Lib. 1, ca), superest ut unius quoque majestatis Patrem Filiumque doceamus. Nec longe aberit; cum enim ipse dixerit de se Filius: Cum venerit Filius hominis in majestate sua, et omnes angeli cum eo, tunc sedebit super sedem majestatis suae (Matth. XXV, 31). Ecce Filii expressa majestas est: quid ei deest, cujus increatam majestatem negare non possunt? Est ergo Filii majestas.

103. Now, we having already laid down that the Father and the Son are of one image and likeness, it remains for us to show that They are also of one majesty. And we need not go far afield for proof, inasmuch as the Son Himself has said of Himself: When the Son of Man shall come in His majesty, and all the angels with Him, then shall He sit upon the throne of His majesty. Matthew 25:31 Behold, then, the majesty of the Son declared! What lacks He yet, Whose uncreated majesty cannot be denied? Majesty, then, belongs to the Son.

104. Accipiant nunc, ut dubitare non possint, quod Patris et Filii una majestas sit; ipse enim Dominus dixit: Nam qui me erubuerit et meos

sermones, hunc Filius hominis erubescet; cum venerit in majestate sua, et Patris, et sanctorum angelorum (Luc. IX, 26). Quid est: Et sanctorum angelorum, nisi quia honorantur et servi dignitate domini sui?

104. Let our adversaries now hold it proved beyond doubt that the majesty of the Father and of the Son is one, forasmuch as the Lord Himself has said: For he who shall be ashamed of Me and of My words, of Him shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when He comes in His majesty and His Father's, and the majesty of the holy angels. Luke 9:26 What is the force of the words and the majesty of the holy angels, but that the servants derive honour from the worship of their Lord?

105. Dignitatem ergo suam ad Filium et Patrem retulit; non ut angeli habeant cum Patre et Filio aequale consortium, sed ut praeeminentem gloriam Dei cernant. Neque enim suam majestatem angeli habent, sicut lectum est de Filio: Cum sederit in sede majestatis suae (Matth. XXV, 31); sed assistunt, ut Patris et Filii gloriam videant, quibus aut possunt aut merentur aspectibus.

105. The Son, therefore, ascribed His majesty to His Father as well as to Himself, not, indeed, in such sort that the angels should share in that majesty on equal terms with the Father and the Son, but that they should behold the surpassing glory of God; for truly not even angels possess a majesty of their own, after the manner in which Scripture speaks of the Son: When He shall sit upon the throne of His majesty, but they stand in the presence, that they may see the glory of the Father and the Son, in such degrees of vision as they are either worthy of or able to bear.

106. Denique ipsa se explanant verba divina, ut intelligas illam gloriam Patris et Filii cum 516 angeli non esse communem; sic enim habes: Cum autem venerit Filius hominis in majestate sua, et omnes angelis cum eo. Et

ut doceret unam majestatem et unam gloriam esse Patris et suam, ipse in alio libro ait: Et Filius hominis confundet eum, cum venerit in gloria Patris sui cum angelis sanctis (Marc. VIII, 38). Illi in obsequio, hic in gloria: illi in comitatu, hic in suggestu: illi stant, hic sedet; ut verbo tamen usus utamur humani, hic judicat, hi ministrant.

106. Furthermore, the God-given words themselves declare their own meaning, that you may understand that glory of the Father and the Son not to be held in common with them by angels, for thus they run: But when the Son of Man shall come in His majesty, and all the angels with Him. Again, to show that His Father's majesty and glory and His own majesty and glory are one and the same, our Lord Himself says in another book: And the Son of Man shall confound him, when He shall come in the glory of His Father, with the holy angels. Mark 8:38 The angels come in obedience, He comes in glory: they are His retainers, He sits upon His throne: they stand, He is seated — to borrow terms of the daily dealings of human life, He is the Judge: they are the officers of the court.

107. Divinam autem non praemisit majestatem Patris, et subdidit suam et angelorum; ne de superioribus ad inferiora fecisse gradum quemdam et ordinem videretur. Sed quia Pater inferior videri non poterat, praemisit majestatem suam, et addidit Patris et angelorum; ne se medium inter Patrem et angelos nominando, aut ab angelis ad Patrem per sui quoque incrementa fecisse quemdam videretur ascensum, aut a Patre rursus ad angelos per ordinem cum sui etiam diminutione crederetur fecisse descensum. Nam nos qui unam divinitatem Patris et Filii confitemur, diversum, ut Ariani, ordinem non putamus.

107. Note that He did not place first His Father's divine majesty, and then, in the second place, His own and the angels', lest He should seem to have made out a sort of descending order, from the highest to lower natures. He

placed His own majesty first, and then spoke of His Father's, and the majesty of the angels (because the Father could not appear lower than they), in order that He might not, by placing mention of Himself between that of His Father and that of the angels, seem to have made out some ascending scale, leading from angels to the Father through increase of His own dignity; nor, again, be believed to have, contrariwise, shown a descent from the Father to angels, entailing diminution of that dignity. Now we who confess one Godhead of the Father and the Son suppose no such order of distinction as the Arians do.

CAPUT XIV.

UNIUS SUBSTANTIAE CUM Patre Filium esse; hanc autem etiam secundum divinitatem sumi debere in multis Scripturarum testimoniis, tametsi in aliis nonnullis hoc verbum aut de possessionibus aut de incarnatione intelligatur.

CHAPTER 14.

The Son is of one substance with the Father.

108. De substantia autem, Imperator auguste, quid loquar unius Filium cum Patre esse substantiae; cum imaginem Paternae substantiae Filium legerimus (Sap. VII, 26); ut in nullo secundum divinitatem a Patre intelligas discrepare?

108. And now, your Majesty, with regard to the question of the substance, why need I tell you that the Son is of one substance with the Father, when we have read that the Son is the image of the Father's substance, that you may understand that there is nothing wherein, so far as Godhead is regarded, the Son differs from the Father.

109. Juxta hanc imaginem dixit: Omnia quae Pater habet, mea sunt (Joan. XVI, 15). Ergo nec substantiam in Deo possumus denegare; neque enim insubstantivus est, qui aliis dedit habere substantiam: licet alia sit substantia Dei, alia creaturae. Nec posset insubstantivus Filius Dei esse, per quem cuncta subsistunt.

109. In virtue of this likeness Christ said: All things that the Father has are Mine. John 16:15 We cannot, then, deny substance to God, for indeed He is

not unsubstantial, Who has given to others the ground of their being, though this be different in God from what it is in the creature. The Son of God, by Whose agency all things endure, could not be unsubstantial.

110. Et ideo ait: Non est occultatum os meum quod fecisti in abscondito, et substantia mea in inferioribus terrae (Psal. CXXXVIII, 15). Virtuti enim et divinitati ea, quae ante constitutionem mundi, vel imperspicabili majestate sunt gesta, abscondita esse non poterant. Legimus ergo substantiam.

110. And therefore, the Psalmist says: My bones are not hidden, which You made in secret, and my substance in the underworld. For to His power and Godhead, the things that before the foundation of the world were done, though their magnificence was [as yet] invisible, could not be hidden. Here, then, we find mention of substance.

111. Sed dices de incarnatione dictam esse substantiam. Interim nomen substantiae lectum probavi, et lectum non pro patrimoniis, ut dicitis. Jam, si placet, accipiamus secundum mysterium in inferioribus Christi fuisse substantiam. Etenim ut defunctorum animas in sui corporis anima liberaret, vincula mortis solveret, peccata donaret, operatus est in inferno. 517

111. But it may be objected that the mention of His substance is the consequence of His Incarnation. I have shown that the word substance is used more than once, and that not in the sense of inherited possessions, as you would construe it. Now, if it please you, let us grant that, in accordance with the mystic prophecy, the substance of Christ was present in the underworld — for truly He did exert His power in the lower world to set free, in the soul which animated His own body, the souls of the dead, to loose the bands of death, to remit sins. 1 Peter 3:19

112. Et tamen quid obstat quominus illam divinam intelligas esse substantiam, cum Deus ita ubique sit, ut ei dictum sit: Si ascendero in

coelum, tu illic es: si descendero ad infernum, ades (Ibid., 8).

112. And, indeed, what hinders you from understanding, by that substance, His divine substance, seeing that God is everywhere, so that it has been said to Him: If I go up into heaven, You are there; if I go down into hell, You are present.

113. Denique ad substantiam divinam derivandum esse intellectum sequentibus declaravit dicens: Inoperatum meum viderunt oculi tui (Ibid., 16); eo quod non operis factura sit Filius, sed Verbum genitum potestatis aeternae: ἀκατέργαστον enim dixit, hoc est, inoperatum atque increatum Verbum sine alicujus creaturae testimonio ex Patre natum: et tamen abundamus aliis substantiae testimoniis. Sit ista hoc loco substantia corporalis, dummodo non opus Dei Filium, sed inoperatam ejus divinitatem et ipse fatearis.

113. Furthermore, the Psalmist has in the words following made it plain that we must understand the divine substance to be mentioned when he says: Your eyes did see My being, [as] not the effect of working; inasmuch as the Son is not made, nor one of God's works, but the begotten Word of eternal power. He called Him ἀχατέργαστον, meaning that the Word neither made nor created, is begotten of the Father without the witnessing presence of any created being. Howbeit, we have abundance of testimony besides this. Let us grant that the substance here spoken of is the bodily substance, provided you also yourself say not that the Son of God is something effected by working, but confess His uncreated Godhead.

114. Scio autem aliquos dicere inoperatum esse etiam incarnationis mysterium, quod non sit virilis copulae usus operatus; quia partus est Virginis. Si ergo plerique hoc loco nec Mariae partus opus esse dixerunt, tu, Ariane, opus putas esse Dei Verbum?

114. Now I know that some assert that the mystic incarnate form was uncreated, forasmuch as nothing was done therein through intercourse with a man, because our Lord was the offspring of a virgin. If, then, many have, on the strength of this passage, asserted that neither that which was brought forth of Mary was produced by creative operation, dare you, disciple of Arius, think that the Word of God is something so produced?

115. Aut hic tantum substantiam legimus? Nonne et alibi dixit: Portae civitatum effractae sunt, montes ceciderunt, et revelata est substantia (Nahum. II, 6)? Numquid hic quoque creatura signatur? Solent enim aliqui dicere pecuniariam esse substantiam. Ergo si ad hunc sensum refers, ideo occiderunt montes, ut pecuniarium patrimonium cerneretur.

115. But is this the only place where we read of substance? Hath it not also been said in another passage: The gates of the cities are broken down, the mountains are fallen, and His substance is revealed? What, does the word mean something created here also? Some, I know, are accustomed to say that the substance is substance in money. Then, if you give this meaning to the word, the mountains fell, in order that some one’s possessions of money might be seen.

116. Sed meminerimus qui montes ceciderunt, illi utique de quibus dictum est: Si habueritis fidem sicut granum sinapis, dicetis huic monti: Tollere, et jactare in mare (Matth. XVII, 19). Montes ergo sunt altitudines se extollentes.

116. But let us remember *what* mountains fell, those, namely, of which it has been said: If you shall have faith as a grain of mustard seed you shall say to this mountain: Be removed, and be cast into the sea! Matthew 17:19 By mountains, then, are meant high things that exalt themselves. 2 Corinthians 10:5

117. Denique in Graeco, regna ceciderunt, habetur. Quae regna, nisi satanae, de quo dixit Dominus: Quomodo stabit regnum ipsius (Matth. XII, 26)? Ipsos ergo legimus montes, quae regna sunt diaboli. Ideoque istis cadentibus regnis de corde fidelium, revelatum est paternae Dei Filium Christum esse substantiae. Qui sunt etiam illi ipsi montes aerei, de quorum medio quatuor currus procedunt (Zach. VI, 1)?

117. Moreover, in the Greek, the rendering is this: The palaces are fallen. What palaces, save the palace of Satan, of whom the Lord said: How shall His kingdom stand? We are reading, therefore, of the things which are the devil's palaces as being very mountains, and therefore in the fall of those palaces from the hearts of the faithful, the truth stands revealed, that Christ, the Son of God, is of the Father's eternal substance. What, again, are those mountains of bronze, from the midst of which four chariots come forth? Zechariah 6:1

118. Advertimus altitudinem illam extollentem se adversus scientiam Dei verbo Domini corruisse; cum diceret Dei Filius: Obmulesce, et exi, immunde spiritus (Marc. I, 25). De quo et propheta dixit: Ecce ego ad te, mons corrupte (Jerem. LI, 25).

118. We behold that height, lifting up itself against the knowledge of God, cast down by the word of the Lord, when the Son of God said: Hold your peace, and come forth, you foul spirit. Mark 1:25 Concerning whom the prophet also said: Behold, I have come to you, you mount of corruption!

119. Isti ergo ceciderunt montes, et revelatum est quod esset in Christo divina substantia, dicentibus iis, qui viderant: Vere Filius Dei est (Luc. IV, 41); non enim humana, sed divina potestate daemoniis imperabat. Jeremias quoque dicit: Super montes accipite luctum, et super semitas desertas planctum, quia defecerunt; eo quod non sint homines, non acceperunt

vocem substantiae: a volatilibus usque ad jumenta expaverunt et defecerunt (Jerem. IX, 10).

119. *Those* mountains, then, are fallen, and it is revealed that in Christ was the substance of God, in the words of those who had seen Him: Truly You are the Son of God, Luke 4:41 for it was in virtue of divine, not human power, that He commanded devils. Jeremiah also says: Make mourning upon the mountains, and beat your breasts upon the desert tracks, for they have failed; forasmuch as there are no men, they have not heard the word of substance: from flying fowl to beasts of burden, they trembled, they have failed.

120. Nec praeteriit etiam alibi, cum fragilitates exponeret conditionis humanae, ut susceptam a se 518 infirmitatem carnis, et affectum nostrae mentis ostenderet, dixisse Dominum per Prophetam: Memento, Domine, quae est substantia mea (Psalm. LXXXVIII, 48); quia in natura fragilitatis humanae Dei Filius loquebatur.

120. Nor has it escaped us, that in another place also, setting forth the frailties of man's estate, in order to show that He had taken upon Himself the infirmity of the flesh, and the affections of our minds, the Lord said, by the mouth of His prophet: Remember, O Lord, what My substance is, because it was the Son of God speaking in the nature of human frailty.

121. De quo supra, ut incarnationis mysteria revelaret, ait: Tu vero repulisti, Domine, et pro nihilo habuisti: dispulisti Christum tuum, evertisti testamentum servi tui, profanasti in terra sanctitatem ejus (Ibid. 39, 40). In quo utique servum dixit, nisi in carne, quia non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo, sed semetipsum exinanivit formam servi accipiens, in similitudinem hominum factus, et specie inventus ut homo (Philip. II, 6, 7)? Mea ergo susceptione servus, sua Dominus potestate.

121. Of Him the Scripture says, in the passage cited, in order to discover the mysteries of the Incarnation: But You have rejected, O Lord, and counted for nought — You have cast out Your Christ. You have overthrown the covenant made with Your Servant, and trampled His holiness in the earth. What was it, in regard whereof the Scripture called Him Servant, but His flesh? — seeing that He did not hold equality with God as a prey, but emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant, being made into the likeness of men, and found in fashion as a man. Philippians 2:6-7 So, then, in that He took upon Himself My nature, He was a servant, but by virtue of His own power He is the Lord.

122. Quid illud quod habes? Quoniam quis stetit in substantia Domini (Jerem. XXIII, 18); et alibi: Et si stetissent in substantia mea, et audissent verba mea, et si docuissent plebem meam; avertissem eos a nequitiis et adinventionibus suis (Ibid., 22).

122. Furthermore, what means it that you read, Who has stood in the *truth* (*substantia*) of the Lord? and again: Now if they had stood in My *truth*, and had given ear to My words, and had taught My people, I would have turned them from their follies and transgressions?

CAPUT XV.

CUM FILIUM PATRI ἑτεροούσιον Ariani dicant, eos in Deo substantiam aperte agnoscere: nec ob aliud hanc vocem defugere, nisi quod illum verum Dei Filium fateri nolint, ut significavit Eusebius Nicomediensis. Recte igitur constitutum a Nicaenis PP. verbum ὁμοούσιον, utpote haeresi oppositum et in Scriptura firmatum; proindeque neglectis, quae isti fingunt de Sabellianis, retinendum.

CHAPTER 15.

The Arians, inasmuch as they assert the Son to be of another substance, plainly acknowledge substance in God. The only reason why they avoid the use of this term is that they will not, as Eusebius of Nicomedia has made it evident, confess Christ to be the true Son of God.

123. Quomodo negant Dei esse substantiam? Quomodo verbum substantiae, quod creberrimum in Scripturis est, putant esse vitandum; cum ipsi ex alia substantia, hoc est, ἑτεροούσιον dicendo Filium, substantiam tamen in Deo esse non abnuant?

123. How can the Arians deny the substance of God? How can they suppose that the word substance which is found in many places of Scripture ought to be debarred from use, when they themselves do yet, by saying that the Son is ἑτεροούσιος, that is, of another substance, admit substance in God?

124. Non igitur verbum, sed vim verbi fugiunt; quia nolunt verum esse Dei Filium. Nam licet humano verbo non possit divinae generationis series

comprehendi; tamen judicarunt Patres fidem suam tali proprie contra ἑτεροούσιον sermone signandam, auctoritatem secuti prophetae, qui ait: Quis stetit in substantia Domini, et vidit Verbum ejus? Secundum impietatem igitur suam positum substantiae verbum recipiunt Ariani, secundum pietatem autem fidelium comprobatum repudiant et refutant.

124. It is not the term itself, then, but its force and consequences, that they shun, because they will not confess the Son of God to be true [God]. For though the process of the divine generation cannot be comprehended in human language, still the Fathers judged that their faith might be fitly distinguished by the use of such a term, as against that of ἑτεροούσιος, following the authority of the prophet, who says: Who has stood in the truth (*substantia*) of the Lord, and seen His Word? Jeremiah 23:18 Arians, therefore, admit the term substance when it is used so as to square with their blasphemy; contrariwise, when it is adopted in accordance with the pious devotion of the faithful, they reject and dispute against it.

125. Nam quid est aliud, cur ὁμοούσιον Patri nolint Filium dici, nisi quia nolunt verum Dei Filium confiteri? sicut auctor ipsorum Eusebius Nicomediensis epistola sua prodidit scribens: Si verum, inquit, Dei Filium et increatum dicimus, ὁμοούσιον cum Patre incipimus confiteri. Haec cum lecta esset epistola in concilio Nicaeno, hoc verbum in tractatu Fidei posuerunt Patres, quia id viderunt adversariis esse formidini; ut tamquam evaginato ab ipsis gladio ipsorum nefandae caput haereseos amputarent. 519

125. What other reason can there be for their unwillingness to have the Son spoken of as ὁ μοούσιος, of the same substance, with the Father, but that they are unwilling to confess Him the true Son of God? This is betrayed in the letter of Eusebius of Nicomedia. If, writes he, we say that the Son is true God and uncreate, then we are in the way to confess Him to be of one

substance (ὁμοούσιος) with the Father. When this letter had been read before the Council assembled at Nicæa, the Fathers put this word in their exposition of the Faith, because they saw that it daunted their adversaries; in order that they might take the sword, which their opponents had drawn, to smite off the head of those opponents' own blasphemous heresy. 1 Samuel 17:51

126. Frustra autem verbum istud propter Sabellianos declinare sedicunt, et in eo suam imperitiam produnt; ὁμοούσιον enim aliud alii, non ipsum est sibi. Recte ergo ὁμοούσιον Patri Filium dicimus, quia verbo eo et personarum distinctio et naturae unitas significatur.

126. Vain, however, is their plea, that they avoid the use of the term, because of the Sabellians; whereby they betray their own ignorance, for a being is of the same substance (ὁ μοούσιον) with another, not with itself. Rightly, then, do we call the Son ὁ μοούσιος (of the same substance), with the Father, forasmuch as that term expresses both the distinction of Persons and the unity of nature.

127. An negare possunt οὐσίαν lectam, cum et panem ἐπιούσιον Dominus dixerit (Matth. VI); et Moyses scripserit: ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθέ μοι λαὸς περιούσιος (Exod. XIX)? Aut quid est οὐσία, vel unde dicta, nisi οὖσα ἀεί, quod semper maneat? Qui enim est, et est semper, Deus est; et ideo manens semper ουσία dicitur divina substantia. Propterea ἐπιούσιος panis, quod ex Verbi substantia substantiam virtutis manentis cordi et animae subministret; scriptum est enim: Et panis confirmat cor hominis (Psal. CIII, 15).

127. Can they deny that the term οὐσία is met with in Scripture, when the Lord has spoken of bread, that is, ἐ πιούσιος, and Moses has written ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθέ μοι λαὸς περιούσιος ? Exodus 19:6 What does οὐσία mean, whence comes the name, but from οὖσα ἀεί, that which endures for ever? For He

Who *is*, and *is* for ever, is God; and therefore the Divine Substance, abiding everlastingly, is called οὐσία . Bread is ἐπιούσιος, because, taking the substance of abiding power from the substance of the Word, it supplies this to heart and soul, for it is written: And bread strengthens man's heart.

128. Servemus igitur praecepta majorum, nec haereditaria signacula ausi rudis temeritate violemus. Librum signatum illum propheti cum non Seniores, non Potestates, non Angeli, non Archangeli aperire ausi sunt: soli Christo explanandi ejus praerogativa est servata. Librum sacerdotalem quis nostrum resignare audeat, signatum a confessoribus, et multorum jam martyrio consecratum? Quem qui resignare coacti sunt, postea tamen damnata fraude, signarunt: qui violare non ausi sunt, confessores et martyres exstiterunt. Quomodo fidem eorum possumus denegare, quorum victoriam praedicamus?

128. Let us, then, keep the precepts of our forefathers, nor with rude and reckless daring profane the symbols bequeathed to us. That sealed book of prophecy, whereof we have heard, neither elders, nor powers, nor angels, nor archangels, ventured to open; for Christ alone is reserved the peculiar right of opening it. Revelation 5:5 Who among us dare unseal the book of the priesthood, sealed by confessors, and long hallowed by the testimony of many? They who have been constrained to unseal, nevertheless have since, respecting the deceit put upon them, sealed again; they who dared not lay sacrilegious hands upon it, have stood forth as martyrs and confessors. How can we deny the Faith held by those whose victory we proclaim?

CAPUT XVI.

UT CATHOLICI CONTRA fraudes Arianorum praemuniantur, subdolas quasdam eorum confessiones exponit: nec sufficere quod Filium nonnumquam Deum vocitent, nisi eum admittant Patri aequalem, collectis argumentis probat.

CHAPTER 16.

In order to forearm the orthodox against the stratagems of the Arians, St. Ambrose discloses some of the deceitful confessions used by the latter, and shows by various arguments, that though they sometimes call the Son God, it is not enough, unless they also admit His equality with the Father.

129. Nemo metuat, nemo formidet: plus confert fidelibus, qui minatur. Venenatae sunt blanditiae perfidorum, tunc cavendae cum id quod negant, praedicare se simulant. Sic decepti sunt et ante, qui facile crediderunt; ut ibi perfidiae laqueos inciderent, ubi fidem esse credebant.

129. Let none fear, let none tremble; he who threatens gives the advantage to the faithful. The soothing balms of deceitful men are poisoned — then must we be on our guard against them, when they pretend to preach that they do deny. Thus were those aforetime, who lightly trusted to them, deceived, so that they fell into the snares of treachery, when they thought all was good faith.

130. Qui dicit, inquiunt, Christum creaturam secundum caeteras creaturas, anathema sit. Audierunt simplices, et crediderunt: Innocens enim, sicut scriptum est, credit omni verbo (Prov. XIV, 15). Audierunt ergo, et

crediderunt, primo decepti sono; ac velut aves intenti ad escam fidei, extentum sibi laqueum non caverunt. Ita dum fidem sequuntur, hamum nefandae fraudis attrectaverunt. Et ideo: Estote, inquit, astuti sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbae (Matth., X, 16); praemittitur astutia, ut sit tuta simplicitas. 520

130. Let him be accursed, say they, who says that Christ is a creature, after the manner of the rest of created beings. Plain folks have heard this, and put faith in it, for, as it is written, the simple man believes every word. Proverbs 14:15 Thus have they heard and believed, being taken in by the first sound thereof, and, like birds, eager for the bait of faith, have not noted the net spread for them, and so, pursuing after faith, have caught the hook of ungodly deceit. Wherefore be wise as serpents, says the Lord, and harmless as doves. Matthew 10:16 Wisdom is put foremost, in order that harmlessness may be unharmed.

131. Sunt enim serpentes Evangelici, qui exuunt veterem usum, ut induant novos mores, sicut scriptum est: Exspoliantes veterem hominem cum actibus ejus, et induentes novum secundum imaginem ejus, qui creavit eum (Coloss. III, 9, 10). Discamus ergo depositis vetusti hominis exuviis, Evangelicorum serpentium vias; ut more serpentium servare caput, fraudem cavere noscamus.

131. For those are serpents, such as the Gospel intends, who put off old habits, in order to put on new manners: Putting off the old man, together with his acts, and putting on the new man, made in the image of Him Who created him. Colossians 3:9-10 Let us learn then, the ways of those whom the Gospel calls the serpents, throwing off the slough of the old man, that so, like serpents, we may know how to preserve our life and beware of fraud.

132. Satis fuerat dicere: Qui dicit creaturam Christum, anathema sit. Cur bono confessionis, Ariane, venena permisces, ut totum corpus contamines? Addendo enim: Secundum caeteras creaturas, non creaturam Christum negas, sed creaturam dicis esse dissimilem; creaturam enim dicis, etsi praestantiorem caeteris asseras creaturis. Denique Arius hujus impietatis magister Dei Filium creaturam dixit esse perfectam, sed non sicut caeteras creaturas. Videtis igitur haereditario patris vestri vos usos esse sermone? Sat est creaturam negare, quid opus fuit addere: Sed non sicut caeteras creaturas? Recide quod putruit, ne serpat contagio: venenum habet; mortem affert.

132. It would have been sufficient to say, Accursed be he who says that Christ is a created being. Why, then, Arian, do you mingle poison with the good that is in your confession, and so defile the whole body of it? For by addition of after the manner of the rest of created beings, you deny not that Christ is a being created, but that He is a created being like [all] others — for created being you do entitle Him, albeit you assign to Him dignity transcending the rest of creation. Furthermore, Arius, the first teacher of this ungodly doctrine, said that the Son of God was a perfect created being, and not as the rest of created beings. See you, then, how that you have adopted language bequeathed you from your father. To deny that Christ is a being created is enough: why add but not as the rest of beings created? Cut away the gangrened part, lest the contagion spread — it is poisonous, deadly.

133. Deinde dicis interdum Deum Christum: sed ita dic Deum verum, ut plenitudinem ei paternae divinitatis assignes; sunt enim qui dicuntur dii sive in coelo, sive in terra. Non ergo perfunctorie nuncupandus Deus, sed ita ut eamdem divinitatem praedices in Filio, quam Pater habet, sicut scriptum est, Sicut enim Pater vitam habet in semetipso, sic dedit et Filio vitam

habere in semetipso (Joan. V, 26). Dedit utique quasi Filio per generationem, non quasi inopi per gratiam.

133. Again, you say sometimes that Christ is God. Nay, but so call Him true God, as meaning, that you acknowledge Him to possess the fullness of the Father's Godhead — for there are gods, so called, alike in heaven or upon earth. The name God, then, is not to be used as a mere manner of address and mention, but with the understanding that you affirm, of the Son, that same Godhead which the Father has, as it is written: For as the Father has life in Himself, so has He given to the Son also to have life in Himself; John 5:26 that is to say, He has given it to Him, as to His Son, through begetting Him — not by grace, as to one indigent.

134. Et potestatem dedit ei judicium facere, quia Filius hominis est. Vide quid addidit, ne tu calumnieris ex verbo. Filium hominis legis, et accipientem arguis? Nega ergo Deum, si non omnia Filio quae Dei sunt, deferuntur; cum enim dixerit: Omnia quae Pater habet, mea sunt (Joan. XVI, 15); cur tu non omnia quae divinae naturae sunt, etiam in Filio confiteris? Nam qui dicit: Omnia quae Pater habet, mea sunt; quid excipit quod non habet?

134. And He has given Him power to execute judgment, because He is the Son of Man. John 5:27 Note well this addition, that you may not take occasion, upon a word, to preach falsehood. You read that He is the Son of Man; do you therefore deny that He accepts [the power given]? Deny God, then, if all things proper to God are not given to the Son, for whereas He has said, All things that the Father has are Mine, John 16:15 why not acknowledge that all the properties and attributes of Divinity are in the Son [as they are in the Father]? For He who says, All things that the Father has are Mine, what does He except as having not?

135. Quid est quod ἐμφατικῶς, quam fideli magis sermone commemores, quod mortuos suscitaverit, maria pedes transmiserit, infirmitates hominum curaverit? Haec enim etiam servulis suis praestitit. Plus ista miror in hominibus, quod tantam eis dederit potestatem. Aliquid de Christo audire desidero, quod speciale sit Christi, quod cum iis quae creata sunt, non possit esse commune; quia genitus, quia unicus est Dei Filius, quia Deus verus ex Deo vero, quia ad dexteram Patris sedet.

135. Why is it that you recount with insistence and in such sincere language, Christ's raising the dead to life, walking upon the waters, healing the sicknesses of men? These powers, indeed, He has given to His bondmen to display as well as Himself. They do the more arouse my wonder when seen present in men, forasmuch as God has given them power so great. I would hear somewhat concerning Christ that is His distinctly and peculiarly, and cannot be held in common with Him by created beings, now that He is begotten, the only Son of God, very God of very God, sitting at the Father's right hand.

136. Ubicumque lego consessum Patris et Filii, 521 semper ad dexteram Filius sedet. Numquid melior Filius Patre? Non hoc dicimus: sed quem charitas Dei honorat, humana iniquitas derogat. Scivit Pater serendas esse de Filio quaestiones, praebuit nobis quod sequeremur, pietatis exemplum, ne Filio derogemus.

136. Wheresoever I read of the Father and Son sitting side by side, I find the Son always upon the right hand. Is that because the Son is above the Father? Nay, we say not so; but He Whom God's love honours is dishonoured by man's ungodliness. The Father knew that doubts as concerning the Son must needs be sown, and He has given us an example of reverence for us to follow after, lest we dishonour the Son.

CAPUT XVII.

OBJECTIONI QUAE HIC nasci poterat, occurrens, cur Dominus Stephano stare visus sit, explicat: et ex hujus ad Filium precibus ejusdem ac Patris aequalitate confirmata, librum terminat.

CHAPTER 17.

An objection based on St. Stephen's vision of the Lord standing is disposed of, and from the prayers of the same saint, addressed to the Son of God, the equality of the Son with the Father is shown.

137. Uno tantum loco stantem ad dexteram Dei Jesum Stephanus vidisse se dixit (Act. VII, 55). Et hoc disce, ne quam hinc moveas quaestionem. Cur enim ubique ad dexteram sedere ostenditur, uno legitur in loco stare? Sedet quasi judex vivorum et mortuorum: stat quasi advocatus suorum. Stabat ergo quasi sacerdos, quando Patri hostiam boni martyris offerebat: stabat quasi bono luctatori bravium tanti praesul certaminis redditurus.

137. There is just one place, in which Stephen has said that he saw the Lord Jesus *standing* at the right hand of God. Acts 7:55 Learn now the import of these words, that you may not use them to raise a question upon. Why (you would ask) do we read every where else of the Son as sitting at the right hand of God, but in one place of His standing? He sits as Judge of quick and dead; He stands as His people's Advocate. He stood, then, as a Priest, while He was offering to His Father the sacrifice of a good martyr; He stood, as the Umpire, to bestow, as it were, upon a good wrestler the prize of so mighty a contest.

138. Accipe et tu spiritum Dei, ut ista distinguas, sicut accepit et Stephanus; et dicas sicut dixit et martyr: Ecce video coelos apertos, et Filium hominis stantem ad dexteram Dei. Qui coelos apertos habet, Jesum ad dexteram Dei cernit: qui clausos oculos habet mentis, Jesum ad dexteram Dei non videt. Confiteamur ergo Jesum ad dexteram, ut coelum et nobis aperiatur. Claudunt sibi coelum, qui aliter confitentur. 522

138. Receive also the Spirit of God, that you may discern those things, even as Stephen received the Spirit; and you may say, as the martyr said: Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God. Acts 7:55 He who has the heavens opened to him, sees Jesus at the right hand of God: he whose soul's eye is closed, sees not Jesus at the right hand of God. Let us, then, confess Jesus at God's right hand, that to us also the heavens may be opened. They who confess otherwise close the gates of heaven against themselves.

139. Quod si qui objiciunt quod Filius stabat, ostendant hoc loco quod Pater sedebat. Nam licet Filium hominis stare dixerit; tamen hoc loco nec Patrem sedere commemoravit.

139. But if any urge in objection that the *Son* was standing, let them show upon this passage that the Father was seated, for though Stephen said that the Son of Man was standing, still he did not further say here that the Father was sitting.

140. Ut autem evidentius cognosceretur nulla esse stantis injuria, sed potestas, Filium Stephanus obsecrabat, ut se amplius commendaret Patri, dicens: Domine Jesu, recipe spiritum meum (Act. VII, 58). Et ut eamdem Patris et Filii potestatem esse ostenderet, repetivit dicens: Domine, ne statuas illis hoc peccatum (Ibid., 59). Hoc Dominus in passione propria quasi Filius hominis Patri dicit: hoc et Stephanus Filium Dei in suo martyrio

deprecatur. Cum eadem gratia a Patre Filioque deposcitur, eadem potentia declaratur.

140. Howbeit, to make it more abundantly clear and known that the standing implied no dishonour, but rather sovereignty, Stephen prayed to the Son, being desirous to commend himself the more to the Father, saying: Lord Jesu, receive my spirit. Acts 7:58 Again, to show that the sovereignty of the Father and of the Son is one and the same, he prayed again, saying, Lord, lay not this sin to their charge. Acts 7:51 These are the words that the Lord, in His own Passion, speaks to the Father, as the Son of Man — these the words of Stephen's prayer, in his own martyrdom to the Son of God. When the same grace is sought of both the Father and the Son, the same power is affirmed of each.

141. Aut si volunt Stephanum Patri dixisse, videant quid propria testificatione significent. Licet nos ista non moveant, advertant tamen qui totum in littera constituunt et in ordine, quod Filius prius sit rogatus. Nos autem et secundum eorum interpretationem ostendimus unitatem Paternae majestatis et Filii; nam cum Pater rogatur et Filius, aequalitas precationis operationis indicat unitatem. Si autem illis non placet Filio dictum, Domine, videmus quod etiam Dominum eum negare conantur.

141. Otherwise, if our opponents will have it that Stephen addressed himself to the Father, let them consider what, on their own showing, they affirm. We indeed are unmoved by their arguments; howbeit, let them, to whom the letter and sequence is all important, take notice that the *first* petition is addressed to the Son. Now we, even on their understanding of the passage, prove from it the unity of the Father's and the Son's majesty; for when the Son is addressed in prayer as well as the Father, the equality which the prayer assigns points to unity in action. But if they will not allow

that the Son was addressed with the title Lord, we see that they do indeed seek to deny that He is Lord.

142. Sed jam quia martyris tanti corona processit studia certaminis relaxemus, ferias hodierni sermonis habeamus. Prosequamur sanctum martyrem laudibus, sicut post magna decebat certamina, vulneribus quidem adversarii cruentatum, sed Christi praemiis coronatum.

142. Seeing, however, that so great a martyr's crown has been brought forth, let us abate the eagerness of disputation, and bring today's discourse to a close. Let us sing the praises of the holy martyr, as is fitting always after a mighty conflict — the martyr bleeding indeed from the enemy's blows, but rewarded with the crown bestowed by Christ.

LIBER QUARTUS.

BOOK IV.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

HAUD MIRUM ESSE quod homines in Christi cognitione erraverint, sed quod Scripturae non obtemperaverint: illum quoque nec ab angelis nisi revelatione fuisse cognitum, sicut nec ab ipso Praecursore. Ejusdem Christi in coelum ascendentis triumphus qualis, et raptu prophetarum quorumdam quanto praestantior? Tum descripto angelorum hac de re colloquio, contra Arianos Filius omnipotens esse ostenditur.

CHAPTER 1.

The marvel is, not that men have failed to know Christ, but that they have not listened to the words of the Scriptures. Christ, indeed, was not known, even of angels, save by revelation, nor again, by His forerunner. Follows a description of Christ's triumphal ascent into heaven, and the excellence of its glory over the assumption of certain prophets. Lastly, from exposition of the conversation with angels upon this occasion, the omnipotence of the Son is proved, as against the Arians.

1. Consideranti mihi, Imperator auguste, qua ratione sic erraverit genus hominum, ut de Dei Filio plerique, vae mihi, diversa sequerentur; nequaquam satis mirum videtur quia erravit humana scientia de supernis, sed quod Scripturis non detulit obedientiam.

1. On consideration, your Majesty, of the reason wherefore men have so far gone astray, or that many — alas! — should follow diverse ways of belief concerning the Son of God, the marvel seems to be, not at all that human knowledge has been baffled in dealing with superhuman things, but that it has not submitted to the authority of the Scriptures.

2. Quid enim mirum, si mysterium Dei Patris et Domini Jesu Christi, in quo sunt omnes thesauri sapientiae et scientiae absconditi (Coloss., II, 3), per sapientiam mundi non potuerunt homines comprehendere, quod nec angeli cognoscere, nisi ex revelatione, potuerunt? 522

2. What reason, indeed, is there to wonder, if by their worldly wisdom men failed to comprehend the mystery of God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, in Whom all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge are hidden, Colossians 2:3 that mystery of which not even angels have been able to take knowledge, save by revelation?

3. Quis enim potuit opinione magis quam fide sequi Dominum Jesum, nunc de coeli altissimis inferna penetrantem, nunc ab inferis ad coelestia resurgentem: subito exinanitum, ut habitaret in nobis; nec umquam imminutum, cum semper Filius in Patre, et in Filio Pater esset?

3. For who could by force of imagination, and not by faith, follow the Lord Jesus, now descending from the highest heaven to the shades below, now rising again from Hades to the heavenly places; in a moment self-emptied, that He might dwell among us, and yet never made less than He was, the Son being ever in the Father and the Father in the Son?

4. Dubitavit in eo ipse Praenuntius, licet per Synagogae typum, dubitavit ipse ante Domini faciem destinatus. Denique missis discipulis, interrogat: Tu es qui venturus es, an alium exspectamus (Matth. XI, 3)?

4. Even Christ’s forerunner, though only in so far as representing the synagogue, doubted concerning Him, even he who was appointed to go before the face of the Lord, and at last sending messengers, enquired: Are You He that should come, or do we look for another? Matthew 11:3

5. Obstupuerunt et angeli coeleste mysterium. Unde cum resurgeret Dominus, atque illum quem dudum secundum carnem angustus sepulcri locus texerat, resurgentem ab inferis coeli alta sustinere non possent, haeserunt etiam coelestia opinionis incerto.

5. Angels, too, stood spellbound in wonder at the heavenly mystery. And so, when the Lord rose again, and the heights of heaven could not bear the glory of His rising from the dead, Who of late, so far as regarded His flesh, had been confined in the narrow bounds of a sepulchre, even the heavenly hosts doubted and were amazed.

6. Veniebat enim novis victor redimitus exuviis, Dominus in templo sancto suo; praeibant angeli et archangeli, mirantes spolium ex morte quaesitum: et quamvis scirent nihil Deo accedere ex carne potuisse, quia infra Deum 523 omnia sunt, tamen tropaea crucis, cujus principium super humeros ejus, et triumphatoris aeterni manubias intuentes, quasi eum quem emiserant coeli portae, capere non possent; licet numquam ejus capiant majestatem, majorem viam quaerebant aliquam revertenti: adeo nihil exinanitus amiserat!

6. For a Conqueror came, adorned with wondrous spoils, the Lord was in His holy Temple, before Him went angels and archangels, marvelling at the prey wrested from death, and though they knew that nothing can be added to God from the flesh, because all things are lower than God, nevertheless, beholding the trophy of the Cross, whereof the government was upon His shoulder, and the spoils borne by the everlasting Conqueror, they, as if the gates could not afford passage for Him Who had gone forth from them, though indeed they can never o'erspan His greatness — they sought some broader and more lofty passage for Him on His return — so entirely had He remained undiminished by His self-emptying.

7. Debuit tamen novo victori novum iter parari; semper enim victor tamquam major et praecelsior est: sed quia aeternae sunt justitiae portae, eaedemque novi et veteris Testamenti, quibus coelum aperitur, non mutantur utique, sed elevantur; quia non unus homo, sed totus in omnium redemptore mundus intrabat.

7. However, it was meet that a new way should be prepared before the face of the new Conqueror — for a Conqueror is always, as it were, taller and greater in person than others; but, forasmuch as the Gates of Righteousness, which are the Gates of the Old and the New Testament, wherewith heaven is opened, are eternal, they are not indeed changed, but raised, for it was not merely one man but the whole world that entered, in the person of the All-Redeemer.

8. Translatus erat Enoch (Gen. V, 11), raptus Elias (IV Reg. II, 12): sed non est servus supra Dominum. Nullus enim ascendit in coelum, nisi qui descendit de coelo (Joan. III, 13). Nam et Moysen, licet corpus ejus non apparuerit in terris, nusquam tamen in gloria coelesti legimus, nisi posteaquam Dominus resurrectionis suae pignore vincula solvit inferni, et piorum animas elevavit. Translatas ergo Enoch, raptus Elias; ambo famuli, ambo cum corpore: sed non post resurrectionem, non cum manubiis mortis, et triumpho crucis viderant illos angeli.

8. Enoch had been translated, Elias caught up, but the servant is not above his Master. For No man has ascended into heaven, but He Who came down from heaven; John 3:13 and even of Moses, though his corpse was never seen on earth, we do nowhere read as of one abiding in celestial glory, unless it was after that the Lord, by the earnest of His own Resurrection, burst the bonds of hell and exalted the souls of the godly. Enoch, then, was translated, and Elias caught up; both as servants, both in the body, but not

after resurrection from the dead, nor with the spoils of death and the triumphal train of the Cross, had they been seen of angels.

9. Et ideo Dominum omnium primum ac solum de morte triumphantem venire cernentes, tolli portas principibus imperabant, cum admiratione dicentes: Tollite portas, principes, vestri; et elevamini, portae aeternales: et introibit rex gloriae (Psal. XXIII, 7).

9. And therefore [the angels] descrying the approach of the Lord of all, first and only Vanquisher of Death, bade their princes that the gates should be lifted up, saying in adoration, Lift up the gates, such as are princes among you, and be lifted up, O everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in.

10. Erant tamen adhuc et in coelestibus qui stuperent, qui admirarentur novam pompam, novam gloriam; et ideo requirebant: Quis est iste rex gloriae (Ibid., 8)? Sed quia et angeli processus habent scientiae, et capacitatem profectus, habent utique discretionem virtutis, atque prudentiae: solus enim sine processu Deus; quia in omni perfectione semper aeternus est.

10. Yet there were still, even among the hosts of heaven, some that were amazed, overcome with astonishment at such pomp and glory as they had never yet beheld, and therefore they asked: Who is the King of glory? Howbeit, seeing that the angels (as well as ourselves) acquire their knowledge step by step, and are capable of advancement, they certainly must display differences of power and understanding, for God alone is above and beyond the limits imposed by gradual advance, possessing, as He does, every perfection from everlasting.

11. Dicebant alii, illi utique qui adfuerant resurgenti, illi qui viderant vel jam cognoverant: Dominus fortis et potens, Dominus potens in praelio.

11. Others, again — those, to wit, who had been present at His rising again, those who had seen or who already recognized Him — made reply: It is the Lord, strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle.

12. Iterum multitudo Angelorum triumphali agmine praecinebant: Tollite portas, principes, vestri; et elevamini, portae aeternales: et introibit rex gloriae.

12. Then, again, sang the multitude of angels, in triumphal chorus: Lift up the gates, O you that are their princes, and be lifted up, you everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in.

13. Rursus alii stupentes dicebant: Quis est iste rex gloriae (Ibid., 10)? Vidimus eum non habentem speciem neque decorem (Esai. LIII, 2): si ergo ipse non est, Quis est iste rex gloriae?

13. And back again came the challenge of them that stood astonished: Who is that King of glory? For we saw Him having neither form nor comeliness; Isaiah 53:2 if then it be not He, *who* is that King of glory?

14. Respondetur a scientibus: Dominus virtutum, ipse est rex gloriae. Ergo Dominus virtutum ipse est Filius. Et quomodo infirmum Ariani dicunt, quem Dominum virtutum, sicut et Patrem, credimus? Quomodo Ariani discretionem faciunt potestatis, cum Dominum sabaoth Patrem, Dominum sabaoth Filium legerimus? 524 Nam et hic sic positum plerique codices habent, quod Dominus sabaoth ipse sit rex gloriae: sabaoth autem interpretes alicubi Dominum virtutum, alicubi regem, alicubi omnipotentem interpretati sunt. Ergo quoniam qui ascendit Filius est: qui ascendit autem, Dominus est sabaoth; omnipotens utique Dei Filius est.

14. Whereto answer they which know: The Lord of Hosts, He is the King of glory. Therefore, the Lord of Hosts, He is the Son. How then do the Arians

call Him fallible, Whom we believe to be Lord of Hosts, even as we believe of the Father? How can they draw distinctions between the sovereign powers of Each, when we have found the Son, even as also the Father, entitled Lord of Saboath? For, in this very passage, the reading in many copies is: The Lord of Sabaoth, He is the King of glory. Now the translators have, for the Lord of Sabaoth, rendered in some places the Lord of Hosts, in others the Lord the King, and in others the Lord Omnipotent. Therefore, since He Who ascended is the Son, and, again, He Who ascended is the Lord of Sabaoth, it surely follows that the Son of God is omnipotent!

CAPUT II.

IN COELUM SINE fide ascensurum neminem, vel si quis ascenderit, ejiciendum: illam itaque sedulo conservari debere. Esse etiam in nobis coelos, quorum portae aperiendae, ac per Christi divinitatis confessionem elevandae sunt. Has ab Arianis non elevari, nec ab iis qui requirunt Filium inter terrena; proindeque illos cum Magdalena remittendos ad Apostolos, in quos portae inferi non praevalebunt. Colligitur ex dictis a servo Domini dignitati non derogandum.

CHAPTER 2.

None can ascend to heaven without faith; in any case, he who has so ascended there will be cast out wherefore, faith must be zealously preserved. We ourselves each have a heaven within, the gates whereof must be opened and be raised by confession of the Godhead of Christ, which gates are not raised by Arians, nor by those who seek the Son amongst earthly things, and who must therefore, like the Magdalene, be sent back to the apostles, against whom the gates of hell shall not prevail. Scriptures are cited to show that the servant of the Lord must not diminish any of his Master's honour.

14. Quid igitur agemus? Quomodo ascendemus ad coelum? Sunt illic dispositae potestates, ordinati principes, qui coeli januas servant, qui ascendentem interrogant: quis me admittet, nisi omnipotentem annuntiem Christum? Clausae sunt portae, non cuicumque aperiuntur: non quicumque vult, nisi qui fideliter credit, ingredietur. Custoditur aula imperialis.

15. What shall we do, then? How shall we ascend unto heaven? There, powers are stationed, principalities drawn up in order, who keep the doors of heaven, and challenge him who ascends. Who shall give me passage, unless I proclaim that Christ is Almighty? The gates are shut — they are not opened to any and every one; not every one who will shall enter, unless he also believes according to the true Faith. The Sovereign's court is kept under guard.

15. Sed esto, indignus obrepserit, latuerit principes portarum coelestium, discubuerit in coena Domini; ingressus Dominus convivii, videns non indutum nuptiale fidei vestimentum, projiciet eum in tenebras exteriores, ubi sit fletus et stridor dentium, si fidem pacemque non servet (Matth. XXII, 11 et seq.).

16. Suppose, however, that one who is unworthy has crept up, has stolen past the principalities who keep the gates of heaven, has sat down at the supper of the Lord; when the Lord of the banquet enters, and sees one not clad in the wedding garment of the Faith, He will cast him into outer darkness, where is weeping and gnashing of teeth, Matthew 22:11 if he keep not the Faith and peace.

16. Servemus igitur nuptiale quod accepimus vestimentum, nec Christo propria denegemus, quem omnipotentem annuntiant angeli, prophetae significant, apostoli testificantur, sicut jam supra ostendimus (Lib. II, ca).

17. Let us, therefore, keep the wedding garment which we have received, and not deny Christ that which is His own, Whose omnipotence angels announce, prophets foretel, apostles witness to, even as we have already shown above.

17. Et fortasse non de istius tantummodo coeli portis propheta dixerit quod praeteribit; et alios enim coelos Dei Verbum penetrat, de quibus dictum est:

Habemus enim sacerdotem magnum, principem sacerdotum, qui pertransivit coelos, Jesum Filium Dei (Hebr. IV, 14). Qui sunt isti coeli, nisi et hi de quibus dicit Propheta: Coeli enarrant gloriam Dei (Psal. XVIII, 1)?

18. Perchance, indeed, the prophet has spoken of His entering in not only with regard to the gates of the universal heaven; for there be other heavens also whereinto the Word of God passes, whereof it is said: We have a great Priest, a High Priest, Who has passed through the heavens, Jesus, the Son of God. Hebrews 4:14 What are those heavens, but even the heavens whereof the prophet says that the heavens declare the glory of God?

18. Stat enim Christus ad januam mentis tuae, audi cum dicentem: Ecce sto ad januam, et pulso; si quis mihi aperuerit, ingrediar ad illum; et coenabo cum eo, et ipse mecum (Apoc. III, 20). Et Ecclesia de eo dicit: Vox fratris mei pulsat ad januam (Cant. V, 2).

19. For Christ stands at the door of your soul. Hear Him speaking. Behold, I stand at the door, and knock: if any man open to Me, I will come in to him, and I will sup with him, and he with Me. Revelation 3:20 And the Church says, speaking of Him: The voice of my brother sounds at the door. Song of Songs 5:2

19. Stat ergo, et non solus stat; sed praecedunt eum angeli, qui dicunt: Tollite portas, principes, vestri (Psal. XXIII, 7). Quas portas? Illas utique de quibus et alibi dicit: Aperite mihi portas justitiae (Psal. CXVII, 19). Aperi ergo Christo portas tuas, ut ingrediatur in te: aperi portas justitiae, aperi portas 525 pudicitiae, aperi portas fortitudinis atque sapientiae.

20. He stands, then — but not alone, for before Him go angels, saying: Lift up the gates, O you the princes. What gates? Even those of the which the Psalmist sings in another place also: Open to me the gates of righteousness. Open, then, your gates to Christ, that He may come into you — open the

gates of righteousness, the gates of chastity, the gates of courage and wisdom.

20. Crede angelis dicentibus: Et clevamini portae aeternales, et introibit rex gloriae, Dominus sabaoth (Psal. XXIII, 7). Porta tua vocis fidelis canora confessio est: porta tua ostium verbi est, quam sibi Apostolus optat aperiri, dicens: Ut aperiatur mihi ostium verbi ad eloquendum mysterium Christi (Coloss. IV, 3).

21. Believe the message of the angels: Be lift up, you everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in, the Lord of Sabaoth. Your gate is the loud confession made with faithful voice; it is the door of the Lord, which the Apostle desires to have opened for him, as he says: That a door of the word may be opened for me, to proclaim the mystery of Christ. Colossians 4:3

21. Aperiatur igitur Christo porta tua, nec solum aperiatur, sed etiam elevetur; si tamen aeternalis, est, non caduca; scriptum est enim: Et elevamini portae aeternales. Elevatum est super limen Esaiae, quando Seraphim labia ejus tetigit, et vidit regem Dominum sabaoth (Esai. VI, 7).

22. Let your gate, then, be opened to Christ, and let it be not only opened, but lifted up, if, indeed, it be eternal and not condemned to ruin; for it is written: And be lifted up, you *everlasting* doors. The lintel was lift up for Isaiah, when the seraph touched his lips and he saw the Lord of Sabaoth.

22. Tuae ergo portae elevabuntur, si sempiternum, si omnipotentem, si inaestimabilem, si incomprehensibilem, si eum qui et praeterita omnia et futura noverit, Filium Dei credas. Quod si praefinitae potestatis et scientiae, subjectumque opinaris, non elevas portas aeternales.

23. Your gates shall be lifted up, then, if you believe the Son of God to be eternal, omnipotent, above and beyond all praise and understanding,

knowing all things, both past and to come, while if you judge Him to be of limited power and knowledge, and subordinate, you lift not up the everlasting doors.

23. Eleventur ergo portae tuae, ut non Ariano sensu parvulus, non pusillus, non subditus ad te Christus introeat; sed intret in Dei forma, intret cum Patre, intret talis, qualis est et coelum et omnia supergressus, emittat tibi Spiritum sanctum. Expedit tibi ut credas quia ascendit, et sedet ad dexteram Patris. Nam si eum inter creaturas et terrena impia cogitatione detineas, si non tibi abeat, non tibi ascendat, nec Paraclitus ad te veniet, sicut ipse dixit: Nam si ego non abiero, Paraclitus non veniet ad vos: si autem abiero, mittam illum ad vos (Joan. XVI, 7).

24. Be your gates lifted up, then, that Christ may come in unto you, not such a Christ as the Arians take Him to be — petty, and weak, and menial — but Christ in the form of God, Christ with the Father; that He may enter such as He is, exalted above the heaven and all things; and that He may send forth upon you His Holy Spirit. It is expedient for you that you should believe that He has ascended and is sitting at the right hand of the Father, for if in impious thought you detain Him among things created and earthly, if He depart not for you, ascend not for you, then to you the Comforter shall not come, even as Christ Himself has told us: For if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you, but if I depart, I will send Him unto you. John 16:7

24. Quod si inter terrena eum requiras, sicut Maria Magdalene requirebat, cave ne et tibi dicat: Noli me tangere; nondum enim ascendi ad Patrem meum (Joan. XX, 17). Portae enim tuae angustae sunt, capere me non queunt: elevari non queunt, intrare non possum.

25. But if you should seek Him among earthly beings, even as Mary of Magdala sought Him, take heed lest He say to you, as unto her: Touch Me not, for I am not yet ascended unto My Father. John 20:17 For your gates are narrow — they give me no passage — they cannot be lifted up, and therefore I cannot come in.

25. Vade ergo ad fratres meos, hoc est, ad illas portas aeternales, quae cum Jesum viderint, elevantur (Ibid.). Aeternalis porta est Petrus, cui portae inferi non praevalebunt (Matth. XVI, 18). Aeternales portae Joannes et Jacobus, utpote filii tonitrui (Marc. III, 17). Aeternales portae sunt Ecclesiae, ubi laudes Christi annuntiare Propheta desiderans, dicit: Ut annuntiem omnes laudationes tuas in portis filiae Sion (Psal. IX, 15).

26. Go your way, therefore, to my brethren — that is, to those everlasting doors, which, as soon as they see Jesus, are lifted up. Peter is an everlasting door, against whom the gates of hell shall not prevail. Matthew 16:18 John and James, the sons of thunder, to wit, Mark 3:17 are everlasting doom. Everlasting are the doors of the Church, where the prophet, desirous to proclaim the praises of Christ, says: That I may tell all your praises in the gates of the daughter of Sion.

26. Grande ergo mysterium Christi, quod stupuerunt et angeli; et ideo venerari debes, et Domino famulus derogare non debes. Ignorare non licet; propterea enim descendit ut credas: si non credis, non descendit tibi, non tibi passus est. Si non venissem, inquit, et locutus non fuissem his, peccatum non haberent: nunc autem excusationem non habent de peccato suo. Qui me odit, et Patrem meum odit (Joan. XV, 22, 23). Quis igitur odit Christum, nisi qui derogat? Sicut enim amoris est deferre, ita odii est derogare. Qui odit, quaestiones movet; qui amat, reverentiam defert.

27. Great, therefore, is the mystery of Christ, before which even angels stood amazed and bewildered. For this cause, then, it is your duty to worship Him, and, being a servant, you ought not to detract from your Lord. Ignorance you may not plead, for to this end He came down, that you may believe; if you believe not, He has not come down for you, has not suffered for you. If I had not come, says the Scripture, and spoken with them, they would have no sin: but now have they no excuse for their sin. He that hates Me, hates My Father also. John 15:22-23 Who, then, hates Christ, if not he who speaks to His dishonour? — for as it is love's part to render, so it is hate's to withdraw honour. He who hates, calls in question; he who loves, pays reverence.

CAPUT III.

VERBA ILLA: OMNIS viri caput Christus. . . . caput autem Christi Deus, primo in Arianos ipsos retorquet: deinde Christi tantum secundum naturam humanam considerati Deum caput esse ex alio Scripturae loco, quem objicere solebant iidem haeretici, probat: nec prudentius quoque oppositum ab ipsis textum illum: Qui autem plantat, et qui rigat, unum sunt. Quibus explicatis, quo pacto Pater in Filio, et Filius in Patre, nec non in utroque fideles esse dicantur, aperitur.

CHAPTER 3.

The words, The head of every man is Christ...and the head of Christ is God misused by the Arians, are now turned back against them, to their confutation. Next, another passage of Scripture, commonly taken by the same heretics as a ground of objection, is called in to show that God is the Head of Christ, in so far as Christ is human, in regard of His Manhood, and the unwisdom of their opposition upon the text, He who plants and He who waters are one, is displayed. After which explanations, the meaning of the doctrine that the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father, and that the faithful are in Both, is expounded.

27. [Alias cap. II.] Itaque discutiamus eorum alias quaestiones. Scriptum est, inquiunt: Omnis viri caput Christus est, caput autem mulieris vir, caput autem Christi Deus (I Cor. XI, 3). Qua in quaestione dicant mihi, velim, utrum conjungere, an dividere haec quatuor velint. Si enim conjungere, atque ita dicunt Deum caput esse Christi, sicut vir est mulieris caput, videte quid incidant. Nam si haec tamquam ex paribus sumpta est comparatio, et

haec quatuor, id est, mulier, vir, Christus, et Deus, quasi ex unius atque ejusdem naturae similitudine comparantur, ergo mulier et Deus unius incipient esse naturae.

28. Now let us examine some other objections raised by the Arians. It is written, say they, that the head of every man is Christ, and the head of woman is man, and the head of Christ is God. 1 Corinthians 11:3 Let them, if they please, tell me what they mean by this objection — whether to join together, or to dissociate, these four terms. Suppose they mean to join them, and say that God is the Head of Christ in the same sense and manner as man is the head of woman. Mark what a conclusion they fall into. For if this comparison proceeds on the supposed equality of the terms of it, and these four — woman, man, Christ, and God — are viewed together as in virtue of a likeness resulting from their being of one and the same nature, then woman and God will begin to come under one definition.

28. Quod si hoc displicet, quia sacrilegum est dicere, ut volunt dividant. Itaque si Christum apud Deum Patrem ita volunt esse, sicut est mulier apud virum; unius utique Christum et Deum dicunt esse substantiae, quoniam mulier et vir unius sunt in carne naturae (Gen. II, 24): nam quod distat, in sexu est. Cum vero inter Christum et Patrem sexus non interveniat, quod unum inter Filium et Patrem in natura est, fatebuntur: quod diversum in sexu est, denegabunt.

29. But if this conclusion be not satisfactory, by reason of its impiety, let them divide, on what principle they will. Thus, if they will have it that Christ stands to God the Father in the same relation as woman to man, then surely they pronounce Christ and God to be of one substance, inasmuch as woman and man are of one nature in respect of the flesh, for their difference is in respect of sex. But, seeing that there is no difference of sex between Christ and His Father, they will acknowledge then that which is one, and

common to the Son and the Father, in respect of nature, whereas they will deny the difference lying in sex.

29. Placetne ista divisio? An mulierem, virum et Christum unius volunt esse substantiae, et Patrem separant? Raeccine igitur divisio placet? Si ita est, videte quid incidant. Aut enim non solum Arianos, sed etiam Photinianos se necesse est confiteantur; quia Christum hominem tantum fatentur, quem humanae tantummodo naturae aestimant copulandum: aut vel invitos acquiescere par est nostrae sententiae, per quam id quod impie cogitarunt, pie religioseque defendimus; ut sit Christus quidem secundum generationem divinam Dei virtus, secundum assumptionem autem carnis, unius cum omnibus hominibus in carne substantiae: salva tamen incarnationis suae gloriae; quia veritatem suscepit, non imaginem carnis.

30. Does this conclusion content them? Or will they have woman, man, and Christ to be of one substance, and distinguish the Father from them? Will this, then, serve their turn? Suppose that it will, then observe what they are brought to. They must either confess themselves not merely Arians, but very Photinians, because they acknowledge only the Manhood of Christ, Whom they judge fit only to be placed on the same scale with human beings. Or else they must, however contrary to their leanings, subscribe to our belief, by which we dutifully and in godly fashion maintain that which they have come at by an impious course of thought, that Christ is indeed, after His divine generation, the power of God, while after His putting on of the flesh, He is of one substance with all men in regard of His flesh, excepting indeed the proper glory of His Incarnation, because He took upon Himself the reality, not a phantom likeness, of flesh.

30. Sit ergo juxta humanam conditionem caput Christi Deus; non enim dixit caput Christi Pater, sed caput Christi Deus; quia divinitas, ut pote creatrix, caput est creaturae. Et bene dixit: Caput Christi Deus; ut et divinitatem

Christi significaret, et carnem, hoc est, incarnationem in Christi nomine: in Deo autem unitatem divinitatis, et magnitudinem potestatis.

31. Let God, then, be the Head of Christ, with regard to the conditions of Manhood. Observe that the Scripture says not that the *Father* is the Head of Christ; but that *God* is the Head of Christ, because the Godhead, as the creating power, is the Head of the being created. And well said [the Apostle] the Head of Christ is God; to bring before our thoughts both the Godhead of Christ and His flesh, implying, that is to say, the Incarnation in the mention of the name of Christ, and, in that of the name of God, oneness of Godhead and grandeur of sovereignty.

31. Eousque autem caput Christi Deus secundum incarnationem dictum est, ut et caput viri 527 Christus secundum incarnationem Verbi dictum sit. Quod alibi Apostolus evidenter exposuit dicens: Quoniam vir caput est mulieris, sicut et Christus caput Ecclesiae (Ephes. V, 23). Et in consequentibus addidit: Qui se tradidit pro ea (Ibid., 25). Secundum incarnationem igitur caput viri Christus, quia secundum incarnationem facta traditio est.

32. But the saying, that in respect of the Incarnation God is the Head of Christ, leads on to the principle that Christ, as Incarnate, is the Head of man, as the Apostle has clearly expressed in another passage, where he says: Since man is the head of woman, even as Christ is the Head of the Church; Ephesians 5:23 while in the words following he has added: Who gave Himself for her. Ephesians 5:25 After His Incarnation, then, is Christ the head of man, for His self-surrender issued from His Incarnation.

32. Est ergo caput Christi Deus; ubi servi, hoc est, hominis, non Dei, forma tractatur. Sed nihil praejudicat Dei Filio, si secundum carnis veritatem similis sit hominibus, qui in divinitate cum Patre unum est (Joan. X, 30);

non enim potestas hac interpretatione minuitur, sed misericordia praedicatur.

33. The Head of Christ, then, is God, in so far as His form of a servant, that is, of man, not of God, is considered. But it is nothing against the Son of God, if, in accordance with the reality of His flesh, He is like men, while in regard of His Godhead He is one with the Father, for by this account of Him we do not take anything from His sovereignty, but attribute compassion to Him.

33. Quis autem unam divinitatem Patris et Filii pie abneget; cum ipse Dominus consummaturus praecepta, discipulis suis dixerit: Ut sint unum, sicut et nos unum sumus (Joan. XVII, 11)? Pro testimonio enim fidei positum est, licet ab Arianis ad argumentum perfidiae derivetur. Etenim quoniam toties lectam negare non queunt unitatem, extenuare conantur; ut talis videatur divinitatis unitas inter Patrem et Filium, qualis est inter homines unitas devotionis et fidei: licet etiam inter ipsos homines unitas naturae sit ex communitate naturae.

34. But who can with a good conscience deny the one Godhead of the Father and the Son, when our Lord, to complete His teaching for His disciples, said: That they may be one, even as we also are one. John 17:11 The record stands for witness to the Faith, though Arians turn it aside to suit their heresy; for, inasmuch as they cannot deny the Unity so often spoken of, they endeavour to diminish it, in order that the Unity of Godhead subsisting between the Father and the Son may seem to be such as is unity of devotion and faith among men, though even among men themselves community of nature makes unity thereof.

34. Unde et illud apertissime solvitur, quod ad extenuationem Dominicae unitatis objicere consuerunt, quia scriptum est: Qui autem plantat, et qui

rigat, unum sunt (I. Cor. III, 8). Hoc Ariani, si saperent, non objicerent. Quomodo enim negare conantur quia Pater et Filius unum sunt, cum Paulus et Apollo et natura unum sint et fide? Sed tamen per omnia unum esse non possunt, quia nequeunt comparari humana divinis.

35. Thus with abundant clearness we disprove the objection commonly raised by Arians, in order to loosen the Divine Unity, on the ground that it is written: But he who plants and he who waters are one. This passage the Arians, if they were wise, would not quote against us; for how can they deny that the Father and the Son are One, if Paul and Apollos are one, both in nature and in faith? At the same time, we do grant that these cannot be one throughout, in all relations, because things human cannot bear comparison with things divine.

35. Inseparabilis ergo Deus Pater Verbo, inseparabilis virtute, inseparabilis sapientia per divinae unitatem substantiae; et est in Filio, sicut frequenter est scriptum: est vero non ut egentem sanctificans, nec ut vacuum implens; quia non vacua Dei virtus. Nec enim virtus virtute augetur; quia non duae virtutes, sed una virtus: nec divinitas divinitatem accipit; quia non duae divinitates, sed una divinitas: nos autem per acceptam et inhabitantem in nobis virtutem unum erimus in Christo.

36. No separation, then, is to be made of the Word from God the Father, no separation in power, no separation in wisdom, by reason of the Unity of the Divine Substance. Again, God the Father is in the Son, as we ofttimes find it written, yet [He dwells in the Son] not as sanctifying one who lacks sanctification, nor as filling a void, for the power of God knows no void. Nor, again, is the power of the one increased by the power of the other, for there are not two powers, but one Power; nor does Godhead entertain Godhead, for there are not two Godheads, but one Godhead. We,

contrariwise, shall be One in Christ through Power received [from another] and dwelling in us.

36. Communis ergo littera, sed discrepans divina, humanaque substantia. Nos unum erimus, Pater et Filius unum sunt: nos secundum gratiam, Filius secundum substantiam. Alia autem per conjunctionem, alia per naturam unitas. Denique vide quid ante praemiserit: Ut omnes unum sint, sicut tu, Pater, in me, et ego in te (Joan. XVII, 21).

37. The letter [of the unity] is common, but the Substance of God and the substance of man are different. We shall be, the Father and the Son [already] are, one; we shall be one by grace, the Son is so by substance. Again, unity by conjunction is one thing, unity by nature another. Finally, observe what it is that Scripture has already recorded: That they may all be one, as You, Father, are in Me, and I in You. John 17:21

37. Considera ergo quia non dixit: Tu in nobis, et nos in te: sed tu in me, et ego in te; ut se a creaturis separaret. Et addidit: Et isti in nobis (Ibid.), ut etiam hic suam potentiam et Patris a nobis 528 secerneret, ut quod nos in Patre et Filio unum sumus, non naturae videatur esse, sed gratiae: quod autem Filius et Pater unum sunt, non hoc Filius accepisse per gratiam, sed naturaliter ut Filius possidere credatur.

38. Mark now that He said not You in us, and we in You, but You in Me, and I in You, to place Himself apart from His creatures. Further He added: that they also may be in Us, in order to separate here His dignity and His Father’s from us, that our union in the Father and the Son may appear the issue, not of nature, but of grace, while with regard to the unity of the Father and the Son it may be believed that the Son has not received this by grace, but possesses by natural right of His Sonship.

CAPUT IV.

OBJECTUM AB HAERETICIS locum illum: Non potest Filius facere a se quidquam, etc., primo e subsequentibus verbis exponit: deinde singulas integri textus voces expendens, eas Ariana interpretatione sumi sine impietate aut absurditate haudquaquam posse, potissimum creationis mundi et quorumdam Christi miraculorum exemplis docet.

CHAPTER 4.

The passage quoted adversely by heretics, namely, The Son can do nothing of Himself, is first explained from the words which follow; then, the text being examined, word by word, their acceptation in the Arian sense is shown to be impossible without incurring the charge of impiety or absurdity, the proof resting chiefly on the creation of the world and certain miracles of Christ.

38. [Alias cap. III.] Aliud rursus objiciunt, asserentes unam atque eamdem potestatem Filii et Patris esse non posse, quia ipse dixit: Amen, amen, dico vobis, non potest Filius facere a se quidquam, nisi quod viderit Patrem facientem (Joan. V, 19). Itaque nihil ex se fecisse Filium dicunt, nec facere posse, nisi quod viderit facientem Patrem.

39. Again, another objection that the Arians bring up, denying that the Power of the Father and the Son can be one and the same, is rested on His saying: Verily, verily, I say unto you; the Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He has seen the Father doing. John 5:19 And therefore they affirm that the Son has done nothing of Himself, and can do nothing, save what He has seen the Father doing.

39. O praescia sapientia infidelium argumentorum! quae subjecit quod solveret, quaestionem, addendo quod sequitur: Quia quaecumque ille fecerit, eadem et Filius facit similiter (Ibid.); hoc nempe sequitur. Cur ergo scriptum est: Eadem facit Filius, et non talia; nisi ut in Filio unitatem, non imitationem paterni operis aestimares?

40. O wise foreknowledge of the arguments of unbelievers, which made further provision of means whereby to answer questions, by adding the words that follow: For whatsoever the Father does, the same does the Son also, in like fashion, John 5:19 for this indeed is the sequel. Why, then, is it written: The Son does the same things, and not such like things, but that you might judge that in the Son there is unity in the Father's works, not imitation of them?

40. Sed tamen ut illorum quoque argumenta discutiamus, quaero ut respondeant, utrum videat Filius opera Patris. Videt itaque, an non? Si videt, ergo et facit: si facit, desinant omnipotentem negare, quem omnia posse facere, quae Patrem facientem viderit, confitentur.

41. But to put their proofs in turn upon trial: I would have them answer the question, whether the Son sees the works of the Father. Does He see, I ask, or not? If He sees them, then He also does them; if He does them, let heretics cease to deny the omnipotence of Him Whom they confess able to do all things that He has seen the Father doing.

41. Quid est autem, viderit? Corporaliumne aliquis usus oculorum est? Sed si hoc de Filio velint dicere, corporalis etiam in Patre usum operationis ostendent; ut facientem videat, quod ipse facturus est.

42. But what are we to understand by has seen? Has the Son any need of bodily eyes? Nay, if they will affirm this of the Son, they will make out in

the Father also a need of bodily activity, in order that the Son may see that which He Himself is to do.

42. Quid est autem: Non potest Filius facere a se quidquam? Hoc interrogemus, hoc consideremus. Est ergo aliquid impossibile Dei virtuti atque sapientiae? Hoc est enim Dei Filius, qui utique non alienam accepit fortitudinem, sed quemadmodum vita est, non aliena vivificatione subnixus, sed alios vivificans; quia ipse vita est: ita etiam sapientia est, non quasi insipiens accipiens sapientiam, sed qui de suo alios faciat esse sapientes: ita etiam virtus est, non quasi per infirmitatem consecutus incrementa virtutis, sed ipse virtus, qui virtutem fortibus largiatur.

43. Furthermore, what mean the words: The Son can do nothing of Himself? Let us put this question, and debate it. Now is there anything impossible to God's Power and Wisdom? These, observe, are names of the Son of God, Whose Might is certainly not a gift received from another, but just as He is the Life, John 14:6 not depending upon another's quickening action, but Himself quickening others, because He is the Life; so also He is Wisdom, 1 Corinthians 1:24 not as one that is ignorant acquiring wisdom, but making others wise from His own store; so, too, He is Power, 1 Corinthians 1:24 not as having through weakness obtained increase of strength, but being Himself Power, and bestowing power upon the strong.

43. Quomodo ergo virtus quasi cum jurisjurandi attestatione dicit: Amen, amen dico vobis (Joan. V, 19), quod est: Fideliter, fideliter dico? Fideliter 529 ergo dicis, Domine Jesu, et cum sacramenti quadam repetitione confirmas quod nihil facere potes, nisi quod facientem Patrem videris. Fecisti mundum, numquid alterum mundum Patrem tuus fecit, quem quasi ad exemplar acceperis? Ergo necesse est fateantur impii aut duos, aut certe multos esse mundos, quod philosophi asserunt; ut se etiam in hoc errore

gentilitatis involvant. Aut si velint verum sequi, dicant sine exemplari te fecisse, quod feceris.

44. How, then, does Power assert, as it were, under oath: Verily, verily I say unto you, which means: Of a truth, of a truth, I tell you? John 5:19 Truly, then, You speak, Lord Jesus, and affirm, repeating indeed your solemn declaration, that You can do nothing, save what You have seen the Father doing. You made the universe. Did Your Father then make another universe, for You to take as a model? So must Your blasphemers confess that there are two, or a multitude of universes, as philosophers affirm, and thus also entangle themselves in this heathen error, or, if they will follow the truth, let them say that what You have made, You made, without any pattern.

44. Dic mihi, Domine, quando in mari Patrem incarnatum videris ambulantem (Marc. VI, 48)? Ego enim nescio, ego hoc de Patre credere sacrilegum puto, qui te solum carnem assumpsisse cognovi. Quando videris in nuptiis Patrem aquam in vina vertentem (Joan. II, 9)? Sed solum te unigenitum Filium legi ex Patre natum, solum te ex Spiritu sancto accepi et Virgine secundum incarnationis sacramenta generatum (Matth. I, 25). Ergo ista, quae memoravimus a te gesta, non fecit Pater: sed sine exemplari paterni operis, ad redimendam tuo sanguine salutem mundi, solus immaculatus ex alvo Virginis processisti.

45. Tell me, Lord, when You saw Your Father incarnate, and walking upon the sea, for I know not, I hold it impious to believe this thing of the Father, knowing that You only have taken our flesh upon You. When did You see the Father at a marriage-feast, turning water into wine? Nay, but I have read that You alone are the only Son, begotten of the Father. I have been taught that You alone, in the mystery of the Incarnation, were born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin. The things, then, which we have cited as Your doings, the Father did not, but You alone, without guidance of any work done by

Your Father, for the purchase of the world's salvation with Your Blood, came forth spotless from the Virgin's womb.

45. Ac ne forte incarnationis tantummodo putent sequestrandum esse mysterium (licet cum dicunt: Non potest Filius a se facere quidquam (Joan. V, 19), nihil excipiant, ita ut et quidam impius dixerit: Nec culicem facere potest, tam temerario ausu, petulantique sermone majestatem supernae virtutis irridens), dic, Domine Jesu, quam terram sine te Pater fecerit? Coelum enim sine te non fecit, quia scriptum est: Verbo Domini coeli firmati sunt (Psal. XXXII, 6).

46. When they say, The Son can do nothing of Himself, they indeed except nothing, so that one blasphemer has even said: He cannot make even a gnat, mocking with so headstrong profanity and with insolence so overweening the majesty of Supreme Power; yet perhaps they may think the mystery of Your Incarnate Life a needful exception. But say, Lord Jesu, what earth the Father made without You. For without You He made no heaven, seeing that it is written: By the Word of the Lord were the heavens established.

46. Sed nec terram sine te fecit, quia scriptum est: Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil (Joan. I, 3). Nam si aliquid sine te Deo Verbo Pater fecit, non ergo omnia facta per Verbum, et evangelista mentitur. Quod si omnia facta per Verbum, et omnia per te coeperunt esse, quae non erant, utique quae non vidisti a Patre facta, a te ipse fecisti. Nisi forte philosophicas tibi ideas Platonica illa disputatione praestituunt, quas ab ipsis tamen philosophis scimus irrisas. Si autem ex te ipse fecisti, vana est assertio perfidorum, quae auctori omnium, cui suppetit ex se faciendi magisterium, tribuit discendi profectum.

47. But neither did the Father make the earth without You, for it is written: All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made. For

if the Father made anything without You, God the Word, then not all things were made by the Word, and the Evangelist lies. Whereas if all things were made by the Word, and if by You all things begin to be, which before were not, then surely You Yourself, of Yourself, hast made what You did not see made by the Father; though perchance our adversaries may have recourse to that theory of Plato, and place before You the ideas supposed by philosophers, which, indeed, we know have been exploded by philosophers themselves. On the other hand, if You Yourself hast of Yourself made all things, vain are the assertions of the unbelieving, which ascribe progress in learning to the Maker of all, Who of Himself supplies the teaching of His craft.

47. Quod si per te negant coelum esse factum, vel terram, considerent impii quo se suo furore praecipitent, cum scriptum sit: Dii qui non fecerunt coelum et terram, pereant (Jerem. X, 11). Peribit ergo, Ariane, qui quod perierat, et reperit et redemit? Sed ad proposita revertamur. 530

48. But if heretics deny that either the heavens or the earth were made by You, let them take heed into what a gulf they are by their own madness hurling themselves, seeing that it is written: Perish the gods, which have not made heaven and earth. Jeremiah 10:11 Shall He then perish, O Arian, Who has found and saved that which had perished? But to purpose.

CAPUT V.

CAEPTAM OBJECTI LOCI expositionem urgens, rationes quatuor quibus aliquid fieri non posse affirmamus, explicat, et earum primas tres in Christum non cadere, solutis quibusdam objectiunculis, demonstrat, et Filium propter solam potestatis cum Patre unitatem nihil a se facere posse deducit.

CHAPTER 5.

Continuing the exposition of the disputed passage, which he had begun, Ambrose brings forward four reasons why we affirm that something cannot be, and shows that the first three fail to apply to Christ, and infers that the only reason why the Son can do nothing of Himself is His Unity in Power with the Father.

48. Quomodo non potest Filius facere a se quidquam? Quaeramus quid sit quod facere non possit. Multae sunt impossibilitatum differentiae. Est aliquid natura impossibile, et est aliquid quod est possibile per naturam, impossibile per infirmitatem. Est etiam tertium quod sit possibile per corporis et animi firmitatem, impossibile per imperitiam aut impotentiam. Est etiam quod per definitionem immutabilis propositi, et constantis perseverantiam voluntatis atque amicitiae fidem sit impossibile mutari.

49. In what sense can the Son do nothing of Himself? Let us ask what it is that He cannot do. There are many different sorts of impossibilities. One thing is naturally impossible, another is naturally possible, but impossible by reason of some weakness. Again, there are things which are rendered possible by strength, impossible by unskilfulness or weakness, of body and

mind. Further, there are things which it is impossible to change, by reason of the law of an unchangeable purpose, the endurance of a firm will, and, again, faithfulness in friendship.

49. Sed haec ut evidentius possimus advertere, per exempla nobis disputatio dirigatur. Impossibile est ut avis sapientiae disciplinam aliquam assequatur aut artem: impossibile est et lapidem prodire quoquam; impossibile est enim lapidem moveri, nisi motu moveatur alterius: non potest ergo lapis per se ipsum moveri, et transire de loco. Non potest etiam aquila humanis imbui disciplinis. Habes unam speciem, cui impossibilitatis causa natura est.

50. To make this clearer, let us consider the matter in the light of examples. It is impossible for a bird to pursue a course of learning in any science or become trained to any art: it is impossible for a stone to move in any direction, inasmuch as it can only be moved by the motion of another body. Of itself, then, a stone is incapable of moving, and passing from its place. Again, an eagle cannot be taught in the ways of human learning.

50. Impossibile est et debili facere opera robusti; sed huic alia impossibilitatis causa est; quod enim facere potest per naturam, per infirmitatem non potest. Causa igitur huic quoque impossibilitati infirmitas. Alia ergo impossibilitatis haec species; quoniam a faciendi possibilitate, corporis infirmitate revocatur.

51. It is, to take another example, impossible for a sick man to do a strong man’s work; but in this case the reason of the impossibility is of a different kind, for the man is rendered unable, by sickness, to do what he is naturally capable of doing. In this case, then, the cause of the impossibility is sickness, and this kind of impossibility is different from the first, since the man is hindered by bodily weakness from the possibility of doing.

51. Tertia quoque impossibilitatis est causa, qua etiamsi per naturam quis, et firmitatem corporis facere aliquid possit; non potest tamen facere per imperitiam vel impotentiam, ut aut indoctus, aut servus.

52. Again, there is a third cause of impossibility. A man may be naturally capable, and his bodily health may allow of his doing some work, which he is yet unable to do by reason of want of skill, or because his rank in life disqualifies him; because, that is, he lacks the required learning or is a slave.

52. Quis igitur harum, quas enumeravimus, impossibilitatum causas, ut quartam interim sequestremus, Filio Dei existimas convenire? Numquid in sensibilis per naturam, et immobilis, sicut lapis? Lapis quidem est impiis in ruinam, fidelibus angularis. Sed non insensibilis, supra quem sensibilium populorum fideles aedificantur affectus. Non immobilis petra: Bibebant enim ex consequenti petra; petra autem erat Christus (I Cor. X, 4). Non ergo paternum opus per naturae distantiam impossibile Christo.

53. Which of these three different causes of impossibility, think you, which we have enumerated (setting aside the fourth) can we meetly assign to the case of the Son of God? Is He naturally insensible and immovable, like a stone? He is indeed a stone of stumbling to the wicked, a cornerstone for the faithful; but He is not insensible, upon Whom the faithful affection of sentient peoples are stayed. He is not an immovable rock, for they drank of a Rock that followed them, and that Rock was Christ. 1 Corinthians 10:4 The work of the Father, then, is not rendered impossible to Christ by diversity of nature.

53. Numquid forte per debilitatem impossibile ei aliquid existimamus? Sed non ille debilis, 531 qui aliorum debilitates imperiali sermone sanabat. An debilis videbatur, cum paralytico praecipiens: Tolle grabatum tuum, et

ambula (Marc. II, 11), sanitatis jam mandabat officium, cum adhuc ille remedium debilitatis oraret? Num debilis Dominus virtutum, cum illuminaret caecos, inclinatos erigeret (Psal. CXLV, 8), mortuos suscitaret (Matth. XI, 5), votis nostris medicinae praecurreret effectus, orantes curaret, et fimbriae mundaret attactus (Marc. VI, 56) ?

54. Perchance we may suppose some things were made impossible for Him by reason of weakness. But He was not weakly Who could heal the weaknesses of others by His word of authority. Seemed He weak when bidding the paralytic take up his bed and walk? Mark 2:11 He charged the man to perform an action of which health was the necessary condition, even while the patient was yet praying a remedy for his disease. Not weak was the Lord of hosts when He gave sight to the blind, made the crooked to stand upright, raised the dead to life, Matthew 11:5 anticipated the effects of medicine at our prayers, and cured them that besought Him, and when to touch the fringe of His robe was to be purified. Mark 6:56

54. Nisi forte debilitatem illam, impii, putabatis, quando vulnera videbatis. Erant quidem illa corporis vulnera, sed non erat vulneris illius ulla debilitas, ex quo omnium vita profluebat. Unde et propheta dixit: Livore ejus nos sanati sumus (Esai. LII, 5). An qui in vulnere debilis non erat, erat in majestate? Quomodo quaere. Cum daemoniis imperaret, et reis peccata dimitteret; an cum rogaret Patrem?

55. Unless, perhaps, you thought it was weakness, you wretches, when you saw His wounds. Truly, they were wounds piercing His Body, but there was no weakness betokened by that wound, whence flowed the Life of all, and therefore was it that the prophet said: By His stripes we are healed. Isaiah 53:5 Was He, then, Who was not weak in the hour when He was wounded, weak in regard of His Sovereignty? How, then, I ask? When He

commanded the devils, and forgave the offenses of sinners? Luke 5:20 Or when He made entreaty to the Father?

55. Quo loco fortasse dicant: Quomodo Pater et Filius unum sunt, si Filius nunc imperat, nunc precatur? Et unum sunt, et imperat, et precatur: sed neque cum imperat, solus; nec cum precatur, infirmus. Solus non est, quia quaecumque Pater facit, eadem similiter et Filius facit: infirmus non est, quia etsi in carne infirmatus est propter peccata nostra, tamen illud nostrae erat in eo pacis eruditio, sicut scriptum est, non suae majestatis infirmitas.

56. Here, indeed, our adversaries may perchance enquire: How can the Father and the Son be One, if the Son at one time commands, at another entreats? True, They are One; true also, He both commands and prays: yet while in the hour when He commands He is not alone, so also in the hour of prayer He is not weak. He is not alone, for whatsoever things the Father does, the same things does the Son also, in like manner. He is not weak, for though in the flesh He suffered weakness for our sins yet that was the chastisement of our peace upon Him, Isaiah 53:5 not lack of sovereign Power in Himself.

56. Denique ut scias quia secundum bominem rogat, divinitate imperat, habes in Evangelio quia Petro dixit: Rogavi pro te, ut non deficiat fides tua (Luc. XXII, 32). Eidem autem supra dicenti: Tu es Christus Filius Dei vivi, respondit: Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam; et tibi dabo claves regni coelorum (Matth. XVI, 18). Ergo cui propria auctoritate regnum dabat, hujus fidem firmare non poterat; quem cum petram dicit, firmamentum Ecclesiae indicavit? Quando igitur roget, quando imperet, considera. Rogat quando passurus ostenditur, imperat quando Filius Dei creditur.

57. Moreover, that you may know that it is after His Manhood that He entreats, and in virtue of His Godhead that He commands, it is written for you in the Gospel that He said to Peter: I have prayed for you, that your faith fail not. Luke 22:32 To the same Apostle, again, when on a former occasion he said, You are the Christ, the Son of the living God, He made answer: You are Peter, and upon this Rock will I build My Church, and I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Matthew 16:18 Could He not, then, strengthen the faith of the man to whom, acting on His own authority, He gave the kingdom, whom He called the Rock, thereby declaring him to be the foundation of the Church? Consider, then, the manner of His entreaty, the occasions of His commanding. He entreats, when He is shown to us as on the eve of suffering: He commands, when He is believed to be the Son of God.

57. Duas igitur species impossibilitatis vacare jam cernimus, quod neque insensibilis, neque infirma potest esse Dei virtus. Numquid tertium profertis in medium, quod quasi imperitus sine magistro facere nihil possit, aut servus sine domino? Ergo mentitus es, Domine Jesu, qui te et magistrum, et dominum ipse dixisti; et fefellisti discipulos tuos, dicens: Vos vocatis me magistrum et dominum, et bene dicitis; sum etenim (Joan. XIII, 13). Sed non falleres, veritas, eos praesertim quos amicos vocasti.

58. We see, then, that two sorts of impossibility furnish no explanation, inasmuch as the Power of God can be neither insensible nor weakly. Will you then proffer the third kind [as an account of the matter], namely, that He can do nothing, just as an unskilled apprentice can do nothing without his master’s instructions, or a slave can do nothing without his lord. Then did You speak falsely, Lord Jesus, in calling Yourself Master and Lord, and You deceived Your disciples by Your words: You call Me Master and Lord, and you say well, for so I am. John 13:13 Nay, but You, O Truth, would

never have deceived men, least of all them whom You called friends. John 15:14-15

58. Tamen si ut imperitum te ab artifice secernunt, viderint ut tibi, hoc est, Dei sapientiae dicant peritiam defuisse; unitatem tamen substantiae inter te et Patrem separare non possunt. Artificem namque ab imperito imprudentia, non natura secernit: sed non in Patre artificium, neque in te insipientia; non est enim insipiens sapientia.

59. Yet if our enemies sunder You from the Creator, as being unskilled, let them see how they affirm that skill was lacking to You, that is to say, to the Divine Wisdom; for all that, however, they cannot divide the unity of substance that You have with the Father. It is not, indeed, by nature, but by reason of ignorance, that the difference exists between the craftsman and the unskilled; but neither is handicraft attributable to the Father, nor ignorance to You, for there is no such thing as ignorant wisdom.

59. Ergo si neque insensibilis in Filio natura, 532 neque debilitas, neque imperitia, neque servitus potest esse; considerent quod et per naturam et majestatem unum sit cum Patre Filius, et per operationem non discrepet a Patre virtus; cum omnia quae Pater fecerit, eadem Filius faciat similiter: neque enim similiter potest quisquam facere idem opus, quod alius fecerit; nisi qui et inaequalitatem non habeat operationis, et naturae ejusdem habeat unitatem.

60. Therefore, if insensibility is no attribute of the Son, and if neither weakness, nor ignorance, nor servility, let unbelievers put it to their minds for meditation that both by nature and sovereignty the Son is One with the Father, and by its working His power is not at cross-purpose with the Father, inasmuch as all things that the Father has done, the Son does likewise, for no one can do in like fashion the same work that another has

done, unless he shares in the unity of the same nature, while he is also not inferior in method of working.

60. Adhuc tamen requiro, quid sit quod non possit facere a se Filius, nisi viderit facientem Patrem (Joan. V, 19); et insipienter aliqua de vilioribus exempla propono: Factus sum insipiens, vos me coegistis (II Cor. XII, 11). Nam quid insipientius, quam de majestate Dei argumenta discutere, quae quaestiones magis praestant, quam aedificationem Dei, quae est in fide (I Tim. I, 4, 5)? Sed argumentis argumenta respondeant: illis verba, nobis charitas, quae in Deo est, de corde puro et conscientia bona, et fide non ficta. Ergo ad infirmationem tam ineptae propositionis, non piget etiam ridicula derivare.

61. Yet I would still enquire *what* it is that the Son cannot do, unless He see the Father doing it. I will take the fool's line, and propound some examples drawn from things of a lower world. I have become a fool; you have compelled me. 2 Corinthians 12:11 What indeed is more foolish than to debate over the majesty of God, which rather occasions questionings, than godly instruction which is in faith. But to arguments let arguments reply; let words make answer to them, but love to us, the love which is in God, issuing of a pure heart and good conscience and faith unfeigned. And so I stickle not to introduce even the ludicrous for the confutation of so vain a thesis.

61. Quomodo ergo videt Filius Patrem? Videt equus picturam, quam per naturam imitari non potest: non utique sic videt Filius. Videt parvulus viri opera majoris, sed imitari non potest: nec utique sic videt Dei Filius.

62. How, then, does the Son see the Father? A horse sees a painting, which naturally it is unable to imitate. Not thus does the Son behold the Father. A

child sees the work of a grown man, but he cannot reproduce it; certainly not thus, again, does the Son see the Father.

62. Ergo si Filius per ejusdem cum Patre arcanum commune naturae invisibiliter et videre et facere potest, et per plenitudinem divinitatis quod voluerit exsequi: quid superest, nisi ut per unitatem inseparabilem potestatis nihil credamus Filium facere, nisi quod viderit Patrem facientem; quia per incomparabilem charitatem nihil a se facit Filius; quoniam nihil vult, quod Pater nolit? Quod utique non infirmitatis, sed unitatis est.

63. If, then, the Son can, by virtue of a common hidden power of the same nature which He has with the Father, both see and act in an invisible manner, and by the fullness of His Godhead execute every decree of His Will, what remains for us but to believe that the Son, by reason of indivisible unity of power, does nothing, save what He has seen the Father doing, forasmuch as because of His incomparable love the Son does nothing of Himself, since He wills nothing that is against His Father’s Will? Which truly is the proof not of weakness but of unity.

CAPUT VI.

ACCEDIT AD QUARTAM e rationibus supra memoratis; et Filium nihil facere quod non probetur a Patre, cum sit utriusque perfecta voluntatis atque potestatis unitas, liquido probans, nonnullas difficultates subinde tollit.

CHAPTER 6.

The fourth kind of impossibility (§49) is now taken into consideration, and it is shown that the Son does nothing that the Father approves not, there being between Them perfect unity of will and power.

63. Ergo nec contumax Filius, ut etiam de quarta propositione dicamus; nihil enim consiliarius Filius fecit, quod cum Patris non conveniat voluntate. Denique vidit Pater quae fecit Filius, et probavit quia bona valde. Sic enim habes in Genesi: Et dixit Deus: Fiat lux, et facta est lux; et vidit Deus lucem, quia bona est (Gen. I, 3, 4).

64. The Son, moreover — to consider now our fourth premiss — is not self-assertive, for He, the Divine Assessor, has done nought that is not in agreement with His Father's Will. Further, the Father has seen the things that the Son made, and pronounced them very good; for so it is written in Genesis: And God said, Let there be light; and there was light. And God saw the light that it was good. Genesis 1:3-4

64. Numquid hic dixit Pater: Fiat talis lux, qualem ipse feci: aut fiat lux, quae ante non fuerat: aut Filius qualem faceret, interrogavit? Sed fecit, ut voluit, qualem Pater usque eo voluit, ut probaret. Ergo novum opus Filii est.

65. Now, did the Father say on that occasion, Let there be such light as I Myself have made, or Let there be light — light having as yet not existed; or did the Son ask what sort of light the Father made? Nay, the Son made light, according to His own Will, and so far in accordance with the Father's good pleasure, that He approved. It is of new, original work by the Son that the place speaks.

65. Deinde si reprehenditur in Filio secundum interpretationes Arianorum quia quod viderit, fecit, qui utique secundum Scripturas quod non vidit, et fecit, et dedit esse quae non erant: quid dicunt de Patre, qui quod viderat 533 praedicavit, quasi ea quae facienda forent, non potuerit praevidere?

66. Again, if, as Arian, expositions of the Scriptures make out, it is a discredit to the Son to have made what He saw, whereas the Scriptures present Him as having made what He [before] saw not, and to have given being to things which as yet were not, what should they say of the Father, Who praised that He had seen, as though He could not have foreseen the things that were to be made?

66. Similiter ergo videt Filius Patris opus, sicut Pater opus Filii: nec quasi alienum laudat, sed quasi proprium recognoscit: Quaecumque enim Pater fecerit, eadem Filius facit similiter (Joan. V, 19); ut idem opus Patris Filiique sentires. Nihil ergo facit Filius, nisi quod Pater probet, Pater laudet, Pater velit; quia ex Patre totus est: non ut creatura, quae multa committit, dum studio lapsuque peccati, voluntatem frequenter offendit auctoris. Nihil ergo Filius facit, nisi quod placeat Patri; quia una voluntas, una sententia est, una est vera charitas, unius operationis effectus.

67. The Son, therefore, sees the Father's work in like manner as the Father sees the Son's, and the Father praises not the work as one would praise work of another's doing, but recognizes it as His own, for whatsoever

things the Father has done, the same does the Son, in like manner. [So was it written, that] you might understand one and the same work to be the work both of the Father and of the Son. And thus the Son does nothing save what is approved of by the Father, praised by the Father, willed by the Father, because His whole Being is of the Father; and He is not as the created being, which commits many faults, ofttimes offending the Will of its Creator, in lusting after and falling into sin. Nought, then, is of the Son's doing, save what is pleasing to the Father, forasmuch as one Will, one Purpose, is Theirs, one true Love, one effect of action.

67. Denique ut scias charitatis esse quod non potest Filius a se facere quidquam, nisi quod viderit facientem Patrem, cum praemisisset: Quaecumque ille fecerit, eadem et Filius facit similiter, subjecit: Pater enim diligit Filium. Ergo quod dixit Scriptura quia non potest, ad inseparabilis et individuae charitatis retulit unitatem.

68. Furthermore, to prove to you that it comes of Love, that the Son can do nothing of Himself save what He has seen the Father doing, the Apostle has added to the words, Whatsoever the Father has done, the same things does the Son also, in like manner, this reason: For the Father loves the Son, and thus Scripture refers the Son's inability to do, whereof it testifies, to unity in Love that suffers no separation or disagreement.

68. Quod si naturaliter est, ut vere est, inseparabilis charitas; inseparabilis utique est etiam operatio naturaliter: et impossibile ut opus Filii cum Patris non conveniat voluntate (Joan. XII, 50); quando id quod Filius operatur, operatur et Pater: et quod Pater operatur, operatur et Filius: et quod loquitur Filius, loquitur et Pater, sicut scriptum est (Joan. XIV, 10): Pater meus qui in me manet, ipse loquitur; et opera quae ego facio, ipse facit. Nihil enim Pater sine virtute atque sapientia sua condidit; quia omnia in sapientia fecit,

sicut scriptum est: Omnia in sapientia fecisti (Psal. CIII, 24). Nihil etiam Deus Verbum sine Patre fecit.

69. But if the inseparableness of the Persons in Love rest, as it truly does, upon [identity of] nature, then surely they are also inseparable, for the same reason, in action, and it is impossible that the work of the Son should not be in agreement with the Father's Will, when what the Son works, the Father works also, and what the Father works, the Son works also, and what the Son speaks, the Father speaks also, as it is written: My Father, Who dwells in Me, He it is that speaks, and the works that I do He Himself does. John 14:10 For the Father appointed nought save by the exercise of His Power and Wisdom, forasmuch as He made all things wisely, as it is written: In wisdom have You made them all; and likewise, God the Word made nought without the Father's participation.

69. Non operatur sine Patre, non sine patria voluntate sacrosanctae illi se obtulit salutaris mundi totius hostia passioni, non sine patria voluntate mortuos suscitavit (Hebr. X, 10). Denique Lazarum suscitaturus levavit oculos sursum, et dixit: Pater, gratias ago tibi, quia audisti me: et ego sciebam quia semper me audis: sed propter turbam quae circumstat, dixi; ut credant quia tu me misisti (Joan. XI, 41, 42): ut quamvis ex personae hominis incarnati susceptione loqueretur, unitatem tamen paternae voluntatis et operationis exprimeret; quia Pater omnia audit, omnia videt quae vult Filius. Videt ergo et Pater facientem Filium, audit volentem. Denique non rogavit, et exauditum se esse dixit.

70. Not without the Father does He work; not without His Father's Will did He offer Himself for that most holy Passion, the Victim slain for the salvation of the whole world; not without His Father's Will concurring did He raise the dead to life. For example, when He was at the point to raise Lazarus to life, He lifted up His eyes and said, Father, I thank You, for that

You have heard Me. And I know that You always hear Me, but for the sake of the multitude that stands round I spoke, that they may believe that You have sent Me, John 11:40 in order that, though speaking agreeably to His assumed character of man, in the flesh, He might still express His oneness with the Father in will and operation, in that the Father hears all and sees all that the Son wills, and therefore also the Father sees the Son's doings, hears the utterances of His Will, for the Son made no request, and yet said that He had been heard.

70. Nec existimari potest quia non audit Pater, quod velit Filius: et ut scias quia semper auditur a Patre, non quasi servus, nec quasi propheta, sed quasi Filius: Et ego, inquit, sciebam quia semper me audis: sed propter turbam quae circumstat, dixi; ut credant quia tu me misisti. 534

71. Again, we cannot suppose that the Father hears not all, whatsoever the Son's will resolves; and to show that He is always heard by the Father, not as a servant, not as a prophet, but as Son, He said: And I know that Thou dost always hear Me, but for the sake of the multitude which stands round I spoke, that they may believe that You have sent Me.

71. Propter nos igitur gratias agit; ne eumdem Patrem, eumdemque Filium esse credamus, cum idem opus Patris audimus et Filii. Nam ut cognosceres non quasi infirmum gratias egisse, sed quasi Dei Filium semper sibi divinam potentiam vindicare, clamavit: Lazare, veni foras. Imperantis utique vox ista est, non precantis.

72. It is for our sakes, therefore, that He renders thanks, lest we should suppose that the Father and the Son are one and the same Person, when we hear of one and the same work being wrought by the Father and the Son. Further, to show us that His rendering of thanks had not been the tribute due from one wanting in power, that, on the contrary, He, as Son of God, ever

claimed for Himself the possession of divine authority, He cried, Lazarus, come forth. Here, surely, is the voice of command, not of prayer.

CAPUT VII.

PROPOSITA DOCTRINA HINC confirmatur, quod Filius sit Patris Verbum, non quale nostrum, sed vivum et operatorium; atque adeo non possit negari ejusdem cum Patre voluntatis, potestatis ac substantiae.

CHAPTER 7.

The doctrine had in view for enforcement is corroborated by the truth that the Son is the Word of the Father — the Word, not in the sense in which we understand the term, but a living and active Word. This being so, we cannot deny Him to be of the same Will, Power, and Substance with the Father.

72. Sed ut ad superiora redeamus, et proposita concludamus, facit quasi Verbum Filius voluntatem Patris. Verbum hoc nostrum utique prolativum est, syllabae sunt, sonus est; et tamen a sensu nostro, et mente non discrepat, et quae interiori tenemus affectu, ea tamquam operantis Verbi testificatione signamus. Sed non sermo noster operatur, solum est Verbum Dei, quod nec prolativum est, nec quod ἐνδιάθετον dicunt; sed quod operatur, et vivit, et sanat.

73. To return, however, to what we had in hand before, and finish the task set before us. The Son, as the Word, carries out His Father's Will. Now, a word, as we understand and use it, is an *utterance.* There are syllables and sounds, which, however, are not at variance with the thought of our mind, and what we apprehend and are affected by inwardly we give token of by the testimony of the spoken word, which, as it were, works [for us]. But the words we speak have no direct efficacy in themselves, it is the Word of God

alone, which is neither an utterance, nor an inward concept, as they call it, but works efficaciously, is living, and has healing power.

73. Vis scire quale Verbum? Audi dicentem: Vivum est enim Verbum Dei, et validum atque operatorium et acutum, et penetrabilius omni gladio acutissimo, penetrans usque ad divisionem animae et spiritus, artuumque et medullarum (Hebr. IV, 12).

74. Would you know what is the nature of the Word — hear the Scriptures. For the Word of God is living and mighty, yea, working effectually, sharp and keener than any the sharpest sword, piercing even to the sundering of soul and spirit, of limbs and marrow. Hebrews 4:12

74. Verbum igitur audis Dei Filium, et a patria voluntate et potestate secernis? Audis quia vivit, audis quia sanat: noli ergo nostro comparare verbo. Si enim verbum nostrum quae non obtutu viderit, non auditu audierit, loquitur; et loquitur tamen cognita per quaedam naturae humanae interna mysteria: quomodo non impius, qui secundum divinitatem in Dei Verbo et obtutum quemdam corporeum exigit, et auditum: et putat quod non possit a se quidquam facere Filius, nisi quod Patrem facientem viderit; cum per unitatem, ut diximus, ejusdem substantiae, idem velle atque idem nolle et idem posse et in Patre sit et in Filio et in Spiritu sancto?

75. Do you hear, then, the Word of God, and will you separate Him from the Father’s Will and Power? You hear Him called the living Word, the healing Word — seek not then to compare Him with the word of our mouth; for if the word we utter, though it have not eyes to see, nor ears to hear, yet speaks, and still the knowledge of what it speaks is wrought by virtue of hidden mysteries of man’s nature, how can he escape the charge of blasphemy, who requires that some sort of bodily vision and hearing shall go along with the Godhead in the Word of God, and thinks that the Son can

do nothing of Himself, save what He shall have seen the Father doing, though (as we have said) there is in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit the same Will, both to do and not to do, and the same Power, by reason of unity in the same substance.

75. Quod si homines plerumque sensuum qualitate discreti, tamen unius propositi intentione concordant; quid de Patre nos et Dei Filio congruit aestimare: cum id quod humana imitatur charitas, substantia divina possideat?

76. But if, though men are, as a rule, different in respect of their thoughts and feelings, they yet agree as to the meaning of a single proposition, what ought we to think as concerning the Father and the Son of God, seeing that in the Substance of the Godhead there is that is imitated by human love?

76. Ponamus tamen, sicut ipsi volunt, quia quasi in exemplari, quod viderit Patrem facientem, Filius faciat. Et hoc utique ejusdem substantiae est; nullus enim potest alterius imitationem operationis implere nisi qui ejusdem naturae habeat unitatem.

77. Let us, however, suppose — as our adversaries would have it — that the Son does, as it were, copy the pattern of that which He has seen His Father doing. But even this, we must confess, means that He is of the same substance, for none can completely imitate the working of another, unless he be one with him in the same nature.

CAPUT VIII.

HAERETICORUM OBJECTIONEM, QUA Filium quod alium generare non possit, Patri negabant esse aequalem, primo in adversarios ipsos retorquet: deinde hominum ostendit exemplis quod quispiam generet aut secus, ad potentiam non pertinere; maxime cum alioqui ipsemet Pater minus potens dicendus esset. Inde colligit divina ex humanis non esse judicanda, sed standum Scripturae auctoritate. Postremo omnipotentiam vel Patri abjudicandam, vel adjudicandam Filio ubi demonstravit, ipsos si filios non genuerint, propriis servis qui sobolem procreaverint, minus potentes fore inducit, proindeque totam eorum disputationem ineptam esse.

CHAPTER 8.

The heretical objection, that the Son cannot be equal to the Father, because He cannot beget a Son, is turned back upon the authors of it. From the case of human nature it is shown that whether a person begets offspring or not, has nothing to do with his power. Most of all must this be true since, otherwise, the Father Himself would have to be pronounced wanting in power. Whence it follows that we have no right to judge of divine things by human, and must take our stand upon the authority of Holy Writ, otherwise we must deny all power either to the Father or to the Son.

[Alias cap. VI.] Illud ridiculum est, Imperator auguste, quod quidam hoc etiam ad inaequalitatem Dei Patris et Filii objiciendum usurpare consuerunt, quod dicant omnipotentem Patrem esse, quod generavit Filium: negent autem omnipotentem Filium, dicentes quia generare non potuit.

78. There is a fool’s demurrer, your Majesty, which certain persons are given to raising, in order to show the Father and the Son to be not equal

together, saying that the Father is Almighty, because He has begotten the Son, but that the Son is not Almighty, because He has not been able to beget.

78. Sed vide quemadmodum saeva impietas; ut dialectica philosophorum se ipsa convincat. Hac enim quaestione aut coaeternum Patri Filium necesse est sua voce fateantur, aut si principium temporis Filio aliquod ascribunt, principium potentiae necesse est tribuant etiam Patri. Ita cum omnipotentem Filium negant, incipiunt, quod nefas dictu est, asserere per Filium Patrem omnipotentem esse coepisse.

79. But see how wild is their blasphemy, how their philosophers' logic confutes itself. For the raising of this question must lead either to their confessing with their own mouths that the Son is co-eternal with the Father, or, if they impose a beginning upon the Son's existence, to their assigning of necessity a beginning to the Father's power. When, therefore, they deny that the Son is Almighty, they are on the road to assert — which is impious — that the Father began to be Almighty by help of the Son.

79. Nam si per generationem omnipotens Pater, utique aut coaeternus Patri Filius est; quia si semper omnipotens Pater, sempiternus et Filius: aut si fuit, quando non erat Filius sempiternus; fuit ergo quando non erat omnipotens Pater. Nam cum volunt dicere Filium aliquando coepisse, in illud recidunt, ut et Patris potentiam dicant non semper fuisse, sed ex Filii generatione coepisse. Ita dum Filio Dei cupiunt derogare, plus tribuunt; ut contra fas omne auctorem paternae potentiae declarare videantur; cum Filius dicat: Omnia quae Pater habet, mea sunt (Joan. XVI, 15). hoc est, non quae Patri ipse tradiderit, sed quae a Patre jure generationis acceperit.

80. For if the Father is Almighty by reason of begetting the Son, then, certainly, either the Son is co-eternal with the Father, because if the Father

is eternally Almighty, then the Son also is eternal, or, if there was a time when there was not an eternal Son, there was by consequence a time when there was not an Almighty Father. For when they would make out that there was a time when the Son began to be, they are sliding back into [the error of] saying that the Father's Power also has not been from everlasting, but began to be in consequence of the generation of the Son. So, in their desire to do dishonour to the Son of God, they do so increase His honour as to seem to make Him, contrary to all right belief, the source of His Father's Power, though the Son says, All things that the Father has are Mine John 16:15 — that is to say, not the things which He has bestowed upon the Father, but which He has received from the Father, by right as the Son Whom the Father has begotten.

80. Et ideo Filium sempiternam dicimus esse virtutem: si ergo sempiterna ejus virtus atque divinitas, utique et potentia ejus est sempiterna. Filio igitur qui derogat, Patri derogat, pietatem offendit, violat charitatem. Nos honorificemus Filium, in quo Pater complacet; placet enim Patri ut laudetur Filius, in quo ipse complacuit.

81. And therefore we do declare the Son to be Eternal Power; Romans 1:20 if, then, His Power and Godhead be eternal, surely His Sovereignty is eternal also. He, then, who dishonours the Son dishonours the Father, and is an enemy and offender against duty and love. Let us honour the Son, in Whom the Father is well pleased, for it is the Father's pleasure that praise be given to the Son, in Whom He Himself is well pleased.

81. Respondeamus tamen intentioni eorum, ne epilogo quodam invidiam quaestionis declinasse videamur. Generavit, inquiunt, Pater. 536 non generavit Filius. Quod hic argumentum est inaequalitatis? Generatio enim paternae proprietatis est, non potentiae: et pietas aequat, non separat. Denique in ipso usu nostrae infirmitatis frequenter evenire cognoscimus, ut

et infirmi filios habeant, et non habeant fortiores: habeant servi, non habeant domini: habeant inopes, non habeant qui potentes sunt.

82. Let us, however, make answer to the conclusion they strive to establish; but we seem to have sought, in pursuit of a personal appeal, to escape from the difficulty of treating the question before us. The Father, they say, has begotten a Son; the Son has not. What proof is this that they are not equal? To beget is the Father's natural function, as a Father, and no necessary outcome of His Sovereign Power. Furthermore, dutiful regard places persons on an equality with each other, and does not sunder them. Again, our own experience of what holds good among us frail mortals teaches us that it may frequently happen that weak men have sons, while stronger men have not; that slaves have children, while their masters are childless; and that the poor beget offspring, while rich men are unblessed with any.

82. Sed si dicunt et hoc infirmitatis esse, quia volunt homines filios habere; nec possunt: quamvis humana non sint conferenda divinis, intelligant tamen inter ipsos quoque homines non potentiae esse, sed paternae proprietatis, habere filios, vel non habere: nec in potestate nostrae voluntatis esse generare, sed in corporis qualitate; nam si esset potentiae, utique potentior multos haberet. Ergo non est potentiae habere filios vel non habere.

83. But if our adversaries say that this too may be the result of infirmity, inasmuch as men may desire to beget children, but be unable to do so; then, though things divine are not to be judged of and determined by things human, yet let them understand that with men also, as with God, whether one has children or no, is not dependent upon or derived of his authoritative power, but upon the personal attributes of a father, and that begetting lies not in the power of our will, but is contingent upon our qualities of body; for if it were a matter of sovereign authority, then the mightier king would have the greater number of sons. To have sons, then, or to be childless,

therefore, is not in necessary connection or relation to sovereign authority. Is it, then, so with nature?

83. Numquid naturae est? Si naturae infirmitatem putatis, et ad humana vos confertis exempla, eadem Patris est natura quae Filii est. Itaque aut verum Filium dicitis, et Patri in Filio derogatis per unitatem ejusdem naturae (sicut enim Pater natura Deus est, ita et Filius: deos autem ait Apostolus (I Cor. VIII, 5) non natura deos esse, sed dici); aut si negatis esse verum Filium, hoc est, ejusdem naturae, non est ergo generatus: si non est generatus Filius, non generavit Pater.

84. If you [my Arian adversaries] regard what you object as natural weakness, and rely upon examples taken from the nature of mankind, remember that the Father's nature is the same as the Son's, and therefore you do either confess the Son to be a true Son, and dishonour the Father in the Person of the Son, by reason of Their unity in one and the same Nature (for as the Father is by Nature God, so also is the Son; whereas the Apostle says that the gods many are not so by nature, but are only so called); or, if you deny Him to be a true Son, that is to say, possessing the same Nature, then He is not begotten, and if the Son is not begotten, the Father did not beget Him.

84. Colligitur itaque juxta sententiam vestram, ut non sit omnipotens Deus Pater; quia generare non potuit, si non generavit Filium, sed creavit. Sed quia omnipotens Pater, cum juxta sententiam vestram solus generator omnipotens sit, generavit utique Filium, non creavit. Verum ipsi magis quam vobis credendum est. Ille ait: Genui (Psal. CIX, 3); et frequenter ait, generationis suae testis.

85. The conclusion we come at, therefore, on the line of your persuasion, is that God the Father is not Almighty, because He could not beget, if He did

not beget the Son, but created Him. But forasmuch as the Father is Almighty, He being, as you hold, the Almighty in so far as He is the only Author of Being, then surely He has begotten His Son, and not created Him. Howbeit, we ought to believe His word before yours. He says: I have begotten, and that more than once, witnessing to Himself as begetting.

85. Non est ergo naturae, non est potentiae in Christo aliqua, quia non generavit, infirmitas; quia generatio, sicut saepe jam diximus, non ad sublimitatem potentiae, sed ad proprietatem refertur naturae. Nam si ideo omnipotens Pater, quia Filium habet; omnipotentior ergo esse potuit, si plures haberet.

86. It is no sign, then, of infirmity, whether of nature or authority, in Christ, that He has not begotten, for to beget, as we have already said ofttimes, bears no relation to supremacy of authority, but to a personal property in a nature. For if the Omnipotence of the Father is thereby constituted, that He has a Son, then He might have been more Almighty had He begotten more Sons.

86. An vero potentia ejus in una generatione defecit? At ego ostendam et Christum habere filios, quos quotidie generat, sed ea generatione, vel potius regeneratione, quae potestatis est, non naturae; adoptio enim potestatis est, generatio proprietatis. Quod ipsa Scriptura nos docuit; dicit enim Joannes quia in hoc mundo erat, et mundus per ipsum factus est, et mundus eum non cognovit. In propria venit, et sui eum non receperunt. Quotquot autem receperunt eum, dedit illis potestatem filios Dei fieri, his qui credunt in nomine ejus (Joan. I, 10 et seq).

87. Then is His power exhausted in the begetting of One? Nay, but I will show that Christ also has sons, whom He begets every day, but with that generation, or rather regeneration, which is related to personal authority

rather than nature, for adoption is the exercise and bestowal of authority, and generation the manifestation of a property, as Scripture itself has taught us: for John says that He was in this world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not. He came to His own, and His own received Him not. But as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become sons of God, to them which believe in His Name.

87. Didicimus itaque potestatis esse, quod 537 nos filios Dei fecit: proprietatis autem generationem esse oracula divina declarant; dicit enim Sapientia Dei: Ex ore Altissimi prodivi (Eccl. XXIV, 5), hoc est, non coacta, sed libera: non potestati obnoxia, sed nata generationis arcano, privilegio dominationis et jure potestatis. Denique de eadem Sapientia, hoc est, de Domino Jesu, alibi Pater dicit: Ex utero ante Luciferum genui te (Psal. CIX, 3).

88. We say, therefore, that it is the function and exercise of His Authority that He has made us sons of God, whereas the oracles of God discover that His generation is in relation to personal attribute, for the Wisdom of God says: I came forth out of the mouth of the Most High, Sirach 24:5 that is to say not of compulsion, but free, not under bond of authority, but born in a hidden birth, according to personal powers of Supreme Sovereignty and rightfulness of authority. Again, concerning the same Wisdom, Which is the Lord Jesus, the Father says in another place: Out of the womb I begot You, before the morning star.

88. Quod utique ideo dixit, non ut corporalem alvum declararet, sed ut proprietatem verae generationis ostenderet. Nam si ad corporalem referas, ergo omnipotens Pater cum dolore et conceptione generavit. Sed absit, ut Deum ex infirmitate corporis metiamur. Est quidam uterus paternae arcanum substantiae, interiusque secretum, quod non Angeli, non Archangeli, non Potestates, non Dominationes, non aliqua creaturarum

potuit penetrare natura. Cum Patre enim semper, et in Patre semper est Filius: cum Patre per distinctionem indissociabilem Trinitatis aeternae, in Patre per divinae unitatem naturae.

89. Now this He said, not to make us think of a bodily womb, but to show that true generation is His proper activity, for if we understand the words as speaking of generation from a body, then [we imply] the Father Almighty conceived and brought forth in travail. But far be it from us that we should make this weak bodily frame the measure of God's greatness. The word womb represents the hidden mystery, the inner sanctuary of the Father's being, into which neither angels nor archangels nor powers nor dominations, nor any created nature, has been able to enter. For the Son is always with the Father, and in the Father — with the Father, by virtue of the distinction, without division, proper to the Eternal Trinity; in the Father, by reason of the essential unity of the Divine Nature.

89. Quis igitur hic arbiter divinitatis, qui discutiat Patrem ac Filium: ille, quare generaverit: iste, cur non generaverit? Servulum suum aut ancillulam cur non generaverit, nemo condemnat: isti condemnant, cur non generaverit Christus; condemnant enim sua opinione, cum derogant. Nec conjugibus inter se cur non generaverint, aut charitas minuitur, aut meritum derogatur: isti quia non generavit, Christi minuunt potestatem.

90. What room here, then, for one to sit in judgment upon the Godhead, to call in question the Father and the Son — the One for begetting, the Other for not begetting. No man condemns his servant or handmaid for begetting (or bearing) offspring; but those Arians condemn Christ for not begetting — they do condemn Him, for they privately pass sentence of condemnation upon Him, when they take from His glory and dignity. The question, why they have not begotten offspring, does not lead those who are joined in marriage into loss of their love, or denial of each other's merits, but the

Arians, because Christ has not begotten a Son, make light of His sovereignty.

90. Cur, inquiunt, Filius Pater non est? Quia et Pater Filius non est. Cur non iste generavit? Quia nec ille generatus est. Nec ideo minus habet Filius, quia Pater non est: nec Pater minus habet, quia Filius non est. Dixit enim Filius: Omnia quae Pater habet, mea sunt (Joan. XVI, 15). Adeo generatio in paterna proprietate non in jure est potestatis.

91. Why, ask they, is the Son not a Father? Because, on the other side, the Father is not a Son. Why has not Christ begotten? Even because the Father is not begotten. Yet the Son stands none the lower, because He is not a Father; nor the Father, because He is not a Son, for the Son said: All things that the Father has are Mine John 16:15 — so truly is generation involved in the Father's personal attributes, and comes not by mere right of sovereignty.

91. Est quaedam indistincta distinctae incomprehensibilis et inenarrabilis substantia Trinitatis. Distinctionem etenim accepimus Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, non confusionem: distinctionem, non separationem: distinctionem, non pluralitatem. Divino itaque admirandoque mysterio manentem semper accipimus Patrem, semper Filium, semper Spiritum sanctum: non duos Patres, non duos Filios, non duos Spiritus. Unus enim Deus Pater, ex quo omnia, et nos in ipso: et unus Dominus Jesus, per quem omnia, et nos per ipsum (I Cor. VIII, 6). Unus natus ex Patre Dominus Jesus, et ideo unigenitus. Unus et Spiritus sanctus (I Cor. XII, 11), ut idem Apostolus dixit: Sic accipimus, sic legimus, sic tenemus. Distinctionem scimus, secreta nescimus: causas non discutimus, sacramenta servamus.

92. The Substance of the Trinity is, so to say, a common Essence in that which is distinct, an incomprehensible, ineffable Substance. We hold the distinction, not the confusion of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; a distinction

without separation; a distinction without plurality; and thus we believe in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as each existing from and to eternity in this divine and wonderful Mystery: not in two Fathers, nor in two Sons, nor in two Spirits. For there is one God, the Father, of Whom are all things, and we in Him; and one Lord, Jesus Christ, by Whom are all things, and we by Him. 1 Corinthians 8:6 There is One born of the Father, the Lord Jesus, and therefore He is the Only-begotten. There is also One Holy Spirit, 1 Corinthians 12:11 as the same Apostle has said. So we believe, so we read, so we hold. We know the fact of distinction, we know nothing of the hidden mysteries; we pry not into the causes, but keep the outward signs vouchsafed unto us.

92. Facinus indignum, ut qui generationis suae facultatem non habent, divinae generationis examen sibi arrogent, vindicent potestatem: 538 Negent ergo aequalem Patri Filium, quia non generavit Filius: negent aequalem Patri Filium, quia Patrem habet. Hoc si de hominibus dicerent, quorum aliqui volunt filios habere, nec possunt, injuriam putaremus: sic etiamsi inter duos honore pares habenti filios qui non habet, negaretur aequalis. Et ideo hoc, inquam, grave et de ipsis hominibus videtur, ut quis ideo minor putetur, quod Patrem habet. Nisi forte tamquam constitutum in familia putant Christum dolere, quod emancipatus a Patre non sit, et administrandi patrimonii non habeat facultatem. Sed non est Christus in sacris, qui sacra universa destruxit.

93. O monstrous wickedness, that they who have no power over their own procreation should claim and usurp power to enquire into the Divine Generation! Let them deny, them, that the Son is equal to the Father, forasmuch as He has not begotten; let them deny that the Son is equal to the Father, because He has a Father! But if they talked after this fashion about men, who sometimes desire to beget sons, yet cannot, we should call it an

insult, just as we should so call it, if of two men, one having sons and the other childless, the latter were said to be inferior to the former on that ground. So monstrous also, I say, does it seem, in regard simply to men, that one should therefore be esteemed the more lightly because he has a father. Peradventure, indeed, the Arians suppose that Christ is in the position of one in a family, and frets because He is not set free and independent of His Father's authority, and is not empowered to administer the estate. But Christ is not under tutelage; nay, rather has He abolished all tutelage.

93. Quomodo volunt tamen, respondeant, verane generatio sit, et verus Filius ex Deo Patre natus, hoc est, ex substantia Patris, an ex alia natus substantia? Si enim dicunt ex Patre, hoc est, ex Dei substantia, convenit; quia ex substantia Patris Filium dicunt. Ergo quia unius substantiae, unius utique potentiae. Si vero ex alia substantia Filius est, quomodo omnipotens Pater est, et omnipotens Filius non est? Quid enim praestantius si ex alia substantia Filium Deus fecit, cum utique et Filius ex alia nos substantia filios Dei fecerit? Ergo aut unius substantiae Filius cum Patre, aut unius potentiae.

94. How then, let them tell us, would they have these things to be? — a true generation, the true Son begotten of God the Father, that is, of the Substance of the Father, or of another substance? If they say begotten of the Father, that is, of the Substance of God, well and good, for then they acknowledge the Son as begotten of the Substance of the Father. If, then, they are of one Substance, surely they are also of one sovereign Power. Whereas, if the Son is begotten of another substance, how can the Father be Almighty, and the Son not Almighty? For what advantage has God, if He have made His Son of another substance, when confessedly the Son, on His part, has of another substance made us sons of God? The Son, therefore, is either of one Substance with the Father, or of one sovereign Power.

94. Friget igitur eorum quaestio, quia de Christo judicare non possunt; immo quia vincit ille, cum judicatur. Digni tamen sunt isti judicio suo, qui hanc objiciunt quaestionem. Si enim ideo aequalis Patri Filius non est, quia non generavit Filium, et isti utique fateantur, si non habent filios, qui serunt hujusmodi quaestiones, suos sibi etiam servulos preferendos, eo quod habentibus filios aequales esse non possunt. Si autem habent filios, non putent sibi meritum, sed filiorum juri deferri.

95. Our adversaries' question, then, falls flat, because they cannot judge Christ — or rather, because He is clear, when He is judged. They are worthy, however, to be condemned upon their own sentence, who raise this question against us, for if the Son be therefore not equal to the Father, because He has not begotten a Son, then by all means let them who sow discussions of this kind confess, if they have not children, that their very servants are to be preferred before themselves, inasmuch as they cannot be the equals of those who have children — whereas, if they have children, let them regard the merit thereof as due not to themselves, but of right to their sons.

95. Non consistit igitur haec quaestio, quia aequalis Filius Patri ideo esse non possit, quia Pater generaverit Filium, Filius nullum ex se ipse generaverit. Nam et fons fluvium generat, et fluvius fontem ex se ipse non generat: et lux splendorem generat, non splendor lucem; et una natura est splendoris et lucis.

96. The objection, then, holds not together, that the Son cannot be equal to the Father, by reason of the Father having begotten the Son, while the Son has begotten no Son of Himself, for the spring begets the stream, though the stream begets no spring out of itself, and light begets radiance, and not radiance light, yet the nature of radiance and light is one.

CAPUT IX.

VARIAS ARIANORUM CAPTIUNCULAS, queis Filium coepisse argutabantur, profert et explodit. Nam praeter quam quod eos aut contra se, aut nihil efficere constat; cum rerum omnium principio non possit esse principium, in humanis etiam eorum argumentatio vitiosa est. Tempus igitur non praecessisse auctorem suum: qui si aliquando non fuit, tunc Pater fuit sine sua virtute ac sapientia. Denique ubi humanis exemplis ostensum est aliquem priusquam nascatur, esse dici, haereticorum temeritatem detestatur.

CHAPTER 9.

Various quibbling arguments, advanced by the Arians to show that the Son had a beginning of existence, are considered and refuted, on the ground that while the Arians plainly prove nothing, or if they prove anything, prove it against themselves, (inasmuch as He Who is the beginning of all cannot Himself have a beginning), their reasonings do not even hold true with regard to facts of human existence. Time could not be before He was, Who is the Author of time — if indeed at some time He was not in existence, then the Father was without His Power and Wisdom. Again, our own human experience shows that a person is said to exist before he is born.

96. Unde cum inaequalitatem ex generationis objectu probare non potuerint, 539 intelligant etiam illam divulgatam suae calumniam quaestionis explosam. Solent enim proponere: Quomodo aequalis potest esse Filius Patri? Nam si Filius est, antequam generaretur non erat: aut si erat, cur natus est? Et Arianos se negare consuerunt, qui proponunt Arii quaestiones?

97. Now that our opponents have failed to maintain their objection against the truth of His Son's equality with the Father, on the ground of His Generation, let them see that their well known device of controversy, their stock misrepresentation, is frustrated. Their common use is to propound this riddle: How can the Son be equal with the Father? If He is a Son, then before He was begotten He was not in existence. If He was in existence, why was He begotten? And men who advance difficulties raised by Arius yet sturdily deny that they are Arians.

97. Itaque exigunt a nobis responsionem, ut si dixerimus: Antequam generaretur, erat, astute referant: Ergo antequam generaretur, creatus est, et non differt a caeteris creaturis: quia prius coepit creatura esse quam Filius. Et adjiciunt: Cur qui erat, natus est? An quia imperfectus erat, ut postea perfectior fieret? Si autem responderimus quia non erat, objiciunt statim: Ei ergo generatio contulit ut esset, qui non erat antequam nasceretur; ut hinc colligant: Erat ergo, quando non erat Filius.

98. Accordingly, they demand our answer, intending, if we say, The Son existed before He was begotten, to meet us with a subtle retort, that If so, then, before He was begotten, He was created, and there is no difference between Him and the rest of created beings, for He began to be a creature before He began to be the Son. To which they add: Why was He begotten, when He was already in existence? Because He was imperfect, and in order that He might afterwards be made more perfect? Whilst if we reply that the Son did not exist before He was begotten, they will immediately reply: Then by being begotten He was brought into existence, not having existed before He was begotten, so as to lead on from this to the conclusion that the Son existed, when He did not exist.

98. Sed qui hoc proponunt, et obscuritate volunt involvere veritatem: dicant ipsi utrum temporaliter generet Pater, an intemporaliter. Si enim

temporaliter dixerint, quod Filio objiciunt, Patri ascribent; ut videatur Pater coepisse esse, quod non erat: si intemporaliter, quid superest, nisi ut ipsi solvant quam proposuerint quaestionem; ut cum generationem Patris abnuant temporalem, generationem quoque Filii temporalem non esse fateantur?

99. But let those who propound this difficulty and endeavour to enwrap the truth in a cloud tell us themselves whether the Father exerts His power of begetting within or without limits of time. If they say within limits of time, then they will attribute to the Father what they object against the Son, so as to make the Father seem to have begun to be what He was not before. If their answer is without such limits, then what is left them but to resolve for themselves the problem they have propounded, and acknowledge that the Son is not begotten under limits and conditions of time, since they deny that the Father so begets?

99. Si ergo non est generatio ejus ex tempore, aestimari datur quod nihil praecesserit ante Filium, qui non sit ex tempore. Si enim aliquid ante Filium, jam non sunt in ipso creata omnia, quae vel in coelo sunt vel in terris, et Apostolus redarguitur, qui hoc in epistola sua (Coloss. I, 16) scripserit: quod si nihil ante generationem, non adverto cur posterior asseratur, quem nemo praecessit.

100. If the Son, then, is not begotten within limits of time, we are free to judge that nothing can have existed before the Son, Whose being is not confined by time. If, indeed, there was anything in being before the Son, then it instantly follows that in Him were not created all things in heaven or in earth, and the Apostle is shown to have erred in so setting it down in his Epistle, Colossians 1:16 whereas, if before He was begotten there was nothing, I see not wherefore He, before Whom none was, should be said to have been after any.

100. Connectenda est alia eorum plena impietatis objectio, quae latentem habeat dolum, quo sensus facilium, mentesque perstringat. Interrogant enim, utrum omne quod finem habet, aliquando coeperit. Et si acceperint ejusmodi responsionem, quia quod finem habet, coepit aliquando; referunt, utrum Pater desierit generare Filium. Quod cum tenuerint, nostro aspirante consensu, contexunt: Coepit ergo generatio. Id si non abnuas, consequi videtur, ut si coepit generatio, videatur in eo coepta, qui natus est; ut natus esse dicatur, qui ante non fuerat, unde definiant: Aliquando ergo Filius non fuit.

101. With the consideration whereof we must join another most blasphemous objection of theirs, which covers a subtle purpose to confuse the sense and understanding of simple folk. They ask whether everything that comes to an end had also at any time a beginning. If they are told that what has an end also had a beginning, then they return to the charge with the question whether the Father has ceased to beget His Son. This by our consent being granted them, they conclude that the generation of the Son had a beginning. The which if you allow, it seems to follow that if the Generation had a beginning, it appears to have begun in Him Who was begotten; so that one, who had not existed before, may be called begotten — their intent being to close the inquiry by laying down as conclusive that there was a time when the Son existed not.

101. Adjiciunt alias ineptias loquacitatis suae, dicentes: Si Verbum Patris Filius est, et ideo genitus dicitur, quia Verbum est: quod autem Verbum est, opus non est: multifariam locutus est Pater (Hebr. I, 1); multos ergo generavit filios, si non operatus est, sed locutus est Verbum. Amentes homines! quasi non intelligant, quid intersit inter prolativum sermonem, et in aeternum permanens Dei Verbum ex Patre natum: 540 natum utique, non

prolatum: in quo non composita syllaba, sed plenitudo divinitatis aeternae est, et vita sine fine.

102. Besides this, there are other vain objections, such as persons of their glibness of tongue would readily urge. If, say they, the Son is the Word of the Father, then He is called begotten, inasmuch as He is the Word. But then since He is the Word, He is not a work. Now the Father has spoken in various manners, Hebrews 1:1 whence it follows that He has begotten many Sons, if He has spoken His Word, not created it as a work of His hands. O fools, talking as though they knew not the difference between the word uttered and the Divine Word, abiding eternally, born of the Father — born, I say, not uttered only — in Whom is no combination of syllables, but the fullness of the eternal Godhead and life without end!

102. Subtexunt aliam impietatem, proponentes utrum volens, an invitus generaverit Pater; ut si dixerimus volentem, antiquiorem generatione voluntatem videamur fateri, et referant quia non sit Filius coaeternus Patri, quem aliquid antecessit: aut quia et ipse sit creatura; quia scriptum est: Omnia quae voluit, fecit (Psal. CXIII, 11); cum hoc ipsum non de Patre et Filio, sed de his quas Filius fecit, dictum sit creaturis. Sin autem invitum Patrem generasse responderimus, invalidum Patrem dixisse videamur.

103. Follows another blasphemy, whereby they enquire whether it was of His own free will, or on compulsion, that the Father begot [His Son], intending, if we say, Of His own free will, that we should appear as though we acknowledged that the Father's Will preceded the [Divine] Generation, and to answer that there being something that preceded the existence of the Son, the Son is not co-eternal with the Father, or that He, like the rest of the world, is a being created, forasmuch as it is written, He has made all things, as many as He would, though this is spoken, not of the Father and the Son, but of those creatures which the Son made. Whereas if we answered that the

Father begot [His Son] on compulsion, we should seem to have attributed infirmity to the Father.

103. Sed mihi in sempiterna generatione praecedit, nec velle, nec nolle: ergo nec invitum dixerim, nec volentem; quia generatio non in voluntatis possibilitate est, sed in jure quodam et proprietate paterni videtur esse secreti. Nam sicut bonus Pater non aut ex voluntate est, aut necessitate, sed super utrumque, hoc est, natura; ita non generat ex voluntate aut necessitate Pater.

104. But in the eternal Generation there is no foregoing condition, neither of will, nor of unwillingness, and therefore I can neither say that the Father begot of His free Will, nor yet that He begot on compulsion, for to beget depends not upon possibility as determined by will, but rather appears to stand in a certain right and property of the hidden being of the Father. For just as the Father is not good because He wills to be so, or is compelled to be so, but is above these conditions — is good, that is, by nature, — even so the putting forth of His generative power is neither of will nor of necessity.

104. Esto tamen, sit generatio in voluntate generantis, quando hanc voluntatem fuisse dicunt? Si in principio, in principio utique Filius: si sempiterna voluntas, sempiternus et Filius: si coepit voluntas, displicuit igitur sibi quod erat Deus Pater, ut mutaret statum. Displicuit ergo sibi sine Filio, placere coepit sibi in Filio.

105. Yet let us grant their proposal. Granted that the Generation depends on the Will of Him Who generates; when do they say that this act of will took place? If it was in the beginning, then, plainly, the Son was in the beginning. If the Will is eternal, then the Son also is eternal. If the Will began to exist, then God the Father, as He was, was so displeased with

Himself, that He made a change in His condition, that is to say, without His Son He was displeasing to Himself; in His Son He began to be well pleased.

105. Jam illa consequentia ut dicamus: Si studium generandi nostro more assumpsit, ergo et caetera quae generationem praecedere solent, nostro more assumpsit; nostro autem usu generationis votum est, non voluntas.

106. To follow out the consequences thereof. If the Father conceived, after the manner of human nature, a desire to beget, then did He also pass through all the experiences which befal men before the birth takes place — but we find that generation is not determined merely by will, but is an object of wish.

106. Produnt igitur impietatem suam, qui volunt generationem coepisse Christi; ut videatur non generatio illa Verbi manentis, sed prolatio fluentis esse sermonis: deinde multos inducendo filios, negent in Christo divinae proprietatem naturae; ut nec unigenitus, nec primogenitus aestimetur: postremo ut si principium credatur accepisse, etiam finem videatur habiturus.

107. Thus do they betray their own ungodliness, who would have it that Christ's generation had a beginning, in order that it may seem, not that true begetting of the Word abiding, but the utterance of words that pass and are forgotten, and that by intrusion of [the premiss of] a multitude of sons, they may [be warranted to] deny Christ's personal possession of the divine attributes, to the end that He may be regarded as neither the only-begotten nor the first-begotten Son; and lastly, that given the belief that His existence had a beginning, it may also be deemed as appointed to have an end.

107. Sed neque principium assumpsit aliquando Dei Filius, qui erat in principio (Joan. I, 1): neque finem habebit, qui est principium universitatis et finis (Joan. VIII, 20). Nam cum sit principium, quomodo quod habebat,

accepit? aut quomodo sui finem habebit; cum omnium ipse sit finis, ut in illo fine sine fine maneamus? Dei enim generatio cum temporalis non sit, nec ante se, nec in se tempus invenit.

108. But neither had the Son of God any beginning, seeing that He already was at the beginning, nor shall He come to an end, Who is the Beginning and the End of the Universe; for being the Beginning, how could He take and receive that which He already had, or how shall He come to an end, being Himself the End of all things, so that in that End we have an abiding-place without end? The Divine Generation is not an event occurring in the course of time, and within its limits, and therefore before it time is not, and in it time has no place.

108. Frigida igitur eorum et vana quaestio in creaturis ipsis non habet locum; ipsa etenim quae temporalia sunt, discretionem in quibusdam habere temporis non videntur. Lux nempe splendorem generat, nec comprehendi potest quod splendor luce posterior sit, aut lux splendore antiquior; quia ubi lumen est, splendor 541 est: et ubi splendor, etiam lumen est. Itaque nec sine splendore lumen, nec splendor potest esse sine lumine; quia et in splendore lumen, et splendor in lumine est. Unde et Apostolus splendorem paternae gloriae Filium dixit (Hebr. I, 3); quia splendor paternae lucis est Filius: coaeternus, propter virtutis aeternitatem: inseparabilis, propter claritudinis unitatem.

109. Again, their aimless and futile question finds no loophole for entry, even when directed upon the creation itself; nay, indeed, temporal existences appear, in certain cases, to admit of no division of time. For instance, light generates radiance, but we can neither conceive that the radiance begins to exist after the light, nor that the light is in existence before the radiance, for where there is a light, there is radiance, and where there is radiance there is also a light; and thus we can neither have a light

without radiance, nor radiance without light, because both the light is in the radiance, and the radiance in the light. Thus the Apostle was taught to call the Son the Radiance of the Father's Glory, Hebrews 1:3 for the Son is the Radiance of His Father's light, co-eternal, because of eternity of Power; inseparable, by unity of brightness.

109. Ergo si temporalia et aerea haec comprehendere et separare non possumus, quae videmus; Deum quem non videmus, qui super omnem est creaturam, in ipso suae generationis arcano possumus comprehendere? Possumus eum a Filio tempore separare, cum omne tempus opus Filii sit?

110. If then we can neither understand the mystery of, nor dissociate, these created objects in the sky above us, which we see, can we comprehend Him Whom we see not, Who is above every created existence, God, as He is in the very Holy of Holies of His own Generation? Can we make time a barrier between Him and the Son, when all time is the creation of the Son?

110. Desinant ergo dicere: Et antequam generaretur, non erat. Ante enim temporis est, generatio ante tempora; et ideo quod posterius est, prius non est: nec opus ante auctorem potest esse; cum opera ipsa principium de operatore suo sumant. Nam quomodo ante operatorem suum usus operis aestimetur; cum omne tempus opus sit, et omne opus de operatore suo ut esset, accepit?

111. Let them cease therefore, and say no more that before He was begotten the Son was not. For the word before is a mark of time, whereas the Generation is before all times, and therefore that which comes after anything comes not before it, and the work cannot be before the maker, seeing that necessarily objects made take their commencement from the craftsman who makes them. How can the customary action of any created

object be regarded as existing prior to the maker of it, while all time is a creation, and every creation has taken its being from its creator?

111. Experiri igitur adhuc istos volo, qui sibi videntur astuti; ut de nostris respondeant, qui calumniantur divinis, longeque refugiunt ab inscrutabili supernae generationis arcano: quaestionem suam humanae astruant generationis exemplo. De Filio Dei dicunt quia antequam generaretur non erat, hoc est, de Dei sapientia, de virtute Dei, de Dei Verbo, cujus generatio nihil ante se novit. Quod si aliquando, ut volunt, non fuit (quod nefas dictu est) non fuit ergo in Deo perfectionis aliquando plenitudo divinae, si postea processum generationis accepit.

112. I would, therefore, further examine our opponents, who esteem themselves so cunning, and have them make good the application of their theory to human existence, seeing that they use it to disparage the glory of God's Existence, and keep far away from any confession of an inscrutable mystery in the Divine Generation. I would have them find ground for their objection in the facts of human generation. Of God's Son they assert that before He was begotten He was not — that is to say, they say this of the Wisdom, the Power, the Word of God, Whose Generation knows nothing prior to itself. But if, as they would have us believe, there was a time when the Son existed not (the which it is blasphemy to affirm), then there was a time when God lacked the fullness of Divine Perfection, if afterwards He passed through a process of begetting a Son.

112. Tamen ut sciant quam vana sit et solubilis eorum quaestio; licet nihil in eo humanis divinis ve commune, tamen docebo homines, antequam nascerentur, fuisse. Aut negent Jacob sanctum fuisse, priusquam nasceretur, qui fratrem supplantavit in materni adhuc uteri positus arcano (Gen. XXV, 23): negent Hieremiam, antequam nasceretur, fuisse, cui dicitur: Priusquam te formarem in utero matris tuae, novi te: et priusquam exires de vulva,

sanctificavi te, et prophetam in gentibus posui te (Jerem. I, 5). Quid hoc evidentius tanti exemplo prophetae, qui sanctificatus est, antequam natus, et antequam formaretur, est cognitus?

113. To show them, however, the weakness and transparency of their objection, though it has no real relation to any truth, divine or human, I will prove to them that men have existed before they were born. Else, let them show that Jacob, who while yet hidden in the secret chamber of his mother's womb supplanted his brother, had not been appointed and ordained, ere ever he was born; Genesis 25:23 let them show that Jeremiah had not likewise been so, before his birth — Jeremiah, to whom the message comes: Before I formed you in your mother's womb, I knew you; and before you came forth from the belly, I sanctified you, and appointed you for a prophet among the nations. Jeremiah 1:5 What testimony can we have stronger than the case of this great prophet, who was sanctified before he was born, and known before he was shaped?

113. Quid etiam de Joanne loquar, de quo mater religiosa testatur, quia intra materna situs adhuc viscera, praesentiam Domini spiritu cognovit, exsultatione consignavit, sicut scriptum meminimus, matre dicente: Ecce enim ut facta est in auribus meis vox salutationis tuae, exsultavit in gaudio infans in utero meo (Luc. I, 41)? Erat igitur qui prophetabat, an non erat? At certe erat; erat enim qui venerabatur auctorem, erat qui loquebatur in matre. Denique Elisabeth filii spiritu replebatur, Maria filii spiritu sanctificabatur; sic enim habes, quia exsultavit 542 infans in utero ejus, et repleta est Spiritu sancto Elisabeth (Ibid.).

114. What, again, shall I say of John, of whom his holy mother testifies that, while he yet lay in her womb, he perceived in spirit the presence of his Lord, and leaped for joy, as we remember it to be written, his mother saying: For lo, as soon as the voice of the salutation entered mine ears, the

babe leaped in my womb for joy. Luke 1:44 Was he, then, who prophesied, in existence or not? Nay, surely he was — surely he was in being who worshipped his Maker; he was in being who spoke in his mother's womb. And so Elisabeth was filled with the spirit of her son, and Mary sanctified by the Spirit of hers, for thus you may find it recorded, that the babe leaped in her womb, and Elisabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost. Luke 1:41

114. Vide singulorum verborum proprietates. Vocem quidem Mariae prior Elisabeth audivit, sed Joannes prior Domini gratiam sensit. Pulchre sibi conveniunt oracula oraculis, femina mulieri, et pignus pignori. Istae gratiam loquuntur, illi intus operantur pietatisque mysterium maternis adoriuntur profectibus; duplicique miraculo, licet honore diverso, prophetant matres spiritu parvulorum. Quis igitur auctor hujus miraculi? nonne Dei Filius, qui fecit esse non natos?

115. Consider the proper force of each word. Elisabeth was indeed the first to hear the voice of Mary, but John was first to feel His Lord's gracious Presence. Sweet is the harmony of prophecy with prophecy, of woman with woman, of babe with babe. The women speak words of grace, the babes move hiddenly, and as their mothers approach one another, so do they engage in mysterious converse of love; and in a twofold miracle, though in diverse degrees of honour, the mothers prophesy in the spirit of their little ones. Who, I ask, was it that performed this miracle? Was it not the Son of God, Who made the unborn to be?

115. De rebus humanis quaestio vestra non potest convenire; potestne de divinis convenire secretis? Quid est: Antequam generaretur, non erat? Numquid Pater aliqua tempora conceptionis accepit, ut Filium tempora praevenirent? Aut femineae more naturae, generationis suae molitus est partum; ut molitio ipsa Filio esset antiquior? Quid est hoc? Cur divina secreta discutimus? Proprietatem legi divinae generationis, non qualitatem.

116. Thus your objection fails of reconcilement with the truths of human existence — can it attain thereto with divine mysteries? What mean you by your principle that before He was begotten He was not? Was the Father engaged for some time in conception, so that certain epochs passed away before the Son was begotten? Was He, like women, in travail of birth, so that just this travail? What would you? Why seek we to pry into divine mysteries? The Scriptures tell me the necessary effects of the Divine Generation, not how it is done.

116. Facinus indignum! ut ex se quidam coelestia metiantur, qui Christum non nasci potuisse, sed fieri, tamquam unum de spadonibus putant: aut tamquam unum de spadonibus Patrem Filium, quem generare non potuerit, adoptaverit.

CAPUT X.

OBJICIENTIBUS CHRISTUM, JOANNE teste, vivere propter Patrem, ac proinde ipsi aequalem non habendum, respondetur Filii vitam secundum divinitatem nec coepisse ex tempore, nec pendere ab aliquo: locum vero de humana ipsius vita intelligendum ex eo probari, quod ibidem de corpore ac sanguine suo praemiserat. Tum duarum controversi loci expositionum primam referri ad humanitatem, et secunda Filii cum Patre aequalitatem, nec non cum homine similitudinem signari docet. Deinde perstricta quam Filio inurebant, injuria, quo pacto etiam secundum divinitatem propter Patrem vivat, aperit. Ac tandem exposito quae vitae nostrae cum divina unitas sit, aliam objectionem, qua Filius per Patrem clarificari opponitur, paucis absolvit.

CHAPTER 10.

The objection that Christ, on the showing of St. John, lives because of the Father, and therefore is not to be regarded as equal with the Father, is met by the reply that for the Life of the Son, in respect of His Godhead, there has never been a time when it began; and that it is dependent upon none, while the passage in question must be understood as referring to His human life, as is shown by His speaking there of His body and blood. Two expositions of the passage are given, the one of which is shown to refer to Christ's Manhood, while the second teaches His equality with the Father, as also His likeness with men. Rebuke is administered to the Arians for the insult which they are seeking to inflict upon the Son, and the sense in which the Son can be said to live because of the Father is explained, as also the union

of life with the divine Life. A further objection, based upon the Son's prayer that He may be glorified by the Father, is briefly refuted.

117. [Alias cap. V.] Plerique etiam hinc faciunt quaestionem, quia scriptum est: Sicut misit me vivus Pater, et ego vivo propter Patrem: et qui manducat me, et ipse vivit propter me; dicentes: Quomodo aequalis est Patri Filius, qui dixit quia propter Patrem vivit?

118. There are not a few who raise this further objection, that it is written: As the living Father has sent Me, and I live by the Father; so he that eats Me, lives also by Me. John 6:58 How, ask they, is the Son equal with the Father, when He has said that He lives by the Father?

118. Qui hoc proponunt, primum respondeant, cujusmodi vita sit Filii, utrum ea quam Pater largitus sit non habenti? Sed quomodo vitam aliquando potuit non habere, cum ipse sit vita, sicut ait: Ego sum via, veritas et vita (Luc. XIV, 6)? Vita utique sempiterna, sicut virtus est sempiterna (Rom. I, 20). Aliquando ergo, ut sic loquar, se vita non habuit?

119. Let those who oppose us on this ground tell us first what the Life of the Son is. Is it a life bestowed by the Father upon one lacking life? But how could the Son ever fail to possess life, He Himself being the Life, as He says, I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life. Isaiah 14:6 Truly, His life is eternal, even as His power is eternal. Was there a time, then, when (so to speak) Life possessed not itself?

119. Considerate quid lectum sit hodie de 543 Domino Jesu, quia mortuus est pro nobis; ut sive vigilemus, sive dormiamus, simul cum illo vivamus (I Thess. V, 10). Cujus mors vita est, hujus divinitas vita non est; cum divinitas vita sit sempiterna?

120. Bethink you what is read this day concerning the Lord Jesus, that He died for our sakes, to the end that whether we wake or whether we sleep, we may live with Him. 1 Thessalonians 5:10 He Whose Death is Life, is not His Godhead Life, seeing that the Godhead is Life eternal?

120. An vero vita ejus in Patris est potestate? Sed ne corporis quidem sui vitam in alterius fuisse potestate memoravit, sicut scriptum est: Ego pono animam meam, ut iterum sumam illam. Nemo tollit eam a me, sed ego pono eam a me ipso. Potestatem habeo ponendi eam, et iterum potestatem habeo sumendi eam: hoc mandatum accepi a Patre meo (Joan. X, 17 et seq.).

121. But is His Life truly in the Father's power? Why, He showed that even His bodily life was not in the power of any other, as we have it on record: I lay down My life, that I may take it again. No man takes it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down, and again I have power to take it. This commandment have I received of My Father.

121. Ejus ergo vita secundum divinitatem in alterius potestate posita judicatur, cujus vita secundum corpus alienae non erat subdita potestati? Aliena enim potestas erat, si non erat unitas potestatis. Sed sicut potestatis suae esse significat ponere animam, et liberae voluntatis: ita etiam quod secundum mandatum deposuit Patris, suae ac paternae voluntatis significat unitatem.

122. Is His divine Life then to be regarded as depending upon the power of another, when His bodily life was subject to no other power but His own? For it would have been the power of another, but for the Unity of power. But just as He gives us to understand that His laying down His life was done of His own power, and of His free Will, so also He teaches us, in laying it down in obedience to His Father's command, the unity of His own with the Father's Will.

122. Ergo si vitam Filius neque aliquo accepit ex tempore, neque alienae habet potestati subditam, videamus qua ratione dixerit: Sicut misit me vivus Pater, et ego vivo propter Patrem (Joan. VI, 58). Exponamus ut possumus: imo ipse potius exponat.

123. If, then, there has neither been a time when the Life of the Son took a commencement, nor any power to which it has been subjected, let us consider what His meaning was when He said: Even as the living Father has sent Me, and I live by the Father? Let us expound His meaning as best we can; nay, rather let Him expound it Himself.

123. Considera igitur quid ante praemiserit; ais enim: Amen, amen dico vobis. Ante instruit quemadmodum audire debeas: Vere, inquit, vere dico vobis, nisi manducaveritis carnem Filii homini, et biberitis sanguinem ejus, non habebitis vitam in vobis (Joan. VI, 54). Secundum Filium hominis se dicere ante praemisit, et tu quod secundum Filium hominis de carne est locutus et sanguine, ad divinitatem putas esse referendum?

124. Take notice, then, what He said in an earlier part of His discourse. Verily, verily, I say unto you. He first teaches you how you ought to listen. Verily, verily, I say unto you, unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, you shall have no life in you. John 6:54 He first premised that He was speaking as Son of Man; do you then think that what He has said, as Son of Man, concerning His Flesh and His Blood, is to be applied to His Godhead?

124. Denique addidit: Caro enim mea vere est esca, et sanguis meus est potus (Ibid., 56). Carnem audis, sanguinem audis, mortis Dominicae sacramenta cognoscis; et divinitati calumniaris? Audi dicentem ipsum: Quia spiritus carnem et ossa non habet (Luc. XXIV, 39). Nos autem quotiescumque sacramenta sumimus, quae per sacrae orationis mysterium

in carnem transfigurantur et sanguinem, mortem Domini annuntiamus (I Cor. XI, 26).

125. Then He added: For My Flesh is meat indeed, and My Blood is drink [indeed]. John 6:56 You hear Him speak of His Flesh and of His Blood, you perceive the sacred pledges, [conveying to us the merits and power] of the Lord's death, John 6:52 and you dishonour His Godhead. Hear His own words: A spirit has not flesh and bones. Luke 24:39 Now we, as often as we receive the Sacramental Elements, which by the mysterious efficacy of holy prayer are transformed into the Flesh and the Blood, do show the Lord's Death.

125. Ergo posteaquam se loqui secundum hominis Filium declaravit, et carnem saepe repetivit et sanguinem, subdidit postea: Sicut misit me vivus Pater, et ego vivo propter Patrem; et qui manducat me, et ipse vivit propter me (Joan. VI, 58). Quomodo igitur hoc accipiendum putant? Potest enim duplex videri comparatio. Prima ita: Sicut misit me vivus Pater, et ego vivo propter Patrem. 544 Secunda ita: Sicut misit me vivus Pater, et ego vivo propter Patrem; ita et qui manducat me, ipse vivit propter me.

126. Then, after calling on us to take notice that He speaks as Son of Man, and frequent repeated mention of His Flesh and His Blood, He adds: Even as the living Father has sent Me, and I live by the Father, so he that eats Me, he also lives by Me. How then do they suppose that we are to understand these words? — for the comparison can be shown as a double one. The first comparison being after the following manner: Even as the living Father has sent Me, I live by the Father; the second: Even as the living Father has sent Me, and I live by the Father, so also he that eats Me, he too lives by Me.

126. Si primam eligunt, hoc significat quia sicut missus sum a Patre, et descendi a Patre, ita vivo propter Patrem. Quasi quis autem missus est,

atque descendit; nisi quasi Filius hominis sicut ipse supra dixit: Nemo ascendit in coelum, nisi qui de coelo descendit Filius hominis (Joan. III, 13)? Ergo sicut quasi Filius hominis missus est, atque descendit; ita quasi Filius hominis vivit propter Patrem. Denique et qui manducat quasi filium hominis, et ipse vivit propter Filium hominis. Actum ergo incarnationis suae adventui comparavit.

127. If our adversaries choose the former, the meaning is this, that, as I am sent by the Father and have come down from the Father, so (in accordance therewith) I live by the Father. But in what character was He sent, and came down, save as Son of Man, even as He Himself said before: No man has ascended into heaven, save He that has come down from heaven as Son of Man. John 3:13 Then, just as He was sent and came down as Son of Man, so as Son of Man He lives by the Father. Furthermore, he that eats Him, as eating the Son of Man, does himself also live by the Son of Man. Thus, He has compared the effect of His Incarnation to His coming.

127. Quod si secunda complacuit, nonne et aequalitatem Filii cum Patre, et similitudinem ejus cum homine manifesta distinctione colligimus? Nam quid est: Sicut ipse vivit propter Patrem, et nos vivimus propter ipsum; nisi quia sic vivificat Filius hominem, sicut Pater in Filio carnem vivificavit humanam? Sicut enim Pater suscitat mortuos, et vivificat; sic et Filius, quos vult, vivificat, ut ipse Dominus supra dixit (Joan. V, 21).

128. But if they choose the second method, do we not infer both the equality of the Son with the Father, and His likeness to men, together, though in clear mutual distinction? For what is the meaning of the words, Even as He Himself lives by the Father, so we also live by Him, but that the Son so quickens a man, as the Father has in the Son quickened human nature? For as the Father raises the dead and quickens them, so also the Son quickens whom He will, John 5:21 as the Lord Himself has already said.

128. Aequalitas ergo filii ad Patrem per unitatem quoque vivificationis astruitur; quando sic vivificat Filius ut Pater. Agnosce ergo ejus vitam et potentiam sempiternam. Similitudo etiam nostra ad filium, et quaedam secundum carnem unitas declaratur; quoniam quemadmodum Dei Filius a Patre, sic homo est vivificatus in carne. Sic enim scriptum est (Rom. IV, 24), quia sicut Deus Jesum Christum a mortuis suscitavit, ita etiam nos quasi homines vivificamur a Dei Filio.

129. Thus the equality of the Son to the Father is established simply upon unity in the action of quickening, since the Son so quickens as the Father does. Acknowledge therefore the eternity of His Life and Sovereignty. Again, our likeness with the Son is discovered, and a certain unity with Him in the flesh, because that, like as the Son of God was quickened in the flesh by the Father, so also is man quickened; for thus it is written, that as God raised Jesus Christ from the dead, so we also, as men, are quickened by the Son of God. Romans 4:24

129. Secundum hanc ergo expositionem non solum ad conditionem humanam derivatur gratia largitatis, sed etiam divinitatis aeternitas praedicatur; divinitatis, quia ipsa vivificat: humanae autem conditionis, quia vivificata est et in Christo.

130. According to this interpretation, then, immortality is not only applied to our condition by grace of bounty, but is also proclaimed as the property of Godhead — the latter, because it is the Godhead which quickens; the former, because manhood is quickened in Christ.

130. Quod si quis utrumque ad Christi refert divinitatem: ergo Filius Dei hominibus comparatur; ut ita Filius propter Patrem vivat, sicut nos propter Filium Dei vivimus. Sed Filius Dei vitam largitur aeternam, nos autem

largiri nequimus; ergo nostri comparatione nec ille largitur. Habeant igitur Ariani fidei suae praemium, ne vitam aeternam adipiscantur a Filio.

131. But if any would apply the force of either comparison to Christ's *Godhead*, then the Son of God is put on one footing with men, so that the Son of God lives by the Father just as we live by the Son of God. But the Son of God bestows eternal life by free gift, we cannot so do. If then He be placed on a level with us, He too does not bestow this gift. Let Arius' disciples then have the due reward of their faith — which is, not to obtain eternal life of the Son.

131. Libet jam ulterius progredi; nam si illis placet hunc locum ad divinae perpetuitatem referre substantiae, accipiant etiam tertiam expositionem. 545 Nonne evidenter videtur dicere quod sicut vivus Pater est, ita vivit et Filius? Quod utique quis non advertat ad unitatem vitae, quod eadem Patris et Filii vita sit, esse referendum? Sicut enim Pater vitam habet in semetipso, sic dedit et Filio vitam habere in semetipso (Joan. V, 26). Dedit per unitatem: dedit, non ut auferat, sed ut clarificetur in Filio: dedit, ut complaceat: dedit non ut Pater custodiret, sed ut Filius possideret.

132. I would now go further. If our opponents are pleased to apply the teaching of this passage to the principle of the eternity of the Divine Substance, let them hear a third exposition: Does not our Lord plainly appear to say that as the Father is a living Father, so too the Son also lives? — and who can but observe that here we must understand a reference to unity of Life, forasmuch as the same Life is the Life of the Father and the Life of the Son? For as the Father has Life in Himself, so has He given to the Son also to have Life in Himself. John 5:26 He has given — by reason of unity with Him. He has given, not to take away, but that He may be glorified in the Son. He has given, not that He, the Father, might keep guard over it, but that the Son might have it in possession.

132. Sed objiciendum putant quia dixerat: Ego vivo propter Patrem (Joan. VI, 58). Utique si ad divinitatem referunt, propter Patrem vivit Filius; quia ex Patre Filius est: propter Patrem; quia unius substantiae cum Patre: propter Patrem; quia eructatum est Verbum ex Patris corde (Psal. XLIV, 1), quia a Patre processit, quia ex paterno generatus est utero (Psal. CIX, 3), quia fons Pater Filii est, quia radix Pater Filii est.

133. But the Arians think that they must oppose hereto the fact that He had said, I live by the Father. Of a certainty (suppose that they conceive the words as referring to His Godhead) the Son lives by the Father, because He is the Son begotten of the Father — by the Father, because He is of one Substance with the Father — by the Father, because He is the Word given forth from the heart of the Father, because He came forth from the Father, because He is begotten of the bowels of the Father, because the Father is the Fountain and Root of the Son's being.

133. Sed dicunt fortasse: Si unitatem putas Patris ac Filii vitae esse, cum Filius dixerit: Et ego vivo propter Patrem (Joan. VI, 58), numquid unitas est Filii vitae atque hominum: cum dixerit Filius quia Qui manducat me, et ipse vivit propter me?

134. But perhaps they may urge: If you hold that the Son, in saying, 'And I live by the Father,' spoke of the unity of life subsisting between the Father and the Son, does it not follow that He discovered the unity of life between the Son and mankind in saying that 'he that eats Me, the same lives by Me'?

134. Immo plane, sicut unitatem fateor esse vitae coelestis in Patre et Filio per divinae unitatem substantiae, ita vel divinae naturae vel Dominicae incarnationis excepto privilegium, societatem nobiscum vitae spiritalis in Filio esse profiteor per humanae unitatem naturae: Qualis enim coelestis tales et coelestes (I Cor. XV, 18). Denique sicut in illo sedemus ad dextram

Patris, non quia cum ipso sedemus, sed quia sedemus in Christi corpore, de quo postea dicemus plenius (Infr. lib. V): sicut, inquam, sedemus in Christo per corporis unitatem: ita et in Christo vivimus per corporis unitatem.

135. Even so. Just as I confess the unity of celestial Life subsisting in Father and Son by reason of the unity of the substance of the Godhead, so too, save as concerns the prerogatives of the Divine Nature or those which are the effect of the Incarnation of our Lord, I affirm of the Son a participation of spiritual life with us by virtue of the unity of His Manhood with ours, for as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly. Further, even as in Him we sit at the right hand of the Father, not in the sense that we share His throne, but that we rest in the Body of Christ — even as, I say, we have part in Christ's session by reason of corporal unity, so too we live in Christ by reason of unity of our bodies with His Body.

135. Non solum autem non vereor quia scriptum est: Et ego vivo propter Patrem; sed etiam si per Patrem dixisset, non vererer.

136. Not only, then, have I no fears of the text, I live by the Father, but I should have none, even though Christ had said, I live by help of the Father.

136. [Alias cap. VI.] Solent enim etiam illud objicere quia dixit: Haec infirmitas non est ad mortem, sed pro claritate Dei; ut clarificetur Filius ejus per ipsum (Joan XI, 4). Non solum enim per Patrem, et a Patre Filius clarificatur, quia scriptum est: Clarifica me, Pater (Joan. XVII, 5); et alibi: Nunc clarificatus est Filius hominis, et Deus clarificatus est in eo, et Deus clarificavit eum (Joan. XIII, 31, 32): sed etiam per Filium et a Filio clarificatur Pater, quia veritas dixit: Ego te clarificavi super terram (Joan. XVII, 4).

137. Now another objection commonly urged by them starts from the text: This sickness is not unto death, but for the glory of God, to the end that His

Son may be glorified by Him. John 11:4 But not only is the Son glorified through the Father and by the Father, as it is written: Glorify Me, Father; John 17:5 and again: Now has the Son of Man been glorified, and God has been glorified in Him, and God glorifies Him, John 13:31-32 but the Father also is glorified through the Son and by the Son, for Truth has said: I have glorified You upon earth. John 17:4

137. Sicut ergo clarificatur per Patrem, ita etiam propter Patrem vivit. Unde et quidam δόξαν opinionem magis putaverunt esse, quam gloriam; et ideo sic interpretati sunt: Ego te clarificavi super terram, opus consummavi quod dedisti mihi; et nunc clarifica me, Pater, hoc est, δόξασον, ut sit hic sensus: Ego opinionem de te hominibus hujusmodi infudi, ut cognoscant te Deum verum; et tu hanc de me confirma illis opinionem, ut credant me tuum Filium et Deum verum. 546

138. Even as the Son, therefore, is glorified through the Father, so too He lives by the Father. There are some who have been led by consideration of these words to the supposition that [the Greek] δόξα means opinion, belief, rather than glory, and therefore have interpreted as follows: I have given you a δόξα upon earth, I have finished the work which You gave Me to do, and now, O Father, give me a δόξα; that is to say: I have taught men so to believe concerning You, as to know that You are the true God; do Thou also establish in them, concerning Me, the belief that I am Your Son, and very God.

CAPUT XI.

DISCRIMEN QUOD CONFLARE Ariani moliebantur e verbis Apostoli ex Patre omnia, et per Filium omnia esse docentis, irridetur. Ostenditur enim illic eamdem Patris ac Filii omnipotentiam exprimi: quod cum ex aliis locis, tum ex ipsius Pauli textu confirmatur. Hunc absurde ad Patrem referri ab haereticis, ac pertinere ad Filium ex ejusdem serie demonstrari: nec tamen quidquam Filii derogari potentiae, si de Patre intelligatur. Postremo in istis, ex quo, per quem, et in quo aliquid, nullam intercedere differentiam, et haec omnia de tribus personis dici, evincit.

CHAPTER 11.

The particular distinction which the Arians endeavoured to prove upon the Apostle's teaching that all things are of the Father and through the Son, is overthrown, it being shown that in the passage cited the same Omnipotence is ascribed both to Father and to Son, as is proved from various texts, especially from the words of St. Paul himself, in which heretics foolishly find a reference to the Father only, though indeed there is no diminution or inferiority of the Son's sovereignty proved, even by such a reference. Finally, the three phrases, of Whom, through Whom, in Whom, are shown to suppose or imply no difference (of power), and each and all to hold true of the Three Persons.

138. Jam illud ridiculum est, quod quidam ex illo Apostolico discretionem inter Patrem et Filium faciunt potestatis, quia scriptum est: Nobis tamen unus Deus Pater, ex quo omnia, et nos in ipso: et unus Dominus Jesus Christus, per quem omnia, et nos per ipsum (I Cor. VIII, 6). Aiunt enim non

mediocrem divinae majestatis esse distantiam, quia dictum est: Ex illo omnia, et per hunc omnia. Nihil autem expressius, quam quod hoc loco omnipotens Filius evidenti ratione signatur; nam ut ex illo omnia, ita per hunc omnia.

139. Now we come to that laughable method, attempted by some, of showing a difference of Power to subsist between Father and Son, on the strength of apostolic testimony, it being written: But for us there is One God, the Father, of Whom are all things, and we in Him, and One Lord, Jesus Christ, through Whom are all things, and we through Him. 1 Corinthians 8:6 It is urged that no small difference in degree of Divine Majesty is signified in the affirmation that all things are of the Father, and through the Son. Whereas nothing is clearer than that here a plain reason is given of the Omnipotence of the Son, inasmuch as while all things are of the Father, none the less are they all through the Son.

139. Inter omnia Pater non est, cui dictum est: Quia universa serviunt tibi (Psal. CXVIII, 91). Inter omnia Filius non est, quia omnia per ipsum facta sunt (Joan. I, 3), et omnia in ipso constant, et ipse est super omnes coelos (Coloss. I, 17). Non ergo inter omnia Filius, sed super omnia: qui secundum carnem quidem est ex familia Judaeorum; idem tamen super omnia Deus benedictus in saecula (Rom. IX, 5), cujus est nomen super omne nomen, et de quo dicitur: Omnia subjecisti sub pedibus ejus (Psal. VIII, 8). Subjiciendo autem omnia, nihil reliquit ei non subjectum, sicut Apostolus dixit (Hebr. II, 8). Quod si hoc etiam secundum incarnationis locutus est sacramentum, quemadmodum possumus de supernae generationis incomparabili majestate dubitare?

140. The Father is not among all things, for to Him it is confessed that all things serve You. Nor is the Son reckoned among all things, for all things were made by Him, John 1:3 and all things exist together in Him, and He is

above all the heavens. Colossians 1:17 The Son, therefore, exists not among but *above* all things, being, indeed, after the flesh, of the people, of the Jews, but yet at the same time God over all, blessed for ever, having a Name which is above every name, Philippians 2:9 it being said of Him, You have put all things in subjection under His feet. But in making *all things* subject to Him, He left nothing that is not subject, even as the Apostle has said. Hebrews 2:8 But suppose that the Apostle's words were intended with reference to the Incarnate Lord; how then can we doubt the incomparable majesty of His Divine Generation?

140. Nihil igitur potestatis inter Patrem et Filium certum est interesse. Denique eo usque nihil interest potestatis, ut idem Apostolus ex ipso dixerit esse omnia, per quem omnia sicut habes: Quoniam ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso sunt omnia (Rom. XI, 33).

141. Certain it is, then, that between Father and Son there can be no difference of Power. Nay, so far is such difference from being present, that the same Apostle has said that all things are of Him, by Whom are all things, as follows: For of Him and through Him and in Him are all things. Romans 11:36

141. Si igitur Pater, sicut putant, tantummodo significatur, non potest idem et omnipotens esse, quia ex ipso omnia: et omnipotens non esse, quia per ipsum omnia. Aut igitur invalidum, nec omnipotentem Patrem sua assertione memorabunt, aut certe omnipotentem etiam Filium vel inviti voce propria fatebuntur.

142. Now if, as they suppose, it is the Father alone Who is spoken of, it cannot be that He is at once Omnipotent because all things are of Him, and not Omnipotent because all things are through Him. On their own showing, then, they will declare the Father lacking in Power, and not Omnipotent, or

at the least they will be confessing with their own mouth, all against their will though it be, the Omnipotence of the Son as well as of the Father.

142. Eligant tamen utrum hic Patrem declaratum putent. Si Patrem, ergo et per ipsum omnia: si Filium, ergo et ex ipso omnia. Si autem et per Patrem omnia, nihil utique Filio derogandum: et si ex Filio omnia, similiter et Filio deferendum.

143. Howbeit, let them decide whether they will understand this affirmation as made concerning the Father. If they do so decide then all things are through Him also. If they decide that it is the Son Who is spoken of, then all things are of Him as well as of the Father. But if all things are through the Father also, then surely there is no argument for diminishing from the honour due to the Son; and if all things are of the Son, the Son must be honoured in like manner as the Father is.

143. Ac ne insidiari nos unius arbitrentur obreptione versiculi, totum caput recenseamus: O altitudo, inquit, divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae 547 Dei: quam inscrutabilia sunt judicia ejus, et investigabiles viae ejus! Quis enim cognovit sensum Domini? aut quis consiliarius ejus fuit? aut quis prior dedit illi, et retribuetur ei? Quoniam ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso sunt omnia, ipsi gloria in saecula (Ibid., 33 et seq.)

144. In case our opponents should suspect that we are taking advantage of some intrusion of a single spurious verse into the text, let us review the whole passage. O depth of the riches of God’s wisdom and knowledge! exclaims the Apostle, how unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out! For Who has known the mind of the Lord, or who has been His counsellor? Or who has been first to give unto Him, and shall be recompensed? For of Him and through Him and in Him are all things. To Him be glory for ever!

144. De quo igitur dictum putant, de Patre, an de Filio? Si de Patre: sed non est Sapientia Dei Pater; quia Sapientia Dei Filius est. Quid est autem quod non possit Sapientia, de qua scriptum est: Cum sit una omnipotens et permanens, in se omnia innovat (Sap. VII, 27)? Non ergo accedentem legimus, sed permanentem. Habes ergo juxta Salomonem, omnipotentem et permanentem Sapientiam. Habes etiam bonam, quia scriptum est: Sapientiam autem non vincit malitia (Ibid., 30).

145. Who, then, think they, is here spoken of — the Father or the Son? If it be the Father — then we answer that the Father is not the Wisdom of God, for the Son is. But what is there that is impossible to Wisdom, of Whom it is written: Seeing that she is almighty and abiding, she makes all things new in herself? Wisdom 7:27 We read of Wisdom, then, not as approaching, but as abiding. Thus have you the authority of Solomon to teach you of the Omnipotence and Eternity of Wisdom, and of her Goodness as well, for it is written: But malice overcomes not Wisdom. Wisdom 7:30

145. Sed ad propositum revertamur. Quam inscrutabilia sunt, inquit, judicia ejus! Si igitur omne judicium Pater dedit Filio, Filium Pater videtur declarare, qui judicat (Joan. V, 22).

146. But to purpose. How unsearchable, says the Apostle, are His judgments! Now if the Father has given all judgment to the Son, John 5:22 it seems that the Father points to the Son as Judge.

146. Denique ut scias quia non de Patre, sed de Filio dicit, addidit: Quis prior, inquit, dedit illi? Dedit enim Pater Filio: sed dedit jure generationis, non munere largitatis. Et ideo quia negari non potest a Patre accepisse Filium, secundum quod scriptum est: Omnia mihi tradita sunt a Patre meo (Matth. XI, 27): dicendo tamen: Quis prior dedit illi? non accepisse per naturam a Patre Filium denegavit, sed priorem non posse dici inter Patrem

et Filium declaravit; quia etsi Pater dedit Filio, non tamen quasi posteriori dedit: quia increata et inaestimabilis Trinitas, quae unius est aeternitatis et gloriae, nec tempus, nec gradum, vel posterioris recipit, vel prioris.

147. But now, to show us that He is speaking of the Son, not of the Father, St. Paul proceeds: Who was first in giving to Him? For the Father has given to the Son, but it was as acknowledging the rights of Him Whom He has begotten, not by way of largess. Therefore, it being undeniable that the Son has received at the hands of the Father, as it is written, All things have been given unto Me of My Father, Matthew 11:27 yet, in saying, Who was first in giving to Him? the Apostle has not denied that the Son has received gifts of the Father, by virtue of His Nature, but he has indeed shown that, of Father and Son, Neither can be said to be before the Other, forasmuch as, albeit the Father has given gifts unto the Son, yet He has not so bestowed them as upon one that began to be after Him; because the uncreate and incomprehensible Trinity, Which is of One Eternity and Glory, admits neither difference of time nor degree of precedence.

147. Quod si Graecos magis codices sequendos putamus, qui habent τὶς προσέδωκεν αὐτῷ vides quoniam cui nihil addi potest, non dispar a pleno est. Ergo si Filio magis convenit hoc totum Apostolicum caput, videmus et de Filio esse credendum, quia ex ipso omnia, sicut scriptum est: Quoniam ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso sunt omnia.

148. If, however, we hold ourselves more bound to observe those Greek manuscripts which show τίς προσέδωχεν αὐτῳ; it is clear that He to Whom nothing can be added is not unequal to Him Who is perfect and complete. Therefore, if this passage from the Apostle, in its entirety, is better understood with reference to the Son, we see that we must also believe concerning the Son, that all things are of Him, even as it is written: For of Him and through Him and in Him are all things.

148. Esto tamen de Patre dictum putent. Itaque meminerimus quia sicut ex ipso legimus omnia, ita etiam per ipsum omnia: in universitatem quippe totius creaturae Patris et Filii profertur auctoritas. Ac licet superius omnipotentem Filium paterno probaverimus exemplo, tamen quia illis derogare studium est, considerent quia et Patri derogant. Si enim infirmus Filius, quia per ipsum omnia, numquid infirmus et Pater, quia et per Patrem omnia?

149. Be it so, nevertheless, that they suppose the passage to be intended of the Father, then let us call to mind that even as we read of all things being *of* Him, so too we read of all things being *through* Him, that is to say, the authority of the Father and of the Son is extended over the whole created universe. And, though we have already proved the Omnipotence of the Son by the Omnipotence of the Father, still — forasmuch as they are ever bent upon disparagement — let them consider that they disparage the Father as well as the Son. For if the Son be limited in might, because all things are *through* Him, do we say further, that the Father likewise is limited, because all things are through Him also?

149. Sed ut agnoscant nullam discretionem inter haec esse, iterum demonstrabo ejusdem esse, ex quo aliquid, et per quem aliquid; et ostendam utrumque de Patre lectum. Sic enim habemus: Fidelis Deus per quem vocati estis in communionem Filii ejus (I Cor. I, 9). Quid Apostolus dixerit, considerent. Per Patrem vocamur, et nihil est quaestionis: 548 per Filium creamur, et hoc vilius aestimarunt? Pater in communionem Filii vocavit, et religiose hoc sicut debemus, accipimus: Filius omnia creavit, et putant non liberae fuisse voluntatis arbitrium, sed coactae atque servilis operationis obsequium?

150. But to bring them to understand that these phrases involve no difference, I will once again show that it is the same person, of whom

anything is, and through whom anything is, and that we read of things being related in both these ways to the Father. For we find: Faithful is God, through Whom you were called into the fellowship of His Son. Let our adversaries weigh the meaning of the Apostle's words. We are called through the Father — they raise no controversy: we are created through the Son — and this they have set down as a mark of inferiority. The Father has called us into fellowship with His Son, and this truth we, as in duty bound, devoutly receive. The Son has created all things, and Arius' followers imagine that here they have not the decree of a free Will, but a forced service, slavishly performed!

150. Ut autem agnoscas plenius nihil distare inter Patris et Filii potestatem, cum per Patrem in communionem Filii ejus vocemur; ex Filio est ipsa communio, sicut scriptum est: Quoniam de plenitudine ejus nos omnes accepimus (Joan. I, 16); licet secundum Graecum Evangelium, ex plenitudine ejus intelligere debeamus.

151. Again, to obtain fuller understanding that, forasmuch as we are called through the Father into fellowship with His Son, there is no difference of Power in the Father and the Son, [note that] the fellowship itself has its beginning of the Son, as it is written: For from His fullness have we all received, though, if we follow the Greek text of the Gospel, we ought to render *of* His fullness. John 1:16

151. Ecce et per Patrem communio, et ex Filio communio: sed non discrepans, sed una communio; sicut idem Joannes in epistola sua dixit: Et communicatio nostra sit cum Patre, et cum Filio ejus Jesu Christo (I Joan. I, 3).

152. See, then, how there is fellowship both *through* the Father and *of* the Son, and yet not a different fellowship, but one and the same. And that our

fellowship be with the Father and with His Son Jesus Christ. 1 John 1:3

152. Accipe etiam quia non solum ex Patre et Filio, sed etiam ex Spiritu sancto unam nobis communionem Scriptura commemoravit: Gratia, inquit, Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et charitas Dei, et communicatio sancti Spiritus cum omnibus vobis (II Cor. XXIII, 13).

153. Observe, further, that Scripture speaks of our having one fellowship not only of the Father and the Son, but also of the Holy Spirit. The grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ, says the Apostle, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you all.

153. Quaero autem in quo minor videatur is per quem omnia, quam is ex quo omnia? An quia operator asseritur? Sed operatur et Pater; quia verus est, qui dixit: Pater meus usque modo operatur, et ego operor (Joan. V, 17). Sicut igitur Pater operatur, operatur et Filius. Non ergo operator infirmus aut vilis est; quoniam operatur et Pater: et ideo quod commune est Filio cum Patre, vel propter Patrem inferiore loco accipi non oportet; ne Patri potius in Filio ab haereticis derogetur.

154. Now, I ask, wherein does He, through Whom are all things, appear less than He, of Whom are all things? Is it because He is declared to be the Worker? But the Father also works, for He is true who said, My Father works hitherto, and I work. John 5:17 Therefore, even as the Father works, so works the Son also; and so He Who works is not limitary in power nor abject, for the Father also works; which being so, that which is common to the Son with the Father, or even which the Son has by the Father, ought not to be the less esteemed, lest heretics further dishonour the Father in the Person of the Son.

154. Nec mediocre illud, quod alibi etiam idem sanctus Joannes ad refellendas Arianae perfidiae quaestiones, ait: Si scitis quoniam justus est,

scitote quoniam qui facit justitiam, ex ipso natus est (Joan. II, 29). Justus autem quis nisi Dominus, qui justitias dilexit (Psal. X, 8)? Aut quem, sicut superiora indicant, repromissorem vitae habemus aeternae, si Filium non habemus? Si igitur Filius Dei vitam nobis promisit aeternam, et ipse justus est, ex ipso utique nati sumus. Aut si ex Filio nos per gratiam natos negant, nec justum Filium confitentur.

155. Not to be passed over for silencing the disputings of Arian misbelief are those words of the same Saint John, which he set down in another Scripture: If you know that He is just, know that he which does righteousness is born of Him. 1 John 2:29 But who is righteous, save the Lord, Who loves righteousness? Or whom — as the foregoing texts warn us — have we to assure us of everlasting life, if we have not the Son? If, therefore, the Son of God has promised us everlasting life, and He is righteous, surely we are born of Him. Else, if our adversaries deny that we are born of the Son by grace, they likewise deny His righteousness.

155. Credas igitur necesse est etiam ex Dei Filio omnia; quia omnium sicut Deus Pater, ita et Filius et auctor est et creator. Videmus ergo inanem esse hanc quaestionem, cum et de Filio credi conveniat, quoniam ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso sunt omnia.

156. You must therefore believe that all things are of the Son of God [even as of God the Father, for even as God is the Father of all, so likewise is the Son the Author and Creator of all. We see, then, the vanity of this their questioning, forasmuch as it holds good of the Son [as of the Father], that of Him and through Him and in Him are all things.

156. Diximus quomodo ex ipso, quomodo etiam per ipsum. In ipso autem omnia esse quis dubitet, cum alibi scriptum sit: Quoniam in ipso condita sunt omnia in coelis, et in ipso creata sunt: et ipse est ante omnes, et omnia

in ipso constant (Coloss. I, 16)? Habes ergo ex ipso gratiam, ipsum operatorem, in ipso omnium firmamentum.

157. We have shown how all things are of Him, and likewise how all things are also through Him. Who then doubts that all things are in Him, when another Scripture says: For in Him are all things founded, that are in the heavens, and in Him they were created, and He is before all things, and all things consist in Him? Colossians 1:16. Of Him, then, you have grace; Himself you have for your Creator; in Him you find the foundation of all things.

CAPUT XII.

QUOD OBJICIEBATUR EX Joanne Filium viti et Patrem agricolae comparari, de incarnatione intelligendum: qui vero secundum generationem divinam illud accipiant, Filio duas injurias inferre, quem et Paulo postponant, et aequent aliis hominibus: totidem etiam Patri, quem non solum eidem Apostolo parem, sed etiam nihili esse testificentur. Tum falsa interpretatione denuo rejecta, veraque confirmata, Filius quoque secundum divinitatem agricola esse, ac uva secundum humanitatem, astruitur; unde superior praecellentiae paternae explicatio stabilitur.

CHAPTER 12.

The comparison, found in the Gospel of St. John, of the Son to a Vine and the Father to a husbandman, must be understood with reference to the Incarnation. To understand it with reference to the Divine Generation is to doubly insult the Son, making Him inferior to St. Paul, and bringing Him down to the level of the rest of mankind, as well as in like manner the Father also, by making Him not merely to be on one footing with the same Apostle, but even of no account at all. The Son, indeed, in so far as being God, is also the husbandman, and, as regards His Manhood, a grape-cluster. True statement of the Father's pre-eminence.

157. [Alias cap. VII.] Illud quoque ad separandam Patris et Filii divinitatem objicere consueverunt, quia Dominus dixit in Evangelio: Ego sum vitis vera, et Pater meus agricola est (Joan. XV, 1); agricolam et vitem diversae dicentes esse naturae, et vitem in agricolae esse potestate.

158. There is yet another Scripture, which our opponents commonly object against us, in order to prove their division of the Godhead of the Father from the Godhead of the Son, namely, our Lord's words in the Gospel: I am the true Vine and My Father is the Husbandman. The vine and the husbandman, say they, are of different natures, and the vine is in the power of the husbandman.

158. Sic ergo vultis esse Filium secundum divinitatem, sicut vitis est; ut sine cultore nihil valeat, et possit deseri vel recidi: et ex littera calumniam comparatis, quia Dominus vitem se esse dixit, incarnationis suae significans sacramentum? Tamen si placet ut ex littera argumentemur, fateor et ego, immo profiteor quia vitem se Filius nominavit. Vae enim mihi, si sacramentum salutis publicae denegavero!

159. Thus, then, you would have us believe that the Son, as touching His Godhead, is like to a vine, so that without a vine-dresser He is nothing, and may be neglected or even rooted up. Thus you juggle up a lie from the letter of the Scripture which says that our Lord called Himself the Vine, intending thereby the mystery of His Incarnation. Howbeit, if you are bent on it that we dispute upon the letter, I too confess, yea, I proclaim, that the Son called Himself the Vine. For woe be to me, if I deny the pledge of the salvation of His people!

159. Quomodo ergo vultis accipere quod se vitem Dei Filius nominavit? Si secundum divinam substantiam dictum accipitis: et sicut inter agricolam et vitem, ita etiam inter Patrem et Filium divinitatis creditis esse distantiam, geminam Filio, geminam Patri facitis injuriam: Filio, quia si secundum divinitatem inferior est quam agricola, inferior etiam Paulo apostolo vestra assertione necesse est aestimetur; quia et Paulus agricolam se esse dixit, sicut habes: Ego plantavi, Apollo rigavit; sed Deus incrementum dedit (I Cor. III, 6). Num ergo vultis ut Paulus melior sit Dei Filio?

160. How then do you purpose to understand the truth that the Son of God called Himself the Vine? If you interpret the saying with respect to the Substance of His Godhead, and if you suppose such a diversity of Godhead between the Father and the Son as there is of nature between a husbandman and a vine, you do double insult both to Father and to Son — to the Son, because if, as you affirm, He is, as touching His Godhead, beneath a husbandman, then must He on the same showing be esteemed lower than the Apostle Paul, forasmuch as Paul indeed called himself a husbandman, as we find it written: I have planted, Apollos has watered: but God has given the increase. 1 Corinthians 3:6 Will you have Paul, then, to be better than the Son of God?

160. Habetis unam injuriam. Alteram, quia si secundum substantiam generationis aeternae, vitis est Filius, cum dixerit: Ego sum vitis, vos palmites estis (Joan. XV, 5); unius nobiscum etiam illa divina generatio videbitur esse substantiae. Sed quis similis tibi in diis, Domine, sicut scriptum est (Exod. XV, 11)? Et rursus in psalmo: Quoniam quis in nubibus aequabitur Domino? aut quis similis erit Deo inter filios Dei (Psal. LXXXVIII, 7)?

161. Thus far the one insult. As for the other, it lies herein, that if the Son is the Vine in respect of His eternally-begotten Person, then, He having said: I am the Vine, you are the branches, John 15:5 that divinely-begotten One appears to be of one substance with us. But who is like You among the gods, O Lord? Exodus 15:11 as it is written; and again, in the Psalms: For who is there among the clouds that shall be equal to the Lord? Or who among the sons of God shall be like God.

161. Nec tamen soli Filio derogatis, sed etiam Patri. Nam si in agricolae nomine omnis paternae praerogativa est potestatis, cum etiam Paulus

agricola sit, Patri utique, cui Filium negatis, aequalem Apostolum comparatis.

162. Moreover, you disparage not only the Son, but the Father also. For if the term husbandman is to comprehend in its designation all the prerogative of the Father's Sovereignty, then, seeing that Paul too is a husbandman, you set the Apostle, to whom you deny that the Son is equal, on an even footing with the Father.

162. Deinde cum scriptum sit: Sed neque qui plantat, est quidquam, neque qui rigat: sed qui dat incrementum Deus (I Cor. III, 7); in eo nomine vos summam paternae majestatis locabitis, quod videtis infirmum. Si enim qui plantat, et qui rigat, nihil est, sed qui dat incrementum Deus; videte 550 quid vestra asserere moliatur impietas, ut et Pater nomine sit contemnendus agricolae; et Deus aliquis incrementum paterno operi qui tribuat, requirendus. Impie igitur ex nomine agricolae praeferendam Dei Patris existimant potestatem, in quo sit Patri Deo cum homine appellationis commune consortium.

163. Again, it being written, But neither he which plants is anything, nor he that waters; but God, Who gives the increase, you will rest the fullness of the Father's Majesty in a name which, as you see, stands for weakness. For if he that plants is nothing, and he that waters is nothing, but it is God, Who gives the increase [Who is all], observe what your blasphemy intends — even to expose the Father to contempt under the title of a husbandman, and to demand another God to provide the increase of the Father's labour. Wickedly, therefore, do they think to extol the Dignity of God the Father by this use of the term husbandman, in which God the Father is brought down to the level of man, as being designated by a common title.

163. Quid autem egregium, si ei (ut vultis, haeretici) Filio praeferatur, cujus divina substantia ab humana conditione non discrepet? Nam si vitem Filium secundum divinam substantiam appellatum putatis, non solum corruptelae, incertisque elementorum obnoxium judicatis, sed etiam humanae tantummodo consortem naturae; quia unius naturae sunt vitis et palmites; ut non per incarnationis sacramentum carnem Dei Filius assumpsisse videatur, sed principium sumpsisse de carne.

164. Yet what wonder if, as you heretics would have it, the Father is to be exalted above a Son Whose Godhead differs not a whit from the common condition of mankind? If you suppose the Son to have been entitled the Vine with respect to His Godhead, then do ye esteem Him not only as liable to corruption and subject to changes of wind and weather, but even as partaking of manhood only, forasmuch as the Vine and its branches are of one nature, so that the Son of God appears, not to have taken upon Him our flesh, through the mystery of Incarnation, but to have altogether sprung into being from the flesh.

164. Ego autem dicam plane carnem ejus, licet novo generationis mysterio, unius tamen naturae fuisse nobiscum, et hoc salutis nostrae sacramentum esse, non divinae generationis exordium. Vitis enim est, quia meas sustinet passiones; quandoquidem in illo nixa fragilis prius humana conditio fecundis redivivae fructibus pietatis adolevit.

165. But I will indeed openly confess that His flesh, though born in a new and mysterious birth, was yet of the same nature with ours, and that this is the pledge of our salvation, not the source of the Divine Generation. He indeed is the Vine, for He bears my sufferings, whenever manhood, hitherto frail, leans on Him and so matures with plenteous fruit of renewed devotion.

165. Verumtamen si te pompa delectat agricolae; dicas, velim, quis ille sit, qui locutus est in propheta: Domine, notum mihi fac, ut sciam: tunc vidi cogitationes eorum. Ego ut agnus ductus sum innocens ad immolandum, et nesciebam: adversum me cogitaverunt consilium, dicentes: Venite, injiciamus lignum in panem ejus (Jerem. XI, 19). Si enim Filius incarnationis futurae loquitur sacramentum, quia impium est ut de Patre credas, Filius est utique qui supra dicit: Ego plantavi te vitem fructiferam, quomodo conversa es in amaritudinem vitis alienae (Jerem. II, 21)?

166. Yet if the husbandman's power allures you, please tell me who it was that spoke in the prophet, saying: O Lord, make it known to me, that I may know; then saw I their thoughts. I was led as a harmless lamb to the slaughter and knew it not: they took counsel together against me, saying, Come, let us throw wood into his bread. Jeremiah 11:18 For if the Son here speaks of the mystery of His coming Incarnation — for it were blasphemy to suppose that the words are spoken concerning the Father — then surely it is the Son Who speaks in an earlier passage: I have planted you as a fruitful vine — how are You become bitter, and a wild vine? Jeremiah 2:21

166. Itaque et Filium vides esse agricolam, unius nominis cum Patre, unius operis, unius dignitatis atque substantiae. Ergo si agricola et vitis est Filius, vitem utique secundum incarnationis accipimus sacramentum.

167. And thus you see that the Son also is the husbandman — the Son, of one Name with the Father, one work, one dignity and Substance. If, then, the Son is both Vine and Husbandman, plainly we infer the meaning of the Vine with regard to the mystery of the Incarnation.

167. Sed non solum se esse vitem dixit, sed etiam botryonem voce prophetica nuncupavit, tunc quando ad vallem botryonis exploratores Moyses jussu Domini direxit (Num. XIII, 14). Quae est illa vallis, nisi

humilitas incarnationis, et fecunditas passionis? Et puto botryonem ideo dictum, quia ex vinea illa translata ex Aegypto, hoc est, ex familia Judaeorum, utilis mundo fructus emicuit (Psal. LXXIX, 9). Nemo certe botryonem potest ad generationem referre divinam: aut qui refert, aliud nihil relinquit, nisi ut botryonem illum natum ex vite credamus. Itaque ascribit insipiens Patri, quod reprehendit in Filio.

168. But not only has our Lord called Himself a Vine — He has also given Himself, by the voice of the prophet, the title of a Grape-cluster — even when Moses, at the command of the Lord, sent spies to the Valley of the Cluster. Numbers 13:24 What is that valley but the humility of the Incarnation and the fruitfulness of the Passion? I indeed think that He is called the Cluster, because that from the Vine brought out of Egypt, that is, the people of the Jews, there grew a fruit for the world's good. No man, truly, can understand the Cluster as a token of the Divine Generation — or if there be any who so understand it, they leave no conclusion open but that we should believe that Cluster to have sprung from the Vine. And thus in their folly they attribute to the Father that which they refuse to believe of the Son.

168. Verum si jam dubitari non potest quod vitis secundum incarnationem Dei Filius nominatus sit, videtis secundum quod sacramentum Dominus sit, locutus; Quoniam Pater major me est (Joan. XIV, 28). Nam cum hoc in superioribus dixerit, continuo subjecit: Ego sum vitis vera, et Pater meus agricola est (Joan. XV, 1), ut agnosceres secundum id Patrem esse majorem: quia sicut agricola vitium, ita Pater Dominicae carnis est cultor: quae et augeri potuit per aetatem, et per passionem recidi; ut omne humanum genus ab aestu saecularium noxio voluptatum, diffusae salutaribus brachiis crucis umbra velaret.

169. But if there be now left no room for doubt that the Son of God is called the Vine with respect and intention to His Incarnation, you see what hidden truth it was to which our Lord had regard in saying, The Father is greater than I. John 14:28 For after this premised, He proceeded immediately: I am the true Vine, and My Father is the Husbandman, that you might know that the Father is greater in so far as He dresses and tends our Lord's flesh, as the husbandman dresses and tends his vines. Further, our Lord's flesh is that which could increase in stature with age, and be wounded through suffering, to the end that the whole human race might rest guarded from the pestilent heat of the pleasures of this world, under the shadow of the Cross whereon Its limbs are spread.

LIBER QUINTUS.

BOOK V.

PROLOGUS.

QUISNAM FIDELIS ET prudens servus? Ejus merces in Petro indicatur, item etiam in Paulo, cujus auctoritati parere Ambrosius cupiens hunc librum aliis adjectum voluit, qui non potuerit in superiore comprehendi. Quid in hoc disputaturus sit, quove consilio? Deberi sibi veniam, cum ab omnibus ministris quaerenda sit creditae sibi pecuniae usura. Hanc sibi usuram fideles esse: beatum autem fore, si mercedem sperare sibi liceat; se tamen sanctorum praemia non tam optare, quam poenarum immunitatem, ad quam merendam omnes hortatur.

PROLOGUE.

Who is a faithful and wise servant? His reward is pointed out in the case of Peter, as also in the case of Paul. Ambrose, being anxious to follow Paul's guidance, wished this book to be added to the others, for it could not be included in the preceding one. The subject for discussion is then stated, and the reason for such a discussion given. He must needs be pardoned, for usury is to be demanded from every servant for the money which has been entrusted to him. Their faithfulness is the usury desired in his own case. He will be happy if he may hope for a reward; but he does not look so much for the recompense of the saints, as for exemption from punishment. He urges all to seek to merit this.

1. Quisnam est fidelis servus et prudens, quem constituit Dominus super familiam suam, ut det illis in tempore cibum? Beatus ille servus, quem veniens Dominus ejus invenerit sic facientem (Matth. XXIV, 45, 46), Non vilis hic servus est, magnus aliquis esse debet: quis sit iste consideremus.

1. Who, then, is a faithful and wise servant, whom his lord has made ruler over his household, to give them meat in due season? Blessed is that servant, whom his lord when he comes shall find so doing. Matthew 24:45-46 Not worthless is this servant: some great one ought he to be. Let us think who he may be.

2. Est Petrus ipsius Domini ad pascendum gregem electus judicio, qui tertio meretur audire: Pasce agniculos meos, pasce agnos meos, pasce oviculas meas (Joan. XXI, 13 et seq.). Itaque pascendo bene cibo fidei gregem Christi, culpam lapsus prioris abolevit. Et ideo tertio admonetur ut pascat, tertio utrum Dominum diligat, interrogatur; ut quem tertio ante crucem negaverat, tertio fateretur (Matth. XXVI, 70 et seq.).

2. It is Peter, chosen by the Lord Himself to feed His flock, who merits thrice to hear the words: Feed My little lambs; feed My lambs; feed My sheep. And so, by feeding well the flock of Christ with the food of faith, he effaced the sin of his former fall. For this reason is he thrice admonished to feed the flock; thrice is he asked whether he loves the Lord, in order that he may thrice confess Him, Whom he had thrice denied before His Crucifixion.

3. Beatus et ille servus, qui potest dicere: Lac vos potavi, non escam; nondum enim poteratis (I Cor. III, 2); novit enim quos quemadmodum pascat. Quis nostrum hoc facere potest? Quis nostrum potest vere dicere: Factus sum infirmis infirmus, ut infirmos lucrificiam (I Cor. IX, 22)?

3. Blessed also is that servant who can say: I have fed you with milk and not with meat; for hitherto you were not able to bear it. 1 Corinthians 3:2 For he knew how to feed them. Who of us can do this? Who of us can truly say: To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak? 1 Corinthians 9:22

4. Et tamen ille tantus ad curam gregis electus a Christo, qui sanaret infirmos, curaret invalidos, haereticum a commisso sibi ovili statim post unam correptionem repellit (Tit. III, 10); ne unius erraticae ovis scabies serpenti ulcere totum gregem contaminet. Jubet praeterea stultas quaestiones et contentiones esse vitandas (Ibid., 9).

4. Yet he, being so great a man, and chosen by Christ for the care of His flock, so as to strengthen the weak and to heal the sick — he, I say, rejects immediately after one admonition Titus 3:10 a heretic from the fold entrusted to him, for fear that the taint of one erring sheep might infect the whole flock with a spreading sore. He further bids that foolish questions and contentions be avoided. Titus 3:9

5. Quid igitur nos agemus, inter messis antiquae nova zizania imprudentes accolae constituti? Si taceamus, cedere videbimur: si contendamus, verendum est ne nos quoque judicemur esse carnales. Scriptum est enim de hujusmodi quaestionibus, quae generant lites: Servum autem Domini non oportet litigare, sed mansuetum esse ad omnes, docibilem, patientem, cum modestia docentem eos qui resistunt (II Tim. II, 23, 24): et alibi: Si quis contentiosus est, nos talem consuetudinem non habemus, neque Ecclesia Dei (I Cor. XI, 16). Eoque scribere aliquid sententiae fuit, ut sine strepitu aliquo impietati haereticorum nostra pro nobis scripta respondeant.

5. How, then, shall we act, being but ignorant dwellers set among these fresh tares in the old-standing harvest field? Matthew 13:25 If we are silent, we shall seem to be giving way; and if we contend against them, there is the fear that we too shall be held to be carnal. For it is written of matters of this sort, which beget strife: The servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all, apt to teach, patient, with moderation instructing those that oppose themselves. 2 Timothy 2:24-25 And in another place: If any man is contentious, we have no such custom, neither the Church of God. 1

Corinthians 11:16 For this reason it was our intention to write somewhat, in order that our writings might without any din answer the impiety of heretics on our behalf.

6. 552 Quintum itaque, Imperator auguste, hunc librum paramus ordiri: nam, et quartum librum oportuit in illa vitis disputatione finiri; ne coacervasse magis librum eumdem quodam videremur quaestionum tumultu, quam fructu spiritalis vineae replevisse: nec inconsummatam fidei vindemiam tantis adhuc superfluentibus disputationibus decuit derelinqui.

6. And so we prepare to commence this our Fifth Book, O Emperor Augustus. For it was but right that the Fourth Book should end with our discussion on the Vine, lest otherwise we should seem to have overloaded that book with a tumultuous mass of subjects, rather than to have filled it with the fruit of the spiritual vineyard. On the other hand, it was not seemly that the gathering of the vintage of the faith should be left unfinished, while there was still all abundance of such great matters for discussion.

7. Quinto igitur libro de Patris ac Filii et Spiritus sancti inseparabili divinitate digerimus, sequestrata interim pleniore disputatione de Spiritu sancto, provocati magisterio Evangelicae lectionis (Matth. XXV, 15); ut credita nobis quinque fidei talenta, quasi quadam horum quinque sorte librorum, humanis feneremus affectibus; ne forte cum venerit Dominus, et invenerit in terra absconditam pecuniam suam, dicat mihi: Serve male et piger, sciebas quia meto ubi non semino, et congrego ubi non sparsi: oportuit ergo te committere pecuniam meam nummulariis; ut veniens ego recepissem quod meum est (Ibid., 26, 27): aut quemadmodum in alio libro est: Et ego, inquit, veniens cum usuris utique exegissem illam (Luc. XIX, 23).

7. In the Fifth Book, therefore, we speak of the indivisible Godhead of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost (omitting, however, a full discussion on the Holy Ghost), being urged by the teaching of the Gospel to let out on interest to human minds the five talents of the faith entrusted to these five books being as it were the principal; lest perhaps when the Lord comes, and finds His money hidden in the earth, He may say to me: Thou wicked and slothful servant, you knew that I reap where I do not sow; and gather where I have not scattered; you ought therefore to have put My money to the exchangers, that at My coming I might have received Mine Own, Matthew 25:26-27 or as it stands in another book: And I, it says, at My coming might have received it with usury. Luke 19:23

8. Date ergo veniam, si quos prolixioris hujuscemodi sermonis offendit audacia. Officii contemplatio cogit credere quod accepimus: Dispensatores sumus mysteriorum coelestium (I Cor. IV, 1). Ministri sumus, non ex aequo omnes, sed unicuique, inquit, sicut Dominus dedit. Ego plantavi, Apollo rigavit: sed Deus incrementum dedit (I Cor. III, 3, 6). Unusquisque igitur enitatur ut mercedem possit accipere secundum suum laborem; Dei enim sumus, ut Apostolus dixit, cooperarii, Dei cultura, Dei aedificatio (Ibid., 9). Beatus itaque ille qui tales fenoris sui cernit usuras: beatus et ille qui fructus sui operis intuetur: Beatus quoque qui superaedificat supra fundamentum fidei aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos (Ibid., 12).

8. I pray those to pardon me, whom the boldness of such a lengthy address displeases. The thought of my office compels me to entrust to others what I have received. We are stewards of the heavenly mysteries. 1 Corinthians 4:1 We are ministers, but not all alike. But, it says, even as the Lord gave to every man, I have planted; Apollos watered; but God gave the increase. 1 Corinthians 3:5-6 Let each one then strive that be may be able to receive a reward according to his labour. For we are labourers together with God, as

the Apostle said; we are God’s husbandry, God’s building. 1 Corinthians 3:9 Blessed therefore is he who sees such usury on his principal; blessed too is he who beholds the fruit of his work; blessed again is he who builds upon the foundation of faith, gold, silver, precious stones. 1 Corinthians 3:12

9. Vos nobis estis omnia, qui haec auditis aut legitis: vos feneratoris usurae; verbi usurae, non pecuniae: vos agricolae redditus: vos aedificatoris aurum, argentum, lapidesque pretiosi. In vestris meritis sacerdotalis summa laboris est, in vestris animis fructus episcopalis operis enitescit; in vestris profectibus aurum Domini refulget, multiplicatur argentum, si eloquia divina teneatis: Eloquia enim Domini, eloquia casta, argentum igne examinatum, probatum terrae, purgatum septuplum (Psal. XI, 7). Vos ergo facietis foeneratorem divitem, agricolam fructuosum: vos peritum probabitis architectum. Non arroganter dico; quia non tam mea sunt, quam vestra, quae voveo.

9. You who hear or read these words are all things to us. You are the usury of the money-lender — the usury on speech, not on money; you are the return given to the husbandman; you are the gold, the silver, the precious stones of the builder. In your merits lie the chief results of the labours of the priest; in your souls shines forth the fruit of a bishop’s work; in your progress glitters the gold of the Lord; the silver is increased if you hold fast the divine words. The words of the Lord are pure words, as silver tried in the fire; proved on the earth, purified seven times. You therefore will make the lender rich, the husbandman to abound in produce; you will prove the master-builder to be skilful. I do not speak boastfully; for I do not desire so much my own advantage as yours.

10. O si mihi liceat secure de vobis tunc 553 temporis dicere: Domine, quinque talenta mihi dedisti, et ecce alia quinque lucratus sum (Matth. XXV, 20), et ostendere vestrarum talenta pretiosa virtutum! Habemus enim

thesaurum in vasis fictilibus (II Cor. IV, 7). Haec sunt talenta quae jubet Dominus spiritaliter fenerari: aut duo aera novi et veteris Testamenti, quae spoliato illi a latronibus Samaritanus ille Evangelicus ad curanda vulnera dereliquit (Luc, X, 35).

10. Oh that I might safely say of you at that time: Lord, You gave me five talents, behold I have gained five other talents; Matthew 25:20 and that I might show the precious talents of your virtues! For we have a treasure in earthen vessels. 2 Corinthians 4:7 These are the talents which the Lord bids us spiritually to trade with, or the two coins of the New and the Old Testament, which that Samaritan in the Gospel left for the man robbed by the thieves, for the purpose of getting his wounds healed. Luke 10:35

11. Neque ego, fratres, voti avarus ideo haec opto, ut supra multa constituar: sat est mihi praemium de vestro profectu. Utinam non indignus eo inveniar, quod accepi! Ea quae sunt me majora melioribus tribuenda, non exigo; licet soleas, Domine, dicere: Volo autem et huic novissimo dare, sicut et tibi (Matth. XX, 14). Accipiat potestatem supra decem civitates, qui meretur (Luc. XIX, 17).

11. Neither do I, my brethren, with greedy desires, long for this, so that I may be set over many things; the recompense I get from the fact of your advance is enough for me. Oh that I may not be found unworthy of that which I have received! Let those things which are too great for me be assigned to better men. I demand them not! Yet may Thou say, O Lord: I will give unto this last, even as unto you. Matthew 20:14 Let the man that deserves it receive authority over ten cities. Luke 19:17

12. Sit ille talis, qualis Moyses, qui Legis decem verba conscripsit (Deut. V, 5 et seq.). Sit ille Jesus Nave, qui subegit quinque reges, et Gabaonitas in deditionem accepit (Josue X, 22 et seq.); ut esset typus venturum ejus

nominis virum, cujus imperio corporales omnes deliciae vincerentur, converterentur gentes: ut fidem Jesu Christi magis, quam pristina studia sua et vota sequerentur. Sit ille David, cui occurrerunt psallentes juvenculae dicentes: Saul triumphavit in millibus, David in decem millibus (I Reg. XVIII, 7).

12. Let him be such an one as was Moses, who wrote the Ten Words of the Law. Let him be as Joshua, the son of Nun, who subdued five kings, and brought the Gibeonites into subjection, that he might be the figure of a Man of his own name Who was to come, by Whose power all fleshly lust should be overcome, and the Gentiles should be converted, so that they might follow the faith of Jesus Christ rather than their former pursuits and desires. Let him be as David, whom the young maidens came to meet with songs, saying: Saul has triumphed over thousands, David over ten thousands. 1 Samuel 18:7

13. Mihi sat est, si non in exteriores tenebras extrudar, quemadmodum ille qui commissum sibi talentum in terra quadam suae carnis abscondit: sicut princeps Synagogae, caeterique principes Judaeorum, qui credita sibi eloquia Dei humo quadam sui corporis occuparunt: deliciisque carnis intenti, quasi in quamdam exaltati cordis foveam fenus coeleste merserunt (Matth. XXIII, 14 et seq.).

13. It is enough for me, if I am not thrust out into the outer darkness, as he was, who hid the talent entrusted to him in the earth so to speak, of his own flesh. This the ruler of the synagogue did, and the other rulers of the Jews; for they employed , the words of the Lord, which had been entrusted to them, on the ground as it were of their bodies; and, delighting in the pleasures of the flesh, sunk the heavenly trust as though into the pit of an overweening heart.

14. Nos igitur non intra latibula carnis absconditam Domini teneamus pecuniam, vel mnam illam in sudario reponamus (Luc. XIX, 20): sed tamquam boni nummularii cum sudore quodam mentis et corporis aequo et parato semper libremus affectu; ut prope sit verbum in ore tuo et in corde tuo (Deut. XXX, 14).

14. Let us then not keep the Lord's money buried and hidden in the flesh; nor let us hide our one talent in a napkin; Luke 19:20 but like good money-changers let us ever weigh it out with labour of mind and body, with an even and ready will, that the word may be near, even in your mouth and in your heart. Deuteronomy 30:14

15. Hoc verbum Dei est, pretiosum est talentum, quo redimeris. Haec est pecunia per mensas animarum saepe cernenda; ut frequenter agitando in omnem terram bonorum sonus possit exire nummorum, per quem vita paretur aeterna. Haec est autem vita aeterna, quam largiris omnipotens Pater; ut cognoscamus te solum verum Deum, et quem misisti Jesum Christum (Joan. XVII, 3).

15. This is the word of the Lord, this is the precious talent, whereby you are redeemed. This money must often be seen on the tables of souls, in order that by constant trading the sound of the good coins may be able to go forth into every land, by the means of which eternal life is purchased. This is eternal life, which You, Almighty Father, give freely, that we may know You the only true God, and Jesus Christ Whom You have sent. John 17:3

CAPUT PRIMUM.

QUAM IMPII SINT Ariani, dum illud in quo humana felicitas constat, impugnant. Joannem semper cum Patre Filium conjungere, maxime ubi ait: Ut cognoscant te solum verum, etc. Illic igitur verum Deum etiam intelligendum de Filio, quando is nec Deus negari possit, nec falsus dici; immo nec etiam nuncupativus. Quod ultimum ubi ex Apostolo demonstratum est, Christum verum Deum esse rite conficitur.

CHAPTER 1.

How impious the Arians are, in attacking that on which human happiness depends. John ever unites the Son with the Father, especially where he says: That they may know You, the only true God, etc. In that place, then, we must understand the words true God also of the Son; for it cannot be denied that He is God, and it cannot be said He is a false god, and least of all that He is God by appellation only. This last point being proved from the Apostle's words, we rightly confess that Christ is true God.

16. Unde advertant Ariani quam impii sint, qui de spe nostra et voto nobis faciunt quaestiones. Et quoniam hinc prae caeteris vociferari solent, dicentes separatum a solo 554 et vero Deo Christum, intellectus impios pro nostris viribus confutemus.

16. Wherefore let the Arians observe, how impious they are in calling in question our hope and the object of our desires. And since they are wont to cry out on this point above all others, saying that Christ is distinct from the only and true God, let us confute their impious ideas so far as lies in our power.

17. Hoc enim loco magis intelligere debent quia haec utilitas, haec merces est perfectae virtutis, hoc divinum et incomparabile munus, ut cognoscamus cum Patre Christum, nec separemus a Patre Filium, sicut Scriptura non separat. Namque hoc magis ad unitatem, quam ad distantiam divinae proficit potestatis, quod idem praemium unum honorem nobis dat Patris, Filiique cognitio: quam mercedem habere non poterit, nisi qui et Patrem cognoverit et Filium; sicut enim Patris, ita Filii cognitio vitam acquirit aeternam.

17. For on this point they ought rather to understand, that this is the benefit, this the reward of perfect virtue, namely, this divine and incomparable gift, that we may know Christ together with the Father, and not separate the Son from the Father; as also the Scriptures do not separate them. For the following tells rather for the unity than for the diversity of the Divine Majesty, namely, that the knowledge of the Father and of the Son gives us the same recompense, and one and the same honour; which reward no man will have but he that has known both the Father and the Son. For as the knowledge of the Father procures eternal life, so also does the knowledge of the Son.

18. Itaque sicut in principio statim Verbum cum Deo Patre pia confessione junxit Evangelista dicens: Et Verbum erat apud Deum (Joan. I, 1), ita et hic scribendo verba Domini: Ut cognoscant te solum verum Deum, et quem misisti Jesum Christum (Joan. XVII, 3); conjunctione illa Patrem utique copulavit, et Filium, ut Christum verum Deum a majestate Patris nemo secernat: numquam enim conjunctio separat.

18. Therefore as the Evangelist immediately at the outset joined the Word with God the Father in his devout confession of faith, saying: And the Word was with God; John 1:1 and here too, in writing the words of the Lord: That they may know You, the only true God, and Jesus Christ Whom You have

sent, John 17:3 he has undoubtedly, by thus connecting Them, bound together the Father and the Son, so that no one may separate Christ as true God from the majesty of the Father, for union does not dissever.

19. Et ideo dicendo: Ut cognoscant te solum verum Deum, et quem misisti Jesum Christum, et Sabellianos interficit, et Judaeos exclusit eos utique qui audirent loquentem; ne aut illi eumdem Patrem putarent esse quem Filium, si non addidisset et Christum: aut isti a Patre Filium separarent. 20 et

19. Therefore in saying, That they may know You, the only true God, and Jesus Christ Whom You have sent, he put an end to the Sabellians, and has also put the Jews out of court — those at any rate who heard him speak; so that the former might not suppose the Same to be the Father as the Son, which they might have done if he had not added also Christ, and that the latter might not sever the Son from the Father.

21. Quaero autem cur non putent subaudiendum, et ex superioribus colligendum; ut quia praemisit solum verum Deum Patrem, subaudiamus etiam Jesum Christum solum verum Deum? Exprimendum enim aliter non fuit, ne duos deos dicere videretur; nam neque duos dicimus deos, et ejusdem cum Patre divinitatis Filium confitemur.

20. But, I ask, why do they not think we ought to gather and understand this from what has been already said; that as he has declared the Father to be only, true God, so we may understand Jesus Christ also to be only, true God? For it could not be expressed in any other way, for fear he might seem to be speaking of two Gods. For neither do we speak of two Gods; and yet we confess the Son to be of the same Godhead with the Father.

22. Itaque quaeramus qua ratione divinitatis hic putent factam esse distantiam, utrum Deum negent Christum? Sed negare non possunt. An verum Deum negent? Sed dicant, si verum negant, utrum falsum, an

nuncupativum Deum judicent? Nam secundum Scripturas aut verus Deus est, aut tantummodo nuncupativus, aut falsus. Verus ut Pater, nuncupativus ut sancti, falsus ut daemones atque simulacra. Dicant igitur qua Filium Dei confessione designent, utrum falso praesumptum Dei nomen, an vero quasi nuncupativo inspirationem tantum divinitatis inesse arbitrantur.

21. May we ask, therefore, on what grounds they think a distinction is made in the Godhead, and whether they deny Christ to be God? But they cannot deny it. Do they deny Him to be true God? But if they deny Him to be true God, let them say whether they declare Him to be a false God, or God by appellation only. For according to the Scriptures the word God is used either of the true God, or by appellation only, or of a false god. True God as the Father; God by appellation as the saints; a false god like the demons and idols. Let them say then how they will acknowledge and describe the Son of God. Do they suppose the name of God to have been falsely assumed; or was there in truth merely an indwelling of God within Him, as it were by appellation only?

23. Falso praesumptum nomen non puto quod dicant, ut apertiore se crimine impietatis involvant; ne ut daemoniis et simulacris, ita etiam Christo falsum Dei inditum nomen insinuando se prodant. Sin autem ideo dictum putant Deum, quia inspirationem divinitatis habuit, sicut et multi sancti viri (eos enim Scriptura deos dixit (Joan. X, 35), ad quos sermo fiebat Dei) ergo non ultra homines eum praeferunt, sed comparandum hominibus arbitrantur; ut hoc eum putent esse quod hominibus ipse donavit, dicens ad Moysen: Posuit te in Deum Pharaoni (Exod. VII, 1). Unde et in psalmo dictum est: Ego dixi, dii estis (Psal LXXXI, 6). 555

22. I do not think they can say the name was falsely assumed, and so involve themselves in the open wickedness of blasphemy; lest they should betray themselves on the one hand to the demons and idols, and on the other

to Christ, by insinuating that the name of God was falsely given to Him. But if they think He is called God because He had an indwelling of the Godhead within Him — as many holy men were (for the Scripture calls them Gods to whom the word of God came), John 10:35 — they do not place Him before other men, but think He is to be compared with them; so that they consider Him to be the same as He has granted other men to be, even as He says to Moses: I have made you a god unto Pharaoh. Exodus 7:1 Wherefore it is also said in the Psalms: I have said, you are gods.

24. Et hanc tamen sacrilegorum opinionem Paulus excludit, qui ait: Nam et si sunt qui dicantur dii, sive in coelo, sive in terra (I Cor. VIII, 5). Non dixit, sunt dii, sed sunt qui dicantur. Christus autem, sicut scriptum est, heri et hodie ipse est (Hebr. XXIII, 8). Est, inquit, hoc est, non solum nomine, sed etiam veritate.

23. This idea of these blasphemers Paul puts aside; for he said: For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth. 1 Corinthians 8:5 He said not: There be gods, but There be that are called gods. But Christ, as it is written, is the same yesterday and today. Hebrews 13:8 He is, it says; that is, not only in name but also in truth.

25. Et bene scriptum est: Heri et hodie ipse est; ut Arii impietas astruendi sacrilegii locum invenire non posset. Qui cum legeret in psalmo secundo dicentem Filio Patrem: Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te (Psal. II, 7); annotavit hodie non heri, ad aeternitatem divinae generationis referens, quod de carnis assumptione memoratum est, sicut Paulus in Actibus apostolorum ait: Et nos vobis annuntiamus, quae ad patres nostros repromissio facta est; quoniam hanc Deus adimplevit filiis nostris, resuscitans Dominum Jesum Christum, sicut scriptum est in psalmo secundo: Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te (Act. XIII, 32 et seq.). Sancto igitur Spiritu repletus Apostolus, ut illam elideret saevitatem, ait: Heri et

hodie ipse est, et in saecula: heri, propter aeternitatem: hodie, propter corporis susceptionem.

24. And well is it written: He is the same yesterday and today, so that the impiety of Arius might find no room to pile up its profanity. For he, in reading in the second psalm of the Father saying to the Son, You are My Son, this day have I begotten You, noted the word today, not yesterday, referring this which was spoken of the assumption of our flesh to the eternity of the divine generation; of which Paul also says in the Acts of the Apostles: And we declare unto you the promise which was made to our fathers: for God has fulfilled the same to our children, in that He has raised up the Lord Jesus Christ again, as it is written in the second psalm: You are My Son, this day have I begotten You. Acts 13:32-33 Thus the Apostle, filled with the Holy Ghost, in order that he might destroy that fierce madness of his, said: The same, yesterday, today, and forever. Yesterday on account of His eternity; today on account of His taking to Himself a human body.

26. Est ergo Christus, et est semper; qui enim est, semper est. Christus autem semper est, de quo dicit Moyses: Qui est, misit me (Exod. III, 14). Erat utique Gabriel, erat Raphael, erant Angeli: sed semper esse, qui aliquando non fuerint, nequaquam pari ratione dicuntur. Christus autem, sicut legimus, non fuit, est, et non: sed est in illo fuit (II Cor. I, 19); unde vere Dei solius est esse, qui semper est.

25. Christ therefore is, and always is; for He, Who is, always is. And Christ always is, of Whom Moses says: He that is has sent me. Exodus 3:14 Gabriel indeed was, Raphael was, the angels were; but they who sometime have not been are by no means with equal reason said always to be. But Christ, as we read, was not it is, and, it is not, but, it is was in Him. 2

Corinthians 1:19 Wherefore it is the property of God alone to be, Who ever is.

27. Ergo si et nuncupativum Deum non audent dicere, et falsum cum dicere majoris est impietatis, restat ut Deus verus sit, veri Patris non dissimilis, sed aequalis. Qui cum et justificet et sanctificet quos velit, non foris assumens; sed in se habens sanctificandi potestatem, quomodo non est verus Deus? Nam Apostolus eum utique verum Deum dixit, qui naturaliter Deus esset, sicut habes: Quia tunc, inquit, nescientes Deum, servistis his qui natura non erant dii (Galat. IV, 8); hoc est, qui veri dii esse non poterant, quibus hoc naturaliter minime suppetebat.

26. Therefore if they dare not say He is God by appellation, and it is a mark of deep impiety to say He is a false god, it remains that He is true God, not unlike to the true Father, but equal to Him. And as He sanctifies and justifies whom He will, Romans 9:18 not by assuming that power from without Himself, but having within Himself the power of sanctification, how is He not true God? For the Apostle called Him indeed true God, Who according to His nature was God, as it is written: Howbeit then, when you knew not God, you serviced unto them, who by nature were not gods; Galatians 4:8 that is, who could not be true gods, for this title by no means belonged to them by nature.

CAPUT II.

CUM PROBATUM SIT Filium esse verum Deum, nec in eo minorem Patre; ostenditur per vocem solus cum in Scripturis de Patre dicitur, non excludi Filium; quin immo hanc ei vocem prae cunctis et soli ipsi convenire. Trinitatem non inter omnia, sed super omnia solam esse: Filium vero solum facere, quae facit Pater, ac solum habere immortalitatem; nec proinde in verbis controversis eum a Patre separandum; licere tamen eum locum intelligere de incarnatione: ab illis demum Patrem ab hominum redemptione secludi, qui ab hoc Filium sejunctum volunt.

CHAPTER 2.

Since it has been proved that the Son is true God, and in that is not inferior to the Father, it is shown that by the word solus (alone) when used of the Father in the Scriptures, the Son is not excluded; nay, that this expression befits Him above all, and Him alone. The Trinity is alone, not amongst all, but above all. The Son alone does what the Father does, and alone has immortality. But we must not for this reason separate Him from the Father in our controversies. We may, however, understand that passage of the Incarnation. Lastly the Father is shut out from a share in the redemption of men by those who would have the Son to be separated from Him.

28. Verum copiose jam verum Deum Christum in superioribus libris Scripturarum 556 lectionibus approbavimus. Ergo si Christus, ut edoctum est, Deus verus est, quaeramus qua ratione, cum solum verum Deum Patrem legant, a Patre Filium cupiunt separare.

27. We have fully demonstrated by passages of Scripture, in the earlier books, that Christ is true, yea, very true God. Therefore if Christ, as it has been taught, is true God, let us enquire why they desire to separate the Son from the Father, when they read that the Father is the only true God.

29. Si dicunt quia verus Deus solus Pater est, negare non possunt quia et Filius solus Deus veritas est, quia Christus veritas est. Numquid veritas vero minor est, cum secundum appellationem nominum verus plerumque a veritate dicatur, sicut sapiens a sapientia, justus a justitia? Hoc nos inter Patrem non sentimus et Filium, quia et Patri nihil deest, quia Pater est verax: et Filius quia veritas est, aequalis est vero.

28. If they say that the Father alone is true God, they cannot deny that God the Son alone is the Truth; for Christ is the Truth. Is the Truth then something inferior to Him that is true, seeing that according to the use of terms a man is called true from the word truth, as also wise from wisdom, just from justice? We do not deem it so between the Father and the Son. For there is nothing wanting to the Father, because the Father is full of truth; and the Son, because He is the Truth, is equal to Him that is true.

30. Ut sciant autem, cum solum legunt, nequaquam esse a Patre Filium separandum, meminerint in prophetis a Deo dictum: Ego extendi coelum solus (Esai. XLIV, 24). Et utique non extendit sine Filio Pater. Ipse enim Filius qui sapientia Dei est, dicit: Quando parabat coelum, cum ipso aderam (Prov. VIII, 27). Et Paulus de Filio dictum esse confirmat: Initio terram tu fundasti, Domine, et opera manuum tuarum sunt coeli (Hebr. I, 10). Sive ergo Filius coelum fecit, sicut et Apostolus voluit intelligi, et ipse utique non sine Patre coelum solus extendit, sive, ut Proverbiis habes, Deus in sapientia fundavit terram, paravit autem coelos in intellectu (Prov. III, 19), ostenditur quia nec Pater solus sine Filio coelos fecit, nec sine Patre Filius; et tamen qui coelum extendit, solus dicitur.

29. But that they may know, when they see the word alone, that the Son is in no wise to be separated from the Father, let them remember it was said by God in the Prophets: I stretched forth the heavens alone. Isaiah 44:24 The Father certainly did not stretch them forth without the Son. For the Son Himself, Who is the Wisdom of God, says: When He prepared the heavens I was present with Him. Proverbs 8:27 And Paul declares that it was said of the Son: You, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the work of Your hands. Whether therefore the Son made the heavens, as also the Apostle would have it understood, while He Himself certainly did not alone spread out the heavens without the Father; or as it stands in the Book of Proverbs: The Lord in wisdom has founded the earth, in understanding has He prepared the heavens; Proverbs 3:19 it is proved that neither the Father made the heavens alone without the Son, nor yet the Son without the Father. And yet He who spread out the heavens is said to be alone.

31. Quam vero id et de Filio aperte intelligendum sit, quod solus appelletur, etsi numquam, inscio Patre, aliquid fecisse credatur; etiam alibi habes, ubi scriptum est: Extendens coelum solus, et ambulans quasi in pavimento super mare (Job. IX, 8). Namque Evangelium Domini docuit nos, quod in mari non Pater, sed Filius ambulavit, quando Petrus rogavit eum dicens: Domine, jube me venire ad te (Matth. XIV, 28). Sed etiam prophetia ipsa documento est; sanctus enim Job adventum Domini prophetabat, (Job. III, 8), de quo vere dixit quia magnum cetum erat debellaturus, et factum est: nam feralem illum cetum, diabolum scilicet, ultimis temporibus venerabili corporis sui passione postratum perculit et afflixit (Esa. XXVII, 1).

30. To show indeed how plainly we must understand the expression alone of the Son (although we may never believe that He did anything without the knowledge of the Father), we have here also another passage, where it is

written: Which alone spreads out the heavens, and walks as it were on a pavement over the sea. Job 9:8 For the Gospel of the Lord has taught us that it was not the Father but the Son that walked upon the sea, when Peter asked Him, saying, Lord, bid me come unto You. Matthew 14:28 But even prophecy itself gives proof of this. For holy Job prophesied of the coming of the Lord; of Whom he said in truth that He would vanquish the great Leviathan, Job 41:8 and it was done. For that dread Leviathan that is, the devil, He smote, and struck down, and laid low in the last times by the adorable Passion of His own Body. Isaiah 27:1

32. Est ergo solus et verus Deus Filius; haec enim et Filio praerogativa defertur. De nullo namque qui creatus est, proprie dici potest, quia solus est. Nam cui inest communitas creaturae, quemadmodum quasi solus potest a caeteris separari? Itaque homo rationabilis videtur inter omnia terrena animantia, sed tamen non est solus rationabilis; scimus enim rationabilia esse et coelestia opera Dei, angelos et archangelos rationabiles confitemur. Si ergo angeli rationabiles, non utique solus rationabilis homo dicitur.

31. The Son therefore is only and true God for this also is assigned to the Son as His sole right. For of no created being can it be accurately said that he is alone. How can he to whom fellowship in creation belongs be separated from the rest, as though he were alone? Thus man is seen to be a rational being among all earthly creatures, yet he is not the only rational being; for we know that the heavenly works of God also are rational, we confess that angels and archangels are rational beings. If then the angels are rational, man cannot be said to be the only rational being.

33. Sed dicunt solum dici posse solem; quia sol alter non est. At et ipse sol habet communia multa cum stellis, quod percurrit coelum (Gen. I, 14), 557 quod aethereae illius coelestisque substantiae est, quod creatura est, quod inter omnia Dei opera computatur, quod cum omnibus Deo servit, cum

omnibus benedicit Deum, cum omnibus laudat. Non ergo solus proprie dicitur, quia nec a caeteris separatur (Psal. CXLVIII, 3).

32. But they say that the sun can be said to be alone, because there is no second sun. But the sun himself has many things in common with the stars, for he travels across the heavens, he is of that ethereal and heavenly substance, he is a creature, and is reckoned among all the works of God. He serves God in union with all, blesses Him with all, praises Him with all. Therefore he cannot accurately be said to be alone, for he is not set apart from the rest.

34. Itaque cum Patris et Filii Spiritusque sancti divinitati, quae sola non inter omnia, sed super omnia est, nulla possit creatura conferri, ut de Spiritu interim assertio reservetur: sicut Pater dicitur solus Deus verus, cui nihil sit commune cum caeteris; ita etiam solus est Filius imago veri Dei, solus dextera Patris, solus virtus Dei atque sapientia.

33. Wherefore since no created being can be compared with the Godhead of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Which is alone, not among all, but over all (our declaration concerning the Spirit being meanwhile held back); as the Father is said to be the only true God, because He has nothing in common with others; so also is the Son alone the Image of the true God, He alone is the Hand of the Father, He alone is the Virtue and Wisdom of God.

35. Solus ergo Filius facit sicut et Pater, quia scriptum est: Quaecumque facio, ipse facit (Joan. V, 16). Cum enim unum opus sit Patris et Filii, bene de Patre et Filio dicitur quia Deus solus operatus est; unde etiam cum creatorem dicimus, et Patrem et Filium confitemur. Nam utique cum Paulus diceret: Qui servierunt creaturae potius quam Creatori (Rom. I, 25); nec Patrem creatorem negavit, ex quo omnia haec; nec Filium, per quem omnia.

34. Thus the Son alone does what the Father does; for it is written: Whatsoever things I do, He does. John 5:19 And since the work of the Father and of the Son is one, it is well said of the Father and the Son, that God worked alone; wherefore also when we speak of the Creator, we own both the Father and the Son. For assuredly when Paul said, Who served the creature more than the Creator, Romans 1:25 he neither denied the Father to be the Creator, from Whom are all these things, nor yet the Son, through Whom are all things. Romans 11:36

36. A quo alienum utique non videtur, quia scriptum est: Qui solus habet immortalitatem (I Tim. VI, 16). Quomodo enim immortalitatem non habet, qui vitam habet in semetipso? Habet utique in natura, habet in substantia; et habet non per gratiam temporalem, sed per sempiternam divinitatem: habet non ex dono quasi servus, sed ex generationis proprietate quasi Filius coaeternus; et habet sicut Pater: Sicut enim Pater habet vitam in semetipso, ita et Filio dedit vitam habere in semetipso (Joan. V, 16); sicut habet, inquit, sic dedit. Didicisti supra (Lib. IV, ca), quemadmodum dederit; ne putares esse gratiae largitatem, ubi generationis arcanum est. Cum ergo inter Patrem et Filium vitae nulla distantia sit, quemadmodum quod immortalitatem solus habeat Pater, Filius non habeat, aestimari potest?

35. And it does not seem out of agreement with this that it is written: Who alone has immortality. 1 Timothy 6:16 For how could He not have immortality Who has life in Himself? He has it in His nature; He has it in His essential Being; and He has it not as a temporal grace, but owing to His eternal Godhead. He has it not by way of a gift as a servant, but by peculiar right of His Generation, as the co-eternal Son. He has it, too, as has the Father. For as the Father has life in Himself, so also has He given to the Son to have life in Himself. John 5:26 As He has it, it says, so He has given it. You have learned already how He gave it, that you may not think it to be a

free gift of grace, when it is a secret of His generation. Since, then, there is no divergence of life between the Father and the Son, how can it be supposed that the Father alone has immortality, while the Son has it not?

37. Unde intelligant nec hoc loco a solo vero Deo Patre Filium separandum; quia probare non possunt quod solus et verus Deus Filius non sit: cum praesertim et hic aut subaudiatur, ut diximus, et Christum verum solum Deum esse: aut certe aliud ad divinitatem Patris et Filii, aliud ad incarnationem Christi relatum intelligendum sit; quia non est perfecta cognitio, nisi quae et secundum aeternitatem unigenitum Deum verum Dei Filium Jesum Christum, et secundum carnem generatum ex Virgine confitetur. Quod alibi hic ipse Evangelista nos docuit dicens: Omnis spiritus qui confitetur Jesum Christum in carne venisse, de Deo est (I Joan. IV, 2).

36. Wherefore let them understand that in this passage the Son is not to be separated from the Father, Who is the only true God. For they cannot prove that the Son is not the only and true God, especially as here also it may be gathered, as I have said, that Christ too is true and only God; or the passage may at least be understood partly in reference to the Godhead of the Father and the Son, and partly to the Incarnation of Christ: for knowledge is not perfect unless it confesses Jesus Christ from eternity to be only-begotten God, true Son of God, and, according to the flesh, begotten of a Virgin. Which also this very Evangelist has taught us elsewhere, saying: Every spirit that confesses that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh, is of God. 1 John 4:2

38. Denique quam non alienum sit etiam incarnationis hoc loco intelligere sacramentum, docet nos ipsius series lectionis; sic enim habes: Pater, venit hora, clarifica Filium tuum (Joan. XVII, 1). Utique cum et horam venisse commemoret, et clarificari petat, quomodo nisi secundum carnis assumptionem locutum eum convenit aestimari? Nam nec ulla sibi

temporum praescripta momenta divinitas habet, nec clarificatione indiget lumen aeternum. Ergo in solo vero Deo Patre et Filium Dei solum verum secundum 558 divinitatis intelligimus unitatem, et in Jesu Christi nomine, quod ex Virgine natus accepit, incarnationis agnoscimus sacramentum.

37. Lastly, the whole of our passage teaches us that it is not improper in this verse to understand a reference to the sacrament of the Incarnation. For thus it is written: Father, the hour has come, glorify Your Son. John 17:1 When, therefore, He states that the hour has come, and prays to be glorified, how can one suppose Him to have spoken but only in accordance with the assumption of our flesh? For the Godhead has no fixed moments of time, nor does eternal light stand in need of glorification. Therefore in the only true God, Who is the Father, we also understand the only true Son of God to be in accordance with the unity of the Godhead. And in the name of Jesus Christ, which He received when born of the Virgin, we acknowledge the sacrament of the Incarnation.

39. Quod si cum solum verum Deum Patrem legunt, Filium cupiunt separare; ergo cum de Filii incarnatione legunt: Hic est lapis qui reprobatus est a vobis aedificantibus, qui factus est in caput anguli; et infra: Non est aliud nomen sub coelo datum hominibus, in quo oporteat nos salvos fieri (Act. IV, 11, 12), Patrem existimant ab impertiendae nobis salutis beneficio separandum. At neque sine Patre salus, neque vita aeterna sine Filio.

38. But if they wish to separate the Son, when they read that the Father is the only true God, I suppose that when they read of the Incarnation of the Son: This is the stone which was set at naught of you builders, which has become the head of the corner; and further: There is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved; Acts 4:11-12 then they imagine the Father is to be cut off from the benefit of imparting

salvation to us. But there is neither salvation without the Father, nor eternal life without the Son.

CAPUT III.

ARIANIS CONTRA URGENTIBUS Deos induci duos ex unitate substantiae, respondetur pluralitatem ex diversitate potius inferri, proindeque in ipsos recidere suam accusationem. Diversitatem multiplicem in causa esse cur duo homines unus homo dici non possint; cum tamen omnes homines singulariter homo dicantar, ubi naturae unitas indicatur. Solam in his naturam unam esse; at omnimodam in personis divinis unitatem: a Patre igitur non separandum Filium; maxime cum ei debitam esse adorationem negare non audeant.

CHAPTER 3.

To the objection of the Arians, that two Gods are introduced by a unity of substance, the answer is that a plurality of Gods is more likely to be inferred from diversity of substance. Further, their charge recoils upon themselves. Manifold diversity is the reason why two men cannot be said to be one man, though all men are called individually man, where a unity of nature is referred to. There is one nature alone in them, but there is wholly a unity in the Divine Persons. Therefore the Son is not to be severed from the Father, especially as they dare not deny that worship is due to Him.

40. Sed asserunt Ariani: Si solum verum Deum sicut Patrem, ita et Filium dicitis, et unius substantiae Patrem et Filium confitemini, non unum Deum, sed duos deos inducitis; quia qui unius substantiae sunt, non unus Deus, sed duo dii videntur esse, sicut duo homines, aut duae oves, pluresve dicuntur: homo autem et ovis nec duo homines dicuntur, nec duae oves, sed unus homo, et una ovis.

39. But the Arians maintain the following: If you say that, as the Father is the only true God, so also is the Son, and confess that the Father and the Son are both of one substance, you introduce not one God, but two. For they who are of one substance seem not to be one God but two Gods. Just as two men or two sheep or more are spoken of, but a man and a sheep are not spoken of as two men or two sheep, but as one man and one sheep.

41. Haec Ariani dicunt, et hac disputatione versuta simpliciores capere nituntur. Tamen si legamus Scripturas divinas, inveniemus pluralitatem magis in ea cadere, quae diversae discretaeque substantiae sunt, hoc est, ἑτερουσία. Idque in Salomonis libris habemus expressum, eo loco scilicet in quo dicit: Tria sunt autem impossibilia intelligere, et quartum quod non cognosco; vestigia aquilae volantis, et vias serpentis super petram, et semitas navis navigantis, et vias viri in juventute (Prov. XXX, 18, 19). Utique aquila et navis et serpens unius non sunt generis atque naturae, sed differentis discretaeque substantiae, et tamen tria sunt. Contra se igitur sua esse intelligunt argumenta testimoniis Scripturarum.

40. This is what the Arians say; and by this cunning argument they attempt to catch the more simple-minded. However if we read the divine Scriptures we shall find that plurality occurs rather among those things which are of a diverse and different substance, that is, ἑτερούσια . We have this set forth in the books of Solomon, in that passage in which he said: There are three things impossible to understand, yea, a fourth which I know not, the track of an eagle in the air, the way of a serpent upon a rock, the path of a ship in the sea, and the way of a man in his youth. Proverbs 30:18-19 An eagle and a ship and a serpent are not of one family and nature, but of a distinguishable and different substance, and yet they are three. On the testimony of Scripture, therefore, they learn that their arguments are against themselves.

42. Itaque dicendo Patris et Filii discretam esse substantiam, differentemque deitatem, duos utique ipsi deos asserunt: nos autem cum et Patrem confitemur, et Filium; asserendo tamen unius esse deitatis non duos deos, sed unum Deum dicimus. Et hoc Dominicis eloquiis approbamus; quia ubi plures sunt, ibi aut naturae aut voluntatum et operationum est differentia. Denique ut suis sibi testimoniis revincantur, duo homines dicuntur; quia licet unius naturae sint jure nascendi, tamen et tempore et cogitatione et opere et loco distant: et ideo non potest unus homo dici in significatione et numero duorum; quia unitas non est, ubi est diversitas: unus autem Deus dicitur, et Patris 559 et Filii ac Spiritus sancti gloria et plenitudo signatur.

41. Therefore, in saying that the substance of the Father and of the Son is diverse and their Godhead distinguishable, they themselves assert there are two Gods. But we, when we confess the Father and the Son, in declaring them still to be of one Godhead, say that there are not two Gods, but one God. And this we establish by the word of the Lord. For where there are several, there is a difference either of nature or of will and work. Lastly, that they may be refuted on their own witness, two men are mentioned: But though they are of one nature by right of birth, yet in time and thought and work and place, they are apart; and so one man cannot be spoken of under the signification and number of two; for there is no unity where there is diversity. But God is said to be one, and the glory and completeness of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is thus expressed.

43. Denique tanta veritas unitatis est, ut etiam quando natura sola generationis aut carnis significatur humanae, et unus homo de multis dicatur, sicut habes: Dominus mihi adjutor, non timebo quid faciat mihi homo (Psal. CXVII, 6), id est, non una persona hominis, sed una caro, et una fragilitas generationis humanae. Et addidit: Bonum est sperare in Domino, quam sperare in homine (Ibid., 9). Nec hic utique specialem

hominem, sed generalem conditionem designavit. Denique statim subjecit de pluribus: Bonum est confidere in Domino, quam confidere in principibus (Ibid., 9). Sed ubi homo dicitur, naturae interdum, ut supra diximus, communis inter omnes unitas significatur: ubi principes, variarum quaedam differentia potestatum est.

42. Such, indeed, is the truth of unity that, when the nature alone of human birth or of human flesh is indicated, one man is the term used for the many, as it is written: The Lord is my helper, I will not fear what man can do unto me; that is, not the one person of a man, but the one flesh, the one frailty of human birth. It added also: It is better to trust in the Lord than to trust in man. Here, too, it did not denote one particular man, but a universal condition. Then, immediately after it added, speaking of many: It is better to put confidence in the Lord than to put confidence in princes. Where man is spoken of, as we have already said, there the common unity of the nature, which exists between all is indicated; but where the princes are mentioned, there is a certain distinction between their different powers.

44. Sed inter homines aut in hominibus unius alicujus rei unitas est, aut charitatis, aut cupiditatis, aut carnis, aut devotionis et fidei: generalis autem unitas, et quae in se secundum divinitatis gloriam complectitur omnia, solius est Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti.

43. Amongst men, or in men, there exists a unity in some one thing, either in love, or desire, or flesh, or devotion, or faith. But a universal unity, that embraces within itself all things agreeably to the divine glory, is the property of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit alone.

45. Unde et Dominus cum diversitatem inter se hominum designaret, qui nihil habent inter se quod possit ad unitatem individuae substantiae pertinere: In lege vestra, inquit, scriptum est, quod duorum hominum

testimonium verum est (Joan. VIII, 17). Et cum praemisisset: Duorum hominum testimonium verum est; ubi venit ad suum et Patris testimonium, non dixit: Verum est testimonium nostrum, quia duorum deorum testimonium est; sed: Ego, inquit, sum qui testimonium perhibeo de me ipso, et testimonium perhibet de me, qui misit me, Pater (Ibid., 18). Supra quoque similiter ait: Et si judico ego, judicium meum verum est, quia solus non sum, sed ego et qui misit me Pater (Ibid., 16). Itaque et infra ut supra et Patrem significavit et Filium, nec pluralitatem admiscuit, nec divinae unitatem substantiae separavit.

44. Wherefore the Lord also, in pointing out the diversity that exists among men, who have nothing in common that can tend towards the unity of an indivisible substance, says: In your law it is written that the testimony of two men is true. John 8:17 But though He had said, The testimony of two men is true, when He came to the testimony of Himself and His Father, He said not: Our testimony is true, for it is the testimony of two Gods; but: I am One that bear witness of Myself, and the Father that sent Me bears witness of Me. John 8:18 Earlier He also says: If I judge, My judgment is true; for I am not alone, but I and the Father that sent Me. John 8:16 Thus, both in one place and the other, He indicated both the Father and the Son, but neither implied the plurality, nor severed the unity of their divine Substance.

46. Evidens est igitur quia quod unius est substantiae, separari non potest, etiamsi non sit singularitatis, sed unitatis. Singularitatem hanc dico, quae Graece μονοτὴς dicitur. Singularitas ad personam pertinet, unitas ad naturam. Ea vero quae diversae substantiae sunt, non solum unum, sed etiam plura dici solere, licet jam et prophetico claruerit testimonio; expressius tamen ipse Apostolus declaravit dicens: Nam etsi sunt qui dicantur dii, sive in coelo, sive in terra (I Cor. VIII, 5). Vides igitur quia hi qui ex diversis substantiis sunt, et non ex unius veritate naturae, dii

appellantur? Pater autem et Filius, quia unius substantiae sunt, non duo dii, sed Unus Deus, Pater ex quo omnia, et unus Dominus Jesus Christus, per quem omnia (Ibid., 6). Unus, inquit, Deus Pater, et unus Dominus Jesus; et supra: Unus Deus, non duo dii (Ibid. 4); et infra: Unus Dominus, et non duo.

45. It is plain, then, that whatsoever is of one substance cannot be severed, even though it be not single, but one. By singleness I mean that which the Greeks call μονοτής . Singleness has to do with a person; unity with a nature. That those things which are of a different substance are wont to be called, not one alone, but many, though already proved on the testimony of the prophet, the Apostle himself has stated in so many words, saying: For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth. 1 Corinthians 8:5 Do you see, then, that those who are of different substances, and not of the verity of one nature, are called gods? But the Father and the Son, being of one substance, are not two Gods, but One God, the Father, of Whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ, through Whom are all things. 1 Corinthians 8:6 One God, he says, and one Lord Jesus; and above: One God, not two Gods; and then: One Lord, not two Lords. 1 Corinthians 8:4, 6

47. Pluralitas ergo excluditur, non unitas sequestratur. Sed quemadmodum cum legimus Dominum Jesum, nec Patrem, ut supra diximus (Lib. II, ca), a dominationis jure secernimus, quod ei commune 560 cum Filio est: ita cum legimus solum verum Deum Patrem, nec Filium a solius veri Dei jure possumus separare, quod ei commune cum Patre est.

46. Plurality, therefore, is excluded, but the unity is not destroyed. But as, on the one hand, when we read of the Lord Jesus, we do not dissociate the Father, as I have already said, from the prerogative of ruling, because He has that in common with the Son; so, on the other hand, when we read of

the only true God, the Father, we cannot sever the Son from the prerogative of the only true God, for He has that in common with the Father.

48. Aut dicant quid aliud sentiant, quidve arbitrentur, cum legimus: Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et ipsi soli servies (Matth. IV, 10), utrum Christum non adorandum, et Christo non existiment serviendum? Quod si illa quae adoravit eum Chananaea (Matth. XV, 25), impetrare meruit quod poposcit; et Paulus apostolus, qui servum se Christi prima scriptorum suorum praefatione profitetur (Rom. I, 1), apostolus esse meruit, non ab hominibus neque per hominem, sed per Jesum Christum; dicant quid arbitrentur sequendum, utrum cum Ario malint sibi societatem esse perfidiae; ut solum et verum Deum Christum negando, ostendant quia nec adorandum eum, nec serviendum ei judicent: an vero consortium malint habere cum Paulo, qui serviendo atque adorando etiam Christum, utique solum verum Deum voce affectuque non diffitebatur, quem pio servitio fatebatur.

47. Let them say what they feel or what they think, when we read: You shall worship the Lord your God, and Him only shall you serve. Matthew 4:10 Do they think Christ should not be worshipped, and that He ought not to be served? But if that woman of Canaan who worshipped Him, Matthew 15:25 merited to gain what she asked for, and the Apostle Paul, who confessed himself to be the servant of Christ in the very outset of his letters, merited to be an Apostle not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ; Galatians 1:1 let them say what they think should follow. Would they prefer to join with Arius in a league of treachery, and so show, by denying Christ to be the only true God, that they consider He should neither be worshipped nor served? Or would they sooner go in company with Paul, who in serving and worshipping Christ did not disown in word and heart the only true God, Whom he acknowledged with dutiful service?

CAPUT IV.

OBJICIEBATUR AB HAERETICIS Christum Patri adorationem exhibuisse. At reponitur et hoc referendum ad humanitatem, ut ex loci examine manifestatur: illic tamen addita esse divinitatis testimonia, quod in aliis etiam Christi operibus factum videmus.

CHAPTER 4.

It is objected by heretics that Christ offered worship to His Father. But instead it is shown that this must be referred to His humanity, as is clear from an examination of the passage. However, it also offers fresh witness to His Godhead, as we often see it happening in other actions that Christ did.

49. [Alias cap. II.] Quod si quis dicat quoniam Deum Patrem adorat et Filius, quia scriptum est: Vos adoratis quod nescitis, nos adoramus quod scimus (Joan. IV, 22); consideret quando, et apud quem, et cujus suscepto loquatur affectu.

48. But if any one were to say that the Son worships God the Father, because it is written, You worship you know not what, we know what we worship, John 4:22 let him consider when it was said, and to whom, and to whose wishes it was in answer.

50. Denique et in superioribus non immerito praemissum est, quia Jesus fatigatus ex itinere sedebat, et a Samaritana bibere postulabat; quia secundum carnem hominis loquebatur: nam secundum divinitatem nec fatigari poterat, nec sitire (Ibid. VI, 7).

49. In the earlier verses of this chapter it was stated, not without reason, that Jesus, being weary with the journey, was sitting down, and that He asked a woman of Samaria to give Him drink; John 4:6-7 for He spoke as man; for as God He could neither be weary nor thirst.

51. Deinde cum Samaritana quasi Judaeum appellaret, et prophetam putaret; quasi Judaeus qui spiritaliter mysteria Legis doceret, respondit: Vos adoratis quod nescitis, nos adoramus quod scimus. Nos, inquit, hoc est, se hominibus copulavit. Quomodo autem nisi secundum carnem hominibus copulatur? Et ut ostenderet quia secundum incarnationem responderat, addidit: Quia salus ex Judaeis est (Ibid. 22).

50. So when this woman addressed Him as a Jew, and thought Him a prophet, He answers her, as a Jew who spiritually taught the mysteries of the Law: You worship you know not what, we know what we worship. We, He says; for He joined Himself with men. But how is He joined with men, but according to the flesh? And to show that He answered as being incarnate, He added: for salvation is of the Jews. John 4:22

52. Sed statim post hoc sequestravit hominis affectum, dicens: Veniet hora, et nunc est, quando veri adoratores adorabunt Patrem (Ibid., 23). Non dixit: Adorabimus. Quod utique dixisset, si consortium nostri subiret obsequii.

51. But immediately after this He put aside His human feelings, saying: But the hour comes, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father. John 4:23 He said not: We shall worship. This He would certainly have said, if He had a share in our obedience.

53. Verum cum legerimus quod Maria adoravit eum (Matth. XXVIII, 9), intelligere debemus quod non potest per eamdem naturam et adorare quasi servus, et adorari quasi Dominus: sed potius quia ut homo inter homines adorare dicitur, et quasi Dominus a famulis adoratur.

52. And when we read that Mary worshipped Him, Matthew 28:9 we ought to learn that it is not possible for Him under the same nature both to worship as a servant, and to be worshipped as Lord; but rather that as man He is said to worship among men, and that as Lord He is worshipped by His servants.

54. Multa ergo secundum incarnationis legimus et credimus sacramentum, sed in ipsa 561 naturae humanae affectione majestatem licet spectare divinam. Fatigatur ex itinere Jesus, ut reficiat fatigatos: petit bibere, sitientibus potum spiritalem daturus: esurit, cibum salutis esurientibus traditurus: moritur, vivificaturus: sepelitur, resurrecturus: tremulo pendet in ligno, confirmaturus trementes: coelum caligine obducit, ut illuminet: terras tremefacit, ut solidet: maria conturbat, ut mitiget: reserat tumulos mortuorum, ut ostendat domicilia esse vivorum: creatur ex Virgine, ut ex Deo natus esse credatur: nescire se simulat, ut scire faciat nescientes: adorare quasi Judaeus dicitur, ut quasi verus Deus Filius adoretur.

53. Many things therefore we read and believe, in the light of the sacrament of the Incarnation. But even in the very feelings of our human nature we may behold the Divine Majesty. Jesus is wearied with His journey, that He may refresh the weary; He desires to drink, when about to give spiritual drink to the thirsty; He was hungry, when about to supply the food of salvation to the hungry; He dies, to live again; He is buried, to rise again; He hangs upon the dreadful tree, to strengthen those in dread; He veils the heaven with thick darkness, that He may give light; He makes the earth to shake, that He may make it strong; He rouses the sea, that He may calm it; He opens the tombs of the dead, that He may show they are the homes of the living; He is made of a Virgin, that men may believe He is born of God; He feigns not to know, that He may make the ignorant to know; as a Jew He is said to worship, that the Son may be worshipped as true God.

CAPUT V.

DOMINICA AD ZEBEDAEI filiorum matrem verba ingerentibus Ambrosius respondet, quod Christus moestitia illam afficere noluerit, clementiae fuisse. Affertur hujusce indulgentiae causa multiplex. Moluisse igitur Dominum petitionis illius concessionem ad Patrem remittere, quam eamdem impossibilem pronuntiare: nec tamen Christo incommodare suum responsum, tum ex ipsis ejusdem verbis, tum ex aliorum locorum comparatione ostenditur.

CHAPTER 5.

Ambrose answers those who press the words of the Lord to the mother of Zebedee's children, by saying that they were spoken out of kindness, because Christ was unwilling to cause her grief. Ample reason for such tenderness is brought forward. The Lord would rather leave the granting of that request to the Father, than declare it to be impossible. This answer of Christ's, however, is not to His detriment, as is shown both by His very words, and also by comparing them with other passages.

55. Quomodo, inquiunt, Filius Dei solus verus Deus potest esse similis Patri, cum ipse dixerit filiis Zebedaei: Calicem quidem meum bibetis, sedere autem ad dexteram meam vel ad sinistram non est meum dare vobis, sed quibus paratum est a Patre meo (Matth. XX, 23)? Hoc igitur vestrum divinae, ut vultis, inaequalitatis est argumentum; cum in eo magis venerari Domini clementiam, adorare gratiam deberetis: si tamen virtutis atque sapientiae Dei profunda secreta possetis advertere.

54. How, they say, can the Son of God be the only true God, like to the Father, when He Himself said to the sons of Zebedee: ‘You shall drink indeed of My cup; but to sit on My right hand or on My left, is not Mine to give to you, but to those for whom it has been prepared of My Father?’? Matthew 20:23 This, then, is, as you desire, your proof of divine inequality; though in it you ought rather to reverence the Lord’s kindness and to adore His grace; if, that is, you could but perceive the deep secrets of the virtue and wisdom of God.

56. Considerate enim quae cum filiis et pro filiis petat. Mater est utique, cui pro filiorum honore sollicitae immoderatior quidem, sed tamen ignoscenda mensura votorum est. Atque mater aetate longaeva, studio religiosa, solatio destituta: quae tunc temporis quando vel juvanda vel alenda foret validae prolis auxilio, abesse sibi liberos patiebatur, et voluptati suae mercedem sequentium Christum praetulerat filiorum: qui prima voce vocati a Domino, ut legimus (Matth. IV, 22), relictis retibus et patre, secuti sunt eum.

55. For think of her who, with and for her sons, makes this request. It is a mother, who in her anxiety for the honour of her sons, though somewhat unrestrained in the measure of her desires, may for all that yet find pardon. It is a mother, old in years, devout in her zeal, deprived of consolation; who at that time, when she might have been helped and supported by the aid of her able bodied offspring, suffered her children to leave her, and preferred the reward her sons should receive in following Christ to her own pleasure. For they when called by the Lord, at the first word, as we read, left their nets and their father and followed Him. Matthew 4:22

57. Haec igitur studio maternae sedulitatis indulgentior, obsecrabat Salvatorem, dicens: Dic ut sedeant hi duo filii mei, unus ad dexteram tuam, et alter ad sinistram in regno tuo (Ibid. 20, 21). Etsi error, pietatis tamen error est; nesciunt enim materna viscera patientiam: etsi voti avara, tamen

veniabilis cupiditas, quae non pecuniae est avida, sed gratiae: nec inverecunda petitio, quae non sibi, sed liberis consulebat. Matrem considerate, matrem cogitate.

56. She then, somewhat yielding to the devotion of a mother's zeal, besought the Saviour, saying: Grant that these my two sons may sit the one on Your right hand, the other on Your left in Your kingdom. Matthew 20:21 Although it was an error, it was an error of a mother's affections; for a mother's heart knows no patience. Though eager for the object of her desires, yet her longing was pardonable, for she was not greedy for money, but for grace. Not shameless was her request, for she thought not of herself, but of her children. Contemplate the mother, reflect upon her.

58. Sed nihil mirum si vilis vobis videtur circa filios 562 affectus parentum, qui etiam omnipotentis Patris vilem putatis esse circa unigenitum Filium charitatem. Dominus coeli atque terrarum verecundabatur (ut secundum assumptionem carnis et virtutes animae loquar), verecundabatur, inquam, et ut ipsius verbo utar, confundebatur matri pro filiis postulanti etiam suae sedis consortium denegare: vos aeterni Dei Filium proprium interdum pro ministerio stare contenditis, interdum famulatorium, hoc est, non ex majestatis unitate, sed ex Patris praeceptione vultis ejus esse consessum; et negatis hoc Deo vero Dei Filio, quod ille hominibus aperte noluit denegare.

57. But it is nothing wonderful if the feelings of parents for their children seem nothing to you, who think the love of the Almighty Father for His only-begotten Son a trifling matter. The Lord of heaven and earth was ashamed (to speak as accords with the assumption of our flesh and the virtues of the soul) — He was ashamed, I say, and, to use His own word, disturbed, to refuse a share even in His own seat to a mother making request for her sons. You maintain sometimes that the proper Son of the eternal God stands to give service, at other times you would have His co-session to be as

that of an attendant, that is, not because there is a oneness of majesty, but because it is the order of the Father; and you deny to the Son of God, Who is true God, that which He plainly was unwilling to refuse to men.

59. Considerabat enim matris dilectionem, quae filiorum mercede grandaevam solabatur senectam, et desideriis licet fessa maternis, charissimorum pignorum tolerabat absentiam.

58. For He thought of the mother's love, who solaced her old age with the thought of her sons' reward, and, though harassed with a mother's longings, endured the absence of those dearest pledges of her love.

60. Considerate etiam feminam, hoc est, sexum fragiliorem, quem Dominus propria nondum confirmaverat passione. Considerate, inquam, Evae illius primae mulieris haeredem transfusa in omnes immoderatae cupiditatis successione labentem, quam Dominus adhuc proprio sanguine non redemerat, nondum inolitam affectibus omnium immodici contra fas honoris appetentiam suo cruore diluerat. Haereditario igitur mulier delinquebat errore.

59. Think also of the woman, that is, the weaker sex, whom the Lord had not yet strengthened by His own Passion. Think, I say, of a descendant of Eve, the first woman, sinking under the inheritance of unrestrained passion, which had been passed on to all; one, too, whom the Lord had not yet redeemed with His own Blood, and from whom He had not yet washed out in His Blood the desire implanted in the hearts of all for unbounded honour even beyond what is right. Thus the woman offended owing to an inherited tendency to wrong.

61. Et quid mirum si mater pro filiorum suorum, quod est tolerabilius quam pro se; quando etiam apostoli ipsi inter se, sicut legimus (Luc. XXII, 24), de sui praelatione certabant?

60. And what wonder if a mother should strive to win preference for her children (which is far better than if she had done it for herself), when even the Apostles themselves, as we read, strove among themselves, as to who should have the preference? Luke 22:24

62. Non debuit igitur medicus omnium destitutam matrem, et aegram adhuc mentem pudoris convicio sauciare; ne postulato sibi superbius denegato, quasi immoderatae petitionis damnata moereret.

61. The physician, therefore, ought not to wound a mother who has been deprived of all, nor a suffering mind, with shameful reproaches, lest when the request had been made and had been proudly denied, she should grieve over the condemnation of her petition as being unreasonable.

63. Denique Dominus qui honorandam sciret esse pietatem, non mulieri, sed filiis ejus respondit dicens: Potestis bibere calicem, quem ego bibiturus sum? Dicentibus autem illis: Possumus; ait illis Jesus: Calicem quidem meum bibetis; sedere autem ad dexteram meam vel ad sinistram non est meum dare vobis, sed quibus paratum est a Patre meo (Matth. XX, 22, 23).

62. Lastly, the Lord, Who knew that a mother's affection is to be honoured, answered not the woman, but her sons, saying: Are you able to drink of the cup that I shall drink of? When they say: We are able, Jesus says to them: You shall drink indeed of My cup; but to sit on My right hand and on My left is not Mine to give to you, but to those for whom it is prepared of My Father. Matthew 20:22-23

64. Quam patiens et clemens Dominus, quam alta sapientia et bona charitas! Volens enim ostendere quia non perfunctoriam rem aliquam discipuli postularent, sed eam quam impetrare non possent, praerogativam ejus paternae honorificentiae reservavit: non metuens, ne quid juri proprio derogaret, qui non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo (Philip. II,

6); simul diligens discipulos, quia, sicut habes, usque in finem dilexit eos (Joan. XIII, 1), noluit iis quos diligeret, videri quod peterent denegasse: sanctus et bonus Dominus, qui mallet aliquid dissimulare de jure, quam de charitate deponere: Charitas enim patiens est, benigna est, non aemulatur, non inflatur, non quaerit quae sua sunt (I Cor. XIII, 4). 563

63. How patient and kind the Lord is; how deep is His wisdom and good His love! For wishing to show that the disciples asked for no slight thing, but one they could not obtain, He reserved His own peculiar rights for His Father’s honour, not fearing to detract anything from His own rights: Who thought it not robbery to be equal with God; Philippians 2:6 and loving, too, His disciples (for He loved them, as it is written, unto the end), John 13:1 He was unwilling to seem to refuse to those whom He loved what they desired; He, I say, the good and holy Lord, Who would rather keep some of His own prerogative secret, than lay aside anything of His love. For charity suffers long, and is kind; charity envies not, and seeks not her own. 1 Corinthians 13:4

65. Denique ut agnoscatis non infirmitatis, sed indulgentiae esse, quia dixit: Non est meum dare vobis; ubi sine matre filii Zebedaei rogant, nihil de Patre dixit; sic enim habes: Non est meum dare vobis, sed quibus paratum est (Matth. X, 40). Ita Marcus evangelista posuit. Ubi vero mater pro filiis rogat, hoc est, secundum Matthaeum: Non est, inquit, meum dare vobis, sed quibus paratum est a Patre meo (Matth. XX, 23), hic addidit: A Patre meo; quia majorem indulgentiam maternus poscebat affectus.

64. Lastly, that you may learn it was no sign of weakness, but rather of tenderness, that He said: It is not Mine to give to you; note that when the sons of Zebedee make the request without their mother, He said nothing about the Father; for thus it is written: It is not Mine to give to you, but those for whom it has been prepared. Mark 10:40 So the Evangelist Mark

has stated it. But when the mother makes this request on her sons' behalf, as we find it in Matthew, He says: It is not Mine to give to you, but to those for whom it has been prepared of My Father. Matthew 20:23 Here He added: of My Father, for a mother's feelings demanded greater tenderness.

66. Quod si putant, dicendo: Quibus paratum est a Patre meo, quia, aut, Patri plus tribuit, aut sibi aliquid derogavit; dicant utrum et illic putent Patri aliquid derogatum, quia dixit in Evangelio Filius de Patre: Pater non judicat quemquam (Joan. V, 22).

65. But if they think that by saying, For whom it has been prepared of My Father, He assigned greater power to His Father, or detracted anything from His own; let them say whether they think there is any detraction from the Father's power, because the Son in the Gospel says of the Father: The Father judges no man. John 5:22

67. Quod si sacrilegum putamus credere quia Pater ita judicium detulit Filio, ut ipse non habeat; habet enim, nec potest amittere quod habet naturaliter divina majestas: sacrilegum utique aestimare debemus quia non potest Filius dare quidquid aut homines mereri possunt, aut quaevis accipere creatura; praesertim cum ipse dixerit: Ego ad Patrem vado, et quodcumque ab eo petieritis in nomine meo, hoc faciam (Joan. XIV, 12, 13). Si enim quod Pater dare potest, Filius non potest, mentita est ergo veritas, et non potest facere quidquid in nomine ejus Pater fuerit obsecratus. Nec enim ideo dixit: Quibus paratum est a Patre meo, ut tantummodo a Patre poscatur: nam omnia quaecumque a Patre fuerint postulata, se donare memoravit. Denique non dixit: Quodcumque a me petieritis, hoc faciam; sed: Quodcumque ab eo petieritis in nomine meo, hoc faciam.

66. But if we think it impious to believe that the Father has handed over all judgment to the Son in such wise that He has it not Himself — for He has it,

and cannot lose what the Divine Majesty has by its very nature, — we ought to consider it equally impious to suppose that the Son cannot give what either men can merit, or any creature can receive; especially as He Himself has said: I go unto My Father, and whatsoever you shall ask of Him in My name, that will I do. John 14:12-13 For if the Son cannot give what the Father can give, the Truth has lied, and cannot do what the Father has been asked for in His name. He therefore did not say: For whom it has been prepared of My Father, in order that requests should be made only of the Father. For all things which are asked of the Father, He has declared that He will give. Lastly, He did not say: Whatsoever you shall ask of Me, that will I do; but: Whatsoever you shall ask of Him in My name, that will I do.

CAPUT VI.

ACCURATIUS PROPOSITAM SOLUTURUS objectionem, contendit memoratam petitionem, si modo in se impossibilis non fuit, possibilem fuisse Christo; maxime cum ipsi omne judicium Pater dederit, quod sine ulla imperfectionis nota intelligendum. Attamen idem postulatum inter impossibilia censendum probat. Quod ut omnino esset possibile, tunc responsum Christi secundum naturam humanam accipiendum tradit, ac loci explicatione declarat. Denique iterum suam confirmat de sessionis hujus impossibilitate responsionem.

CHAPTER 6.

Wishing to answer the above-stated objection somewhat more fully, he maintains that this request, had it not been impossible in itself, would have been possible for Christ to grant; especially as the Father has given all judgment to Him; which gift we must understand to have been given without any feature of imperfection. However, he proves that the request must be reckoned amongst the impossibilities. To make it really possible, he teaches that Christ's answer must be taken in accordance with His human nature, and shows this next by an exposition of the passage. Lastly, he once more confirms the reply he has given on the impossibility of Christ's session.

68. Quaero nunc utrum possibile aliquid humanae conditioni, aut alicui creaturae, an impossibile putent a Zebedaei conjuge et filiis postulatum? Si possibile, quomodo ad sinistram suam vel ad dexteram impertiendae apostolis sedis non habuit potestatem, qui omnia fecit esse, quae non erant?

Aut quomodo non poterat judicare de meritis hominum, cui Pater dedit omne judicium?

67. I ask now whether they think the request made by the wife and sons of Zebedee was possible or impossible to human circumstances, or to any created being? If it was possible, how is it that He Who made all things which were not had not the power of granting a seat to His apostles on His right hand and on His left? Or how was it that He, to Whom the Father gave all judgment, could not judge of men's merits?

69. Notum est quemadmodum dederit (Joan. V, 22): nam quomodo quasi indigens accepit Filius, qui omnia creavit ex nihilo? Quorum igitur naturas fecerat, eorum judicium non habebat? Dedit autem Pater Filio omne judicium; Ut omnes, inquit, honorificent Filium, sicut honorificant Patrem (Ibid., 23). Non igitur potentia Filii, sed cognitio nostra proficit: neque aliquid ad substantiam 564 ejus accedit, sed ad nostram utilitatem, quod a nobis cognoscitur; ut cognoscendo Dei Filium, vitam habeamus aeternam (Joan. XVII, 3).

68. We know well in what way He gave it; for how did the Son, who created all things out of nothing, receive it as though in want? Had He not the judgment of those whose natures He had made? The Father gave all judgment to the Son, that all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father. John 5:23 It is not therefore the power of the Son, but our knowledge of it, that increases; nor does what is learned by us add anything to His being, but only to our advantage; so that by knowing the Son of God, we may have eternal life.

70. Cum autem in cognitione Filii Dei honor illius, noster autem non illius sit profectus, si quis putat quia Dei virtus illo honore cumulatur, necesse est etiam Deum Patrem credat posse cumulari; quia et ipse per cognitionem

nostram clarificatur sicut Filius, juxta quod scriptum est, dicente Filio: Ego te clarificavi super terram (Ibid., 4). Ergo si possibile aliquid erat quod petebatur, in potestate utique Filii fuit.

69. As, then, in our knowledge of the Son of God His honour, but our profit, not His, is concerned; if any one thinks that the power of God is augmented by that honour, He must also believe that God the Father can receive augmentation; for He is glorified by our knowledge of Him, as is the Son: as it is written on the word of the Son: I have glorified You upon the earth. John 17:4 Therefore if that which was asked for was at all possible, it certainly was in the power of the Son to grant it.

71. Sed tamen ostendant, si possibile putant, qui de hominibus aut caeteris creaturis, aut ad dexteram, aut ad sinistram Dei sedeat; Pater enim dicit Filio: Sede ad dexteram meam (Psal. CIX, 1). Itaque si quis ad dexteram Filio sedet, inter ipsum utique et Patrem, ut humano usu loquamur, Filius medius reperitur.

70. Let them show, if they consider it possible, who of men or of other created beings sits either on the right hand or the left of God. For the Father says to the Son: Sit on My right hand. Therefore if any one sits on the right hand of the Son, the Son is found to be sitting (to speak in human wise) between Himself and the Father.

72. Non ergo possibile homini aliquid petebatur, sed noluit dicere quod homines sedere secum non possint; si quidem divinam suam gloriam celari, priusquam resurgeret, non divulgari cupiebat. Nam et supra cum inter famulos suos Moysen et Eliam apparuisset in gloria, monuerat discipulos, ne cui dicerent, quod vidissent (Matth. XVII, 9).

71. A thing impossible for man, then, was asked of Him. But He was unwilling to say that men could not sit with Him; seeing that He desired His

divine glory should be veiled, and not revealed before He rose again. Matthew 17:9 For before this, when He had appeared in glory between His attendants Moses and Elias, He had warned His disciples that they should tell no man what they had seen.

73. Itaque si possibile non erat hominibus vel creaturis caeteris hoc mereri, non debet videri Filius minus posse, quia non dedit apostolis, quod nec Pater hominibus vel creaturis caeteris dedit. Aut dicant cui horum dederit Pater. Non utique angelis, de quibus Scriptura dicit quia omnes angeli stabant in circuitu sedis (Apoc. VII, 11). Denique Gabriel se stare dixit, sicut habes: Ego sum Gabriel, qui asto ante Dominum (Luc. I, 19).

72. Therefore if it was not possible for men or other created beings to merit this, the Son ought not to seem to have less power because He gave not to His apostles, what the Father has not given to men or other created beings. Or else let them say to which of them He has given it. Certainly not to the angels; of whom Scripture says that all the angels stood round about the throne. Revelation 7:11 Thus Gabriel said that he stands, as it says: I am Gabriel that stand before God. Luke 1:19

74. Non ergo angelis, non senioribus qui adorant sedentem; illi enim non super sedem majestatis sedent: sed, ut dixit Scriptura, in circuitu sedis; sedes enim aliae viginti et quatuor sunt, ut habes in Apocalypsi Joannis: Et supra sedem viginti quatuor seniores sedentes (Apoc. IV, 4). In Evangelio quoque ipse Dominus dicit: Cum sederit Filius homnis in sede majestatis suae, sedebitis et ipsi super sedes duodecim, judicantes duodecim tribus Israel (Matth. XIX, 28). Non ergo sedis suae dixit apostolis dari posse consortium, sed alias illas sedes esse duodecim; quas tamen non pro corporali consessu, sed pro successu spiritalis gratiae aestimare debemus.

73. Not to the angels, then, has He given it, nor to the elders who worship Him that sits; for they do not sit upon the seat of majesty, but as the Scripture has said, round about the throne; for there are four and twenty other seats, as we have it in the Revelation of John: And upon the seats four and twenty elders sitting. Revelation 4:4 In the Gospel also the Lord Himself says: When the Son of Man shall sit in the throne of His glory, you also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. Matthew 19:28 He did not say that a share in His own throne could be given to the apostles, but that there were those other twelve thrones; which, however, we ought not to think of as referring to actual sitting down, but as showing the happy issue of spiritual grace.

75. Denique in libro Regnorum dixit Michaeas propheta: Vidi Dominum Deum Israel sedentem super thronum suum, et omnis militia coeli stabat circa eum, ad dexteram ejus et ad sinistram (III Reg. XXII, 19). Quomodo igitur stantibus angelis ad dexteram vel ad sinistram Domini Dei, stante omni militia coelesti, sedebunt homines ad dexteram Dei, vel ad sinistram, quibus pro virtutis praemio angelorum similitudo promittitur, sicut Dominus dicit: Eritis sicut angeli in coelo (Matth. XXII, 30)? Sicut angeli, dicit, non plus quam angeli.

74. Lastly, in the Book of the Kings, Micaiah the prophet said: I saw the Lord God of Israel sitting on His throne, and all the host of heaven standing around Him, on His right hand and on His left. 1 Kings 22:19 How then, when the angels stand on the right hand and on the left of the Lord God, when all the host of heaven stands, shall men sit on the right hand of God or on His left, to whom is promised as a reward for virtue likeness to the angels, as the Lord says: You shall be as the angels in heaven? Matthew 22:30 As the angels, He says, not more than the angels.

76. Si ergo nihil plus dedit Pater quam Filius, nihil utique minus dedit Filius quam Pater: nihil igitur minus Filius potest quam Pater.

75. If, then, the Father has given nothing more than the Son, the Son certainly has given nothing less than the Father. Therefore the Son can in no way be less than the Father.

77. Ponite tamen possibile impetratu hominibus 565 quod posceretur, quid est quod ait: Sedere autem ad dexteram meam vel ad sinistram non est meum dare vobis (Matth. XX, 23)? Quid est meum? Supra dixit: Calicem quidem meum bibetis; infra posuit: Non est meum dare vobis; et supra meum, et infra meum dixit, nec immutavit. Ergo superiora docent propter quid dixerit meum.

76. Suppose, however, that it had been possible for men to obtain what was desired; what does it mean when He says: But to sit on My right hand and on My left is not Mine to give to you? Matthew 20:23 What is Mine? Above He said: You shall drink indeed of My cup; and again He added: It is not Mine to give to you. Above He said Mine, and again lower down He said Mine. He made no change. And so the earlier passages tell us why He said Mine.

78. Rogatus enim a muliere quasi homo, ut ad dexteram vel ad sinistram suam filios ejus sedere pateretur; quia illa quasi hominem rogaverat, et Dominus quasi tantummodo homo de sua passione respondit: Potestis bibere calicem, quem ego bibiturus sum (Ibid., 22)?

77. For being asked by a woman as man to allow her sons to sit on His right hand and His left, because she asked Him as man, the Lord also as though only man answered concerning His Passion: Are you able to drink of the cup that I shall drink of? Matthew 20:22

79. Itaque quia secundum carnem de passione sui corporis loquebatur, demonstrare voluit quod secundum carnem quidem subeundae passionis nobis exemplum ac similitudinem derelinqueret, secundum humanam autem conditionem non sedis supernae consortia donaret. Hoc est enim quod dixit: Non est meum; sicut alibi: Mea doctrina non est mea (Joan. VII, 16); non est enim, inquit, secundum carnem mea: quia quae divina sunt, non sunt carnis eloquia.

78. Therefore because He spoke according to the flesh of the Passion of His Body, He wished to show that according to the flesh He left behind Him an example and pattern to us of the endurance of suffering; but that according to His position as man He could not grant them fellowship in the throne above. This is the reason why He said: It is not Mine; as also in another place He says: My doctrine is not Mine. John 7:16 It is not, He says, spoken after my flesh; for the words which are divine belong not to the flesh.

80. Indulgentiam autem suam circa discipulos quos diligeret, quam expresse revelavit, praemittens: Calicem quidem meum bibetis? Etenim quia non debebat id dare quod petierant, aliud proposuit; ut prius commemoraret quid iis tribueret, quam quid negaret: quo magis aequitatem sibi petitionis, quam studium Dominicae liberalitatis intelligerent defuisse.

79. But how plainly He showed His tenderness for His disciples, whom He loved, saying first: Will you drink of My cup? For as He could not grant what they sought, He offered them something else, so that He might mention what He would assign to them, before He denied them anything; in order that they might understand that the failure lay more in the equity of their request to Him, than in the wish of their Lord to show kindness.

81. Calicem quidem, inquit, meum bibetis, hoc est, passionem quidem quae carnis meae est, non negabo; quod enim humanae assumptionis habeo,

potestis imitari: donavi vobis victoriam passionis, haereditatem crucis: Sedere autem ad dexteram meam, vel ad sinistram, non est meum dare vobis. Non dixit: Non est meum dare, sed, non est meum dare vobis, hoc est, non sibi potestatem deesse asserens, sed meritum creaturis.

80. You shall indeed drink of My cup, He says; that is, I will not refuse you the suffering, which My flesh will undergo. For all that I have taken on Myself as man, you can imitate. I have granted you the victory of suffering, the inheritance of the cross. ‘But to sit on My right hand and on My left is not Mine to give to you.’ He did not say, It is not Mine to give, but: It is not Mine to give to you; meaning by this, not that He lacked the power, but that His creatures were wanting in merit.

82. Accipe aliter: Non est meum dare vobis. Quod est, non est meum, qui veni humilitatem docere: non est meum, qui veni non ministrari, sed ministrare: non est meum, qui justitiam servo, non gratiam.

81. Or take in another way the words: It is not Mine to give to you, that is, It is not Mine, for I came to teach humility; it is not Mine, for I came, not to be ministered unto, but to minister; it is not Mine, for I show justice, not favour.

83. Denique ad Patrem referens, addidit: Quibus paratum est; ut ostenderet Patrem quoque non petitionibus deferre solere, sed meritis, quia Deus personarum acceptor non est (Act. X, 34). Unde et Apostolus ait: Quos praescivit, et praedestinavit (Rom. VIII, 29); non enim ante praedestinavit, quam praesciret: sed quorum merita praescivit, eorum praemia praedestinavit.

82. Then, speaking of the Father, He added: For whom it has been prepared, to show that the Father also is not wont to give heed merely to requests, but to merits; for God is not a respecter of persons. Acts 10:34 Wherefore also

the Apostle says: Whom He did foreknow, He also did predestinate. Romans 8:29 He did not predestinate them before He knew them, but He did predestinate the reward of those whose merits He foreknew.

84. Jure igitur reprehenditur mulier, quae et impossibilia et speciali quodam privilegio ab eo Domino postulavit, qui ea quae sanctis judicavit esse donanda, non duobus apostolis, sed omnibus discipulis, etiam sine cujusquam precatione, voluntaria sui largitate contulerit, sicut scriptum est: Duodecim vos sedebitis super sedes, judicantes duodecim tribus Israel (Matth. XIX, 28). 566

83. Rightly then is the woman checked, who demanded what was impossible, as a special kind of privilege from Him the Lord, Who of His own free gift granted not only to two apostles, but to all the disciples, those things which He had adjudged to be given to the saints; and that too without a prayer from any one, as it is written: You shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. Matthew 19:28

85. Ergo etiamsi possibile putemus postulatum fuisse, calumniae locus non est; tamen cum legerim Seraphim stare (Esai. VI, 2), quomodo possum quod homines ad dexteram vel ad sinistram Filio Dei sedeant, arbitrari? Supra Cherubim Dominus sedet, sicut habes: Qui sedes super Cherubim, appare (Psal. LXXIX, 2); quomodo apostoli super Cherubim sedebunt?

84. Therefore, although we may think the demand to have been possible, there is no room for false attacks. However, when I read that the seraphim stand, Isaiah 6:2 how can I suppose that men may sit on the right hand or the left of the Son of God? The Lord sits upon the cherubim, as it says: You that sits upon the cherubim, show myself. And how shall the apostles sit upon the cherubim?

86. Et hoc tamen colligo non ex meo ingenio, sed ex Dominicae vocis oraculo; ipse enim Dominus in posterioribus apostolos commendans Patri, ait: Pater, quos dedisti mihi, volo ut ubi ego sum, et illi sint mecum (Joan. XVII, 24). Utique si judicasset quia divinam sedem Pater hominibus daret, dixisset: Volo ut ubi ego sedeo, et illi sedeant mecum; Sed volo, inquit, ut sint mecum, non ut sedeant mecum; et ubi ego, non quomodo ego.

85. And I do not come to this conclusion of my own mind, but because of the utterances of our Lord's own mouth. For the Lord Himself later on, in commending the apostles to the Father, says: Father, I will that they also whom You have given Me be with Me where I am. John 17:24 But if He had thought that the Father would give the divine throne to men, He would have said: I will that where I sit, they also may sit with Me. But He says: I will that they be with Me, not that they may sit with Me; and where I am, not as I am.

87. Deinde sequitur: Ut videant claritatem meam. Nec hic dixit: Ut habeant claritatem meam, sed ut videant; servus enim videt, Dominus possidet; sicut et David docuit dicens: Ut videam voluptatem Domini (Psal. XXVI, 4). Et ipse Dominus in Evangelio revelavit asserens: Beati mundi corde, ipsi enim Deum videbunt (Matth. V, 8). Videbunt, inquit, non super Cherubim cum Deo sedebunt.

86. Then follow the words: That they may see My glory. Here too He did not say: that they may have My glory, but that they may see it. For the servant sees, the Lord possesses; as David also has taught us, saying: That I may see the delight of the Lord. And the Lord Himself in the Gospel has revealed it, stating: Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. Matthew 5:8 They shall see, He says; not They shall sit with God upon the cherubim.

88. Desinant ergo viliora secundum divinitatem aestimare de Dei Filio, ne viliora quoque de Patre aestiment. Qui enim male crediderit de Filio, non potest bene sentire de Patre: qui male crediderit de Spiritu, non potest bene sentire de Filio. Ubi enim una dignitas, una gloria, una charitas, una majestas est; in commune derogatur, quidquid in aliquo putaveris derogandum: jam enim non erit plenitudo quam discernas et dividas in aliquas portiones.

87. Let them therefore cease to think little of the Son of God according to His Godhead, lest they should think little also of the Father. For he who believes wrongly of the Son cannot think rightly of the Father; he who thinks wrongly of the Spirit cannot think rightly of the Son. For where there is one dignity, one glory, one love, one majesty, whatsoever you think is to be withdrawn in the case of any one of the Three Persons, is withdrawn from all alike. For that can never have completeness which you can separate and divide into various portions.

CAPUT VII.

OBJECTIO PETITA EX hoc loco: Dilexisti eos, sicut et me dilexisti, ut diluatur, primo Arianorum expositionis impietas demonstratur, deinde comparantur eadem verba cum similibus, ac demum totus locus consideratur. Hinc deducitur Christi missionem, etsi secundum carnem accipienda est, illi non officere. Quo probato, qui fiat divina missio describitur.

CHAPTER 7.

Objection is taken to the following passage: You have loved them, as You have loved Me. To remove it, he shows first the impiety of the Arian explanation; then compares these words with others; and lastly, takes the whole passage into consideration. Hence he gathers that the mission of Christ, although it is to be received according to the flesh, is not to His detriment. When this is proved he shows how the divine mission takes place.

89. [Alias cap. III.] Exsistunt tamen, Imperator auguste, qui hanc divinae unitatem substantiae negare cupientes, extenuare studeant Patris et Filii charitatem; quia scriptum est: Et dilexisti eos, sicut et me dilexisti (Joan. XVII, 23). Quod cum dicunt, qui aliud agunt, nisi inter Dei Filium et homines aequalitatem quamdam comparationis inducunt?

88. There are some, O Emperor Augustus, who in their desire to deny the unity of the divine Substance, strive to make little of the love of the Father and the Son, because it is written: You have loved them, as You have loved Me. John 17:23 But when they say this, what else do they do but adopt a likeness of comparison between the Son of God and men?

90. Numquid sic diligi possunt a Deo homines quemadmodum Filius, in quo complacuit Pater? Ille per se complacet, nos per ipsum: in quibus enim Deus Filium suum ad imaginem suam cernit, eos per Filium adsciscit in gratiam filiorum; ut quemadmodum per imaginem ad 567 imaginem sumus, sic per generationem Filii in adoptionem vocemur. Alius igitur naturae amor sempiternus, alius gratiae.

89. Can men indeed be loved by God as the Son is, in Whom the Father is well-pleased? Matthew 3:17 He is well-pleasing in Himself; we through Him. For those in whom God sees His own Son after His own likeness, He admits through His Son into the favour of sons. So that as we go through likeness unto likeness, so through the Generation of the Son are we called unto adoption. The eternal love of God's Nature is one thing, that of grace is another.

91. Aut si ex verbis faciunt quaestionem, quia scriptum est: Et dilexisti eos, sicut et me dilexisti; et comparationem factam putant: ergo et illud comparative dictum putant: Estote misericordes, sicut et Pater vester qui est in coelis, misericors est (Luc. VI, 36); et alibi: Estote perfecti, sicut et Pater meus, qui in coelis est, perfectus est (Matth. V, 48). Quod si ille secundum plenitudinem majestatis suae perfectus est, nos autem perfecti secundum virtutis accedentis profectum; etiam Filius diligitur a Patre secundum semper manentis plenitudinem charitatis: in nobis autem charitatem Dei virtutis emeretur profectus.

90. And if they start a debate on the words that are written: And You have loved them, as You have loved Me, and think a comparison is intended; they must think that the following also was said by way of comparison: Be merciful, as your Father Which is in heaven is merciful; Luke 6:36 and elsewhere: Be perfect, as My Father Which is in heaven is perfect. Matthew 5:48 But if He is perfect in the fullness of His glory, we are but perfect

according to the growth of virtue within us. The Son also is loved by the Father according to the fullness of a love that ever abides, but in us growth in grace merits the love of God.

92. Vides igitur quam gratiam Deus dederit hominibus, et tu Patris et Filii vis dissolvere naturalem et individuam charitatem; et tu verba adhuc discutis, ubi unitatem majestatis advertis?

91. You see, then, how God has given grace to men, and do you wish to dissever the natural and indivisible love of the Father and the Son? And do you still strive to make nothing of words, where you note the mention of a unity of majesty?

93. Vide totum hunc locum, ex cujus affectu loquatur; habes enim dicentem ipsum: Clarifica me, Pater, claritate ea quam habui, priusquam mundus esset, apud te (Joan. XVII, 5). Vide quia ex primi hominis loquatur affectu; quia nobis ea petitione deposcit, quae ante peccatum in paradiso homo meminerit esse collata, ut et latroni in passione memoravit: Amen, amen dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in paradiso (Luc. XXIII, 13). Haec est ante mundum claritas. Mundum autem pro hominibus dixit, sicut habes: Ecce mundus totus post ipsum abit (Joan. XII, 19); et alibi: Ut cognoscat hic mundus quia tu me misisti (Joan. XIV, 31).

92. Consider the whole of this passage, and see from what standpoint He speaks; for you hear Him saying: Father, glorify Me with the glory which I had with You before the world was. John 17:5 See how He speaks from the standpoint of the first man. For He begs for us in that request those things which, as Man, He remembered were granted in paradise before the Fall, as also He spoke of it to the thief at His Passion: Verily, verily, I say unto you, today shall you be with Me in paradise. Luke 23:43 This is the glory before the world was. But He used the word world instead men, as also you have

it: Lo! The whole world goes after Him; John 12:19 and again That the world may know that You have sent Me. John 17:21

94. Et tamen ut scires magnum Deum et salutarem et omnipotentem Dei Filium; indicium suae majestatis admiscuit dicendo: Et mea omnia tua sunt, et tua mea (Ibid. 10). Omnia habet, et tu missum esse ad injuriam derivas?

93. But that you might know the great God, even the life-giving and Almighty Son of God, He has added a proof of His majesty by saying: And all Mine are Yours, and Yours are Mine. John 17:10 He has all things, and do you turn aside the fact that He was sent, to wrong Him?

95. Qui si secundum carnem non accipis missum, ut Apostolus dixit (Rom. VIII, 3), et ex verbo simplici praejudicium struis, quo dicas inferiores a superioribus mitti solere: quid ad illa respondes, quia Filius ad homines missus est? Nam si minorem putas eum qui mittitur, eo videlicet a quo mittitur; disce quod et minor majorem misit, et majores ad minores missi sunt. Nam et Tobias Raphaelem archangelum misit (Tobiae IX, 3), et angelus ad Balaam missus est (Num. XXII, 22), et Dei Filius ad Judaeos (Matth. XXV, 24).

94. But if you do not accept the truth of His mission according to the flesh, as the Apostle spoke of it, Romans 8:3 and dost raise out of a mere word a decision against it, to enable you to say that inferiors are wont to be sent by superiors; what answer will you give to the fact that the Son was sent to men? For if you think that he who is sent is inferior to him by whom he is sent, you must learn also that an inferior has sent a superior, and that superiors have been sent to inferiors. For Tobias sent Raphael the archangel, Tobit 9:3 and an angel was sent to Balaam, Numbers 22:22 and the Son of God to the Jews.

96. Numquid ergo minor etiam Judaeis Dei Filius, ad quos mittebatur? De ipso enim scriptum est: Novissime autem misit eis filium suum unicum dicens: Verebuntur filium meum (Matth. XXI, 37). Et vide quia ante servos, postea filium nominavit; ut scias quod Deus Filius unigenitus secundum divinitatis potentiam nec nomen habet, nec consortium commune cum servis: reverendus mittitur, non cum famulis conferendus. 568

95. Or was the Son of God inferior to the Jews to whom He was sent? For of Him it is written: Last of all He sent unto them His only Son, saying, They will reverence My Son. Matthew 21:37 And mark that He mentioned first the servants, then the Son, that you may know that God, the only-begotten Son according to the power of His Godhead, has neither name nor lot in common with servants. He is sent forth to be reverenced, not to be compared with the household.

97. Et bene addidit, meum, ut non unus de multis, nec degeneris naturae, nec minoris alicujus potestatis: sed verus a vero, et paternae imago venisse substantiae crederetur.

96. And rightly did He add the word My, that we might believe He came, not as one of many, nor as one of a lower nature or of some inferior power, but as true from Him that is true, as the Image of the Father’s Substance.

98. Esto tamen, minor sit qui mittitur, eo a quo mittitur; ergo et Pilato minor Christus, quoniam Pilatus misit eum ad Herodem. Sed sermo non praejudicat potestati: Scriptura, quae missum dicit a Patre, missum dicit a praeside.

97. Suppose, however, that he who is sent is inferior to him by whom he is sent. Christ then was inferior to Pilate; for Pilate sent Him to Herod. But a word does not prejudice His power. Scripture, which says that He was sent from the Father, says that He was sent from a ruler.

99. Unde si sobrie de Dei Filio quae digna sunt, opinemur; ideo missum intelligere debemus, quia ex illo incomprehensibili inenarrabilique secreto majestatis profundae dedit se comprehendendum pro captu nostro mentibus nostris Dei Verbum, non solum cum se exinaniret, sed etiam cum habitaret in nobis, sicut scriptum est: Quoniam inhabitabo in illis (II Cor. VI, 16). Denique et alibi habes quia Deus dixit: Venite, descendamus, et confundamus linguas eorum (Gen. XI, 7). Non enim Deus de loco aliquando descendit, qui ait: Ego coelum et terram compleo (Jerem. XXIII, 24); sed in eo descendere videtur, si nostros Dei Verbum penetret affectus, sicut dixit propheta: Parate viam Domino, rectas facite semitas ejus; (Esai. XL, 3); ut quemadmodum ipse promisit, veniens cum Patre, apud nos faciat mansionem. Evidens est igitur quomodo veniat.

98. Wherefore, if we sensibly hold to those things which be worthy of the Son of God, we ought to understand Him to have been sent in such a way that the Word of God, out of the incomprehensible and ineffable mystery of the depths of His majesty, gave Himself for comprehension to our minds, so far as we could lay hold of Him, not only when He emptied Himself, but also when He dwelt in us, as it is written: I will dwell in them. 2 Corinthians 6:16 Elsewhere also it stands that God said: Go to, let us go down and confound their language. Genesis 11:7 God, indeed, never descends from any place; for He says: I fill heaven and earth. Jeremiah 23:24 But He seems to descend when the Word of God enters our hearts, as the prophet has said: Prepare the way of the Lord, make His paths straight. Isaiah 40:3 We are to do this, so that, as He Himself promised, He may come together with the Father and make His abode with us. John 14:23 It is clear, then, how He comes.

CAPUT VIII.

CHRISTO IN QUANTUM verus est Dei Filius, Dominum non esse, sed in quantum homo est; ut verbis ejusdem modo Patrem, modo Dominum compellantis significatur. Quot haereses uno jugulentur Scripturae versiculo. Distinguenda igitur quae Christo vel ut Dei vel ut Davidis filio conveniant; illi enim sub ultimo tantum nomine ascribendum, quod servus fuerit. Ad extremum complures locos demonstrat non nisi secundum incarnationem accipi posse.

CHAPTER 8.

Christ, so far as He is true Son of God, has no Lord, but only so far as He is Man; as is shown by His words in which He addressed at one time the Father, at another the Lord. How many heresies are silenced by one verse of Scripture! We must distinguish between the things that belong to Christ as Son of God or as Son of David. For under the latter title only must we ascribe it to Him that He was a servant. Lastly, he points out that many passages cannot be taken except as referring to the Incarnation.

100. Unde et evidens est quomodo dominum dicat, quem Patrem novit; ait enim: Confiteor tibi, Pater, Domine coeli et terrae (Matth. XI, 25). Ante Patrem dixit Sapientia suum, postea creaturae Dominum nuncupavit. Itaque dominatum non esse ubi vera progenies est, ipse Dominus ostendit in Evangelio suo, dicens: Quid vobis videtur de Christo? cujus Filius est? Dicunt ei: David. Ait illis Jesus: Quomodo ergo David in spiritu vocat eum Dominum, dicens: Dixit Dominus Domino meo: Sede a dextris meis? Et

addidit: Si ergo David in spiritu vocat eum Dominum, quomodo filius ejus est? Et nemo poterat ei respondere verbum (Matth. XXII, 42 et seq.).

99. Wherefore also it is plain how He calls Him Lord, Whom He knew as Father. For He says: I confess to You, Father, Lord of heaven and earth. Matthew 11:25 First Wisdom spoke of His own Father, and then proclaimed Him Lord of creation. For this reason the Lord shows in His Gospel that no lordship is exercised where there is a true offspring, saying: What do you think of Christ? Whose Son is He? They say unto Him, The son of David. Jesus says to them, How then does David in spirit call Him Lord, saying: The Lord said to my Lord: Sit on My right hand? Then he added: If David in spirit then call Him Lord, how is He his son? And no man was able to answer Him a word. Matthew 22:42-46

101. O quam caute propter Arianos etiam in hoc testimonio Dominus fidei prospexit! Non enim dixit: Vocat eum spiritus dominum: sed quia David dixit in spiritu; ut cujus secundum carnem 569 Filius est, David scilicet, ejus etiam secundum divinitatem et Dominus et Deus crederetur. Vides igitur quia nomen pietatis et dominii discretum est.

100. With what care did the Lord provide for the faith in this witness because of the Arians! For He did not say: The spirit calls Him Lord, but that David spoke in spirit; in order that men might believe that as He is his, that is, David’s son according to the flesh, so also He is his Lord and God according to His Godhead. You see, then, that there is a distinction between the titles that are used of relationship and of lordship.

102. Et bene Dominus suum quidem Patrem coeli autem et terrae Dominum praedicavit; ut tu cum legis et Patrem et Dominum, intelligas Patrem Filii, et Dominum creaturae. In alio praerogativa naturae est, in alio auctoritas potestatis; formam enim servi accipiens, eo utique Dominum vocat, quo

servitutem suscepit, aequalis in Dei forma, servus in corporis: servitus enim carnis, dominatus autem divinitatis est. Unde et Apostolus ait: Deus Domini nostri Jesu Christi, pater gloriae (II Cor. I, 3), hoc est, Deum assumptionis humanae asserens, Patrem autem gloriae. Num enim duos filios habuit Deus Christum et gloriam? Minime. Ergo si unus Dei Filius Christus, utique Christus est gloria. Quid autem ei derogas, qui Patris gloria est?

101. And rightly did the Lord speak of His own Father, but of the Lord of heaven and earth; so that you, when you read of the Father and the Lord, may understand it is the Father of the Son, and the Lord of Creation. In the one title rests the claim of nature, in the other the authority to rule. For taking on Himself the form of a servant, He calls Him Lord, because He has submitted to service; being equal to Him in the form of God, but being a servant in the form of His body: for service is the due of the flesh, but lordship is the due of the Godhead. Wherefore also the Apostle says: The God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, 2 Corinthians 1:3 that is, terming Him God of the adoption of humanity but the Father of glory. Did God have two Sons, Christ and Glory? Certainly not. Therefore if there is one Son of God, even Christ, Christ is Glory. Why do you strive to belittle Him who is the glory of the Father?

103. Si ergo et Filius gloria est, et Pater gloria; quia Pater gloriae non potest aliud esse quam gloria: non divisio gloriarum, sed una est gloria. Itaque ad proprietatem naturae gloria refertur, dominatus autem ad suscepti corporis servitutem. Si enim caro etiam justi animae subdita est, sicut scriptum est: Castigo corpus meum, et servituti redigo (I Cor. IX, 27), quanto magis subjecta et divinitati, de qua dicitur: Quoniam universa serviunt tibi (Psal. CXVIII, 91)?

102. If then the Son is glory, and the Father is glory (for the Father of glory cannot be anything else than glory), there is no separation of glories, but

glory is one. Thus glory is referred to its own proper nature, but lordship to the service of the body that was assumed. For if the flesh is subject to the soul of a just man as it is written: I chastise my body and bring it into subjection; 1 Corinthians 9:27 how much more is it subject to the Godhead, of Which it is said: For all things serve You?

104. Una autem quaestione et Sabellianos et Photinianos et Arianos Dominus exclusit. Nam cum Dominum dixisse Domino dicit, Sabellius excluditur, qui eumdem Patrem vult esse quem Filium. Excluditur Photinus, qui secundum carnem judicat; quia dominus David regis non poterat esse, nisi qui Deus est; scriptum est enim: Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et illi soli servies (Deut. VI, 13). Numquid contra Legem propheta sentiret, qui sub Lege regnaret? Excluditur Arius, qui Filium sedere audit ad dexteram Patris; ut si ex usu argumentetur humano, ipse se perimat, et venenum sacrilegae disputationis suae in se refundat, ut dum inaequalitatem Patris et Filii ex consuetudine hominum interpretatur, in utroque a vero devius, eum praeferat cui derogat, confessurus priorem quem audit ad dexteram. Excluditur etiam Manichaeus: non enim negat esse se David filium secundum carnem; ut pote qui clamantibus caecis: Jesu, fili David, miserere nobis (Matth. XX, 30); et delectatus est fide, et stetit et curavit eos: sed negat hoc suae esse aeternitatis, si David solius filius a perfidis nominetur.

103. By one question the Lord has shut out both Sabellians and Photinians and Arians. For when He said that the Lord spoke to the Lord, Sabellius is set aside, who will have it that the same Person is both Father and Son. Photinus is set aside, who thinks of Him merely as man; for none could be Lord of David the King, but He Who is God, for it is written: You shall worship the Lord your God, and Him only shall you serve. Deuteronomy 6:13 Would the prophet who ruled under the Law act contrary to the Law? Arius is set aside, who hears that the Son sits on the right hand of the

Father; so that if he argues from human ways, he refutes himself, and makes the poison of his blasphemous arguments to flow back upon himself. For in interpreting the inequality of the Father and the Son by the analogy of human habits (wandering from the truth in either case), he puts Him first Whom he makes little of, confessing Him to be the First, Whom he hears to be at the right hand. The Manichæan also is set aside, for he does not deny that He is the Son of David according to the flesh, Who, at the cry of the blind men, Jesus, Son of David, have mercy on us, Matthew 20:30 was pleased at their faith and stood and healed them. But He does deny that this refers to His eternity, if He is called Son of David alone by those who are false.

105. Nam Filius Dei est contra Hebionem, Filius David est contra Manichaeos: Filius Dei est contra Photinum, Filius David est contra Marcionem: Filius Dei est contra Paulum Samosatenum: 570 Filius David est contra Valentinum: Filius Dei est contra Arium atque Sabellium gentilis erroris haeredes: Dominus David est contra Judaeos, qui Dei Filium in carne cernentes, hominem tantummodo impio furore credebant.

104. For Son of God is against Ebion, Son of David, is against the Manichees; Son of God is against Photinus, Son of David is against Marcion; Son of God is against Paul of Samosata, Son of David is against Valentinus; Son of God is against Arius and Sabellius, the inheritors of heathen errors. Lord of David is against the Jews, who beholding the Son of God in the flesh, in impious madness believed Him to be only man.

106. Sed Ecclesiastica fide et Dei Patris et David idem atque unus est Filius; quia incarnationis Dei mysterium universae salus est creaturae; secundum quod scriptum est: Ut sine Deo pro omnibus gustaret mortem (Hebr. II, 9), id est, quod creatura omnis sine passione aliqua divinitatis

Dominici sanguinis redimenda sit pretio, ut alibi habet: Omnis creatura liberabitur a servitute corruptionis (Rom. VIII, 21).

105. But in the faith of the Church one and the same is both Son of God the Father and Son of David. For the mystery of the Incarnation of God is the salvation of the whole of creation, according to that which is written: That without God He should taste death for every man; Hebrews 2:9 that is, that every creature might be redeemed without any suffering at the price of the blood of the Lord's Divinity, as it stands elsewhere: Every creature shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption. Romans 8:21

107. Aliud est igitur secundum divinam substantiam, aliud secundum susceptionem carnis Filium nominari: nam secundum generationem divinam Deo Patri aequalis est Filius, et secundum susceptionem corporis Deo Patri servus est; quia formam servi, inquit (Phil. II, 7), accepit: unus tamen atque idem est Filius. Contra autem sancto patriarchae David secundum gloriam suam Dominus est, secundum corporalis successionis seriem filius est, non deficiens a se, sed nostrae jus sibi adoptionis acquirens.

106. It is one thing to be named Son according to the divine Substance, it is another thing to be so called according to the adoption of human flesh. For, according to the divine Generation, the Son is equal to God the Father; and, according to the adoption of a body, He is a servant to God the Father. For, it says, He took upon Him the form of a servant. Philippians 2:7 The Son is, however, one and the same. On the other hand, according to His glory, He is Lord to the holy patriarch David, but his Son in the line of actual descent, not abandoning anything of His own, but acquiring for Himself the rights that go with the adoption into our race.

108. Nec solum ex genere David servitutem suscepit in persona hominis; sed etiam ex nomine, sicut habes: Inveni David servum meum; et alibi: Ecce ego mittam ad vos servum meum (Zach. III, 8), Oriens nomen est ei (Ibid. VI, 12). Et ipse Filius ait: Sic dicit Dominus, qui finxit me ex utero servum sibi, et dixit mihi: Magnum tibi est vocari puerum meum. Ecce posui te in testamentum generis mei, in lucem gentium; ut sis in salutem usque ad extremum terrae (Esai XLIX, 6 et seq.). Cui hoc dicitur, nisi Christo? qui cum in forma Dei esset, exinanivit se, et formam servi accepit (Phil. II, 6). Quid est in Dei forma, nisi in divinitatis plenitudine?

107. Not only does He undergo service in the character of man by reason of His descent from David, but also by reason of His name, as it is written: I have found David My Servant; and elsewhere: Behold I will send unto you My Servant, the Orient is His name. Zechariah 3:8 And the Son Himself says: Thus says the Lord, that formed Me from the womb to be His servant, and said to Me: It is a great thing for You to be called My Servant. Behold I have set You up for a witness to My people, and a light to the Gentiles, that You may be for salvation unto the ends of the earth. Isaiah 49:5-6 To whom is this said, if not to Christ? Who being in the form of God, emptied Himself and took upon Him the form of a servant. Philippians 2:6-7 But what can be in the form of God, except that which exists in the fullness of the Godhead?

109. Disce igitur quid sit: Formam servi accepit, id est, plenitudinem perfectionis humanae, plenitudinem obedientiae. Ideoque dicit in psalmo trigesimo: Statuisti in loco spatioso pedes meos. Super omnes inimicos meos factus sum opprobrium. Illustra faciem tuam super servum tuum (Psal. XXX, 9, 12 et 17). Servus dictus est homo, in quo sanctificatus est: servus homo, in quo unctus est: servus homo, in quo factus sub Lege, factus ex Virgine est; et ut compendio dicam, servus dictus est, in quo matrem

habet, sicut scriptum est: O Domine, ego servus tuus, ego servus tuus, et filius ancillae tuae (Psal. CXV, 7); et alibi: Afflictus sum et humiliatus sum nimis (Psal. XXXVII, 9).

108. Learn, then, what this means: He took upon Him the form of a servant. It means that He took upon Him all the perfections of humanity in their completeness, and obedience in its completeness. And so it says in the thirtieth Psalm: You have set my feet in a large room. I am made a reproach above all mine enemies. Make Your face to shine upon Your servant. Servant means the Man in whom He was sanctified; it means the Man in whom He was anointed; it means the Man in whom He was made under the law, made of the Virgin; and, to put it briefly, it means the Man in whose person He has a mother, as it is written: O Lord, I am Your Servant, I am Your Servant, and the Son of Your hand-maid; and again: I am cast down and sore humbled.

110. Quis nimis humiliatus est, nisi Christus, qui venit ut omnes liberaret per obedientiam? Sicut enim per inobedientiam unius hominis peccatores constituti sunt plurimi, ita et per unius obedientiam justi constituentur multi (Rom. V, 19). Quis calicem 571 salutarem (Psal. CXV, 13) accepit, Christus princeps sacerdotum, an David, qui neque sacerdotium habuit, neque passionem subiit? Quis sacrificavit hostiam laudis?

109. Who is sore humbled, but Christ, Who came to free all through His obedience? For as by one man’s disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous. Romans 5:19 Who received the cup of salvation? Christ the High Priest, or David who never held the priesthood, nor endured suffering? Who offered the sacrifice of Thanksgiving?

111. Sed si hoc parum est, accipe aliud: Custodi animam meam, quoniam ego sanctus sum (Psal. LXXXV, 2). Numquid de se hoc diceret David? Sed ille dicit, qui ait: Non derelinques animam meam in inferno, nec dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem (Psal. XV, 10). Idem ergo utrumque dicit.

110. But that is insufficient; take again: Preserve My soul, for I am holy. Did David say this of himself? Nay, He says it, Who also says: You will not leave My soul in hell, neither will You allow Your Holy One to see corruption. The Same then says both of these.

112. Addidit vero: Salvum fac servum tuum (Psal. LXXXV, 2); et infra: Da postestatem puero tuo, et filio ancillae tuae (Ibid. 16); et alibi, id est, in Ezechiele: Et suscitabo super eos pastorem unum, et reget eos servus meus David. Ipse pascet eos, et erit eorum pastor: et ego Dominus ero illis in Deum, et servus meus David in medio eorum princeps (Ezech. XXIV, 23, 24). Utique David jam defunctus erat, filius Jesse. De Christo itaque dicit, qui propter nos filius ancillae factus est, secundum formam hominis; nam secundum divinam generationem non matrem habet, sed Patrem: nec corporalis ventris est fructus, sed sempiterna Dei virtus.

111. He has added further: Save Your Servant; and, further on: Give Your strength to Your servant, and to the Son of Your handmaid; and, elsewhere, that is, in Ezekiel: And I will set up one Shepherd over them, and He shall rule them, even My Servant David. He shall feed them, and He shall be their Shepherd. And I the Lord will be their God, and My Servant David a prince among them. Ezekiel 34:23-24 Now David the Son of Jesse was already dead. Therefore he speaks of Christ, Who for our sakes was made the Son of a handmaiden in the form of man; for according to His divine Generation He has no Mother, but a Father only: nor is He the fruit of earthly desire, but the eternal Power of God.

113. Ergo etiam illud cum legimus quia dixit Dominus: Tempus meum nundum impletum est (Joan. VII, 8), et: Adhuc modicum vobiscum sum (Joan. XIII, 33), et: Vado ad eum qui misit me (Ibid.), et: Clarificatus est Filius hominis (Ibid., 31), ad incarnationis sacramentum referre debemus. Cum autem legimus: Et Deus clarificatus est in eo, et Deus clarificavit eum (Ibid.); quid ibi est quaestionis, ubi et Filius clarificatur a Patre, et Pater clarificatur a Filio?

112. And so, also, when we read that the Lord said: My time is not yet full come; John 7:8 and: Yet a little while I am with you; and: I go unto Him that sent Me; John 7:33 and: Now is the Son of Man glorified; John 13:31 we ought to refer all this to the sacrament of the Incarnation. But when we read: And God is glorified in Him, and God has glorified Him; John 13:31 what doubt is there here, where the Son is glorified by the Father, and the Father is glorified by the Son?

114. Denique ut fidem unitatis et copulam Trinitatis aperiret, etiam ab Spiritu clarificandum esse se dixit, sicut habes: Ille de meo accipiet, et clarificabit me (Joan. XVI, 14). Clarificat ergo Dei Filium etiam Spiritus sanctus. Quomodo igitur ipse dixit: Si ego clarificavero me ipsum, claritas mea nihilum est (Joan. VIII, 54)? Ergo nihil est claritas Filii? Sacrilegum est dicere, nisi referas ad carnem; quia ex persona hominis Filius loquebatur, eo quod comparatione divinitatis nulla est carnis claritas.

113. Next, to make clear the faith of the Unity, and the Union of the Trinity, He also said that He would be glorified by the Spirit, as it stands: He shall receive of Mine, and shall glorify Me. John 16:14 Therefore the Holy Spirit also glorifies the Son of God. How, then, did He say: If I glorify Myself, My glory is nothing. John 8:54 Is then the glory of the Son nothing? It is blasphemy to say so, unless we apply these words to His flesh; for the Son

spoke in the character of man, for by comparison with the Godhead, there is no glory of the flesh.

115. Desinant igitur impie objicere, quod in suam perfidiam retorquetur. Dicunt enim: Scriptum est: Nunc clarificatus est Filius hominis (Joan. XIII, 31). Non nego scriptum: Clarificatus est Filius hominis; sed videant quid sequatur: Et Deus clarificatus est in eo. Ego excusationem habeo de Filio hominis, ille de Patre non habet; quia Pater non suscepit carnem. Excusationem habeo, et non utor: ille non habet, et calumniatur. Aut simpliciter me patiatur intelligere, aut ad carnem referre quae carnis sunt. Pia mens, quae leguntur secundum carnem divinitatemque, distinguit: sacrilega confundit, et ad divinitatis detorquet injuriam, quidquid secundum humilitatem carnis est dictum. 572

114. Let them cease from their wicked objections which are but thrown back upon their own falseness. For they say, it is written: Now is the Son of Man glorified. I do not deny that it is written: The Son of Man is glorified. But let them see what follows: And God is glorified in Him. I can plead some excuse for the Son of Man, but He has none for His Father; for the Father took not flesh upon Himself. I can plead an excuse, but do not use it. He has none, and is falsely attacked. I can either understand it in its plain sense, or I can apply to the flesh what concerns the flesh. A devout mind distinguishes between the things which are spoken after the flesh or after the Godhead. An impious mind turns aside to the dishonour of the Godhead, all that is said with regard to the littleness of the flesh.

CAPUT IX.

JUDAICO MORE ORDINEM verborum: In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, objicientibus, praeter responsum quod vir sanctus indicat a se jam datum, regerit etiam Filium ante Patrem saepe locari.

CHAPTER 9.

The saint meets those who in Jewish wise object to the order of the words: In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, with the retort that the Son also is often placed before the Father; though he first points out that an answer to this objection has been already given by him.

116. [Alias cap. IV.] Quid quod etiam more Judaico falsi et impudentes interpretes Ariani verborum sunt divinorum, dicentes usque adeo aliam Patris, aliam Filii, aliam Spiritus sancti esse potestatem, ut scriptum sit: Ite, docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti (Matth. XXVIII, 19); et ex verborum ordine differentiam divinae faciunt potestatis?

115. Why is it that the Arians, after the Jewish fashion, are such false and shameless interpreters of the divine words, going indeed so far as to say that there is one power of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost, since it is written: Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost? And why do they make a distinction of divine power owing to the mere order of words?

117. Ego autem licet hoc ipsum testimonium in superioribus libris pro unitate asseruerim majestatis ac nominis, tamen si hinc faciunt

quaestionem, possum testimoniis asserere Scripturarum in plerisque locis prius Filium nominatum, postea Patrem dictum. Numquid igitur quia Filii significatio ante praemissa est, verborum, ut Ariani volunt, praejudicio Pater secundus a Filio est? Absit, inquam, absit. Nescit hunc ordinem fides, nescit discretum Patris et Filii honorem. Non legi, non audivi, nec aliquem in Deo inveni gradum. Nusquam secundum, nusquam tertium Deum legi: primum legi, primum ac solum audivi (Esai XLIV, 6).

116. Though I have already given this very witness for a unity of majesty and name in my former books, yet if they make this the ground of debate, I can maintain on the testimony of the Scriptures that the Son is mentioned first in many places, and that the Father is spoken of after Him. Is it therefore a fact that, because the name of the Son is placed first, by the mere accident of a word, as the Arians would have it, the Father comes second to the Son? God forbid, I say, God forbid. Faith knows nothing of such order as this; it knows nothing of a divided honour of the Father and the Son. I have not read of, nor heard of, nor found any varying degree in God. Never have I read of a second, never of a third God. I have read of a first God, Isaiah 44:6 I have heard of a first and only God.

118. Si ordinis exigimus superstitionem, nec ad dexteram Patris sedere Filius debet, nec primum se et principium debuit dicere. Male ergo Evangelista prius a Verbo, quam a Deo coepit, dicens: In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum (Joan. I, 1). Etenim juxta humani ritus ordinem, prius Patrem debuit nominare. Nescivit etiam Apostolus ordinem, qui ait: Paulus servus Christi Jesu, vocatus apostolus, segregatus in Evangelium Dei (Rom. I, 1); et alibi: Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et charitas Dei, et communicatio Spiritus sancti (II Cor. XIII, 13). Si verborum persequamur ordinem, in primo Filium posuit, in secundo Patrem. Sed verborum ordo saepe mutatur; et ideo non debes vel de ordine, vel de gradu

Patri Deo et Filio ejus facere quaestionem, cum secundum divinitatem divisio nulla sit unitatis.

117. If we pay such excessive regard to order, then the Son ought not to sit at the right hand of the Father, nor ought He to call Himself the First and the Beginning. The Evangelist was wrong in beginning with the Word and not with God, where he says: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God. John 1:1 For, according to the order of human usage, he ought to name the Father first. The Apostle also was ignorant of their order, who says: Paul the servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an Apostle, separated unto the Gospel of God; Romans 1:1 and elsewhere: The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost. 2 Corinthians 13:14 If we follow the order of the words, he has placed the Son first, and the Father second. But the order of the words is often changed; and therefore you ought not to question about order or degree, in the case of God the Father and His Son, for there is no severance of unity in the Godhead.

CAPUT X.

ARIANOS AD GENTILES palam transire, dum objiciunt illa verba: Qui in me credit, non in me credit, etc. Verus loci sensus explicatur, et ne credatur Dominus nostram in ipsum fidem prohibuisse, alias ut Deus, alias ut homo locutus ostenditur. Mox variis ejusdem fidei effectibus prolatis in medium, alios quoque nonnullos locos eodem modo sumendos probat.

CHAPTER 10.

The Arians openly take sides with the heathen in attacking the words: He that believes in Me, believes not in Me, etc. The true meaning of the passage is unfolded; and to prevent us from believing that the Lord forbade us to have faith in Him, it is shown how He spoke at one time as God, at another as Man. After bringing forward examples of various results of that faith, he shows that certain other passages also must be taken in the same way.

119. Ad extremum ut christianos se non esse manifestent, negant in Christum esse credendum, dicentes scriptum esse: Qui in me credit, non credit in me, sed in eum qui me misit (Joan. XII, 44). Hanc ego exspectabam confessionem, quid me quibusdam ambagibus ludebatis? Sciebam mihi adversum gentiles esse contentionem: 573 sed illi convertuntur, vos non convertimini. Illi si credant, salvum est sacramentum: vos perdidistis acceptum; et nec coeptum fortasse, sed fictum.

118. Last of all, to show that they are not Christians, they deny that we are to believe in Christ, saying that it is written: He that believes in Me, believes not on Me, but on Him that sent Me. John 12:44 I was awaiting

this confession; why did you delude me with your quibbles? I knew I had to contend with heathens. Nay, they indeed are converted, but you are not. If they believe, that the sacrament [of Baptism] is safe; you have received it, and destroyed it, or perchance it has never been received, but was unreal from the first.

120. Scriptum est, inquiunt: Qui in me credit, non in me credit, sed in eum qui me misit. Sed videte quid sequatur, et videte sic quemadmodum se Dei Filius vult videri; sequitur enim: Et qui videt me, videt eum qui me misit (Joan. XII, 45), hoc est, quia Pater videtur in Filio. Exposuit igitur id quod ante praemisit, quia ille credit in Filium, qui confitetur et Patrem. Nam qui Filium nescit, nec Patrem novit; omnis enim qui negat Filium, nec Patrem habet: qui confitetur Filium, et Filium, et Patrem habet.

119. It is written, they say: He that believes in Me, believes not on Me, but on Him that sent Me. But see what follows, and see how the Son of God wishes to be seen; for it continues: And he that sees Me, sees Him that sent Me, John 12:45 for the Father is seen in the Son. Thus, He has explained what He had spoken earlier, that he who confesses the Father believes on the Son. For he who knows not the Son, neither knows the Father. For every one that denies the Son has not the Father, but he that confesses the Son has both the Father and the Son. 1 John 2:23

121. Quid est ergo: Non credit in me? Non in id quod corporaliter cernitis, non in hominem tantummodo, quem videtis: non enim in hominem tantummodo credendum asseruit, sed ut credas quia Jesus Christus ipse est Dei Filius et homo. Propter quod et utrumque ait: A meipso non veni (Joan. VII, 28); et alibi: Ego sum principium quod et loquor vobis (Joan. VIII, 25). Quasi homo, a se non venit: quasi Dei Filius non ex homine principium habet: sed sum, inquit, ipse principium quod et loquor vobis (Joan. XII, 46): neque humana, sed divina sunt, quae locutus sum.

120. What, then, is the meaning of Believes not on Me? That is, not on that which you can perceive in bodily form, nor merely on the man whom you see. For He has stated that we are to believe not merely on a man, but that you may believe that Jesus Christ Himself is both God and Man. Wherefore, for both reasons He says: I came not from Myself; John 7:28 and again: I am the beginning, of which also I speak to you. John 8:25 As Man He came not from Himself; as Son of God He takes not His beginning from men; but I am, He says, Myself 'the beginning of which also I speak to you.' Neither are the words which I speak human, but divine.

122. Neque enim fas est credere quod negaverit in se esse credundum, cum ipse dixerit: Ut omnis qui credit in me, in tenebris non maneat (Joan. III, 16); et alibi: Haec est enim voluntas Patris mei qui me misit, ut omnis qui videt Filium et credit in eum, habeat vitam aeternam (Joan VI, 40); et alibi: Creditis in Deum, et in me credite (Joan. XIV, 1).

121. Nor is it right to believe that He denied we were to believe in Him, since He Himself said: That whosoever believes in Me should not abide in darkness; John 12:46 and in another place again: For this is the will of My Father that sent Me, that every one that sees the Son, and believes in Him, may have eternal life; John 6:40 and again: You believe in God, believe also in Me. John 14:1

123. Nemo ergo Filium sine Patre accipiat, quia Filium legimus. Habet Patrem Filius, sed non temporalem, non ex passione, non ex conceptione, non ex gratia. Generationem legi, non legi conceptionem. Et Pater dicit, genui (Psal. II, 7); non dicit, creavi: et Filius non creatorem suum Deum secundum aeternitatem divinae generationis, sed Patrem nominat.

122. Let no one, therefore, receive the Son without the Father, because we read of the Son. The Son has the Father, but not in a temporal sense, nor by

reason of His passion, nor owing to His conception, nor by grace. I have read of His Generation, I have not read of His Conception. And the Father says: I have begotten; He does not say: I have created. And the Son calls not God His Creator in the eternity of His divine Generation, but Father.

124. Se quoque nunc ex persona hominis, nunc in Dei majestate significat: nunc unitatem sibi divinitatis cum Deo Patre vindicans, nunc fragilitatem humanae carnis assumens: nunc doctrinam suam se non habere, nunc voluntatem suam se non quaerere: nunc testimonium suum verum non esse, nunc verum esse significans. Nam ipse dixit: Si ego testimonium perhibeo de me ipso, testimonium meum non est verum (Joan. V, 31). Et ipse in posterioribus ait: Et si ego testimonium perhibeo de me, verum est testimonium meum (Joan. VIII, 14).

123. He represents Himself also now in the character of man, now in the majesty of God; now claiming for Himself oneness of Godhead with the Father, now taking upon Him all the frailty of human flesh; now saying that He has not His own doctrine, and now that He seeks not His own will; now pointing out that His testimony is not true, and now that it is true. For He Himself has said: If I bear witness of Myself, My witness is not true. John 5:31 Later on He says: If I bear witness of Myself, My witness is true. John 7:14

125. Quomodo igitur non est verum testimonium tuum, Domine Jesu, cui qui credidit, in cruce licet positus, et inter confessi sceleris supplicia constitutus, merita latronis exuit, praemia innocentis emeruit (Luc. XXIII, 41 et seq.) ?

124. And how is Your testimony, Lord Jesus, not true? Did not he who believed it, though he hung upon the cross, and paid the penalty for the

crime he owned to, cast aside the deserts of the robber and gain the reward of the innocent? Luke 23:41

126. Deceptus est ergo Paulus, qui ideo recepit oculos, quia credidit, quos amiserat, antequam crederet (Act. IX, 18)?

125. Was Paul deceived, who received his sight, because he believed; Acts 9:12 which sight he had lost, before he believed?

127. Erravitne etiam Jesus Nave, qui ducem militiae coelestis agnovit? Sed posteaquam credidit, 574 statim vicit, dignus qui fidei praelio triumpharet. Denique non aeratas acies in bella produxit, nec ariete, caeterisque tormentorum machinis, sed tubarum septem sacerdotalium sono, murorum hostilium septa deposuit. Ita bellum immane confecit tubae clangor, et infula sacerdotis (Josue VI).

126. And did Joshua, the son of Nun, err in recognizing the leader of the heavenly host? Joshua 5:13 But after he believed, he immediately conquered, being found worthy to triumph in the battle of faith. Again, he did not lead forth his armed ranks into the fight, nor did he overthrow the ramparts of the enemy's walls, with battering rams or other engines of war, but with the sound of the seven trumpets of the priests. Thus the blare of the trumpet and the badge of the priest brought a cruel war to an end.

128. Vidit hoc meretrix, et quae in excidio civitatis remedia desperaret salutis, quia fides vicerat, signa fidei atque vexilla Dominicae passionis attollens, coccum in fenestra ligavit; ut species cruoris mystici quae foret mundum redemptura, vernaret (Josue II). Ita foris Jesu nomen fuit praeliantibus ad victoriam, intus species Dominicae passionis periclitantibus ad salutem. Unde quia intellexit Rahab coeleste mysterium, dicit Dominus in psalmo. Memor ero Rahab et Babylonis, scientium me (Psal. LXXXVI, 4).

127. A harlot saw this; and she who in the destruction of the city lost all hope of any means of safety, because her faith had conquered, bound a scarlet thread in her window, and thus uplifted a sign of her faith and the banner of the Lord's Passion; Joshua 2:18 so that the semblance of the mystic blood, which should redeem the world, might be in memory. So, without, the name of Joshua was a sign of victory to those who fought; within, the semblance of the Lord's Passion was a sign of salvation to those in danger. Wherefore, because Rahab understood the heavenly mystery, the Lord says in the Psalm: I will be mindful of Rahab and Babylon that know Me.

129. Quomodo ergo non est verum testimonium tuum, Domine, nisi secundum fragilitatem hominum? Omnis enim homo mendax (Psal. CXV, 2).

128. How, then, is Your testimony not true, O Lord, except it be given in accordance with the frailty of man? For every man is a liar.

130. Denique ut secundum hominem dixisse se demonstraret, ait: Qui misit me Pater, ipse testimonium perhibet de me (Joan. VIII, 18). Verum autem est testimonium secundum divinitatem, sicut ipse ait: Et verum est testimonium meum; quia scio unde veni, et quo vado: vos autem nescitis unde veni, et quo vado. Vos secundum carnem judicatis (Ibid., XIV, 15). Non ergo secundum divinitatem, sed secundum hominem judicant, qui putant Christo testificandi scientiam defuisse.

129. Lastly, to prove that He spoke as man, He says: The Father that sent Me, He bears witness of Me. John 8:18 But His testimony as God is true, as He Himself says: My record is true: for I know whence I come, and whither I go, but you know not whence I come, and whither I go. You judge after

the flesh. John 8:14-15 They judge then not after the Godhead but after the manhood, who think that Christ had not the power of bearing witness.

131. Ergo cum audis: Qui credit in me, non credit in me; et: Qui misit me Pater, ipse mihi mandatum dedit (Joan. XII, 49); didicisti quo id putes esse referendum. Denique mandatum quod esset, ostendit dicens: Pono animam meam, ut iterum sumam illam. Nemo tollit eam a me, sed ego pono eam a me ipso (Joan. VI, 17 et seq.). Vides ideo dictum, ut ostenderet liberam sibi ponendae ac resumendae animae potestatem, sicut ipse dixit: Potestatem habeo ponendi eam, et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam. Hoc mandatum accepi a Patre meo (Ibid.).

130. Therefore, when you hear, He that believes, believes not on Me; or: The Father that sent Me, He gave Me a commandment; John 12:49 you have now learned whither you ought to refer those words. Lastly, He shows what the commandment is, saying: I lay down My life, that I may take it again. No man takes it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. John 10:17 You see, then, what is said so as to show He had full power to lay down or to take up His life; as He also said: I have power to lay it down, and I have power again to take it up. This commandment have I received of My Father. John 10:18

132. Sive igitur mandatum, sive, ut aliqui Latini codices habent, praeceptum, non utique secundum divinitatem, sed secundum incarnationem datur, ad subeundae victoriam passionis.

131. Whether, then, a command, or, as some Latin manuscripts have it, a direction was given, it was certainly not given to Him as God, but as incarnate man, with reference to the victory He should gain in undergoing His Passion.

CAPUT XI.

QUOD CHRISTUS LEGATUR nihil a se loqui, hoc referendum ad ipsius humanitatem. Quomodo etiam secundum divinitatem audire ac videre Patrem recte dicatur, exposito, Dei Filium creaturam non esse multis coacervatis argumentis evincit.

CHAPTER 11.

We must refer the fact that Christ is said to speak nothing of Himself, to His human nature. After explaining how it is right to say that He hears and sees the Father as being God, He shows conclusively, by a large number of proofs, that the Son of God is not a creature.

133. [Alias Cap. V.] An vero in hanc humilitatem Dei Filium deducemus, ut nisi quae audierit, facere aut loqui nesciat: et praescriptam agendi loquendique ei putemus esse mensuram; quia scriptum est: Ex me ipso non sum locutus (Joan. XII, 49); et infra: Sicut dixit mihi Pater, ita loquor (Ibid. 50)? Sed ad obedientiam carnis, aut ad fidem unitatis ista referantur. Plerique enim doctiores et audire Filium, et dicere aliquid Filio Patrem accipiunt per 575 unitatem naturae, quod enim per unitatem voluntatis novit Filius Patrem velle, videtur audisse.

132. Are we indeed to bring the Son of God to such a low estate that He may not know how to act or speak, except as He hears, and are we to suppose that a fixed measure of action or of speech is assigned to Him, because it is written: I speak not of Myself, and, further on: As the Father has said to Me, even so I speak? John 12:50 But those words have reference to the obedience of the flesh, or else to the faith in the Unity. For many

learned men allow that the Son hears, and that the Father speaks to the Son through the unity of their Nature; for that which the Son, through the unity of their will, knows that the Father wills, He seems to have heard.

134. Unde non officium corporale, sed arbitrium indissociabile cooperationis declaratur; neque enim verborum hic aliquem significat auditum, sed unitatem voluntatis atque virtutis, quae et in Patre est et in Filio. Quam etiam in Spiritu sancto esse memoravit alio loco, dicens: Non enim loquetur a se, sed quaecumque audit, loquetur (Joan. XVI, 13); ut adverteremus quia quidquid Spiritus loquitur, loquitur et Filius: et quidquid loquitur Filius, loquitur et Pater; quia una sententia et operatio Trinitatis est. Sicut enim Pater videtur in Filio, non utique specie corporali, sed unitate divinitatis; ita etiam Pater loquitur in Filio, non temporali voce, nec corporali sono, sed operis unitate. Denique cum dixisset: Pater qui in me manet, ipse loquitur: et opera quae ego facio, ipse facit; addidit: Credite mihi, quia ego in Patre, et Pater in me est. Alioquin propter opera ipsa credite (Joan. XII, 60; XIV, 50).

133. Whereby is meant no personal duty, but an indivisible sentence of co-operation. For this does not signify any actual hearing of words, but the unity of will and of power, which exists both in the Father and in the Son. He has stated that this exists also in the Holy Spirit, in another place, saying, For He shall not speak of Himself, but whatsoever He shall hear, that shall He speak, John 16:13 so that we may learn that whatsoever the Spirit says, the Son also says; and whatsoever the Son says, the Father says also; for there is one mind and one mode of working in the Trinity. For, as the Father is seen in the Son, not indeed in bodily appearance, but in the unity of the Godhead, so also the Father speaks in the Son, not with a voice of earth, not with a human sound, but in the unity of Their work. So when He had said: The Father that dwells in Me, He speaks; and the works that I

do, He does; John 14:10 He added: Believe Me, that I am in the Father, and the Father in Me; or else believe Me for the very work's sake. John 14:17

135. Hic intellectus est noster secundum divinarum seriem Scripturarum: Ariani autem qui nolunt de Deo aestimare quae digna sunt, vel apto suis meritis confutentur exemplo, ne totum carnaliter credant; cum ipsi patris sui diaboli opera incorporaliter videant. Sicut de eorum consortibus Judaeis Dominus declaravit dicens: Vos quod vidistis patrem vestrum facientem, facitis (Joan. VIII, 38); cum utique non quia diabolum operantem viderint, sed quia arbitria ejus fecerint, arguantur, invisibiliter in his secundum iniquitatem suam diabolo operante peccatum. Hoc secundum Apostolum (II Tim. III, 9) propter insipientiam posuimus perfidorum.

134. This is what we understand according to the whole course of the holy Scriptures; but the Arians, who will not think of God the things that be right, may be put to silence by an example just suited to their deserts; that they may not believe everything in carnal fashion, since they themselves do not see the works of their father the devil with bodily eyes. So the Lord has declared of their fellows the Jews, saying: You do what you have seen your father doing; John 8:38 though they are reproved not because they saw the work of the devil, but because they did his will, since the devil unseen works out sin in them in accordance with their own wickedness. We have written this, as the Apostle did, because of the folly of these traitors. 2 Timothy 3:9

136. Caeterum satis probatum est Scripturarum exemplis ad unitatem majestatis pertinere divinae, quod et Pater maneat in Filio; et ea quae loquitur Filius, a Patre videatur audisse. Unitatem autem majestatis quibus aliis possumus intelligere, quam quod eadem Patri et Filio deferuntur? Nam quid praecellentius potest dici, quam quod Apostolus (I Cor. II, 8) dixit Dominum majestatis crucifixum?

135. But we have sufficiently proved by examples from Scripture that it is a property of the unity of the divine majesty that the Father should abide in the Son, and that the Son should seem to have heard from the Father those things which He speaks. How else can we understand the unity of majesty than by the knowledge that the same deference is paid to the Father and the Son? For what can be better put than the Apostle's saying that the Lord of glory was crucified? 1 Corinthians 2:8

137. Filius ergo est et Deus majestatis, et Dominus majestatis; sed non creaturis subjecta majestas: non ergo creatura Filius.

136. The Son then is the God of glory and the Lord of glory, but glory is not subject to creatures; the Son therefore is not a creature.

138. Filius paternae est imago substantiae (Hebr. I, 3): omnis autem creatura dissimilis supernae substantiae, sed non dissimilis Dei Patris Filius: non ergo creatura Filius.

137. The Son is the Image of the Father's Substance; Hebrews 1:3 but every creature is unlike that divine Substance, but the Son of the Father is not unlike God; therefore the Son is not a creature.

139. Filius non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo (Phil. II, 6): sed nulla creatura aequalis Deo, aequalis autem Filius: non ergo creatura Filius.

138. The Son thought it not robbery to be equal with God; Philippians 2:6 but no creature is equal with God, the Son, however, is equal; therefore the Son is not a creature.

140. Omnis creatura mutabilis: sed non mutabilis Dei Filius: non ergo creatura Dei Filius.

139. Every creature is changeable; but the Son of God is not changeable; therefore the Son of God is not a creature.

141. Omnis creatura accidentia et boni et mali recipit suae capacitate naturae, eademque decessionem sentit: Dei autem Filio nihil 576 potest ex ejus divinitate vel decedere vel accedere: non ergo creatura Dei Filius.

140. Every creature meets with chance occurrences of good and evil after the powers of its nature, and also feels their passing away; but nothing can pass away from or bring addition to the Son of God in His Godhead; therefore the Son of God is not a creature.

142. Omne opus suum adducet Deus in judicium (Eccl. XII, 14), sed Dei Filius non adducitur in judicium; quia ipse judicat: non ergo creatura Dei Filius.

141. Every work of His God will bring into judgment; Ecclesiastes 12:14 but the Son of God is not brought into judgment; for He Himself judges; therefore the Son of God is not a creature.

143. Postremo ut unitatem intelligas, de ovibus dicens Salvator: Nullus, inquit, rapit eas de manu mea. Pater quod dedit mihi, majus omnibus est, et nemo potest rapere de manu Patris mei. Ego et Pater unum sumus (Joan. X, 29, 30).

142. Lastly, that you may understand the unity, the Saviour in speaking of His sheep says: No man is able to pluck them out of My hand. My Father Which gave them to Me is greater than all, and no man is able to pluck them out of My Father’s hand. I and My Father are one. John 10:28-30

144. Sic vivificat Filius, ut Pater: Sicut enim Pater suscitat mortuos et vivificat; sic et Filius quos vult, vivificat (Joan. V, 21). Sic suscitat Filius, ut Pater: sic conservat Filius, ut Pater. Qui non impar est gratia, quomodo

impar est potestate? Sic etiam non perdit Filius, ut Pater. Et ideo ne quis vel duos deos crederet, vel discretionem potestatis induceret, unum se esse cum Patre dixit. Id quemadmodum potest dicere creatura? Non ergo creatura Dei Filius est.

143. So the Son gives life as does the Father. For as the Father raises up the dead and quickens them, even so the Son quickens whom He will. John 5:21 So the Son raises up as does the Father: so too the Son preserves as does the Father. He Who is not unequal in grace, how is He unequal in power? So also the Son does not destroy, as neither does the Father. Therefore lest any one should believe there were two Gods, or should imagine a diversity of power, He said that He was one with His Father. How can a creature say that? Therefore the Son of God is not a creature.

145. Non idem est regnare et servire: Christus autem et rex est et filius regis: non ergo servus est Dei Filius. Omnis autem creatura servit; sed non servit Dei Filius, qui ex servis filios Dei facit: non ergo creatura Dei Filius.

144. It is not the same thing to rule as to serve; but Christ is both a King and the Son of a King. The Son of God therefore is not a servant. Every creature, however, gives service. But the Son of God, Who makes servants become the sons of God, does not give service. Therefore the Son of God is not a servant.

CAPUT XII.

SUPERIORA CONFIRMAT EX parabola divitis ad quaerendum sibi regnum proficiscentis; ostenditque cum regnum tradat Patri Filius, ad contumeliam non accipiendum, si omnia huic subjicere Pater dicatur. Nos hic esse Christi regnum, et in Christi regno; futuros aliquando in regno Dei, ubi regnat ex aequo tota Trinitas.

CHAPTER 12.

He confirms what has been already said, by the parable of the rich man who went into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom; and shows that when the Son delivers up the kingdom to the Father, we must not regard the fact that the Father is said to put all things in subjection under Him, in a disparaging way. Here we are the kingdom of Christ, and in Christ's kingdom. Hereafter we shall be in the kingdom of God, where the Trinity will reign together.

146. Divine itaque illam parabolam induxit divitis, qui in regionem longinquam profectus est accipere regnum et reverti (Luc. XIX, 12), se ipsum secundum substantiam divinitatis incorporationisque describens. Ipse enim dives secundum plenitudinem divinitatis, qui pro nobis pauper factus est, cum dives esset et rex aeternus, et aeterno rege progenitus: peregre profectus secundum corporis susceptionem; quia vias hominis tamquam iter ingressus alienum, venit in hunc mundum, ut regnum sibi pararet ex nobis.

145. In divine fashion has He represented that parable of the rich man, who went to a far-off country to receive a kingdom, and to return, Luke 19:12 thus describing Himself in the substance of the Godhead, and of His

Manhood. For He being rich in the fullness of His Godhead, Who was made poor for us though He was rich and an eternal King, and the Son of an eternal King; He, I say, went to a foreign country in taking on Him a body, for He entered upon the ways of men as though upon a strange journey, and came into this world to prepare for Himself a kingdom from among us.

147. Venit ergo Jesus in hanc terram regnum accipere de nobis, quibus ait: Regnum Dei intra vos est (Luc. XVII, 21). Hoc est regnum quod Christus accepit, hoc est, quod Patri tradidit. Nam quomodo regnum accepit, qui erat rex sempiternus? Venit ergo Filius hominis accipere regnum, et reverti. Noluerunt eum suscipere Judaei, de quibus ait: Illi qui noluerunt me regnare super se, adducite et interficite eos (Luc. XIX, 27).

146. Jesus therefore came to this earth to receive for Himself a kingdom from us, to whom He says: The kingdom of God is within you. John 17:21 This is the kingdom which Christ has received, this the kingdom which He has delivered to the Father. For how did He receive for Himself a kingdom, Who was a King eternal? The Son of Man therefore came to receive a kingdom and to return. The Jews were unwilling to acknowledge Him, of whom He says: They which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither and slay them. Luke 19:27

148. Sequamur Scripturarum ordinem. Ille qui venit, regnum Deo Patri tradet: et cum tradiderit regnum, tunc et ipse subjectus erit ei, qui sibi subjecit omnia; ut sit Deus omnia et in omnibus (I Cor. XV, 24, 28). Si ut Filius hominis regnum accepit Dei Filius; ut Filius utique hominis etiam 577 traditurus est, quod accepit: si ut Filius hominis tradit, ergo et ut Filius hominis subjectionem, utique per conditionem carnis, non per majestatem divinitatis, agnoscit.

147. Let us follow the course of the Scriptures. He Who came will deliver up the kingdom to God the Father; and when He has delivered up the kingdom, then also shall He be subject to Him, Who has put all things in subjection under Him, that God may be all in all. 1 Corinthians 15:24-28 If the Son of God has received the kingdom as Son of Man, surely as Son of Man also He will deliver up what He has received. If He delivers it up as Son of Man, as Son of Man He confesses His subjection indeed under the conditions of the flesh, and not in the majesty of His Godhead.

149. Et tu ad contumeliam objicis, quod ei subjecerit omnia Deus; cum audias quod regnum Filius hominis Deo tradat, et ut in superioribus diximus libris, legeris: Nemo venit ad me, nisi Pater attraxerit eum, et ego resuscitabo eum in novissimo die (lib. II, ca)? Si litteram sequamur, vide magis atque adverte unitatem honorificentiae: et Pater subjecit Filio, et Filius Patri tradit. Dic quid sit amplius trahere, an resuscitare? Nonne secundum morem hominum ministerium trahentis, potestas est suscitantis? Sed et Filius ad Patrem trahit, et Pater ad Filium trahit: et Filius suscitat, et Pater suscitat. Facessant sacrilegae commenta discretionis, ubi unitas potestatis est.

148. And do you make objections and contemn Him, because God has put all things in subjection under Him, when you hear that the Son of Man delivers up the kingdom to God, and hast read, as we said in our earlier books: No man can come to Me, except the Father draw him; and I will raise him up at the last day? John 6:44 If we follow it literally, see rather and notice the unity of honour each gives to other: The Father has put all things in subjection under the Son, and the Son delivers the kingdom to the Father. Say now which is the greater, to deliver up, or to raise up to life? Do we not after human fashion speak of the service of delivering up, and the power of raising to life? But both the Son delivers up to the Father, and also

the Father to the Son. The Son raises to life, and the Father also raises to life. Let them create the fiction of a blasphemous division where there is a unity of power.

150. Tradat igitur Patri regnum suum Filius? Non deperit Christo regnum quod tradit, sed proficit. Nos sumus regnum, quia nobis dictum est: Regnum Dei intra vos est (Luc. XVII, 21). Et sumus regnum Christi ante, postea Patris; quia scriptum est: Nemo venit ad Patrem, nisi per me (Joan. XIV, 6). Cum in via sum, Christi sum; cum pervenero, Patris sum: sed ubique per Christum, et ubique sub Christo.

149. Let the Son then deliver up His kingdom to the Father. The kingdom which He delivers up is not lost to Christ, but grows. We are the kingdom, for it was said to us: The kingdom of God is within you. Luke 17:21 And we are the kingdom, first of Christ, then of the Father; as it is written: No man comes to the Father, but by Me. John 14:6 When I am on the way, I am Christ's; when I have passed through, I am the Father's; but everywhere through Christ, and everywhere under Him.

151. Bonum est in regno Christi esse, ut Christus nobiscum sit, sicut ipse ait: Ecce ego vobiscum sum usque ad consummationem mundi (Matth. XXVIII, 20). Sed melius est esse cum Christo: Dissolri enim et cum Christo esse multo melius (Phil. I, 23). Cum in hoc mundo sub peccato sumus, Christus nobiscum est; ut per unius obedientiam justi constituantur multi (Rom. V, 19). Et si peccatum hujus mundi evasero, incipiam esse cum Christo. Denique ait: Veniam iterum, et assumam vos ad me (Joan. XIV, 3); et infra: Volo ut ubi ego sum, et isti sint mecum (Joan. XVII, 24).

150. It is a good thing to be in the kingdom of Christ, so that Christ may be with us; as He Himself says: Lo I am with you always, even unto the end of the world. Matthew 28:20 But it is better to be with Christ: For to depart

and be with Christ is far better. Philippians 1:23 Though we are under sin in this world, Christ is with us, that by the obedience of one man many may be made just. Romans 5:19 And if I escape the sin of this world, I shall begin to be with Christ. And so He says: I will come again, and receive you unto Myself; John 14:3 and further on: I will that where I am, there you may be also with Me. John 14:3

152. Ergo nunc sub regno Christi sumus, dum in corpore versamur, et nondum forma exuimur servi, quam ille cum se exinanivisset, accepit: cum vero gloriam ejus viderimus, quam habuit priusquam mundus esset, erimus in regno Dei, in quo patriarchae sunt et prophetae, de quibus scriptum est: Cum videritis Abraham, Isaac et Jacob, et omnes prophetas in regno Dei (Luc. XIII, 28); ut jam pleniore Dei cognitione potiamur.

151. Therefore we are now under Christ's rule, while we are in the body, and are not yet stripped of the form of a servant, which He put upon Him, when He emptied Himself. But when we shall see His glory, which He had before the world was, we shall be in the kingdom of God, in which are the patriarchs and prophets, of whom it is written: When you shall see Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets in the kingdom of God; Luke 13:28 and shall thus acquire a deeper knowledge of God.

153. Sed in Filii regno et Pater regnat, et in regno Patris Filius regnat, quia Pater in Filio, et in Patre Filius: et in quo habitat Filius, habitat et Pater; et in quo habitat Pater, habitat et Filius, sicut ipse ait: Ego et Pater ad eum veniemus, et apud eum mansionem faciemus (Joan. XIV, 23). Ergo sicut una domus, ita et unum regnum. Eousque autem unum Patris et Filii regnum est, ut quod Filius tradit, Pater accipit, et quod Pater accipiat, Filius non amittat. Ergo in uno regno unitas potestatis est. Nemo igitur 578 divinitatem inter Patrem Filiumque secernat.

152. But in the kingdom of the Son the Father also reigns; and in the kingdom of the Father the Son also reigns: for the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father; and in whomsoever the Son dwells, in him also the Father dwells; and in whomsoever the Father dwells, in him also the Son dwells, as it is written: Both I and My Father will come to Him, and make Our abode with Him. John 14:23 Thus as there is one dwelling, so also there is one kingdom. Yea, and so far is the kingdom of the Father and of the Son but one, that the Father receives what the Son delivers, and the Son does not lose what the Father receives. Thus in the one kingdom there is a unity of power. Let no one therefore sever the Godhead between the Father and the Son.

CAPUT XIII.

QUAE CHRISTI SUBJECTIO sit, quaesiturus, ubi subjectiones varias proposuit ac rejecit, Apostolicum textum percurrit; unde impiam explodit haereticorum hac de re opinionem. Subjectionem quae futura significatur, divinitatis esse non posse; cum inter Patrem et Filium voluntatis summa semper fuerit concordia. Etiam eidem Filio secundum divinitatem vere omnia subjecta esse, at nondum subjecta hoc sensu dici, quod ejus mandatis non pareant omnes homines: qui postquam illis fuerint subditi, tum Christus in his subjicietur, et Patris opus perfectum erit.

CHAPTER 13.

With the desire to learn what subjection to Christ means after putting forward and rejecting various ideas of subjection, he runs through the Apostle's words; and so puts an end to the blasphemous opinions of the heretics on this matter. The subjection, which is shown to be future, cannot concern the Godhead, since there has always been the greatest harmony of wills between the Father and the Son. Also to that same Son in His Godhead all things have indeed been made subject; but they are said to be not yet subject to Him in this sense, because all men do not obey His commands. But after that they have been made subject, then shall Christ also be made subject in them, and the Father's work be perfected.

154. [Alias cap. VI.] Quod si Patri et Filio unum Dei nomen et jus est, cum Deus verus, et rex sempiternus sit etiam Dei Filius; non utique secundum divinitatem subjectus est Dei Filius. Subjectum itaque, Imperator auguste, quemadmodum debeamus accipere, consideremus.

153. But if the one name and right of God belong to both the Father and the Son, since the Son of God is also true God, and a King eternal, the Son of God is not made subject in His Godhead. Let us then, Emperor Augustus, think how we ought to regard His subjection.

155. Quomodo enim subjectus Dei Filius? Ut creatura vanitati? Sed impium est de divinitatis substantia tale aliquid aestimare.

154. How is the Son of God made subject? As the creature to vanity? But it is blasphemous to have any such idea of the Substance of the Godhead.

156. An quemadmodum creatura omnis Dei Filio, quia aeque scriptum est: Omnia subjecisti sub pedibus ejus (Psal. VIII, 8)? Sed non Christus sibi ipse subjectus est.

155. Or as every creature is to the Son of God, for it is rightly written: You have put all things in subjection under His feet? But Christ is not made subject to Himself.

157. An quemadmodum mulier viro, sicut legimus: Mulieres viris suis subjectae sint (Ephes. V, 22); et alibi: Mulier in silentio discat cum omni subjectione (I Tim. II, 11)? Sed sacrilegum est vel Patri virum, vel Dei Filio mulierem comparare.

156. Or as a woman to a man, as we read: Let the wives be subject to their husbands; Ephesians 5:22 and again: Let the woman learn in silence in all subjection? 1 Timothy 2:11 But it is impious to compare a man to the Father, or a woman to the Son of God.

158. An quemadmodum Petrus dixit: Subjecti estote omni humanae creaturae (I Petr. II, 13)? Nec sic utique Christus.

157. Or as Peter said: Submit yourselves to every human creature? 1 Peter 2:13 But Christ was certainly not so subject.

159. Vel quemadmodum Paulus scripsit: Deo et Patri subjecti invicem in timore Christi (Ephes. V, 21)? Sed neque in suo, neque in alterius Christi timore subjectus est Filius, quia unus est Christus. Quorum verborum vim considerate, quia Patri subjecti sumus, dum etiam Christum veremur.

158. Or as Paul wrote: Submitting yourselves mutually to God and the Father in the fear of Christ? Ephesians 5:21 But Christ was not subject either in His own fear, nor in the fear of another Christ. For Christ is but one. But note the force of these words, that we are subject to the Father, while we also fear Christ.

160. Quomodo ergo subjectum intelligimus? Totum Apostolicum caput recenseamus; ut nihil videatur fraude subtractum, aut obreptione praestrictum: Si in hac inquit, vita tantum in Christo sperantes sumus, miserabiliores sumus omnibus hominibus. Si autem Christus resurrexit a mortuis primitiae dormientium (I Cor. XV, 19, 20)? Videtis quoniam de resurrectione Christi tractata est disputatio.

159. How, then, do we understand His subjection? Shall we review the whole chapter which the Apostle wrote, so as to give no appearance of having falsely withheld anything, or of having weakened its force with intention to deceive? If in this life only, he says, we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable. But if Christ is risen from the dead, He is the first-fruits of them that slee Corinthians 15:19-20 You see how he discusses the question of Christ’s Resurrection.

161. Quoniam sicut per unum hominem, inquit, mors, et per hominem resurrectio mortuorum. Sicut enim in Adam omnes moriuntur, ita et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur. Unusquisque autem in suo ordine, primitiae

Christus: deinde hi qui sunt Christi, qui in adventum ejus crediderunt. Deinde finis, cum tradiderit regnum Deo et Patri, cum evacuaverit omnem principatum, et potestatem et virtutem. 579 Oportet enim illum regnare, donec ponat omnes inimicos sub pedibus ejus. Novissime autem inimica destruetur mors; omnia enim subjecit sub pedibus ejus. Cum autem dicat: Omnia subjecta sunt ei, sine dubio praeter eum qui subjecit ei omnia. Cum autem subjecta illi fuerint omnia, tunc et ipse Filius subjectus erit illi, qui sibi subjecit omnia; ut sit Deus omnia in omnibus (I Cor. XV, 20-28). Quod etiam ad Hebraeos idem Apostolus dixit: Nunc autem nondum videmus omnia illi esse subjecta (Hebr. II, 8). Accepimus Apostolicae seriem lectionis.

160. For since by one man, he says, came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. But each one in his own order: Christ the firstfruits; afterward they that are Christ's, who have believed in His coming. Then comes the end, when He shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father, when He shall have put down all rule and authority and power. For He must reign until He has put all enemies under His feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death; for He has put all things under His feet. But when He says, all things are put under Him, it is manifest that He is excepted Which did put all things under Him. But when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him, that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all. 1 Corinthians 15:21-28 Thus also the same Apostle said to the Hebrews: But now we see not yet all things put under Him. Hebrews 2:8 We have heard the whole of the Apostle's discourse.

162. Quomodo igitur subjectum dicimus? Sabelliani et Marcionitae dicunt quod haec futura sit Christi ad Deum Patrem subjectio, ut in Patrem Filius

refundatur. Si ergo ea erit Verbi subjectio, ut resolvatur in Patrem Deus Verbum: ergo et quaecumque Patri Filioque subjecta sunt, in Patrem et Filium resolventur; ut sit Deus omnia et in omnibus creaturis. Sed absurdum est dicere: non igitur per refusionem subjectio. Alia sunt enim quae subjiciuntur, ea utique quae creata sunt: et alius, cui fit illa subjectio. Conticescant itaque saevae refusionis interpretes.

161. How, then, do we speak of His subjection? The Sabellians and Marcionites say that this subjection of Christ to God the Father will be in such wise that the Son will be re-absorbed into the Father. If, then, the subjection of the Word means that God the Word is to be absorbed into the Father; then whatsoever is made subject to the Father and the Son will be absorbed into the Father and the Son, that God may be all and in all His creatures. But it is foolish to say so. There is therefore no subjection through re-absorption. For there are other things which are made subject, those, that is to say, which are created, and there is Another, to Whom that subjection is made. Let the expounders of a cruel re-absorption keep silence.

163. Atque utinam et illi tacerent, qui quoniam resolubile Dei Verbum, Deique sapientiam probare non possunt, infirmitatem divinitati subjectionis ascribunt, dicentes quia scriptum est: Cum autem subjecta illi fuerint omnia, tunc et ipse Filius subjectus erit illi (I Cor. XV, 28).

162. Would that they too were silent, who, as they cannot prove that the Word of God and Wisdom of God can be re-absorbed, attribute the weakness of subjection to His Godhead, saying that it is written: But when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him. 1 Corinthians 15:28

164. Videmus igitur quia nondum subjectum, sed subjiciendum esse Scriptura commemorat: ergo nunc non est subjectus Deo Patri Filius. In quo igitur Filium subjectum fore dicitis? Si in divinitate; nec inobediens est, quia non est a Patre discors: nec subjectus, quia non est servus, sed unicus proprio Patri Filius. Denique cum coelum crearet, terram conderet, et potestatem exercebat et charitatem. Nulla igitur servilis in Christi divinitate subjectio. Si autem nulla subjectio, voluntas libera est.

163. We see, then, that the Scripture states that He is not yet made subject, but that this is to come: Therefore now the Son is not made subject to God the Father. In what, then, do you say that the Son will be made subject? If in His Godhead, He is not disobedient, for He is not at variance with the Father; nor is He made subject, for He is not a servant, but the only Son of His own proper Father. Lastly, when He created heaven, and formed the earth, He exercised both power and love. There is therefore no subjection as that of a servant in the Godhead of Christ. But if there is no subjection then the will is free.

165. Quod si eam subjectionem putant Filii, quia cum ejus voluntate omnia faciat Pater, discant hoc ipsum esse individuae potestatis argumentum; quia unitas voluntatis est, quae non coepit ex tempore, sed erat semper. Ubi autem unitas perpetua voluntatis, non utique temporalis subjectionis infirmitas. Si enim per naturam subjiceretur, semper subjectus maneret: cum vero subjiciendus dicatur in tempore, dispensationis ergo susceptae, non perpetuae infirmitatis erit illa subjectio; maxime cum sempiterna Dei virtus non possit statum mutare pro tempore, nec Deo Patri ex tempore jus potestatis accidere. Nam si Filius aliquando mutabitur, ut secundum divinitatem subjiciatur: ergo et Deus Pater, si 580 aliquando plus poterit, ut subjectum secundum divinitatem habeat Filium, nunc interim minus posse secundum interpretationem vestram necesse est aestimetur.

164. But if they think of this as the subjection of the Son, namely, that the Father makes all things in union with His will, let them learn that this is really a proof of inseparable power. For the unity of Their will is one that began not in time, but ever existed. But where there is a constant unity of will, there can be no weakness of temporal subjection. For if He were made subject through His nature, He would always remain in subjection; but since He is said to be made subject in time, that subjection must be part of an assumed office and not of an everlasting weakness: especially as the eternal Power of God cannot change His state for a time, neither can the right of ruling fall to the Father in time. For if the Son ever will be changed in such wise as to be made subject in His Godhead, then also must God the Father, if ever He shall gain more power, and have the Son in subjection to Himself in His Godhead, be considered now in the meantime inferior according to your explanation.

166. Quid autem culpae commeruit Filius, ut postea secundum divinitatem subjici posse credatur? Numquid secundum carnem ad dexteram Patris sedere praeripuit, et, invito Patre, sibi praerogativam Paterni solii vindicavit? Sed ipse ait: Omnia quae placita sunt ei, facio semper (Joan. VIII, 29). Ergo si in omnibus Patri complacet Filius, cur subjicietur qui ante subjectus non erat?

165. But what fault has the Son been guilty of, that we should believe that He could hereafter be made subject in His Godhead? Has he as man seized for Himself the right to sit at His Father’s side, or has He claimed for Himself the prerogative of His Father’s throne, against His Father’s will? But He Himself says: For I do always those things that please Him. John 8:29 Therefore if the Son pleases the Father in all things, why should He be made subject, Who was not made subject before?

167. Videamus itaque ne non divinitatis illa, sed nostra fiat in Christi timore subjectio, plena gratiae, et plena mysterii. Itaque rursus Apostolica verba pendamus. Cum autem subjecta, inquit, illi fuerint omnia, tunc et ipse subjectus erit ei, qui sibi subjecit omnia; ut sit Deus omnia et in omnibus. Ergo quid dicis? Nunc subjecta non sunt ei omnia? non subjecti sanctorum chori? non Angeli, qui in terris posito ministrabant (Matth. IV, 11)? non Archangeli, qui etiam ad Mariam adventus Dominici praenuntii mittebantur (Luc. I, 26)? non omnis militia coelestis? non Cherubim et Seraphim, non Throni et Dominationes et Potestates, quae venerantur et laudant?

166. Let us see then that there be not a subjection of the Godhead, but rather of us in the fear of Christ, a truth so full of grace, and so full of mystery. Wherefore, again, let us weigh the Apostle's words: But when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him: that God may be all in all. What then do you say? Are not all things now subject unto Him? Are not the choirs of the saints made subject? Are not the angels, who ministered to Him when on the earth? Matthew 4:11 Are not the archangels who were sent to Mary to foretell the coming of the Lord? Are not all the heavenly hosts? Are not the cherubim and seraphim, are not thrones and dominions and powers which worship and praise Him?

168. Quomodo ergo subjecta erunt? Sic utique quemadmodum ipse Dominus dixit: Tollite jugum meum super vos (Matth. XI, 29); non enim indomiti jugum portant, sed humiles atque mansueti. Haec est plane nec ipsis hominibus vilis, sed gloriosa subjectio; ut in nomine Jesu omne genu curvetur coelestium, et terrestrium, et infernorum: et omnis lingua confiteatur, quia Dominus Jesus in gloria est Dei Patris (Philip. II, 10, 11). Ideo autem ante subjecta non erant omnia, quia nondum receperant sapientiam Dei, nondum habile jugum Verbi mentis quadam cervice

portabant. Quotquot autem, sicut scriptum est, receperunt eum, dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri (Joan. I, 11).

167. How, then, will they be brought into subjection? In the way that the Lord Himself has said. Take My yoke upon you. Matthew 11:29 It is not the fierce that bear the yoke, but the humble and the gentle. This clearly is no base subjection for men, but a glorious one: that in the Name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things beneath; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus is Lord in the glory of God the Father. Philippians 2:10 But for this reason all things were not made subject before, for they had not yet received the wisdom of God, not yet did they wear the easy yoke of the Word on the neck as it were of their mind. But as many as received Him, as it is written, to them gave He power to become the sons of God. John 1:12

169. Dicet aliquis: Ergo jam subjectus est Christus; quia plurimi crediderunt? Minime; quia non in paucis est Christi subjectio, sed in omnibus. Sicut enim si in me concupiscat adhuc caro adversus spiritum, spiritus autem adversus carnem, non videor esse subjectus, etsi ex parte sim subditus: ita quia omnis Ecclesia unum corpus est Christi, quamdiu genus dissentit humanum, Christum dividimus. Nondum ergo subjectus est Christus, cujus non sunt adhuc membra subjecta. Cum autem fuerimus non multa membra, sed unus spiritus: tunc et ipse subjectus erit; ut per ipsius subjectionem sit Deus omnia et in omnibus.

168. Will any one say that Christ is now made subject, because many have believed? Certainly not. For Christ’s subjection lies not in a few but in all. For just as I do not seem to be brought into subjection, if the flesh in me as yet lusts against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh, Galatians 5:17 although I am in part subdued; so because the whole Church is the one body of Christ, we divide Christ as long as the human race disagrees. Therefore

Christ is not yet made subject, for His members are not yet brought into subjection. But when we have become, not many members, but one spirit, then He also will become subject, in order that through His subjection God may be all and in all.

170. Sicut autem nondum subjectus est Christus, ita nondum perfectum est opus Patris; quia dixit Filius Dei: Meus cibus est ut faciam 581 voluntatem Patris mei qui me misit, et perficiam opus ejus. Quid igitur quaestionis est, quia in me erit Filii subjectio, in quo imperfectum est opus Patris; quia non sum ipse perfectus? Ergo qui imperfectum opus facio Patris, ipse Filium facio esse subjectum? Sed non est injuria ista, sed gratia; quia in eo quod subjicimur, noster utique, non divinitatis est profectus; ut subjiciamur Legi, subjiciamur gratiae. Quoniam ante, sicut ipse dixit Apostolus, sapientia carnis inimica erat in Deum; Legi enim non erat subdita (Rom. VIII, 7): nunc autem jam per Christi est subdita passionem.

169. But as Christ is not yet made subject, so is the work of God not yet perfected; for the Son of God said: My meat is to do the will of My Father that sent Me, and to finish His work. John 4:34 What manner of doubt is there that the subjection of the Son in me is still in the future, in whom the work of the Father is unfinished, because I myself am not yet perfect? I, who make the work of God to be unfinished, do I make the Son of God to be in subjection? But that is not a matter of wrong, it is a matter of grace. For in so far as we are made subject, it is to our profit, not to that of the Godhead, that we are made subject to the law, that we are made subject to grace. For formerly, as the Apostle himself has said, the wisdom of the flesh was at enmity with God, for it was not made subject to the law, Romans 8:7 but now it is made subject through the Passion of Christ.

CAPUT XIV.

PROSEQUITUR COEPTAM DIFFICULTATEM, et Christum non nisi secundum carnem subjectum docet: sed ipsum dum carne subjiceretur, praebuisse tamen signa divinitatis. Repugnare ut secundum hanc subjiciatur: humanitatem vero quam adoptavit, ita in nobis subditam esse, quo pacto in eadem ejus humanitate exaltatur et nostra. Denique quando futura sit eadem illa Christi subjectio, explicatur.

CHAPTER 14.

He continues the discussion of the difficulty he has entered upon, and teaches that Christ is not subject but only according to the flesh. Christ, however, while in subjection in the Flesh, still gave proofs of His Godhead. He combats the idea that Christ is made subject in This. The humanity indeed, which He adopted, has been so far made subject in us, as ours has been raised in that very humanity of His. Lastly, we are taught, when that same subjection of Christ will take place.

171. Et tamen ne quis calumnietur, videte quid divinitus inspirans Scriptura praecaverit; ostendit enim nobis in quo subjectus erit Deo Christus, dum docet in quo sibi universa subjecerit. Ideoque dicit: Nunc autem non videmus omnia ei subjecta (Hebr. II, 8). Nam paulo minus quam Angelos minoratum vidimus Jesum propter passionem mortis. Ostendit itaque minorem factum in carnis susceptione. Quid igitur impedit quin etiam subjectionem in carnis susceptione significet, per quam subjiciet sibi omnia, dum in ipsa Patri Deo est ipse subjectus?

170. However, lest anyone should cavil, see what care Scripture takes under divine inspiration. For it shows to us in what Christ is made subject to God, while it also teaches us in what He made the universe subject to Himself. And so it says: Now we see not yet all things put under Him. Hebrews 2:8 For we see Jesus made a little lower than the angels for the suffering of death. Hebrews 2:9 It shows therefore that He was made lower in taking on Him our flesh. What then hinders Him from openly showing His subjection in taking on Him our flesh, through which He subjects all things to Himself, while He Himself is made subject in it to God the Father?

172. Consideremus itaque ejus subjectionem: Pater, inquit, meus, si vis, transfer calicem hunc a me: verum non mea voluntate, sed tua fiat (Luc. XXII, 42). Ergo secundum humanae naturae assumptionem erit illa subjectio; quia sicut legimus: Specie inventus ut homo, humiliavit semetipsum, factus obediens usque ad mortem (Phil. II, 8): subjectio utique obedientiae est, obedientia mortis, mors assumptionis humanae; assumptionis ergo humanae erit illa subjectio. Nequaquam igitur divinitatis infirmitas, sed dispensatio ista pietatis est.

171. Let us then think of His subjection. Father, He says, if You be willing, remove this cup from Me; nevertheless not My will but Yours be done. Luke 22:42 Therefore that subjection will be according to the assumption of human nature; as we read: Being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself, being made obedient unto death. Philippians 2:8 The subjection therefore is that of obedience; the obedience is that of death; the death is that of the assumed humanity; that subjection therefore will be the subjection of the assumed humanity. Thus in no wise is there a weakness in the Godhead, but there is such a discharge of pious duty as this.

173. Vide quam non timeam eorum propositiones. Illi objiciunt subjiciendum Patri Deo, ego lego Mariae subditum matri; quia scriptum est

de Joseph et Maria: Et erat subditus illis (Luc. II, 51). Aut si hoc putant, dicant quia hominibus erat subjecta divinitas.

172. See how I do not fear their intentions. They allege that He must be subject to God the Father, I say He was subject to Mary His Mother. For it is written of Joseph and Mary: He was subject unto them. Luke 2:51 But if they think so, let them say how the Deity was made subject to men.

174. Non igitur praejudicet quia subjectus dicitur, cui non praejudicat, quia servus legitur, quia crucifixus asseritur, mortuus praedicatur. Qui cum moreretur, vivebat; cum subjiceretur, regnabat: cum sepeliretur, resuscitabat; ac subjectum se potestati praebebat humanae, alias se Dominum majestatis declarabat aeternae. Erat sub judice, et ad dexteram Dei solium sibi judex perpetuus vindicabat. Scriptum est denique: Amodo videbitis Filium hominis sedentem ad dexteram virtutis Dei, et venientem in nubibus coeli (Matth. XXVI, 64). Vapulabat a Judaeis, imperabat angelis: natus 582 ex Maria sub Lege erat, ante Abraham supra Legem erat (Galat. IV, 4). In cruce venerandus natura: denique sol refugit, terra contremuit, conticuerunt angeli (Matth. XXVII, 51). Cujus igitur passionem elementa videre timuerunt, hujus generationem videre potuerunt? Et in quo subjectionem corporis non tulerunt, in eo subjectionem naturae venerabilis sustinebunt?

173. Let not the fact that He is said to have been made subject work against Him, Who receives no hurt from the fact that He is called a servant, or is stated to have been crucified, or is spoken of as dead. For when He died He lived; when He was made subject He was reigning; when He was buried He revived again. He offered Himself in subjection to human power, yet at another time He declared He was the Lord of eternal glory. He was before the judge, yet claimed for Himself a throne at the right hand of God, as Judge forever. For thus it is written: Hereafter you shall see the Son of Man

sitting on the right hand of the power of God, and coming in the clouds of heaven. Matthew 26:64 He was scourged by the Jews, and commanded the angels; He was born of Mary under the law; Galatians 4:4 He was before Abraham above the law. On the cross He was revered by nature; the sun fled; the earth trembled; the angels became silent. Could the elements see the Generation of Him Whose Passion they feared to see? And will they uphold the subjection of an adorable Nature in Him, in Whom they could not endure the subjection of the body?

175. Sed cum unius naturae sint Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, utique non erit Pater sibi ipse subjectus. Et ideo non erit in eo subjectus Filius, in quo cum Patre unum est; ne per unitatem divinitatis videatur et Pater Filio esse subjectus. Ergo sicut in illa cruce non divinitatis plenitudo, sed nostra fragilitas erat subdita: ita etiam postea subjectus erit Filius Patri, in nostrae utique participatione naturae; ut, subjectis carnis illecebris, non divitiae sint cordi, non ambitio, non voluptas: sed omnia nobis Deus sit, si per omnia quantum capere possumus, ad ejus imaginem, similitudinemque vivamus.

174. But since the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are of one Nature, the Father certainly will not be in subjection to Himself. And therefore the Son will not be in subjection in that in which He is one with the Father; lest it should seem that through the unity of the Godhead the Father also is in subjection to the Son. Therefore, as upon that cross it was not the fullness of the Godhead, but our weakness that was brought into subjection, so also will the Son hereafter become subject to the Father in the participation of our nature, in order that when the lusts of the flesh are brought into subjection the heart may have no care for riches, or ambition, or pleasures; but that God may be all to us, if we live after His image and likeness, as far as we can attain to it, through all.

176. Ad communitatem igitur beneficium transivit a specie; quia in sua carne naturam totius humanae carnis edomuit. Et ideo juxta Apostolum: Sicut portavimus imaginem hujus terreni, portemus et imaginem hujus coelestis (I Cor. XV, 49). Quod utique nisi per interiorem hominem non potest evenire. Deponentes igitur universa, hoc est, illa quae legimus; iram, animositatem, blasphemiam, turpiloquium (Coloss. III, 8); et sicut infra dictum est: Exspoliantes nos veterem hominem cum actibus suis, induamus novum, qui renovatur in agnitionem, secundum imaginem ejus, qui creavit eum (Ibid., 9, 10).

175. The benefit has passed, then, from the individual to the community; for in His flesh He has tamed the nature of all human flesh. Thus, according to the Apostle: As we have borne the image of the earthly, so also shall we bear the image of the heavenly. 1 Corinthians 15:49 This thing certainly cannot come to pass except in the inner man. Therefore, laying aside all these, that is those things which we read of: anger, malice, blasphemy, filthy communication; Colossians 3:8 as he also says below: Let us, having put off the old man with his deeds, put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of Him that created Him. Colossians 3:9-10

177. Et ut scires, quia cum dicit: Ut sit Deus omnia et in omnibus, a Deo Patre non separet et Christum, ipse ad Colossenses dicit: Ubi non masculus, inquit, et femina, Judaeus et Graecus, Barbarus et Scytha, servus et liber: sed omnia et in omnibus Christus (Coloss. III, 11). Ergo etiam ad Corinthios dicens: Ut sit Deus omnia et in omnibus (I Cor. XV, 28), et unitatem et aequalitatem cum Deo Patre complexus est Christi; quia nec a Patre Filius separatur. Et similiter sicut Pater omnia et in omnibus, ita omnia in omnibus etiam Christus operatur. Si ergo Christus quoque in omnibus omnia operatur (I Cor. XII, 6), non utique in divinitatis majestate subjectus est, sed in nobis. Quomodo autem subjectus est in nobis, nisi eo modo quo minor angelis

factus est, in corporis scilicet sacramento? In eo enim nondum subjecta ei omnia videbantur, quae creatori suo a principio sui utique serviebant.

176. And that you might know that when he says: That God may be all in all, he does not separate Christ from God the Father, he also says to the Colossians: Where there is neither male nor female, Jew nor Greek, Barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all and in all. Colossians 3:11 So also saying to the Corinthians: That God may be all and in all, he comprehended in that the unity and equality of Christ with God the Father, for the Son is not separated from the Father. And in like manner as the Father works all and in all, so also Christ works all in all. If, then, Christ also works all in all, He is not made subject in the glory of the Godhead, but in us. But how is He made subject in us, except in the way in which He was made lower than the angels, I mean in the sacrament of His body? For all things which served their Creator from their first beginning seemed not as yet to be made subject to Him in that.

178. Quod si quaesieris quemadmodum sit subjectus in nobis, ipse ostendit dicens: In carcere eram, et venistis ad me: infirmus eram, et visitastis me. Quod enim uni horum minimorum fecistis, mihi fecistis (Matth. XXV, 36 et seq.). Infirmum audis, et non moveris: subjectum audis, et moveris; cum in eo infirmus, in quo subjectus, in quo peccatum atque maledictum pro nobis factus est.

177. But if you should ask how He was made subject in us, He Himself shows us, saying: I was in prison, and you came unto Me; I was sick, and you visited Me: Inasmuch as you have done it unto one of the least of these you have done it unto Me. Matthew 25:36, 40 You hear of Him as sick and weak, and art not moved. You hear of Him in subjection, and art moved, though He is sick and weak in Him in whom He is in subjection, in whom He was made sin and a curse for us.

179. Sicut igitur non propter se, sed propter nos peccatum atque maledictum factus est: ita non pro se, sed pro nobis erit subjectus in nobis, non in natura subjectus aeterna, neque 583 in natura maledictus aeterna: Maledictus enim omnis qui pendet in ligno (Galat. III, 13). Maledictus, quia nostra maledicta suscepit: subjectus quoque, quia subjectionem nostram ipse suscepit, sed in servilis formae assumptione, non in Dei majestate; ut dum ille nostrae fragilitatis se praeberet in carne consortem, nos in virtute sua divinae faceret consortes naturae (II Petr. I, 4). Non quo aut hoc nobis cum superna Christi generatione naturale consortium, aut divinitatis in Christo sit illa subjectio: sed sicut in illo per carnem illam, quae est pignus nostrae salutis, sedere nos in coelestibus Apostolus dixit (Ephes. II, 6), utique non sedentes; sic et ille per nostrae assumptionem naturae dicitur subjectus in nobis.

178. As, then, He was made sin and a curse not on His own account but on ours, so He became subject in us not for His own sake but for ours, being not in subjection in His eternal Nature, nor accursed in His eternal Nature. For cursed is every one that hangs on a tree. Galatians 3:13 Cursed He was, for He bore our curses; in subjection, also, for He took upon Him our subjection, but in the assumption of the form of a servant, not in the glory of God; so that while he makes Himself a partaker of our weakness in the flesh, He makes us partakers of the divine Nature in His power. But neither in one nor the other have we any natural fellowship with the heavenly Generation of Christ, nor is there any subjection of the Godhead in Christ. But as the Apostle has said that on Him through that flesh which is the pledge of our salvation, we sit in heavenly places, Ephesians 2:6 though certainly not sitting ourselves, so also He is said to be subject in us through the assumption of our nature.

180. Quis enim tam demens qui putet, ut supra diximus (Ca et seq.), quod ad dexteram Dei Patris sedes sibi venerabilis debeatur; cum licet etiam

secundum carnem Christo ea a Patre, generationis tamen supernae et aequalis potentiae deferatur? Angeli adorant, et tu tibi praesumptione sacrilega solium Dei sternis?

179. For who is so mad as to think, as we have said already, that a seat of honour is due to Him at the right hand of God the Father, when that is granted to Christ according to the flesh by the Father of His Generation, even a seat of a heavenly and equal power? The angels worship, and do you attempt to overthrow the throne of God with impious presumption?

181. Scriptum est, inquies, quia cum mortui essemus peccatis, convivificavit nos in Christo, cujus gratia estis salvi facti; et simul suscitavit, simulque fecit sedere in coelestibus, in Christo Jesu (Ephes. II, 5, 6). Agnosco scriptum: sed non ut homines sedere ad dexteram sibi patiatur Deus, sed ut in Christo sedere; quia ipse est omnium fundamentum, et ipse est caput Ecclesiae (Ephes. V, 23), in quo communis secundum carnem natura praerogativam sedis coelestis emeruit: in Christo enim Deo caro, in carne autem humani natura generis omnium hominum particeps honoratur.

180. It is written, you say, that when we were dead in sins, He has quickened us in Christ, by Whose grace you are saved, and has raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus. Ephesians 2:5-6 I acknowledge that it is so written; but it is not written that God suffers men to sit on His right hand, but only to sit there in the Person of Christ. For He is the foundation of all, and is the head of the Church, Ephesians 5:23 in Whom our common nature according to the flesh has merited the right to the heavenly throne. For the flesh is honoured as having a share in Christ Who is God, and the nature of the whole human race is honoured as having a share in the flesh.

182. Sicut nos ergo in illo sedemus per corporeae communitatem naturae, ita et ille qui per susceptionem nostrae carnis maledictum pro nobis factus est; cum maledictum utique in benedictum Filium Dei non cadat: ita, inquam, et ille per obedientiam omnium erit subjectus in nobis; cum Gentilis crediderit, cum Judaeus agnoverit, quem crucifixit; cum Manichaeus adoraverit, quem in carne venisse non credidit; cum Arianus omnipotentem confessus fuerit, quem negavit; cum postremo in omnibus fuerit sapientia Dei, justitia, pax, charitas, resurrectio. Per sua igitur opera Christus et genera diversa virtutum erit in nobis Patri subditus; cum vitiis abdicatis, et feriante delicto, unus in omnibus Deo coeperit in uno sensu populorum omnium spiritus adhaerere, tunc erit Deus omnia et in omnibus (I Cor. XV, 28).

181. As we then sit in Him by fellowship in our fleshly nature, so also He, Who through the assumption of our flesh was made a curse for us (seeing that a curse could not fall upon the blessed Son of God), so, I say, He through the obedience of all will become subject in us; when the Gentile has believed, and the Jew has acknowledged Him Whom he crucified; when the Manichæan has worshipped Him, Whom he has not believed to have come in the flesh; when the Arian has confessed Him to be Almighty, Whom he has denied; when, lastly, the wisdom of God, His justice, peace, love, resurrection, is in all. Through His own works and through the manifold forms of virtues Christ will be in us in subjection to the Father. And when, with vice renounced and crime at an end, one spirit in the heart of all peoples has begun to cleave to God in all things, then will God be all and in all. 1 Corinthians 15:28

CAPUT XV.

SUPERIUS DISPUTATA STRICTIM resumit, ex unitate divinae potestatis in Patre ac Filio quaecumque de Filii subjectione dicuntur, ad solam referenda humanitatem scite colligens: quod praeterea ex charitate, quae eadem utriusque est, confirmat.

CHAPTER 15.

He briefly takes up again the same points of dispute, and shrewdly concludes from the unity of the divine power in the Father and the Son, that whatever is said of the subjection of the Son is to be referred to His humanity alone. He further confirms this on proof of the love, which exists alike in either.

183. Conclusionem igitur totius absolutionis breviter colligamus. Unitas potestatis opinionem injuriosae subjectionis excludit: evacuatio 584 potestatum, et victoria de morte quaesita, triumphatoris utique non minuit potestatem: subjectionem operatur obedientia, obedientiam Christus assumpsit, obedientia usque ad crucem, crux ad salutem. Ergo ubi opus, ibi et auctor est operis. Cum igitur omnia Christo subjecta fuerint per obedientiam Christi, ut in nomine ejus omnes genu flectant, tunc erit ipse omnia in omnibus; nunc enim, quia non omnes credunt, non videntur omnes esse subjecti. Cum omnes ergo crediderint, et Dei fecerint voluntatem, erit omnia et in omnibus Christus: cum Christus fuerit omnia et in omnibus, erit omnia et in omnibus Deus; quia Pater manet semper in Filio. Quomodo ergo infirmitatis arguitur, qui redemit infirmos?

182. Let us then shortly sum up our conclusion on the whole matter. A unity of power puts aside all idea of a degrading subjection. His giving up of power, and His victory as conqueror won over death, have not lessened His power. Obedience works out subjection. Christ has taken obedience upon Himself, obedience even to taking on Him our flesh, the cross even to gaining our salvation. Thus where the work lies, there too is the Author of the work. When therefore, all things have become subject to Christ, through Christ's obedience, so that all bend their knees in His name, then He Himself will be all in all. For now, since all do not believe, all do not seem to be in subjection. But when all have believed and done the will of God, then Christ will be all and in all. And when Christ is all and in all, then will God be all and in all; for the Father abides ever in the Son. How, then, is He shown to be weak, Who redeemed the weak?

184. Ac ne forte et illud ad infirmitatem Filii referas, quod scriptum est quia subjecit ei Deus omnia; disce quod omnia sibi etiam ipse subjecerit; scriptum est enim: Nostra autem conversatio in coelis est; unde et Salvatorem exspectamus Dominum Jesum, qui transfigurabit corpus humilitatis nostrae, conforme ut fiat corpori gloriae suae secundum operationem, quo possit etiam subjicere sibi omnia (Phil. III, 20, 21). Didicisti ergo quod omnia possit sibi ipse subjicere, secundum operationem utique divinitatis.

183. And lest you should by chance attribute to the weakness of the Son, that it is written, that God has put all things in subjection under Him; learn that He has Himself brought all things into subjection to Himself, for it is written: Our conversation is in heaven, from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus, Who shall change our vile body that it may be fashioned like His glorious body according to the working, whereby He is able to subdue all things unto Himself. Philippians 3:20-21 You have

learned, therefore, that He can subdue all things unto Himself according to the working of His Godhead.

185. Disce nunc quoniam secundum carnem omnia subjecta accipiat, sicut scriptum est: Qui operatus est in Christo, suscitans eum a mortuis, et constituens eum ad dexteram suam in coelestibus, supra omnem principatum, et potestatem, et virtutem, et dominationem, et omne nomen quod nominatur non solum in hoc saeculo, sed etiam in futuro; et omnia subjecit sub pedibus ejus (Ephes. V, 20, 21). Secundum carnem igitur ei omnia subjecta tradentur, secundum quam et a mortuis suscitatus est, et secundum animam humanam ac rationabilem subjectionem.

184. Learn now how He receives all things in subjection according to the flesh, as it is written: Who wrought in Christ, raising Him from the dead, and setting Him at His own right hand in the heavenly places, above principality and power and might and dominion and every name that is named not only in this world, but also in that which is to come; and has put all things under His feet. Ephesians 1:20-21 According to the flesh then all things are given to Him in subjection; according to which also He was raised from the dead, both in His human soul and His rational subjection.

186. Divine plerique interpretantur quod scriptum est: Nonne Deo subjecta erit anima mea (Psal. LXI, 1)? animam dixit, non divinitatem; animam, non majestatem. Et ut sciremus quod Dominus per Prophetam de susceptione naturae est locutus humanae, addidit: Usquequo adjicietis super hominem (Ibid., 3)? secundum illud quod ait in Evangelio: Quid me quaeritis interficere hominem (Joan. VIII, 40)? Et addidit: Verumtamen pretium meum voluerunt repellere, cucurrerunt in siti, ore suo benedicebant, et corde suo maledicebant (Ps. LXI, 4). Judaei enim, reportante Juda pretium, recipere noluerunt (Matth. XXVII, 6), currentes in siti amentiae; quia spiritalis potus gratiam recusarunt.

185. Many nobly interpret that which is written: Truly my soul will be in subjection to God; He said soul not Godhead, soul not glory. And that we might know that the Lord has spoken through the prophet of the adoption of our human nature, He added: How long will you cast yourselves upon a man? As also He says in the Gospel: Why do you seek to kill Me, a man? John 8:40 And He added again: Nevertheless they desired to refuse My price, they ran in thirst, they blessed with their mouth, and cursed with their heart. For the Jews, when Judas brought back the price, Matthew 27:4 would not receive it, running on in the thirst of madness, for they refused the grace of a spiritual draught.

187. Haec est pia subjectionis interpretatio. Etenim cum Dominicae passionis hoc munus sit, utique in quo passus est, in hoc erit subjectus in nobis. Quaerimus qua causa? Ut neque angeli, neque virtutes, neque altitudo, neque profundum, neque praesentia, neque futura, neque creatura alia separare nos possit a charitate Dei, quae est in Christo Jesu (Rom. VIII, 38, 39). Videmus itaque ex his quae diximus, nullam exceptam esse creaturam: sed istis, quas supra dixit, omnem, si qua est, annumeratam esse. 585

186. This is the reverent interpretation of subjection, for since this is the office of the Lord’s Passion, He will be subject in us in that in which He suffered. Do we ask wherefore? That neither angels, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor things present, nor things to come, nor any other creature may separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus. Romans 8:38-39 We see then, from what has been said, that no creature is excepted; but that every one, of whatever kind it may be, is enumerated among those he mentioned above.

188. Simul etiam illud est considerandum, quod cum in superioribus dixerit: Quis nos separabit a charitate Christi? subter posuit: Neque mors, neque

vita, nec alia creatura separare nos poterit a charitate Dei, quae est in Christo Jesu (Ibid., 35). Videmus ergo eamdem charitatem Dei esse, quae Christi est. Denique non otiose posuit charitatem Dei, quae est in Christo Jesu; ne separatam Dei et Christi intelligeres charitatem. Nihil autem est quod charitas dividat, nihil quod divinitas sempiterna non possit, nihil quod lateat veritatem, fallat justitiam, praetereat sapientiam.

187. At the same time, we must also think of the words which, after first saying Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Romans 8:35 he wrote next: Neither death, nor life, nor any other creature can separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus. We see, then, that the love of God is the same as the love of Christ. Thus it was not without reason that he wrote of the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus, lest otherwise you might imagine that the love of God and of Christ was divided. But there is nothing that love divides, nothing that the eternal Godhead cannot do, nothing that is unknown to the Truth, or deceives Justice, or escapes the notice of Wisdom.

CAPUT XVI.

ARIANOS A SPIRITU sancto per David condemnatos, quippe qui scientiae Christi derogare audeant. Locum ab illis ad hoc citatum suspicione corruptionis minime carere; sed ut maxime careat, distinguendam esse vocem Filius; Christo enim ut Dei Filio scientiam deesse non posse, cum sit sapientia: nec partis ullius cognitionem, cum omnia crearit. Eum qui saecula fecerit, futurum non posse non cognoscere, et multo minus diem judicii. Sive quid magnum sit ea cognitio, sive quid parvum, eam Filio non negandam; immo neque etiam Spiritui sancto. Demum his addit varia signa, quibus haec scientia inesse Christo colligi potest.

CHAPTER 16.

The Arians are condemned by the Holy Spirit through the mouth of David: for they dare to limit Christ's knowledge. The passage cited by them in proof of this is by no means free from suspicion of having been corrupted. But to set this right, we must mark the word Son. For knowledge cannot fail Christ as Son of God, since He is Wisdom; nor the recognition of any part, for He created all things. It is not possible that He, who made the ages, cannot know the future, much less the day of judgment. Such knowledge, whether it concerns anything great or small, may not be denied to the Son, nor yet to the Holy Spirit. Lastly, various proofs are given from which we can gather that this knowledge exists in Christ.

189. [Alias cap. VII.] Unde exsecrabiles eos qui ista commemorant, et a Spiritu sancto esse damnatos scire debemus. Quos enim alios, nisi specialiter Arianos Propheta condemnat, qui dicunt quod Dei Filius nesciat

tempora et annos? Non enim est aliquid quod ignoret Deus: est autem Deus Christus, et altissimus Christus; ipse est enim super omnia Deus.

188. Wherefore we ought to know that they who make such statements are accursed and condemned by the Holy Spirit. For whom else but the Arians in chief does the prophet condemn, seeing that they say that the Son of God knows neither times nor years. For there is nothing which God is ignorant of; and Christ, yea the most high Christ, is God, for He is God over all. Romans 9:5

190. Videte quemadmodum sanctus David hujuscemodi homines qui Dei Filio scientiam derogent, perhorrescat; sic enim habes: In laboribus hominum non sunt, et cum hominibus non flagellabuntur; ideo obtinuit eos superbia eorum; cooperti sunt iniquitate et impietate sua: prodiit quasi ex adipe iniquitas eorum, pertransierunt in dispositionem cordis (Psal. LXXII, 5 et seq.). Utique eos condemnat qui ex dispositione cordis aestimanda quae divina sunt, arbitrantur: nam Deus nec dispositioni est subjectus, nec ordini; quando etiam ipsa quae sunt in usu hominum, et successione generis humani, non semper aliqua solemnis dispositione rationis, sed plerumque secretis latentibusque decursa mysteriis, evenire cernamus.

189. See how horrified holy David is at such men, in limiting the knowledge of the Son of God. For thus it is written: They are not in the troubles of other men, neither will they be scourged with men; therefore their pride has laid hold on them; they are covered with their wickedness and blasphemy; their iniquity has stood forth as it were with fatness; they have passed on to the thoughts of their heart. Truly he condemns those who think that divine things are to be regarded in the light of the thoughts of the heart. For God is not subject to arrangement or order; seeing that we do not perceive even those very things, which are common among men and often occur in the history of the human race, to turn out always after the

arrangement of some stated rule, but often to happen suddenly in some secret and mysterious manner.

191. Cogitaverunt, inquit, et locuti sunt nequitiam, iniquitatem in Excelsum locuti sunt, posuerunt in coelum os suum (Ibid., 8). Videmus itaque quod impii sacrilegii reos damnet, qui ex similitudine 586 humanae naturae, dispositionem sibi arrogent coelestis arcani.

190. They have thought, he says, and have spoken wickedness. They have spoken wickedness against the Most High. They have set their mouth against heaven. We see then that he condemns, as guilty of wicked blasphemy, those who claim for themselves the right to arrange the heavenly secrets after the semblance of our human nature.

192. Et dixerunt: Quomodo scivit Deus? et si est scientia omnis in Altissimo (Ibid., 11)? Nonne haec quotidie perstrepunt Ariani, scientiam omnem in Christo esse non posse? Quia ipse, inquiunt, diei et horae se professus est esse ignarum. Nonne dicunt: Quomodo scivit, qui eum non potuisse scire commemorant, nisi quae audierit, et viderit: et ea quae spectant ad divinae unitatem naturae ad infirmitatem sacrilega interpretatione derivant?

191. And they have said: How has God known? And is there knowledge in the Most High? Do not the Arians echo this daily, saying that all knowledge cannot exist in Christ? For He, they say, stated that He knew not the day nor hour. Do they not say, how did He know, while they maintain that He could not know anything but what He heard and saw, and apply by a blasphemous interpretation that which concerns the unity of the divine Nature to weaken His power?

193. Scriptum est, inquiunt: De die autem illo et hora nemo scit, neque angeli coelorum, nec Filius, nisi solus Pater (Marc. XIII, 32). Primum

veteres non habent codices Graeci quia nec Filius scit: sed non mirum si et hoc falsarunt, qui Scripturas interpolavere divinas. Qua ratione autem videatur adjectum, proditur, dum ad interpretationem tanti sacrilegii derivatur.

192. It is written, they say: But of that day and that hour knows no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father only. Mark 13:32 First of all the ancient Greek manuscripts do not contain the words, neither the Son. But it is not to be wondered at if they who have corrupted the sacred Scriptures, have also falsified this passage. The reason for which it seems to have been inserted is perfectly plain, so long as it is applied to unfold such blasphemy.

194. Pone tamen ab evangelistis scriptum. Medium utique nomen est Filii: nam et Filius hominis dicitur; ut secundum imprudentiam assumptionis nostrae diem futuri judicii nescisse videatur. Quomodo enim nesciret diem Dei Filius, cum in ipso sint thesauri sapientiae et scientiae Dei absconditi (Coloss. II, 3) ?

193. Suppose however that the Evangelist wrote thus. The name of Son embraces both natures. For He is also called Son of Man, so that in the ignorance attached to the assumption of our nature, He seems not to have known the day of the judgment to come. For how could the Son of God be ignorant of the day, seeing that the treasures of the wisdom and knowledge of God are hidden in Him? Colossians 2:3

195. Quaero autem utrum ex substantia, an ex accidenti habuerit scientiam; omnis enim scientia aut ex natura, aut ex disciplina est: ex natura suppetit, ut equo currere, pisci natare; haec enim faciunt antequam discant: ex disciplina rursus suppetit natare homini; nam nisi didicerit, scire non poterit. Cum ergo mutis animantibus suppetat ex natura facere et scire quae non

didicerint, quid censes de Dei Filio, utrum ex institutione, an ex natura habeat scientiam? Si ex institutione: ergo non est natus sapientia, et ex processu coepit esse perfectus, nec erat semper. Quod si naturalem scientiam habet, utique perfectus in principio erat, perfectus ex Patre processit; et ideo praescientia non eguit futurorum.

194. I ask then, whether He had this knowledge by reason of His Being, or by chance? For all knowledge comes to us either through nature, or by learning. It is supplied by nature, as for instance to a horse to enable it to run, or to a fish to enable it to swim. For they do this without learning. On the other hand, it is by learning that a man is enabled to swim. For he could not do so unless he had learned. Since therefore nature enables dumb animals to do and to know what they have not learned, why should you give an opinion on the Son of God, and say whether He has knowledge by instruction or by nature? If by instruction, then He was not begotten as Wisdom, and gradually began to be perfect, but was not always so. But if He has knowledge by nature, then He was perfect in the beginning, He came forth perfect from the Father; and so needed no foreknowledge of the future.

196. Non ergo nescivit diem; neque enim sapientiae Dei est ex parte scire, et ex parte nescire. Nam quomodo potest nescire partem, qui fecit omnia; cum minus sit scire, quam facere? Multa enim scimus, quae facere non possumus: nec eodem modo omnes scimus, sed ex parte cognoscimus. Novit enim ventorum vim, stellarumque cursus aliter rusticus, aliter civitatis incola, aliter gubernator. Etsi non omnes norunt omnia, tamen nosse dicuntur: solus autem plene novit ille, qui fecit omnia. Novit gubernator quota vigilia procedat Arcturus, 587 quales ortus exploret Orionis; non tamen colligationes Vergiliarum, caeterarumque stellarum aut numerum novit, aut nomina, sicut ille, Qui numerat multitudinem stellarum, et

omnibus his nomina vocat (Ps. CXLVI, 4): quem utique non fallit operis sui virtus.

195. He therefore was not ignorant of the days; for it does not fall to the lot of the Wisdom of God to know in part and in part to be ignorant. For how can He who made all things be ignorant of a part, since it is a less thing to know than to make. For we know many things which we cannot make, neither do we all know things in the same way but we know them in part. For a countryman knows the force of the wind and the courses of the stars in one way — the inhabitant of a city knows them in another way — and a pilot in yet a third way. But although all do not know all things, they are said to know them; but He alone knows all things in full, Who made all things. The pilot knows for how many watches Arcturus continues, what sort of a rising of Orion he will discover, but he knows nothing of the connection of the Vergiliæ and of the other stars, or of their number or names, as does He Who numbers the multitude of stars, and calls them all by their names; Whom indeed the power of His work cannot escape.

197. Quomodo enim vultis haec fecisse Dei Filium? Numquid quasi annulum, qui non sentit quod exprimit? Sed omnia in sapientia Pater fecit (Psal. CIII, 24), id est, omnia per Filium fecit, qui est virtus Dei et sapientia (I Cor. I, 24): sapientiae autem id convenit, ut suorum operum et virtutes norit et causas. Et ideo non potuit creator omnium ignorare quod fecit, nescire quod ipse donavit: novit ergo diem quem fecit.

196. How then do you wish the Son of God to have made these things? Like a signet ring which does not feel the impression it makes? But the Father made all things in wisdom, that is, He made all things through the Son, who is the Virtue and Wisdom of God. 1 Corinthians 1:24 But it befits such Wisdom as that to know both the powers and the causes of His own works. Thus the Creator of all things could not be ignorant of what He did — or be

without knowledge of what He had Himself given. Therefore He knew the day which He made.

198. Sed dicis, quia praesentem novit, nescit futurum. Licet inepta sit propositio, tamen ut de Scripturis satisfaciam tibi, disce quia non solum praeterita fecit, sed etiam quae futura sunt, sicut scriptum est: Qui fecit quae adventura sunt (Esai. XLV, 11). Et alibi ait Scriptura: Per quem et facta sunt saecula, splendor est gloriae, et character substantiae ejus (Hebr. I, 2, 3). Saecula enim et praeterita et praesentia et futura sunt. Quomodo ergo facta sunt quae futura sunt; nisi quia operatoria virtus et scientia comprehendit numerum omnium saeculorum? Sicut enim vocat quae non sunt, tamquam quae sunt (Rom. IV, 17): sic et fecit quae futura sunt, tamquam quae sint; quia non contingit ut non sint, sed necessario sunt futura, quae esse praecepit. Ergo qui fecit quae futura sunt, eo genere quo sunt futura cognovit.

197. But you say that He knows the present and does not know the future. Though this is a foolish suggestion, yet that I may satisfy you on Scriptural grounds, learn that He made not only what is past, but also what is future, as it is written: Who made things to come. Isaiah 45:11 Elsewhere too Scripture says: By whom also He made the ages, who is the brightness of His glory and the express Image of His Person. Hebrews 1:2-3 Now the ages are past and present and future. How then were those made which are future, unless it is that His active power and knowledge contains within itself the number of all the ages? For just as He calls the things that are not as though they were, Romans 4:17 so has He made things future as though they were. It cannot come to pass that they should not be. Those things which He has directed to be, necessarily will be. Therefore He who has made the things that are to be, knows them in the way in which they will be.

199. Si hoc de saeculis, multo magis de judicii credendum est die; eo quod cognitionem ejus habeat Dei Filius tamquam a se jam factae; quia scriptum est: Dispositione tua permanebit dies (Psal. CXVIII, 91). Nec solum permanet dixit, sed etiam permanebit; ut ejus dispositione quae ventura sunt, gubernentur. Quae disposuit ergo, non novit? Qui plantavit aurem, non audiet? qui finxit oculum, non considerat (Psal. XCIII, 9)?

198. If we are to believe this about the ages, much more must we believe it about the day of judgment, on the ground that the Son of God has knowledge of it, as being already made by Him. For it is written: According to Your ordinance the day will continue. He did not merely say the day continues, but even will continue, so that the things which are to come might be governed by His ordinance. Does He not know what He ordered? He who planted the ear, shall He not hear? He that formed the eye shall He not see?

200. Videamus tamen ne quid forte magnum sit, quod creatorem suum potuerit praeterire; et tamen eligant utrum quasi magnum aliquid et praestantius putent esse quam caetera: an quasi minimum atque abjectum? Si minimum atque abjectum, non est injuria, ut nostro usu loquar, vilia et exigua nescire; nam cum potentiae sit scire quae maxima sunt, despexisse magis videtur degeneris operis vilitatem. Fastidio igitur absolutus est, non potestate fraudatus.

199. Let us however see if by chance there may be some great thing, which could be beyond the knowledge of its Creator; or at least let them choose whether they will think of something great and superior to other things, or something very little and mean. If it is very little and mean, it is no loss, to speak after our fashion, to know nothing of worthless and petty things. For as it is a sign of power to know the greatest things, it seems rather to be a

sign of inferior work to look upon what is worth less. Thus He is freed from fastidiousness, yet is not deprived of His power.

201. Quod si magnum et summum arbitrantur scire judicii diem, dicant quid Deo Patre majus aut melius sit. Patrem igitur Deum novit, ut ipse ait: Nemo novit Patrem nisi Filius, et cui voluerit Filius revelare (Matth. XI, 27). Patrem, inquam, novit et diem nescit? Sic ergo creditis 588 quia Patrem revelat, et diem non potest revelare?

200. But if they think it a great and important thing to know the day of judgment: Let them say what is greater or better than God the Father. He knows God the Father, as He Himself says: No man knows the Father but the Son and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him. Matthew 11:27 I say, does He know the Father and yet not know the day? So then you believe that He reveals the Father, and yet cannot reveal the day?

202. Deinde quia gradus quosdam facitis; ut Patrem Filio, Filium Spiritui praeferatis; dicite mihi utrum Spiritus sanctus noverit judicii diem; nihil enim de eo scriptum est hoc loco. Negatis profecto. Quid si doceo quod noverit? Lectum est enim: Nobis autem revelavit Deus per Spiritum suum; Spiritus enim omnia scrutatur, etiam alta Dei (I Cor. II, 10). Utique quia alta Dei scrutatur, cum Deus noverit judicii diem, etiam Spiritus novit. Novit enim omnia quae Deus novit, sicut Apostolus declarat dicens: Quis enim scit hominum quae sunt hominis, nisi spiritus hominis qui in ipso est? Sic et quae Dei sunt, nemo cognovit, nisi Spiritus Dei (Ibid., 11). Videte igitur, ne aut negando Spiritum sanctum scire, negetis et Patrem scire; quia quae Dei sunt, cognovit et Dei Spiritus: quae autem non cognovit Spiritus Dei, utique Dei non sunt: aut confitendo quia Spiritus Dei novit, quod negatis Filium scire, contra vestram assertionem Spiritum Filio praeferatis. Verum non solum sacrilega ista, sed etiam inepta dubitatio.

201. Next because you make certain grades, so as to put the Father before the Son, and the Son before the Holy Spirit, tell me whether the Holy Spirit knew the day of judgment. For no thing is written of Him in this place. You deny it entirely. But what if I show you He knew it? For it is written: But God has revealed them to us by His Spirit, for the Spirit searches all things, yea the deep things of God. 1 Corinthians 2:10 Wherefore, because He searches the deep things of God, since God knows the day of judgment, the Spirit also knows it. For He knows all that God knows, as also the Apostle states, saying: For what man knows the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him, even so the things of God knows no man, but the Spirit of God. 1 Corinthians 2:11 Take heed therefore lest either by denying that the Holy Spirit knows, you should deny that the Father knows; (For the things of God, the Spirit of God also knows, but the things which the Spirit of God does not know, are not the things of God). Or by confessing that the Spirit of God knows, what you deny that the Son of God knows, you should put the Spirit before the Son in opposition to your own declaration. But to hesitate on this point is not only blasphemous but also foolish.

203. Nunc consideremus quibus modis scientia colligatur, et ostendamus ipsum Filium demonstrasse quod et diem sciret. Quod enim scimus, aut tempore, aut loco, aut signis, aut personis declaramus, aut ordine. Quomodo igitur nescivit judicii diem, qui et horam judicii, et locum, et signa expressit et causas.

202. Now consider how knowledge is acquired, and let us show that the Son Himself proved that He knew the day. For what we know we make clear either by mention of time or place or signs or persons, or by giving their order. How then did He not know the day of judgment Who described both the hour and the place of judgment, and the signs and the cases?

204. Denique sic habes: In illa hora qui fuerit in tecto, non descendat tollere vasa de domo sua; et qui in agro, similiter non redeat retro (Luc. XVII, 31). Eousque igitur futurorum norat periculorum eventus, ut etiam praesidia periclitantibus demonstraret.

203. And so you have it: In that hour he which shall be on the housetop let him not come down to take his goods out of his house, and he that is in the field, let him likewise not return back. Luke 17:31 To such a point in the future did He know the issues of dangers, that He even showed the means of safety to those in danger.

205. An poterat Dominus diem ignorare, qui ipse de se dixit quia Filius hominis Dominus est sabbati (Matth. XII, 8) ?

204. Could the Lord be ignorant of a day Who Himself said of Himself that the Son of Man is Lord of the Sabbath? Matthew 12:8

206. Locum quoque etiam alibi designavit, cum sibi structuras templi ostendentibus discipulis, diceret: Videtis haec omnia? Amen dico vobis, non relinquetur lapis super lapidem, qui non destruatur (Matth. XXIV, 2).

205. He has also elsewhere marked out a place, when He said to His disciples who were showing Him the building of the temple, Do you see all these things? Verily I say unto you, there shall not be left one stone upon another which shall not be thrown down. Matthew 24:2

207. De signo quoque interrogatus ab Apostolis respondit: Videte ne seducamini. Multi enim venient in nomine meo, dicentes quia ego sum Christus (Luc. XXI, 8); et infra: Terrae motus, inquit, magni erunt per loca singula, et fames, et pestilentia, terroresque de coelo, et signa magna erunt (Ibid., 11). Itaque et personas expressit et signa.

206. When questioned also about a sign by His disciples, He answered: Take heed that you be not deceived. For many shall come in My name, saying I am Christ; Luke 21:8 and further on He says: and great earthquakes shall be in various places, and famines, and pestilences, and terrors from heaven, and there shall be great signs. Luke 21:11 Thus He has described both persons and signs.

208. Quo autem modo, vel circumdaturos exercitus Jerusalem dicat, vel implenda tempora gentium, et quo ordine, Evangelicae utique lectionis attestatione reseratur. Scivit ergo omnia.

207. In what manner He tells that the armies will surround Jerusalem, or that the times of the Gentiles are to be fulfilled, and in what order — all this is disclosed to us by the witness of the Gospel words. Therefore He knew all things.

CAPUT XVII.

QUOD CHRISTUS DIEM judicii revelare noluerit, in hoc nostrae utilitati consultum esse. Illud alia Domini sententia declaratur; nec non et Pauli loco plane simili. Urgentibus vero cur ita responderit discipulis ac si nescisset, alii loci quibus Patri eadem tribui videtur ignoratio, opponuntur: ex quibus si ignorantiam impotentiamve in Patre illi admittant, hinc in Filio eamdem quae in Patre substantiam admittendam esse contra ipsos arguit Ambrosius; nisi tamen malint mendacii accusare Filium; cum neque in hunc neque in Patrem cadat fallere, sed memoratis locis utriusque unitas designetur.

CHAPTER 17.

Christ acted for our advantage in being unwilling to reveal the day of judgment. This is made plain by other words of our Lord and by a not dissimilar passage from Paul's writings. Other passages in which the same ignorance seems to be attributed to the Father are brought forward to meet those who are anxious to know why Christ answered His disciples, as though He did not know. From these Ambrose argues against them that if they admit ignorance and inability in the Father, they must admit that the same Substance exists in the Son as in the Father; unless they prefer to accuse the Son of falsehood; since it belongs neither to Him nor to the Father to deceive, but the unity of both is pointed out in the passage named.

209. Sed quaerimus qua ratione designare momenta noluerit (Luc. XIX, 43). Si quaeramus, non ignorantiae inveniemus esse, sed sapientiae. Nobis enim scire non proderat; ut dum certa futuri judicii momenta nescimus, semper tamquam in excubiis constituti, et in quadam virtutis specula

collocati, peccandi consuetudinem declinemus; ne nos inter vitia dies Domini deprehendat. Non enim prodest scire, sed metuere quod futurum est; scriptum est enim: Noli alta sapere, sed time (Rom. XI, 20).

208. But we ask for what reason He was unwilling to state the time. If we ask it, we shall not find it is owing to ignorance, but to wisdom. For it was not to our advantage to know; in order that we being ignorant of the actual moments of judgment to come, might ever be as it were on guard, and set on the watchtower of virtue, and so avoid the habits of sin; lest the day of the Lord should come upon us in the midst of our wickedness. For it is not to our advantage to know but rather to fear the future; for it is written: Be not high-minded but fear. Romans 11:20

216. Nam si diem designasset expresse, uni aetati hominum quae proxima erat judicio, videretur disciplinam praescripsisse vivendi; superioris temporis aut justus esset remissior, aut peccator securior. Namque adulter nisi quotidianam poenam metuat, non potest ab adulterandi cupiditate desinere: nec latro obsessorum saltuum secreta deserere, nisi sciat sibi momentis omnibus imminere supplicium. Plerumque enim quibus incentivum est impunitas, timor taedio est.

209. For if He had distinctly stated the day, he would seem to have laid down a rule of life for that one age which was nearest to the judgment, and the just man in the earlier times would be more negligent, and the sinner more free from care. For the adulterer cannot cease from the desire of committing adultery unless he fears punishment day by day, nor can the robber forsake the hiding places in the woods where he dwells, unless he knows punishment is hanging over him day by day. For impurity generally spurs them on, but fear is irksome to the end.

211. Ideo ergo dixi quia scire non proderat, immo proderat ignorare; ut ignorantes timeremus, ut observantes emendaremur, sicut ipse dixit: Estote parati, quia nescitis qua hora Filius hominis venturus est (Matth. XXIV, 44). Namque miles nisi bellum in manibus esse cognoscat, praetendere non novit in castris.

210. Therefore I have said that it was not to our advantage to know; nay, it is to our advantage to be ignorant, that through ignorance we might fear, through watchfulness be corrected, as He Himself said: Be ready, for you know not at what hour the Son of Man comes. Matthew 24:44 For the soldier does not know how to watch in the camp unless he knows that war is at hand.

212. Unde alibi quoque ipse Dominus interrogatus ab apostolis, inquam, qui utique non sicut Arius intelligebant, sed Filium Dei futura scire credebant; nam nisi hoc credidissent, numquam interrogassent: interrogatus ergo quando restitueret regnum Israel, non se nescire dixit, sed ait: Non est vestrum scire tempora et annos, quae Pater posuit in sua potestate (Act. I, 7). Attende quid dixerit: Non est vestrum scire. Lege iterum: Non est vestrum. Vestrum dixit, non meum; jam enim non secundum perfectionem, sed secundum profectum humani corporis ac nostrae animae loquebatur. Vestrum ergo dixit, non meum.

211. Wherefore at another time also the Lord Himself when asked by his Apostles (Yes, for they did not understand it as Arius did, but believed that the Son of God knew the future. For unless they had believed this, they would never have asked the question.) — the Lord, I say, when asked when He would restore the kingdom to Israel, did not say that He did not know, but says: It is not for you to know the times or years, which the Father has put in His own power. Acts 1:7 Mark what He said: It is not for you to know! Read again, It is not for you. For you, He said, not for Me, for now

He spoke not according to His own perfection but as was profitable to the human body and our soul. For you therefore He said, not for Me.

213. Quod et Apostolus secutus: De temporibus autem et momentis, fratres, non habetis, inquit, opus ut vobis scribamus (I Thess. V, 1). Itaque ne Apostolus quidem ipse Christi servus dixit se nescire momenta, sed non opus esse doceri populum 590 qui semper spiritalibus munimentis esse debet armatus; ut virtus Christi in unoquoque praetendat. Cum autem dicit Dominus: De temporibus quae Pater posuit in sua potestate, utique non potest exsors esse scientiae paternae, cujus nequaquam exsors est potestatis; cum potestas ex sapientia et virtute gignatur, quod utrumque Christus est.

212. Which example the Apostle also followed: But of the times and seasons, brethren, he says, you have no need that I write unto you. 1 Thessalonians 5:1 Thus not even the Apostle himself, the servant of Christ, said that he knew not the seasons, but that there was no need for the people to be taught; for they ought ever to be armed with spiritual armour, that the virtue of Christ may stand forth in each one. But when the Lord says: Of the times which the Father has put in His own power, Acts 1:7 He certainly cannot be without a share in His Father’s knowledge, in whose power He is by no means without a share. For power grows out of wisdom and virtue; and Christ is both of these.

214. Sed quaeritis qua causa non ita discipulis negaverit, quasi sciret et nollet dicere: sed neque Angelos, neque Filium scire memoraverit (Marc. XIII, 32)? Interrogabo vos et ego, qua causa in Genesi Deus dicat: Descendam itaque, ut videam secundum clamorem illorum venientem ad me, si consummabuntur: sin autem, ut sciam (Gen. XVIII, 21)? Qua causa etiam Scriptura de Domino dicat: Et descendit Dominus videre civitatem et turrim, quam aedificarent filii hominum (Gen. XI, 5)? Qua causa etiam dicat Propheta in Psalterio: Dominus respexit super filios hominum, si est

intelligens, aut requirens Deum (Psal. LII, 3); quasi et illic si non descenderet Deus, et hic si non prospiceret Dominus, aut opera hominum ignoraret aut merita?

213. But you ask, why did He not refuse His disciples as one who knew, but would not say; and, why did He state instead that neither the angels nor the Son knew? Mark 13:32 I too will ask you why God says in Genesis: I will go down now, and see whether they have done altogether according to the cry that has come unto Me. And if not, that I may know. Genesis 18:21 Why does Scripture also say of God: And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which the sons of men built. Genesis 11:5 Why also does the prophet say in the Book of the Psalms: The Lord looked down upon the children of men, to see if there were any that did understand, and that did seek God? Just as though in one place, if God had not descended, and in the other, if He had not looked down, He would have been ignorant either of men's work or of their merits.

215. Sed etiam in Evangelio habes secundum Lucam, quia Pater dicit: Quid faciam? Mittam Filium meum dilectissimum, forsitan hunc verebuntur (Luc. XX, 13). Secundum Matthaeum, autem, et secundum Marcum habes: Quoniam misit unicum Filium suum, dicens: Verebuntur Filium meum (Matt. XXI, 37; Marc. XII, 6). In uno libro dicit: Forsitan verebuntur, et quasi nesciens dubitat; nam hic sermo dubitantis est: in duobus autem aliis libris: Verebuntur, inquit, Filium meum; hoc est, confirmat reverentiam deferendam.

214. But in the Gospel of Luke also you have the same, for the Father says: What shall I do? I will send My beloved Son; it may be that they will reverence Him. Luke 20:13 In Matthew and in Mark you have: But He sent His only Son, saying: they will reverence My Son; Matthew 21:37 In one book He says: It may be that they will reverence My Son; Mark 12:6 and is

in doubt as though He does not know; for this is the language of one in doubt. But in the two other books He says: They will reverence My Son; that is, He declares that reverence will be shown.

216. Sed neque dubitare Dei est, neque falli; dubitat enim, qui ignorat quod futurum est: fallitur autem, qui aliud praedixit, et aliud est secutum. Quid autem evidentius, quam quod Scriptura habet aliud Patrem dixisse de Filio, et aliud accidisse eadem Scriptura testatur? Ille dixit: Verebuntur Filium meum: Filius autem vapulavit, illusus est, crucifixus est, mortuus est (Matth. XXVII, 29 et seq.); multoque illis servis qui prius fuerant destinati, graviora secundum carnem passus est. Fefellit igitur Pater, an ignoravit, vel subvenire non potuit? Sed verus nescit fallere; scriptum est enim: Fidelis Deus qui non mentitur (Tit. I, 2). Quomodo autem ignoravit, qui novit omnia (Dan. XIII, 42)? Aut quid non potuit, qui omnia potest?

215. But God can neither be in doubt, nor can He be deceived. For he only is in doubt, who is ignorant of the future; and he is deceived, who has predicted one thing, while another has happened. Yet what is plainer than the fact that Scripture states the Father to have said one thing of the Son, and that the same Scripture proves another think to have taken place? The Son was beaten, He was mocked, was crucified, and died. He suffered much worse things in the flesh than those servants who had been appointed before. Was the Father deceived, or was He ignorant of it, or was He unable to give help? But He that is true cannot make a mistake; for it is written: God is faithful Who does not lie. Titus 1:2 How was He ignorant, Who knows all? What could He not do, Who could do all?

217. Tamen si aut ignoravit, aut non potuit (facilius enim acquiescitis, ut dicatis Patrem ignorasse, quam confiteamini Filium scisse), videtis quia ex hoc ipso unius substantiae est Filius cum Patre; si quemadmodum Pater, ita et Filius, ut secundum vestram insipientiam loquar, aut non omnia novit, aut

non omnia potest. Non sum enim avarus aut praeceps circa Filii laudes, ut plus audeam dicere Filium posse quam Patrem, qui nullam inter Patrem et Filium discretionem facio potestatis.

216. Yet if either He was ignorant, or had not power (for you would sooner agree to say that the Father did not know than own that the Son knows), you see from this very fact that the Son is of one Substance with the Father; seeing that the Son like the Father (to speak in accordance with your foolish ideas) does not know all things, and cannot do all things. For I am not so eager or rash in giving praise to the Son as to dare to say that the Son can do more than the Father; for I make no distinction of power between the Father and the Son.

218. Sed fortasse dicatis, non ita dixisse Patrem, sed de Patre Filium fefellisse. Jam ergo 591 non solum infirmitatis Filium, sed etiam sacrilegii et mendacii arguitis. Verumtamen si non creditis de Patre Filio, nec de eo credatis; si enim fallere nos voluit, quia dixit dubitasse Patrem, quasi nesciret quod esset futurum: fallere ergo etiam de se nos voluit, quia futura nescire se dixit; multoque tolerabilius ad pudorem, si ignorantiam ante praetendit, quod de se facit, quam si contrario promissis lusus videatur effectu, quod de Patre praedicavit.

217. But perhaps you say that the Father did not say so, but that the Son erred about the Father. So now you convict the Son not only of weakness, but also of blasphemy and lying. However if you do not believe the Son with regard to the Father, neither may you believe Him with regard to that. For if He wished to deceive us in saying that the Father was in doubt as though He knew not what would take place, He wished also to deceive us about Himself in saying that He did not know the future. It would be far more endurable for Him to stretch the veil of ignorance in front of that which He does of His own accord, than that He should seem to be deluded

by a result contrary to what He had foretold in the things He had declared of His Father.

219. Sed neque fallitur Pater, neque fallit Filius: verum ea est in Scripturis consuetudo divinis, sicut et superiora, et multa alia exempla testantur, ut Deus dissimulet se nescire quod novit. Et in hoc ergo unitas divinitatis, et unitas dispositionis in Patre probatur et Filio, si quemadmodum Deus Pater cognita dissimulat, ita Filius etiam in hoc imago Dei, quae sibi sunt nota dissimulet.

218. But neither is the Father deceived, not does the Son deceive. It is the custom of the holy Scriptures to speak thus, as the examples I have already given, and many others testify, so that God feigns not to know what He does know. In this then a unity of Godhead, and a unity of character is proved to exist in the Father and in the Son; seeing that, as God the Father hides what is known to Him, so also the Son, Who is the image of God in this respect, hides what is known to Him.

CAPUT XVIII.

DOMINICI AD APOSTOLOS responsi causam allaturus, primo illud indulgentiae Christi acceptum refert, mox alia quorumdam ratione proposita, germanam hanc esse profitetur, quod idem Dominus ex humano affectu locutus fuerit. Inde colligit scientiam Patris ac Filii aequalem esse; atque adeo non minorem Patre Filium. Postea ubi textui quo dicitur minor, alium quo aequalis traditur, opposuit; Arianorum de Filio judicantium temeritatem castigat, et cum illum impie minorem astruerent, ipsum pie lapidem abs se dici ostendit.

CHAPTER 18.

Wishing to give a reason for the Lord's answer to the apostles, he assigns the one received to Christ's tenderness. Then when another reason is supplied by others he confesses that it is true; for the Lord spoke it by reason of His human feelings. Hence he gathers that the knowledge of the Father and the Son is equal, and that the Son is not inferior to the Father. After having set beside the text, in which He is said to be inferior, another whereby He is declared to be equal, he censures the rashness of the Arians in judging about the Son, and shows that while they wickedly make Him to be inferior, He is rightly called a Stone by Himself.

220. Edoctum est igitur non ignorasse Dei Filium quae futura sunt. Quod si fatentur, et ego, ut jam respondeam qua ratione neque angelos, neque Filium, sed Patrem scire memoravit (Marc. XIII, 32), solemnem ejus in discipulos charitatem etiam in hoc loco et gratiam recognosco, quod ex frequentia ipsa debet omnibus esse jam cognitum. Mavult enim Dominus

nimio in discipulos amore propensus, petentibus his quae cognitu inutilia judicaret, videri ignorare quod noverat, quam negare; plusque amat nostram utilitatem instruere, quam suam potentiam demonstrare.

219. We have been taught therefore that the Son of God is not ignorant of the future. If they confess this, I too — that I may now answer why He declared that neither angels, nor the Son, but only the Father knows — call to mind His wonted love for His disciples also in this passage, and His grace, which by its very frequency ought to have been known to all. For the Lord, filled with deep love for His disciples, when they asked from Him what He thought unprofitable for them to know, prefers to seem ignorant of what He knows, rather than to refuse an answer. He loves rather to provide what is useful for us, than to show His own power.

221. Sunt tamen plerique non ita timidiores, ut ego; malo enim alta timere, quam sapere: sunt tamen plerique eo freti, quod scriptum est: Et Jesus proficiebat aetate et sapientia et gratia apud Deum et homines (Luc. II, 52), qui dicant confidenter quod secundum divinitatem quidem ea quae futura sunt, ignorare non potuit, sed secundum nostrae conditionis assumptionem ignorare se quasi Filium hominis ante crucem dixit. Etenim cum Filium dicit, non quasi de alio dicit; nam ipse est et Dominus noster Dei Filius, et Filius Virginis: sed medio verbo nostrum informat affectum, ut quasi hominis filius secundum susceptionem nostrae imprudentiae, vel profectus, non 592 plene adhuc scisse omnia crederetur; non enim est nostrum scire quae futura sunt. Eadem igitur videtur ignorare conditione, qua proficit: nam quomodo secundum divinitatem proficit, in quo habitat plenitudo divinitatis (Coloss. II, 9)? Aut quid est quod nesciat Dei Filius qui dicebat: Quid cogitatis mala in cordibus vestris (Matth. IX, 4)? Quomodo nesciat, de quo dicit Scriptura: Jesus autem norat cogitationes eorum (Luc. VI, 8)?

220. There are, however, some not so faint-hearted as I. For I would rather fear the deep things of God, than be wise. There are some, however, relying on the words: And Jesus increased in age and in wisdom and in favour with God and man, Luke 2:52 who boldly say, that according to His Godhead indeed He could not be ignorant of the future, but that in His assumption of our human state He said that He as Son of Man was in ignorance before His crucifixion. For when He speaks of the Son, He does not speak as it were of another; for He Himself is our Lord the Son of God and the Son of a Virgin. But by a word which embraces both, He guides our mind, so that He as Son of Man according to His adoption of our ignorance and growth of knowledge, might be believed as yet not fully to have known all things. For it is not for us to know the future. Thus He seems to be ignorant in that state in which He makes progress. For how does He progress according to His Godhead, in Whom the fullness of the Godhead dwells? Colossians 2:9 Or what is there which the Son of God does not know, Who said: Why do you think evil in your hearts? Matthew 9:4 How does He not know, of Whom Scripture says: But Jesus knew their thoughts? Luke 6:8

222. Haec tamen alii dicant: ego autem ut ad superiora redeam, qui proposuerim scriptum quia Pater dixit: Fortasse reverebuntur Filium meum (Luc. XX, 13); quod utique ideo arbitror positum; ut quia de hominibus loquebatur Pater, humano locutus videatur affectu: multo magis arbitror quia Filius qui cum hominibus conversatus est, et hominem egit, et carnem suscepit, nostrum assumpsit affectum; ut nostra ignoratione nescire se diceret, non quia aliquid ipse nesciret. Nam etsi homo in veritate corporis videbatur; erat tamen vita, erat lux, et virtus exibat de eo, quae vulnera sauciorum majestatis suae auctoritate sanabat (Luc. VI, 19).

221. This is what others say, but I — to return to my former point, where I stated it was written of the Father: It may be they will reverence My Son, —

I think indeed this was written in order that the Father, as He was speaking of men, might also seem to have spoken with human feelings. But still more am I inclined to think that the Son Who went about with men, and lived the life of man, and took upon Him our flesh, assumed also our feelings; so that after our ignorance He might say He knew not, though there was not anything He did not know. For though He seemed to be a man in the reality of His body, yet was He Life, and Light, and virtue came out of Him, Luke 6:19 to heal the wounds of the injured by the power of His Majesty.

223. Advertitis ergo quaestionem vobis esse sublatam, cum et Filii dictum ad susceptionem integrae conditionis referatur humanae, et de Patre ideo scriptum sit, ut vel sic calumniari Filio desinatis.

222. You see then that this matter has been solved for you, since the saying of the Son is referred to the assumption of our state in its fullness, and it was thus written concerning the Father, in order that you might cease to cavil at the Son.

224. Nihil ergo fuit quod ignoraverit Dei Filius; nihil enim fuit quod ignoraverit Pater. Quod si nihil et Filius ignoravit, ut jam concludamus, dicant in quo eum minorem velint videri. Si minorem generavit Deus Filium, minus contulit; si minus contulit, aut minus voluit, aut minus potuit: sed nec infirmus nec invidus Pater; quia nec voluntas ante Filium, nec potestas: in quo enim minor, qui omnia habet quae Pater habet (Joan. XVI, 15)? Nam et omnia a Patre jure generationis accepit, et totum Patrem gloria suae majestatis expressit.

223. There was nothing then of which the Son of God was ignorant, for there was nothing of which the Father was ignorant. But if the Son was ignorant of nothing, as we now conclude, let them say in what respect they wish Him to seem to be inferior. If God has begotten a Son inferior to

Himself, He has granted Him less. If He has granted Him less, He either wished to give less, or could only give less. But the Father is neither weak nor envious, seeing that there was neither will nor power before the Son. For wherein is He inferior, Who has all things even as the Father has them? He has received all things from the Father by right of His Generation, John 16:15 and has shown forth the Father wholly by the glory of His Majesty.

225. Scriptum est, inquiunt: Quoniam Pater major me est (Joan. XIV, 28). Sed scriptum est: Non rapinam arbitratus est se esse aequalem Deo (Philip. II, 6). Scriptum est quod propterea volebant illum Judaei occidere, quia Filium se dicebat Dei, aequalem se faciens Deo (Joan. V, 18). Scriptum est: Ego et Pater unum sumus (Joan. X, 30). Unum legunt, multa non legunt. Numquid ergo et minor et aequalis per naturam eamdem potest esse? Sed aliud ad divinitatem refertur, aliud ad carnem.

224. It is written, they say: For the Father is greater than I. John 14:28 It is also written: He thought it not robbery to be equal with God. Philippians 2:6 It is written again that the Jews wished to kill Him, because He said He was the Son of God, making Himself equal with God. John 5:18 It is written: I and My Father are one. John 10:30 They read one, they do not read many. Can He then be both inferior and equal in the same Nature? Nay, the one refers to His Godhead, the other to His flesh.

226. Minorem dicunt: quaero quis mensus sit, quis tam exaltati cordis, qui velut ante tribunal suum Patrem Deum et Filium constituat; ut de praelatione dijudicet? Non est exaltatum cor meum, neque in vanum elati sunt oculi mei, David dicit (Psal. CXXX, 1). Rex David exaltare cor metuit in rebus humanis, nos exaltamus adversus divina secreta. Quis igitur judicat de Dei Filio? Throni, Dominationes, Angeli, Potestates? Sed famulantur 593 et serviunt Archangeli, sed ministrant Cherubim et Seraphim, sed laudant. Quis igitur judicat de Dei Filio, cum legerit quia ipse Pater noverit

Filium, non judicet; Nemo enim novit Filium, nisi Pater (Matth. XI, 27). Novit, inquit, non judicat. Aliud est nosse, aliud judicare. Habet Pater in se scientiam, Filius supra se non habet potestatem. Et rursus: Nemo novit Patrem, nisi Filius; et ipse novit Patrem, sicut eum Pater novit.

225. They say He is inferior: I ask who has measured it, who is of so overweening a heart, as to place the Father and the Son before his judgment seat to decide upon which is the greater? My heart is not haughty nor are my eyes raised unto vanity, says David. King David feared to raise his heart in pride in human affairs, but we raise ours even in opposition to the divine secrets. Who shall decide about the Son of God? Thrones, dominions, angels, powers? But archangels give attendance and serve Him, cherubim and seraphim minister to Him and praise Him. Who then decides about the Son of God, on reading that the Father Himself knows the Son, but will not judge Him. For no man knows the Son, but the Father. Matthew 11:27 Knows it says, not judges. It is one thing to know, another to judge. The Father has knowledge in Himself. The Son has no power superior to Himself. And again: No man knows the Father, but the Son; and He Himself knows the Father, as the Father knows Him.

227. Sed dicis quia minorem se dixit (Joan. XIV, 28): dixit et lapidem. Plus dicis, et impie calumniaris: minus dico, et pic astruo. Minorem dicis, et supra angelos confiteris: ego minorem angelis dico, et non derogo; quia non divinitatem arguo, sed misericordiam praedico.

226. But you say that He said He was inferior, He said also He was a Stone. You say more and yet you impiously attack Him. I say less and with reverence add to His honour. You say He is inferior and confess Him to be above the angels. I say He is less than the angels, yet do not take from His honour; for I do not refute His Godhead, but I do proclaim His pity

CAPUT XIX.

CONVERSUS AD DEUM Patrem Vir sanctus, cur Filium eo minorem non statuat, exponit: tum asserit suum non esse ut metiatur Dei Filium; cum angelo metiri tantum Jerusalem datum fuerit, immo et forte Christo ut homini: sed Arium Satanae imitatorem se praebuisse. Temere igitur de divina generatione disputari; cum tantum humanae signum per Esaiam sit propositum; nec debeat comparatio fieri in divinis. Postremo quantum fugienda sit Arii arrogantia, variorum Scripturae exemplorum oppositione demonstrat.

CHAPTER 19.

The Saint having turned to God the Father, explains why he does not deride that the Son is inferior to the Father, then he declares it is not for him to measure the Son of God, since it was given to an angel — nay, perhaps even to Christ as man — to measure merely Jerusalem. Arius, he says, has shown himself to be an imitator of Satan. It is a rash thing to hold discussions on the divine Generation. Since so great a sign of human generation has been given by Isaiah, we ought not to make comparisons in divine things. Lastly he shows how carefully we ought to avoid the pride of Arius, by putting before us various examples of Scriptures.

228. Ad te nunc, omnipotens Pater, cum lacrymis verba converto. Ego te quidem inaccessibilem, incomprehensibilem, inaestimabilem prompte dixerim: sed Filium tuum minorem non ausim dicere. Nam cum illum splendorem gloriae, et imaginem substantiae tuae legerim (Hebr. I, 3); vercor ne minorem imaginem tuae dicendo substantiae, minorem

substantiam tuam dicere videar, cujus imago sit Filius, cum plenitudo tuae divinitatis omnis in Filio sit. Immensum te Filiumque tuum et Spiritum sanctum, incircumscriptum, inaestimabilem, inenarrabilem legi frequenter, credo libenter. Et ideo aestimare non possum, ut examinare possim.

227. To You now, Almighty Father, do I direct my words with tears. I indeed have readily called You inapproachable, incomprehensible, inestimable; but I dared not say Your Son was inferior to Yourself. For when I read that He is the Brightness of Your glory, and the Image of Your Person, Hebrews 1:3 I fear lest, in saying that the Image of Your Person is inferior, I should seem to say that Your Person is inferior, of which the Son is the Image; for the fullness of Your Godhead is wholly in the Son. I have often read, I freely believe, that You and Your Son and the Holy Spirit are boundless, unmeasurable, inestimable, ineffable. And therefore I cannot appraise You so as to weigh You.

229. Esto tamen, spiritu ausuque temerario metiri te velim; unde, quaeso, te metiar? Funiculum agrimensorium vidit propheta (Ezech. XL, 3), quo metiebatur angelus Jerusalem. Metiebatur tamen angelus, non Arius: metiebatur Jerusalem, non Deum. Et fortasse nec Jerusalem metiri poterat angelus; vir enim erat. Denique sic habes: Et allevavi oculos, et vidi: et ecce vir, et in manu ejus funiculus agrimensorius (Ibid.). Vir erat quia typus suscipiendi corporis declarabatur. Vir erat ille, de quo est dictum: Post me venit vir, cujus non sum dignus solvere corrigiam calceamenti ejus (Joan. I, 27). Ergo Christus in typo Jerusalem metitur, Arius Deum.

228. But be it so, that I desired with a daring and rash spirit to measure You? From whence, I ask, shall I measure You? The prophet saw a line of flax with which the angel measured Jerusalem. An angel was measuring, not Arius. And he was measuring Jerusalem, not God. And perchance even an angel could not measure Jerusalem, for it was a man. Thus it is written: I

raised my eyes and saw and beheld a man, and in his hand there was a line of flax. Ezekiel 40:3 He was a man, for a type of the body that was to be assumed was thus shown. He was a man, of whom it was said: There comes a man after me, Whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose. John 1:27 Therefore Christ in a type measures Jerusalem. Arius measures God.

230. Et Satanas transfigurat se in angelum lucis; quid mirum si Arius suum imitatur auctorem, ut usurpet illicita (II Cor. XI, 14)? Licet quod Pater suus diabolus per semetipsum non fecit, intolerabiliore 594 iste sacrilegio divinorum sibi scientiam secretorum, et supernae generationis arcana praesumat; diabolus enim verum Dei Filium fatebatur, Arius negat.

229. Even Satan transforms himself into an angel of light; 2 Corinthians 11:14 what wonder then if Arius imitates his Author in taking upon himself what is forbidden? Though his father the devil did it not in his own case, that man with intolerable blasphemy assumes to himself the knowledge of divine secrets and the mysteries of the heavenly Generation. For the devil confessed the true Son of God, Arius denies Him.

231. Si ergo metiri te, omnipotens Pater, non queo, possumne sine sacrilegio de tuae generationis disputare secreto? Possumne dicere quod aliquid inter te et Filium tuum plus minusve sit; cum ipse qui ex te natus est, dixerit: Omnia quae Pater habet mea sunt (Joan. XVI, 15)? Quis me constituit judicem aut divisorem de rebus humanis? Hoc Filius dicit, et nos inter Patrem et Filium divisionem nobis et judicium vindicamus? Bona pietas arbitros refugit etiam in divisione patrimonii. Nos ergo erimus arbitri, ut inter te et Filium tuum increatae majestatem substantiae dividamus?

230. If, then, I cannot measure You, Almighty Father, can I without blasphemy discuss the secrets of Your Generation? Can I say there is anything more or less between You and Your Son when He Himself Who

was begotten of You, says: All things which the Father has are Mine. John 16:15 Who has made Me a judge and a divider of human affairs? This the Son says, Luke 12:14 and do we claim to make a division and to give judgment between the Father and the Son? A right feeling of duty avoids arbiters even in the division of an inheritance. And shall we become arbiters, to divide between You and Your Son the glory of the uncreated Substance?

232. Generatio, inquit, haec, generatio nequam est: signum quaerit, et signum non dubitur ei, nisi signum Jonae prophetae (Luc. XI, 29). Signum utique datur non divinitatis, sed incarnationis. Denique de incarnatione dicturus ait: Pete tibi signum. Et cum ille dixisset: Non petam, neque tentabo Dominum, responsum est: Ecce virgo in utero accipiet (Esai. VII, 11 et seq.). Ergo signum divinitatis videre non possumus, mensuram quaerimus? Vae misero mihi, impie discutere audemus, quem digne rogare non possimus?

231. This generation, it says, is an evil generation. It seeks a sign, and there shall no sign be given it, but the sign of Jonas the prophet. Luke 11:29 A sign of the Godhead then is not given, but only of the Incarnation. Thus when about to speak of the Incarnation the prophet says: Ask you a sign. And when the king had said: I will not ask, neither will I tempt the Lord, the answer was: Behold a Virgin shall conceive. Therefore we cannot see a sign of the Godhead, and do we seek a measure of it? Alas! Woe is me! We impiously dare to discuss Him, to Whom we cannot worthily pray!

233. Viderint tamen quid faciant Ariani: ego te, Pater, si majorem omnibus dixero, injuriose te tuis operibus comparavi: si majorem Filio, ut Arius asserit, impie judicavi. De te prior erit illa sententia, nam neque ulla fieri potest nisi ex comparatione praelatio, neque praeferri quisquam, nisi de quo prius fuerit judicatum.

232. Let the Arians see to what they do. I have unlawfully compared You, O Father, with Your works in saying that You are greater than all. If greater than Your Son, as Arius maintains, I have judged wickedly. Concerning You first will that judgment be. For no choice can be made except by comparison, nor can anyone be put before another without a decision being first given on Himself.

234. Jurare nobis per coelum non licet (Matth. V, 3), judicare de Deo licet: sed Filio tuo soli judicium de omnibus detulisti.

233. It is not lawful for us to swear by heaven, but it is lawful to judge about God. Yet You have given to Your Son alone judgment over all.

235. Joannes carnem Domini baptizare metuebat, Joannes prohibebat dicens: Ego a te debeo baptizari, et tu venis ad me (Matth. III, 14); et ego Christum judicio meo subdam?

234. John feared to baptize the flesh of the Lord, John forbade Him, saying: I have need to be baptized by You, and You come to me? Matthew 3:4 And shall I bring Christ under my judgment?

235. Moyses excusat sacerdotium, Petrus imperatum in ministerio declinat obsequium: Arius scrutatur etiam alta Dei? Sed non Arius Spiritus sanctus: sed Ario et hominibus dictum est: Altiora te ne quaesieris (Eccl. III, 22).

235. Moses excuses himself from the Priesthood, Peter is for avoiding the obedience demanded in the Ministry; and does Arius examine even the deep things of God? But Arius is not the Holy Spirit. Nay, it was said even to Arius and to all men: Seek not that which is too deep for you. Sirach 3:22

236. Moyses vultum Domini prohibetur videre (Exod. XXXIII, 23): Arius meruit videre secretum. Moyses et Aaron in sacerdotibus ejus, Moyses qui cum Domino apparet in gloria; Moyses ergo ille posteriora tantummodo Dei

in typo vidit: Arius totum Deum facie ad faciem comprehendit. Sed nemo, inquit, videre potest faciem meam, et vivit (Exod. XXXIII, 20).

236. Moses is prevented from seeing the face of God; Exodus 33:23 Arius merited to see it in secret. Moses and Aaron among His Priests. Moses who appeared with the Lord in glory, that Moses then saw only the back parts of God in appearance; Arius beholds God wholly face to face! But no one, it says, can see My face and live.

237. Paulus etiam de inferioribus dicit: Ex parte cognoscimus et ex parte etiam prophetamus (I Cor. XIII, 9). Arius dicit: Ex toto Deum, non ex parte cognovi. Inferior ergo Paulus, quam Arius; et vas electionis ex parte scit, vas perditionis totum scit: Scio, inquit, hominem, sive in corpore, 595 sive extra corpus nescio, Deus scit, quoniam raptus est in paradisum, et audivit verba ineffabilia (II Cor. XII, 4, 5). Paulus raptus usque ad tertium coelum, se ipsum nescivit: Arius in stercore volutatus Deum scivit. Paulus dicit de se ipso: Deus scit; Arius de Deo dicit: Ego novi.

237. Paul also speaks of inferior beings: We know in part and we prophesy in part. 1 Corinthians 13:9 Arius says: I know God altogether and not in part. Thus Paul is inferior to Arius, and the vessel of election knows in part, but the vessel of perdition knows wholly. I know, he says, a man, whether in the body or out of the body, I cannot tell, God knows, how he was caught up into Paradise and heard unspeakable words. 2 Corinthians 13:3-4 Paul carried up to the third heaven, knew not himself; Arius rolling in filth, knows God. Paul says of himself: God knows; Arius says of God: I know.

238. Sed non Arius raptus in coelum, quamvis 596 eum secutus sit, qui jactatione damnabili divina praesumeret, dicens: Ponam thronum meum super nubes, et ero similis Altissimo (Esai. XIV, 14); sicut enim ille dixit: Ero similis Altissimo: sic et Arius altissimum Dei Filium sui similem vult

videri: quem non in divinitatis aeternae majestate veneratur, sed ex carnis infirmitate metitur.

238. But Arius was not caught up to heaven, although he followed him who with accursed boastfulness presumed on what was divine, saying: I will set my throne upon the clouds; I will be like the Most High. Isaiah 14:14 For as he said: I will be like the Most High, so too Arius wishes the Most High Son of God to seem like himself, Whom he does not worship in the eternal glory of His Godhead, but measures by the weakness of the flesh.

De mysteriis (On the Mysteries)

CONTENTS

CAPUT PRIMUM
CAPUT II
CAPUT III
CAPUT IV
CAPUT V
CAPUT VI
CAPUT VII
CAPUT VIII
CAPUT IX

CAPUT PRIMUM

TRACTATIBUS, QUOS ANTE de moribus Sanctus habuerat, subjecturum se mysteriorum expositionem spondet. Deinde cur ea non prius patefecerit, declarato, mysticam aggreditur apertionem, quam a Christo ipso olim celebratam demonstrat.

CHAPTER 1

St. Ambrose states that after the explanations he has already given of holy living, he will now explain the Mysteries. Then after giving his reasons for not having done so before, he explains the mystery of the opening of the ears, and shows how this was of old done by Christ Himself.

1. De moralibus quotidianum sermonem habuimus, cum vel Patriarcharum gesta, vel Proverbiorum legerentur praecepta; ut his informati atque instituti assuesceretis majorum ingredi vias, eorumque iter carpere, ac divinis obedire oraculis: quo renovati per baptismum, ejus vitae usum teneretis, quae ablutos deceret.

1. We have spoken daily upon subjects connected with morals, when the deeds of the Patriarchs or the precepts of the Proverbs were being read, in order that being taught and instructed by these you might grow accustomed to enter the ways of the ancients and to walk in their paths, and obey the divine commands; in order that being renewed by baptism you might hold to that manner of life which beseems those who are washed.

2. Nunc de mysteriis dicere tempus admonet, atque ipsam sacramentorum rationem edere: quam ante baptismum si putassemus insinuandam nondum

initiatis, prodidisse potius quam edidisse aestimaremur. Deinde quod inopinantibus melius se ipsa lux mysteriorum infuderit, quam si eam sermo aliquis praecucurrisset.

2. The season now warns us to speak of the Mysteries, and to set forth the purport of the sacraments, which if we had thought it well to teach before baptism to those who were not yet initiated, we should be considered rather to have betrayed than to have portrayed the Mysteries. And then, too, another reason is that the light itself of the Mysteries will shed itself with more effect upon those who are expecting they know not what, than if any discourse had come beforehand.

3. Aperite igitur aures, et bonum odorem vitae aeternae inhalatum vobis munere sacramentorum carpite: quod vobis significavimus, cum apertionis celebrantes mysterium diceremus: Epheta, quod est adaperire (Marc. VII, 34); ut venturus unusquisque ad gratiam quid interrogaretur, cognosceret: quid responderet, meminisse deberet.

3. Open, then, your ears, inhale the good savour of eternal life which has been breathed upon you by the grace of the sacraments; which was signified to you by us, when, celebrating the mystery of the opening, we said, Epphatha, which is, Be opened, Mark 7:34 that whosoever was coming in quest of peace might know what he was asked, and be bound to remember what he answered.

4. Hoc mysterium celebravit Christus in Evangelio (Ibid.), sicut legimus, cum mutum curaret et surdum. Sed ille os tetigit; quia et mutum curabat et virum: in altero, ut os ejus infusae sono vocis aperiret; in altero, quia tactus iste virum decebat, feminam non decebat.

4. Christ made use of this mystery in the Gospel, as we read, when He healed him who was deaf and dumb. But He touched the mouth, because he

who was healed was dumb and was a man, as regards one point that he might open his mouth with the sound of the voice given to him; as regards the other point because that touch was seemly towards a man, but would have been unseemly towards a woman.

CAPUT II

QUID INITIANDI ECCLESIAM ingressi promiserint, quibusve coram testibus, et quamobrem se converterint ad orientem?

CHAPTER 2

What those who were to be initiated promised on entering the Church, of the witnesses to these promises, and wherefore they then turned themselves to the East.

5. Post haec reserata tibi sunt sancta sanctorum, ingressus es regenerationis sacrarium: repete quid interrogatus sis, recognosce quid responderis. Renuntiasti diabolo et operibus ejus, mundo et luxuriae ejus ac voluptatibus. Tenetur vox tua, non in tumulo mortuorum, sed in libro viventium.

5. After this the Holy of holies was opened to you, you entered the sanctuary of regeneration; recall what you were asked, and remember what you answered. You renounced the devil and his works, the world with its luxury and pleasures. That utterance of yours is preserved not in the tombs of the dead, but in the book of the living.

6. Vidisti illic levitam, vidisti sacerdotem, vidisti summum sacerdotem. Noli considerare corporum figuras, sed mysteriorum gratiam. Praesentibus angelis locutus es, sicut scriptum est: Quia labia sacerdotis custodiunt scientiam, et legem exquirunt ex ore ipsius; quoniam angelus est Domini omnipotentis (Malac. II, 7). Non est fallere, non est negare: angelus est qui regnum Christi et vitam aeternam annuntiat. Non specie tibi aestimandus

sit, sed munere. Quid tradiderit considera, usum ejus expende, et statum ejus agnosce.

6. You saw there the deacon, you saw the priest, you saw the chief priest [i.e. the bishop]. Consider not the bodily forms, but the grace of the Mysteries. You spoke in the presence of the angels, as it is written: For the priest's lips keep knowledge, and they seek the law at his mouth, for he is the angel of the Lord Almighty. Malachi 2:7 There is no place for deception nor for denial. He is an angel who proclaims the kingdom of Christ and eternal life. He is to be esteemed by you not according to his appearance, but according to his office. Consider what he delivered, reflect upon the rule of life he gave you, recognize his position.

7. Ingressus es igitur ut adversarium tuum cerneres, cui renuntiandum in os putaris: ad orientem converteris; qui enim renuntiat diabolo, ad Christum convertitur, illum directo cernit obtutu.

7. You entered, then, that you might discern your adversary, whom you were to renounce as it were to his face, then you turned to the east; for he who renounces the devil turns to Christ, and beholds Him face to face.

CAPUT III

IN AQUA ET sacris ministris praesentiam atque operationem divinitatis considerandam esse, pluribus figuris quibus baptisma jam inde a mundi creatione ac postea praenuntiatum est, docet.

CHAPTER 3

St. Ambrose points out that we must consider the divine presence and working in the water and the sacred ministers, and then brings forward many Old Testament figures of baptism.

8. Quid vidisti? Aquas utique, sed non solas: levitas illic ministrantes, summum sacerdotem interrogantem et consecrantem. Primo omnium docuit te Apostolus non ea contemplanda nobis quae videntur, sed quae non videntur, quoniam quae videntur, temporalia sunt: quae autem non videntur, aeterna (II Cor. IV, 18). Nam et alibi habes: Quia invisibilia Dei a creatura mundi per ea quae facta sunt comprehenduntur: sempiterna quoque virtus ejus ac divinitas operibus aestimatur (Rom. I, 20). Unde et ipse Dominus ait: Si mihi non creditis, vel operibus credite (Joan. X, 38). Crede ergo divinitatis illic adesse praesentiam. Operationem credis, non credis praesentiam? Unde sequeretur operatio, nisi praecederet ante praesentia?

8. What did you see? Water, certainly, but not water alone; you saw the deacons ministering there, and the bishop asking questions and hallowing. First of all, the Apostle taught you that those things are not to be considered which we see, but the things which are not seen, for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal. 1 Corinthians 5:18 For you read elsewhere: That the invisible things of God,

since the creation of the world, are understood through those things which have been made; His eternal power also and Godhead are estimated by His works. Romans 1:20 Wherefore also the Lord Himself says: If you believe not Me, believe at least the works. John 10:38 Believe, then, that the presence of the Godhead is there. Do you believe the working, and not believe the presence? Whence should the working proceed unless the presence went before?

9. Considera autem quam vetus mysterium sit, in ipsius mundi praefiguratum origine. In principio ipso, quando fecit Deus coelum et terram, Spiritus, inquit, superferebatur super aquas (Gen. I, 2). Qui superferebatur super aquas, non operabatur super aquas? Sed quid dicam operabatur? quod ad praesentiam spectat, superferebatur. Non operabatur, qui superferebatur? Cognosce quia operabatur in illa mundi fabrica, quando tibi dicit Propheta: Verbo Domini coeli firmati sunt, et Spiritu oris ejus omnis virtus eorum (Psal. XXXII, 6). Utrumque prophetico subnixum est testimonio, et quia superferebatur et quia operabatur. Quia superferebatur, Moyses dicit: quia operabatur, David testificatur.

9. Consider, however, how ancient is the mystery prefigured even in the origin of the world itself. In the very beginning, when God made the heaven and the earth, the Spirit, it is said, moved upon the waters. Genesis 1:2 He Who was moving upon the waters, was He not working upon the waters? But why should I say, working? As regards His presence He was moving. Was He not working Who was moving? Recognize that He was working in that making of the world, when the prophet says: By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all their strength by the spirit of His mouth. Each statement rests upon the testimony of the prophet, both that He was moving and that He was working. Moses says that He was moving, David testifies that he was working.

10. Accipe aliud testimonium. Corrupta erat caro omnis ab iniquitatibus suis. Non permanebit, inquit Deus, Spiritus meus in hominibus, quia carnes sunt (Gen. VI, 3.) Quo ostendit Deus quia carnali immunditia, et gravioris labe peccati gratia spiritalis avertitur. Unde volens Deus reparare quod deerat, dilnvium fecit, et justum Noe in arcam jussit ascendere (Gen. VII, 1 et seq.) Qui dum, decedente diluvio, corvum dimisisset prius, qui non revertit; dimisit columbam, quae cum ramo oleae legitur revertisse (Gen. VIII, 7, 8). Vides aquam, vides lignum, columbam aspicis, et dubitas de mysterio?

10. Take another testimony. All flesh was corrupt by its iniquities. My Spirit, says God, shall not remain among men, because they are flesh. Genesis 6:3 Whereby God shows that the grace of the Spirit is turned away by carnal impurity and the pollution of grave sin. Upon which, God, willing to restore what was lacking, sent the flood and bade just Noah go up into the ark. And he, after having, as the flood was passing off, sent forth first a raven which did not return, sent forth a dove which is said to have returned with an olive twig. You see the water, you see the wood [of the ark], you see the dove, and do you hesitate as to the mystery?

11. Aqua est ergo qua caro mergitur, ut omne abluatur carnale peccatum. Sepelitur illic omne flagitium. Lignum est in quo suffixus est Dominus Jesus, cum pateretur pro nobis. Columba est in cujus specie descendit Spiritus sanctus, sicut didicisti in novo Testamento (Matth. III, 16), qui tibi pacem animae, tranquillitatem mentis inspirat. Corvus est figura peccati, quod exit, et non revertitur; si in te quoque justi custodia et forma servetur.

11. The water, then, is that in which the flesh is dipped, that all carnal sin may be washed away. All wickedness is there buried. The wood is that on which the Lord Jesus was fastened when He suffered for us. The dove is that in the form of which the Holy Spirit descended, as you have read in the

New Testament, Who inspires in you peace of soul and tranquillity of mind. The raven is the figure of sin, which goes forth and does not return, if, in you, too, inwardly and outwardly righteousness be preserved.

12. Tertium quoque testimonium est, sicut te Apostolus docet: Quoniam patres nostri omnes sub nube fuerunt, et omnes mare transierunt, et omnes in Moyse baptizati sunt, in nube et in mari (I Cor. X, 1, 2). Denique et ipse Moyses dicit in Cantico: Misisti Spiritum tuum, et operuit eos mare (Exod.XV, 10). Advertis quod in illo Hebraeorum transitu jam tunc sacri baptismatis figura praecesserit, in quo Aegyptius interiit et Hebraeus evasit. Quid enim aliud in hoc quotidie sacramento docemur, nisi quia culpa mergitur, et error aboletur: pietas autem et innocentia tuta permansit?

12. There is also a third testimony, as the Apostle teaches us: For all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were all baptized to Moses in the cloud and in the sea. 1 Corinthians 10:1-2 And further, Moses himself says in his song: You sent Your Spirit, and the sea covered them. Exodus 15:10 You observe that even then holy baptism was prefigured in that passage of the Hebrews, wherein the Egyptian perished, the Hebrew escaped. For what else are we daily taught in this sacrament but that guilt is swallowed up and error done away, but that virtue and innocence remain unharmed?

13. Audis quia sub nube fuerunt patres nostri, et bona nube, quae carnalium refrigeravit incendia passionum. Bona nubes obumbrat quos revisit Spiritus sanctus. Denique supervenit in Mariam virginem, et virtus Altissimi obumbravit ei (Luc. I, 75); quando redemptionem genti genuit humanae. Et illud miraculum per Moysen in figura factum est (Exod. XIV, 21 et seq.). Si ergo in figura adfuit Spiritus, non adest in veritate, cum Scriptura tibi dicat: Quia lex per Moysen data est, gratia autem et veritas per Jesum Christum facta est (Joan. I, 17).

13. You hear that our fathers were under the cloud, and that a kindly cloud, which cooled the heat of carnal passions. That kindly cloud overshadows those whom the Holy Spirit visits. At last it came upon the Virgin Mary, and the Power of the Highest overshadowed her, Luke 1:35 when she conceived Redemption for the race of men. And that miracle was wrought in a figure through Moses. If, then, the Spirit was in the figure, is He not present in the reality, since Scripture says to us: For the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. John 1:17

14. Merrha fons amarissimus erat: misit in eum Moyses lignum, et dulcis est factus (Exod. XV, 23 et seq.). Aqua enim sine praedicatione Domini caecrucis ad nullos usus futurae salutis est: cum vero salutaris fuerit crucis mysterio consecrata, tunc ad usum spiritalis lavacri et salutaris poculi temperatur. Sicut ergo in illum fontem Moyses misit lignum, hoc est propheta; ita et in hunc fontem sacerdos praedicationem Dominicae crucis mittit, et aqua fit dulcis ad gratiam.

14. Marah was a fountain of most bitter water: Moses cast wood into it and it became sweet. For water without the preaching of the Cross of the Lord is of no avail for future salvation, but, after it has been consecrated by the mystery of the saving cross, it is made suitable for the use of the spiritual laver and of the cup of salvation. As, then, Moses, that is, the prophet, cast wood into that fountain, so, too, the priest utters over this font the proclamation of the Lord’s cross, and the water is made sweet for the purpose of grace.

15. Non ergo solis corporis tui credas oculis: magis videtur quod non videtur; quia istud temporale, illud aeternum aspicitur, quod oculis non comprehenditur, animo autem ac mente cernitur.

15. You must not trust, then, wholly to your bodily eyes; that which is not seen is more really seen, for the object of sight is temporal, but that other eternal, which is not apprehended by the eye, but is discerned by the mind and spirit.

16. Denique doceat te decursa Regnorum lectio. (IV Reg. V, 1 et seq.). Naaman Syrus erat, et lepram habebat, nec ab ullo mundari poterat. Tunc ait puella ex captivis, quoniam esset propheta in Israel, qui posset eum a leprae contagione mundare. Sumpto, inquit, auro et argento, perrexit ad regem Israel. Qui cognita adventus ejus causa, scidit vestimenta sua, dicens quod tentaretur magis, cum de se ea quae non essent potestatis regiae, poscerentur: Elisaeus autem regi intimavit ut ad se dirigeret Syrum, quo cognosceret quod esset Deus in Israel. Et cum venisset, mandavit ei ut septies mergeretur in Jordane fluvio.

16. Lastly, let the lessons lately gone through from the Kings teach you. Naaman was a Syrian, and suffered from leprosy, nor could he be cleansed by any. Then a maiden from among the captives said that there was a prophet in Israel, who could cleanse him from the defilement of the leprosy. And it is said that, having taken silver and gold, he went to the king of Israel. And he, when he heard the cause of his coming, rent his clothes, saying, that occasion was rather being sought against him, since things were asked of him which pertained not to the power of kings. Elisha, however, sent word to the king, that he should send the Syrian to him, that he might know there was a God in Israel. And when he had come, he bade him dip himself seven times in the river Jordan.

17. Tunc ille secum tractare coepit quod meliores aquas haberet patriae suae, in quibus se saepe mersisset, et numquam a lepra esset ablutus; eoque revocatus non obediebat mandatis prophetae: sed et admonitu et

persuasionibus servulorum acquievit, ac mersit. Mundatusque illico intellexit non aquarum esse quod unusquisque mundatur, sed gratiae.

17. Then he began to reason with himself that he had better waters in his own country, in which he had often bathed and never been cleansed of his leprosy; and so remembering this, he did not obey the command of the prophet, yet on the advice and persuasion of his servants he yielded and dipped himself. And being immediately cleansed, he understood that it is not of the waters but of grace that a man is cleansed.

18. Cognosce nunc quae sit illa puella ex captivis junior, scilicet ex gentibus congregatio, id est, Ecclesia Domini depressa ante captivitate peccati, quando libertatem adhuc gratiae non habebat; cujus consilio vanus ille populus nationum verbum audivit propheticum, de quo ante diu dubitavit; postea tamen ubi credidit exsequendum, ablutus est ab omni contagione vitiorum. Et ille quidem dubitavit, antequam sanaretur: tu jam sanatus es, et ideo dubitare non debes.

18. Understand now who is that young maid among the captives. She is the congregation gathered out of the Gentiles, that is, the Church of God held down of old by the captivity of sin, when as yet it possessed not the liberty of grace, by whose counsel that foolish people of the Gentiles heard the word of prophecy as to which it had before been in doubt. Afterwards, however, when they believed that it ought to be obeyed, they were washed from every defilement of sin. And he indeed doubted before he was healed; you are already healed, and therefore ought not to doubt.

CAPUT IV

AQUAM NON MUNDARE sine Spiritu, Joannis testimonio et ipsis quibus idem sacramentum administratur, verbis declaratur. Quod etiam asseritur significatum per Evangelicam piscinam, et paralyticum a Domino ibi sanatum: quo loco Spiritus sanctus in ejusdem Christi baptismo vere descendisse ostenditur, et quid in hoc mysterio intelligendum?

CHAPTER 4

That water does not cleanse without the Spirit is shown by the witness of John and by the very form of the administration of the sacrament. And this is also declared to be signified by the pool in the Gospel and the man who was there healed. In the same passage, too, is shown that the Holy Spirit truly descended on Christ at His baptism, and the meaning of this mystery is explained.

19. Ideo tibi ante praedictum est, ut non hoc solum crederes quod videbas; ne forte et tu diceres: Hoc est illud magnum mysterium; quod oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit (I Cor. II, 9)? Aquas video, quas videbam quotidie: istae me habent mundare, in quas saepe descendi, et numquam mundatus sum? Hinc cognosce quod aqua non mundat sine Spiritu.

19. The reason why you were told before not to believe only what you saw was that you might not say perchance, This is that great mystery which eye has not seen, nor ear heard, neither has it entered into the heart of man. 1 Corinthians 2:9 I see water, which I have been used to see every day. Is that water to cleanse me now in which I have so often bathed without ever being

cleansed? By this you may recognize that water does not cleanse without the Spirit.

20. Ideoque legisti quod tres testes in baptismate unum sunt, aqua, sanguis, et Spiritus (I Joan. V, 7); quia si in unum horum detrahas, non stat baptismatis sacramentum. Quid est enim aqua sine cruce Christi? Elementum commune, sine ullo sacramenti effectu. Nec iterum sine aqua, regenerationis mysterium est: Nisi enim quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu, non potest introire in regnum Dei (Joan. III, 5). Credit autem etiam catechumenus in crucem Domini Jesu, qua et ipse signatur: sed nisi baptizatus fuerit in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, remissionem non potest accipere peccatorum, nec spiritualis gratiae munus haurire.

20. Therefore read that the three witnesses in baptism, the water, the blood, and the Spirit, 1 John 5:7 are one, for if you take away one of these, the Sacrament of Baptism does not exist. For what is water without the cross of Christ? A common element, without any sacramental effect. Nor, again, is there the Sacrament of Regeneration without water: For except a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. John 3:5 Now, even the catechumen believes in the cross of the Lord Jesus, wherewith he too is signed; but unless he be baptized in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, he cannot receive remission of sins nor gain the gift of spiritual grace.

21. Ergo ille Syrus septies mersit in Lege: (IV Reg. V, 14) tu autem baptizatus es in nomine Trinitatis, confessus es Patrem, recordare quid feceris; confessus es Filium, confessus es Spiritum sanctum. Tene ordinem rerum in hac fide; mundo mortuus es, et Deo resurrexisti. Et quasi in illo mundi consepultus elemento, peccato mortuus, ad vitam es resuscitatus aeternam.

Crede ergo quia non sunt vacuae aquae.

21. So that Syrian dipped himself seven times under the law, but you were baptized in the Name of the Trinity, you confessed the Father. Call to mind what you did: you confessed the Son, you confessed the Holy Spirit. Mark well the order of things in this faith: you died to the world, and rose again to God. And as though buried to the world in that element, being dead to sin, you rose again to eternal life. Believe, therefore, that these waters are not void of power.

22. Ideo tibi dictum est: Quia angelus Domini descendebat secundum tempus in natatoriam, et movebatur aqua; et qui prior descendisset in natatoriam post commotionem aquae, sanus fiebat a languore quocumque tenebatur (Joan. V, 4). Haec piscina in Hierosolymis erat, in qua unus annuus sanabatur: sed nemo ante sanabatur, quam descendisset angelus. Ut esset indicium quia descenderat angelus, movebatur aqua propter incredulos. Illis signum, tibi fides: illis angelus descendebat, tibi Spiritus sanctus: illis creatura movebatur, tibi Christus operatur ipse Dominus creaturae.

22. Therefore it is said: An angel of the Lord went down according to the season into the pool, and the water was troubled; and he who first after the troubling of the water went down into the pool was healed of whatsoever disease he was holden. John 5:4 This pool was at Jerusalem, in which one was healed every year, but no one was healed before the angel had descended. Because of those who believed not the water was troubled as a sign that the angel had descended. They had a sign, you have faith; for them an angel descended, for you the Holy Spirit; for them the creature was troubled, for you Christ Himself, the Lord of the creature, works.

23. Tunc curabatur unus, nunc omnes sanantur: aut certe unus solus populus christianus; est enim in aliquibus et aqua mendax (Jerem. XV, 18). Non sanat baptismus perfidorum (I, q. 1, c. Non sanat), non mundat, sed polluit. Judaeus urceos baptizat et calices (Marc. VII, 4), quasi insensibilia vel culpam possint recipere, vel gratiam. Tu baptiza hunc calicem tuum sensibilem, in quo bona opera tua luceant, in quo gratiae tuae splendor fulgeat. Ergo et illa piscina in figura; ut credas quia in hunc fontem vis divina descendit.

23. Then one was healed, now all are made whole; or more exactly, the Christian people alone, for in some even the water is deceitful. Jeremiah 15:18 The baptism of unbelievers heals not but pollutes. The Jew washes pots and cups, as though things without sense were capable of guilt or grace. But do you wash this living cup of yours, that in it your good works may shine and the glory of your grace be bright. For that pool was as a type, that you might believe that the power of God descends upon this font.

24. Denique paralyticus ille exspectabat hominem (Joan. V, 7). Quem illum, nisi Dominum Jesum natum ex Virgine: cujus adventu non jam umbra sanaret singulos, sed veritas universos? Iste est ergo qui exspectabatur ut descenderet, de quo dixit Deus Pater ad Joannem Baptistam: Super quem videris Spiritum descendentem de coelo, et manentem super eum, hic est qui baptizat in Spiritu sancto (Joan. I, 33). De quo testificatus est Joannes dicens: Quia vidi Spiritum descendentem de coelo quasi columbam et manentem super eum (Ibid., 32). Et hic quare Spiritus sicut columba descendit, nisi ut tu videres, nisi ut tu agnosceres columbam etiam illam quam Noe justus emisit ex arca, istius columbae speciem fuisse, ut typum agnosceres sacramenti (Gen., VIII, 8)?

24. Lastly, that paralytic was waiting for a man. And what man save the Lord Jesus, born of the Virgin, at Whose coming no longer the shadow

should heal men one by one, but the truth should heal the whole. He it is, then, Whose coming down was being waited for, of Whom the Father said to John the Baptist: Upon Whom you shall see the Spirit descending and abiding upon Him, this is He Who baptizes with the Holy Spirit. John 1:33 And John bore witness of Him, and said: I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove and abiding upon Him. John 1:32 And why did the Spirit descend like a dove, but in order that you might see, that you might acknowledge, that that dove also which just Noah sent forth from the ark was a likeness of this dove, that you might recognize the type of the sacrament?

25. Et fortasse dicas: Cum illa vera columba fuerit quae emissa est, hic quasi columba descenderit: quomodo illic speciem fuisse dicimus, hic veritatem; cum secundum Graecos in specie columbae Spiritum descendisse sit scriptum (Luc. III, 12)? Sed quid tam verum quam divinitas quae manet semper? Creatura autem non potest veritas esse, sed species, quae facile solvitur atque mutatur. Simul quia eorum qui baptizantur, non in specie esse debeat, sed vera simplicitas. Unde et Dominus ait: Estote astuti sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbae (Matth. X, 16). Merito ergo sicut columba descendit, ut admoneret nos simplicitatem columbae habere debere. Speciem autem et pro veritate accipiendam legimus et de Christo: Et specie inventus ut homo (Phil. II, 7); et de Patre Deo: Neque speciem ejus vidistis (Joan. V, 37).

25. Perhaps you may object: Since that was a real dove which was sent forth, and the Spirit descended like a dove, how is it that we say that the likeness was there and the reality here, whereas in the Greek it is written that the Spirit descended in the likeness of a dove? But what is so real as the Godhead which abides for ever? Now the creature cannot be the reality, but only a likeness, which is easily destroyed and changed. So, again, because

the simplicity of those who are baptized ought to be not in appearance but in reality, and the Lord says: Be wise as serpents and simple as doves. Matthew 10:16 Rightly, then, did He descend like a dove, in order to admonish us that we ought to have the simplicity of the dove. And further we read of the likeness being put for the reality, both as regards Christ: And was found in likeness as a man; Philippians 2:8 and as regards God the Father: Nor have you seen His likeness. John 5:37

CAPUT V

CONFIRMATUR ADESSE CHRISTUM in baptismate, atque adeo non considerandos ejus ministros.

Demum confessio Trinitatis a baptizatis edi solita paucis expenditur.

CHAPTER 5

Christ is Himself present in Baptism, so that we need not consider the person of His ministers. A brief explanation of the confession of the Trinity as usually uttered by those about to be baptized.

26. Estne adhuc quod dubitare debeas, cum evidenter tibi clamet in Evangelio Pater, qui ait: Hic est Filius meus in quo complacui (Matth. III, 17); clamet Filius, super quem sicut columba se demonstravit Spiritus sanctus; clamet et Spiritus sanctus, qui sicut columba descendit; clamet David: Vox Domini super aquas, Deus majestatis intonuit: Dominus super aquas multas (Psal. XXVIII, 3); Cum tibi Scriptura (1, q. 1, c. Cum Script.) testetur quod ad Hierobaal preces ignis descenderit de coelo (Judic. VI, 21), et rursus precante Elia, ignis sit missus qui sacrificium consecravit (III Reg. XVIII, 38)?

26. Is there, then, here any room left for doubt, when the Father clearly calls from heaven in the Gospel narrative, and says: This is My beloved Son, in Whom I am well pleased? Matthew 3:17 When the Son also speaks, upon Whom the Holy Spirit showed Himself in the likeness of a dove? When the Holy Spirit also speaks, Who came down in the likeness of a dove? When David, too, speaks: The voice of the Lord is above the waters, the God of

glory thundered, the Lord above many waters? When Scripture testifies that at the prayer of Jerubbaal, fire came down from heaven, Judges 6:21 and again, when Elijah prayed, fire was sent forth and consecrated the sacrifice.

27. Non merita personarum consideres, sed officia sacerdotum. Et si merita spectes; sicut Eliam consideres, Petri quoque merita spectato, vel Pauli, qui acceptum a Domino Jesu hoc nobis mysterium tradiderunt. Ignis illis visibilis mittebatur (l, q. 1, c. Cum Script., § Ignis), ut crederent: nobis invisibilis operatur, qui credimus: illis ad figuram, nobis ad commonitionem.

Crede ergo adesse Dominum Jesum invocatum precibus sacerdotum, qui ait: Ubi fuerint duo vel tres, ibi et ego sum (Matt. XVIII, 20); quanto magis ubi est Ecclesia, ubi mysteria sua sunt, ibi dignatur suam impertire praesentiam!

27. Do not consider the merits of individuals, but the office of the priests. Or, if you look at the merits, consider the priest as Elijah. Look upon the merits of Peter also, or of Paul, who handed down to us this mystery which they had received of the Lord Jesus. To those [of old] a visible fire was sent that they might believe; for us who believe, the Lord works invisibly; for them that happened for a figure, for us for warning. Believe, then, that the Lord Jesus is present at the invocation of the priest, Who said: Where two or three are, there am I also. Matthew 18:20 How much where the Church is, and where His Mysteries are, does He vouchsafe to impart His presence!

28. Descendisti igitur; recordare quid responderis, quod credas in Patrem, credas in Filium, credas in Spiritum sanctum. Non habes illic: Credo in majorem et minorem et ultimum: sed eadem vocis tuae cautione constringeris, ut similiter credas in Filium, sicut in Patrem credis: similiter

in Spiritum sanctum credas, sicut credis in Filium; hoc solo excepto, quod in crucem solius Domini Jesu fateris tibi esse credendum.

28. You went down, then (into the water), remember what you replied to the questions, that you believe in the Father, that you believe in the Son, that you believe in the Holy Spirit. The statement there is not: I believe in a greater and in a less and in a lowest person, but you are bound by the same guarantee of your own voice, to believe in the Son in like manner as you believe in the Father; and to believe in the Holy Spirit in like manner as you believe in the Son, with this one exception, that you confess that you must believe in the cross of the Lord Jesus alone.

CAPUT VI

EGRESSIS E FONTE baptismatis quare unctio fiat in capite: cur etiam pedum lotio post baptismum; quaeve peccata utrisque remittantur.

CHAPTER 6

Why they who come forth from the laver of baptism are anointed on the head; why, too, after baptism, their feet are washed, and what sins are remitted in each case.

29. Post haec utique ascendisti ad sacerdotem: considera quid secutum sit. Nonne illud quod ait David. Sicut unguentum in capite, quod descendit in barbam, barbam Aaron (Psal. CXXXII, 2)? Hoc est unguentum, de quo et Salomon ait: Unguentum exinanitum est nomen tuum, propterea adolescentulae dilexerunt te, et attraxerunt te (Cant. I, 2). Quantae hodie renovatae animae dilexerunt te, Domine Jesu, dicentes: Attrahe nos post te, in odorem vestimentorum tuorum currimus (Ibid., 3), ut odorem resurrectionis haurirent!

29. After this, you went up to the priest, consider what followed. Was it not that of which David speaks: Like the ointment upon the head, which went down to the beard, even Aaron’s beard? This is the ointment of which Solomon, too, says: Your Name is ointment poured out, therefore have the maidens loved You and drawn You. Song of Songs 1:2 How many souls regenerated this day have loved You, Lord Jesus, and have said: Draw us after You, we are running after the odour of Your garments, Song of Songs 1:3 that they might drink in the odour of Your resurrection.

30. Quare hoc fiat intellige, quia oculi sapientis in capite ejus (Eccles. II, 14). Ideo in barbam defluit, id est, in gratiam juventutis; ideo in barbam Aaron, ut fias electum genus, sacerdotale, pretiosum; omnes enim in regnum Dei et in sacerdotium ungimur gratia spiritali.

30. Consider now why this is done, for the eyes of a wise man are in his head; Ecclesiastes 2:14 therefore the ointment flows down to the beard, that is to say, to the beauty of youth; and therefore, Aaron's beard, that we, too, may become a chosen race, priestly and precious, for we are all anointed with spiritual grace for a share in the kingdom of God and in the priesthood.

31. Ascendisti de fonte, memento Evangelicae lectionis. Etenim Dominus noster Jesus in Evangelio lavit pedes discipulis suis. Quando venit ad Simonem Petrum, ait Petrus: Non lavas mihi pedes in aeternum (Joan. XIII, 8); non advertit mysterium, et ideo ministerium recusavit; quod gravari humilitatem servi crederet, si sibi obsequium domini patienter admitteret. Cui respondit Dominus: Si non lavero tibi pedes, non habebis partem mecum. Quo audito, Petrus: Domine, non tantum pedes, inquit, sed et manus et caput. Respondit Dominus: Qui lotus est, non indiget nisi ut pedes lavet; sed est mundus totus (Ibid., 9).

31. You went up from the font; remember the Gospel lesson. For our Lord Jesus Christ in the Gospel washed the feet of His disciples. When He came to Simon Peter, Peter said: You shall never wash my feet. John 13:8 He did not perceive the mystery, and therefore he refused the service, for he thought that the humility of the servant would be injured, if he patiently allowed the Lord to minister to him. And the Lord answered him: If I wash not your feet, you will have no part with Me. Peter, hearing this, replies: Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head. The Lord answered: He that is washed needs not save to wash his feet but is clean every whit. John 13:9-10

32. Mundus erat Petrus, sed plantam lavare debebat; habebat enim primi hominis de successione peccatum: quando eum supplantavit serpens, et persuasit errorem (Gen. III, 6). Ideo planta ejus abluitur, ut haereditaria peccata tollantur; nostra enim propria per baptismum relaxantur.

32. Peter was clean, but he must wash his feet, for he had sin by succession from the first man, when the serpent overthrew him and persuaded him to sin. His feet were therefore washed, that hereditary sins might be done away, for our own sins are remitted through baptism.

33. Simul cognosce mysterium in ipso humilitatis consistere ministerio; ait enim: Si ego lavi vobis pedes Dominus et magister; quanto magis et vos debetis lavare pedes invicem vobis (Joan. XIII. 14)! Cum enim ipse auctor salutis per obedientiam nos redemerit; quanto magis nos servuli ejus humilitatis et obedientiae exhibere debemus obsequium!

33. Observe at the same time that the mystery consists in the very office of humility, for Christ says: If I, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet; how much more ought you to wash one another’s feet. For, since the Author of Salvation Himself redeemed us through His obedience, how much more ought we His servants to offer the service of our humility and obedience.

CAPUT VII

VESTIMENTIS CANDIDIS PECCATORUM ablutionem indicari: cujus opera ut Ecclesia se nigram atque decoram diceret, effectum est. Angelos nitorem ejus sicut et Dominicae carnis miratos esse; quin immo ipsummet Christum sub variis figuris commendasse Sponsae suae formam: quorum in se mutui affectus describuntur.

CHAPTER 7

The washing away of sins is indicated by the white robes of the catechumens, whence the Church speaks of herself as black and comely. Angels marvel at her brightness as at that of the flesh of the Lord. Moreover, Christ Himself commended His beauty to His Spouse under many figures. The mutual affection of the one for the other is described.

34. Accepisti post haec vestimenta candida (De Consec. dist. 4, c. Accepsiti), ut esset indicium quod exueris involucrum peccatorum, indueris innocentiae casta velamina, de quibus dixit Propheta: Asperges me hyssopo, et mundabor: lavabis me, et super nivem dealbabor (Psal. L, 9). Qui enim baptizatur, et secundum Legem et secundum Evangelium videtur esse mundatus: secundum Legem, quia hyssopi fasciculo Moyses aspergebat sanguinem agni (Exod. XII, 22): secundum Evangelium, quia Christi erant candida vestimenta sicut nix, cum resurrectionis suae gloriam in Evangelio (Matth. XVII, 2) demonstraret. Super nivem ergo dealbatur, cui culpa dimittitur. Unde et per Esaiam Dominus ait: Si fuerint peccata vestra sicut phoenicium, ut nivem dealbabo (Esai. I, 18).

34. After this white robes were given to you as a sign that you were putting off the covering of sins, and putting on the chaste veil of innocence, of which the prophet said: You shall sprinkle me with hyssop and I shall be cleansed, You shall wash me and I shall be made whiter than snow. For he who is baptized is seen to be purified both according to the Law and according to the Gospel: according to the Law, because Moses sprinkled the blood of the lamb with a bunch of hyssop; Exodus 12:22 according to the Gospel, because Christ's garments were white as snow, when in the Gospel He showed forth the glory of His Resurrection. He, then, whose guilt is remitted is made whiter than snow. So that God said by Isaiah: Though your sins be as scarlet, I will make them white as snow. Isaiah 1:18

35. Haec vestimenta habens Ecclesia per lavacrum regenerationis assumpta, dicit in Canticis: Nigra sum et decora, filiae Hierusalem (Cant. I, 4). Nigra per fragilitatem conditionis humanae, decora per gratiam: nigra, quia ex peccatoribus; decora fidei sacramento. Haec vestimenta cernentes filiae Hierusalem stupefactae dicunt: Quae est haec quae ascendit dealbata (Cant. VIII, 5)? Haec erat nigra, unde nunc subito dealbata!

35. The Church, having put on these garments through the laver of regeneration, says in the Song of Songs: I am black and comely, O daughters of Jerusalem. Song of Songs 1:4 Black through the frailty of her human condition, comely through the sacrament of faith. And the daughters of Jerusalem beholding these garments say in amazement: Who is this that comes up made white? Song of Songs 8:5 She was black, how is she now suddenly made white?

36. Dubitaverunt etiam angeli cum resurgeret Christus, dubitaverunt Potestates coelorum videntes quod caro in coelum ascenderet. Denique dicebant: Quis est iste Rex gloriae? Et cum alii dicerent: Tollite portas Principis vestri, et elevamini portae aeternales, et introibit Rex gloriae; alii

dubitabant dicentes: Quis est iste Rex gloriae (Psal. XXIII, 8, 9)? In Esaia quoque habes dubitantes virtutes coelorum dixisse: Quis est iste qui ascendit ex Edom, rubor vestimentorum ejus ex Bosor, speciosus in stola candida (Esai. LXIII, 1)?

36. The angels, too, were in doubt when Christ arose; the powers of heaven were in doubt when they saw that flesh was ascending into heaven. Then they said: Who is this King of glory? And while some said Lift up your gates, O princes, and be lifted up, you everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in. In Isaiah, too, we find that the powers of heaven doubted and said: Who is this that comes up from Edom, the redness of His garments is from Bosor, He who is glorious in white apparel? Isaiah 63:1

37. Christus autem videns Ecclesiam suam in vestimentis candidis, pro qua ipse, ut habes in Zachariae libro prophetae (Zach. III, 3), sordida vestimenta susceperat, vel animam regenerationis lavacro mundam atque ablutam, dicit: Ecce formosa es, proxima mea, ecce es formosa, oculi tui sicut columbae (Cant. IV, 1); in cujus specie Spiritus sanctus descendit de coelo (Luc. III, 22). Formosi oculi sicut columbae, quia in ejus specie Spiritus sanctus descendit de coelo.

37. But Christ, beholding His Church, for whom He Himself, as you find in the book of the prophet Zechariah, had put on filthy garments, now clothed in white raiment, seeing, that is, a soul pure and washed in the laver of regeneration, says: Behold, you are fair, My love, behold you are fair, your eyes are like a dove’s, Song of Songs 4:1 in the likeness of which the Holy Spirit descended from heaven. The eyes are beautiful like those of a dove, because in the likeness of a dove the Holy Spirit descended from heaven.

38. Et infra: Dentes tui sicut grex tonsarum, quae ascenderunt de lavacro, quae omnes geminos creant, et infecunda non est in eis; ut resticula

coccinea labia tua (Cantic. IV, 2, 3). Non mediocris ista laudatio. Primum dulci comparatione tonsarum; capras enim et in altis pasci sine periculo novimus, et in praeruptis securas cibum capere: deinde cum tondentur, deonerari superfluis. Harum gregi comparatur Ecclesia, multas in se habens animarum virtutes, quae per lavacrum superflua peccata deponant, quae mysticam fidem et moralem gratiam deferant Christo, quae crucem Domini Jesu loquantur.

38. And farther on: Your teeth are like a flock of sheep that are shorn, which have come up from the pool, which all bear twins, and none is barren among them, your lips are as a cord of scarlet. Song of Songs 4:2-3 This is no slight praise. First by the pleasing comparison to those that are shorn; for we know that goats both feed in high places without risk, and securely find their food in rugged places, and then when shorn are freed from what is superfluous. The Church is likened to a flock of these, having in itself the many virtues of those souls which through the laver lay aside the superfluity of sins, and offer to Christ the mystic faith and the grace of good living, which speak of the cross of the Lord Jesus.

39. In iis formosa est Ecclesia. Unde ad eam Verbum Deus dicit: Tota formosa es, proxima mea; et reprehensio non est in te; quia culpa demersa est. Ades huc a Libano, Sponsa, ades huc a Libano: transibis, et pertransibis a principio fidei (Ibid., 7, 8); eo quod renuntians mundo transierit saeculum, pertransierit ad Christum. Et iterum dicit ad eam Deus Verbum: Quid pulchra et suavis facta es charitas in deliciis tuis? Statura tua similis facta est palmae, et ubera tua botris (Cant. VII, 6, 7).

39. The Church is beautiful in them. So that God the Word says to her: You are all fair, My love, and there is no blemish in you, for guilt has been washed away. Come hither from Lebanon, My spouse, come hither from Lebanon, from the beginning of faith will you pass through and pass on,

Song of Songs 4:7-8 because, renouncing the world, she passed through things temporal and passed on to Christ. And again, God the Word says to her: How beautiful and sweet are you made, O love, in your delights! Your stature has become like that of a palm-tree, and your breasts like bunches of grapes. Song of Songs 7:6-7

40. Cui respondet Ecclesia: Quis dabit te, frater, mihi lactentem ubera matris meae? Inveniens te foris, osculabor te: et quidem non spernent me. Assumam te, et inducam te in domum matris meae, et in secretum ejus quae concepit me. Docebis me (Cant. VIII, 1, 2). Vides quemadmodum delectata munere gratiarum, ad interiora cupit mysteria pervenire, et omnes sensus suos consecrare Christo? Adhuc quaerit, adhuc suscitat charitatem, et suscitari sibi eam poscit a filiabus Hierusalem, quarum gratia, hoc est, animarum fidelium, Sponsum in amorem sui uberiorem desiderat provocari.

40. And the Church answers Him, Who will give You to me, my Brother, that sucked the breasts of my mother? If I find You without, I will kiss You, and indeed they will not despise me. I will take You, and bring You into the house of my mother; and into the secret chamber of her that conceived me. You shall teach me. Song of Songs 8:1-2 You see how, delighted with the gifts of grace, she longs to attain to the innermost mysteries, and to consecrate all her affections to Christ. She still seeks, she still stirs up His love, and asks of the daughters of Jerusalem to stir it up for her, and desires that by their beauty, which is that of faithful souls, her spouse may be incited to ever richer love for her.

41. Unde Dominus Jesus et ipse invitatus tantae studio charitatis, pulchritudine decoris et gratiae; quod nulla jam in ablutis delicta sorderent, dicit ad Ecclesiam: Pone me ut signaculum in cor tuum, ut sigillum in brachium tuum (Ibid., 6); hoc est, decora es, proxima mea, tota formosa es, nihil tibi deest. Pone me ut signaculum in cor tuum; quo fides tua pleno

fulgeat sacramento. Opera quoque tua luceant, et imaginem Dei praeferant, ad cujus imaginem facta es. Charitas tua nulla persecutione minuatur, quam multa aqua excludere, flumina undare non possint (Ibid. 7).

41. So that the Lord Jesus Himself, invited by such eager love and by the beauty of comeliness and grace, since now no offenses pollute the baptized, says to the Church: Place Me as a seal upon your heart, as a signet upon your arm; Song of Songs 8:6 that is, you are comely, My beloved, you are all fair, nothing is wanting to you. Place Me as a seal upon your heart, that your faith may shine forth in the fullness of the sacrament. Let your works also shine and set forth the image of God in the Whose image you were made. Let no persecution lessen your love, which many waters cannot quench, nor many rivers drown.

42. Unde repete quia accepisti signaculum spiritale, spiritum sapientiae et intellectus, spiritum consilii atque virtutis, spiritum cognitionis atque pietatis, spiritum sancti timoris (Esai. XI, 2): et serva quod accepisti. Signavit te Deus Pater, confirmavit te Christus Dominus; et dedit pignus Spiritus in cordibus tuis, sicut Apostolica lectione didicisti (II Cor. V, 2).

42. And then remember that you received the seal of the Spirit; the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and strength, the spirit of knowledge and godliness, and the spirit of holy fear, Isaiah 11:2 and preserved what you received. God the Father sealed you, Christ the Lord strengthened you, and gave the earnest of the Spirit in your heart, 2 Corinthians 5:5 as you have learned in the lesson from the Apostle.

CAPUT VIII

DE MYSTICO DOMINICI altaris convivio: quod ne quispiam minoris faciat, ostenditur Synagogae sacris antiquius esse; cum in sacrificio Melchisedech expressum fuerit: ipso autem manna longe praestantius, cum sit corpus Christi; ac inter utrumque perelegans comparatio instituitur.

CHAPTER 8

Of the mystical feast of the altar of the Lord. Lest any should think lightly of it, St. Ambrose shows that it is of higher antiquity than the sacred rites of the Jews, since it was foreshadowed in the sacrifice of Melchisedech, and far better than the manna, as being the Body of Christ.

43. His abluta plebs dives insignibus, ad Christi contendit altaria, dicens: Et introibo ad altare Dei, ad Deum qui laetificat juventutem meam (Psal. XLII, 4); depositis enim inveterati erroris exuviis, renovata in aquilae juventute, coeleste illud festinat adire convivium. Venit igitur, et videns sacrosanctum altare compositum, exclamans ait: Parasti in conspectu meo mensam. Hanc loquentem inducit David dicens: Dominus pascit me, et nihil mihi deerit: in loco pascuae ibi me collocavit. Super aquam refectionis educavit me (Psal. XXII, 1, 2). Et infra: Nam etsi ambulem in medio umbrae mortis, non timebo mala; quoniam tu mecum es. Virga tua et baculus tuus, ipsa me consolata sunt. Parasti in conspectu meo mensam adversus eos qui tribulant me. Impinguasti in oleo caput meum, et poculum tuum inebrians quam praeclarum est!

43. The cleansed people, rich with these adornments, hastens to the altar of Christ, saying: I will go to the altar of God, to God Who makes glad my

youth; for having laid aside the slough of ancient error, renewed with an eagle's youth, it hastens to approach that heavenly feast. It comes, and seeing the holy altar arranged, cries out: You have prepared a table in my sight. David introduces the people as speaking, where he says: The Lord feeds me, and nothing shall be wanting to me, in a place of good pasture has He placed me. He has led me forth by the water of refreshment. And later: For though I walk in the midst of the shadow of death, I will fear no evils, for You are with me. Your rod and Your staff have comforted me. You have prepared in my sight a table against them that trouble me. You have anointed my head with oil, and Your inebriating cup, how excellent it is!

44. Nunc illud consideremus, ne quis forte visibilia videns (quoniam quae sunt invisibilia, non videntur, nec possunt humanis oculis comprehendi) dicat forte: Judaeis Deus manna pluit, pluit coturnices (Exod. XVI, 13): Ecclesiae autem illi dilectae haec sunt quae praeparavit; de quibus dictum est: Quod oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit, quae praeparavit Deus diligentibus eum (I Cor. II, 9). Ergo ne quis hoc dicat, summo studio volumus comprobare quod et antiquiora sunt sacramenta Ecclesiae quam Synagogae, et praestantiora quam manna est.

44. We must now pay attention, lest perchance any one seeing that what is visible (for things which are invisible cannot be seen nor comprehended by human eyes), should say, God rained down manna and rained down quails upon the Jews, Exodus 16:13 but for the Church beloved of Him the things which He has prepared are those of which it is said: That eye has not seen, nor ear heard, neither has it entered into the heart of man, what things God has prepared for them that love Him. 1 Corinthians 2:9 So, lest any one should say this, we will take great pains to prove that the sacraments of the Church are both more ancient than those of the synagogue, and more excellent than the manna.

45. Antiquiora docet lectio Genesis quae decursa est (Gen. XIV, 18); Synagoga enim ex lege Moysi principium sumpsit (Exod. XXXIV, 1 et seq.): Abraham vero longe anterior, qui victis hostibus, et nepote proprio recepto. cum potiretur victoria; tunc illi occurrit Melchisedech, et protulit ea quae Abraham veneratus accepit. Non Abraham protulit, sed Melchisedech; qui inducitur sine patre, sine matre, neque initium dierum, neque finem habens, similis autem Filio Dei: de quo ait Paulus ad Hebraeos: Quia manet sacerdos in perpetuum (Hebr. VII et seq.); qui interpretatione Latina dicitur rex justitiae, rex pacis.

45. The lesson of Genesis just read shows that they are more ancient, for the synagogue took its origin from the law of Moses. But Abraham was far earlier, who, after conquering the enemy, and recovering his own nephew, as he was enjoying his victory, was met by Melchisedech, who brought forth those things which Abraham reverently received. It was not Abraham who brought them forth, but Melchisedech, who is introduced without father, without mother, having neither beginning of days, nor ending, but like the Son of God, of Whom Paul says to the Hebrews: that He remains a priest for ever, Who in the Latin version is called King of righteousness and King of peace.

46. Non agnoscis quis iste sit? Potest homo esse rex justitiae, cum ipse vix justus sit? Potest esse rex pacis, cum vix possit esse pacificus? Sine matre secundum divinitatem; quia ex Patre Deo genitus est, unius substantiae cum Patre: sine patre secundum incarnationem, qui natus ex Virgine est: initium et finem non habens, quia ipse est initium et finis omnium, primus et novissimus. Non igitur humani, sed divini est muneris sacramentum quod accepisti, ab eo prolatum qui benedixit fidei patrem Abraham, illum cujus gratiam et gesta miraris.

46. Do you recognize Who that is? Can a man be king of righteousness, when himself he can hardly be righteous? Can he be king of peace, when he can hardly be peaceable? He it is Who is without mother according to His Godhead, for He was begotten of God the Father, of one substance with the Father; without a father according to His Incarnation, for He was born of a Virgin; having neither beginning nor end, for He is the beginning and end of all things, the first and the last. The sacrament, then, which you received is the gift not of man but of God, brought forth by Him Who blessed Abraham the father of faith, whose grace and deeds we admire.

47. Probatum est antiquiora esse Ecclesiae sacramenta, nunc cognosce potiora. Revera (De Consec. dist. 2, c. Revera) mirabile est quod manna Deus pluerit patribus, et quotidiano coeli pascebantur alimento. Unde dictum est: Panem angelorum manducavit homo (Psal. LXXVII, 25). Sed tamen panem illum qui manducaverunt, omnes in deserto mortui sunt: ista autem esca quam accipis, iste panis vivus qui descendit de coelo, vitae aeternae substantiam subministrat; et quicumque hunc manducaverit, non morietur in aeternum: et est corpus Christi.

47. We have proved the sacraments of the Church to be the more ancient, now recognize that they are superior. In very truth it is a marvellous thing that God rained manna on the fathers, and fed them with daily food from heaven; so that it is said, So man ate angels' food. But yet all those who ate that food died in the wilderness, but that food which you receive, that living Bread which came down from heaven, furnishes the substance of eternal life; and whosoever shall eat of this Bread shall never die, and it is the Body of Christ.

48. Considera nunc (De Consec. dist. 2, c. Revera, § Considera) utrum praestantior sit panis angelorum, an caro Christi, quae utique corpus est vitae. Manna illud e coelo, hoc supra coelum; illud coeli, hoc Domini

coelorum: illud corruptioni obnoxium, si in diem alterum servaretur; hoc alienum ab omni corruptione, quod quicumque religiose gustaverit, corruptionem sentire non poterit. Illis aqua de petra fluxit (Exod. XVII, 6), tibi sanguis e Christo (Joan.VI, 55 et seq.): illos ad horam satiavit aqua, te sanguis diluit in aeternum. Judaeus bibit, et sitit: tu cum biberis, sitire non poteris: et illud in umbra, hoc in veritate.

48. Now consider whether the bread of angels be more excellent or the Flesh of Christ, which is indeed the body of life. That manna came from heaven, this is above the heavens; that was of heaven, this is of the Lord of the heavens; that was liable to corruption, if kept a second day, this is far from all corruption, for whosoever shall taste it holily shall not be able to feel corruption. For them water flowed from the rock, for you Blood flowed from Christ; water satisfied them for a time, the Blood satiates you for eternity. The Jew drinks and thirsts again, you after drinking will be beyond the power of thirsting; that was in a shadow, this is in truth.

49. Si illud quod miraris, umbra est; quantum istud est, cujus et umbram miraris! Audi quia umbra est quae apud patres facta est: Bibebant, inquit, de consequenti eos petra: petra autem erat Christus. Sed non in pluribus eorum complacitum est Deo; nam prostrati sunt in deserto (I Cor. X, 4, 5). Haec autem in figura facta sunt nostra. Cognovisti praestantiora; potior est enim lux quam umbra, veritas quam figura, corpus auctoris quam manna de coelo.

49. If that which you so wonder at is but shadow, how great must that be whose very shadow you wonder at. See now what happened in the case of the fathers was shadow: They drank, it is said, of that Rock that followed them, and that Rock was Christ. But with many of them God was not well pleased, for they were overthrown in the wilderness. Now these things were done in a figure concerning us. 1 Corinthians 10:4 You recognize now

which are the more excellent, for light is better than shadow, truth than a figure, the Body of its Giver than the manna from heaven.

CAPUT IX

NE QUIS EXTERNA perculsus specie, in fide fluctuet, plurimis exemplis, quibus mutatam aut victam fuisse naturam constat, in medium allatis, e pane veram Christi carnem fieri evincit. Postremo nonnullis quae ad effectus ejus, utentium dispositiones ac similia pertinent, figurate propositis, tractatum claudit.

CHAPTER 9

In order that no one through observing the outward part should waver in faith, many instances are brought forward wherein the outward nature has been changed, and so it is proved that bread is made the true body of Christ. The treatise then is brought to a termination with certain remarks as to the effects of the sacrament, the disposition of the recipients, and such like.

50. Forte dicas: Aliud video, quomodo tu mihi asseris quod Christi corpus accipiam? Et hoc nobis adhuc superest ut probemus. Quantis igitur utimur exemplis! Probemus non hoc esse quod natura formavit, sed quod benedictio consecravit: majoremque vim esse benedictionis quam naturae; quia benedictione etiam natura ipsa mutatur.

50. Perhaps you will say, I see something else, how is it that you assert that I receive the Body of Christ? And this is the point which remains for us to prove. And what evidence shall we make use of? Let us prove that this is not what nature made, but what the blessing consecrated, and the power of blessing is greater than that of nature, because by blessing nature itself is changed.

51. Virgam tenebat Moyses, projecit eam, et facta est serpens (Exod. IV, 3, 4). Rursus prehendit caudam serpentis, et in virgae naturam revertit. Vides igitur prophetica gratia bis mutatam esse naturam et serpentis et virgae? Currebant Aegypti flumina puro aquarum meatu, subito de fontium venis sanguis coepit erumpere; et non erat potus in fluviis (Exod. VII, 20 et seq.). Rursus a prophetae prece cruor cessavit fluminum, aquarum natura remeavit. Circumclusus undique erat populus Hebraeorum, hinc Aegyptiis vallatus, inde mari clausus: virgam levavit Moyses, separavit se aqua, et in murorum specie congelavit, atque inter undas via pedestris apparuit (Exod. XIV, 21 et seq.). Jordanis retrorsum conversus contra naturam in sui fontis revertit exordium (Jos. III, 16). Nonne claret naturam vel maritimorum fluctuum vel fluvialis cursus esse mutatam? Sitiebat populus patrum, tetigit Moyses petram, et aqua de petra fluxit. Numquid non praeter naturam operata est gratia, ut aquam vomeret petra, quam non habebat natura? Merrha fluvius amarissimus erat, ut sitiens populus bibere non posset. Misit Moyses lignum in aquam, et amaritudinem suam aquarum natura deposuit (Exod. XV, 23 et seq.), quam infusa subito gratia temperavit. Sub Elisaeo propheta uni ex filiis prophetarum excussum est ferrum de securi, et statim mersum est. Rogavit Elisaeum, qui amiserat ferrum: misit etiam Elisaeus lignum in aquam, et ferrum natavit (IV Reg. VI, 6). Utique et hoc praeter naturam factum cognoscimus; gravior est enim ferri species, quam aquarum liquor.

51. Moses was holding a rod, he cast it down and it became a serpent. Exodus 4:3-4 Again, he took hold of the tail of the serpent and it returned to the nature of a rod. You see that by virtue of the prophetic office there were two changes, of the nature both of the serpent and of the rod. The streams of Egypt were running with a pure flow of water; of a sudden from the veins of the sources blood began to burst forth, and none could drink of the river. Again, at the prophet’s prayer the blood ceased, and the nature of water

returned. The people of the Hebrews were shut in on every side, hemmed in on the one hand by the Egyptians, on the other by the sea; Moses lifted up his rod, the water divided and hardened like walls, and a way for the feet appeared between the waves. Jordan being turned back, returned, contrary to nature, to the source of its stream. Joshua 3:16 Is it not clear that the nature of the waves of the sea and of the river stream was changed? The people of the fathers thirsted, Moses touched the rock, and water flowed out of the rock. Exodus 17:6 Did not grace work a result contrary to nature, so that the rock poured forth water, which by nature it did not contain? Marah was a most bitter stream, so that the thirsting people could not drink. Moses cast wood into the water, and the water lost its bitterness, which grace of a sudden tempered. Exodus 15:25 In the time of Elisha the prophet one of the sons of the prophets lost the head from his axe, which sank. He who had lost the iron asked Elisha, who cast in a piece of wood and the iron swam. This, too, we clearly recognize as having happened contrary to nature, for iron is of heavier nature than water.

52. Advertimus igitur majoris esse virtutis gratiam quam naturam, et adhuc tamen propheticae benedictionis numeramus gratiam? Quod si tantum valuit humana benedictio, ut naturam converteret (III Reg. XVIII, 38); quid dicimus de ipsa consecratione divina, ubi verba ipsa Domini Salvatoris operantur? Nam sacramentum istud quod accipis, Christi sermone conficitur. Quod si tantum valuit sermo Eliae, ut ignem de coelo deponeret: non valebit Christi sermo, ut species mutet elementorum? De totius mundi operibus legisti: Quia ipse dixit, et facta sunt: ipse mandavit, et creata sunt, (Psal. CXLVIII, 5.De Consec., dist. 2, c. In quibus, § Cujus clare) sermo ergo Christi qui potuit ex nihilo facere quod non erat, non potest ea quae sunt, in id mutare, quod non erant? Non enim minus est novas rebus dare, quam mutare naturas.

52. We observe, then, that grace has more power than nature, and yet so far we have only spoken of the grace of a prophet's blessing. But if the blessing of man had such power as to change nature, what are we to say of that divine consecration where the very words of the Lord and Saviour operate? For that sacrament which you receive is made what it is by the word of Christ. But if the word of Elijah had such power as to bring down fire from heaven, shall not the word of Christ have power to change the nature of the elements? You read concerning the making of the whole world: He spoke and they were made, He commanded and they were created. Shall not the word of Christ, which was able to make out of nothing that which was not, be able to change things which already are into what they were not? For it is not less to give a new nature to things than to change them.

53. Sed quid argumentis utimur? Suis utamur exemplis, incarnationisque exemplo astruamus mysterii veritatem. Numquid naturae usus praecessit, cum Jesus Dominus ex Maria nasceretur? Si ordinem quaerimus, viro mixta femina generare consuevit. Liquet igitur quod praeter naturae ordinem Virgo generavit. Et hoc quod conficimus corpus, ex Virgine est: quid hic quaeris naturae ordinem in Christi corpore, cum praeter naturam sit ipse Dominus Jesus partus ex Virgine? Vera utique caro Christi, quae crucifixa est, quae sepulta est: vere ergo carnis illius sacramentum est.

53. But why make use of arguments? Let us use the examples He gives, and by the example of the Incarnation prove the truth of the mystery. Did the course of nature proceed as usual when the Lord Jesus was born of Mary? If we look to the usual course, a woman ordinarily conceives after connection with a man. And this body which we make is that which was born of the Virgin. Why do you seek the order of nature in the Body of Christ, seeing that the Lord Jesus Himself was born of a Virgin, not according to nature? It

is the true Flesh of Christ which crucified and buried, this is then truly the Sacrament of His Body.

54. Ipse clamat Dominus Jesus: Hoc est corpus meum (Matth. XXVI, 26). Ante benedictionem verborum coelestium alia species nominatur, post consecrationem corpus significatur (De Consec. dist. 10, § Haec et his). Ipse dicit sanguinem suum. Ante consecrationem aliud dicitur, post consecrationem sanguis nuncupatur. Et tu dicis: Amen, hoc est, verum est. Quod os loquitur, mens interna fateatur: quod sermo sonat, affectus sentiat.

54. The Lord Jesus Himself proclaims: This is My Body. Matthew 26:26 Before the blessing of the heavenly words another nature is spoken of, after the consecration the Body is signified. He Himself speaks of His Blood. Before the consecration it has another name, after it is called Blood. And you say, Amen, that is, It is true. Let the heart within confess what the mouth utters, let the soul feel what the voice speaks.

55. His igitur sacramentis pascit Ecclesiam suam Christus, quibus animae firmatur substantia: meritoque videns profectum ejus gratiae continentem, dicit ad eam: Quam decora facta sunt ubera tua, soror mea sponsa! Quam decora facta sunt a vino: et odor vestimentorum tuorum super omnia aromata! Favus distillans labia tua, o sponsa, mel et lac sub lingua tua, et odor vestimentorum tuorum sicut odor Libani. Hortus conclusus, soror mea sponsa, hortus conclusus, fons signatus (Cant. IV, 10 et seq.). Quo significat signatum debere apud te manere mysterium, ne violetur operibus malae vitae, atque adulterio castitatis, ne divulgetur quibus non convenit, ne garrula loquacitate dispergatur in perfidos. Bona ergo debet esse fidei tuae custodia, ut intemerata vitae ac silentii integritas perseveret.

55. Christ, then, feeds His Church with these sacraments, by means of which the substance of the soul is strengthened, and seeing the continual

progress of her grace, He rightly says to her: How comely are your breasts, my sister, my spouse, how comely they are made by wine, and the smell of your garments is above all spices. A dropping honeycomb are your lips, my spouse, honey and milk are under your tongue, and the smell of your garments is as the smell of Lebanon. A garden enclosed is my sister, my spouse, a garden enclosed, a fountain sealed. By which He signifies that the mystery ought to remain sealed up with you, that it be not violated by the deeds of an evil life, and pollution of chastity, that it be not made known to thou, for whom it is not fitting, nor by garrulous talkativeness it be spread abroad among unbelievers. Your guardianship of the faith ought therefore to be good, that integrity of life and silence may endure unblemished.

56. Unde et Ecclesia altitudinem servans mysteriorum coelestium, rejicit a se graviores venti procellas, et invitat vernantis gratiae suavitatem: et sciens quod hortus suus Christo displicere non possit, ipsum advocat Sponsum dicens: Exsurge aquilo, et veni auster: perfla hortum meum, et defluant unguenta mea (Ibid., 16). Descendat frater meus in hortum suum, et edat fructum pomiferarum suarum (Cant. V, 1). Bonas enim arbores et fructiferas habet, quae radices suas tinxerint sacri fontis irriguo, et in bonos fructus novae fecunditatis germine pullulaverint; ut non jam prophetica caedantur securi, sed Evangelica ubertate fecundentur (Matth. III, 10).

56. For which reason, too, the Church, guarding the depth of the heavenly mysteries, repels the furious storms of wind, and calls to her the sweetness of the grace of spring, and knowing that her garden cannot displease Christ, invites the Bridegroom, saying: Arise, O north wind, and come, thou south; blow upon my garden, and let my ointments flow down. Let my Brother come down to His garden, and eat the fruit of His trees. For it has good trees and fruitful, which have dipped their roots in the water of the sacred spring, and with fresh growth have shot forth into good fruits, so as now not

to be cut with the axe of the prophet, but to abound with the fruitfulness of the Gospel.

57. Denique fertilitate earum etiam Dominus delectatus respondet: Ingressus sum in hortum meum, soror mea Sponsa: vindemiavi myrrham meam cum unguentis meis, manducavi cibum meum cum melle meo, bibi potum meum cum lacte meo (Cant. V, 1). Quare cibum et potum dixerit, fidelis intellige. Illud autem non dubium, quod in nobis ipse manducat et bibit, sicut in nobis legisti quia in carcere esse se dicit (Matth. XXV, 36).

57. Lastly, the Lord also, delighted with their fertility, answers: I have entered into My garden, My sister, My spouse; I have gathered My myrrh with My spices, I have eaten My meat with My honey, I have drunk My drink with My milk. Song of Songs 5:1 Understand, you faithful, why He spoke of meat and drink. And there is no doubt that He Himself eats and drinks in us, as you have read that He says that in our persons He is in prison. Matthew 25:36

58. Unde et Ecclesia videns tantam gratiam, hortatur filios suos, hortatur proximos, ut ad sacramenta concurrant, dicens: Edite proximi mei, et bibite, et inebriamini, fratres mei (Cant. V, 1). Quid edamus, quid bibamus, alibi tibi per Prophetam Spiritus sanctus expressit dicens: Gustate et videte quoniam suavis est Dominus: beatus vir qui sperat in eo (Psal. XXXIII, 9). In illo sacramento (De Consec. dist. 2, cap., In illo sacram.) Christus est; quia corpus est Christi: non ergo corporalis esca, sed spiritalis est. Unde et Apostolus de typo ejus ait: Quia patres nostri escam spiritalem manducaverunt, et potum spiritalem biberunt (ICor. X, 3); corpus enim Dei corpus est spiritale: corpus Christi corpus est divini Spiritus; quia Spiritus Christus, ut legimus: Spiritus ante faciem nostram Christus Dominus (Thren. IV, 20). Et in Petri Epistola habemus: Christus pro nobis mortuus

est (I Pet. II, 21). Denique cor nostrum esca ista confirmat, et potus iste laetificat cor hominis, ut Propheta memoravit (Psal. CIII, 15).

58. Wherefore, too, the Church, beholding so great grace, exhorts her sons and her friends to come together to the sacraments, saying: Eat, my friends, and drink and be inebriated, my brother. Song of Songs 5:1 What we eat and what we drink the Holy Spirit has elsewhere made plain by the prophet, saying, Taste and see that the Lord is good, blessed is the man that hopes in Him. In that sacrament is Christ, because it is the Body of Christ, it is therefore not bodily food but spiritual. Whence the Apostle says of its type: Our fathers ate spiritual food and drank spiritual drink, 1 Corinthians 10:3 for the Body of God is a spiritual body; the Body of Christ is the Body of the Divine Spirit, for the Spirit is Christ, as we read: The Spirit before our face is Christ the Lord. Lamentations 4:20 And in the Epistle of Peter we read: Christ died for us. 1 Peter 2:21 Lastly, that food strengthens our heart, and that drink makes glad the heart of man, as the prophet has recorded.

59. Unde adepti omnia, sciamus regeneratos nos esse: nec dicamus, quomodo regenerati sumus? Numquid in ventrem matris nostrae introivimus, et renati sumus? non agnosco usum naturae. Sed nullus hic naturae ordo, ubi excellentia gratiae est. Denique non semper usus naturae generationem facit: generatum ex Virgine Christum Dominum confitemur, et naturae ordinem denegamus. Non enim ex viro Maria concepit: sed de Spiritu sancto in utero accepit, ut dicit Matthaeus: Quia inventa est in utero habens de Spiritu sancto (Matth. I, 18). Si ergo superveniens Spiritus sanctus in Virginem, conceptionem operatus est, et generationis munus implevit: non utique dubitandum est quod superveniens in fontem, vel super eos qui baptismum consequuntur, veritatem regenerationis operetur.

59. So, then, having obtained everything, let us know that we are born again, but let us not say, How are we born again? Have we entered a second

time into our mother’s womb and been born again? I do not recognize here the course of nature. But here there is no order of nature, where is the excellence of grace. And again, it is not always the course of nature which brings about conception, for we confess that Christ the Lord was conceived of a Virgin, and reject the order of nature. For Mary conceived not of man, but was with child of the Holy Spirit, as Matthew says: She was found with child of the Holy Spirit. Matthew 1:18 If, then, the Holy Spirit coming down upon the Virgin wrought the conception, and effected the work of generation, surely we must not doubt but that, coming down upon the Font, or upon those who receive Baptism, He effects the reality of the new birth.

De paenitentia (Concerning Repentance)

CONTENTS

LIBER PRIMUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.
CAPUT VII.
CAPUT VIII.
CAPUT IX.
CAPUT X.
CAPUT XI.
CAPUT XII.
CAPUT XIII.
CAPUT XIV.
CAPUT XV.
CAPUT XVI.
CAPUT XVII.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.

CAPUT VII.
CAPUT VIII.
CAPUT IX.
CAPUT X.
CAPUT XI.

LIBER PRIMUS.

BOOK I.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

MODERATIONIS LAUS. QUAM necessaria sit ea virtus praefectis Ecclesiae, potissimum Dominicae charitatis ac mansuetudinis exemplo demonstrari. Ab hac ergo cum desciverint Novatiani, eos pro Christi discipulis habendos non esse: quorum superbia et inclementia castigatur.

CHAPTER 1

St. Ambrose writes in praise of gentleness, pointing out how needful that grace is for the rulers of the Church, and commended to them by the meekness of Christ. As the Novatians have fallen away from this, they cannot be considered disciples of Christ. Their pride and harshness are inveighed against.

1. Si virtutum finis ille est maximus, qui plurimorum spectat profectum, moderatio prope omnium pulcherrima est: quae ne ipsos quidem quos damnat, offendit; et quos damnaverit, dignos solet facere absolutione. Denique sola est, quae Domini quaesitam sanguine Ecclesiam propagaverit, imitatrix beneficii coelestis, et redemptionis universorum salubri fine temperans, quem ferre possint aures hominum, mentes non refugere, non pavere animi.

1. If the highest end of virtue is that which aims at the advancement of most, gentleness is the most lovely of all, which does not hurt even those whom it condemns, and usually renders those whom it condemns worthy of absolution. Moreover, it is the only virtue which has led to the increase of the Church which the Lord sought at the price of His own Blood, imitating the lovingkindness of heaven, and aiming at the redemption of all, seeks

this end with a gentleness which the ears of men can endure, in presence of which their hearts do not sink, nor their spirits quail.

2. Etenim qui studet humanae infirmitatis emendare vitia, ipsam infirmitatem suis debet sustinere, et quodammodo pensare humeris (Luc. XV, 5), non abjicere. Nam pastor ille Evangelicus lassam ovem vexisse legitur, non abjecisse (De Poenit. dist. I, c. Serpens, § Nam pastor). Et Salomon ait: Noli justus esse nimium (Eccl. VII, 17); debet enim justitiam temperare moderatio. Nam quemadmodum se tibi curandum praebeat, quem fastidio habeas; qui contemptui se, non compassioni medico suo putet futurum?

2. For he who endeavours to amend the faults of human weakness ought to bear this very weakness on his own shoulders, let it weigh upon himself, not cast it off. For we read that the Shepherd in the Gospel Luke 15:5 carried the weary sheep, and did not cast it off. And Solomon says: Be not overmuch righteous; Ecclesiastes 7:17 for restraint should temper righteousness. For how shall he offer himself to you for healing whom you despise, who thinks that he will be an object of contempt, not of compassion, to his physician?

3. Ideo Dominus Jesus compassus nobis est; ut ad se vocaret, non ut deterreret. Mitis venit, venit humilis. Denique ait: Venite ad me omnes, qui laboratis, et onerati estis, et ego vos reficiam (Matth. XI, 28). Reficit ergo Dominus Jesus, non excludit, neque abjicit: meritoque tales discipulos elegit, qui Dominicae voluntatis interpretes, plebem Dei colligerent, non repudiarent. Unde liquet eos inter Christi discipulos non esse habendos, qui dura pro mitibus, superba pro humilibus sequenda opinantur: et cum ipsi quaerant Domini misericordiam, aliis eam denegant; ut sunt doctores Novatianorum, qui mundos se appellant.

3. Therefore had the Lord Jesus compassion upon us in order to call us to Himself, not frighten us away. He came in meekness, He came in humility, and so He said: Come unto Me, all you that labour and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you. Matthew 11:28 So, then, the Lord Jesus refreshes, and does not shut out nor cast off, and fitly chose such disciples as should be interpreters of the Lord's will, as should gather together and not drive away the people of God. Whence it is clear that they are not to be counted among the disciples of Christ, who think that harsh and proud opinions should be followed rather than such as are gentle and meek; persons who, while they themselves seek God's mercy, deny it to others, such as are the teachers of the Novatians, who call themselves pure.

4. Quid his superbius, cum Scriptura dicat: quia nemo mundus a peccato, nec unius diei infans (Job. XIV, 4); et David clamet: A delicto meo munda me (Psal. L, 2)? Sanctiores isti quam David, de cujus nasci familia Christus incarnationis elegit mysterio, cujus posteritas aula coelestis est, utero virginali suscipiens mundi Redemptorem? Quid autem durius, quam ut indicant poenitentiam, quam non relaxent; cum utique veniam negando, incentivum auferant poenitentiae? Nemo enim potest bene agere poenitentiam, nisi qui speraverit indulgentiam (De Poenit., dist. 1, cap. Nemo potest).

4. What can show more pride than this, since the Scripture says: No one is free from sin, not even an infant of a day old; and David cries out: Cleanse me from my sin. Are they more holy than David, of whose family Christ vouchsafed to be born in the mystery of the Incarnation, whose descendant is that heavenly Hall which received the world's Redeemer in her virgin womb? For what is more harsh than to inflict a penance which they do not relax, and by refusing pardon to take away the incentive to penance and

repentance? Now no one can repent to good purpose unless he hopes for mercy.

CAPUT II.

QUOD NOVATIANI DICUNT se non nisi lapsis negare communionem, hoc neque cum Scriptura, neque cum sua ipsorum doctrina congruere: quod vero divinae potestatis reverentiam praetexunt, eos hoc ipso in illam esse injurios; cum is injuriam inferat, qui creditum sibi munus aut ejus partem nolit exercere: caeterum ligandi et solvendi jus quod haeresi non potest attribui, pulchre vindicari ab Ecclesia, quippe quae Spiritu sancto id acceperit, in quem isti superbe agunt.

CHAPTER 2

The assertion of the Novatians that they refuse communion only to the lapsed agrees neither with the teaching of holy Scripture nor with their own. And whereas they allege as a pretext their reverence for the divine power, they really are contemning it, inasmuch as it is a sign of low estimation not to use the whole of a power entrusted to one. But the Church rightly claims the power of binding and loosing, which heretics have not, inasmuch as she has received it from the Holy Spirit, against Whom they act presumptuously.

5. Sed negant his oportere reddi communionem, qui praevaricatione lapsi sunt. Si unum tantum crimen exciperent sacrilegii, cui veniam negarent, dure quidem, sed tamen divinis tantum redargui viderentur sententiis, assertionibus tamen suis convenirent; Dominus enim crimen nullum excepit, qui peccata donavit omnia. At cum omnia peccata Stoicorum quodam more paribus putent aestimanda mensuris, et aeque eum qui gallum, ut aiunt, gallinaceum, atque illum qui patrem suffocaverit, perpetuo

asserant coelestibus abdicandos mysteriis; quomodo unius criminis objiciunt reos, cum indignissimum esse non possint etiam ipsi negare, ut paucorum poena perveniat ad multos?

5. But they say that those should not be restored to communion who have fallen into denial of the faith. If they made the crime of sacrilege the only exception to receiving forgiveness, they would be acting harshly indeed, and, as it would seem, would be in opposition to the divine utterances only, while consistent with their own assertions. For when the Lord forgave all sins, He made an exception of none. But since, as it were after the fashion of the Stoics, they think that all sins are equal in gravity, and assert that he who has stolen a common fowl, as they say, no less than he who has smothered his father, should be for ever excluded from the divine mysteries, how can they select those guilty of one special offense, since even they themselves cannot deny that it is most unjust that the penalty of one should extend to many?

6. [Alias cap. II.] Sed aiunt se Domino deferre reverentiam, cui soli remittendorum criminum potestatem reservent. Immo nulli majorem injuriam faciunt, quam qui ejus volunt mandata rescindere, commissum munus refundere. Nam cum ipse in Evangelio suo dixerit Dominus Jesus: Accipite Spiritum sanctum; quorum remiseritis peccata, remittuntur eis: et quorum detinueritis, detenta erunt (Joan. XX, 22, 23); quis est ergo qui magis honorat, utrum qui mandatis obtemperat, an qui resistit?

6. They affirm that they are showing great reverence for God, to Whom alone they reserve the power of forgiving sins. But in truth none do Him greater injury than they who choose to prune His commandments and reject the office entrusted to them. For inasmuch as the Lord Jesus Himself said in the Gospel: Receive the Holy Spirit: whosesoever sins you forgive they are forgiven unto them, and whosesoever sins you retain, they are retained,

John 20:22-23 who is it that honours Him most, he who obeys His bidding or he who rejects it?

7. Ecclesia in utroque servat obedientiam, ut peccatum et alliget et relaxet: haeresis in altero immitis, in altero inobediens; vult ligare, quod non resolvat: non vult solvere, quod ligavit; in quo se sua damnat sententia. Dominus enim par jus et solvendi esse voluit et ligandi, qui utrumque pari conditione permisit (De Poenit., dist. 1, cap. Verbum Dei, § Dominus). Ergo qui solvendi jus non habet, nec ligandi habet. Sicut enim secundum Dominicam sententiam, qui ligandi jus habet, et solvendi habet: ita istorum assertio se ipsam strangulat; ut quia solvendi sibi jus negant, negare debeant et ligandi. Quomodo igitur potest alterum licere, alterum non licere? Quibus donatum utrumque est, aut utrumque licere manifestum est, aut utrumque non licere certum est. Ecclesiae utrumque licet, haeresi utrumque non licet; jus enim hoc solis permissum sacerdotibus est. Recte igitur hoc Ecclesia vindicat, quae veros sacerdotes habet: haeresis vindicare non potest, quae sacerdotes Dei non habet. Non vindicando autem ipsa de se pronuntiat, quod cum sacerdotes non habeat, jus sibi vindicare non debeat sacerdotale. Ita impudenti contumacia pudentem cernimus confessionem.

7. The Church holds fast its obedience on either side, by both retaining and remitting sin; heresy is on the one side cruel, and on the other disobedient; wishes to bind what it will not loosen, and will not loosen what it has bound, whereby it condemns itself by its own sentence. For the Lord willed that the power of binding and of loosing should be alike, and sanctioned each by a similar condition. So he who has not the power to loose has not the power to bind. For as, according to the Lord’s word, he who has the power to bind has also the power to loose, their teaching destroys itself, inasmuch as they who deny that they have the power of loosing ought also to deny that of binding. For how can the one be allowed and the other

disallowed? It is plain and evident that either each is allowed or each is disallowed in the case of those to whom each has been given. Each is allowed to the Church, neither to heresy, for this power has been entrusted to priests alone. Rightly, therefore, does the Church claim it, which has true priests; heresy, which has not the priests of God, cannot claim it. And by not claiming this power heresy pronounces its own sentence, that not possessing priests it cannot claim priestly power. And so in their shameless obstinacy a shamefaced acknowledgment meets our view.

8. Specta etiam illud, quoniam qui Spiritum sanctum accepit, et solvendi peccati potestatem et ligandi accepit. Sic enim scriptum est: Accipite Spiritum sanctum; quorum remiseritis peccata, remittuntur: et quorum detinueritis, detenta erunt (Joan XX, 22, 23). Ergo qui solvere non potest peccatum, non habet Spiritum sanctum. Munus Spiritus sancti est officium sacerdotis, jus autem Spiritus sancti in solvendis ligandisque criminibus est; quomodo igitur munus ejus vindicant, de cujus diffidunt jure et potestate?

8. Consider, too, the point that he who has received the Holy Ghost has also received the power of forgiving and of retaining sin. For thus it is written: Receive the Holy Spirit: whosesoever sins you forgive, they are forgiven unto them, and whosesoever sins you retain, they are retained. John 20:22-23 So, then, he who has not received power to forgive sins has not received the Holy Spirit. The office of the priest is a gift of the Holy Spirit, and His right it is specially to forgive and to retain sins. How, then, can they claim His gift who distrust His power and His right?

9. Quid! quod insolentiores sunt. Nam cum ad misericordiam promptior quam ad severitatem sit Spiritus Dei; quod ait se velle, id nolunt: quod nolle, hoc agunt; cum vindicare judicis sit, remittere misericordis. Tolerabilius igitur, Novatiane, remitteres, quam ligares; aliud enim quasi delinquendi parcus usurpares, aliud quasi aerumnae compassus ignosceres.

9. And what is to be said of their excessive arrogance? For although the Spirit of God is more inclined to mercy than to severity, their will is opposed to that which He wills, and they do that which He wills not; whereas it is the office of a judge to punish, but of mercy to forgive. It would be more endurable, Novatian, that you should forgive than that you should bind. In the one case you would assume the right as one who rarely offended; in the other you would forgive as one who had fellow-feeling with the misery of sin.

CAPUT III.

IISDEM NOVATIANIS VENIAM gravioribus tantum criminibus abs se denegari opponentibus, respondet S. Doctor hac sententia ab illis sectae suae parentem rursus damnari, et offendi ipsummet Deum, qui peccatorum quorumlibet remittendorum fecit potestatem: sed majoribus delictis majorem quoque poenitentiam adhibendam esse. Adjicit autem ipsos in hoc perversos sese praebere, quod hujusmodi culparum distinctio severitatis materiam Deo relinquat: cujus misericordiam in incarnatione Christi adeo mirabiliter emicantem imitari detrectant.

CHAPTER 3

To the argument of the Novatians, that they only deny forgiveness in the case of greater sins, St. Ambrose replies, that this is also an offense against God, Who gave the power to forgive all sins, but that of course a more severe penance must follow in case of graver sins. He points out likewise that this distinction as to the gravity of sins assigns, as it were, severity to God, Whose mercy in the Incarnation is overlooked by the Novatians.

10. Sed aiunt se, exceptis gravioribus criminibus, relaxare veniam levioribus. Non hoc quidem auctor vestri erroris Novatianus, qui nemini poenitentiam dandam putavit; ea scilicet contemplatione, ut quod ipse non posset solvere, non ligaret; ne ligando sperari a se faceret solutionem. In eo igitur patrem vestrum propria damnatis sententia, qui distinctionem peccatorum facitis, quae solvenda a vobis putetis, et quae sine remedio esse arbitremini: sed Deus distinctionem non facit, qui misericordiam suam promisit omnibus, et relaxandi licentiam sacerdotibus suis sine ulla

exceptione concessit (De Poenit., dist. 1, cap. Deus). Sed qui culpam exaggeraverit, exaggeret etiam poenitentiam; majora enim crimina majoribus abluuntur fletibus. Ita nec Novatianus probatur, qui veniam interclusit omnibus: nec vos imitatores ejusdem et condemnatores; quia ibi minuitis studia poenitentiae, ubi augeri oportet; quia graviora peccata majoribus sustentanda fulcris docuit Christi misericordia.

10. But they say that, with the exception of graver sins, they grant forgiveness to those of less weight. This is not the teaching of your father, Novatian, who thought that no one should be admitted to penance, considering that what he was unable to loose he would not bind, lest by binding he should inspire the hope that he would loose. So that your father is condemned by your own sentence, you who make a distinction between sins, some of which you consider that you can loose, and others which you consider to be without remedy. But God does not make a distinction, Who has promised His mercy to all, and granted to His priests the power of loosing without any exception. But he who has heaped up sin must also increase his penitence. For greater sins are washed away by greater weeping. So neither is Novatian justified, who excluded all from pardon; nor are you, who imitate and, at the same time, condemn him, for you diminish zeal for penance where it ought to be increased, since the mercy of Christ has taught us that graver sins must be made good by greater efforts.

11. Quae autem ista perversitas est, ut vobis vindicetis possibilia concessu: Deo, ut ipsi dicitis, impossibilia reservetis? Hoc est sibi eligere causas ignoscendi, Deo materiam saeviendi relinquere. Et ubi est illud: Sit autem Deus verax, omnis autem homo mendax, sicut scriptum est: ut justificeris in sermonibus tuis, et vincas cum judicaris (Rom. III, 4)? Ut agnoscamus igitur Deum misericordiae magis indulgentem esse, quam severitatis tenacem, ipse ait: Misericordiam malo, quam sacrificium (Ose. VI, 6).

Quomodo igitur vestrum potest acceptum esse sacrificium Deo, qui negatis misericordiam; cum ipse dicat nolle se mortem peccatoris, sed correctionem (Ezech. XVIII, 32) ?

11. And what perversity it is to claim for yourselves what can be forgiven, and, as you say, to reserve to God what cannot be forgiven. This would be to reserve to oneself the cases for mercy, to God those for severity. And what as to that saying: Let God be true but every man a liar, as it is written, That You might be justified in Your words, and overcome when You are judged? Romans 3:4 In order, then, that we may recognize that the God of mercy is rather prone to indulgence than to severity, it is said: I desire mercy rather than sacrifice. Hosea 6:6 How, then, can your sacrifice, who refuse mercy, be acceptable to God, since He says that He wills not the death of a sinner, but his correction? Ezekiel 18:32

12. Cujus interpres Apostolus ait: Quia Deus Filium suum mittens in similitudinem carnis peccati, et de peccato damnavit peccatum in carne; ut justificatio Legis impleretur in nobis (Rom. VIII, 3, 4). Non in similitudinem carnis ait; quia Christus veritatem suscepit carnis humanae, non similitudinem: neque in similitudinem peccati ait; quia peccatum non fecit, sed peccatum pro nobis factus est: sed venit in similitudinem carnis peccati (II Cor. V, 2), hoc est, suscepit similitudinem carnis peccatricis; ideo similitudinem, quia scriptum est: Et homo est, et quis agnoscet eum (Jerem. XVII, 3)? Homo erat in carne secundum hominem, qui agnosceretur: virtute supra hominem, qui non agnosceretur; ita et hic carnem habet nostram, sed carnis hujus vitia non habet.

12. Interpreting which truth, the Apostle says: For God, sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin condemned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the Law might be fulfilled in us. Romans 8:3-4 He does not say in the likeness of flesh, for Christ took on Himself the reality

not the likeness of flesh; nor does He say in the likeness of sin, for He did no sin, but was made sin for us. Yet He came in the likeness of sinful flesh; that is, He took on Him the likeness of sinful flesh, the *likeness*, because it is written: He is man, and who shall know Him? He was man in the flesh, according to His human nature, that He might be recognized, but in power was above man, that He might not be recognized, so He has our flesh, but has not the failings of this flesh.

13. Non enim sicut omnis homo est, ex virili erat et feminea permixtione generatus: sed natus de Spiritu sancto et de Virgine (Matth. I, 18), immaculatum corpus susceperat, quod non solum nulla vitia maculaverant, sed nec generationis aut conceptionis concretio injuriosa fuscaverat (S. Aug. lib. II, cont. Jul. Pelag., in princ. et fin.; lib II de Pec. orig., c. 40; et l. IV, contra duas Epist. Pet. c. 11). Nam omnes homines sub peccato nascimur, quorum ipse ortus in vitio est, sicut habes lectum, dicente David: Ecce enim in iniquitatibus conceptus sum, et in delictis peperit me mater mea (Psal. L, 5). Ideo Pauli caro corpus mortis erat, sicut ipse ait: Quis me liberabit de corpore mortis hujus (Rom. VII, 24)? Christi autem caro damnavit peccatum, quod nascendo non sensit, quod moriendo crucifixit; ut in carne nostra esset justificatio per gratiam, ubi erat ante colluvio per culpam.

13. For He was not begotten, as is every man, by intercourse between male and female, but born of the Holy Spirit and of the Virgin; He received a stainless body, which not only no sins polluted, but which neither the generation nor the conception had been stained by any admixture of defilement. For we men are all born under sin, and our very origin is in evil, as we read in the words of David: For lo, I was conceived in wickedness, and in sin did my mother bring me forth. Therefore the flesh of Paul was a body of death, as he himself says: Who shall deliver me from the body of

this death? Romans 7:24 But the flesh of Christ condemned sin, which He felt not at His birth, and crucified by His death, so that in our flesh there might be justification through grace, in which before there had been pollution by guilt.

14. Quid ergo dicemus ad haec, nisi quod dixit Apostolus: Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos? Qui Filio proprio non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit eum; quomodo non etiam cum illo omnia nobis donavit? Quis accusabit adversus electos Dei? Deus qui justificat, quis est qui condemnet? Christus qui mortuus est, immo qui et resurrexit, qui est in dextera Dei, qui etiam interpellat pro nobis (Rom. VIII, 31 et seq.). Pro quibus ergo Christus interpellat, eos Novatianus accusat. Quos Christus ad salutem redemit, eos Novatianus damnat ad mortem. Quibus Christus dicit: Tollite jugum meum super vos, et discite a me quia mitis sum (Matth. XI, 29); Novatianus dicit: Immitis sum. Quibus Christus dicit; Invenietis requiem animabus vestris; jugum enim meum suave est, et onus meum leve est (Ibid., 30); his grave onus, et durum imponit jugum Novatianus.

14. What, then, shall we say to this, except that which the Apostle said: If God is for us, who is against us? He who spared not His own Son, but gave Him up for us all, how has He not with Him also given us all things? Who shall lay a charge against the elect? It is God Who justifies, who is he that shall condemn? It is Christ Who died, yea, Who also rose again, Who is at the right hand of God, Who also makes intercession for us. Romans 8:31-35 Novatian then brings charges against those for whom Christ intercedes. Those whom Christ has redeemed unto salvation Novatian condemns to death. Those to whom Christ says: Take My yoke upon you, and learn of Me, for I am gentle, Matthew 11:29 Novatian says, I am not gentle. On those to whom Christ says: You shall find rest for your souls, for My yoke

is pleasant and My burden is light, Matthew 11:30 Novatian lays a heavy burden and a hard yoke.

CAPUT IV.

PERGIT DIVINAM PROBARE misericordiam, eamque majorem esse quam severitatem Evangelici testimonii expositione ostendit. Eos vero qui Christum negaverunt coram hominibus, non eadem omnes ratione habendos esse, athletarum exemplo palam facit.

CHAPTER 4

St. Ambrose proceeds with the proof of the divine mercy, and shows by the testimony of the Gospels that it prevails over severity, and he adduces the instance of athletes to show that of those who have denied Christ before men, all are not to be esteemed alike.

15. Quam propensus igitur ad misericordiam sit Dominus Jesus, licet ista satis instruant; tamen etiam ipse te doceat, qui cum adversus impressionem persecutionis instruere nos vellet, ait: Nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus, animam autem non possunt occidere: sed potius eum timete, qui potest animam et corpus mittere in gehennam (Matth. X, 28). Et infra: Omnis ergo qui confessus me fuerit coram hominibus, confitebor et ego eum coram Patre meo, qui est in coelis: qui autem negaverit me coram hominibus, negabo et ego eum coram Patre meo, qui est in coelis (Ibid., 32, 33).

15. Although what has been said sufficiently shows how inclined the Lord Jesus is to mercy, let Him further instruct us with His own words, when He would arm us against the assaults of persecution. Fear not, He says, those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul, but rather fear Him Who can cast

both body and soul into hell. Matthew 10:28 And farther on: Every one, therefore, who shall confess Me before men, him will I also confess before My Father, Who is in heaven, but he who shall deny Me before men, him will I also deny before My Father, Who is in heaven. Matthew 10:32-33

16. Ubi confitetur, pro omnibus confitetur, omnes complectitur: ubi negat, non omnes negat. Sicut enim supra habet: Omnis qui me confessus fuerit, confitebor et ego eum, hoc est, omnem: consequens erat ut infra quoque sic redderet: Omnis autem qui negaverit me. Sed ne omnes negare videretur, ita subjecit: Qui autem negaverit me coram hominibus, negabo et ego eum. Gratiam promittit omnibus, non omnibus minatur injuriam. Quod est miserationis, exaggerat: quod ultionis, extenuat.

16. Where He says that He will confess, He will confess every one. Where He speaks of denying, He does not speak of denying every one. For, whereas in the former clause He says, Every one who shall confess Me, him will I confess, we should expect that in the following clause He would also say, Every one who shall deny Me. But in order that He might not appear to deny every one, He concludes: But he who shall deny Me before men, him will I also deny. He promises favour to every one, but He does not threaten the penalty to every one. He makes more of that which is merciful. He makes less of what is penal.

17. Atque ita scriptum est non solum in eo libro, qui secundum Matthaeum scribitur Evangelii Domini Jesu: sed etiam in eo lectum est quem secundum Lucam reperimus (Luc. XII, 8); ut scias non otiose id posuisse utrumque.

17. And this is written not only in that book of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus, which is written according to Matthew, but it is also to be read in that which we have according to Luke, Luke 12:8-9 that we might know that neither had thus related the saying by chance.

18. [Alias cap. III.] Diximus quid scriptum sit, colligamus sententiam: Omnis, inquit, qui me confessus fuerit (Math. X, 32), id est, ex quacumque vita, ex quocumque statu qui confessus me fuerit, habebit me remuneratorem confessionis suae. Cum dicitur, Omnis, nullus a remuneratione, qui fuerit confessus, excluditur. Non similiter, omnis qui negaverit, negabitur; potest enim fieri ut aliquis victus suppliciis, sermone Deum neget, et corde adoret (De Poenit., dist. I, cap. Potest fieri).

18. We have said that it is thus written. Let us now consider the meaning. Every one, He says, who shall confess Me, that is to say, of whatever age, of whatever condition he may be, who shall confess Me, he shall have Me as the Rewarder of his confession. Whereas the expression is, every one, no one who shall confess is excluded from the reward. But it is not said in like manner, Every one who shall deny shall be denied, for it is possible that a man overcome by torture may deny God in word, and yet worship Him in his heart.

19. Numquid eadem causa est ejus qui sponte negat, et ejus quem tormenta inclinaverint ad sacrilegium, non voluntas? Quam autem indignum, cum apud homines valeat certaminis gratia, ut apud Deum non valere asseratur! Nam saepe in hoc athletarum saeculari certamine etiam victos quorum fuerint certamina probata, vulgus hominum cum victoribus coronare consuevit; maxime quos viderit forte dolo aut fraude victoria exclusos. Christus ergo athletas suos quos viderit gravibus paulisper cessisse suppliciis, sine venia patietur manere?

19. Is the case the same with him who denies voluntarily, and with him whom torture, not his own will, has led to denial? How unfit were it, since with men credit is given for endurance in a struggle, that one should assert that it had no value with God! For often in this world’s athletic contests the public crown together with the victors even the vanquished whose conduct

has been approved, especially if perchance they have seen that they lost the victory by some trick or fraud. And shall Christ suffer His athletes, whom He has seen to yield for a moment to severe torments, to remain without forgiveness?

20. Numquid non habebit rationem laboris, qui etiam quos projicit, non in aeternum projicit? Dicit enim David: Non in aeternum projiciet Deus (Psal. LXXVI, 8); et contra hunc audiemus haeresim dicentem: Projicit in aeternum? Nec in finem, inquit, misericordiam suam abscidet a generatione in generationem, aut obliviscetur misereri Deus (Ibid. 9, 10), clamat Propheta: et sunt qui divinae miserationis quaedam inducant oblivia?

20. Shall not He take account of their toil, Who will not cast off for ever even those whom He casts off? For David says: God will not cast off for ever, and in opposition to this shall we listen to heresy asserting, He does cast off for ever? David says: God will not for ever cut off His mercy from generation to generation, nor will He forget to be merciful. This is the prophet's declaration, and there are those who would maintain a forgetfulness of mercy on God's part.

CAPUT V.

OBJECTIONI AB IMMUTABILITATE Dei petitae respondetur, allatis Scripturae testimoniis, quibus misericordiam emergentibus e volutabro suo peccatoribus Deus promittit: additurque indulgentiam iis parari propensiorem, qui quodammodo inviti deliquerunt, quod eleganti bello captorum exemplo, et ipsiusmet diaboli prosopopaeia illustratur.

CHAPTER 5

The objection from the unchangeableness of God is answered from several passages of Scripture, wherein God promises forgiveness to sinners on their repentance. St. Ambrose also shows that mercy will be more readily accorded to such as have sinned, as it were, against their will, which he illustrates by the case of prisoners taken in war, and by language put into the mouth of the devil.

21. Sed aiunt ideo se ista asserere, ne mutabilem Deum facere videantur; si his quibus fuerit iratus, ignoscat. [Alias cap. IV.] Quid ergo? Repudiabimus divina oracula, et opiniones istorum sequemur? Sed non Deus alienis assertionibus, sed suis aestimandus est vocibus. Quod enim promptius edere possumus insigne ejus misericordiae, quam quod ipse per prophetam Osee, quibus tamquam iratus minabatur, continuo tamquam reconciliatus indulget? Ait enim: Quid tibi faciam, Ephraem, aut quid faciam tibi, Juda? Misericordia vestra, etc. (Ose. VI, 4). Et infra: Quomodo te constituam? Velut Adama efficiam te, et sicut Seboim (Ose. XI, 8). In ipsa indignatione velut patrio quodam affectu haeret, quomodo ad poenam tradat errantem: etsi Judaeus meretur, Deus tamen adhuc secum examinat. Sed continuo (De

Poenit., dist. I, cap. Sed contin.) qui dixerat: Sicut Adama faciam te, et sicut Seboim; quae duae urbes ex vicinia Sodomorum parilis excidii traxere consortium: Conversum est, inquit, cor meum in eo ipso, conturbata est poenitentia mea: non faciam secundum iracundiam furoris mei (Ose. XI, 8, 9).

21. But they say that they make these assertions in order not to seem to make God liable to change, as He would be if He forgave those with whom He was angry. What then? Shall we reject the utterances of God and follow their opinions? But God is not to be judged by the statements of others, but by His own words. What mark of His mercy have we more ready at hand than that He Himself, through the prophet Hosea, is at once merciful as though reconciled to those whom in His anger He had threatened? For He says: O Ephraim, what shall I do unto you, or what shall I do unto you, O Judah? Your kindness, etc. Hosea 6:4 And further on: How shall I establish you? I will make you as Admah, and as Zeboim. Hosea 11:8 In the midst of His indignation He hesitates, as it were, with fatherly love, doubting how He can give over the wanderer to punishment; for although the Jew deserves it, God yet takes counsel with Himself. For immediately after having said, I will make you as Admah and as Zeboim, which cities, owing to their nearness to Sodom, suffered together in like destruction, He adds, My heart is turned against Me, My compassion is aroused, I will not do according to the fierceness of Mine anger. Hosea 11:8

22. Nonne apparet quod ideo nobis peccantibus indignetur Dominus Jesus, ut indignationis suae nos terrore convertat? Indignatio ergo ejus non ultionis exsecutio, sed magis absolutionis est operatio; sic enim dixit: Si conversus ingemueris, salvus eris (Esai XXX, 15). Exspectat gemitus nostros, sed temporales, ut remittat perpetuos: exspectat lacrymas nostras, ut profundat pietatem suam. Sic in Evangelio, viduae matris lacrymis compassus, filium

ejus resuscitavit (Luc. VII, 13). Exspectat conversionem nostram, ut revertatur et ipse ad gratiam: quae, si nullus lapsus nobis irreperet, in nobis perseveraret: sed quia peccatis nostris contrahimus offensam, indignatur, ut humiliemur: humiliamur, ut digni simus magis miseratione quam poena.

22. Is it not evident that the Lord Jesus is angry with us when we sin in order that He may convert us through fear of His indignation? His indignation, then, is not the carrying out of vengeance, but rather the working out of forgiveness, for these are His words: If you shall turn and lament, you shall be saved. He waits for our lamentations here, that is, in time, that He may spare us those which shall be eternal. He waits for our tears, that He may pour forth His goodness. So in the Gospel, having pity on the tears of the widow, He raised her son. He waits for our conversion, that He may Himself restore us to grace, which would have continued with us had no fall overtaken us. But He is angry because we have by our sins incurred guilt, in order that we may be humbled; we are humbled, in order that we may be found worthy rather of pity than of punishment.

23. Doceat te certe Hieremias dicens: Quia non repellet in aeternum Dominus; quoniam cum humiliaverit, miserebitur secundum multitudinem misericordiae suae: qui non humiliavit toto corde suo, neque repulit filios hominum (Thren. III, 31, 32). Hoc certe in Threnis Hieremiae legimus, et ex his, vel caeteris quae sequuntur advertimus quia ideo humiliat sub pedibus suis omnes vinctos terrae, ut judicium ejus declinemus (Psal. CXII, 7). Sed nec toto corde humiliat peccatorem usque ad terram, qui etiam de terra suscitat inopem, et de stercore erigit pauperem; non enim ex toto corde humiliat, qui se veniae reservat.

23. Jeremiah, too, may certainly teach when he says: For the Lord will not cast off for ever; for after He has humbled, He will have compassion according to the multitude of His mercies, Who has not humbled from His

whole heart nor cast off the children of men. Lamentations 3:31-32 This passage we certainly find in the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and from it, and from what follows, we note that the Lord humbles all the prisoners of the earth under His feet, Lamentations 3:34 in order that we may escape His judgment. But He does not bring down the sinner even to the earth with His whole heart Who raises the poor even from the dust and the needy from the dunghill. For He brings not down with His whole heart Who reserves the intention of forgiving.

24. Quod si non ex toto corde omnem humiliat peccatorem, quanto magis non ex toto corde humiliat eum, qui non ex toto corde peccavit! Nam sicut dixit de Judaeis: Populus hic labiis me honorat, cor autem eorum longe est a me (Esa. XXIX, 13; Matth. XV, 8); fortasse et de aliquibus lapsis dicat: Isti labiis me negarunt, sed corde mecum sunt. Vicit eos poena, non avertit perfidia. Sine causa autem his aliqui veniam negant, quorum fidem eousque confessus persecutor est, ut eam studeret expugnare tormentis. Negarunt semel, sed quotidie confitentur: negarunt sermone, sed confitentur gemitibus, confitentur ejulationibus, confitentur fletibus, confitentur liberis, non coactis vocibus. Cesserunt quidem ad tempus diaboli tentationi: sed etiam diabolus postea recessit ab his, quos sibi vindicare non potuit. Cessit eorum fletibus, cessit poenitentiae: quos invaserat alienos, perdidit suos.

24. But if He brings not down every sinner with His whole heart, how much less does He bring down him with His whole heart who has not sinned with his whole heart! For as He said of the Jews: This people honours Me with their lips, but their heart is far from Me, Isaiah 29:13 so perhaps He may say of some of the fallen: They denied Me with their lips, but in heart they are with Me. It was pain which overcame them, not unfaithfulness which turned them aside. Matthew 15:8 But some without cause refuse pardon to those whose faith the persecutor himself confessed up to the point of

striving to overcome it by torture. They denied the Lord once, but confess Him daily; they denied Him in word, but confess Him with groans, with cries, and with tears; they confess Him with willing words, not under compulsion. They yielded, indeed, for a moment to the temptation of the devil, but even the devil afterwards departed from those whom he was unable to claim as his own. He yielded to their weeping, he yielded to their repentance, and after making them his own lost those whom he attached when they belonged to Another.

25. Nonne ita istud est, ac si quis captivum victae urbis populum abducat? Captivus ducitur, sed invitus: qui in alienas terras necessitate contendat, intimo tamen non migret affectu, patriam secum animo vehat, quaerat copiam quemadmodum revertatur. Quid ergo? Cum hujuscemodi revertitur, num est aliquis qui persuadeat non recipiendum? minore scilicet honore, sed studio propensiore, ne habeat in quo insultet adversarius. Si armato ignoscis, qui pugnare potuit; non ignoscis ei, in quo sola pugnabat fides?

25. Is not the case such as when any one carries away captive the people of a conquered city? The captive is led away, but against his will. He must of necessity go to foreign lands, does not willingly make the journey; he takes his native land with him in his heart, and seeks an opportunity to return. What then? When any such return, does any one urge that they should not be received; with less honour indeed, but with readier will, that the enemy may have nothing with which to reproach them? If you pardon an armed man who was able to fight, do you not pardon him in whom faith alone waged the battle?

26. Ipsius diaboli de hujusmodi lapsis si requiramus sententiam, nonne videtur dicere: Populus hic labiis me honorat, cor autem eorum longe est a me? Quomodo enim mecum est, qui non recedit a Christo? Sine causa autem me colere videntur, qui doctrinam Jesu custodiunt: ego autem

putabam quod meam docerent. Plus damnant, dum comperta deserunt. Certe Jesus in his amplius gloriatur, dum recipit revertentes. Exsultant omnes angeli; quia gaudium majus est in coelo super uno peccatore poenitentiam agente, quam in nonaginta et novem justis qui non indigent poenitentia (Luc. XV, 7). De me in coelo, de me in terris triumphus sumitur. Nihil Christo perit, quando hi qui ad me cum fletu venerant, cum desiderio ad Ecclesiam revertuntur: et horum exemplo etiam de meis periclitor, qui didicerint nihil hic esse, ubi homines praesentibus provocantur praemiis; et plurimum illic, ubi gemitus, lacrymae, jejunia meis epulis praeferuntur.

26. If we were to enquire what is the opinion of the devil concerning those who have fallen after this sort, would he not probably reply: This people honours me with their lips, but their heart is far from me? For how can he be with me who does not depart from Christ? Without any cause do they appear to honour me who keep the doctrine of Jesus, and I thought that they would teach mine. They condemn me all the more when they forsake me after trial. Indeed Jesus is more glorified in these, when He receives them on their return to Him. All the angels rejoice, for in heaven there is greater joy over one sinner that repents, than over ninety and nine just persons who need not repentance. I am triumphed over in heaven and on earth. Christ loses nothing when they who came to me with weeping return with longing to the Church, and I am in danger even as regards my own, who will learn that in reality there is nothing here where men are led on by present rewards, but that there must be very much there where groans and tears and fasts are preferred to my feasts.

CAPUT VI.

NOVATIANOS DUM PECCATORES a Christi convivio excludunt, non pii Samaritani, sed superbi legisperiti nec non sacerdotis atque levitae, qui reprehenduntur in Evangelio, imitatores esse, immo iisdem etiam inclementiores.

CHAPTER 6

The Novatians, by excluding such from the banquet of Christ, imitate not indeed the good Samaritan, but the proud lawyer, the priest, and the Levite who are blamed in the Gospel, and are indeed worse than these.

27. [Alias cap. V.] Hos ergo, Novatiani, excluditis? Quid est enim aliud excludere, nisi spem veniae denegare? Sed neque semivivum illum derelictum a latronibus Samaritanus praeteriit: et vulnera ejus oleo vinoque curavit, prius infundens oleum quo foveret: supra jumentum suum imposuit vulneratum, in quo ejus peccata vexit omnia (Luc. X, 33, 34); nec ovem pastor despexit errantem (Luc. XV, 4).

27. Do you then, O Novatians, shut out these? For what is it when you refuse the hope of forgiveness but to shut out? But the Samaritan did not pass by the man who had been left half dead by the robbers; he dressed his wounds with oil and wine, first pouring in oil in order to comfort them; he set the wounded man on his own beast, on which he bore all his sins; nor did the Shepherd despise His wandering sheep.

28. Vos autem dicitis: Noli me tangere. Vos dicitis volentes justificare vos ipsos: Non est proximus noster, superbiores quam legisperitus ille qui

Christum tentare cupiebat; ille enim dixit: Quis est meus proximus (Luc. X, 29)? Ille interrogat, vos negatis; sicut sacerdos ille descendentes, et sicut levita praeterientes, quem curandum suscipere debuistis, nec recipientes hospitio, pro quo Christus du onumeravit aera, cujus te proximum fieri Christus jubet, ut facias in eum misericordiam. Ipse enim est proximus, quem non solum conformis natura conjunxerit, sed etiam misericordia copulaverit. Ab eo te alienum superbia facis, extollens te frustra inflatus mente carnis tuae, et non tenens caput. Si enim caput teneres, adverteres non tibi eum deserendum, pro quo Christus mortuus est. Si caput teneres, adverteres corpus omne compaginando potius quam solvendo, in incrementum Dei per copulam charitatis, et redemptionem crescere peccatoris.

28. But you say: Touch me not. You who wish to justify yourselves say, He is not our neighbour, being more proud than that lawyer who wished to tempt Christ, for he said Who is my neighbour? He asked, you deny, going on like that priest, like that Levite passing by him whom you ought to have taken and tended, and not receiving them into the inn for whom Christ paid the two pence, whose neighbour Christ bids you to become that you might show mercy to him. For he is our neighbour whom not only a similar condition has joined, but whom mercy has bound to us. You make yourself strange to him through pride, in vain puffing up yourself in your carnal mind, and not holding the Head. Colossians 2:18 For if you held the Head you would consider that you must not forsake him for whom Christ died. If you held the Head you would consider that the whole body, by joining together rather than by separating, grows unto the increase of God Colossians 2:19 by the bond of charity and the rescue of a sinner.

29. Cum igitur fructum omnem aufertis poenitentiae, quid aliud dicitis, nisi hoc: Nemo de vulneratis nostrum ingrediatur hospitium: nemo sanetur in

nostra Ecclesia? Apud nos non curantur aegroti: sani sumus, medicum non habemus necessarium; quia ipse ait: Non opus est sanis medicus, sed his qui male habent (Matth. IX, 12).

29. When, then, you take away all the fruits of repentance, what do you say but this: Let no one who is wounded enter our inn, let no one be healed in our Church? With us the sick are not cared for, we are whole, we have no need of a physician, for He Himself says: They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick.

CAPUT VII.

CHRISTUM UT OMNES ad coenam suam invitet obtestatus, Novatianos nec ipsos ad eam ingredi, nec aliis ingressum permittere significat, quod Ecclesia sancta non imitatur. Deinde eosdem haereticos cum Christo, qui omnes salvos fieri cupiat, partem habere non posse planum facit.

CHAPTER 7

St. Ambrose, addressing Christ, complains of the Novatians, and shows that they have no part with Christ, Who wishes all men to be saved.

30. [Alias cap. VI.] Ergo, Domine Jesu, ad Ecclesiam tuam totus adveni, quoniam Novatianus excusat. Novatianus dicit: Juga boum emi (Luc. XIV, 19), qui jugum Christi suave non suscipit, et onus grave collo imponit suo, quod portare non queat. Novatianus servos tuos a quibus invitabatur, tenuit, et contumelia affectos occidit quos iterati baptismatis labe inquinavit. Mitte ergo ad exitus viarum, et collige bonos et malos (Luc, XIV, 21): et debiles, et caecos, et claudos introduc in Ecclesiam tuam. Jube impleatur domus tua: introduc omnes ad coenam tuam; quia quem tu vocaveris, dignum facies, si sequatur. Ille sane rejicitur, qui non habuerit vestem nuptialem, hoc est, amictum charitatis, velamen gratiae. Mitte, inquam, ad universos.

30. So, then, Lord Jesus, come wholly to Your Church, since Novatian makes excuse. Novatian says, I have bought a yoke of oxen, and he puts not on the light yoke of Christ, but lays upon his shoulders a heavy burden which he is not able to bear. Novatian held back Your servants by whom he was invited, treated them contemptuously and slew them, polluting them with the stain of a reiterated baptism. Send forth, therefore, into the

highways, and gather together good and bad, Luke 14:21 bring the weak, the blind, and the lame into Your Church. Command that Your house be filled, bring in all unto Your supper, for You will make him whom You shall call worthy, if he follow You. He indeed is rejected who has not the wedding garment, that is, the vestment of charity, the veil of grace. Send forth I pray You to all.

51. Non excusat Ecclesia tua a coena tua, excusat Novatianus. Non dicit familia tua: Sana sum, medicum non requiro; sed dicit: Sana me, Domine, et sanabor: salva me, et salvabor (Jerem. XVII, 14). Denique Ecclesiae tuae species est in illa, quae accessit retro, et tetigit fimbriam vestimenti tui, dicens intra se: Quia si tetigero vestimentum ejus, salva ero (Matth. IX, 21). Haec ergo Ecclesia confitetur vulnera sua, haec curari cupit.

31. Your Church does not excuse herself from Your supper, Novatian makes excuse. Your family says not, I am whole, I need not the physician, but it says: Heal me, O Lord, and I shall be healed; save me, and I shall be saved. Jeremiah 17:14 The likeness of Your Church is that woman who went behind and touched the hem of Your garment, saying within herself: If I do but touch His garment I shall be whole. Matthew 9:21 So the Church confesses her wounds, but desires to be healed.

32. Et tu quidem, Domine, omnes cupis sanare, sed non omnes curari volunt. Non vult Novatianus, qui se putat esse sanum. Tu, Domine, aegrum te esse dicis, et in minimo nostram sentis infirmitatem, dicens: Aeger eram, et visitastis me (Matth. XXV, 36): Novatianus illum minimum visitare nescit, in quo tu desideras visitari. Tu dicis Petro (De Poenit., dist. I, c. Potest fieri, § Dicis Petro) excusanti, ne ei pedes lavares: Nisi lavero tibi pedes, non habebis partem mecum (Joan. XIII, 8). Quod ergo isti possunt consortium tecum habere, qui claves regni non suscipiunt, negantes quod dimittere peccata debeant?

32. And You indeed, O Lord, desire that all should be healed, but all do not wish to be healed. Novatian wishes not, who thinks that he is whole. You, O Lord, say that You are sick, and feel our infirmity in the least of us, saying: I was sick and you visited Me. Matthew 25:36 Novatian does not visit that least one in whom You desire to be visited. You said to Peter when he excused himself from having his feet washed by You: If I wash not your feet, you will have no part with Me. John 13:8 What fellowship, then, can they have with You, who receive not the keys of the kingdom of heaven, saying that they ought not to remit sins?

33. Quod quidem recte de se fatentur; non habent enim Petri haereditatem, qui Petri sedem non habent, quam impia divisione discerpunt: sed hoc improbe, quod etiam in Ecclesia donari peccata negant posse, cum Petro dictum sit: Tibi dabo claves regni coelorum, et quaecumque ligaveris super terram, erunt ligata et in coelo: et quaecumque solveris super terram, erunt soluta et in coelis (Matth. XVI, 19); cum et ipse vas electionis Dominicae dicat: Si cui autem quid donastis, et ego; nam et ego quod donavi, propter vos in persona Christi (II Cor. II, 10). Cur igitur Paulum legunt, si eum tam impie arbitrabantur errasse, ut jus sibi vindicaret Domini sui? Sed vindicavit acceptum, non usurpavit indebitum.

33. And this confession is indeed rightly made by them, for they have not the succession of Peter, who hold not the chair of Peter, which they rend by wicked schism; and this, too, they do, wickedly denying that sins can be forgiven even in the Church, whereas it was said to Peter: I will give unto you the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever you shall bind on earth shall be bound also in heaven, and whatsoever you shall loose on earth shall be loosed also in heaven. Matthew 16:19 And the vessel of divine election himself said: If you have forgiven anything to any one, I forgive also, for what I have forgiven I have done it for your sakes in the person of

Christ. 2 Corinthians 2:10 Why, then, do they read Paul's writings, if they think that he has erred so wickedly as to claim for himself the right of his Lord? But he claimed what he had received, he did not usurp that which was not due to him.

CAPUT VIII.

QUANTA DISCIPULIS SUIS Christus contulerit. Novatianos dum manus imponunt ac baptismum conferunt, a se ipsis redargui; quippe quod eadem auctoritate peccata remittantur in poenitentia atque in baptismate. Ad extremum eorum tumor maxime Dominico exemplo castigatur.

CHAPTER 8

It was the Lord's will to confer great gifts on His disciples. Further, the Novatians confute themselves by the practices of laying on of hands and of baptism, since it is by the same power that sins are remitted in penance and in baptism. Their conduct is then contrasted with that of our Lord.

34. [Alias cap. VII.] Vult Dominus plurimum posse discipulos suos, vult a servulis suis ea fieri in nomine suo, quae faciebat ipse positus in terris (Joan. XIV, 12). Denique ait: Et majora his facietis (Matth. X, 8). Dedit ut mortuos suscitarent. Et cum ipse Saulo reddere posset usum videndi, eum tamen ad Ananiam discipulum suum misit; ut ejus benedictione Saulo refunderentur oculi, quos amiserat (Act. IX, 7). Petrum quoque secum in mari jussit ambulare, et quia titubavit, reprehendit illico, eo quod doni gratiam fidei pusillitate minuisset (Matth. XIV, 29). Dedit etiam discipulis ut lux mundi essent per gratiam (Matth. V, 14), qui erat ipse lux mundi. Et quia descensurus esset e coelo, et in coelum ascensurus, Eliam ad coelum levavit (IV Reg. II, 11), inde eum in terris complacito redditurus tempore. Baptizaturus quoque in Spiritu sancto et igne (Matth. III, 11)

per Joannem baptismatis sacramenta praemisit.

34. It is the will of the Lord that His disciples should possess great powers; it is His will that the same things which He did when on earth should be done in His Name by His servants. For He said: You shall do greater things than these. He gave them power to raise the dead. And whereas He could Himself have restored to Saul the use of his sight, He nevertheless sent him to His disciple Ananias, that by his blessing Saul's eyes might be restored, the sight of which he had lost. Acts 9:17 Peter also He bade walk with Himself on the sea, and because he faltered He blamed him for lessening the grace given him by the weakness of his faith. Matthew 14:31 He Who Himself was the light of the world granted to His disciples to be the light of the world through grace. Matthew 5:14 And because He purposed to descend from heaven and to ascend there again, He took up Elijah into heaven to restore him again to earth at the time which should please Him. And being baptized with the Holy Spirit and with fire, He foreshadowed the Sacrament of Baptism at the hands of John. Matthew 3:11

35. Omnia denique donavit discipulis suis, de quibus ait: In nomine meo daemonia ejicient, linguis loquentur novis, serpentes tollent; et si mortiferum quid biberint, non eis nocebit: supra aegros manus imponent, et bene habebunt (Marc. XVI, 17, 18). Omnia ergo dedit, sed nulla in his hominis potestas est, ubi divini muneris gratia viget.

35. And in fine He gave all gifts to His disciples, of whom He said: In My Name they shall cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they shall drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall do well. Mark 16:17-18 So, then, He gave them all things, but there is no power of man exercised in these things, in which the grace of the divine gift operates.

36. Cur ergo manus imponitis, et benedictionis opus creditis, si quis forte revaluerit aegrotus? Cur praesumitis aliquos a colluvione diaboli per vos

mundari posse? Cur baptizatis, si per hominem peccata dimitti non licet? In baptismo utique remissio peccatorum omnium est: quid interest, utrum per poenitentiam, an per lavacrum hoc jus sibi datum sacerdotes vindicent? Unum in utroque mysterium est.

36. Why, then, do you lay on hands, and believe it to be the effect of the blessing, if perchance some sick person recovers? Why do you assume that any can be cleansed by you from the pollution of the devil? Why do you baptize if sins cannot be remitted by man? If baptism is certainly the remission of all sins, what difference does it make whether priests claim that this power is given to them in penance or at the font? In each the mystery is one.

37. Sed dicis quia in lavacro operatur mysteriorum gratia. Quid in poenitentia? Nonne Dei nomen operatur? Quid ergo? Ubi vultis, vindicatis vobis Dei gratiam: ubi vultis, repudiatis? Sed hoc insolentis arrogantiae, non sancti timoris est; ut fastidio vobis sint, qui volunt agere poenitentiam. Perpeti videlicet flentium lacrymas non potestis. Non ferunt oculi vestri vilia vestimentorum, illuviem sordidatorum, superbo oculo et tumido corde delicati mei, indignanti voce dicentes singuli: Nolite me tangere, quia mundus sum.

37. But you say that the grace of the mysteries works in the font. What works, then, in penance? Does not the Name of God do the work? What then? Do you, when you choose, claim for yourselves the grace of God, and when you choose reject it? But this is a mark of insolent presumption, not of holy fear, when those who wish to do penance are despised by you. You cannot, forsooth, endure the tears of the weepers; your eyes cannot bear the coarse clothing, the filth of the squalid; with proud eyes and puffed-up hearts you delicate ones say with angry tones, Touch me not, for I am pure.

38. Dicit quidem Dominus ad Mariam Magdalenam: Noli me tangere (Joan. XX, 17); sed non dixit, quia mundus sum, qui mundus erat: tu audes, Novatiane, mundum te dicere, qui etsi operibus mundus esses, hoc solo verbo fieres immundus? Esaias dicit: O miser ego, et compunctus corde; quia cum sim homo, et immunda labia habeam, in medio quoque populi immunda labia habentis habitem (Esai. VI, 5)! et tu dicis, mundus sum, cum mundus non sit, ut scriptum est, nec unius diei infans (Job. XIV, 4)? David dicit: Et a delicto meo munda me (Psal. L, 4), quem utique misericordem saepe Domini justificavit gratia: tu mundus, cum tam injustus sis, ut non miserearis; ut festucam in oculo fratris tui videas, trabem autem quae in oculo tuo est, non consideres (Matth. VII, 3)? Immundus enim apud Deum omnis iniquus. Quid autem injustius, quam ut velis tibi dimitti peccata tua, cum roganti ipse non putes remittenda? Quid injustius, quam ut te justifices, in quo damnas alterum; cum graviora committas?

38. The Lord said indeed to Mary Magdalene, Touch Me not, John 20:17 but He Who was pure did not say, because I am pure. Do you, Novatian, dare to call yourself pure, while, even if you were pure as regards your acts, you would be made impure by this saying alone? Isaiah says: O wretched that I am, and pricked to the heart; for that being a man, and having unclean lips, I dwell also in the midst of a people having unclean lips, Isaiah 6:5 and do you say, I am clean, when, as it is written, not even an infant of a day old is pure? David says, And cleanse me from my sin, whom for his tender heart the grace of God often cleansed; are you pure who are so unrighteous as to have no tenderness, as to see the mote in your brother’s eye, but not to consider the beam which is in your own eye? For with God no one who is unjust is pure. And what is more unjust than to desire to have your sins forgiven you, and yet yourself to think that he who entreats you ought not to be forgiven? What is more unjust than to justify yourself in that wherein you condemn another, while you yourself are committing worse offenses?

39. Denique remissionem celebraturus peccatorum nostrorum Dominus Jesus dicenti sibi Joanni: Ego a te debeo baptizari, et tu venis ad me! respondit: Sine modo; sic enim decet nos implere omnem justitiam (Matth. III, 14, 15). Et Dominus quidem venit ad peccatorem, cum peccatum ipse non haberet; et baptizari voluit, cui mundari necesse non erat: vos quis ferat, qui putatis vobis opus non esse mundari per poenitentiam; quia mundatos vos esse dicitis per gratiam, quasi jam peccare vobis impossibile sit?

39. Then, too, the Lord Jesus when about to consecrate the forgiveness of our sins replied to John, who said: I ought to be baptized by You, and You come to me? Suffer it now, for thus it becomes us to fulfil all righteousness. Matthew 3:14-15 And the Lord indeed came to a sinner, though indeed He had no sin, and desired to be baptized, having no need of cleansing; who, then, can tolerate you, who think there is no need for you to be cleansed by penance, because you say you are cleansed by grace, as though it were now impossible for you to sin?

CAPUT IX.

SCRIPTURAE VERBIS, SI autem in Dominum peccaverit homo, quis orabit pro eo? collatione similium locorum ostenditur non significari neminem rogaturum, sed dignum deprecatorem inquirendum esse, quales fuerunt Moyses ac Jeremias, quorum precibus populo Israelitico pepercisse Deus legitur.

CHAPTER 9

By collating similar passages with 1 Samuel 3:25 , St. Ambrose shows that the meaning is not that no one shall intercede, but that the intercessor must be worthy as were Moses and Jeremiah, at whose prayers we read that God spared Israel.

40. [Alias cap. VIII.] Sed dicitis: Scriptum est: Si peccaverit homo in hominem, orabunt pro eo ad Dominum: si autem in Dominum peccaverit homo, quis orabit pro eo (I Reg. II, 25)? Primum, ut supra jam dixi, tunc te ista paterer objicere, si solis praevaricantibus non relaxares poenitentiam. Tamen quid scrupuli ista affert quaestio? Non enim scriptum est: Nullus orabit pro eo: sed, Quis orabit, hoc est, quis ille sit, qui in tali causa orare possit, quaeritur, non excluditur.

40. But you say, It is written: If a man sin against the Lord, who shall entreat for him? First of all, as I already said before, I might allow you to make that objection if you refused penance to those only who denied the faith. But what difficulty does that question produce? For it is not written, No one shall entreat for him; but, Who shall entreat? that is to say, the question is, Who in such a case can entreat? The entreaty is not excluded.

41. Denique habes in psalmo decimo quarto: Domine, quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo, aut quis requiescet in monte sancto suo (Psal. XIV, 1)? Non enim nullus, sed probatus habitabit: nec hoc dicit quod nemo requiescat, sed requiescat electus. Ut scias hoc esse verum, non multo post in psalmo vigesimo tertio ait: Quis ascendet in montem Domini, aut quis stabit in loco sancto ejus (Psal. XXIII, 3)? id est, non quicumque de vulgo, nec plebeiae vilitatis aliquis; sed vitae egregiae, singularisque meriti. Et ut scias quia cum quis dicitur, non intelligitur nullus, sed aliquis significatur, cum dixisset: Quis ascendet in montem Domini? subjecit: Innocens manibus, et mundo corde, qui non accipit in vano animam suam (Ibid., 4). Et alibi: Quis sapiens, et intelliget haec (Ose. XIV, 10)? Numquid dicit quia nullus intelliget? Et in Evangelio: Quis fidelis dispensator et prudens, quem constituet Dominus super familiam suam, ut det illis in tempore tritici mensuram (Luc. XII, 42)? Et ut comprehendas quia de eo dixit, qui utique est, non de eo qui non est, subjunxit: Beatus ille servus, quem cum venerit Dominus, invenerit sic facientem (Ibid., 43). Et illud ita opinor dictum: Deus, quis similis tibi (Psal. LXXXII, 1)? non utique nullus; quia imago Patris Filius est (De Poenit. dist. 1, c. Si sacerdos, § Deus).

41. Then you have in the fifteenth Psalm: Lord, who shall dwell in Your tabernacle, or who shall rest upon Your holy hill? It is not that no one, but that he who is approved shall dwell there, nor does it say that no one shall rest, but he who is chosen shall rest. And that you may know that this is true, it is said not much later in the twenty-fourth Psalm: Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord, or who shall stand in His holy place? The writer implies, not any ordinary person, or one of the common sort, but only a man of excellent life and of singular merit. And that we may understand that when the question is asked, Who? It does not imply no one, but some special one is meant, after having said Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? the Psalmist adds: He that has clean hands and a pure heart, who has

not lift up his mind unto vanity. And elsewhere it is said: Who is wise and he shall understand these things? Hosea 14:10 And in the Gospel: Who is the faithful and wise steward, whom the Lord shall set over His household to give them their measure of wheat in due season? Luke 12:42 And that we may understand that He speaks of such as really exist, the Lord added: Blessed is that servant, whom his Lord when He comes shall find so doing. Luke 12:43 And I am of opinion that where it is said, Lord, who is like You? it is not meant that none is like, for the Son is the image of the Father.

42. Similiter igitur accipiendum: Quis orabit pro eo (Hebr. I, 3)? hoc est, singularis vitae aliquis debet orare pro eo, qui peccavit in Dominum. Quo major culpa, eo majora sunt quaerenda suffragia (I Reg. II, 25). Non enim quicumque de vulgo pro Judaeorum populo, sed Moyses rogavit, quando vituli caput fidei immemores adoraverunt (Exod. XXXII, 31). Numquid erravit Moyses? Atqui non erravit, qui quod rogavit, et meruit et impetravit. Quid enim talis affectus non impetraret, quando se objecit pro populo, dicens: Et nunc si dimittis illis peccatum, dimitte; sin autem, dele me de libro vitae (Ibid., 32)? Vides quia non tamquam deliciosus intercessor, et fastidii plenus sibi consulat, ne offensionem contrahat, quod Novatianus metuere se dicit: sed magis omnium memor, sui immemor, offendere non timebat ipse, ut plebem ab offensionis periculo exueret et liberaret.

42. We must then understand in the same manner, Who shall entreat for him? as implying: It must be some one of excellent life who shall entreat for him who has sinned against the Lord. The greater the sin, the more worthy must be the prayers that are sought. For it was not any one of the common people who prayed for the Jewish people, but Moses, Exodus 32:31 when forgetful of their covenant they worshipped the head of the calf. Was Moses wrong? Certainly he was not wrong in praying, who both merited and obtained that for which he asked. For what should such love not obtain as

that of his when he offered himself for the people and said: And now, if You will forgive their sin, forgive; but if not, blot me out of the book of life. Exodus 32:32 We see that he does not think of himself, like a man full of fancies and scruples, whether he may incur the risk of some offense, as Novatian says he dreads that he might, but rather, thinking of all and forgetful of himself, he was not afraid lest he should offend, so that he might rescue and free the people from danger of offense.

43. Merito ergo scriptum est: Quis orabit pro eo? hoc est, talis qualis Moyses, qui se offerat pro peccantibus: talis qualis Hieremias, cui prophetae cum esset dictum a Domino Deo nostro: Noli orare pro populo isto (Jerem. VII, 16); tamen oravit, et veniam meruit. Denique intercessione prophetica, et obsecratione tanti vatis inflexus Dominus dicit ad Hierusalem; quoniam ea quoque poenitentiam pro delictis egerat, dicens: Domine omnipotens, Deus Israel, anima in angustiis, et spiritus anxius clamat ad te: audi, Domine, et miserere (Baruch. III, 1, 2). Et jubet luctus vestimenta deponi, et abjici gemitus poenitentiae; sic enim scriptum est in fine libri: Exue te, Hierusalem, stola luctus et vexationis tuae, et indue te decorem ejus, quae a Deo data est tibi gloria in aeternum (Baruch. V, 1).

43. Rightly, then, is it said: Who shall entreat for him? It implies that it must be such an one as Moses to offer himself for those who sin, or such as Jeremiah, who, though the Lord said to him, Pray not for this people, Jeremiah 7:16 and yet he prayed and obtained their forgiveness. For at the intercession of the prophet, and the entreaty of so great a seer, the Lord was moved and said to Jerusalem, which had meanwhile repented for its sins, and had said: O Almighty Lord God of Israel, the soul in anguish, and the troubled spirit cries unto You, hear, O Lord, and have mercy. And the Lord bids them lay aside the garments of mourning, and to cease the groanings of repentance, saying: Put off, O Jerusalem, the garment of your mourning and

affliction. and clothe yourself in beauty, the glory which God has given you forever. Baruch 5:1

CAPUT X.

JOANNEM NON ABSOLUTE ac simpliciter prohibuisse ne pro sontibus peccati ad mortem fieret oratio; cum pro similibus Moysen, Jeremiam ac Stephanum orasse non ignoraverit; et ipse quoque iisdem veniam significaverit non denegandam.

CHAPTER 10

St. John did not absolutely forbid that prayer should be made for those who sin unto death, since he knew that Moses, Jeremiah, and Stephen had so prayed, and he himself implies that forgiveness is not to be denied them.

44. [Alias cap. IX.] Tales igitur deprecatores in delictis maximis sunt requirendi; nam si quicumque de populo orent, non exaudiuntur.

44. Such intercessors, then, must be sought for after very grievous sins, for if any ordinary persons pray they are not heard.

45. Unde nec illa quaestio vestra quidquam poterit afferre ponderis, quam sumitis de epistola Joannis dicentis: Qui scit fratrem suum peccare peccatum non ad mortem, petat, et dabit illi vitam Deus; quia non peccat ad mortem. Est peccatum ad mortem, non de illo dico, ut oret (I Joan. V, 16); non enim ad Moysen et Hieremiam loquebatur, sed ad populum, qui suorum peccatorum alium precatorem deberet adhibere: cui satis est si pro levioribus delictis Deum precetur, graviorum veniam justorum orationibus reservandam putet. Nam (De Poenit. dist. 1, c. Si sacerdos, § Nam quomodo) quomodo Joannes diceret non orandum pro delicto graviore, qui

legisset Moysen rogasse et impetrasse; ubi erat praevaricatio voluntaria: qui sciret etiam Hieremiam rogasse (Jerem. XIV, 13).

45. So that point of yours will have no weight, which you take from the Epistle of John, where he says: He who knows that his brother sins a sin not unto death, let him ask, and God will give him life, because he sinned not unto death. There is a sin unto death: not concerning it do I say, let him ask. 1 John 5:16 He was not speaking to Moses and Jeremiah, but to the people, who must seek another intercessor for their sins; the people, for whom it is sufficient they entreat God for their lighter faults, and consider that pardon for weightier sins must be reserved for the prayers of the just. For how could John say that graver sins should not be prayed for, when he had read that Moses prayed and obtained his request, where there had been wilful casting off of faith, and knew that Jeremiah also had entreated?

46. Quomodo Joannes diceret non orandum pro peccato quod esset ad mortem, qui ipse in Apocalypsi scripsit mandatum Angelo Ecclesiae Pergami (Apoc. II, 12)? Habes illic tenentes doctrinam Balaam, qui docebat Balaac mittere scandalum coram filiis Israel, manducare immolata, et fornicari; ita et tu habes tenentes doctrinam Nicolaitarum, similiter age poenitentiam: caeterum venio tibi cito. Vides quod Deus qui poenitentiam exigit, veniam polliceatur! Denique et ibi dicit: Qui habet aures, audiat quid Spiritus dicat Ecclesiis: Vincenti dabo manducare manna absconditum (Apoc. II, 7).

46. How could John say that we should not pray for the sin unto death, who himself in the Apocalypse wrote the message to the angel of the Church of Pergamos? You have there those that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balac to put a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication. So have you also them that hold the doctrines of the Nicolaitans. Repent likewise, or else I

will come to you quickly. Revelation 2:14-16 Do you see that the same God Who requires repentance promises forgiveness? And then He says: He that has ears let him hear what the Spirit says to the churches: To him that overcomes will I give to eat of the hidden manna. Revelation 2:17

47. Nonne ipse Joannes cognoverat Stephanum pro persecutoribus suis, qui Christi nomen audire non poterant, deprecatum; cum de ipsis a quibus lapidabatur diceret: Domine, ne statuas illis hoc peccatum (Act. VII, 59)? Cujus precationis effectum in Apostolo videmus; Paulus enim qui lapidantium Stephanum vestimenta servabat (Act. IX, 15), non multo postea per gratiam Christi factus est apostolus, qui fuerat ante persecutor.

47. Did not John himself know that Stephen prayed for his persecutors, who had not been able even to listen to the Name of Christ, when he said of those very men by whom he was being stoned: Lord, lay not this sin to their charge? Acts 7:60 And we see the result of this prayer in the case of the Apostle, for Paul, who kept the garments of those who were stoning Stephen, not long after became an apostle by the grace of God, having before been a persecutor.

CAPUT XI.

SUPERIOR JOANNIS SENTENTIA illustratur alio ejusdem testimonio, quo credentibus in Christum salus promittitur. Unde arguuntur Novatiani ut qui lapsis fidem suadeant, quibus negent veniam. Additur multos martyrum post lapsum duplicem gratiam consecutos esse; nec non pii Samaritani exemplo declaratur eos in quibus vel tenuissima fides spiret, non deserendos.

CHAPTER 11

The passage quoted from St. John's Epistle is confirmed by another in which salvation is promised to those who believe in Christ, which refutes the Novatians who try to induce the lapsed to believe, although denying them pardon. Furthermore, many who had lapsed have received the grace of martyrdom, while the example of the good Samaritan shows that we must not abandon those in whom even the faintest amount of faith is still alive.

48. [Alias cap. X.] Ergo quia de Joannis generali epistola sermo est, ipsius Joannis in Evangelio scripta interrogemus, utrum cum vestra interpretatione conveniant. Scribit enim dixisse Dominum: Quia sic dilexit Deus hunc mundum, ut Filium suum unigenitum daret; ut omnis qui credit in eum, non pereat, sed habeat vitam aeternam (Joan. III, 16). Si quem ergo lapsum revocare cupias; ut credat, an ut non credat, hortaris? Utique ut credat. Sed qui credit juxta Domini sententiam, habebit vitam aeternam. Quomodo ergo prohibebis orare pro eo, cui aeterna vita debetur? cum divinae sit gratiae fides, sicut Apostolus in divisionibus gratiarum docet, quia alii datur in eodem Spiritu fides (I Cor. XII, 9); et discipuli Domino dicant: Adauge

nobis fidem (Luc. XVII, 5). Qui ergo fidem habet, habet vitam: qui vitam habet, non est utique exclusus a venia. Omnis, inquit, qui credit in eum, non pereat. Cum omnis dicitur, nullus excluditur, nullus excipitur; non enim excipit eum qui lapsus est, si tamen postea bene credat.

48. Since, then, we have spoken of the general Epistle of St. John, let us enquire whether the writings of John in the Gospel agree with your interpretation. For he writes that the Lord said: God so loved this world, that He gave His only-begotten Son, that every one that believes in Him should not perish but have everlasting life. John 3:16 If, then, you wish to reclaim any one of the lapsed, do you exhort him to believe, or not to believe? Undoubtedly you exhort him to believe. But, according to the Lord's words, he who believes shall have everlasting life. How, then, will you forbid to pray for him, who has a claim to everlasting life? Since faith is of divine grace, as the Apostle teaches where he speaks of the differences of gifts, for to another is given faith by the same Spirit. 1 Corinthians 12:9 And the disciples say to the Lord: Increase our faith. Luke 17:5 He then who has faith has life, and he who has life is certainly not shut out from pardon; that every one, it is said, that believes in Him should not perish. Since it is said, Every one, no one is shut out, no one is excepted, for He does not except him who has lapsed, if only afterwards he believes effectually.

49. Plurimos comperimus se denuo reformasse post lapsum, et pro nomine Dei passos: num possumus his martyrum consortia negare, quibus Dominus Jesus non negavit? Audemus igitur dicere non esse his vitam redditam, quibus Christus coronam reddidit? Sicut ergo post lapsum plerisque si patiantur, corona redditur; ita si credant, et fides redditur. Quae fides Dei donum est; sicut habes scriptum: Quia a Deo vobis datum est, non solum ut

credatis in eum, sed etiam ut pro illo patiamini (Philip. I, 29). Numquid is qui Dei donum habet, potest non habere indulgentiam?

49. We find that many have at length recovered themselves after a fall, and have suffered for the Name of God. Can we deny fellowship with the martyrs to these to whom the Lord Jesus has not denied it? Do we dare to say that life is not restored to those to whom Christ has given a crown? As, then, a crown is given to many after they have lapsed, so, too, if they believe, their faith is restored, which faith is the gift of God, as you read: Because unto you it has been granted by God not only to believe in Him, but also to suffer in His behalf. Philippians 1:29 Is it possible that he who has the gift of God should not have His forgiveness?

50. Non una autem, sed duplex gratia est, ut omnis qui credit, et patiatur pro Domino Jesu. Habet igitur qui credit suam gratiam: habet autem alteram, si fides ejus passionibus coronetur. Neque enim priusquam pateretur Petrus, sine gratia fuit: sed ubi passus est, acquisivit alteram. Et plerique qui non habuerunt gratiam, ut pro Jesu paterentur; habuerunt tamen gratiam, ut in Jesum crederent.

50. Now it is not a single but a twofold grace that every one who believes should also suffer for the Lord Jesus. He, then, who believes receives his grace, but he receives a second, if his faith be crowned by suffering. For neither was Peter without grace before he suffered, but when he suffered he received a second gift. And many who have not had the grace to suffer for Christ have nevertheless had the grace of believing on Him.

51. Ideo dicitur: Ut omnis qui credit in eum, non pereat (Joan. XX, 31). Omnis, inquit, hoc est, ex quocumque statu, ex quocumque lapsu, si credat, perire non timeat. Potest enim fieri ut aliquem de Hierusalem descendentem in Hiericho (Luc. X, 33), hoc est de martyrii certamine relapsum in istius

vitae cupiditatem saecularemque gratiam, vulneratum a latronibus, hoc est, a persecutoribus, et semivivum derelictum Evangelicus ille Samaritanus inveniat, qui nostrarum custos animarum est (Samaritanus enim custos dicitur), et non praetereat eum, sed curet et sanet.

51. Therefore it is said: That every one that believes in Him should not perish. Let no one, that is, of whatever condition, after whatever fall, fear that he will perish. For it may come to pass that the good Samaritan of the Gospel may find some one going down from Jerusalem to Jericho, that is, falling back from the martyr's conflict to the pleasures of this life and the comforts of the world; wounded by robbers, that is, by persecutors, and left half dead; that good Samaritan, Who is the Guardian of our souls (for the word Samaritan means Guardian), may, I say, not pass by him but tend and heal him.

52. Fortasse ideo non praeterit eum, quia aliquid in eo vitale agnoscit; unde is possit vitam resumere. Nonne vobis videtur ille qui lapsus est, semivivus esse, si vitale aliquid fides spiret? Nam qui penitus Deum ex suo corde abjicit, ille mortuus est. Qui ergo non penitus abjicit, sed per impressionem tormentorum ad tempus negavit, semivivus est. Aut si mortuus est, cur ei dicitis, agendam poenitentiam, qui jam curari non potest? Si semivivus est, infunde oleum et vinum, non vinum sine oleo, scilicet quod et foveat et remordeat. Tolle eum in jumentum tuum, trade stabulario, duo aera ad ejus curam impende, esto ei proximus (Ibid., XXXIV, 35). Proximus autem esse non potes, nisi facias misericordiam; nemo enim potest dici proximus, nisi qui curaverit, non occiderit. Si autem vis dici proximus, dicit tibi Christus: Vade, et tu fac similiter (Ibid., 37).

52. Perchance He therefore passes him not by, because He sees in him some signs of life, so that there is hope that he may recover. Does it not seem to you that he who has fallen is half alive if faith sustains any breath of life?

For he is dead who wholly casts God out of his heart. He, then, who does not wholly cast Him out, but under pressure of torments has denied Him for a time, is half dead. Or if he be dead, why do you bid him repent, seeing he cannot now be healed? If he be half dead, pour in oil and wine, not wine without oil, that may be the comfort and the smart. Place him upon your beast, give him over to the host, lay out two pence for his cure, be to him a neighbour. But you cannot be a neighbour unless you have compassion on him; for no one can be called a neighbour unless he have healed, not killed, another. But if you wish to be called a neighbour, Christ says to you: Go and do likewise. Luke 10:37

CAPUT XII.

LOCIS EX JOANNIS Evangelio jam citatis alius indidem adjungitur. Tum servandorum Dei mandatorum necessitatem objicientibus facile respondetur non ei soli qui semper, sed etiam ei qui post lapsum illa servaverit, vitam promitti. Quod ubi ex Davide comprobatum est, quamdam tamen esse inter utrumque differentiam declaratur.

CHAPTER 12

Another passage of St. John is considered. The necessity of keeping the commandments of God may be complied with by those who, having fallen, repent, as well as by those who have not fallen, as is shown in the case of David.

53. [Alias cap. XI.] Aliud simile consideremus: Qui credit in Filium, habet vitam aeternam: qui autem non credit Filio, non videbit vitam, sed ira Dei manet super eum (Joan. III, 16). Quod manet utique jam coepit, et ex delicto aliquo coepit; quia ante non credidit. Ubi ergo quis credit, ira Dei discedit, vita autem accedit (Ibid., 36). Credere ergo in Christum, lucrum vitae est; qui enim credit in eum, non judicatur.

53. Let us consider another similar passage: He that believes in the Son has eternal life, but he that believes not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abides on him. John 3:36 That which abides has certainly had a commencement, and that from some offense, viz., that first he not believe. When, then, any one believes, the wrath of God departs and life comes. To believe, then, in Christ is to gain life, for he that believes in Him is not judged. John 3:18

54. Sed referunt hoc loco quoniam is qui credit in Christum, custodire debeat sermonem ejus; sic enim aiunt scriptum, dicente Domino: Ego lux in hunc mundum veni, ut omnis qui credit in me, in tenebris non maneat: et si quis audierit sermonem meum, et custodierit eum, ego non judico eum (Joan. XII, 46, 47). Ille non judicat, et tu judicas? Ille dicit: Ut qui credit in me, in tenebris non maneat, hoc est, et si fuerit in tenebris, non permaneat in eis, errorem emendet, culpam corrigat, custodiat mandata mea; dixi enim: Nolo mortem peccatoris, sed correctionem (Ezech. XXXIII, 11). Dixi supra: Quoniam qui in me credit, non judicatur; et hoc custodio: Non enim veni, ut judicem mundum, sed ut salvetur mundus per me (Joan. III. 17). Libenter ignosco (De Poenit., dist. 1, cap. Libenter), prompte indulgeo: Misericordiam malo, quam sacrificium (Ose. VI, 6); quia per sacrificium justus commendatur, per misericordiam peccator redimitur. Non veni vocare justos, sed peccatores (Matth. IX, 13). In Lege sacrificium, in Evangelio misericordia est: Lex per Moysen data est, per me gratia (Joan. I, 17). Quid hoc evidentius?

54. But with reference to this passage they allege that he who believes in Christ ought to keep His sayings, and say that it is written in the Lord’s own words: I have come a light into this world, that whosoever believes in Me may not abide in darkness. And if any man hear My word and keep it, I judge him not. He judges not, and do you judge? He says, that whosoever believes in Me may not abide in darkness, that is, that if he be in darkness he may not remain therein, but may amend his error, correct his fault, and keep My commandments, for I have said, I will not the death of the wicked, but the correction. Ezekiel 23:11 I said above that he that believes in Me is not judged, and I keep to this: For I am not come to judge the world, but that the world may be saved through Me. John 3:17 I pardon willingly, I quickly forgive, I will have mercy rather than sacrifice, Hosea 6:6 because by sacrifice the just is rendered more acceptable, by mercy the sinner is

redeemed. I come not to call the righteous but sinners. Matthew 9:13 Sacrifice was under the Law, in the Gospel is mercy. The Law was given by Moses, grace by Me. John 1:17

55. Denique et subter ait: Qui spernit me, et non accipit verba mea, habet qui judicet eum (Joan. XII, 48). Num tibi videtur accipere verba Christi, qui se non correxerit? Profecto non videtur. Qui ergo corrigit se, accipit verbum ejus, hoc est enim verbum ejus, ut se unusquisque revocet a culpa. Aut excludas igitur necesse est hanc ejus sententiam: aut si negare non potes, acquiescas.

55. And again further on He says: He that despises Me, and receives not My words, has one that judges him. John 12:48 Does he seem to you to have received Christ's words who has not corrected himself? Undoubtedly not. He, then, who corrects himself receives His word, for this is His word, that every one should turn back from sin. So, then, of necessity you must either reject this saying of His, or if you cannot deny it you must accept it.

56. Oportet eum quoque mandata custodire Dominica, qui peccare desinat, delictis renuntiet. Non ergo de eo debes interpretari dictum, qui semper custodierit; si enim hoc sensisset, addidisset, semper: non addendo autem, de eo pronuntiavit, qui quod audivit, custodierit: audivit autem ut corrigeret errorem: custodivit igitur quod audivit.

56. It is also necessary that he who leaves off sinning must keep the commandments of God and renounce his sins. We ought not, then, to interpret this saying of him who has always kept the commandments, for if this had been His meaning He would have added the word *always*, but by not adding it He shows that He was speaking of him who has kept what he has heard, and what he heard has led him to correct his faults; he has then kept what he has heard.

57. [Alias cap. XII.] Quam vero durum sit ut ad poenam vocetur perpetuam, qui vel postea custodit Domini mandata, ipse te doceat, qui etiam non custodientibus mandata sua veniam non denegavit, sicut habes in psalmi corpore: Si justitias meas profanaverint, et mandata mea non custodierint; visitabo in virga iniquitates eorum, et in flagellis delicta eorum: misericordiam autem meam non disperdam ab eis (Psal. LXXXVIII, 32, 33). Omnibus igitur promittit misericordiam.

57. But how hard it is to condemn to penance for life one who even afterwards keeps the commandments of the Lord, let Him teach us Himself Who has not refused forgiveness. Even to those who do not keep His commandments, as you read in the Psalm: If they profane My statutes and keep not My commandments, I will visit their offenses with the rod and their sins with scourges, but My mercy will I not take from them. So, then, He promises mercy to all.

58. Sed ne sine judicio hanc esse misericordiam putetis, est discretio inter eos qui perpetuam detulerint obedientiam mandatis coelestibus, et inter eos qui aliquando vel errore, vel necessitate lapsi sint. Et ne nostro circumscribi te argumento putes, Christi judicium accipe; etenim ait: Si sciens servus voluntatem domini sui non fecit, vapulabit multis: si autem nescivit, vapulabit paucis (Luc. XII, 47, 48). Uterque igitur si credat, recipitur, quia castigat omnem filium Deus, quem recipit (Hebr. XII, 6): et quem castigat, morti utique non tradit; quia scriptum est: Castigans castigavit me Dominus, et morti non tradidit me (Psal. CXVII, 18).

58. Yet that we may not think that this mercy is without judgment, there is a distinction made between those who have paid continual obedience to God’s commandments, and those who at some time, either by error or by compulsion, have fallen. And that you may not think that it is only our arguments which press you, consider the decision of Christ, Who said: If

the servant knew his Lord's will and did it not, he shall be beaten with many stripes, but if he knew it not, he shall be beaten with few stripes. Luke 12:47-48 Each, then, if he believes, is received, for God chastens every son whom He receives, Hebrews 12:6 and him whom He chastens He does not give over unto death, for it is written: The Lord has chastened me sore, but He has not given me over unto death.

CAPUT XIII.

QUI PECCATUM AD mortem fecerint, non deserendos, sed poenitentiae subjiciendos ex Paulo docetur. Quid sit tradi Satanae in interitum carnis, et quam hoc optandum. Satanam corpori debilitates inferre, sed eas in spiritus utilitatem converti; unde magna Dei elucet potentia, qua illum ut sibi noceat, et nobis prosit, cogit invitum.

CHAPTER 13

They who have committed a sin unto death are not to be abandoned, but subjected to penance, according to St. Paul. Explanation of the phrase Deliver unto Satan. Satan can afflict the body, but these afflictions bring spiritual profit, showing the power of God, Who thus turns Satan's devices against himself.

59. Denique Paulus docet non deserendos eos qui peccatum ad mortem fecerint, sed potius lacrymarum panibus, et potu coercendos flebili; ita tamen ut ipsa moderata esset tristitia. Hoc enim significat: Potum dabis eis in lacrymis in mensura (Psal. LXXIX, 6); ut ipsa moestitia mensuram habeat, ne forte abundantiore tristitia absorbeatur (II Cor. II, 5 et seq.), qui agit poenitentiam, sicut scripsit ad Corinthios: Quid vultis? In virga veniam ad vos, an in charitate, spirituque mansuetudinis (I Cor. IV, 21)? Sed nec virga gravis est, quoniam legerat: Tu quidem percuties eum virga, animam autem ejus a morte liberabis (Prov. XXIII, 14).

59. Lastly, Paul teaches us that we must not abandon those who have committed a sin unto death, but that we must rather coerce them with the bread of tears and tears to drink, yet so that their sorrow itself be moderated.

For this is the meaning of the passage: You have given them to drink in large measure, that their sorrow itself should have its measure, lest perchance he who is doing penance should be consumed by overmuch sorrow, as was said to the Corinthians: What will you? Shall I come to you with a rod, or in love and a spirit of meekness? 1 Corinthians 4:21 But even the rod is not severe, since he had read: You shall beat him indeed with the rod, but shall deliver his soul from death. Proverbs 23:13

60. Quid esset in virga venire, docet invectio fornicationis, accusatio incesti, reprehensio tumoris, quod inflati essent, quos magis lugere oporteret; postremo condemnatio rei, ut tolleretur a consortio communionis, et traderetur adversario, non ad interitum animae, sed carnis (I Cor. V, 1 et seq.). Sicut enim Dominus in animam sancti Job potestatem non dedit, sed in carnem ejus permisit licentiam (Job II, 6); ita et hic traditur Satanae in interitum carnis, ut serpens terram ejus lingeret, animae non noceret (Mich. VII, 17).

60. What the Apostle means by the rod is shown by his invective against fornication, his denunciation of incest, his reprehension of pride, because they were puffed up who ought rather to be mourning, and lastly, his sentence on the guilty person, that he should be excluded from communion, and delivered to the adversary, not for the destruction of the soul but of the flesh. For as the Lord did not give power to Satan over the soul of holy Job, but allowed him to afflict his body, Job 2:6 so here, too, the sinner is delivered to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the serpent might lick the dust Micah 7:17 of his flesh, but not hurt his soul.

61. Moriatur ergo caro nostra cupiditatibus, sit captiva, sit subdita, nec legi mentis nostrae repugnet, sed bonae servituti subjecta moriatur; sicut in Paulo qui castigabat corpus suum (I Cor. IX, 27), ut servituti redigeret; quo probabilior fieret praedicatio, is lex carnis ejus cum lege mentis congrueret

et conveniret. Interit enim caro, cum sapientia ejus transit in spiritum; ut jam non quae carnis sunt, sapiat, sed quae sunt spiritus. Utinam videam infirmari carnem meam! utinam non trahar captivus in legem peccati! utinam non in carne vivam, sed in fide Christi (Rom. VII, 23)! Et ideo major in infirmitate corporis gratia, quam in salute. Denique et Paulum quem multum dilexit (Galat. II, 20), noluit liberare ab infirmitate carnis, cui petenti ut discederet a se infirmitas, respondit: Sufficit tibi gratia mea; nam virtus in infirmitate perficitur (I Cor. XII, 8, 9). Et Paulus plus sibi in infirmitatibus placet, dicens: Cum infirmor, tunc potens sum (Ibid., 10); consummatur enim carnis infirmitatibus animae fortitudo.

61. Let, then, our flesh die to lusts, let it be captive, let it be subdued, and not war against the law of our mind, but die in subjection to a good service, as in Paul, who buffeted his body that he might bring it into subjection, in order that his preaching might become more approved, if the law of his flesh agreed and was consonant with the law of his flesh. For the flesh dies when its wisdom passes over into the spirit, so that it no longer has a taste for the things of the flesh, but for the things of the spirit. Would that I might see my flesh growing weak, would that I were not dragged captive into the law of sin, would that I lived not in the flesh, but in the faith of Christ! And so there is greater grace in the infirmity of the body than in its soundness.

62. [Alias cap. XIII]. Explanavimus Pauli sententiam; nunc verba ipsa consideremus, qua ratione dixerit quod tradiderit eum Satanae in interitum carnis; quia tentator noster diabolus est. Nam debilitates membris singulis infert, et aegritudines toti solet movere corpori. Denique percussit sanctum Job ulcere malo a pedibus usque ad caput, quia in potestate acceperat interitum carnis ejus, dicente Deo: Ecce trado tibi eum, tantummodo animam ejus custodi (Job II, 6). Hoc iisdem verbis Apostolus transtulit;

dicens quod tradiderit hujusmodi hominem Satanae in interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus sit in die Domini nostri Jesu Christi (I Cor. V, 5).

62. Having explained Paul's meaning, let us now consider the words themselves, in what sense he said that he had delivered him to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, for the devil it is who tries us. For he brings ailments on each of our limbs, and sickness on our whole bodies. And then, too, he smote holy Job with evil sores from the feet to the head, because he had received the power of destroying his flesh, when God said: Behold, I give him up unto you, only preserve his life. Job 2:6 This the Apostle took up in the same words, giving up this man to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that his spirit might be saved in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ. 1 Corinthians 5:5

63. Magna potestas, magna gratia, quae imperat diabolo, ut se ipse destruat. Se enim destruit, cum hominem quem tentando supplantare studet, ex infirmo fortiorem efficit; quia dum carnem debilitat, mentem ejus corroborat. Aegritudo enim carnis (De Poenit., dist. 1, cap. Potest, § Aegritudo) peccatum repellit: luxuria autem carnis culpam adolet.

63. Great is the power, great is the gift, which commands the devil to destroy himself. For he destroys himself when he makes the man whom he is seeking to overthrow by temptation stronger instead of weak, because while he is weakening the body he is strengthening his soul. For sickness of the body restrains sin, but luxury sets on fire the sin of the flesh.

64. Illuditur ergo diabolus, ut se ipse morsu suo vulneret, et contra se armet, quem debilitandum putavit. Sic et sanctum Job magis amavit, posteaquam vulneravit: qui totum corpus diris perfusus ulceribus, diaboli quidem morsum pertulit, sed venena non sensit. Et ideo bene ei dictum est: Adduces

draconem in hamo, illudes eum sicut avem: ligabis eum sicut passerem puer, imponens super eum manum (Job XL, 24).

64. The devil is then deceived so as to wound himself with his own bite, and to arm against himself him whom he thought to weaken. So he armed holy Job the more after he wounded him, who, with his whole body covered with sores, endured indeed the bite of the devil, but felt not his poison. And so it is well said of him, You shall draw out the dragon with an hook, you will play with him as with a bird, you shall bind him as a boy does a sparrow, you shall lay your hand upon him.

65. Vides quemadmodum a Paulo illudatur, ut in cavernam ejus, sicut puer ille propheticus (Esai. XI, 8, 9), manum mittat, et nihil serpens noceat ei, de latebris eruat eum, de veneno ejus faciat spiritale antidotum; ut quod venenum est, medicamentum fiat: venenum est ad interitum carnis, medicamentum fit ad salutem spiritus. Quod enim nocet corpori, juvat spiritum (De Poenit, dist. 1, cap. Potest, § Quod nocet).

65. You see how he is mocked by Paul, so that, like the child in prophecy, he lays his hand on the hole of the asp, and the serpent injures him not; he draws him out of his hiding-places, and makes of his venom a spiritual antidote, so that what is venom becomes a medicine, the venom serves to the destruction of the flesh, it becomes medicine to the healing of the spirit. For that which hurts the body benefits the spirit.

66. Manducet ergo terram meam serpens, dentem carni infigat, conterat corpus, dicat Dominus et de me: Trado tibi eum, tantummodo animam ejus custodi (Job II, 6). Quanta vis Christi, ut custodia hominis imperetur etiam ipsi diabolo, qui semper vult nocere. Dominum ergo Jesum nobis propitiemus: imperante Christo, et diabolus ipse fit praedae suae custos, vel

invitus mandatis obsecundat coelestibus: et quamvis immitis, tamen mansuetis obsequitur imperiis.

66. Let, then, the serpent bite the earthy part of me, let him drive his tooth into my flesh, and bruise my body; and may the Lord say of me: I give him up unto you, only preserve his life. How great is the power of Christ, that the guardianship of man is made a charge even to the devil himself, who always desires to injure him. Let us then make the Lord Jesus favourable to ourselves. At the command of Christ the devil himself becomes the guardian of his prey. Even unwillingly he carries out the commands of heaven, and, though cruel, obeys the commands of gentleness.

67. Sed quid ego commendo obsequium ejus? Sit ille semper malus, ut sit bonus Deus semper, qui malitiam ejus nobis in gratiam convertit. Vult nocere ille, sed non potest, si Christus obsistat: carnem ulcerat, sed custodit animam: terram devorat, sed reservat spiritum. Denique scriptum est: Tunc lupi et agni simul pascentur: leo et bos paleam manducabunt, serpens autem terram ut panem: et non nocebunt, neque vastabunt in monte sancto meo, dicit Dominus (Esai. XI, 6 et seq.). Damnati enim serpentis haec est sententia: Erit tibi terra cibus (Gen. III, 14). Quae terra? Ea utique de qua dictum est: Terra es, et in terram ibis (Ibid., 19).

67. But why do I commend his obedience? Let him be ever evil that God may be ever good, Who converts his ill-will into grace for us. He wishes to injure us, but cannot if Christ resist him. He wounds the flesh but preserves the life. And then it is written: Then shall the wolves and the lambs feed together, the lion and the ox shall eat straw, and they shall not hurt nor destroy in My holy mountain, says the Lord. For this is the sentence of condemnation on the serpent: Dust shall be your food. Genesis 3:14 What dust? Surely that of which it is said: Dust you are, and into dust shall you return. Genesis 3:19

CAPUT XIV.

QUOD SUPRA DIXERIT Ambrosius carnem ad interitum Satanae traditam a serpente comedi, hoc ita demum docet fieri, si anima carnalibus cupiditatibus liberetur. Quamobrem multa praecipit ad oculorum mentisque custodiam necessaria: quae castissimi Josephi exemplo firmat: dehinc omnes ad retia quibus in voluptatis ignem trahimur, declinanda hortatus; ne timeamus quominus a serpente caro nostra edatur, suadet.

CHAPTER 14

St. Ambrose explains that the flesh given to Satan for destruction is eaten by the serpent when the soul is set free from carnal desires. He gives, therefore, various rules for guarding the senses, points out the snares laid for us by means of pleasures, and exhorts his hearers not to fear the destruction of the flesh by the serpent.

68. Hanc terram serpens manducat, si propitius est nobis Dominus Jesus, ut non compatiatur anima carnis debilitati, non accendatur vapore carnis, et calore membrorum. Bonum est nubere magis quam uri (I Cor. VII, 9); est enim flamma quae interna urit (Prov. VI, 27). Unde hunc ignem non alligemus in sinu mentis, et recessu pectoris, ne interioris nostri uramus exuvias, et forense hoc nostrae animae vestimentum, velamenque carnale edax libidinis flamma consumat, sed transeamus per ignem (Esai. XLIII, 2). Et si quis incidit amoris incendium, transiliat, et transeat: non alliget adulterinam cupiditatem vinculis cogitationum, nullos sibi nodos assiduae nexu meditationis astringat; non intendat saepius in formam mulieris

meretricis, nec adolescentula ad vultum juvenis oculos levet. Et si fortuitu aspexit, et capta est; quanto magis capietur, si curiosa aspexit!

68. The serpent eats this dust, if the Lord Jesus is favourable to us, that our spirit may not sympathize with the weakness of the flesh, nor be set on fire by the vapours of the flesh and the heat of our members. It is better to marry than to burn, for there is a flame which burns within. Let us not then suffer this fire to approach the bosom of our minds and the depths of our hearts, lest we burn up the covering of our inmost hearts, and lest the devouring fire of lust consume this outward garment of the soul and its fleshy veil, but let us pass through the fire. Isaiah 43:2 And should any one fall into the fire of love let him leap over it and pass forth; let him not bind to himself adulterous lust with the bands of thoughts, let him not tie knots around himself by the fastenings of continual reflection, let him not too often turn his attention to the form of a harlot, and let not a maiden lift her eyes to the countenance of a youth. And if by chance she has looked and is caught, how much more will she be entangled if she gazes with curiosity.

69. Vel consuetudo nos doceat. Ideo velamine obnubit caput suum mulier, ut etiam in publico tuta verecundia sit: non facile vultus ejus adolescentis oculis occurrat, nuptiali velamine tecta sit; ne vel fortuitis occursibus pateat ad vulnus vel alienum, vel suum: sed utrumque suum vulnus est. Quod si tegmine caput velat (I Cor. XI, 5 et seq.), ne temere aut videatur, aut videat (dum enim caput velatur, vultus absconditur), quanto magis velare se debet pudoris tegmine, ut etiam in publico habeat suum ipsa secretum!

69. Let custom itself teach us. A woman covers her face with a veil for this reason, that in public her modesty may be safe. That her face may not easily meet the gaze of a youth, let her be covered with the nuptial veil, so that not even in chance meetings she might be exposed to the wounding of another or of herself, though the wound of either were indeed hers. But if she cover

her head with a veil that she may not accidentally see or be seen (for when the head is veiled the face is hidden), how much more ought she to cover herself with the veil of modesty, so as even in public to have her own secret place.

70. Verum esto, inciderit oculus, sed non intendat affectus. Non enim vidisse crimen est, sed cavendum ne origo sit criminis. Videt carnalis oculus, sed premat cordis oculos, maneat mentis verecundia. Habemus moralem et indulgentem Dominum; dixit quidem propheta: Nolo intendas in formam mulieris fornicariae; sed tamen Dominus dixit: Qui viderit mulierem ad concupiscendum eam, jam adulteravit eam in corde suo (Prov. V, 2). Non dixit: Si quis viderit, adulteravit; sed: Si quis ad concupiscendum viderit, non aspectum obligavit, sed affectum quaesivit. Bonus tamen pudor, qui ipsos corporis oculos sic premere consuevit, ut saepe non videamus etiam quod videmus. Etenim specie aspicere videmur, quidquid occurrerit; sed si non misceatur animi intentio, hic quoque secundum carnis officium noster aspectus vanescit; ita plus videmus animo, quam corpore.

70. But granted that the eye has fallen upon another, at least let not the inward affection follow. For to have seen is no sin, but one must be careful that it be not the source of sin. The bodily eye sees, but let the eye of the heart be closed; let modesty of mind remain. We have a Lord Who is both strict and indulgent. The prophet indeed said: Look not upon the beauty of a woman that is all harlot. But the Lord said: Whoever shall look on a woman to lust after her, has committed adultery with her already in his heart. Matthew 5:28 He does not say, Whosoever shall look has committed adultery, but Whosoever shall look on her to lust after her. He condemned not the look but sought out the inward affection. But that modesty is praiseworthy which has so accustomed itself to close the bodily eyes as often not to see what we really behold. For we seem to behold with the

bodily sight whatever meets us; but if there be not joined to this any attention of the mind, the sight also, according to what is usual in the body, fades away, so that in reality we see rather with the mind than with the body.

71. Et si viderit caro ignem, non alligemus ignem in sinu, hoc est, in secreto mentis, animique arcano. Non implicemus ignem hunc ossibus, non ipsi nobis nodos injiciamus; non misceamus sermonem aliquem cum hujusmodi, unde exaestuet ignis adulterinus. Sermo juvenculae nodus adolescentium est: verba adolescentis vincula sunt amoris.

71. And if the flesh has seen the flame, let us not cherish that flame in our bosoms, that is, in the depths of the heart and the inward part of the mind. Let us not instil this fire into our bones, let us not bind bonds upon ourselves, let us not join in conversation with such as may be the cause to us of unholy fires. The speech of a maiden is a snare to a youth, the words of a youth are the bonds of love.

72. Vidit hunc ignem Joseph, quando eum adulterii cupida mulier allocuta est (Gen. XXXIX, 7); voluit eum capere sermone, misit laqueos labiorum suorum, sed pudicum virum ligare non potuit. Solvit enim vincula mulieris vox pudoris, sermo gravitatis, habena cautelae, fidei custodia, castimoniae disciplina. Capere igitur eum retibus suis impudica non potuit: misit manum, et apprehendit vestem ejus, ut nodo stringeret. Verba petulantis mulieris cupiditatum retia sunt, manus ejus amoris nodus est (Prov. VII, 21): sed nec retibus capi potuit mens pudica, nec nodo: excussa vestis, solutus est nodus; et ideo quia non alligavit ignem in sinu mentis suae, non combussit corpus suum.

72. Joseph saw the fire when the woman eager for adultery spoke to him. Genesis 39:7 She wished to catch him with her words. She set the snares of

her lips, but was not able to capture the chaste man. For the voice of modesty, the voice of gravity, the rein of caution, the care for integrity, the discipline of chastity, loosed the woman's chains. So that unchaste person could not entangle him in her meshes. She laid her hand upon him; she caught his garment, that she might tighten the noose around him. The words of a lascivious woman are the snares of lust, and her hands the bonds of love; but the chaste mind could not be taken either by snares or by bonds. The garment was cast off, the bonds were loosed, and because he did not admit the fire into the bosom of his mind, his body was not burnt.

73. [Alias cap. XIV.] Vides ergo, quia animus noster culpae est auctor? Itaque innocens caro, sed plerumque peccati ministra. Ergo non te vincat formae concupiscentia. Multa retia tenduntur a diabolo, multi laquei. Oculus meretricis laqueus amatoris est. Ipsi nobis oculi nostri retia sunt; et ideo scriptum est: Neque capiaris oculis tuis (Prov. VI, 25). Ipsi nobis ergo tendimus retia, quibus involvimur et implicamur. Ipsi nobis vincula nectimus, sicut legimus: Quia vinculis peccatorum suorum unusquisque constringitur (Prov. VI, 2).

73. You see, then, that our mind is the cause of our guilt. And so the flesh is innocent, but is often the minister of sin. Let not, then, desire of beauty overcome you. Many nets and many snares are spread by the devil. The look of a harlot is the snare of him who loves her. Our own eyes are nets to us, wherefore it is written: Be not taken with your eyes. Proverbs 6:25 So, then, we spread nets for ourselves in which we are entangled and hampered. We bind chains on ourselves, as we read: For every one is bound with the chains of his own sins.

74. Et ideo transeamus ignem adolescentiae, ardoremque juvenilis aetatis: transeamus aquam, non remaneamus in aqua; ne flumina nos profunda concludant. Transeamus magis, ut et nos dicamus: Torrentem pertransivit

anima nostra (Psal. CXXIII, 5); qui enim transit, salvus est. Denique Dominus sic ait: Si transeas per aquam, tecum sum, flumina te non concludent (Esai. XLIII, 2); et Propheta dicit: Vidi impium superexaltatum ultra cedros Libani: et transivi, et ecce non erat (Psal. XXXVI, 35, 36). Transi saecularia, et cecidisse aspicies altitudines impiorum. Moyses quoque transiens saecularia flumina, vidit visum magnum, et ait: Transiens videbo hoc visum (Exod. III, 3); si enim fuisset in corporis vitiis et saeculi istius lubricis voluptatibus, tanta non vidisset mysteria.

74. Let us then pass through the fires of youth and the glow of early years; let us pass through the waters, let us not remain therein, lest the deep floods shut us in. Let us rather pass over, that we too may say: Our soul has passed over the stream, for he who has passed over is safe. And lastly, the Lord speaks thus: If you pass through the water, I am with you, the rivers shall not overflow you. Isaiah 43:2 And the prophet says: I have seen the wicked exalted above the cedars of Libanus, and I passed by, and lo, he was not. Pass by things of this world, and you will see that the high places of the wicked have fallen. Moses, too, passing by things of this world, saw a great sight and said: I will turn aside and see this great sight, Exodus 3:3 for had he been held by the fleeting pleasures of this world he would not have seen so great a mystery.

75. Transeamus ergo et nos ignem hunc libidinis, quem timens Paulus, sed nobis timens, qui castigando corpus suum, fecerat ut jam non timeret sibi, dicit nobis: Fugite fornicationem (I Cor. VI, 18). Fugiamus ergo tamquam sequentem, quae non post nos, sed in nobis sequitur nosmetipsos. Ergo videamus diligenter, ne dum illam fugimus, nobiscum eam portemus. Volumus enim plerumque fugere, sed si non penitus eam de nostro excutimus animo, tollimus eam magis, quam relinquimus. Transiliamus ergo eam, ne nobis dicatur: Ambulate in igne flammae vestrae, quem

accendistis vobis (Esai. L, 11). Quoniam sicut ille qui alligat ignem in sinu vestimenta comburit (Prov. VI, 27); sic qui ambulat super ignem, pedes comburat necesse est; quoniam scriptum est: Ambulabit quis super carbones ignis, pedes autem non comburet (Prov. I, 28)?

75. Let us also pass over this fire of lust, fearing which Paul — but fearing for us, inasmuch as by buffeting his body he had come no longer to fear for himself — says to us: Flee fornication. 1 Corinthians 6:18 Let us then flee it as though following us, though indeed it follows not behind us, but within our very selves. Let us then diligently take heed lest while we are fleeing from it we carry it with ourselves. For we wish for the most part to flee, but if we do not wholly cast it out of our mind, we rather take it up than forsake it. Let us then spring over it, lest it be said to us: Walk in the flame of your fire, which you have kindled for yourselves. Isaiah 50:11 For as he who takes fire into his bosom burns his clothes, Proverbs 6:27 so he who walks upon fiery coals must of necessity burn his feet, as it is written: Can one walk upon coals of fire and not burn his feet? Proverbs 6:28

76. Gravis ignis est, et ideo non demus illi alimenta luxuriae. Pascitur libido conviviis, nutritur deliciis, vino accenditur, ebrietate inflammatur. Graviora his sunt fomenta verborum, quae vino quodam Sodomitanae vitis mentem inebriant. Caveamus tamen et hujus abundantiam vini; ubi enim caro inebriatur, mens titubat, animus vacillat, cor fluctuat. Et ideo ad utrumque utile praeceptum est, quo monetur Timotheus: vino modico utere propter frequentes tuas infirmitates (I Tim. V, 23). Cum calet corpus, trahit vaporem: cum alget morbi frigore caro, refrigeratur anima tua: cum dolet corpus tuum, tristis est mens tua, sed tristitia tua in gaudium veniet.

76. This fire is dangerous, let us then not feed it with the fuel of luxury. Lust is fed by feastings, nourished by delicacies, kindled by wine, and inflamed by drunkenness. Still more dangerous than these are the incentives

of words, which intoxicate the mind as it were with a kind of wine of the vine of Sodom. Let us be on our guard against abundance of this wine, for when the flesh is intoxicated the mind totters, the heart wavers, the heart is carried to and fro. And so with regard to each that precept is useful wherein Timothy is warned: Drink a little wine because of your frequent infirmities. 1 Timothy 5:23 When the body is heated, it excites the glow of the mind; when the flesh is chilled with the cold of disease the spirit is chilled; when the body is in pain, the mind is sad, but the sadness shall become joy.

77. Noli ergo timere si manducetur caro tua, anima tua non devoratur. Ideo David non timere se dicit; quia carnem ejus, non animam inimici edebant, sicut legimus: Dum appropinquant super me nocentes, ut edant carnes meas: qui tribulant me inimici mei, ipsi infirmati sunt, et ceciderunt (Psal. XXVI, 2). Ruinam igitur solam facit sibi serpens; ideo serpenti traditur, qui a serpente elisus est; ut quem dejecit, hunc erigat: et fiat ruina serpentis hominis resurrectio. Satanam autem corporalis hujus contritionis et carnalis auctorem debilitatis Scriptura ostendit, Paulo dicente: Datus est mihi stimulus carnis meae angelus Satanae, qui me colaphizet, ut non extollar (II Cor. XII, 7). Sic ergo curare Paulus didicit, quemadmodum ipse sanatus est.

77. Do not then fear if your flesh be eaten away, the soul is not consumed. And so David says that he does not fear, because the enemy were eating up his flesh but not his soul, as we read: When evil-doers come near upon me to eat up my flesh, my foes who trouble me, they were weakened and fell. So the serpent works overthrow for himself alone, therefore is he who has been injured by the serpent given over to the serpent that he may raise up again him whom he cast down, and the overthrow of the serpent may be the raising again of the man. And Scripture testifies that Satan is the author of this bodily suffering and weakness of the flesh, where Paul says: There was given unto me a thorn in the flesh, a messenger of Satan to buffet me, that I

should not be exalted. 2 Corinthians 12:7 So Paul learned to heal even as he himself had been made whole.

CAPUT XV.

REDIENS A DIGRESSIONE, quid sit venire in virga vel in spiritu mansuetudinis docet. Sequestrandum graviter lapsum, sed eum Apostoli exemplo sacris reddendum, ubi piae plebis oratione atque lacrymis fuerit expiatus. Expurgari vetus fermentum, cum litterae durities mollioris explicationis farina temperatur. Quomodo Ecclesiae farina omnes conspergi ac cibo charitatis pasci debeant; ne similes evadant invidi illius fratris, quem aemulantur Novatiani, quorum tumor illic notatur.

CHAPTER 15

Returning from this digression, St. Ambrose explains what is the meaning of St. Paul where he speaks of coming with a rod or in the spirit of meekness. One who has grievously fallen is to be separated, but to be again restored to religious privileges when he has sufficiently repented. The old leaven is purged out when the hardness of the letter is tempered by the meal of a milder interpretation. All should be sprinkled with the Church's meal and fed with the food of charity, lest they become like that envious elder brother, whose example is followed by the Novatians.

78. Bonus itaque doctor dum promittit alterum de duobus, utrumque donavit. Venit in virga, quia a communione sacra convictum removit. Et bene dicitur tradi satanae, qui separatur a Christi corpore. Venit etiam in charitate, spirituque mansuetudinis, vel quia sic tradidit, ut spiritum ejus salvum faceret, vel quia eum quem ante sequestraverat postea sacramentis reddidit.

78. That faithful teacher, having promised one of two things, gave each. He came with a rod, for he separated the guilty man from the holy fellowship. And well is he said to be delivered to Satan who is separated from the body of Christ. But he came in love and with the spirit of meekness, whether because he so delivered him up as to save his soul, or because he afterwards restored to the sacraments him whom he had before separated.

79. Nam et sequestrari oportet graviter lapsum, ne modicum fermentum totam massam corrumpat: et expurgandum est vetus fermentum, vel in singulis vetus homo, hoc est, exterior homo cum actibus suis, vel in populo inveteratus peccatis, vitiisque concretus. Et bene dixit expurgandum, non projiciendum: quod enim expurgatur, non totum judicatur inutile; ideo enim purgatur, ut utile ab inutili separetur: quod autem projicitur, nihil in se utile habere creditur.

79. For it is needful to separate one who has grievously fallen, lest a little leaven corrupt the whole lump. And the old leaven must be purged out, or the old man in each person; that is, the outward man and his deeds, he who among the people has grown old in sin and hardened in vices. And well did he say purged, not cast forth, for what is purged is not considered wholly valueless, for to this end is it purged, that what is of value be separated from the worthless, but that which is cast forth is considered to have in itself nothing of value.

80. [Alias cap. XV.] Jam tunc igitur Apostolus reddendum sacramentis judicavit coelestibus, si purgari se ipse vellet. Et bene ait: Expurgate; velut enim operibus quibusdam totius populi purgatur, et plebis lacrymis abluitur, qui orationibus et fletibus plebis redimitur a peccato, et in homine mundatur interiore. Donavit enim Christus Ecclesiae suae, ut unum per omnes redimeret, quae Domini Jesu meruit adventum, ut per unum omnes redimerentur.

80. The Apostle then judged that the sinner should then at once be restored to the heavenly sacraments if he himself wished to be cleansed. And well is it said Purge, for he is purged as by certain things done by the whole people, and is washed in the tears of the multitude, and redeemed from sin by the weeping of the multitude, and is purged in the inner man. For Christ granted to His Church that one should be redeemed by means of all, as she herself was found worthy of the coming of the Lord Jesus, in order that through One all might be redeemed.

81. Hic sensus Pauli est, quem verba obscuriorem faciunt. Consideremus ipsum Apostoli sermonem: Expurgate, inquit, vetus fermentum; ut sitis nova conspersio, sicut estis azymi (I Cor. V, 7). Sive quod tota Ecclesia suscipiat onus peccatoris, cui compatiendum et fletu, et oratione, et dolore est: et quasi fermento ejus se totam conspergat; ut per universos ea quae superflua sunt in aliquo poenitentiam agente, virilis misericordiae aut compassionis velut collativa quadam admixtione, purgentur. Sive ut illa mulier Evangelica docet (Luc. XIII, 21), quae typum praetendit Ecclesiae, eo quod fermentum abscondat in farina sua, donec fermentetur totum; ut mundum omne sumatur.

81. This is Paul’s meaning which the words make more obscure. Let us consider the exact words of the Apostle: Purge out, says he, the old leaven, that you may be a new lump, even as you are unleavened. 1 Corinthians 5:7 Either that the whole Church takes up the burden of the sinner, with whom she has to suffer in weeping and prayer and pain, and, as it were, covers herself with his leaven, in order that by means of all that which is to be done away in the individual doing penance may be purged by a kind of contribution and commixture of compassion and mercy offered with manly vigor. Or one may understand it as that woman in the Gospel teaches us,

who is a type of the Church, when she hid the leaven in her meal, till all was leavened, and the whole could be used as pure.

82. Docuit me Dominus in Evangelio quid sit fermentum, dicens: Non intelligitis quia non de pane dixi: Attendite a fermento Pharisaeorum et Sadducaeorum (Matth. XVI, 11)? Tunc, inquit, intellexerunt quia non dixit a panibus, sed a doctrina Pharisaeorum et Sadducaeorum attenderent sibi. Hoc ergo fermentum, hoc est, doctrinam Pharisaeorum, et disputationem Sadducaeorum abscondit Ecclesia in farina sua; cum litteram legis duriorem spiritali interpretatione mollivit, et velut mola quadam suae disputationis infregit, proferens velut de folliculis litterarum mysteriorum interna secreta, et resurrectionis fidem astruens; qua Dei misericordia praedicatur, qua reparari vita creditur mortuorum.

82. The Lord taught me in the Gospel what leaven is when He said: Do you not understand that I said not concerning bread, Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees? Matthew 16:11 Then, it is said, they understood that He spoke not of bread, but that they should beware of the doctrine of the Pharisees and Sadducees. This leaven, then — that is, the doctrine of the Pharisees and the contentiousness of the Sadducees — the Church hides in her meal, when she softened the hard letter of the Law by a spiritual interpretation, and ground it as it were in the mill of her explanations, bringing out as it were from the husks of the letter the inner secrets of the mysteries, and setting forth the belief in the Resurrection, wherein the mercy of God is proclaimed, and wherein it is believed that the life of those who are dead is restored.

83. Non absurda autem videtur ad hunc locum assumptio comparationis hujus. Siquidem regnum coelorum est peccatoris redemptio: et ideo farina Ecclesiae conspergamur omnes boni et mali, ut simus omnes nova conspersio. Ne quis autem vereretur, ne fermenti vitiosioris admixtio

massam decoloraret, ideo dixit: Ut sitis nova conspersio, sicut estis azymi (I Cor. V, 7); hoc est, tales conspersio vos reddet, qualis erat innocentiae vestrae pura sinceritas. Ita si misereamur, non fuscamur peccato alieno: sed redemptionem ejus acquirimus nostrae gratiae; ut qualis erat puritas, perseveret. Et ideo addidit: Etenim pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus (Ibid.), hoc est, passio Domini omnibus profuit, et peccatoribus donavit redemptionem, quos flagitii poenituit admissi.

83. Now this comparison seems to be not unfitly brought forward in this place, since the kingdom of heaven is redemption from sin, and therefore we all, both bad and good, are mingled with the meal of the Church that we all may be a new lump. But that no one may be afraid that an admixture of evil leaven might injure the lump, the Apostle said: That you may be a new lump, even as you are unleavened; 1 Corinthians 5:7 that is to say, This mixture will render you again such, as in the pure integrity of your innocence. If we thus have compassion, we are not stained with the sins of others, but we gain the restoration of another to the increase of our own grace, so that our integrity remains as it was. And therefore he adds: For Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us; 1 Corinthians 5:7 that is, the Passion of the Lord profited all, and gave redemption to sinners who repented of the sins they had committed.

84. Itaque epulemur bonum cibum, poenitentiam gerentes, laeti redemptione; nullus enim cibus est benevolentia et pietate dulcior: epulis nostris atque laetitiae nulla de peccatore servato invidia admisceatur; ne se ipse a domo Patris, quemadmodum expositus in Evangelio invidus ille frater, excludat, qui fratrem receptum doluit, quem in perpetuum gaudebat exclusum (Luc. XV, 28).

84. Let us then keep the feast on good food, doing penance yet joyful in our redemption, for no food is sweeter than kindness and gentleness. Let no

envy towards the sinner who is saved be mingled with our feasts and joy, lest that envious brother, as is set forth in the Gospel, exclude himself from the house of his Father, because he grieved at the reception of his brother, at whose lasting exile he was wont to rejoice.

85. Cujus vos similes esse, Novatiani, non potestis negare, qui ideo, ut dicitis, in Ecclesiam non convenitis, quia per poenitentiam tributa spes fuerat his qui lapsi sunt, revertendi. Sed hoc praetentum est specie. Caeterum episcopatus amissi dolore succensus Novatianus schisma composuit.

85. And you Novatians cannot deny that you are like him, who, as you say, do not come together to the Church because by penance a hope of return had been given to those who had lapsed. But this is only a pretence, for Novatian contrived his schism through grief at his loss of the episcopal office.

86. Sed non intelligitis quia de vobis quoque prophetavit Apostolus, et vobis dicit: Et vos inflati estis, et non magis luctum habuistis; ut tollatur de medio vestrum, qui hoc opus fecit (I Cor. V, 2)? Utique tunc penitus tollitur, cum aboletur peccatum ejus; non enim excludendum ab Ecclesia dicit Apostolus, qui suadet esse purgandum.

86. But do you not understand that the Apostle also prophesied of you and says to you: And you are puffed up and did not rather mourn, that he who did this deed might be taken away from among you? 1 Corinthians 5:2 He is, then, wholly taken away when his sin is done away, but the Apostle does not say that the sinner is to be shut out of the Church who counsels his cleansing.

CAPUT XVI.

NOVATIANI CUM APOSTOLO comparantur. Quam pulchre illis conveniat Domini verbum: Nescitis cujus spiritus estis. Poenitentiae studium ab eis exstingui, dum ejus fructum e medio tollunt. Hoc pacto Christi promissis privari peccatores; qui tamen non cito admittendi ad mysteria. Denique poenitentium quorumdam exempla proponuntur.

CHAPTER 16

Comparison between the apostles and Novatians. The fitness of the words, You know not what spirit you are of, when applied to them. The desire of penance is extinguished by them when they take away its fruit. And thus are sinners deprived of the promises of Christ, though, indeed, they ought not to be too soon admitted to the mysteries. Some examples of repentance.

87. Cum igitur apostolus peccatum remiserit, qua vos auctoritate dimittendum negatis? Quis reverentior Christi, Novatianus, an Paulus? Sed noverat Paulus Dominum misericordem; noverat Dominum Jesum severitate magis discipulorum offensum, quam misericordia (II Cor. II, 10).

87. Inasmuch, then, as the Apostle forgave sins, by what authority do you say that they are not to be forgiven? Who has the most reverence for Christ, Paul or Novatian? But Paul knew that the Lord was merciful. He knew that the Lord Jesus was offended more by the harshness of the disciples than by their pitifulness.

88. Denique Jacobum et Joannem dicentes quod ignem de coelo peterent, qui consumeret eos, qui Dominum recipere nolebant, confutavit Jesus

dicens: Nescitis cujus spiritus estis; Filius enim hominis non venit animas hominum perdere, sed salvas facere (Luc. IX, 55, 56). Et illis quidem dixit: Nescitis cujus spiritus estis, qui ipsius erant spiritus; vobis autem dicit: Non estis spiritus mei, qui meam clementiam non tenetis, qui meam refutatis misericordiam; qui excluditis poenitentiam, quam ego per apostolos meos praedicari volui in nomine meo.

88. Furthermore, Jesus rebuked James and John when they spoke of bringing down fire from heaven to consume those who refused to receive the Lord, and said to them: You know not whose spirit you are of; for the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives but to save them. Luke 9:55-56 To them, indeed, He said, You know not whose spirit you are of, who were of His spirit; but to you He says, You are not of My spirit, who hold not fast My clemency, who reject My mercy, who refuse repentance which I willed to be preached by the apostles in My Name.

89. Frustra enim dicitis vos praedicare poenitentiam, qui tollitis fructum poenitentiae (Luc. XXIV, 47). Homines enim ad aliquod studium aut praemiis aut fructibus incitantur: omne autem studium torpescit dilatione. Et ideo Dominus ut praesentium fructu cumularetur devotio discipulorum, dixit quoniam qui dimisisset omnia sua, et Deum secutus esset, septies tantum reciperet et hic et in futurum (Matth. XIX, 29). Prius hic promisit, ut fastidia dilationis auferret: addidit et in futurum, ut hic disceres credere in futurum quoque solvenda tibi praemia. Remuneratio igitur praesentium, testimonium futurorum est.

89. For it is in vain that you say that you preach repentance who remove the fruits of repentance. For men are led to the pursuit of anything either by rewards or results, and every pursuit grows slack by delay. And for this reason the Lord, in order that the devotion of His disciples might be increased, said that every one who had left all that was his, and followed

God, should receive sevenfold more both here and hereafter. Matthew 19:29 First of all He promised the reward *here*, to do away with the tedium of delay, and again *hereafter*, that we might learn to believe that rewards will also be given to us hereafter. Present rewards are then an earnest of those hereafter.

90. Si quis igitur occulta crimina habens, propter Christum tamen studiose poenitentiam egerit; quomodo ista recipit, si ei communio non refunditur? Volo veniam reus speret, petat eam lacrymis, petat gemitibus, petat populi totius fletibus; ut ignoscatur, obsecret: et cum secundo et tertio fuerit dilata ejus communio, credat remissius se supplicasse, fletus augeat, miserabilior postea revertatur, teneat pedes brachiis, osculetur osculis, lavet fletibus, nec dimittat; ut de ipso dicat Dominus Jesus: Remissa sunt peccata ejus multa; quoniam dilexit multum (Luc. VII, 47).

90. If, then, any one, having committed hidden sins, shall nevertheless diligently do penance, how shall he receive those rewards if not restored to the communion of the Church? I am willing, indeed, that the guilty man should hope for pardon, should seek it with tears and groans, should seek it with the aid of the tears of all the people, should implore forgiveness; and if communion be postponed two or three times, that he should believe that his entreaties have not been urgent enough, that he must increase his tears, must come again even in greater trouble, clasp the feet of the faithful with his arms, kiss them, wash them with tears, and not let them go, so that the Lord Jesus may say of him too: His sins which are many are forgiven, for he loved much. Luke 7:47

91. Cognovi quosdam in poenitentia sulcasse vultum lacrymis, exarasse continuis fletibus genas, stravisse corpus suum calcandum omnibus; jejuno ore semper et pallido, mortis speciem spiranti in corpore praetulisse.

91. I have known penitents whose countenance was furrowed with tears, their cheeks worn with constant weeping, who offered their body to be trodden under foot by all, who with faces ever pale and worn with fasting bore about in a yet living body the likeness of death.

CAPUT XVII.

SEVERITATI PIETATEM ADDENDAM esse, quod Apostolus praestitisse ostenditur in Corinthio. Hunc baptismate contra Novatianorum cavillos initiatum fuisse astruitur. Quibus additur non destructionem, sed castigationem carnis, per vocem interitum significari, quod etiam terrae similitudine confirmatur.

CHAPTER 17

That gentleness must be added to severity, as is shown in the case of St. Paul at Corinth. The man had been baptized, though the Novatians argue against it. And by the word destruction is not meant annihilation but severe chastening.

92. Quid exspectamus ut mortui mereantur veniam, qui mortem sibi intulerunt, cum viverent? Satis est, inquit, ei qui talis est, objurgatio haec quae fit a pluribus; ita ut e contrario magis donetis et consolemini; ne forte abundantiore tristitia absorbeatur (II Cor. II, 6). Si satis ad condemnationem est objurgatio, quae fit a pluribus, satis est quoque ad remissionem peccati obsecratio, quae fit a pluribus. Moralis magister et nostrae fragilitatis conscius, et pietatis divinae interpres, vult donari peccatum, vult consolationem adhiberi; ne tristitia poenitentem taedio longae dilationis absorbeat.

92. Why do we postpone the time of pardon for those who have mortified themselves, who during life have done themselves to death? Sufficient, says St. Paul, to such a one is this punishment which is inflicted by the many; so that contrariwise, you should rather forgive him and comfort him, lest by

any means he should be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow. 2 Corinthians 2:6 If the punishment which is inflicted by the many is sufficient for condemnation, the intercession which is made by many is also sufficient for the remission of sin. The Master of morals, Who both knows our weakness and is the interpreter of the will of God, wills that comfort should be given, lest sorrow through the weariness of long delay should swallow up the penitent.

93. Ideo ergo donavit apostolus, nec solum donavit, sed etiam confirmari in eum charitatem voluit. Qui charus est, non habet duritiam, sed mansuetudinem. Nec solum donavit ipse, sed voluit etiam omnes donare, et se propter alios donasse dixit; ne multi propter unum diutius contristarentur. Si cui, inquit, donastis, et ego; nam et ego propter vos in persona Christi, ut non circumveniamur a Satana; nec enim versutias ejus ignoramus (Ibid., 10). Recte potest serpentem cavere, qui ejus potest versutias non ignorare, quae multae ad nocendum sunt. Vult semper nocere, semper circumvenire; ut mortem inferat: sed debemus cavere ne remedium nostrum fiat ejus triumphus; circumvenimur enim ab eo, si per nimiam tristitiam pereat, qui potest liberari per indulgentiam.

93. The Apostle then forgave him, and not only forgave him, but desired that love to him should again grow strong. He who is loved receives not harshness but mercy. And not only did he himself forgive him only, but willed that all should forgive him, and says that he forgave for the sake of others, lest many should be longer saddened on account of one. To whom, says he, you have forgiven anything, I forgive also, for I also have forgiven for your sakes in the person of Christ, for we are not ignorant of his devices. 2 Corinthians 2:10 Rightly can he be on his guard against the serpent who is not ignorant of his devices, of which there are so many to our detriment. He is always desirous to do harm, always desirous to circumvent us, that he

may cause death; but we ought to take heed lest our remedy become an occasion of triumph for him; for we are circumvented by him, if any one perish through overmuch sorrow, who might be set free by pitifulness.

94. Et ut sciremus quia de baptizato dicit, addidit: Scripsi vobis in epistola, ne commisceamini fornicariis hujus mundi (I Cor. V, 9). Et infra subjunxit: Nunc autem scripsi vobis, non commisceri, si quis frater nominatur fornicator, aut avarus, aut idolis serviens (Ibid., 11). Quos simul junxit ad poenam, simul voluit etiam ad veniam pertinere. Si quis autem talis est, inquit, cum hoc nec cibum sumas (Ibid.). Quam severus pertinacibus, quam indulgens rogantibus! Adversum illos Christi armatur injuria, his Christi invocatio suffragatur.

94. And that we may know that this person was baptized, he added: I wrote to you in my epistle to have no company with fornicators, not altogether with fornicators of this world. 1 Corinthians 5:9 And farther on he adds: But now I write unto you not to keep company if any man that is named a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolator. 1 Corinthians 5:11 Those whom he has joined together under one penalty, he willed to attain together to forgiveness. If any be such, he says, with him not to eat. 1 Corinthians 5:11 How severe he is with the obstinate, how indulgent to those who seek. Against those rises up in arms the injury done to Christ, while the calling upon Christ aids these.

95. At ne quis forte eo moveatur, quia scriptum est: Tradidi hujusmodi hominem Satanae in interitum carnis (Ibid., 5), et dicat: Quomodo potuit ad veniam pertinere, cujus omnis interierat caro; cum manifestum sit in utroque redemptum hominem, in utroque salvari: neque animam sine carne, neque carnem sine anima, cum sibi sint gestorum operum consortiis copulatae, sine consortio vel poenae esse vel praemii? Is sibi responsum hoc habeat, quod interitus non consummatam absumptionem carnis significet,

sed castigationem. Sicut enim mortuus peccato, Deo vivit: ita illecebrae carnis intereunt, et cupiditatibus suis moritur caro: ut castitati caeterisque bonis operibus reviviscat.

95. But lest any one be perplexed because it is written: I have delivered such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, 1 Corinthians 5:5 and should say: How can he attain forgiveness whose whole flesh has perished, seeing that it is evident that man was redeemed both in body and soul, and is saved in both and that neither the soul without the body, nor yet the body without the soul, since both are united by their fellowship in the deeds that have been done, can be without fellowship either in punishment or in reward? Let this suffice for an answer to him: That destruction does not mean the complete annihilation of the flesh, but its chastening. For as he who is dead to sin lives to God, so the allurements of the flesh perish, and the flesh dies to its lusts, in order that it may live again to purity and to other good works.

96. Et quod aptius exemplum, quam de matre sumamus? Namque ipsa de qua assumpti sumus, terra, intermisso exercitio cultuque, videtur deserta: et aut vinetis quibus consitus est ager, aut oleis moritur; succum tamen proprium velut quamdam sui animam non amittit. Denique repetita cultione, et creditis seminibus, quibus habilis aestimatur, feracior assurgit fructibus. Non ergo alienum si etiam nostra caro interire sic dicitur; ut repressa magis, quam absumpta credatur.

96. And what more suitable example can we take than one from our common mother? For the earth itself, from which we are all taken, when it is not worked and cultivated, seems to be desert; and the field dies to the vines or olive-trees with which it was planted, and yet it does not lose its own nutritive power, which is, as it were, its life. And then later, when cultivation begins once more, and the seed is sown for which the land seems

suitable, it breaks forth again more fruitful than before with its products. It is not, then, anything so strange if our flesh is said to die, and yet is understood to be subdued rather than annihilated.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

BOOK II.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

AMBROSIUS LIBRI SUPERIORIS praeceptis nova subtexurus, necessitatem mature agendi poenitentiam allegorice insinuat, quam et suadet agendam: deinde illius forma in Apostolo imitationi proposita, varios ejusdem fructus strictim proponit.

CHAPTER 1

St. Ambrose gives additional rules concerning repentance, and shows that it must not be delayed.

1. Etsi non pauca quae ad cohortationem poenitentiae proficiant, scripta sint in libro superiore; tamen cum adjici possint complura, ne velut semesas verborum nostrorum epulas reliquisse videamur, inceptum persequamur convivium.

1. Although in the former book we have written many things which may tend to the more perfect practice of repentance, yet inasmuch as a great deal more may be added, we will continue the repast so as not to seem to have relinquished the provisions of our teaching only half consumed.

2. Agenda est enim poenitentia non solum sollicite, sed etiam mature: ne forte Evangelicus ille paterfamilias qui arborem ficum plantavit in vinea sua, veniat; et quaerens fructum in ea, si non invenerit, dicat cultori vineae: Succide illam. Ut quid etiam terram occupat (Luc. XIII, 7)? Et nisi cultor vineae interveniat dicens: Domine, remitte illam et hoc anno, usque dum fodiam circa illam; et mittam cophinum stercoris: et si quidem fecerit fructum; sin autem, excidatur ficulnea (Ibid., 8, 9).

2. For repentance must be taken in hand not only anxiously, but also quickly, lest perchance that father of the house in the Gospel who planted a fig-tree in his vineyard should come and seek fruit on it, and finding none, say to the vine-dresser: Cut it down, why does it cumber the ground? Luke 13:7 And unless the vine-dresser should intercede and say: Lord, let it alone this year also, until I dig about it and dung it, and if it bear fruit — well; but if not let it be cut down. Luke 13:8-9

3. Stercoremus ergo et nos agrum hunc quem possidemus, et imitemur laboriosos agricolas, quos non pudet fimo pingui satiare terram, et immundo cinere agrum aspergere, ut fructus uberiores colligant.

3. Let us then dung this field which we possess, and imitate those hard-working farmers, who are not ashamed to satiate the land with rich dung and to scatter the grimy ashes over the field, that they may gather more abundant crops.

4. Et quemadmodum stercoremus, docet Apostolus dicens: Et aestimo omnia ut stercora, ut Christum lucrifaciam (Philip. III, 8); qui per infamiam et bonam famam meruit Christo placere. Legerat enim quod Abraham dum se stercus et cinerem fatetur, summa humilitate invenit Dei gratiam (Gen. XVIII, 3). Legerat quod Job in stercore sedens omnia quae amiserat, recuperavit (Job. XXIV). Legerat prophetante David, quod Deus de terra suscitat inopem, et de stercore erigit pauperem (Psal. CXII, 7).

4. And the Apostle teaches us how to dung it, saying: I count all things but dung, that I may gain Christ, Philippians 3:8 and he, through evil report and good report, attained to pleasing Christ. For he had read that Abraham, when confessing himself to be but dust and ashes, Genesis 18:27 in his deep humility found favour with God. He had read how Job, sitting among the ashes, Job 2:8 regained all that he had lost. Job 42:10 He had heard in the

utterance of David, how God raises the poor out of the dust, and lifts the needy out of the dunghill.

5. Et nos ergo non erubescamus fateri Domino peccata nostra? Pudor est ut unusquisque crimina sua prodat: sed ille pudor agrum suum arat, spinas tollit perpetuas, sentes amputat, fructus adolet, quos inter mortuos esse credebat. Sequere illum qui bene arando agrum suum, fructus quaesivit aeternos. Maledicimur, inquit, et benedicimus: persecutionem patimur, et sustinemus: blasphemamur, et obsecramus: tamquam purgamenta hujus mundi facti sumus (I Cor. IV, 12, 13). Si et tu sic araveris, seminabis spiritalia. Ara, ut peccatum auferas, fructum acquiras. Ille aravit, ut persecutoris in se eradicaret affectum. Quid plus potuit nobis conferre Christus ad studium correctionis, quam ut converteret, et daret nobis ex persecutore doctorem?

5. Let us then not be ashamed to confess our sins unto the Lord. Shame indeed there is when each makes known his sins, but that shame, as it were, ploughs his land, removes the ever-recurring brambles, prunes the thorns, and gives life to the fruits which he believed were dead. Follow him who, by diligently ploughing his field, sought for eternal fruit: Being reviled we bless, being persecuted we endure, being defamed we entreat, we are made as the offscouring of the world. 1 Corinthians 4:12-13 If you plough after this fashion you will sow spiritual seed. Plough that you may get rid of sin and gain fruit. He ploughed so as to destroy in himself the last tendency to persecution. What more could Christ give to lead us on to the pursuit of perfection, than to convert and then give us for a teacher one who was a persecutor?

CAPUT II.

APOSTOLICUM LOCUM AB haereticis contra poenitentiam objectum solvit, eumque de baptismatis iteratione intelligendum cum singularum illius partium expositione, tum praemissa ibidem legalium baptismatum mentione ostendit; quamvis subjungat eo quoque illum posse referri, ut quod impossibile sit hominibus, Deo impossibile nequaquam habeatur.

CHAPTER 2

A passage quoted by the heretics against repentance is explained in two ways, the first being that Hebrews 6:4 refers to the impossibility of being baptized again; the second, that what is impossible with man is possible with God.

6. Cum igitur tam evidenti et ipsius Apostoli, et scriptorum ejus exemplo redarguantur, tamen adhuc obniti volunt, et auctoritatem aiunt Apostolicae sibi suffragari sententiae, allegantes scriptum ad Hebraeos: Impossibile est enim hos qui semel illuminati sunt, et gustaverunt donum coeleste, et participes facti sunt Spiritus sancti, et bonum gustaverunt Dei verbum, virtutesque futuri saeculi, lapsos iterum renovari in poenitentiam, rursus crucifigentes Filium Dei, et ostentatione triumphantes (Heb. VI, 4 et seq.).

6. Being then refuted by the clear example of the Apostle and by his writings, the heretics yet endeavour to resist further, and say that their opinion is supported by apostolic authority, bringing forward the passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews: For it is impossible that those who were once enlightened, and have tasted the heavenly gift, and have been made partakers of the Holy Spirit, and have tasted the good word of God, and the

powers of the world to come, should if they fall away be again renewed unto repentance, crucifying again the Son of God, and put Him to open shame.

7. Numquid Paulus adversus factum suum praedicare potuit? Donavit Corinthio peccatum per poenitentiam (II Cor. II, 10); quomodo hic potuit sententiam suam ipse reprehendere? Ergo quia non potuit quod aedificaverat destruere, non contrarium dixisse eum, sed diversum advertimus. Quod enim contrarium est, se ipsum impugnat: quod diversum est, distinctam solet habere rationem. Ita autem contrarium non est, ut alterum suffragetur alteri. Etenim quia de remittenda praedicavit poenitentia, debuit et de iis qui iterandum putant baptismum, non silere: et prius sollicitudinem nobis auferri oportuit, ut sciremus etiam post baptismum, si qui peccarent, donari eis posse peccatum; ne spe veniae destitutos iterandi baptismatis opinio vana perverteret: deinde iterandum non esse baptisma rationabili disputatione suadendum fuit.

7. Could Paul teach in opposition to his own act? He had at Corinth forgiven sin through penance, how could he himself speak against his own decision? Since, then, he could not destroy what he had built, we must assume that what he says was different from, but not contrary to, what had gone before. For what is contrary is opposed to itself, what is different has ordinarily another meaning. Things which are contrary are not such that one can support the other. Inasmuch, then, as the Apostle spoke of remitting penance, he could not be silent as to those who thought that baptism was to be repeated. And it was right first of all to remove our anxiety, and to let us know that even after baptism, if any sinned their sins could be forgiven them, lest a false belief in a reiterated baptism should lead astray those who were destitute of all hope of forgiveness. And secondly, it was right to set forth in a well-reasoned argument that baptism is not to be repeated.

8. De baptismate autem dictum verba ipsa declarant, quibus significavit impossibile esse lapsos renovari in poenitentiam; per lavacrum enim renovamur, per quod renascimur, sicut ipse Paulus dicit: Consepulti enim sumus cum illo per baptismum in mortem, ut quemadmodum surrexit Christus ex mortuis per gloriam Patris, ita et nos in novitate vitae ambulemus (Rom. VI, 4). Et alibi: Renovamini spiritu mentis vestrae, et induite novum hominem, qui secundum Deum creatus est (Ephes. IV, 23, 24). Et alibi: Renovabitur sicut aquilae juventus tua (Psal. CII, 3): quod etiam aquila, cum fuerit mortua, ex suis reliquiis renascitur, sicut per baptismatis sacramentum, cum fuerimus peccato mortui, renascimur Deo, ac reformamur. Unum ergo baptisma docet, sicut alibi: Una fides; unum, inquit, baptisma (Ephes. IV, 5).

8. And that the writer was speaking of baptism is evident from the very words in which it is stated that it is impossible to renew unto repentance those who were fallen, inasmuch as we are renewed by means of the laver of baptism, whereby we are born again, as Paul says himself: For we are buried with Him through baptism into death, that, like as Christ rose from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we, too, should walk in newness of life. Romans 6:4 And in another place: Be renewed in the spirit of your mind, and put on the new man which is created after God. Ephesians 4:23 And elsewhere again: Your youth shall be renewed like the eagle, because the eagle after death is born again from its ashes, as we being dead in sin are through the Sacrament of Baptism born again to God, and created anew. So, then, here as elsewhere, he teaches one baptism. One faith, he says, one baptism. Ephesians 4:5

9. Illud quoque evidens, quod in eo qui baptizatur, crucifigitur Filius Dei; quia non potuit caro nostra abolere peccatum, nisi crucifixa esset in Christo Jesu. Denique scriptum est, quia quicumque baptizati sumus in Christo

Jesu, in mortem ipsius baptizati sumus (Rom. VI, 3). Et infra: Si enim complantati sumus similitudini mortis ejus, simul et resurrectionis erimus, scientes quia vetus homo noster simul confixus est cruci (Ibid., 5, 6.). Et ad Colossenses ait: Consepulti ei per baptismum, in quo et consurrexistis (Coloss. II, 12). Quod ideo scriptum est, ut credamus quia ipse crucifigitur in nobis; ut per illum peccata nostra mundentur, ut ipse chirographum nostrum affigat cruci, qui solus potest donare delicta. Ipse in nobis principatus et potestates triumphat; quoniam de ipso scriptum est: Principatus et potestates ostentavit, triumphans eos in semetipso (Coloss. II, 15).

9. This, too, is plain, that in him who is baptized the Son of God is crucified, for our flesh could not do away sin unless it were crucified in Jesus Christ. And then it is written that: All we who were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into His death. Romans 6:3 And farther on: If we have been planted in the likeness of His death, we shall be also in the likeness of His resurrection, knowing that our old man was fastened with Him to His cross. Romans 6:5-6 And to the Colossians he says: Buried with Him by baptism, wherein you also rose again with Him. Colossians 2:12 Which was written to the intent that we should believe that He is crucified in us, that our sins may be purged through Him, that He, Who alone can forgive sins, may nail to His cross the handwriting which was against us. Colossians 2:14 In us He triumphs over principalities and powers, as it is written of Him: He made a show of principalities and powers, triumphing over them in Himself. Colossians 2:15

10. Ergo quod ait in hac epistola quae scribitur ad Hebraeos, impossibile esse lapsos renovari in poenitentiam, rursus crucifigentes Filium Dei, et ostentatione triumphantes (Hebr. VI, 6), eo spectat, ut de baptismo dictum credamus, in quo crucifigimus Filium Dei in nobis; ut per illum nobis

mundus crucifigatur, qui quadam triumphamus specie, dum similitudinem mortis ejus assumimus, qui principatus et potestates in sua cruce ostentavit ac triumphavit; ut in mortis ejus similitudinem nos quoque de principatibus quorum jugum deponimus, triumphemus. Semel autem crucifixus est Christus, semel peccato mortuus; et ideo unum, non plura baptismata.

10. So, then, that which he says in this Epistle to the Hebrews, that it is impossible for those who have fallen to be renewed unto repentance, crucifying again the Son of God, and putting Him to open shame, must be considered as having reference to baptism, wherein we crucify the Son of God in ourselves, that the world may be by Him crucified for us, who triumph, as it were, when we take to ourselves the likeness of His death, who put to open shame upon His cross principalities and powers, and triumphed over them, that in the likeness of His death we, too, might triumph over the principalities whose yoke we throw off. But Christ was crucified once, and died to sin once, and so there is but one, not several baptisms.

11. Quid, quod et supra doctrinam baptismorum praemisit? Et quia multa erant baptismata in lege, merito reprehendit illos qui perfecta dimittant, et principium verbi requirant. Docet nos scire oportere destructa esse universa legis baptismata, unum baptisma esse in Ecclesiae sacramentis. Hortatur autem nos, ut relinquentes initium verbi, ad perfectum tendamus: Et hoc faciemus, inquit, si quidem permiserit Deus (Hebr. VI, 3); non potest enim sine favore Dei aliquis esse perfectus.

11. But what of the passage wherein the doctrine of baptisms is spoken of? Because under the Law there were many baptisms or washings, he rightly rebukes those who forsake what is perfect and seek again the first principles of the word. He teaches us that the whole of the washings under the Law are done away with, and that there is one baptism in the sacraments of the

Church. But he exhorts us that leaving the first principles of the word we should go on to perfection. And this, he says, we will do, if God permits, Hebrews 6:3 for no one can be perfect without the grace of God.

12. Possem quidem etiam illud dicere ei, qui hoc de poenitentia dictum putat; quia quae impossibilia sunt apud homines, possibilia sunt apud Deum: et potens est Deus quando vult donare nobis peccata, etiam quae putamus non posse concedi. Et ideo quod nobis impossibile impetratu videtur, Deo donare possibile est. Nam et impossibile videbatur, ut peccatum ablueret aqua: denique Naaman Syrus lepram suam mundari per aquam posse non credidit. Sed quod impossibile erat, fecit Deus esse possibile, qui tantam nobis donavit gratiam (IV Reg. V, 11). Similiter impossibile videbatur per poenitentiam peccata dimitti: concessit hoc Christus apostolis suis, quod ab apostolis ad sacerdotum officia transmissum est (Joan. XX, 22). Factum est igitur possibile quod impossibile videbatur. Sed tamen de baptismo dictum, ne quis iteraret, vera ratione persuadet.

12. And indeed I might also say to any one who thought that this passage spoke of repentance, that things which are impossible with men are possible with God; and God is able whenever He wills to forgive us our sins, even those which we think cannot be forgiven. And so it is possible for God to give us that which it seems to us impossible to obtain. For it seemed impossible that water should wash away sin, and Naaman the Syrian thought that his leprosy could not be cleansed by water. But that which was impossible God made to be possible, Who gave us so great grace. In like manner it seemed impossible that sins should be forgiven through repentance, but Christ gave this power to His apostles, which has been transmitted to the priestly office. That, then, has become possible which

was impossible. But, by a true reasoning, he convinces us that the reiteration by any one of the Sacrament of Baptism is not permitted.

CAPUT III.

SUPERIOREM SOLUTIONEM CONFIRMAT proposita ex Evangelio prodigi parabola, cujus singulas partes exponens, easdem contra Novatianas assertiones ita convertit, ut inde necessario deducat etiam gravissimi criminis reo, siquidem digne poenituerit, reconciliationem non denegandam.

CHAPTER 3

Explanation of the parable of the Prodigal Son, in which St. Ambrose applies it to refute the teaching of the Novatians, proving that reconciliation ought not to be refused to the greatest offender upon suitable proof of repentance.

13. Neque enim Apostolus contra evidentem Christi doctrinam veniret, qui de peccatore poenitentiam agente comparationem posuit eo quod peregre profectus acceptam a patre omnem substantiam devoraverit vivendo luxuriose, et postea panem patris desideraverit, cum vesceretur siliquis: et meruit stolam, annulum, calceamentum, immolationem quoque vituli, quae speciem habet passionis Dominicae, per quam coeleste sacramentum nobis donatur (Luc. XV, 13 et seq.).

13. And the Apostle does not contradict the plain teaching of Christ, Who set forth, as a comparison of a repentant sinner, one going to a foreign country after receiving all his substance from his father, wasted it in riotous living, and later, when feeding upon husks, longed for his father’s bread and then gained the robe, the ring, the shoes, and the slaying of the calf, which is a likeness of the Passion of the Lord, whereby we receive forgiveness.

14. Bene dicitur quia peregre profectus est, qui erat a sacris altaribus separatus; hoc est enim ab Jerusalem illa quae in coelo est, civico quodam et domestico sanctorum separari domicilio. Unde et apostolus ait: Ergo jam non estis advenae atque peregrini, sed cives sanctorum et domestici Dei (Ephes. II, 9).

14. Well is it said that he went into a foreign country who is cut off from the sacred altar, for this is to be separated from that Jerusalem which is in heaven, from the citizenship and home of the saints. For which reason the Apostle says: Therefore now you are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow citizens with the saints and of the household of God. Ephesians 2:19

15. Et consumpsit, inquit, substantiam suam. Merito consumpsit eam, cujus fides in operibus claudicabat: Fides enim eorum quae sperantur, substantia est, rerum argumentum non apparentium (Heb. XI, 1). Et bona substantia fides, in qua spei est nostrae patrimonium.

15. And, it is said, wasted his substance. Rightly, for he whose faith halts in bringing forth good works does consume it. For, faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen. Hebrews 11:1 And faith is a good substance, the inheritance of our hope.

16. Nec mirum si fame peribat, qui divino alimento egebat; cujus desiderio compulsus: Surgam, inquit, et ibo ad patrem meum, et dicam illi: Pater, peccavi in coelum, et coram te (Luc. XV, 18.) Nonne advertitis id evidenter nobis expositum, quod emerendi gratia sacramenti ad precandum impellimur; et hoc auferre vultis, propter quod agitur poenitentia? Tolle gubernatori perveniendi spem, et in mediis fluctibus incertus errabit. Tolle luctatori coronam, lentus jacebit in stadio. Tolle piscatori capiendi efficaciam, desinit jactare retia. Quomodo ergo potest qui famen patitur animae suae, studiosius Deum precari, si sacram desperet alimoniam?

16. And no wonder if he was perishing for hunger, who lacked the divine nourishment, impelled by the want of which he says: I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him: Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before you. Do you not see it plainly declared to us, that we are urged to prayer for the sake of gaining the sacrament? And do you wish to take away that for the sake of which penance is undertaken? Deprive the pilot of the hope of reaching port, and he will wander uncertainly here and there on the waves. Take away the crown from the athlete, and he will fail and lie on the course. Take from the fisher the power of catching his booty, and he will cease to cast the nets. How, then, can he, who suffers hunger in his soul, pray more earnestly to God, if he has no hope of the heavenly food?

17. Peccavi, inquit, in coelum et coram te.

Fatetur utique peccatum ad mortem, ne quem vos agentem cujuslibet criminis poenitentiam jure excludi putaretis; quando is qui in coelum peccavit, vel in regnum coeleste, vel in animam suam, quod est peccatum ad mortem; et peccavit eoram Deo, cui soli dicitur: Tibi soli peccavi et malum coram te feci (Psal. L, 6).

17. I have sinned, he says, against heaven, and before you. He confesses what is clearly a sin unto death, that you may not think that any one doing penance is rightly shut out from pardon. For he who has sinned against heaven has sinned either against the kingdom of heaven, or against his own soul, which is a sin unto death, and against God, to Whom alone is said: Against You only have I sinned, and done evil before You.

18. Tam cito veniam meretur, ut venienti et adhuc longe posito occurrat pater, osculum tribuat, quod insigne est sacrae pacis: stolam proferri jubeat, quae vestis est nuptialis, quam si quis non habuerit, a convivio nuptiali excluditur: det annulum in manu ejus, quod est fidei pignus, et sancti

spiritus signaculum: calceamenta deferri praecipiat (Exod. XII, 11); celebraturus enim pascha Domini, epulaturus agnum, tectum debet adversus omnes incursus bestiarum spiritalium, morsusque serpentis habere vestigium: vitulum praecipiat occidi; quia Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus (I Cor. V, 7). Etenim quotiescumque sanguinem Domini sumimus, mortem Domini annuntiamus (I Cor. XI, 26). Sicut ergo semel pro omnibus immolatus est, ita quotiescumque peccata donantur, corporis ejus sacramentum suminus, ut per sanguinem ejus fiat peccatorum remissio (De Poenit., dist. I, c. Potest fieri, § Sicut semel).

18. So quickly does he gain forgiveness, that, as he is coming, and is still a great way off, his father meets him, gives him a kiss, which is the sign of sacred peace; orders the robe to be brought forth, which is the marriage garment, which if any one have not, he is shut out from the marriage feast; places the ring on his hand, which is the pledge of faith and the seal of the Holy Spirit; orders the shoes to be brought out, Exodus 12:11 for he who is about to celebrate the Lord's Passover, about to feast on the Lamb, ought to have his feet protected against all attacks of spiritual wild beasts and the bite of the serpent; bids the calf to be slain, for Christ our Passover has been sacrificed. 1 Corinthians 5:7 For as often as we receive the Blood of the Lord, we proclaim the death of the Lord. 1 Corinthians 11:26 As, then, He was once slain for all, so whenever forgiveness of sins is granted, we receive the Sacrament of His Body, that through His Blood there may be remission of sins.

19. Ergo evidentissime Domini praedicatione mandatum est etiam gravissimi criminis reis, si ex toto corde, et manifesta confessione peccati poenitentiam gerant, sacramenti coelestis refundendam gratiam. Unde nihil vobis ad excusationem resedisse certum est.

19. Therefore most evidently are we bidden by the teaching of the Lord to confer again the grace of the heavenly sacrament on those guilty even of the greatest sins, if they with open confession bear the penance due to their sin.

CAPUT IV.

ALIAM OBJECTIONEM EX blasphemia in Spiritum sanctum petitam retorquet in ipsos Novatianos; ostenditque per eam blasphemiam intelligi debere fidem non rectam: quod ubi Petri adversus Simonem magum sententia, nec non Evangelico testimonio confirmavit, eosdem haereticos ad reditum in Ecclesiam cohortatur, ac tantam Domini clementiam esse asserit, ut Judae traditori veniam si apud Christum poenituisset, non fuisset denegaturus.

CHAPTER 4

St. Ambrose turns against the Novatians themselves another objection concerning blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, showing that it consists in an erroneous belief, proving this by St. Peter's words against Simon Magus, and other passages, exhorting the Novatians to return to the Church, affirming that such is our Lord's mercy that even Judas would have found forgiveness had he repented.

20. Perlatum est tamen ad nos, etiam illud vos objicere solere, quod dicatis scriptum esse: Omne peccatum et blasphemia remittetur hominibus: Spiritus autem blasphemiae non remittetur hominibus. Et quicumque dixerit verbum contra Filium hominis, remittetur ei: qui autem dixerit contra Spiritum sanctum, non remittetur ei, neque in hoc saeculo, neque in futuro (Matth. XII, 31 et seq). Quo exemplo omnis assertio vestra destruitur et absolvitur; scriptum est enim: Omne peccatum et blasphemia remittetur hominibus. Cur igitur non remittitis? Cur alligatis vincula, quae non solvitis? Cur nodos

nectitis, quos non relaxatis? Remittite caeteris: agite de iis, quos peccantes in Spiritum sanctum Evangelica auctoritate in perpetuum astringi putatis.

20. But we have heard that you are accustomed to bring forward as an objection that which is written: Every sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men, but blasphemies against the Spirit shall not be forgiven unto men. And whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him, but whosoever shall speak against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in that which is to come. Matthew 12:31-32 By which quotation the whole of your assertion is destroyed and done away, for it is written: Every sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men. Why, then, do you not remit them? Why do you bind chains which you do not loose? Why do you tie knots which you do not unfasten? Forgive the others, and deal with those who you think are bound for ever by the authority of the Gospel for sinning against the Holy Spirit.

21. Et tamen quos astringat, consideremus, repetentes superiora lectionis ipsius, ut evidentius comprehendamus. Dicebant Judaei: Hic non ejicit daemonia nisi in Beelzebub principe daemoniorum. Respondit Jesus: Omne regnum divisum contra se destruetur, et omnis civitas vel domus divisa contra se, non stabit; si enim Satanas Satanam ejicit, adversum se divisus est: quomodo ergo stabit regnum ejus? Quod si ego in Beelzebub ejicio daemonia, filii vestri in quo ejiciunt (Matt. XII, 24 et seq.)?

21. But let us consider the case of those whom the Lord so binds, going back to the words before the passage quoted, that we may understand it more clearly: The Jews were saying: This man does not cast out devils, but by Beelzebub, prince of the devils. Jesus replied: Every kingdom divided against itself shall be destroyed, and every city or house divided against

itself shall not stand; for if Satan casts out Satan, he is divided against himself, how then shall his kingdom stand? But if I cast out devils by Beelzebub, by whom do your sons cast them out?

22. De his utique expressum videmus, qui Dominum Jesum in Beelzebub ejicere daemonia loquebantur, quibus sic respondit Dominus, quod Satanae haereditas in iis esset, qui Satanae compararent Salvatorem omnium, et in regno diaboli constituerent gratiam Christi. Et ut cognosceremus quia de hac dixit blasphemia, adjunxit: Progenies viperarum, quomodo potestis bona loqui, cum sitis mali? Hos ergo qui haec loquuntur, negat ad veniam pertinere.

22. Now we see plainly here that the words are expressly used of those who were saying that the Lord Jesus cast out devils through Beelzebub, to whom the Lord gave that answer, because they were of the heritage of Satan, who compared the Saviour of all to Satan, and attributed the grace of Christ to the kingdom of the devil. And that we might know that He was speaking of this blasphemy, He added: O generation of vipers, how can you speak good, being yourselves evil? He says, then, that those who thus speak attain not to forgiveness.

23. Denique (Decr. ca. I, q. 1, cap. Petrus) Petrus Simoni, qui magicae artis consuetudine depravatus, putasset quod gratiam Christi per impositionem manus, atque infusionem Spiritus sancti compararet pecunia, ait: Non est tibi pars, neque sors in hac fide; quia cor tuum non est rectum apud Deum. Poenitentiam itaque age ab hac nequitia tua, et precare Dominum, si forte remittatur tibi haec recordatio cordis tui; in obligatione enim iniquitatis, et amaritudine fellis video te esse (Act. VIII, 21 et seq.). Vides quod hunc magica vanitate blasphemantem in Spiritu sancto Apostolica auctoritate condemnet; et eo magis quia puram conscientiam fidei non habebat: et tamen non interclusit ei spem veniae, quem invitavit ad poenitentiam?

23. Then, when Simon, depraved by long practice of magic, had thought he could gain by money the power of conferring the grace of Christ and the infusion of the Holy Spirit, Peter said: You have neither part nor lot in this faith, for your heart is not right with God. Repent therefore of this your wickedness, and pray the Lord, if perchance this thought of your heart may be forgiven you, for I see that you are in the bond of iniquity and in the bitterness of gall. We see that Peter by his apostolic authority condemns him who blasphemes against the Holy Spirit through magic vanity, and all the more because he had not the clear consciousness of faith. And yet he did not exclude him from the hope of forgiveness, for he called him to repentance.

24. Responsum est igitur a Domino blasphemiae Pharisaeorum; et ideo (De Poenit., dist. I, c. Iis potestatis) his potestatis suae gratiam negat, quae in remissione peccatorum est, qui coelestem ejus potestatem diabolico fultam suffragio vindicarent. Eos quoque asserit diabolico uti spiritu, qui separarent Ecclesiam Domini; ut omnium temporum haereticos et schismaticos comprehenderet, quibus indulgentiam negat, quod omne peccatum circa singulos est, hoc in universos. Soli enim sunt qui volunt solvere Christi gratiam, qui Ecclesiae membra discerpunt, propter quam passus est Dominus Jesus, Spiritusque sanctus datus est nobis.

24. The Lord then replies to the blasphemy of the Pharisees, and refuses to them the grace of His power, which consists in the remission of sins, because they asserted that His heavenly power rested on the help of the devil. And He affirms that they act with satanic spirit who divide the Church of God, so that He includes the heretics and schismatics of all times, to whom He denies forgiveness, for every other sin is concerned with single persons, this is a sin against all. For they alone wish to destroy the grace of

Christ who rend asunder the members of the Church for which the Lord Jesus suffered, and the Holy Spirit was given us.

25. Denique ut sciatis quia de dispersoribus dicit, sic habemus scriptum: Qui non est mecum, contra me est: et qui non colligit mecum, dispergit (Matt. XII, 30). Et ut sciremus de his dictum, statim subjunxit: Ideo dico vobis: omne peccatum et blasphemia remittetur hominibus, Spiritus autem blasphemiae non remittetur hominibus (Ibid., 31). Cum dicit: Ideo dico vobis: nonne evidenter hoc prae caeteris a nobis intelligi voluit? Meritoque adjunxit: Arbor bona bonos fructus facit, mala autem arbor malos fructus facit (Matth. VII, 17); congregatio enim mala bonum facere fructum non potest. Arbor itaque congregatio est, fructus bonae arboris filii Ecclesiae sunt.

25. Lastly, that we may know that He is speaking of those who destroy the unity of the Church, we find it written: He that is not with Me is against Me, and he that gathered not with Me, scatters. Matthew 12:30 And that we might know that He is speaking of these, He at once added: Therefore I say unto you, every sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men, but blasphemies against the Spirit shall not be forgiven unto men. When He says, Therefore say I unto you, is it not evident that He intended the words following to be laid to heart by us beyond the others? And He rightly added: A good tree brings forth good fruits, but a bad tree brings forth bad fruits, Matthew 7:17 for an evil association cannot produce good fruits. The tree, then, is the association; the fruits of the good tree are the children of the Church.

26. Et ideo revertimini ad Ecclesiam, si qui vos separastis impie. Omnibus enim conversis pollicetur veniam; quia scriptum est: Omnis quicumque invocaverit nomen Domini, salvus erit (Joel II, 32). Denique etiam Judaeorum populus qui dicebat de Domino Jesu: Daemonium habet (Joan.

VIII, 48); qui dicebat: In Beelzebub ejicit daemonia (Luc. XI, 15); qui crucifixit Dominum Jesum, Petri praedicatione vocatur ad baptismum, ut sceleris tanti merita deponat.

26. Return, then, to the Church, those of you who have wickedly separated yourselves. For He promises forgiveness to all who are converted, since it is written: Whosoever shall call on the Name of the Lord shall be saved. Joel 2:32 And lastly, the Jewish people who said of the Lord Jesus, He has a devil, John 8:43 and He casts out devils through Beelzebub, and who crucified the Lord Jesus, are, by the preaching of Peter, called to baptism, that they may put away the guilt of so great a wickedness.

27. [Alias cap. V.] Sed quid mirum (De Poenit., dist. I, c. Iis potestatis, § quid mirum), si salutem negatis aliis, qui vestram recusatis, licet illi nihil differant, qui a vobis poenitentiam petunt. Arbitror enim quod etiam Judas potuisset tanta Dei miseratione non excludi a venia, si poenitentiam non apud Judaeos, sed apud Christum egisset. Peccavi, inquit, quod tradiderim sanguinem justum (Matth. XXVII, 54). Responderunt: Quid ad nos? Tu videris. Quae vox alia vestra est, cum etiam minoris peccati reus vobis factum proprium confitetur? Quid respondetis aliud, nisi hoc: Quid ad nos? Tu videris. Hunc sermonem laqueus sequitur: eo feraliore poena, quo culpa est minor.

27. But what wonder is it if you should deny salvation to others, who reject your own, though they lose nothing who seek for penance from you? For I suppose that even Judas might through the exceeding mercy of God not have been shut out from forgiveness, if he had expressed his sorrow not before the Jews but before Christ. I have sinned, he said, in that I have betrayed righteous blood. Matthew 27:5 Their answer was: What is that to us, you see to that. What other reply do you give, when one guilty of a smaller sin confesses his deed to you? What do you answer but this: What is

that to us, you see to that? The halter followed on those words, but the punishment is all the more severe, the smaller the sin is.

28. Sed si isti non convertuntur, vel vos revertimini, qui lapsu vario de innocentiae fideique praecelso fastigio decidistis. Bonum dominum habemus, qui velit donare omnibus, qui te per prophetam vocavit dicens: Ego sum, ego sum qui deleo iniquitates; et memor non ero: tu autem memor esto, et judicemur (Esai. XLIII, 25).

28. But if they be not converted, do you at least repent, who by many a slip have fallen from the lofty pinnacle of innocence and faith. We have a good Lord, Whose will it is to forgive all, Who called you by the prophet, and said: I, even I, am He that blots out transgressions, and I will not remember, but you remember, and let us plead together.

CAPUT V.

QUOD SIMONI MAGO veniam a Petro affirmate promissam negant, refertur primo eum apostolum propter cognitam magi illius perfidiam dubia locutione uti potuisse: secundo autem apte ad causam per adverbium forte affirmationem etiam significari ex pluribus veteris Testamenti locis, ex profanorum auctorum usu, denique ex ipsis evangelistis confirmatur. Deinde addit apostolos poenitentiam cujus a Davide fructus ostenduntur, ad nos transmisisse. Postremo exemplum adducit Ephraemitarum, ad quorum instar poenitentiam nostram agendam tradit, ut ei divina misericordia et sacramenta concedantur.

CHAPTER 5

As to the words of St. Peter to Simon Magus, from which the Novatians infer that there was no forgiveness for the latter, it is pointed out that St. Peter, knowing his evil heart, might well use words of doubt, and then by some Old Testament instances it is pointed out that perchance does not exclude forgiveness. The apostles transmitted to us that penitence, the fruits of which are shown in the case of David. St. Ambrose then adduces the example of the Ephraimites, whose penitence must be followed in order to gain the divine mercy and the sacraments.

29.Referunt tamen quaestionem de verbis apostoli Petri. Quia dixit: Ne forte (Act. VIII, 22), putant non confirmasse Petrum, ut agenti poenitentiam peccatum remitteretur. Sed considerent de quo loquatur, hoc est, de Simone, qui non ex fide crederet, sed dolum cogitaret. Denique et Dominus dicenti ei, cujus non plenam sinceritatem videret: Sequar te, ait: Vulpes foveas

habent (Matth. VIII, 20). Quem ergo Dominus ante baptismum prohibuit sequi, quoniam fraudulentum videbat; miraris si post baptismum praevaricantem non absolvit apostolus, quem in obligatione iniquitatis manere pronuntiavit?

29. The Novatians bring up a question from the words of the Apostle Peter. Because he said, if perchance, they think that he did not imply that forgiveness would be granted on repentance. But let them consider concerning whom the words were spoken: of Simon, who did not believe through faith, but was meditating trickery. So too the Lord to him who said, Lord, I will follow You withersoever You go, replied, Foxes have holes. Matthew 8:19-20 For He knew that the man's sincerity was not wholly perfect. If, then, the Lord refused to him who was not baptized permission to follow Him, because He saw that he was not sincere, do you wonder that the Apostle did not absolve him who after baptism was guilty of deceit, and whom he declared to be still in the bond of iniquity?

30. Sed hoc illis responsum sit. Ego autem nec Petrum dubitasse dico, nec verbi unius praejudicio tantam causam strangulandam arbitror. Nam si putant dubitasse Petrum, numquid et Deus dubitavit? qui ait ad Jeremiam Prophetam: Sta in atrio domus Domini, et responsum dabis omni Judae, iis qui veniunt adorare in domo Domini, omnia verba quae constitui tibi respondere illis, noli auferre verbum: forsitan audient, et avertentur (Jerem. XXVI, 2, 3). Dicant ergo et Deum ignorasse quid esset futurum.

30. But let this be my answer to them. As to myself, I say that Peter did not doubt, and I do not think that so great a question can be burked by the questionable interpretation of a single word. For if they think that Peter doubted, did God doubt, Who said to the prophet Jeremiah: Stand in the court of the Lord's house, and you shall give an answer to all Judah, to those who come to worship in the Lord's house, even all the words which I

have appointed for you to answer them. Keep not back a word, perchance they will hearken and be converted. Jeremiah 26:2-3 Let them say, then, that God also knew not what would happen.

31. Sed non ignorantia eo verbo exprimitur, sed in Scripturis divinis frequens hujusmodi consuetudo advertitur; eo quod simplex sit elocutio. Siquidem et ad Ezechielem dicit Dominus: Fili hominis, mittam ego te ad domum Israel, ad eos qui me exacerbaverunt ipsi, et patres eorum usque in hodiernum, et dices ad eos: Haec dicit Dominus, si forte audient et terrebuntur (Ezech. II, 4, 5). Nesciebat ergo eos posse aut non posse converti? Non ergo semper dubitantis ista est elocutio.

31. But ignorance is not implied in that word, but the common custom of holy Scripture is observed, in order to simplicity of utterance. Inasmuch as the Lord says also to Ezekiel: Son of man, I will send you unto the house of Israel, to those who have angered Me, both themselves and their fathers, unto this day, and you shall say unto them, Thus says the Lord, if perchance they will hear and be afraid. Ezekiel 2:4-5 Did He not know that they could or could not be converted? So, then, that expression is not always a proof of doubt.

32. Denique ipsi sapientes saeculi, qui omnem gloriam suam statuunt in expressione verborum, quod Latine forte dicimus, Graece τάχα non ubique pro dubitatione posuerunt. Aiunt itaque dixisse primum suorum poetam Ἦ τάχα χήρα ἔσομαι, quod est: Cito vidua ero. Et alibi: τάχα γάρ σε κατακτανέουσιν Ἀχαιοὶ πάντες ἐφορμηθέντες (Homer. lib. III Iliad.). Non enim dubitaret in omnibus simul insurgentibus, unum facile ab universis posse prosterni.

32. Lastly, the wise men of this world, who stake all their reputation on expressions and words, do not everywhere use the Latin word *forte*,

perchance, or its Greek equivalent τάχα, as an expression of doubt. And so they say that their earliest poet used the words,

...ἦ ˙ τάχα χήρη
...ἔσομαι,

which is, I shall soon be a widow; and the passage goes on:

... τάχα γάρ σε κατακνέουσιν ᾽Αχαιοὶ
πάντες εφορμηθέντες .

But he had no doubt that when all were Joining in the attack one might well be laid low by all.

33. Sed nos nostris magis quam alienis utamur. Denique habes in Evangelio quia ipse Filius de Patre ait (cum misisset servos ad vineam suam, et occidissent). dixisse Patrem: Mittam Filium meum dilectissimum, forsitan ipsum verebuntur (Matth. XXI, 37). Et alibi ex sua persona Filius ait: Neque me scitis, neque Patrem meum. Si enim me sciretis, et Patrem meum forsitan sciretis (Joan. VIII, 19).

33. But let us use our own instances rather than foreign ones. You find in the Gospel that the Son Himself says of the Father (when He had sent His servants to His vineyard, and they had been slain), that the Father said, I will send My well-beloved Son, perchance they will reverence Him. Matthew 21:37 And in another place the Son says of Himself: You know neither Me nor My Father; for if you knew Me, you would perchance know My Father also. John 8:19

34. Si ergo his verbis usus est Petrus, quibus Deus usus est sine praejudicio scientiae suae; cur non accipiamus et Petrum his usum sermonibus sine suae fidei praejudicio? Neque enim poterat dubitare de Christi munere, qui sibi solvendorum peccatorum dederat potestatem (Matth. XVI, 19); praesertim

cum versutiis haereticorum locum non deberet relinquere, qui ideo volunt spem hominum destituere, ut iterandi baptismatis apud desperantes facilius inducant persuasionem.

34. If, then, Peter used those words which were used by God without any prejudice to His knowledge, why should we not assume that Peter also used them without prejudice to his belief? For he could not doubt concerning the gift of Christ, Who had given him the power of forgiving sins; especially since he was bound not to leave any place for the craftiness of heretics who desire to deprive men of hope, in order the more easily to insinuate into the despairing their opinion as to the reiteration of baptism.

35. Sed apostoli hoc habentes, secundum Christi magisterium poenitentiam docuerunt; spoponderunt veniam, culpam relaxaverunt, sicut et docuit David dicens: Beati quorum remissae sunt iniquitates, et quorum tecta sunt peccata. Beatus vir cui non imputavit Dominus peccatum (Psal. XXXI, 1, 2). Utrumque enim beatum dixit, et cujus iniquitas remittitur per lavacrum, et cujus peccatum tegitur operibus bonis. Qui enim agit poenitentiam, non solum diluere lacrymis debet peccatum suum, sed etiam emendatioribus factis operire et tegere delicta superiora, ut non ei imputetur peccatum (De Poenit., dist. I, c. Iis potestatis, § Qui agit).

35. But the apostles, having this baptism according to the direction of Christ, taught repentance, promised forgiveness, and remitted guilt, as David taught when he said: Blessed are they whose transgressions are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord has not imputed sin. He calls each blessed, both him whose sins are remitted by the font, and him whose sin is covered by good works. For he who repents ought not only to wash away his sin by his tears, but also to cover and hide his former transgressions by amended deeds, that sin may not be imputed to him.

36. Ergo tegamus lapsus nostros posterioribus factis, mundemus fletibus; ut audiat nos Dominus Deus noster ingemiscentes, sicut audivit lacrymantem Ephraem, quemadmodum scriptum est, dicente Deo: Audiens audivi Ephraem lacrymantem (Jerem. XXXI, 18). Et ipsa verba Ephraem lamentantis expressit dicens: Castigasti me, et castigatus sum, sicut vitulus non sum edoctus (Ibid.). Vitulus enim ludit, et praesepia deserit; et ideo Ephraem sicut vitulus non est edoctus, longe positus a praesepi, quia praesepe Domini deseruit, et Jeroboam secutus, vitulos adoravit (Tob. I, 5), quod prophetia futurum per Aaron indicaverat, sic lapsurum populum Judaeorum. Ideoque agens poenitentiam dicit: Converte me, et convertar; quia tu es Dominus Deus meus. Quia in novissimo captivitatis meae poenitentiam egi: et postquam cognovi, ingemui super dies confusionis, et subjectus sum tibi; quia accepi opprobrium, et demonstravi te (Jerem. XXXI, 19).

36. Let us, then, cover our falls by our subsequent acts; let us purify ourselves by tears, that the Lord our God may hear us when we lament, as He heard Ephraim when weeping, as it is written: I have surely heard Ephraim weeping. Jeremiah 31:18 And He expressly repeats the very words of Ephraim: You have chastised me and I was chastised, like a calf I was not trained. Jeremiah 31:18 For a calf disports itself, and leaves its stall, and so Ephraim was untrained like a calf far away from the stall; because he had forsaken the stall of the Lord, followed Jeroboam, Sirach 47:23 and worshipped the calves, which future event was prophetically indicated through Aaron, Exodus xxxi namely, that the people of the Jews would fall after this manner. And so repenting, Ephraim says: Turn me, and I shall be turned, for You are the Lord my God. Surely in the end of my captivity I repented, and after I learned I mourned over the days of confusion, and subjected myself to You because I received reproach and made You known.

37. [Alias cap. VI.] Advertimus quomodo agenda sit poenitentia, quibus sermonibus, quibus fletibus; ut peccati dies, dies confusionis appelletur; confusio est enim, quando Christus negatur.

37. We see how to repent, with what words and with what acts, that the days of sin are called days of confusion; for there is confusion when Christ is denied.

38. Et ideo subjiciamus nos Deo, et non subditi simus peccato: et delictorum nostrorum memoriam recensentes, tamquam opprobrium crubescamus; non velut quamdam gloriam praedicemus, sicut quidam expugnata pudicitia, et oppressa justitia gloriantur: et tanta fiat conversio, ut qui Deum non agnoscebamus, ipsi eum jam aliis demonstremus: motus autem Dominus tali conversione nostra, respondeat: A juventute mea dilectus mihi est filius Ephraem, puer in deliciis; quoniam eo quod sermones mei in ipso sunt, memoria memor ero ejus; propterea festinavi super illum, misericordia miserebor ejus, dicit Dominus (Jerem. XXXI, 20).

38. Let us, then, submit ourselves to God, and not be subject to sin, and when we ponder the remembrance of our offenses, let us blush as though at some disgrace, and not speak of them as a glory to us, as some boast of overcoming modesty, or putting down the feeling of justice. Let our conversion be such, that we who did not know God may now ourselves declare Him to others, that the Lord, moved by such a conversion on our part, may answer to us: Ephraim is from youth a dear son, a pleasant child, for since My words are concerning him, I will verily remember him, therefore have I hastened to be over him; I will surely have mercy on him, says the Lord.

39. Quam autem misericordiam nobis polliceatur, infra ostendit dicens: Inebriavi omnem animam sitientem, et omnem animam esurientem satiavi.

Ideo exsurrexi, et vidi, et somnus meus mihi dulcis est (Ibid., 25, 26). Advertimus quod peccantibus Dominus sacramenta promittat sua; et ideo omnes convertamur ad Dominum.

39. And what mercy He promises us, the Lord also shows, when He says further on: I have satiated every thirsty soul, and have satisfied every hungry soul. Therefore, I awaked and beheld, and My sleep was sweet unto Me. Jeremiah 31:25-26 We observe that the Lord promises His sacraments to those who sin. Let us, then, all be converted to the Lord.

CAPUT VI.

A FIDE VEL innocentia lapsos denuo hortaturus ad poenitendum, ex Esaia quid eos a Deo exspectare, quidve ipsosmet praestare oporteat, docet. Hinc memorata Christi adversus Judaeos proverbiali reprehensione, per ejus occasionem saltationes et choreas perstringens, idem proverbium ad spiritalem traducit intellectum. Deinde ex Jeremia poenitentiam suscipiente pro Jerusalem, quas conditiones ea virtus requirat, aperit. Denique ut quantae sit efficaciae haec illa medicina, clarius exhibeat, qui eadem vel pro se vel pro aliis uti voluerint, multos numerat.

CHAPTER 6

St. Ambrose teaches out of the prophet Isaiah what they must do who have fallen. Then referring to our Lord's proverbial expression respecting piping and dancing, he condemns dances. Next by the example of Jeremiah he sets forth the necessary accompaniments of repentance. And lastly, in order to show the efficacy of this medicine of penance, he enumerates the names of many who have used it for themselves or for others.

40. Sed si isti non convertuntur, vel vos revertimini, qui lapsu vario de innocentiae fideique praecelso fastigio decidistis. Bonum Dominum habemus qui velit donare omnibus, qui te per prophetam vocavit dicens: Ego sum, ego sum qui deleo iniquitates tuas, et memor non ero: tu autem memor esto, ut judicemur (Esai. XLIII, 25). Ego, inquit, memor non ero: tu autem memor esto, hoc est: Non revoco illa, quaecumque delicta donavi tibi, velut quadam oblivione tecta sint: tu autem memor esto. Ego, inquit, memor non ero propter gratiam, tu memor esto propter correctionem:

memor esto, ut scias donatum esse peccatum; ne glorieris quasi innocens, ne te justificando, plus ingraves: sed si vis justificari, fatere delictum tuum. Solvit enim criminum nexus verecunda confessio peccatorum.

40. But if they be not converted, do you at least repent, who by many a slip have fallen from the lofty pinnacle of innocence and faith. We have a good Lord, Whose will it is to forgive all, Who called you by the prophet and said: I, even I, am He that blots out your transgressions, and I will not remember, but you remember that we may plead together. I, He says, will not remember, but remember, that is to say, I do not recall those transgressions which I have forgiven you, which are covered, as it were, with oblivion, but remember them. I will not remember them because of My grace, remember them in order to correction; remember, you may know that the sin is forgiven, boast not as though innocent, that you aggravate not the sin, but you will be justified, confess your sin. For a shamefaced confession of sins looses the bands of transgression.

41. Vides quid a te exigat Deus tuus, ut memor sis ejus quam accepisti gratiae, et non glorieris quasi non acceperis. Vides qua remissionis pollicitatione te provocet ad confitendum: vide ne reluctando mandatis coelestibus, in indevotionem Judaeorum incidias, quibus dicit Dominus Jesus: Cantavimus vobis, et non saltastis: lamentavimus, et non plorastis (Luc. VII, 32).

41. You see what God requires of you, that you remember that grace which you have received, and boast not as though you had not received it. You see by how complete a promise of remission He draws you to confession. Take heed, lest by resisting the commandments of God you fall into the offense of the Jews, to whom the Lord Jesus said: We piped to you and you danced not; we wailed and you wept not. Luke 7:32

42. Vilis sermo, sed non vile mysterium. Et ideo cavendum ne quis vulgari quadam sermonis hujus deceptus interpretatione, putet nobis saltationis lubricae histrionicos motus, et scenae deliramenta mandari; haec etiam in adolescentula aetate vitiosa sunt: sed saltationem mandavit, quam saltavit David ante arcam Domini. Totum enim decet, quidquid defertur religioni; ut nullum obsequium quod proficiat ad cultum et observantiam Christi, erubescamus.

42. The words are ordinary words, but the mystery is not ordinary. And so one must be on one's guard, lest, deceived by any common interpretation of this saying, one should suppose that the movements of wanton dances and the madness of the stage were commended; for these are full of evil in youthful age. But the dancing is commended which David practised before the ark of God. For everything is seemly which is done for religion, so that we need be ashamed of no service which tends to the worship and honouring of Christ.

43. Non ergo illa deliciarum comes, atque luxuriae praedicatur saltatio, sed qua unusquisque corpus attollat impigrum, nec humi pigra jacere membra, vel tardis sinat torpere vestigiis. Saltabat spiritaliter Paulus, cum se pro nobis extenderet, et posteriora obliviscens, priora appetens, contenderet ad bravium Christi. Tu quoque cum ad baptismum venis, manus elevare, pedes quibus ad aeterna conscendas, velociores habere moneris (Phil. III, 13, 14). Haec saltatio fidei socia, gratiae comes.

43. Dancing, then, which is an accompaniment of pleasures and luxury, is not spoken of, but spiritually such as that wherewith one raises the eager body, and suffers not the limbs to lie slothfully on the ground, nor to grow stiff in their accustomed tracks. Paul danced spiritually, when for us he stretched forward, and forgetting the things which were behind, and aiming at those which were before, he pressed on to the prize of Christ. Philippians

2:13-14 And you, too, when you come to baptism, are warned to raise the hands, and to cause your feet wherewith you ascend to things eternal to be swifter. This dancing accompanies faith, and is the companion of grace.

44. Hoc est ergo mysterium: Cantavimus vobis, novi utique canticum Testamenti: et non saltastis, hoc est, non elevastis animam ad spiritalem gratiam. Lamentavimus, et non plorastis, hoc est, non egistis poenitentiam. Et ideo derelictus est Judaeorum populus; quia nec egit poenitentiam, et gratiam refutavit. Per Joannem poenitentia, per Christum gratia. Istam quasi Dominus donat, illam quasi servus annuntiat. Utrumque igitur Ecclesia custodit, ut et consequatur gratiam, et non abjiciat poenitentiam; gratia enim munus largientis est, poenitentia delinquentis remedium.

44. This, then, is the mystery. We piped to you, singing in truth the song of the New Testament, and you danced not. That is, did not raise your souls to the spiritual grace. We wailed, and you wept not. That is, you did not repent. And therefore was the Jewish people forsaken, because it did not repent, and rejected grace. Repentance came by John, grace by Christ. He, as the Lord, gives the one; the other is proclaimed, as it were, by the servant. The Church, then, keeps both that it may both attain to grace and not cast away repentance, for grace is the gift of One Who confers it; repentance is the remedy of the sinner.

45. Scivit Jeremias magnum remedium esse poenitentiae, quam in Threnis suis suscepit pro Jerusalem, et ipsam inducit agentem Jerusalem dicens: Plorans ploravit in nocte, et lacrymae ejus in maxillis ejus, nec est qui consoletur eam ab omnibus qui diligunt eam. Viae Sion lugent (Thren. I, 2). Et adjecit: In his ergo fleo, oculi mei caligaverunt a fletu, quia elongavit a me, qui me consolabatur (Thren. I, 16). Advertimus quod hunc malorum suorum acerbissimum cumulum arbitrabatur, quia deerat qui consolaretur

moerentem. Quomodo ergo vos ipsam consolationem aufertis, qui spem relaxandae negatis poenitentiae?

45. Jeremiah knew that penitence was a great remedy, which he in his Lamentations took up for Jerusalem, and brings forward Jerusalem itself as repenting, when he says: She wept sore in the night, and her tears are on her cheeks, nor is there one to comfort her of all who love her. The ways of Sion do mourn. And he says further: For these things I weep, my eyes have grown dim with weeping, because he who used to comfort me is gone far from me. Lamentations 1:16 We notice that he thought this the bitterest addition to his woes, that he who used to comfort the mourner had gone far from him. How, then, can you take away the very comfort by refusing to repentance the hope of forgiveness?

46. Sed audiant qui agunt poenitentiam, quomodo agere debeant, quo studio, quo affectu, qua mentis intentione, qua intimorum concussione viscerum, qua cordis conversione: Vide, inquit, Domine, quia tribulor, venter meus turbatus est a fletu meo, conversum est cor meum in me (Ibid., 20).

46. But let those who repent learn how they ought to carry it out, with what zeal, with what affection, with what intention of mind, with what shaking of the inmost bowels, with what conversion of heart: Behold, he says, O Lord, that I am in distress, my bowels are troubled by my weeping, my heart is turned within me. Lamentations 1:20

47. Cognovisti intentionem animi, fidem mentis cognosce, et habitum corporis. Sederunt, inquit, in terra, tacuerunt seniores filiae Sion, et imposuerunt terram super caput suum, praecinxerunt se cilicio, deduxerunt in terram principes, virgines Jerusalem defecerunt in lacrymis, oculi mei

caligaverunt, turbatus est venter meus, effusa est in terra gloria mea (Thren. II, 10, 11).

47. Here you recognize the intention of the soul, the faithfulness of the mind, the disposition of the body: The elders of the daughters of Sion sat, he says, upon the ground, they put dust upon their heads, they girded themselves with haircloth, the princes hung their heads to the ground, the virgins of Jerusalem fainted with weeping, my eyes grew dim, my bowels were troubled, my glory was poured on the earth. Lamentations 2:10-11

48. Sic flevit et Ninive populus, et denuntiatum excidium civitatis evasit (Jonae III, 5); tanta est enim poenitentiae medicina, ut mutare videatur suam Deus sententiam. In te est igitur ut evadas: vult rogari Dominus, vult de se sperari, vult sibi supplicari. Homo es, et vis rogari, ut ignoscas, et putas Deum tibi non roganti ignoscere?

48. So, too, did the people of Nineveh mourn, and escaped the destruction of their city. Jonah 3:5 Such is the remedial power of repentance, that God seems because of it to change His intention. To escape is, then, in your own power; the Lord wills to be entreated, He wills that men should hope in Him, He wills that supplication should be made to Him. You are a man, and willest to be asked to forgive, and do you think that God will pardon you without asking Him?

49. Ipse Dominus Jerusalem flevit (Luc. XIX, 41), ut quia ipsa flere nolebat, Domini lacrymis ad veniam pertineret. Ipse nos flere vult, ut evadere possimus, sicut habes scriptum in Evangelio: Filiae Jerusalem, nolite me flere, sed vos ipsas flete (Luc. XXIII, 28).

49. The Lord Himself wept over Jerusalem, that, inasmuch as it would not weep itself, it might obtain forgiveness through the tears of the Lord. He wills that we should weep in order that we may escape, as you find it in the

Gospel: Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for Me, but weep for yourselves. Luke 23:28

50. Flevit David, et meruit ut mortem populi pereuntis divina removeret misericordia (II Reg. XXIV, 10); quando tribus sibi propositis optionibus, eam tamen in qua majorem Domini miserationem experiretur, elegit. Quid erubescis tu peccata tua flere; cum Deus etiam prophetas jusserit flere pro populis?

50. David wept, and obtained of the divine mercy the removal of the death of the people who were perishing, when of the three things proposed for his choice he selected that in which he might have the most experience of the divine mercy. Why do you blush to weep for your sins, when God commanded even the prophets to weep for the people?

51. Denique et Ezechiel jussus est flere Jerusalem, et accepit librum, in cujus capite scripta erat: Lamentatio, et melos et vae (Ezech. II, 9), duo tristia et unum delectabile; quoniam ille salvus erit in futurum, qui in hoc saeculo plus fleverit: Cor enim sapientium in domo luctus, et cor stultorum in domo epularum (Eccl. VII, 5). Et ipse Dominus ait: Beati qui nunc fletis; quia ridebitis (Luc. VI, 21).

51. And, lastly, Ezekiel was bidden to weep for Jerusalem, and he took the book, at the beginning of which was written: Lamentation, and melody, and woe, two things sad and one pleasant, for he shall be saved in the future who has wept most in this age. For the heart of the wise is in the house of mourning, and the heart of fools in the house of feasting. Ecclesiastes 7:4 And the Lord Himself said: Blessed are you that weep now, for you shall laugh. Luke 6:21

CAPUT VII.

AD FLENDA ET confitenda peccata hortatur, asserens peccatoris et Ecclesiae lacrymis Christum excitari, ut illum justificet: quod accommodata Lazari suscitati historia mire illustrat. Ubi postquam ostendit Novatianos Judaeorum de interficiendo Lazaro cogitantium successores esse, perfectam cujuscumque peccati justificationem per odorem unguenti a Maria in Christi pedes effusi expressam docet: rursusque eosdem haereticos in Judae, cum caeteri gauderent, invidentis persona signatos monstrat.

CHAPTER 7

An exhortation to mourning and confession of sins for Christ is moved by these and the tears of the Church. Illustration from the story of Lazarus. After showing that the Novatians are the successors of those who planned to kill Lazarus, St. Ambrose argues that the full forgiveness of every sin is signified by the odour of the ointment poured by Mary on the feet of Christ; and further, that the Novatian heretics find their likeness in Judas, who grudged and envied when others rejoiced.

52. Fleamus igitur ad tempus, ut exsultemus in aeternum. Timeamus Dominum, praeveniamus eum confitendo peccata nostra, corrigamus lapsus nostros, emendemus errorem; ne et de nobis dicatur: Heu me, anima mea! quia periit reverens a terra, et qui corrigat in hominibus non est (Mich. VII, 2).

52. Let us, then, mourn for a time, that we may rejoice for eternity. Let us fear the Lord, let us anticipate Him with the confession of our sins, let us correct our backslidings and amend our faults, lest of us too it be said: Woe

is me, my soul, for the godly man is perished from the earth, and there is none among men to correct them.

53. Quid vereris apud bonum dominum tuas iniquitates fateri? Dic, inquit, iniquitatis tuas, ut justificeris (Esai. XLIII, 26). Adhuc reo culpae justificationis praemia proponuntur; ille enim justificatur, qui proprium crimen sponte agnoverit: denique justus in exordio sermonis accusator est sui (Prov. XVIII, 17). Novit omnia Dominus, sed exspectat vocem tuam; non ut puniat, sed ut ignoscat: non vult ut insultet tibi diabolus, et celantem peccata tua arguat. Praeveni accusatorem tuum: si te ipse accusaveris, accusatorem nullum timebis: si te detuleris ipse, etsi mortuus fueris, revivisces.

53. Why do you fear to confess your sins to our good Lord? Set them forth, He says, that you may be justified. The rewards of justification are set before him who is still guilty of sin, for he is justified who voluntarily confesses his own sin; and lastly, the just man is his own accuser in the beginning of his speaking. Proverbs 18:17 The Lord knows all things, but He waits for your words, not that He may punish, but that He may pardon. It is not His will that the devil should triumph over you and accuse you when you conceal your sins. Be beforehand with your accuser: if you accuse yourself, you will fear no accuser; if you report yourself, though you were dead you shall live.

54. Veniet ad monumentum tuum Christus, et si viderit flere pro te Martham boni feminam ministerii, flere Mariam quae attente audiebat verbum Dei, sicut sancta Ecclesia quae optimam partem sibi elegit; movebitur misericordia, cum viderit in tuo obitu lacrymas plurimorum, et dicet: Ubi posuistis eum (Joan. XI, 34)? hoc est, in quo reorum statu est, in quo poenitentium ordine. Videam quem fletis; ut lacrymis suis ipse me moveat. Videam si jam peccato ei cujus venia poscitur, defunctus est.

54. Christ will come to your grave, and if He finds there weeping for you Martha the woman of good service, and Mary who carefully heard the Word of God, like holy Church which has chosen the best part, He will be moved with compassion, when at your death He shall see the tears of many and will say: Where have you laid him? John 11:34 that is to say, in what condition of guilt is he? In which rank of penitents? I would see him for whom you weep, that he himself may move Me with his tears. I will see if he is already dead to that sin for which forgiveness is entreated.

55. Dicet ei plebs: Veni, et vide (Ibid.). Quid est, veni? Hoc est, veniat peccatorum remissio, veniat defunctorum vita, mortuorum resurrectio, veniat et in hunc peccatorem regnum tuum.

55. The people will say to Him, Come and see. John 11:34 What is the meaning of Come? It means, Let forgiveness of sins come, let the life of the departed come, the resurrection of the dead, let Your kingdom come to this sinner also.

56. Veniet, et levari lapidem jubebit, quem cervicibus peccatoris lapsus imposuit. Potuit removere lapidem imperio sermonis; jubenti enim Christo etiam insensibilis solet natura obedire: poterat tacita vi operationis occultae transferre saxum sepulcri in cujus passione remotis subito lapidibus, plurima defunctorum sepulcra patuerunt: sed hominibus jussit ut removerent lapidem; in veritate quidem, ut increduli crederent quod videbant, et aspicerent resurgentem mortuum: in typo autem, quod nobis donaret ut levaremus delictorum onera, moles quasdam reorum. Nostrum est onera removere; illius est resuscitare, illius educere de sepulcris exutos vinculis.

56. He will come and will command that the stone be taken away which his fall has laid on the shoulders of the sinner. He could have removed the stone

by a word of command, for even inanimate nature is wont to obey the bidding of Christ. He could by the silent power of His working have removed the stone of the sepulchre, at Whose Passion the stones being suddenly removed many sepulchres of the dead were opened, but He bade men remove the stone, in very truth indeed, that the unbelieving might believe what they saw, and see the dead rising again, but in a type that He might give us the power of lightening the burden of sins, the heavy pressure as it were upon the guilty. Ours it is to remove the burdens, His to raise again, His to bring forth from the tombs those set free from their bands.

57. Videns itaque grave onus peccatoris, illacrymat Dominus Jesus; solam enim flere non patitur Ecclesiam. Compatitur dilectae suae, et dicit defuncto: Veni foras (Joan. XI, 43), hoc est: Qui jaces in tenebris conscientiae, et delictorum tuorum sordibus, quodam reorum carcere, exi foras, delictum proprium prode, ut justificeris: Ore enim confessio fit ad salutem (Rom. X, 10).

57. So the Lord Jesus, seeing the heavy burden of the sinner, weeps, for the Church alone He suffers not to weep. He has compassion with His beloved, and says to him that is dead, Come forth, John 11:43 that is, You who lies in darkness of conscience, and in the squalor of your sins, as in the prison-house of the guilty, come forth, declare your sins that you may be justified. For with the mouth confession is made unto salvation. Romans 10:10

58. Si confessus fueris, a Christo vocatus, claustra rumpentur, et omnia solventur vincula, etiam si corruptelae corporeae fetor gravis sit. Quatriduum enim habebat ille, cujus fetebat in tumulo caro: cujus autem caro non vidit corruptionem, triduo fuit in sepulcro; carnis enim vitia nescivit, quae ex quatuor constat elementorum substantiis. Quantuslibet ergo (De Poenit., dist. I, cap. Quantuslibet) mortui fetor sit, aboletur omnis, ubi sacrum redoleverit unguentum: et resurgit defunctus, et solvi jubentur

ejus vincula, qui adhuc in peccato est: tollitur velamen de facie ejus, quod veritatem gratiae quam acceperat, obumbrabat. Sed quia venia donatus est, revelare faciem, aperire vultum jubetur: non habet enim quod erubescat, cui peccatum remissum est.

58. If you have confessed at the call of Christ the bars will be broken, and every chain loosed, even the stench of the bodily corruption be grievous. For he had been dead four days and his flesh stank in the tomb; but He Whose flesh saw no corruption was three days in the sepulchre, for He knew no evils of the flesh, which consists of the substances of the four elements. However great, then, the stench of the dead body may be, it is all done away so soon as the sacred ointment has shed its odour; and the dead rises again, and the command is given to loose his hands who till now was in sin; the covering is taken from his face which veiled the truth of the grace which he had received. But since he has received forgiveness, the command is given to uncover his face, to lay bare his features. For he whose sin is forgiven has nothing whereof to be ashamed.

59. In tanta vero Domini gratia, tantoque divini muneris miraculo, cum oporteret universos laetari, commovebantur impii, et adversus Christum concilium congregabant: Lazarum quoque interficere volebant (Joan. XI, 47). Nonne merito eorum successores vos fore cognoscitis, quorum duritiae haeredes estis (Joan. XII, 10)? Nam et vos indignamini, et contra Ecclesiam congregatis concilium; quia videtis mortuos in Ecclesia reviviscere, et peccatorum indulta venia resuscitari. Itaque quod in vobis est, per invidiam rursus vultis interficere suscitatos.

59. But in the presence of such grace given by the Lord, of such a miracle of divine bounty, when all ought to have rejoiced, the wicked were stirred up and gathered a council against Christ, John 11:47 and wished moreover to kill Lazarus also. John 12:10 Do you not recognize that you are the

successors of those whose hardness you inherit? For you too are angry and gather a council against the Church, because you see the dead come to life again in the Church, and to be raised again by receiving forgiveness of their sins. And thus, so far as in you, you desire to slay again through envy those who are raised to life.

60. Sed Jesus non revocat beneficia, immo cumulo liberalitatis amplificat: revisit sollicite resuscitatum, et celebratae resurrectionis gratia laetus ad coenam venit, quam ei sua praeparavit Ecclesia, in qua ille qui fuerat mortuus, unus inter discumbentes cum Christo invenitur.

60. But Jesus does not revoke His benefits, nay, rather He amplifies them by additions of His liberality, He anxiously revisits him who was raised again, and rejoicing in the gift of the restored life, He comes to the feast which His Church has prepared for Him, at which he who had been dead is found as one among those sitting down with Christ.

61. Tunc mirantur omnes qui vident puro utique obtutu mentis, qui invidere non norunt; tales enim Ecclesia filios habet. Mirantur, ut dixi quomodo ille qui jacebat in tumulo heri et nudiustertius (Ibid., 3), unus sit de discumbentibus cum Domino Jesu.

61. Then all wonder who look upon him with the pure gaze of the mind, who are free from envy, for such children the Church has. They wonder, as I said, how he who yesterday and the day before lay in the tomb is one of those sitting with the Lord Jesus.

62. Ipsa Maria mittit unguentum in pedes Domini Jesu. Ideo forte in pedes, quia unus de infimis ereptus est morti; omnes enim corpus Christi sumus, sed alii forte superiora membra sunt (I Cor. X, 17). Os erat Christi Apostolus, qui dicebat: Experimentum quaeritis ejus, qui in me loquitur Christus (II Cor. XIII, 3).

Os ejus prophetae, per quos loquebatur futura: utinam et ego pes ejus esse merear, et mittat in me Maria unguentum suum pretiosum, et ungat, et peccatum extergat!

62. Mary herself pours ointment on the feet of the Lord Jesus. John 12:3 Perchance for this reason on His feet, because one of the lowliest has been snatched from death, for we are all the body of Christ, 1 Corinthians 12:27 but others perchance are the more honourable members. The Apostle was the mouth of Christ, for he said, You seek a proof of Christ that speaks in me. 2 Corinthians 13:3 The prophets through whom He spoke of things to come were His mouth, would that I might be found worthy to be His foot, and may Mary pour on me her precious ointment, and anoint me and wipe away my sin.

63. [Alias cap. VIII.] Quod igitur de Lazaro legimus, in unoquoque debemus converso peccatore credere: qui licet fetorem habeat, tamen fidei pretioso emundatur unguento: tantum enim gratiae fides habet, ut ubi ante diem fetebat mortuus, illic bono odore tota repleatur domus.

63. What, then, we read concerning Lazarus we ought to believe of every sinner who is converted, who, though he may have been stinking, nevertheless is cleansed by the precious ointment of faith. For faith has such grace that there where the dead stank the day before, now the whole house is filled with good odour.

64. Fetebat Corinthia domus, quando scriptum est de ea: Auditur inter vos fornicatio, et talis fornicatio, qualis nec inter gentes (I Cor. V, 1). Fetor erat, quia modicum fermentum totam massam corruperat. Coepit bene olere, cum dicitur: Si cui quid donastis, et ego. Nam et ego quod donavi, propter vos in persona Christi (II Cor. II, 10). Itaque, liberato peccatore, factum est in ea gaudium magnum, et redoluit domus tota suavitate gratiae. Unde bene

conscius Apostolus quod omnes Apostolicae remissionis perfudisset unguento, ait: Christi bonus odor sumus Deo in his, qui salvi fiunt (Ibid., 15).

64. The house of Corinth stank, when it was written concerning it: It is reported that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as is not even among the Gentiles. 1 Corinthians 5:1 There was a stench, for a little leaven had corrupted the whole lump. A good odour began when it was said: If you forgive anything to any one I forgive also. For what I also have forgiven, for your sakes have I done it in the person of Christ. 2 Corinthians 2:10 And so, the sinner being set free, there was great joy in that place, and the whole house was filled with the odour of the sweetness of grace. Wherefore the Apostle, knowing well that he had shed upon all the ointment of apostolic forgiveness, says: We are a sweet savour of Christ unto God in them that are saved. 2 Corinthians 2:15

65. Hujus igitur effusione unguenti laetantur omnes, solus Judas contradicit (Joan. XII, 4). Ergo et nunc qui praevaricator est, contradicit; reprehendit, qui proditor: sed a Christo ipse reprehenditur, qui Dominicae remedium mortis ignorat, et tantae mysterium sepulturae non intelligit. Ideo enim et passus et mortuus est Dominus, ut nos redimeret a morte. Hoc excellentissimum indicat pretium suae mortis, quo peccator absolvitur, et in novam assumitur gratiam; ut veniant et mirentur omnes quomodo cum Christo recumbat, et laudantes Deum, dicant: Manducemus et epulemur; quia hic mortuus erat, et revixit: perierat, et inventus est (Luc. XV, 24). Si quis autem infidelis objecerit, quare cum publicanis et peccatoribus manducat; respondetur ei: Non opus est sanis medicus, sed his qui male habent (Matth. IX, 12).

65. At the pouring forth, then, of this ointment all rejoice; Judas alone speaks against it. John 12:4 So, too, now he who is a sinner speaks against

it, he who is a traitor blames it, but he is himself blamed by Christ, as he knows not the remedy of the Lord's death, and understands not the mystery of that so great burial. For the Lord both suffered and died that He might redeem us from death. This is manifest from the most excellent value from His death, which is sufficient for the absolution of the sinner, and his restoration to fresh grace; so that all may come and wonder at his sitting at table with Christ, and may praise God, saying: Let us eat and feast, for he was dead and is alive again, had perished and is found. Luke 15:24 But any one devoid of faith objects: Why does He eat with publicans and sinners? This is his answer: They that are whole have no need of the physician, but they that are sick. Matthew 9:11-12

CAPUT VIII.

AD CONFESSIONEM ET lacrymas urgere pergens ad se convertit orationem. Et ubi significavit desiderium emundandorum Domini pedum instar evangelicae mulieris, in cujus actione traditam poenitentiae formam dicit; si quis tamen hujus exemplaris perfectionem non assequatur, nihilominus Christum ad sepulcrum illius accessurum. Eum ut se in suo invisat ac resuscitet demississimo animo rogat; maxime vero ut det condolere peccatoribus, quorum delicta suis ipsius leviora esse persuasum habet. Non ergo insultandum iis pro quibus mortuus est Christus, a quo inter stipulas quas non negligit, se quoque colligi desiderat.

CHAPTER 8

In urging repentance St. Ambrose turns to his own case, expressing the wish that he could wash our Lord's feet like the woman in the Gospel, which is a great pattern of penitence, though such as cannot attain to it find acceptance. He prays for himself, especially that he may sorrow with sinners, who are better than himself. Those for whom Christ died are not to be contemned.

66. Ostende igitur medico vulnus tuum, ut sanari possis. Etsi non monstraveris, novit: sed a te expetit audire vocem tuam. Absterge lacrymis cicatrices tuas. Sic peccatum mulier illa in Evangelio (Matth. IX, 22), fetoremque sui erroris abstersit, sic culpam diluit; cum Jesu pedes lacrymis lavat.

66. Show, then, your wound to the Physician that He may heal it. Though you show it not, He knows it, but waits to hear your voice. Do away your

scars by tears. Thus did that woman in the Gospel, and wiped out the stench of her sin; thus did she wash away her fault, when washing the feet of Jesus with her tears.

67. Utinam mihi quoque pedum tuorum lutum, Jesu, reserves, quos dum in me deambulas, inquinasti? Utinam sordes vestigiorum tuorum detergendas mihi offeras, quas ego actu meo tuis affixi gressibus! Sed unde mihi aqua viva, qua pedes tuos possim lavare? Si aquam non habeo, habeo lacrymas, quibus dum pedes tuos lavo, utinam me ipsum diluam! Unde mihi, ut de me dicas: Dimissa sunt ejus peccata multa, quoniam dilexit multum (Luc. VII, 47)? Plus debuisse me fateor, et plus dimissum mihi qui de forensium strepitu jurgiorum, et a publicae terrore administrationis ad sacerdotium vocatus sum; et ideo vereor ne ingratus inveniar, si minus diligam, cui plus dimissum est (Ibid., 44).

67. Would that You, Lord Jesus, might reserve for me the washing off from Your feet of the stains contracted since You walk in me! O that You might offer to me to cleanse the pollution which I by my deeds have caused on Your steps! But whence can I obtain living water, wherewith I may wash Your feet? If I have no water I have tears, and while with them I wash Your feet I trust to cleanse myself. Whence is it that You should say to me: His sins which are many are forgiven, because he loved much? I confess that I owe more, and that more has been forgiven me who have been called to the priesthood from the tumult and strife of the law courts and the dread of public administration; and therefore I fear that I may be found ungrateful, if I, to whom more has been forgiven, love less.

68. Sed non omnes mulierem istam aequare possunt, quae etiam Simoni, qui prandium Domino dabat, merito praelata est: quae omnibus qui volunt veniam promereri, magisterium praestitit osculando pedes Christi, lacrymis lavando, tergendo crinibus, ungendo unguento.

68. But all are not able to equal that woman, who was deservedly preferred even to Simon, who was giving the feast to the Lord; who gave a lesson to all who desire to gain forgiveness, by kissing the feet of Christ, washing them with her tears, wiping them with her hair, and anointing them with ointment.

69. In osculo insigne charitatis est; et ideo dicit Dominus Jesus: Osculetur me ab osculo oris sui (Cant. I, 1). Capilli quid significant, nisi ut noveris, inclinata omni infularum dignitate saecularium, obsecrandam indulgentiam; ut ad terram flens te ipse prosternas, ut humi jacens moveas misericordiam? In unguento quoque bonae conversionis exprimitur odor. Rex nempe erat David, et dicebat: Lavabo per singulas noctes lectum meum, lacrymis meis stratum meum rigabo (Psal. VI, 7). Et ideo tantam gratiam meruit, ut ex ejus familia virgo eligeretur, quae nobis partu proprio Christum ederet. Ideo et ista in Evangelio praedicatur mulier.

69. In a kiss is the sign of love, and therefore the Lord Jesus says: Let her kiss Me with the kisses of her mouth. Song of Songs 1:2 What is the meaning of the hair, but that you may learn that, having laid aside all the pomp of worldly trappings, you must implore pardon, throw yourself on the earth with tears, and prostrate on the ground move pity. In the ointment, too, is set forth the savour of a good conversation. David was a king, yet he said: Every night will I wash my bed, I will water my couch with tears. And therefore he obtained such a favour, as that of his house the Virgin should be chosen, who by her child-bearing should bring forth Christ for us. Therefore is this woman also praised in the Gospel.

70. Tamen si hanc aequare non possumus, scit Dominus Jesus et infirmis subvenire, ubi non est quae possit parare convivium, quae deferre unguentum (Joan. XII, 7), quae fontem aquae vivae secum portare. Venit ipse ad sepulcrum.

70. Nevertheless if we are unable to equal her, the Lord Jesus knows also how to aid the weak, when there is no one who can prepare the feast, or bring the ointment, or carry with her a spring of living water. He comes Himself to the sepulchre.

71. Utinam ergo ad hoc monumentum meum digneris accedere (Joan. XI, 34), Domine Jesu, tuis me lacrymis laves; quoniam durioribus oculis non habeo tantas lacrymas, ut possim mea lavare delicta! Si illacrymaveris pro me, salvus ero: si dignus fuero lacrymis tuis, fetorem abstergo delictorum omnium: si fuero dignus ut paulisper illacrymes, vocabis me de monumento hujus corporis, et dices: Exi foras (Ibid., 43), ut non intra corporis hujus angustias inclusae teneantur cogitationes meae: sed egrediantur ad Christum, in lumine versentur; ut non cogitem opera tenebrarum, sed opera lucis. Qui enim peccatum cogitat, intra suam conscientiam studet se ipse includere.

71. Would that You would vouchsafe to come to this sepulchre of mine, O Lord Jesus, that You would wash me with Your tears, since in my hardened eyes I possess not such tears as to be able to wash away my offense. If You shall weep for me I shall be saved; if I am worthy of Your tears I shall cleanse the stench of all my offenses; if I am worthy that You weep but a little, You will call me out of the tomb of this body and will say: Come forth, that my meditations may not be kept pent up in the narrow limits of this body, but may go forth to Christ, and move in the light, that I may think no more on works of darkness but on works of light. For he who thinks on sins endeavours to shut himself up within his own consciousness.

72. Voca ergo foras servum tuum. Quamvis ligatus vinculis peccatorum meorum, vinctos habeam pedes, innexas manus, et cogitationibus et operibus mortuis jam sepultus; te vocante, liber egrediar, et inveniar unus de discumbentibus in convivio tuo, et domus tua pretioso replebitur unguento;

siquidem redimere dignatus es, custodieris. Dicetur enim: Ecce ille non in Ecclesiae nutritus sinu, non edomitus a puero, sed raptus a tribunalibus, abductus de vanitatibus saeculi hujus, a praeconis voce ad psalmistae assuefactus canticum, in sacerdotio manet non virtute sua, sed Christi gratia, et inter convivas mensae coelestis recumbit.

72. Call forth, then, Your servant. Although bound with the chain of my sins I have my feet fastened and my hands tied; being now buried in dead thoughts and works, yet at Your call I shall go forth free, and shall be found one of those sitting at Your feast, and Your house shall be filled with precious ointment. If You have vouchsafed to redeem any one, You will preserve him. For it shall be said, See, he was not brought up in the bosom of the Church, nor trained from childhood, but hurried from the judgment-seat, brought away from the vanities of this world, growing accustomed to the singing of the choir instead of the shout of the crier, but he continues in the priesthood not by his own strength, but by the grace of Christ, and sits among the guests at the heavenly table.

73. Serva, Domine, munus tuum, custodi donum quod contulisti etiam refugienti. Ego enim sciebam quod non eram dignus vocari episcopus; quoniam dederam me saeculo huic: sed gratia tua sum quod sum. Et sum quidem minimus omnium episcoporum et infimus merito; tamen quia et ego laborem aliquem pro sancta Ecclesia tua suscepi, hunc fructum tuere; ne quem perditum vocasti ad sacerdotium, eum sacerdotem perire patiaris. Ac primum da ut condolere norim peccantibus affectu intimo; haec enim summa virtus, quia scriptum est: Et non gaudebis super filios Juda in die perditionis eorum, et ne magna loquaris in die tribulationis eorum (Abdi., 12): sed quotiescumque peccatum alicujus lapsi exponitur, compatiar: nec superbe increpem, sed lugeam et defleam; ut dum alium fleo, me ipsum

defleam dicens: Justificata est magis Thamar, quam ego (Gen. XXXVIII, 26).

73. Preserve, O Lord, Your work, guard the gift which You have given even to him who shrank from it. For I knew that I was not worthy to be called a bishop, because I had devoted myself to this world, but by Your grace I am what I am. And I am indeed the least of all bishops, and the lowest in merit; yet since I too have undertaken some labour for Your holy Church, watch over this fruit, and let not him whom when lost You called to the priesthood, to be lost when a priest. And first grant that I may know how with inmost affection to mourn with those who sin; for this is a very great virtue, since it is written: And you shall not rejoice over the children of Judah in the day of their destruction, and speak not proudly in the day of their trouble. Obadiah 12 Grant that so often as the sin of any one who has fallen is made known to me I may suffer with him, and not chide him proudly, but mourn and weep, so that weeping over another I may mourn for myself, saying, Tamar has been more righteous than I. Genesis 38:26

74. Fortasse adolescentula lapsa sit, occasionibus quae delictorum fomites sunt, decepta ac praecipitata sit; peccamus et seniores. Repugnat in nobis lex hujus carnis, legi mentis nostrae, et captivos nos trahit in peccatum, ut faciamus quod nolumus (Rom. VII, 23). Illi de aetate suppetit excusatio, mihi jam nulla; illa enim debet discere nos docere. Ergo justificata est magis Thamar, quam ego (I Tim. VI, 10).

74. Perchance a maiden may have fallen, deceived and hurried away by those occasions which are the sources of sins. Well, we who are older sin, too. In us, too, the law of this flesh wars against the law of our mind, and makes us captives of sin, so that we do what we would not. Her youth is an excuse for her, I now have none, for she ought to learn, we ought to teach. So that Tamar has been more righteous than I.

75. Incusamus alicujus avaritiam, recordemur si nihil ipsi avare fecimus: et si fecimus, quoniam radix est malorum avaritia, et tamquam sub terra occulte in nostro serpit corpore, dicamus singuli: Justificata est magis Thamar, quam ego.

75. We inveigh against some one's covetousness, let us call to mind whether we ourselves have never done anything covetously; and if we have, since covetousness is the root of all evils, and is working in our bodies like a serpent secretly under the earth, let each of us say: Tamar has been more righteous than I.

76. Si commoti fuerimus in quemquam graviter, leviorem causam laicus habet quam episcopus, eo quod commotus egerit aliquid; retractemus nobiscum, et dicamus: Justificatus est magis iste, qui commotionis arguitur, quam ego. Haec enim si dicamus, ipsi nobis cavemus; ne dicat nobis Dominus Jesus, aut quisquam de discipulis ejus: Festucam in oculo fratris tui vides; trabem autem quae in oculo tuo est, non vides. Hypocrita, ejice primum trabem de oculo tuo, et tunc videbis ejicere festucam de oculo fratris tui (Matth. VII, 4, 5).

76. If we have been seriously moved against any one, a layman may act hastily for a smaller matter than a bishop. Let us ponder that with ourselves and say, He who is reproved for quick temper is more righteous than I. For if we thus speak, we guard ourselves against this, that the Lord Jesus or one of His disciples should say to us: You behold the mote in your brother's eye, but behold not the beam which is in your own eye. You hypocrite, cast out first the beam out of your own eye, and then shall you see to cast out the mote out of your brother's eye. Matthew 7:4-5

77. Non ergo crubescamus dicere graviorem nostram culpam esse, quam ejus quem arguendum putamus; quia dixit hoc Judas qui arguebat Thamar; et recordatus suam ipse culpam, ait: Justificata est magis Thamar, quam ego (Gen. XXXVIII, 26). In quo et altitudo mysterii est, et morale praeceptum: et ideo culpae ejus deputatum non est; quia ipse se accusavit prius, quam ab aliis accusaretur.

77. Let us, then, not be ashamed to say that our fault is more serious than that of him whom we think we must reprove, for this is what Judah did who reprimanded Tamar, and remembering his own fault said: Tamar is more righteous than I. In which saying there is a deep mystery and a moral precept; and therefore is his offense not reckoned to him, because he accused himself before he was accused by others.

78. Non ergo gaudeamus super alicujus peccato, sed magis lugeamus; quia scriptum est: Noli supergaudere mihi, inimica mea; quia cecidi: sed resurgam; quoniam si sedero in tenebris, Dominus illuminabit me. Iram Domini sustinebo, quia peccavi ei; donec justificet causam meam, et faciat judicium meum, et educat me ad lumen, et videbo justitiam ejus: et videbit inimica mea, et cooperietur confusione, quae dicit ad me: Ubi est Dominus Deus tuus? Oculi mei videbunt eam, et erit in conculcationem sicut tutum in via (Mich. VII, 8 et seq.). Nec immerito, quoniam qui lapsu alieno gaudet, diaboli gaudet victoria. Et ideo doleamus magis cum audimus perisse hominem, pro quo Christus mortuus est, qui nec in messe stipulam negligit.

78. Let us, then, not rejoice over the sin of any one, but rather let us mourn, for it is written: Rejoice not against me, O my enemy, because I have fallen, for I shall arise; for if I sit in darkness the Lord shall be a light unto me, I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against Him, until He maintain my cause, and execute judgment for me, and bring me forth to the light, and I shall behold His righteousness. Mine enemy, too,

shall see it and shall be covered with confusion, which said to me, Where is the Lord your God? My eyes shall behold her, and she shall be for treading down as the mire in the streets. And this not unreservedly, for he who rejoices at the fall of another rejoices at the victory of the devil. Let us, then, rather mourn when we hear that one has perished for whom Christ died, Who despises not even the straw in time of harvest.

79. Atque utinam hanc stipulam in messe, hoc est, inanem avenam fructus mei non abjiciat, sed colligat, sicut ait quidam: Heu me, quia factus sum sicut qui colligit stipulam in messe, et racemum in vindemia (Mich. VII, 1)! ut vel primitiva manducet in me gratiae suae, etsi posteriora non approbet.

79. O that He may not cast away this straw at His harvest, the empty stalks of my produce; but may He gather it in, as is said by some one: Woe is me, for I have become as one that gathers straw in harvest, and grape gleanings in the vintage, Micah 7:1 that He may eat of the firstfruits at least of His grace in me, though He approve not the later fruit.

CAPUT IX.

QUO PACTO FIDES ad poenitentiam necessaria? Quot etiam solvendi subsidia cuique suppetant? Orationem, fletus ac jejunia pecuniis potiora esse. Quod ubi exemplis confirmavit, additoque ad veniam liberalitatem multum valere, sed fidei cunjunctam, vitia ejusdem liberalitatis nonnulla refert. His alios quosdam poenitentiae jungit defectus, eorum nempe vel qui statim reconciliari expetunt de solito luxu nihil remittentes, vel qui poenitentiam in sola sacramentorum abstinentia locant, vel demum qui spe poenitentiae effunduntur in libidines.

CHAPTER 9

In what way faith is necessary for repentance. Means for paying our debts, in which work, prayer, tears, and fasting are of more value than money. Some instances are adduced, and St. Ambrose declares that generosity is profitable, but only when joined with faith; it is, moreover, liable to certain defects. He goes on to speak of some defects in repentance, such as too great haste in seeking reconciliation, considering abstinence from sacraments all that is needed, of committing sin in hope of repenting later.

80. Ergo et agendam poenitentiam, et tribuendam veniam credere nos convenit; ut veniam tamen tamquam ex fide speremus, non tamquam ex debito; aliud est enim mereri, aliud praesumere. Tamquam ex syngrapho fides impetrat: praesumptio autem arroganti est propior, quam roganti. Prius solve quod debitum est; ut quod speraveris, impetrare merearis. Solve boni affectum debitoris, ut versuram non facias, sed fidei tuae censu contracti nominis fenus evacues.

80. So, then, it is fitting for us to believe both that sinners must repent and that forgiveness is to be given on repentance, yet still as hoping for forgiveness as granted upon faith, not as a debt, for it is one thing to earn, and another presumptuously to claim a right. Faith asks for forgiveness, as it were, by covenant, but presumption is more akin to demand than to request. Pay first that which you owe, that you may be in a position to ask for what you have hoped. Come with the disposition of an honest debtor, that you may not contract a fresh liability, but may pay that which is due of the existing debt with the possessions of your faith.

81. Plura solvendi habet subsidia, qui Deo quam is qui homini debet. Homo pecuniam pro pecunia reposcit, quae non semper debitori praesto est: Deus affectum exigit, qui in tua potestate est. Nemo pauper est qui Deo debet, nisi qui se ipsum pauperem fecerit. Et si non habet quae vendat, habet quae solvat. Oratio, lacrymae, jejunia, debitoris boni census est, multoque uberior, quam si quis ex pretiis fundorum pecuniam sine fide deferat.

81. He who owes a debt to God has more help towards payment than he who is indebted to man. Man requires money for money, and this is not always at the debtor’s command. God demands the affection of the heart, which is in our own power. No one who owes a debt to God is poor, except one who has made himself poor. And even if he have nothing to sell, yet has he wherewith to pay. Prayer, fasting, and tears are the resources of an honest debtor, and much more abundant than if one from the price of his estate offered money without faith.

82. Denique pauper erat Ananias, cum vendito agro, pecuniam deferret ad apostolos; unde nec solvere se potuit, sed implicavit (Act. V, 1, 2). Dives illa vidua quae duo aera minuta in gazophylacium misit, de qua dictum est: Haec vidua paupercula plus omnibus misit (Luc. XXI, 2). Non enim pecuniam Deus, sed fidem quaerit.

82. Ananias was poor, when after selling his land he brought the money to the apostles, and was not able with it to pay his debt, but involved himself the more. Acts 5:1-2 That widow was rich who cast her two small pieces into the treasury, of whom Christ said: This poor widow has cast in more than they all. Luke 21:3 For God requires not money but faith.

83. [Alias cap. IX.] Neque ego abnuo liberalitatibus in pauperes factis posse minui peccatum; sed si fides commendet expensas. Quid enim prodest collatio patrimonii sine gratia charitatis?

83. And I do not deny that sins may be diminished by liberal gifts to the poor, but only if faith commend what is spent. For what would the giving of one's whole property benefit without charity?

84. Sunt qui ad jactantiam solam decorem largitatis affectent; ut eo se probatos vulgo videri velint, quod sibi nihil reliquerint: sed dum praesentis saeculi mercedem requirunt, non recondunt futuri; et quia hic perceperunt mercedem suam, illic sperare non possunt.

84. There are some who aim at the credit of generosity for pride alone, because they wish thereby to gain the good opinion of the multitude for leaving nothing to themselves; but while they are seeking rewards in this life, they are laying up none for the life to come, and having received their reward here they cannot hope for it there.

85. Sunt qui opes suas tumultuario mentis impulsu, non judicio perpetuo, ubi Ecclesiae contulerunt, postea revocandas putarunt: quibus nec prima merces rata est, nec secunda; quia nec prima judicium habuit, et secunda habuit sacrilegium (17, q. 4, c. Sunt qui opes).

85. Some again, having, through impulsive excitement and not after long consideration, given their possessions to the Church, think that they can

claim them back. These gain neither the first nor the second reward, for the gift was made thoughtlessly, its recall sacrilegiously.

86. Sunt quos poenituerit opes suas divisisse pauperibus: sed eos qui poenitentiam agunt, hoc solum poenitere non debet, ne ipsius poenitentiae agant poenitentiam. Nam plerique futuri supplicii metu peccatorum suorum conscii, poenitentiam petunt, et cum acceperint, publicae supplicationis revocantur pudore. Hi videntur malorum petiisse poenitentiam agere bonorum.

86. Some repent of having distributed their property to the poor. But they who are doing penance must not repent of this, lest they repent of their own repentance. For many seek for penance through fear of future punishment, being conscious of their sins, and having received their penance are held back by fear of the public entreaties. These persons seem to have sought for repentance for their evil deeds, but to exercise it for their good ones.

87. Nonnulli ideo poscunt poenitentiam, ut statim sibi reddi communionem velint. Hi non tam se solvere cupiunt, quam sacerdotem ligare; suam enim conscientiam culpa non exuunt, et sacerdotis induunt, cui praeceptum est: Nolite sanctum dare canibus, neque miseritis margaritas vestras ante porcos; hoc est, immundis impuritatibus sacrae communionis non impertienda consortia.

87. Some seek penance because they wish to be at once restored to communion. These wish not so much to loose themselves as to bind the priest, for they do not put off the guilt from their own conscience, but lay it on that of the priest, to whom the command is given: Give not that which is holy to the dogs, neither cast your pearls before the swine; Matthew 7:6 that is to say, that partaking of the holy Communion is not to be allowed to those polluted with impurity.

88. Itaque videas eos mutata veste incedere, quos lugere et gemere oportebat; quia vestem illam ablutionis et gratiae sordidarunt: feminas autem margaritis onerare aures, curvare cervices, quas bene Christo, non auro, inclinarent: quae se ipsas flere debebant, quod margaritam quae de coelo est, perdiderunt.

88. And so one may see those walking in other attire, who ought to be weeping and groaning because they had defiled the robe of sanctification and grace; and women loading their ears with pearls, and weighing down their necks, who had better have bent to Christ than to gold, and who ought to be weeping for themselves, because they have lost the pearl from heaven.

89. Sunt etiam qui arbitrentur hoc esse poenitentiam, si abstineant a sacramentis coelestibus. Hi saeviores in se judices sunt, qui poenam praescribunt sibi, declinant remedium, quos vel poenam suam conveniebat dolere; quia coelesti fraudarentur gratia (De Poenit., dist. I, cap. Sunt qui arbitrentur).

89. There are, again, some who think that it is penitence to abstain from the heavenly sacraments. These are too cruel judges of themselves, who prescribe a penalty for themselves but refuse the remedy, who ought to be mourning over their self-imposed penalty, because it deprives them of heavenly grace.

90. Alii proposita spe agendae poenitentiae, licentiam sibi delinquendi propagatam putant; cum poenitentia remedium peccati sit, non peccandi incentivum. Vulneri enim medicamentum necessarium est, non vulnus medicamento; quia propter vulnus medicamentum quaeritur, non propter medicamentum vulnus desideratur. Infirma deinde spes quae committitur tempori; cum omne tempus incertum sit, omni spes tempori non sit superstes.

90. Others think that licence is granted them to sin, because the hope of penitence is before them, whereas penitence is the remedy, not an incentive to sin. For the salve is necessary for the wound, not the wound for the salve, since a salve is sought because of the wound, the wound is not wished for on account of the salve. The hope which is put off to a future season is but feeble, for every season is uncertain, and hope does not outlive all time.

CAPUT X.

UT PUDOR QUO revocantur a publica poenitentia fontes, depellatur, profanorum agendi ratione proposita, utilitatem precum ab omni Ecclesia simul emissarum, ac lugentium sanctorum exempla promit. Tum reprehensis qui eamdem poenitentiam ducunt saepius iterandam, quam difficulter bene agatur, quove modo exsequenda sit, explicat.

CHAPTER 10

In order to do away with the feeling of shame which holds back the guilty from public penance, St. Ambrose points out the advantage of prayers offered by the whole Church, and sets forth the example of saints who have sorrowed. Then, after reproving those who imagine that penance may be often repeated, he points out the difficulty of repentance, and how it is to be carried out.

91. An quisquam ferat ut erubescas Deum rogare, qui non erubescis rogare hominem? et pudeat te Deo supplicare, quem non lates; cum te non pudeat peccata tua homini, quem lateas, confiteri? An testes precationis et conscios refugis, cum si homini satisfaciendum sit, multos necesse est ambias, obsecres, ut dignentur intervenire; ad genua te ipse prosternas, osculeris vestigia, filios offeras culpae adhuc ignaros, paternae etiam veniae precatores?

Hoc ergo in Ecclesiae facere fastidis, ut Deo supplices, ut patrocinium tibi ad obsecrandum sanctae plebis requiras; ubi nihil est quod pudori esse debeat, nisi non fateri, cum omnes simus peccatores: ubi ille laudabilior, qui humilior; ille justior, qui sibi abjectior.

91. Can any one endure that you should blush to entreat God, when you do not blush to entreat a man? That you should be ashamed to entreat Him Who knows you fully, when you are not ashamed to confess your sins to a man who knows you not? Do you shrink from witnesses and sympathizers in your prayers, when, if you have to satisfy a man, you must visit many and entreat them to be kind enough to intervene; when you throw yourself at a man's knees, kiss his feet, bring your children, still unconscious of guilt, to entreat also for their father's pardon? And you disdain to do this in the Church in order to entreat God, in order to gain for yourself the support of the holy congregation; where there is no cause for shame, except indeed not to confess, since we are all sinners, among whom he is the most praiseworthy who is the most humble; he is the most just who feels himself the lowest.

92. Fleat pro te (De Poenit., dist. I, cap. Fleat) mater Ecclesia, et culpam tuam lacrymis lavet, videat te Christus moerentem, ut dicat: Beati tristes, quia gaudebitis (Luc. VI, 21). Amat ut pro uno multi rogent. Denique in Evangelio motus viduae lacrymis, quia plurimi pro ea flebant, filium ejus resuscitavit (Luc. VII, 13). Ideo citius exaudivit Petrum, ut Dorcas resurgeret (Act. IX, 36); quia pauperes mortem mulieris ingemiscebant. Ideo ipsi Petro statim remisit, quia amarissime flevit. Et tu si amarissime fleas, Christus ad te respiciet, culpa discedet (Luc. XXII, 62). Usus enim doloris ablegat luxuriam criminis, erroris delicias. Ita dum dolemus admissa, admittenda excludimus, et fit quaedam de condemnatione culpae disciplina innocentiae.

92. Let the Church, our Mother, weep for you, and wash away your guilt with her tears; let Christ see you mourning and say, Blessed are you that are sad, for you shall rejoice. It pleases Him that many should entreat for one. In the Gospel, too, moved by the widow's tears, because many were

weeping for her, He raised her son. He heard Peter more quickly when He raised Dorcas, because the poor were mourning over the death of the woman. He also immediately forgave Peter, for he wept most bitterly. And if you weep bitterly Christ will look upon you and your guilt shall leave you. For the application of pain does away with the enjoyment of the wickedness and the delight of the sin. And so while mourning over our past sins we shut the door against fresh ones, and from the condemnation of our guilt there arises as it were a training in innocence.

93. Nihil ergo te revocet a poenitentia, haec tibi communis cum sanctis est: utinamque imitanda talis, qualis sanctorum deploratio. David manducabat sicut panem cinerem, et potum suum cum lacrymis temperabat (Psal. CI, 10); ideo nunc amplius gaudet, quia amplius flevit: Per exitus aquarum descenderunt, inquit, oculi mei (Psal. CXVIII, 136).

93. Let, then, nothing call you away from penitence, for this you have in common with the saints, and would that such sorrowing for sin as that of the saints were copied by you. David, as it were, ate ashes for bread, and mingled his drink with weeping, and therefore now rejoices the more because he wept the more: My eyes ran down, he said, with rivers of water.

94. Joannes multum ploravit, et revelata sibi dicit Christi mysteria (Apoc. V, 4). At vero illa mulier, quae cum esset in peccatis, et deberet flere, gaudebat, et veste purpurea atque coccinea operiebatur, et auro se multo et pretiosis lapidibus ornabat, aeterni fletus nunc luget aerumnam (Apoc. XVII, 4).

94. John wept sore, Revelation 5:4 and, as he tells us, the mysteries of Christ were revealed to him. But that woman who, when she was in sin and ought to have wept, nevertheless rejoiced, and covered herself with a robe

of purple and scarlet, Revelation 17:4 and adorned herself with much gold and precious stones, now mourns the misery of eternal weeping.

95. Merito reprehenduntur (De Poenit., dist. 3, c. Reperiuntur) qui saepius agendam poenitentiam putant; quia luxuriantur in Christo. Nam si vere agerent poenitentiam, iterandam postea non putarent; quia sicut unum baptisma, ita una poenitentia, quae tamen publice agitur; nam quotidiani nos debet poenitere peccati: sed haec delictorum leviorum, illa graviorum.

95. Deservedly are they blamed who think that they often do penance, for they are wanton against Christ. For if they went through their penance in truth, they would not think that it could be repeated again; for as there is but one baptism, so there is but one course of penance, so far as the outward practice goes, for we must repent of our daily faults, but this latter has to do with lighter faults, the former with such as are graver.

96. Facilius autem (De Poenit., dist. I, c. Sunt qui, § Facilius) inveni qui innocentiam servaverint, quam qui congrue egerint poenitentiam. An quisquam illam poenitentiam putat, ubi acquirendae ambitio dignitatis, ubi vini effusio, ubi ipsius copulae conjugalis usus? Renuntiandum saeculo est: somno ipsi minus indulgendum, quam natura postulat; interpellandus est gemitibus, interrumpendus est suspiriis, sequestrandus orationibus: vivendum ita, ut vitali huic moriamur usui, se ipsum sibi homo abneget, et totus mutetur: sicut quemdam adolescentem fabulae ferunt propter amores meretricios peregre profectum, et abolito amore regressum, postea veteri occurrisse dilectae, quae ubi se non interpellavit, mirata putaverit non recognitam, rursus occurrens dixerit: Ego sum; responderit ille: Sed ego non sum ego.

96. But I have more easily found such as had preserved their innocence than such as had fittingly repented. Does any one think that that is penitence

where there still exists the striving after earthly honours, where wine flows, and even conjugal connection takes place? The world must be renounced; less sleep must be indulged in than nature demands; it must be broken by groans, interrupted by sighs, put aside by prayers; the mode of life must be such that we die to the usual habits of life. Let the man deny himself and be wholly changed, as in the fable they relate of a certain youth, who left his home because of his love for a harlot, and, having subdued his love, returned; then one day meeting his old favourite and not speaking to her, she, being surprised and supposing that he had not recognized her, said, when they met again, It is I. But, was his answer, I am not the former I.

97. Unde bene Dominus ait: Qui vult post me venire, abneget semetipsum sibi, et tollat crucem suam, et sequatur me (Matth. XVI, 24). Etenim qui mortui et sepulti in Christo sunt, non debent iterum velut viventes de hoc mundo decernere. Ne tetigeritis, inquit, nec attaminaveritis quae sunt omnia ad corruptelam ipso usu (Coloss. II, 20), eo quod ipse hujus vitae usus corruptela sit integritatis.

97. Well then did the Lord say: If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow Me. Matthew 16:24 For they who are dead and buried in Christ ought not again to make their conclusions as though living in the world. Touch not, it is said, nor attend to those things which tend to corruption by their very use, for the very customs of this life corrupt integrity.

CAPUT XI.

UBI PRAEMISIT QUOMINUS ad mortem usque baptismus rejiciatur, in causa esse poenitentiam; eos a quibus ipsa procrastinatur, allatis Scripturae testimoniis urget. Subjungit tamen tum agendam illam non esse, cum adhuc fervent cupiditates, at quoad eaedem resederint, exspectandum.

CHAPTER 11

The possibility of repentance is a reason why baptism should not be deferred to old age, a practice which is against the will of God in holy Scripture. But it is of no use to practise penance while still serving lusts. These must be first subdued.

98. Bona ergo poenitentia, quae si non esset, omnes ad senectutem differrent ablutionis gratiam. Quibus satis responsi est quia melius est ut habeam quod sarciam, quam non habeam quod vestiar: sed sicut semel assuta redintegrantur, ita frequenter suta solvuntur.

98. Good, then, is penitence, and if there were no place for it, every one would defer the grace of cleansing by baptism to old age. And a sufficient reason is that it is better, to have a robe to mend, than none to put on; but as that which has been repaired once is restored, so that which is frequently mended is destroyed.

99. Eos autem qui poenitentiam differunt, satis ipse Dominus admonuit dicens: Poenitentiam agite; appropinquavit enim regnum coelorum (Matth. IV, 17). Nescimus ergo qua hora fur venerit, nescimus an proxima nocte a nobis nostra reposcatur anima. Adam (De Poenit., dist. I, c. Adam) post

culpam statim de paradiso Deus ejecit, non distulit: sed statim separavit a deliciis, ut ageret poenitentiam: statim tunicam vestivit pelliceam, non sericam (Gen. III, 21).

99. And the Lord has given a sufficient warning to those who put off repentance, when He says: Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand. Matthew 4:17 We know not at what hour the thief will come, we know not whether our soul may be required of us this next night. God cast Adam out of Paradise immediately after his fault; there was no delay. At once the fallen were severed from all their enjoyments that they might do penance; at once God clothed them with garments of skins, not of silk.

100. Quid enim est quod differas? An ut plura peccata committas? Ergo quia Deus bonus est, ideo tu malus, et divitias bonitatis ejus et patientiae contemnis (Rom. II, 4)? Sed bonitas Domini magis ad poenitentiam te debet adducere. Ideo ad omnes sanctus David dicit: Venite adoremus, et procidamus ante eum, et ploremus ante Dominum nostrum, qui fecit nos (Psal. XCIV, 6). De peccatore autem sine poenitentia mortuo, quia nihil aliud superest nisi graviter moerere, nisi flere, habes plorantem ipsum et dicentem: Filius meus Abessalon, filius meus Abessalon (II Reg. XVIII, 33). Qui enim penitus est mortuus, sine ulla exceptione defletur.

100. And what reason is there for putting off? Is it that you may sin yet more? Then because God is good you are evil, and despise the riches of His goodness and long-suffering. Romans 2:4 But the goodness of the Lord ought rather to draw you to repentance. Wherefore holy David says to all: Come, let us worship and fall down before Him, and mourn before our Lord Who made us. But for a sinner who has died without repentance, because nothing remains but to mourn grievously and to weep, you find him groaning and saying: O my son Absalom! My son Absalom! For him who is wholly dead mourning is without alleviation.

101. De his autem qui exsules atque peregrini limitum paternorum, quos lex Moysi sancta praescripsit, mundanis implicabuntur erroribus, audis canentem: Super flumina Babylonis illic sedimus et flevimus, dum recordaremur Sion (Psal. CXXXVI, 1). Inducit enim lapsorum gemitus, in ipso temporum praesentium et rerum labentium adhuc positos statu debere resipiscere; eorum videlicet exemplo, qui propter peccati pretium deducti erant in captivitatis aerumnam.

101. But of those who as exiles and banished from their ancestral homes, which the holy law of Moses had assigned them, will be entangled in the errors of the world, you hear him saying: By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept, when we remembered Zion. He sets forth the wailings of those who have fallen, and shows that they who are living in this condition of passing time and changing circumstances ought to repent, after the example of those who, as a reward for sin, had been led into miserable captivity.

102. Nihil est autem (De Poenit., dist. I, c. Sunt qui, § Nihil est) quod tam summo dolori sit, quam ut unusquisque positus sub captivitate peccati, recordetur unde lapsus sit, atque unde deciderit; eo quod ad corporea atque terrena ab illa speciosa ac pulchra divinae cognitionis intentione deflexerit.

102. But nothing causes such exceeding grief as when any one, lying under the captivity of sin, calls to mind whence he has fallen, because he turned aside to carnal and earthly things, instead of directing his mind in the beautiful ways of the knowledge of God.

103. Sic habes Adam abscondentem se, ubi Deum cognovit esse praesentem, et quaesitum latere voluisse, et vocatum a Domino ea voce quae latentis morderet affectum, hoc est: Adam, ubi es (Gen. III, 9)? Hoc est, cur te abscondis? cur lates? cur fugis eum, quem videre desiderabas? Ita

gravis culpa est conscientiae, ut sine judice ipsa se puniat, et velare se cupiat; et tamen apud Deum nuda sit.

103. So you find Adam concealing himself, when he knew that God was present, and wishing to be hidden when called by God with that voice which wounded the soul of him who was hiding: Adam, where are you? Genesis 3:9 That is to say, Why are you hiding yourself? Why are you concealed? Why do you avoid Him, Whom you once longed to see? A guilty conscience is so burdensome that it punishes itself without a judge, and wishes for covering, and yet is bare before God.

104. Et ideo nemo in peccato positus arrogare sibi debet auctoritatem aut usurpationem sacramentorum (De Poenit., dist. I, c. Sunt qui, § Nemo); quia scriptum est: Peccasti, quiesce (Gen. IV, 10). Quod in praesenti psalmo David dicit: In salicibus (De Poenit., dist. 3, c. In salicibus), inquit, in medio ejus suspendimus organa nostra; et infra: Quomodo cantabimus canticum Domini in terra aliena (Psal. CXXXVI, 1, 2)? Si enim caro menti repugnat, nec subdita est animi gubernaculo, et mentis imperio, aliena est terra quae non domatur exercitio cultoris, et ideo non potest fructus charitatis, patientiae, ac pacis afferre. Melius est ergo tunc quiescere, cum exercere non queas opera poenitentiae; ne in ipsa poenitentia fiat, quod postea indigeat poenitentia. Quae si semel fuerit usurpata, nec jure celebrata, nec prioris fructum obtinet, et auferet usum posterioris (De Poenit., dist. III, c. Si quis, § Poenitentia).

104. And so no one in a state of sin ought to claim a right to or the use of the sacraments, for it is written: You have sinned, be still. As David says in the Psalm lately quoted: We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof; and again: How shall we sing the Lord’s song in a strange land? For if the flesh wars against the mind, and is not subject to the guidance of the Spirit, that is a strange land which is not subdued by the toil of the

cultivator, and so cannot produce the fruits of charity, patience, and peace. It is better, then, to be still when you cannot practise the works of repentance, lest in the very acts of repentance there be that which afterward will need further repentance. For if it be once entered upon and not rightly carried out, it obtains not the result of a first repentance and takes away the use of a later one.

105. Sane et cum caro repugnat, mens ad Deum debet esse intenta: et si opera non sequuntur, fides non deserat: et si impugnant vel carnis illecebrae, vel potestates adversariae, maneat mens Deo dedita (Rom. VII, 23). Tunc enim maxime urgemur, cum caro cedit: et sunt qui vehementer incumbant miserae animae, quaerentes omne auferre praesidium. Unde illud est: Exinanite, exinanite usque ad fundamentum in ea (Psal. CXXXVI, 7).

105. When, then, the flesh resists, the soul must be intent upon God, and if results do not follow, let not faith fail. And if the enticements of the flesh come upon us, or the powers of the enemy attack us, let the soul keep in submission to God. For we are then specially oppressed when the flesh yields. And some there are who trouble heavily the wretched soul, seeking to deprive it of all protection. To which case the words apply: Rase it, rase it, even to the foundations.

106. Quam miseratus David ait: Filia Babylonis misera (Ibid., 8). Misera utique, quia Babylonis filia est, quae Dei filia esse desivit. Cui tamen medicum invitat, dicens: Beatus qui tenebit, et allidet parvulos tuos ad petram (Ibid., 9), hoc est, qui infirmas et lubricas cogitationes elidat ad Christum, qui omnes irrationabiles motus sui reverentia et disceptatione comminuat; ut si adulterimo quis amore raptatur, excludat ignem, copulamque meretricis, et se studio suo abdicet, ut Christum acquirat.

106. And David, pitying her, says: O wretched daughter of Babylon. Wretched indeed, as being the daughter of Babylon, when she ceased to be the daughter of Jerusalem. And yet he calls for a healer for her, and says: Blessed is he who shall take your little ones and dash them against the rock. That is to say, shall dash all corrupt and filthy thoughts against Christ, Who by His fear and His rebuke will break down all motions against reason, so as, if any one is seized by an adulterous love, to extinguish the fire, that he may by his zeal put away the love of a harlot, and deny himself that he may gain Christ.

107. Didicimus ergo (De Poenit., dist. 1, c. Sunt qui, § Didicimus) et agendam poenitentiam, et eo agendam tempore quo culpae defervescat luxuria: et in captivitate peccati positos, reverentiores nos, non usurpatores esse debere. Nam si Moysi propius accedere gestienti, ut cognitionem mysterii coelestis hauriret, dicitur: Solve calceamentum pedum tuorum (Exod. III, 5); quanto magis nos animae nostrae pedes exuere vinculis corporalibus, et gressus omnes mundi istius nexu debemus absolvere?

107. We have then learned that we must do penance, and this at a time when the heat of luxury and sin is giving way; and that we, when under the dominion of sin, must show ourselves Godfearing by refraining, rather than allowing ourselves in evil practices. For if it is said to Moses when he was desiring to draw nearer: Put off your shoes from off your feet, Exodus 3:5 how much more must we free the feet of our soul from the bonds of the body, and clear our steps from all connection with this world.

De virginibus (Concerning Virgins)

CONTENTS

LIBER PRIMUS.

CAPUT PRIMUM.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.
CAPUT VII.
CAPUT VIII.
CAPUT IX.
CAPUT X.
CAPUT XI.
CAPUT XII.

LIBER II

CAPUT I.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.
CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.

LIBER III

CAPUT 1.
CAPUT II.
CAPUT III.

CAPUT IV.
CAPUT V.
CAPUT VI.
CAPUT VII.

LIBER PRIMUS.

BOOK I.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

AMBROSIUS AB UNOQUOQUE verborum talentorumque suorum reddendam Deo rationem intelligens, ad scribendum mentem appellit; tum recensitis aliquot divinae misericordiae exemplis, provocat sese ad bene sperandum: sed mox illi officio imparem se esse confessus, ut secum tamquam cum evangelica ficu agatur, optat; quo tamen os censoribus opprimat suis, sperare se testatur verba sibi non defutura, qui loquatur Christum.

CHAPTER 1.

St. Ambrose, reflecting upon the account he will have to give of his talents, determines to write, and consoles himself with certain examples of God's mercy. Then recognizing his own deficiencies desires that he may be dealt with like the fig-tree in the Gospel, and expresses a hope that words will not fail him in his endeavour to preach Christ.

1. Si, iuxta coelestis sententiam veritatis (Matth. XII, 36) , verbi totius, quodcumque otiosum fuerimus locuti, habemus praestare rationem: vel si unusquisque servus credita sibi talenta gratiae spiritalis, quae nummulariis dividenda forent, ut crescentibus multiplicarentur usuris, intra terram suam vel quasi timidus fenerator, vel quasi avarus possessor absconderit (Matth. XXV, 14 et seq.) , non mediocrem, domino revertente, offensam incidet; iure nobis verendum est, quibus licet ingenium tenue, necessitas tamen maxima eloquia Dei credita populi fenerare mentibus, ne vocis quoque nostrae poscatur usura: praesertim cum studium a nobis Dominus, non profectum requirat. Unde scribendi aliquid sententia fuit. Maiore siquidem pudoris periculo auditur vox nostra quam legitur; liber enim non erubescit.

1. If, according to the decree of heavenly truth, we have to give account of every idle word which we have spoken, Matthew 12:36 and if every servant will incur no small blame when his lord returns, who, either like a timid money-lender or covetous owner, has hidden in the earth the talents of spiritual grace which were entrusted to him in order that they might be multiplied by increasing interest, I, who, although possessed of but moderate ability, yet have a great necessity laid on me of making increase of the sayings of God entrusted to me, must rightly fear lest an account of the profit of my words be demanded of me, especially seeing that the Lord exacts of us effort, not profit. Wherefore I determined to write something, since, too, my words are listened to with greater risk to modesty than when they are written, for a book has no feeling of modesty.

2. Et quidem ingenio diffisus, sed divinae misericordiae provocatus exemplis, sermonem meditari audeo; nam, volente Deo, etiam asina locuta est (Num. XXII, 28) . Quod si mihi sub istius saeculi oneribus constituto assistat angelus, ego quoque muta diu ora laxabo; potest enim solvere impedimenta imperitiae, qui in illa asina solvit naturae. In arca veteris Testamenti virga floruit sacerdotis (Num. XVII, 8): facile Deo ut in sancta Ecclesia de nostris quoque nodis flos germinet. Cur autem desperandum quod Dominus loquatur in hominibus, qui est locutus in sentibus (Exod. III, 4 et seq.) ? Deus nec rubum est dedignatus. Atque utinam meas quoque illuminet spinas! Erunt fortassis qui etiam in nostris sentibus aliquem mirentur lucere fulgorem, erunt quos spina nostra non urat; erunt quibus de rubo audita vox nostra solvat de pedibus calceamentum, ut impedimentis corporalibus exuatur mentis incessus.

2. And so distrusting indeed my own ability, but encouraged by the instances of divine mercy, I venture to compose an address, for when God willed even the ass spoke. Numbers 22:28 And I will open my mouth long

dumb, that the angel may assist me also, engaged in the burdens of this world, for He can do away with the hindrances of unskilfulness, Who in the ass did away those of nature. In the ark of the Old Testament the priest's rod budded; Numbers 17:8 with God it is easy that in Holy Church a flower should spring from our knots also. And why should we despair that God should speak in men, Who spoke in the thorn bush? Exodus 3:4 God did not despise the bush, and would He might give light also to my thorns. Perhaps some may wonder that there is some light even in our thorns; some our thorns will not burn; there will be some whose shoes shall be put off their feet at the sound of my voice, that the steps of the mind may be freed from bodily hindrances.

3. Sed haec sanctorum merita virorum. Utinam me sub illa infructuosa (Ioan. I, 48) adhuc ficu iacentem ex aliqua Iesus parte respiceret! ferret quoque post triennium fructus et nostra ficus (Luc. XIII, 6 et seq.) . Sed unde tantum peccatoribus spei? Utinam saltem ille Evangelicus Dominicae cultor vineae ficum nostram fortasse iam iussus excidere, remittat illam et hoc anno, usque dum fodiat, et mittat cophinum stercoris; ne forte de terra suscitet inopem, et de stercore erigat pauperem! Beati qui sub vite et olea equos suos alligant (Gen. XLIX, 11) , laborum cursus suorum luci et laetitiae consecrantes: me ficus adhuc, id est, illecebrosa deliciarum obumbrat prurigo mundi, humilis ad altitudinem, fragilis ad laborem, mollis ad usum, sterilis ad fructum.

3. But these things are gained by holy men. Would that Jesus would cast a glance upon me still lying under that barren fig-tree, John 1:48 and that my fig-tree might also after three years bear fruit. But whence should sinners have so great hope? Would that at least that Gospel dresser of the vineyard, perhaps already bidden to cut down my fig-tree, would let it alone this year also, until he dig about it and dung it, that he may perchance lift the helpless

out of the dust, and lift the poor out of the mire. Blessed are they who bind their horses under the vine and olive, Genesis 49:11 consecrating the course of their labours to light and joy: the fig-tree, that is, the tempting attraction of the pleasures of the world, still overshadows me, low in height, brittle for working, soft for use, and barren of fruit.

4. Ac fortasse miretur aliquis cur scribere audeo, qui loqui nequeo. Et tamen si repetamus quae legimus in Evangelicis Scripturis (Luc. I, 63, 64) et sacerdotalibus factis, ac nobis sanctus Zacharias propheta documento sit, inveniet esse quod vox non explicet, et stylus signet. Quod si nomen Ioannis reddidit patri vocem, ego quoque desperare non debeo quod vocem licet mutus accipiam, si loquar Christum: cuius quidem generationem iuxta propheticum dictum quis enarrabit (Esai. LIII, 8) ? Et ideo quasi servus, Domini familiam praedicabo; immaculatus enim Dominus immaculatam sibi familiam etiam in hoc pleno colluvionum fragilitatis humanae corpore consecravit.

4. And perhaps some one may wonder why I, who cannot speak, venture to write. And yet if we consider what we read in the writings of the Gospel, and the deeds of the priests, and the holy prophet Zacharias is taken as an instance, he will find that there is something which the voice cannot explain, but the pen can write. And if the name John restored speech to his father, Luke 1:63-64 I, too, ought not to despair that although dumb I may yet receive speech, if I speak of Christ, of Whom, according to the prophet’s word: Who shall declare the generation? Isaiah 53:8 And so as a servant I will announce the family of the Lord, for the Lord has consecrated to Himself a family even in this body of humanity replete with frailty.

CAPUT II.

DOCET LIBRI SUI auspicato proferri exordium, cum natalis dies esset virginis, beatae Agnetis videlicet: quam a nomine, a pudore, a martyrio elegantissime commendat: sed potissimum ab aetate; quippe quae annos duodecim nata, terrores, promissa, cruciatus, mortem denique ipsam virili prorsus constantia devicerit.

CHAPTER 2.

This treatise has a favourable beginning, since it is the birthday of the holy Virgin Agnes, of whose name, modesty, and martyrdom St. Ambrose speaks in commendation, but more especially of her age, seeing that she, being but twelve years old, was superior to terrors, promises, tortures, and death itself, with a courage wholly worthy of a man.

5. Et bene procedit, ut quoniam hodie natalis est virginis, de virginibus sit loquendum, et a praedicatione liber sumat exordium. Natalis est virginis, integritatem sequamur. Natalis est martyris, hostias immolemus. Natalis est sanctae Agnes, mirentur viri, non desperent parvuli; stupeant nuptae, imitentur innuptae. Sed quid dignum de ea loqui possumus, cuius ne nomen quidem vacuum luce laudis fuit? Devotio supra aetatem, virtus supra naturam; ut mihi videatur non hominis habuisse nomen, sed oraculum martyris, quo indicavit quid esset futura.

5. And my task begins favourably, that since today is the birthday of a virgin, I have to speak of virgins, and the treatise has its beginning from this discourse. It is the birthday of a martyr, let us offer the victim. It is the birthday of St. Agnes, let men admire, let children take courage, let the married be astounded, let the unmarried take an example. But what can I say worthy of her whose very name was not devoid of bright praise? In

devotion beyond her age, in virtue above nature, she seems to me to have borne not so much a human name, as a token of martyrdom, whereby she showed what she was to be.

6. Habeo tamen unde mihi subsidium comparetur. Nomen virginis titulus est pudoris. Appellabo martyrem, praedicabo virginem. Satis prolixa laudatio est, quae non quaeritur, sed tenetur. Facessant igitur ingenia, eloquentia conticescat, vox una praeconium est. Hanc senes, hanc iuvenes, hanc pueri canant. Nemo est laudabilior, quam qui ab hominibus laudari potest. Quot homines, tot praecones, qui martyrem praedicant, dum loquuntur.

6. But I have that which may assist me. The name of virgin is a title of modesty. I will call upon the martyr, I will proclaim the virgin. That panegyric is long enough which needs no elaboration, but is within our grasp. Let then labour cease, eloquence be silent. One word is praise enough. This word old men and young and boys chant. No one is more praiseworthy than he who can be praised by all. There are as many heralds as there are men, who when they speak proclaim the martyr.

7. Haec duodecim annorum martyrium fecisse traditur. Quo detestabilior crudelitas, quae nec minusculae pepercit aetati: immo magna vis fidei, quae etiam ab illa testimonium invenit aetate. Fuitne in illo corpusculo vulneri locus? Et quae non habuit quo ferrum reciperet, habuit quo ferrum vinceret. At istius aetatis puellae torvos etiam vultus parentum ferre non possunt, et acu districta solent puncta flere, quasi vulnera. Haec inter cruentas carnificum impavida manus, haec stridentium gravibus immobilis tractibus catenarum, nunc furentis mucroni militis totum offerre corpus, mori adhuc nescia, sed parata: vel si ad aras invita raperetur, tendere Christo inter ignes manus, atque in ipsis sacrilegis focis tropaeum Domini signare victoris: nunc ferratis colla manusque ambas inserere nexibus: sed nullus tam tenuia membra poterat nexus includere.

7. She is said to have suffered martyrdom when twelve years old. The more hateful was the cruelty, which spared not so tender an age, the greater in truth was the power of faith which found evidence even in that age. Was there room for a wound in that small body? And she who had no room for the blow of the steel had that wherewith to conquer the steel. But maidens of that age are unable to bear even the angry looks of parents, and are wont to cry at the pricks of a needle as though they were wounds. She was fearless under the cruel hands of the executioners, she was unmoved by the heavy weight of the creaking chains, offering her whole body to the sword of the raging soldier, as yet ignorant of death, but ready for it. Or if she were unwillingly hurried to the altars, she was ready to stretch forth her hands to Christ at the sacrificial fires, and at the sacrilegious altars themselves, to make the sign of the Lord the Conqueror, or again to place her neck and both her hands in the iron bands, but no band could enclose such slender limbs.

8. Novum martyrii genus? Nondum idonea poenae, et iam matura victoriae: certare difficilis, facilis coronari: magisterium virtutis implevit, quae praeiudicium vehebat aetatis. Non sic ad thalamum nupta properaret, ut ad supplicii locum laeta successu, gradu festina virgo processit, non intorto crine caput compta, sed Christo: non flosculis redimita, sed moribus. Flere omnes, ipsa sine fletu. Mirari plerique quod tam facile vitae suae prodiga, quam nondum hauserat, iam quasi perfuncta donaret. Stupere universi, quod iam divinitatis testis existeret, quae adhuc, arbitra sui per aetatem esse non posset. Effecit denique ut ei de Deo crederetur, cui de homine adhuc non crederetur. Quia quod ultra naturam est, de auctore naturae est.

8. A new kind of martyrdom! Not yet of fit age for punishment but already ripe for victory, difficult to contend with but easy to be crowned, she filled the office of teaching valour while having the disadvantage of youth. She

would not as a bride so hasten to the couch, as being a virgin she joyfully went to the place of punishment with hurrying step, her head not adorned with plaited hair, but with Christ. All wept, she alone was without a tear. All wondered that she was so readily prodigal of her life, which she had not yet enjoyed, and now gave up as though she had gone through it. Every one was astounded that there was now one to bear witness to the Godhead, who as yet could not, because of her age, dispose of herself. And she brought it to pass that she should be believed concerning God, whose evidence concerning man would not be accepted. For that which is beyond nature is from the Author of nature.

9. Quanto terrore egit carnifex ut timeretur, quantis blanditiis ut suaderet! quantorum vota ut sibi ad nuptias perveniret! At illa: Et haec Sponsi iniuria est exspectare placiturum. Qui me sibi prior elegit, accipiet. Quid, percussor, moraris? Pereat corpus quod amari potest oculis quibus nolo. Stetit, oravit, cervicem inflexit. Cerneres trepidare carnificem, quasi ipse addictus fuisset: tremere percussoris dextram, pallere ora alieno timentis periculo, cum puella non timeret suo. Habetis igitur in una hostia duplex martyrium, pudoris et religionis. Et virgo permansit, et martyrium obtinuit.

9. What threats the executioner used to make her fear him, what allurements to persuade her, how many desired that she would come to them in marriage! But she answered: It would be an injury to my spouse to look on any one as likely to please me. He who chose me first for Himself shall receive me. Why are you delaying, executioner? Let this body perish which can be loved by eyes which I would not. She stood, she prayed, she bent down her neck. You could see the executioner tremble, as though he himself had been condemned, and his right hand shake, his face grow pale, as he feared the peril of another, while the maiden feared not for her own. You

have then in one victim a twofold martyrdom, of modesty and of religion. She both remained a virgin and she obtained martyrdom.

CAPUT III.

ARIIS E CAPITIBUS virginitatis laudes petuntur, sed hinc imprimis quod e coelo Verbum elicere in terram ipsa meruerit; unde postea eius studium quod sub antiquo foedere in paucis floruerat, propagatum est in innumeris.

CHAPTER 3.

Virginity is praised on many grounds, but chiefly because it brought down the Word from heaven, and hence its pursuit, which existed in but few under the old covenant, has spread to countless numbers.

10. Invitat nunc integritatis amor, et tu, soror sancta, vel mutis tacita moribus, ut aliquid de virginitate dicamus; ne veluti transitu quodam perstricta videatur, quae principalis est virtus. Non enim ideo laudabilis virginitas, quia et in martyribus reperitur, sed quia ipsa martyres faciat.

10. And now the love of purity draws me on, and you, my holy sister, even though not speaking in your silent habit, to say something about virginity, lest that which is a principal virtue should seem to be passed by with only a slight reference. For virginity is not praiseworthy because it is found in martyrs, but because itself makes martyrs.

11. Quis autem humano eam possit ingenio comprehendere, quam nec natura suis inclusit legibus? Aut quis naturali voce complecti, quod supra usum naturae sit? E coelo accersivit quod imitaretur in terris. Nec immerito vivendi sibi usum quaesivit e coelo, quae sponsum sibi invenit in coelo. Haec nubes, aera, angelos, sideraque transgrediens, Verbum Dei in ipso sinu Patris invenit, et toto hausit pectore. Nam quis tantum cum invenerit, relinquat boni? Unguentum enim exinanitum est nomen tuum: propterea adolescentulae dilexerunt te, et attraxerunt te (Cant. I, 1) . Postremo non

meum est illud, quoniam quae non nubent, neque nubentur, erunt sicut angeli in coelo (Matth. XXII, 30) . Nemo ergo miretur si angelis comparentur, quae angelorum Domino copulantur. Quis igitur neget hanc vitam fluxisse de coelo, quam non facile invenimus in terris, nisi postquam Deus in haec terreni corporis membra descendit (IV Reg. II, 11) ? Tunc in utero virgo concepit, et Verbum caro factum est, ut caro fieret Deus (Matth. XVII, 3) .

11. But who can comprehend that by human understanding which not even nature has included in her laws? Or who can explain in ordinary language that which is above the course of nature? Virginity has brought from heaven that which it may imitate on earth. And not unfittingly has she sought her manner of life from heaven, who has found for herself a Spouse in heaven. She, passing beyond the clouds, air, angels, and stars, has found the Word of God in the very bosom of the Father, and has drawn Him into herself with her whole heart. For who having found so great a Good would forsake it? For Your Name is as ointment poured out, therefore have the maidens loved You, and drawn You. And indeed what I have said is not my own, since they who marry not nor are given in marriage are as the angels in heaven. Let us not, then, be surprised if they are compared to the angels who are joined to the Lord of angels. Who, then, can deny that this mode of life has its source in heaven, which we don’t easily find on earth, except since God came down into the members of an earthly body? Then a Virgin conceived, and the Word became flesh that flesh might become God.

12. Dicet aliquis: Sed etiam Elias nullis corporei coitus fuisse permixtus cupiditatibus invenitur. Ideo ergo curru raptus ad coelum, ideo cum Domino apparet in gloria, ideo Dominici venturus est praecursor adventus (Malac. IV, 3) . Et Maria tympanum sumens pudore virgineo choros duxit (Exod. XV, 20) . Sed considerate cuius illa speciem tunc gerebat. Nonne Ecclesiae,

quae religiosos populi coetus qui carmina divina concinerent, immaculato virgo spiritu copulavit? Nam etiam templo Hierosolymis fuisse legimus virgines deputatas. Sed quid Apostolus dicit? Haec autem in figura contingebant illis, ut essent indicia futurorum (I Cor. X, 11) ; figura enim in paucis est, vita in pluribus.

12. But some one will say: But Elijah is seen to have had nothing to do with the embraces of bodily love. And therefore was he carried by a chariot into heaven, therefore he appeared glorified with the Lord, Matthew 17:3 and therefore he is to come as the forerunner of the Lord's advent. Malachi 4:5 And Miriam taking the timbrel led the dances with maidenly modesty. Exodus 15:20 But consider whom she was then representing. Was she not a type of the Church, who as a virgin with unstained spirit joins together the religious gatherings of the people to sing divine songs? For we read that there were virgins appointed also in the temple at Jerusalem. But what says the Apostle? These things happened to them in a figure, that they might be signs of what was to come. 1 Corinthians 10:11 For the figure is shown in few, the life exists in many.

13. At vero posteaquam Dominus in corpus hoc veniens, contubernium divinitatis et corporis sine ulla concretae confusionis labe sociavit, tunc toto orbe diffusus corporibus humanis vitae coelestis usus inolevit. Hoc illud est quod ministrantes in terris angeli (Matth. IV, 11) declararunt futurum genus, quod ministerium Domino immaculati corporis obsequiis exhiberet. Haec est coelestis illa militia, quam laudantium exercitus angelorum promittebat in terris. Habemus ergo auctoritatem vetustatis a saeculo, plenitudinem professionis a Christo.

13. But in truth after that the Lord, coming in our flesh, joined together the Godhead and flesh without any confusion or mixture, then the practice of the life of heaven spreading throughout the whole world was implanted in

human bodies. This is that which angels ministering on earth signified should come to pass, Matthew 4:11 which ministry should be offered to the Lord with the service of an unstained body. This is that heavenly service which the host of rejoicing angels spoke of for the earth. Luke 2:13-14 We have, then, the authority of antiquity from of old, the fullness of the setting forth from Christ Himself.

CAPUT IV.

NEGATUR VIRGINITATIS DECUS in ethnicis ullis umquam exstitisse, puta in Vestalibus sacris deae Phrygiae ac Liberi patris, atque etiam in philosophis: ubi et de Pythagorea virgine, in qua tametsi laudatur animi magnitudo, continentia tamen desideratur; cum utraque in nostris virginibus emineat.

CHAPTER 4.

The comeliness of virginity never existed amongst the heathen, neither with the vestal virgins, nor amongst philosophers, such as Pythagoras.

14. Certe non est hoc mihi commune cum gentibus, non populare cum barbaris, non cum caeteris animantibus usitatum: cum quibus etsi unum eumdemque vitalem aeris huius carpimus spiritum, vulgarem terreni corporis participamus statum, generandi quoque non discrepamus usu; hoc solo tamen naturae parilis convicia declinamus, quod virginitas affectatur a gentibus, sed consecrata violatur: incursatur a barbaris, nescitur a reliquis.

14. I certainly have not this in common with the heathen, nor in regard to it am I associated with barbarians, nor practise it with other animals, with whom, although we breathe one and the same vital air, and have a common condition of an earthly body, and from whom we differ not in the mode of generation, in this point alone we nevertheless avoid the reproach of likeness, that virginity is aimed at by the heathen, but when consecrated it is violated, it is attacked by barbarians, and is unknown to others.

15. Quis mihi praetendit Vestae virgines et Palladis sacerdotes? Qualis ista est non morum pudicitia, sed annorum: quae non perpetuitate, sed aetate

praescribitur! Petulantior est talis integritas, cuius corruptela seniori servatur aetati. Ipsi docent virgines suas non debere perseverare, nec posse, qui virginitati finem dederunt. Qualis autem est illa religio, ubi pudicae adolescentes iubentur esse, impudicae anus? Sed nec illa pudica est, quae lege retinetur: et illa impudica, quae lege dimittitur. O mysteria! o mores! ubi necessitas imponitur castitati, auctoritas libidini datur. Itaque nec casta est, quae metu cogitur: nec honesta, quae mercede conducitur: nec pudor ille, qui intemperantium oculorum quotidiano expositus convicio, flagitiosis aspectibus verberatur. Conferuntur immunitates, offeruntur pretia; quasi non hoc maximum petulantiae sit indicium, castitatem vendere. Quod pretio promittitur, pretio solvitur: pretio addicitur, pretio annumeratur. Nescit redimere castitatem, quae vendere solet.

15. Who will allege to me the virgins of Vesta, and the priests of Pallas? What sort of chastity is that which is not of morals, but of years, which is appointed not for ever, but for a term! Such purity is all the more wanton of which the corruption is put off for a later age. They teach their virgins ought not to persevere, and are unable to do so, who have set a term to virginity. What sort of a religion is that in which modest maidens are bidden to be immodest old women? Nor is she modest who is bound by law, and she immodest who is set free by law. O the mystery! O the morals! Where chastity is enforced by law and authority given for lust! And so she is not chaste, who is constrained by fear; nor honourable, who is hired for a price; nor is that modesty which, exposed to the daily importunity of lascivious eyes, is attacked by disgraceful looks. Exemptions are bestowed upon them, prices are offered them, as though to sell one’s chastity were not the greatest sign of wantonness. That which is promised for a price is given up for a price; is made over for a price; is considered to have its price. She who is wont to sell her chastity knows not how to redeem it.

16. Quid de sacris Phrygiis loquar, in quibus impudicitia disciplina est, atque utinam sexus fragilioris! Quid de orgiis Liberi, ubi religionis mysterium est incentivum libidinis? Qualis igitur potest ibi vita esse sacerdotum, ubi colitur stuprum deorum? Non habent igitur sacram virginem.

16. What shall I say of the Phrygian rites, in which immodesty is the rule, and that too of the weaker sex? What of the orgies of Bacchus, where the mystery of the rites is an incentive to lust? Of what sort can the lives of priests be, then, where the adulteries of the gods are matters of religion. So then they have no sacred virgins.

17. Videamus ne forte aliquam vel philosophiae praecepta formaverint, quae magisterium sibi omnium solet vindicare virtutum. Pythagorea quaedam una ex virginibus celebratur fabula, cum a tyranno cogeretur secretum prodere, ne quid in se ad extorquendam confessionem vel tormentis liceret, morsu linguam abscidisse, atque in tyranni faciem despuisse; ut qui interrogandi finem non faciebat, non haberet quam interrogaret.

17. Let us see whether perchance the precepts of philosophers have formed any, for they are wont to claim the teaching of all virtues. A certain Pythagorean virgin is spoken of in story, whom a tyrant was endeavouring to compel to reveal the secret, and lest it should be possible even in her torments for revelation to be extorted from her, she bit off her tongue and spat it in the tyrant’s face, that he who would not make an end of questioning might not have anything to question.

18. Eadem tamen forti animo, sed tumenti utero, exemplum taciturnitatis et proluvium castitatis, victa est cupiditatibus, quae tormentis vinci nequivit. Igitur quae mentis potuit tegere secretum, corporis non texit opprobrium.

Vicit naturam, sed non tenuit disciplinam. Quam vellet in voce munimentum sui pudoris existere! Eoque fortasse erudierat illam patientia, ut culpam negaret. Non igitur invicta undique; nam et tyrannus, licet non potuerit invenire quod interrogabat, tamen quod non interrogabat, invenit.

18. But that same virgin, so constant in mind, was overcome by lust, though she could not be overcome by torments. And so she who could keep the secret of her mind could not conceal the shame of her body. She overcame nature, but observed not discipline. How she would desire that her speech had existed as a defense of her chastity! So she was not unconquered on every side, for although the tyrant could not find out that which he sought, yet he did find what he sought not.

19. Quanto nostrae virgines fortiores, quae vincunt etiam quas non vident potestates: quibus non tantum de carne et sanguine, sed etiam de ipso mundi principe saeculique rectore victoria est! Aetate utique Agnes minor, sed virtute maior, triumpho numerosior, constantia confidentior, non sibi linguam propter metum abstulit, sed propter tropaeum reservavit. Nihil enim habuit quod prodi timeret, cuius non erat criminosa sed religiosa confessio. Itaque illa secretum tantummodo celavit; haec probavit Dominum, quem quia aetas nondum poterat confiteri, natura confessa est.

19. How much stronger are our virgins, who overcome even those powers which they do not see; whose victory is not only over flesh and blood, but also over the prince of this world, and ruler of this age! In age, Agnes indeed was less, but in virtue greater, triumphing over more, more constant in her confidence; she did not destroy her tongue through fear, but kept it for a trophy. For there was nothing in her which she feared to betray, since that which she acknowledged was holy, not sinful. And so the former merely concealed her secret, the latter bore witness to the Lord, and confessed Him in her body, Whom her age did not yet suffer to confess.

CAPUT V.

VIRGINITATIS PATRIAM COELUM esse, auctorem vero Dei Filium: qui cum virgo esset ante virginem, ex virgine tamen editus virginem Ecclesiam duxit uxorem. Ab ipsa susceptos nos omnes esse, cuius dotes nonnullae commemorantur. Eiusdem filias hinc praecellere quod virginitas non subiiciatur praecepto, quodque ad pietatis cultum facultatem suppeditet quam expeditissimam.

CHAPTER 5.

Heaven is the home of virginity, and the Son of God its Author, Who though He was a Virgin before the Virgin, yet being of the Virgin took the Virgin Church as His bride. Of her we have all been born. Some of her gifts are enumerated. Her daughters have a special excellence in that virginity is not a matter of precept, and that it is a most powerful help in the pursuit of piety.

20. In laudationibus solet patria praedicari et parentes; ut commemoratione auctoris dignitas successionis exaggeretur: ego licet laudationem non susceperim virginitatis, sed expressionem; ad rem tamen pertinere arbitror, ut quae sit ei patria, quis auctor, appareat. Ac prius ubi sit patria definiamus. Si enim ibi est patria, ubi genitale domicilium: in coelo profecto est patria castitatis. Itaque hic advena, ibi incola est.

20. It is the custom in encomiums to speak of country and parentage of the subject, that the greatness of the offspring may be enhanced by mention of the father. Now I, who have not undertaken to praise but to set forth virginity, yet think it to the purpose to make known its country and its parent. First, let us settle where is its country. Now, if one’s country be there where is the home of one’s birth, without doubt heaven is the native country of chastity. And so she is a stranger here, but a denizen there.

21. Quid autem est castitas virginalis, nisi expers contagionis integritas? Atque eius auctorem quem possumus aestimare, nisi immaculatum Dei Filium, cuius caro non vidit corruptionem, divinitas non est experta contagionem? Videte igitur quanta virginitatis merita sint. Christus ante virginem, Christus ex virgine; a Patre quidem natus ante saecula, sed ex virgine natus ob saecula. Illud naturae suae, hoc nostrae utilitatis est. Illud erat semper, hoc voluit.

21. And what is virginal chastity but purity free from stain? And whom can we judge to be its author but the immaculate Son of God, Whose flesh saw no corruption, Whose Godhead experienced no infection? Consider, then, how great are the merits of virginity. Christ was before the Virgin, Christ was of the Virgin. Begotten indeed of the Father before the ages, but born of the Virgin for the ages. The former was of His own nature, the latter is for our benefit. The former always was, the latter He willed.

22. Spectate et aliud virginitatis meritum: Christus virginis sponsus, et si dici potest, Christus virgineae castitatis; virginitas enim Christi, non virginitatis est Christus. Virgo est ergo quae nupsit, virgo quae nos suo utero portavit, virgo quae genuit, virgo quae proprio lacte nutrivit, de qua legimus: Quanta fecit virgo Hierusalem! Non deficient de petra ubera, neque nix a Libano, aut declinabit aqua valido vento quae portatur (Ierem. XVIII, 13 et seq.) . Qualis est haec virgo quae Trinitatis fontibus irrigatur: cui de petra fluunt aquae, non deficiunt ubera, mella funduntur? Petra autem est iuxta Apostolum Christus. Ergo a Christo non deficiunt ubera, claritas a Deo, flumen ab Spiritu. Haec est Trinitas quae Ecclesiam suam irrigat, Pater, Christus, et Spiritus.

22. Consider, too, another merit of virginity. Christ is the spouse of the Virgin, and if one may so say of virginal chastity, for virginity is of Christ, not Christ of virginity. He is, then, the Virgin Who was espoused, the Virgin

Who bare us, Who fed us with her own milk, of whom we read: How great things has the virgin of Jerusalem done! The teats shall not fail from the rock, nor snow from Lebanon, nor the water which is borne by the strong wind. Who is this virgin that is watered with the streams of the Trinity, from whose rock waters flow, whose teats fail not, and whose honey is poured forth? Now, according to the Apostle, the rock is Christ. 1 Corinthians 10:4 Therefore, from Christ the teats fail not, nor brightness from God, nor the river from the Spirit. This is the Trinity which waters their Church, the Father, Christ, and the Spirit.

23. Sed et iam a matre descendamus ad filias. De virginibus, inquit sanctus Apostolus, praeceptum Domini non habeo (I Cor. X, 4) . Si Doctor gentium non habuit, habere quis potuit? Et praeceptum quidem non habuit, sed habuit exemplum. Non enim imperari potest virginitas, sed optari; nam quae supra nos sunt, in voto magis quam in magisterio sunt. Sed volo vos, inquit, sine sollicitudine esse. Nam qui sine uxore est, sollicitus est quae Domini sunt, quomodo placeat Deo . . . et virgo cogitat quae Domini sunt, ut sit sancta corpore et spiritu. Nam quae nupta est, cogitat quae mundi sunt, quomodo placeat viro suo (I Cor. VII, 32-34).

23. But let us now come down from the mother to the daughters. Concerning virgins, says the Apostle, I have no commandment of the Lord. 1 Corinthians 7:25 If the teacher of the Gentiles had none, who could have one? And in truth he had no commandment, but he had an example. For virginity cannot be commanded, but must be wished for, for things which are above us are matters for prayer rather than under mastery. But I would have you, he says, be without carefulness. For he who is without a wife is careful for the things which are the Lord’s, how he may please God....And the virgin takes thought for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy in

body and in spirit. For she that is married takes thought for the things of the world, how she may please her husband.

CAPUT VI.

SANCTUS VIR A se minime damnari matrimonium contestatus, tamen ut bona mulierum ac virginum inter se componat, primo quae mala fecunditatem comitentur, puta dolores pariendi, molestias educandi, addictam viro servitutem, nimiam formae atque ornamentorum curam, proponit: tum illis opponit maiorem virginum formae gratiam felicioremque fecunditatem; quibus eas Ecclesiae perquam similes fieri asseverat.

CHAPTER 6.

St. Ambrose explains that he is not speaking against marriage, and proceeds to compare the advantages and disadvantages of the single and married state.

24. Non ego quidem dissuadeo matrimonium, sed virginitatis attexo beneficium. Qui infirmus est, inquit, olera manducet (Rom. XIV, 2) . Aliud exigo, aliud admiror. Alligatus es uxori? Noli quaerere solutionem. Solutus es ab uxore? Ne quaesieris uxorem (I Cor. VII, 27) . Hoc praeceptum est copulatis. De virginibus autem quid ait? Et qui matrimonio iungit virginem suam, bene facit: et qui non iungit, melius facit (Ibid., 38) . Illa non peccat, si nubat: haec si non nubat, aeterna est. Ibi remedium infirmitatis, hic gloria castitatis. Illa non reprehenditur, ista laudatur.

24. I am not indeed discouraging marriage, but am enlarging upon the benefits of virginity. He who is weak, says the Apostle, eats herbs. Romans 14:2 I consider one thing necessary, I admire another. Are you bound to a wife? Seek not to be loosed. Are you free from a wife? Seek not a wife. 1 Corinthians 7:27 This is the command to those who are. But what does he say concerning virgins? He who gives his virgin in marriage does well, and

he who gives her not does better. 1 Corinthians 7:38 The one sins not if she marries, the other, if she marries not, it is for eternity. In the former is the remedy for weakness, in the latter the glory of chastity. The former is not reproved, the latter is praised.

25. Conferamus, si placet, bona mulierum cum ultimis virginum. Iactet licet fecundo se mulier nobilis partu: quo plures generaverit, plus laborat. Numeret solatia filiorum, sed numeret pariter et molestias. Nabit et plorat. Qualia sunt vota, quae flentur! Concipit et gravescit. Prius utique impedimentum fecunditas incipit afferre, quam fructum. Parturit, et aegrotat. Quam dulce pignus quod a periculo incipit, et in periculis desinit, prius dolori futurum, quam voluptati! Periculis emitur, nec pro arbitrio possidetur.

25. Let us compare, if it pleases you, the advantages of married women with that which awaits virgins. Though the noble woman boasts of her abundant offspring, yet the more she bears the more she endures. Let her count up the comforts of her children, but let her likewise count up the troubles. She marries and weeps. How many vows does she make with tears. She conceives, and her fruitfulness brings her trouble before offspring. She brings forth and is ill. How sweet a pledge which begins with danger and ends in danger, which will cause pain before pleasure! It is purchased by perils, and is not possessed at her own will.

26. Quid recenseam nutriendi molestias, instituendi et copulandi? Felicium sunt istae miseriae. Habet mater haeredes, sed auget dolores. Nam de adversis non oportet dicere, ne sanctissimorum parentum animi contremiscant. Vide, mi soror, quam grave sit pati, quod non oportet audiri. Et haec in praesenti saeculo. Venient autem dies, quando dicant: Beatae steriles, et ventres qui non genuerunt (Luc. XXIII, 29) . Filiae enim huius

saeculi generantur, et generant: filia autem regni abstinet a voluptate viri, et a voluptate carnis; ut sit sancta corpore et spiritu.

26. Why speak of the troubles of nursing, training, and marrying? These are the miseries of those who are fortunate. A mother has heirs, but it increases her sorrows. For we must not speak of adversity, lest the minds of the holiest parents tremble. Consider, my sister, how hard it must be to bear what one must not speak of. And this is in this present age. But the days shall come when they shall say: Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare. Luke 23:29 For the daughters of this age are conceived, and conceive; but the daughter of the kingdom refrains from wedded pleasure, and the pleasure of the flesh, that she may be holy in body and in spirit.

27. Quid ergo famulatus graves et addicta viris servitia replicem feminarum, quas ante iussit Deus servire quam servos (Gen. III, 16) ? Quae eo prosequor, ut indulgentius obsequantur; quibus hoc si probae, merces est charitatis: si improbae, poena delicti.

27. Why should I further speak of the painful ministrations and services due to their husbands from wives, to whom before slaves God gave the command to serve? Genesis 3:16 And I mention these things that they may comply more willingly, whose reward, if approved, is love; if not approved, punishment for the fault.

28. Hinc (Cf. S. Aug. lib. IV, de Doctr. Christ. ca) illa nascuntur incentiva vitiorum, ut quaesitis coloribus ora depingant, dum viris displicere formidant, et de adulterio vultus meditantur adulterium castitatis. Quanta hic amentia, effigiem mutare naturae, picturam quaerere; et dum verentur maritale iudicium, prodere suum! Prior enim de se pronuntiat, quae cupit mutare quod nata est. Ita dum aliis studet placere, prius sibi ipsa displicet. Quem iudicem, mulier, veriorem requirimus deformitatis tuae, quam te

ipsam, quae videri times! Si pulchra es, quid absconderis? Si deformis, cur te formosam esse mentiris, nec tuae conscientiae, nec alieni gratiam erroris habitura? Ille enim alteram diligit, tu alteri vis placere. Et irasceris si amet aliam, qui adulterare in te docetur? Mala magistra es iniuriae tuae. Lenocinari enim refugit, etiam quae passa lenonem est; ac licet vilis mulier, non alteri tamen, sed sibi peccat: tolerabilioraque propemodum in altero crimina sunt; ibi enim pudicitia, hic natura adulteratur.

28. And in this position spring up those incentives to vice, in that they paint their faces with various colors, fearing not to please their husbands; and from staining their faces, come to think of staining their chastity. What madness is here, to change the fashion of nature and seek a painting, and while fearing a husband's judgment to give up their own. For she is the first to speak against herself who wishes to change that which is natural to her. So, while studying to please others, she displeases herself. What truer witness to your unsightliness do we require, O woman, than yourself who art afraid to be seen? If you are beautiful, why are you hiding yourself? If unsightly, why do you falsely pretend to beauty, so as to have neither the satisfaction of your own conscience, nor of the error of another? For he loves another, you desire to please another. And are you angry if he love another, who is taught to do so in your own person? You are an evil teacher of your own injury.

29. Iam quanto pretio opus est, ne etiam pulchra displiceat! Hinc pretiosa collo dependent monilia, inde per humum vestis trahitur aurata. Emitur igitur haec species, an habetur? Quid, quod etiam ad odorem variae adhibentur illecebrae! Gemmis onerantur aures, oculis color alter infunditur. Quid ibi remanet suum, ubi tam multa mutantur? Sensus suos amittit mulier, et vivere posse se credit?

29. And next, what expense is necessary that even a beautiful wife may not fail to please? Costly necklaces on the one hand hang on her neck, on the other a robe woven with gold is dragged along the ground. Is this display purchased, or is it a real possession? And what varied enticements of perfumes are made use of! The ears are weighed down with gems, a different color from nature is dropped into the eyes. What is there left which is her own, when so much is changed? The married woman loves her own perceptions, and does she think that this is to live?

30. Vos vero, beatae virgines, quae talia tormenta potius quam ornamenta nescitis: quibus pudor sanctus verecunda suffusus ora, et bona castitas est decori: non humanis addictae oculis, alieno errore merita vestra pensatis. Habetis sane et vos vestrae militiam pulchritudinis, cui virtutis militat forma, non corporis: quam nulla exstinguit aetas, nulla eripere mors potest, nulla aegritudo corrumpere. Solus formae arbiter petatur Deus, qui etiam in corpore minus pulchro diligat animas pulchriores. Non uteri onus notum, non dolor partus; et tamen numerosior soboles piae mentis, quae omnes pro liberis habet: fecunda successoribus, sterilis orbitatibus, nescit funera, novit haeredes.

30. But you, O happy virgins, who know not such torments, rather than ornaments, whose holy modesty, beaming in your bashful cheeks, and sweet chastity are a beauty, you do not, intent upon the eyes of men, consider as merits what is gained by the errors of others. You, too, have indeed your own beauty, furnished by the comeliness of virtue, not of the body, to which age puts not an end, which death cannot take away, nor any sickness injure. Let God alone be sought as the judge of loveliness, Who loves even in less beautiful bodies the more beautiful souls. You know nothing of the burden and pain of childbearing, but more are the offspring of a pious soul, which

esteems all as its children, which is rich in successors, barren of all bereavements, which knows no deaths, but has many heirs.

31. Sic sancta Ecclesia immaculata coitu, fecunda partu, virgo est castitate, mater est prole. Parturit itaque nos virgo non viro plena, sed spiritu. Parit nos virgo non cum dolore membrorum, sed cum gaudiis angelorum. Nutrit nos virgo non corporis lacte, sed Apostoli (I Cor. III, 2) , quo infirmam adhuc crescentis populi lactavit aetatem. Quae igitur nupta plures liberos habet quam sancta Ecclesia, quae virgo est sacramentis, mater est populis, cuius fecunditatem etiam Scriptura testatur dicens: Quoniam plures filii desertae magis quam eius quae habet virum (Esai. LIV, 1) ? Nostra virum non habet, sed habet sponsum; eo quod sive Ecclesia in populis, sive anima in singulis, Dei verbo, sine ullo flexu pudoris, quasi sponso innubit aeterno, effeta iniuriae, feta rationis.

31. So the holy Church, ignorant of wedlock, but fertile in bearing, is in chastity a virgin, yet a mother in offspring. She, a virgin, bears us her children, not by a human father, but by the Spirit. She bears us not with pain, but with the rejoicings of the angels. She, a virgin, feeds us, not with the milk of the body, but with that of the Apostle, wherewith he fed the tender age of the people who were still children. 1 Corinthians 3:2 For what bride has more children than holy Church, who is a virgin in her sacraments and a mother to her people, whose fertility even holy Scripture attests, saying, For many more are the children of the desolate than of her that has an husband? She has not an husband, but she has a Bridegroom, inasmuch as she, whether as the Church among nations, or as the soul in individuals, without any loss of modesty, she weds the Word of God as her eternal Spouse, free from all injury, full of reason.

CAPUT VII.

PARENTES UT AD virginitatem filias instituant, hortatur, eisque quot molestiae nascantur ex voluptate quam illi quaerunt in nepotibus, ponit ob oculos. Negat tamen a se prohiberi nuptias; quin immo illas contra haereticos earumdem adversarios tuetur: caeterum ipsis virginitatem anteponens, quanta sit virginum sponsi pulchritudo, quibusve ab eo muneribus illae donentur, explicat: tum expositis in eam rem Canticorum locis aliquot, inde morum ac virtutum praecepta exprimit virginum conditioni accommodata.

CHAPTER 7.

St. Ambrose exhorts parents to train their children to virginity, and sets before them the troubles arising from their desire to have grandchildren. He says however that he does not forbid marriage, but rather defends it against heretics who oppose it. Still setting virginity before marriage, he speaks of the beauty of their spouse, and of the gifts wherewith He adorns them, and applies to these points certain verses of the Song of Songs.

32. Audistis, parentes, quibus erudire virtutibus, quibus instituere disciplinis filias debeatis; ut habere possitis quarum meritis vestra delicta redimantur. Virgo Dei donum est, munus parentis, sacerdotium castitatis. Virgo matris hostia est, cuius quotidiano sacrificio vis divina placatur. Virgo individuum pignus parentum, quae non dote sollicitet, non emigratione destituat, non offendat iniuriis.

32. You have heard, O parents, in what virtues and pursuits you ought to train your daughters, that you may possess those by whose merits your faults may be redeemed. The virgin is an offering for her mother, by whose daily sacrifice the divine power is appeased. A virgin is the inseparable

pledge of her parents, who neither troubles them for a dowry, nor forsakes them, nor injures them in word or deed.

33. Sed nepotes aliquis habere desiderat, et avi nomen acquirere. Primum suos tradit, dum quaerit alienos: deinde certis defraudari incipit, dum sperat incertos: confert opes proprias, et adhuc poscitur; nisi dotem solvat, exigitur: si diu vivat, onerosus est. Emere istud est generum, non acquirere, qui parentibus filiae vendat aspectus. Ideone tot mensibus gestatur utero, ut in alienum transeat potestatem? Ideo commendandae virginis cura suscipitur, ut citius parentibus auferatur?

33. But some one perhaps wishes to have grandchildren, and to be called grandfather. In the first place, such a one gives up what is his own, while seeking what is another's, and is already losing what is certain, while hoping to gain what is uncertain; he gives away his own riches, and still more is asked for; if he does not pay the dowry, it is exacted; if he lives long, he becomes a burden. This is to buy a son-in-law, not to gain one who would sell a sight of their daughter to her parents. Was she borne so long in her mother's womb in order that she might pass under the power of another? And so the parents take the charge of setting off their virgin that she may so be the sooner removed from them.

34. Dicet aliquis: Ergo dissuades nuptias? Ego vero suadeo, et eos damno qui dissuadere consuerunt; ut pote qui Sarae ac Rebeccae et Rachel, caeterarumque veterum coniugia feminarum pro documentis singularium virtutum recensere soleam. Qui enim copulam damnat, damnat et filios: et ductam per successionum seriem generis societatem damnat humani. Nam quemadmodum duratura in saeculum aetas succedere posset aetati, nisi gratia nuptiarum procreandae studium sobolis incitaret? Aut quomodo praedicari potest quod immaculatus Isaac ad altaria Dei victima paternae pietatis accessit (Gen. XXI, 2) , quod Israel humano situs in corpore Deum

vidit (Gen. XXXII, 27) , et religiosum populo dedit nomen, quorum originem damnat? Unum sane habent homines licet sacrilegi, quod in his etiam a sapientissimis probetur; quia coniugia damnando, profitentur se non debuisse nasci.

34. Some one may say, Do you, then, discourage marriage? Nay, I encourage it, and condemn those who are wont to discourage it, so much so, that indeed I am wont to speak of the marriages of Sarah, Rebecca, and Rachel, and other women of old time, as instances of singular virtues. For he who condemns marriage, condemns the birth of children, and condemns the fellowship of the human race, continued by a series of successive generations. For how could generation succeed generation in a continual order, unless the gift of marriage stirred up the desire of offspring? Or how could one set forth that Isaac went to the altar of God as a victim of his father’s piety, or that Israel, when yet in the body, saw God, Genesis 32:28 and gave a holy name to the people while speaking against that whereby they came into being? Those men, though wicked, have one point at any rate, wherein they are approved even by the wise persons, that in speaking against marriage they declare that they ought not to have been born.

35. Non itaque dissuadeo nuptias, sed fructus sacratae virginitatis enumero. Paucarum quippe hoc munus est, illud omnium. Nec potest esse virginitas, nisi habeat unde nascatur. Bona cum bonis comparo, quo facilius quid praestet, eluceat. Neque meam ullam sententiam affero, sed eam repeto, quam edidit Spiritus sanctus per prophetam: Melior est, inquit, sterilitas cum virtute (Sap. IV, I) .

35. I do not then discourage marriage, but recapitulate the advantages of holy virginity. This is the gift of few only, that is of all. And virginity itself cannot exist, unless it have some mode of coming into existence. I am comparing good things with good things, that it may be clear which is the

more excellent. Nor do I allege any opinion of my own, but I repeat that which the Holy Spirit spoke by the prophet: Blessed is the barren that is undefiled. Wisdom 3:13

36. Primum enim quod nupturae prae caeteris concupiscunt, ut sponsi decore se iactent, eo necesse est impares sacris se fateantur esse virginibus, quibus solis contingit dicere: Speciosus forma prae filiis hominum, diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis (Psal. XLIV, 3) . Quis est iste sponsus? Non vilibus addictus obsequiis, non caducis superbus divitiis: sed cuius sedes in saeculum saeculi. Filiae regum in honore eius. Astitit regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato, varietate circumamicta virtutum. Audi igitur, filia, et vide, et inclina aurem tuam, et obliviscere populum tuum et domum patris tui; quoniam concupivit Rex speciem tuam, quia ipse est Deus tuus (Ibid., 30 et seq.) .

36. First of all, in that which those who purpose to marry desire above all things, that they may boast of the beauty of their husband, they must of necessity confess that they are inferior to virgins, to Whom alone it is suitable to say: You are fairer than the children of men, grace is poured on Your lips. Who is that Spouse? One not given to common indulgences, not proud of possessing riches, but He Whose throne is for ever and ever. The king’s daughters share in His honour: At Your right hand stood the queen in a vesture of gold, clothed with variety of virtues. Hearken, then, O daughter, and consider, and incline your ear, and forget your own people and your father’s house; for the king has desired your beauty, for He is your God.

37. Et adverte quantum tibi Spiritus sanctus Scripturae divinae testificatione detulerit, regnum, aurum, pulchritudinem: regnum, vel quia sponsa es regis aeterni, vel quia invictum animum gerens, ab illecebris voluptatum non captiva haberis, sed quasi regina dominaris: aurum, quia sicut illa materies examinata igne pretiosior est, ita corporis species virginalis Spiritui

consecrata divino, formae suae acquirit augmentum: pulchritudinem vero quis potest maiorem existimare decore eius, quae amatur a Rege, probatur a Iudice, dicatur Domino, consecratur Deo: semper sponsa, semper innupta; ut nec amor finem habeat, nec damnum pudor.

37. And observe what a kingdom the Holy Spirit by the witness of the divine Scriptures has assigned to you — gold, and beauty; gold, either because you are the bride of the Eternal King, or because having an unconquered mind, you are not taken captive by the allurements of pleasures, but rulest over them like a queen. Gold again, because as that metal is more precious when tried by fire, so the appearance of the virginal body, consecrated to the Divine Spirit, gains an increase of its own comeliness, for who can imagine a loveliness greater than the beauty of her who is loved by the King, approved by the judge, dedicated to the Lord, consecrated to God; ever a bride, ever unmarried, so that neither does love suffer an ending, nor modesty loss.

38. Haec profecto vera pulchritudo est, cui nihil deest, quae sola meretur audire a Domino: Tota es formosa, proxima mea, et reprehensio non est in te. Sponsa, veni huc a Libano, veni huc a Libano, transibis et pertransibis a principio fidei, a capite Sanir et Hermon, a latibulis leonum, a montibus pardorum (Cant. IV, 7, 8) . Quibus indiciis ostenditur perfecta, et irreprehensibilis virginalis animae pulchritudo, altaribus consecrata divinis, inter occursus et latibula spiritalium bestiarum non inflexa mortalibus, sed intenta mysteriis Dei meruisse dilectum, cuius ubera plena laetitiae: Vinum enim laetificat cor hominis (Psal. CIII, 15).

38. This is indeed true beauty, to which nothing is wanting, which alone is worthy to hear the Lord saying: You are all fair, My love, and no blemish is in you. Come hither from Lebanon, My spouse, come hither from Lebanon. You shall pass and pass through from the beginning of faith, from the top of

Sanir and Hermon, from the dens of the lions, from the mountains of the leopards. Song of Songs 4:7-8 By which references is set forth the perfect and irreproachable beauty of a virgin soul, consecrated to the altars of God, not moved by perishable things amidst the haunts and dens of spiritual wild beasts, but intent, by the mysteries of God, on being found worthy of the Beloved, Whose breasts are full of joy. For wine makes glad the heart of man.

39. Odor, inquit, vestimentorum tuorum super omnia aromata (Cant. IV, 10) . Et infra: Et odor vestimentorum tuorum sicut odor Libani (Ibid., 11) . Vide quem nobis tribuas, virgo, processum. Primus enim odor tuus super omnia aromata, quae in Salvatoris missa sunt sepulturam (Ioan. XIX, 39) ; et emortuos corporis motus, membrorumque redolet obiisse delicias. Secundus odor tuus sicut odor Libani, Dominici corporis integritatem, virgineae florem castitatis exhalat.

39. The smell of your garments, says He, is above all spices. Song of Songs 4:10 And again: And the smell of your garments is like the smell of Lebanon. Song of Songs 4:11 See what progress you set forth, O Virgin. Your first odour is above all spices, which were used upon the burying of the Saviour, John 19:39 and the fragrance arises from the mortified motions of the body, and the perishing of the delights of the members. Your second odour, like the odour of Lebanon, exhales the incorruption of the Lord’s body, the flower of virginal chastity.

CAPUT VIII.

LOCUM SEQUENTEM CANTICORUM, Favus distillans, etc. , sic edisserit, ut inde ansam arripiat cum apibus sacras virgines comparandi.

CHAPTER 8.

Taking the passage concerning the honeycomb in the Song of Songs, he expounds it, comparing the sacred virgins to bees.

40. Favum itaque mellis tua opera componant (Cant. IV, 11); digna enim virginitas quae apibus comparetur: sic laboriosa, sic pudica, sic continens. Rore pascitur apis, nescit concubitus, mella componit. Ros quoque virginis est sermo divinus; quia sicut ros, Dei verba descendunt. Pudor virginis est intemerata natura. Partus virginis fetus est labiorum, expers amaritudinis, fertilis suavitatis. In commune labor, communis est fructus.

40. Let, then, your work be as it were a honeycomb, for virginity is fit to be compared to bees, so laborious is it, so modest, so continent. The bee feeds on dew, it knows no marriage couch, it makes honey. The virgin’s dew is the divine word, for the words of God descend like the dew. The virgin’s modesty is unstained nature. The virgin’s produce is the fruit of the lips, without bitterness, abounding in sweetness. They work in common, and their fruit is in common.

41. Quam te velim, filia, imitatricem esse huius apiculae cui cibus flos est, ore soboles legitur, ore componitur! Hanc imitare tu, filia. Verba tua nullum doli velamen obtendant, nullum habeant fraudis involucrum; ut et puritatem habeant, et gravitatis plena sint.

41. How I wish you, my daughter, to be an imitator of these bees, whose food is flowers, whose offspring is collected and brought together by the mouth. Do imitate her, my daughter. Let no veil of deceit be spread over your words; let them have no covering of guile, that they may be pure, and full of gravity.

42. Meritorum quoque tuorum tibi aeterna posteritas tuo ore pariatur. Nec soli tibi, sed etiam pluribus congreges, (qui scis enim quando a te anima tua reposcatur?) ne receptacula horreorum frumentis coacervata dimittens, nec vitae tuae usui profutura, nec meritis, rapiaris eo quo thesaurum tuum ferre non possis. Dives igitur esto, sed pauperibus; ut naturae participes tuae, participes sint etiam facultatum.

42. And let an eternal succession of merits be brought forth by your mouth. Gather not for yourself alone (for how do you know when your soul shall be required of you?), lest leaving your granaries heaped full with grain, which will be a help neither to your life nor to your merits, you be hurried there where you cannot take your treasure with you. Be rich then, but towards the poor, that as they share in your nature they may also share your goods.

43. Florem quoque tibi demonstro carpendum, illum utique qui dixit: Ego flos campi, et lilium convallium. Tamquam lilium in medio spinarum (Cant. II, 1, 2); quod est evidentis indicii, spiritalium nequitiarium sentibus virtutes obsideri; unde nemo fructum referat, nisi qui cautus accedat.

-

43. And I also point out to you what flower is to be culled, that one it is Who said: I am the Flower of the field, and the Lily of the valleys, as a lily among thorns, which is a plain declaration that virtues are surrounded by the thorns of spiritual wickedness, so that no one can gather the fruit who does not approach with caution.

CAPUT IX.

PERGIT ALIOS E Canticis canticorum locos aptare subiecto argumento, et primum virginem ad Christum inquirendum exhortatus, ubinam ille inveniatur, exponit: tum descripta eiusdem secundum utramque naturam praestantia, quibus ab eo perfectionibus Sponsa exornetur, quibusve muniatur praesidiis, aperit: postremo eamdem cum angelis ob castitatem confert, nec non illi eorum parti quos e coelo intemperantia deturbavit, praefert.

CHAPTER 9.

Other passages from the Song of Songs are considered with relation to the present subject, and St. Ambrose exhorting the virgin to seek for Christ, points out where He may be found. A description of His perfections follows, and a comparison is made between virgins and the angels.

44. Sume igitur alas, virgo, sed spiritus; ut supervoles vitia, si contingere cupis Christum: In altis habitat, et humilia respicit (Psal. CXII, 5) ; et species eius sicut cedrus Libani, qui comam nubibus, radicem terris inserit. Principium enim eius e coelo, posteriora eius in terris, fructus coelo proximos edit. Scrutare diligentius tam bonum florem, necubi eum in pectoris tui convalle reperias; humilibus enim frequenter inhalatur.

44. Take, then, O Virgin, the wings of the Spirit, that you may fly far above all vices, if you wish to attain to Christ: He dwells on high, but beholds lowly things; and His appearance is as that of a cedar of Lebanon, which has its foliage in the clouds, its roots in the earth. For its beginning is from heaven, its ending on earth, and it produces fruit very close to heaven. Search diligently for so precious a flower, if perchance you may find it in

the recesses of your breast, for it is most often to be enjoyed in lowly places.

45. Amat generari in hortis, in quibus eum Susanna dum deambularet, invenit: mori prius, quam violari parata (Dan. XIII, 7) . Qui sint autem horti, ipse demonstrat dicens: Hortus conclusus, soror mea Sponsa, hortus conclusus, fons signatus (Cant. IV, 12) ; eo quod in hortis huiusmodi impressa signaculis imagine Dei, sinceri fontis unda resplendeat; ne volutabris spiritalium bestiarum sparsa coeno fluenta turbentur. Hinc ille murali septus spiritu pudor clauditur, ne pateat ad rapinam. Itaque sicut hortus furibus inaccessus vitem redolet, flagrat oleam, rosam renidet; ut in vite religio, in olea pax, in rosa pudor sacratae virginitatis inolescat. Hic est odor quem Iacob patriarcha flagravit, quando meruit audire: Ecce odor filii mei sicut odor agri pleni (Gen. XXVII, 27) . Nam licet plenus omnibus fere fructibus patriarchae sancti fuerit ager; ille tamen fruges maiore virtutis labore generavit, hic flores.

45. It loves to grow in gardens, in which Susanna, while walking, found it, and was ready to die rather than it should be violated. But what is meant by the gardens He Himself points out, saying: A garden enclosed is My sister, My spouse, a garden enclosed, a fountain sealed; because in gardens of this kind the water of the pure fountain shines, reflecting the features of the image of God, lest its streams mingled with mud from the wallowing places of spiritual wild beasts should be polluted. For this reason, too, that modesty of virgins fenced in by the wall of the Spirit is enclosed lest it should lie open to be plundered. And so as a garden inaccessible from without smells of the violet, is scented with the olive, and is resplendent with the rose, that religion may increase in the vine, peace in the olive, and the modesty of consecrated virginity in the rose. This is the odour of which the patriarch Jacob smelt when he heard his father say: See the smell of my

son is as the smell of a field which is full. Genesis 27:27 For although the field of the holy patriarch was full of almost all fruits, the other brought forth its crops with greater labour, the latter flowers.

46. Accingere itaque, virgo, et si vis huiuscemodi tibi ut hortus aspiret, propheticis eum claude praeceptis. Pone custodiam ori tuo, et ostium circumstantiae labiis tuis (Psal. CXL, 3) ; ut etiam tu possis dicere: Tamquam malus in lignis nemoris, ita fraternus meus in medio filiorum. In umbra eius concupivi et sedi, et fructus eius dulcis in faucibus meis (Cant. II, 3) . Inveni quem dilexit anima mea, tenui eum, et non relinquam (Cant. III, 4) . Descendit fraternus meus in hortum suum, ut manducet fructum pomorum suorum (Cant. V, 1) . Veni, fraterne mi, exeamus in agrum (Cant. VII, 11) . Pone me ut sigillum in cor tuum, et velut signaculum super brachium tuum (Cant. VIII, 6) . Fraternus meus candidus et rubeus (Cant. V, 10) . Decet enim ut plene noveris, virgo, quem diligis, atque omne in eo et ingenitae divinitatis et assumptae mysterium incorporationis agnoscas. Candidus merito, quia patris splendor: rubeus, quia partus est virginis. Color in eo fulget et rutilat utriusque naturae. Memento tamen antiquiora in eo divinitatis insignia, quam corporis sacramenta; quia non coepit a virgine, sed qui erat, venit in virginem.

46. To work, then, O Virgin, and if you wish your garden to be sweet after this sort, enclose it with the precepts of the prophets: Set a watch before your mouth, and a door to your lips, that you, too, may be able to say: As the apple-tree among the trees of the wood, so is my Beloved among the sons. In His shadow I delighted and sat down, and His fruit was sweet to my palate. I found Him Whom my soul loved, I held Him and would not let him go. My beloved came down into His garden to eat the fruit of His trees. Come, my Beloved, let us go forth into the field. Set me as a signet upon Your heart, and as a seal upon Your arm. My Beloved is white and ruddy.

For it is fitting, O Virgin, that you should fully know Him Whom you love, and should recognize in Him all the mystery of His Divine Nature and the Body which He has assumed. He is white fittingly, for He is the brightness of the Father; and ruddy, for He was born of a Virgin. The color of each nature shines and glows in Him. But remember that the marks of His Godhead are more ancient in Him than the mysteries of His body, for He did not take His origin from the Virgin, but, He Who already existed came into the Virgin.

47. Ille discretus a militibus, ille lancea vulneratus (Matth. XXVII, 29 et seq.) , ut nos sacri vulneris cruore sanaret, respondebit tibi profecto (est enim mitis et humilis corde (Ioan. XIX, 34) , blandus aspectu): Exsurge, Aquilo, et veni, Auster, aspira hortum meum, et fluant aromata mea (Cant. IV, 16) . Ex omnibus enim partibus mundi odor sacratae religionis inolevit, dilectaeque virginis membra flagrarunt. Formosa es, proxima mea, ut bona opinio: pulchra, ut Hierusalem (Cant. VI, 3) . Non caduci itaque corporis pulchritudo vel morbo peritura, vel senio; sed nullis obnoxia casibus opinio bonorum numquam moritura meritorum, virginibus est decori.

47. He Who was spoiled by the soldiers, Who was wounded by the spear, that He might heal us by the blood of His sacred wounds, will assuredly answer you (for He is meek and lowly of heart, and gentle in aspect): Arise, O north wind, and come, O south, and blow upon My garden, that My spices may flow out. For from all parts of the world has the perfume of holy religion increased, and the limbs of the consecrated Virgin have glowed. You are beautiful, O my love, as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem. So it is not the beauty of the perishable body, which will come to an end with sickness or old age, but the reputation for good deserts, subject to no accidents and never to perish, which is the beauty of virgins.

48. Et quoniam non humanis iam, sed coelestibus, quorum vitam vivis in terris, digna es comparari: accipe a Domino praecepta quae serves. Pone me ut sigillum, inquit, in cor tuum, et velut signaculum super brachium tuum (Cant. VIII, 6) : quo signatiora prudentiae tuae factorumque documenta promantur, in quibus figura Dei Christus eluceat, qui paternae ambitum exaequans naturae, totum quidquid a Patre divinitatis assumpsit, expressit. Unde etiam apostolus Paulus in Spiritu nos dicit esse signatos (Ephes. I, 13) ; quoniam Patris imaginem habemus in Filio, sigillum Filii habemus in Spiritu. Hac Trinitate signati caveamus diligentius, ne quod accepimus pignus in cordibus nostris, aut morum levitas, aut ullius adulterii fraus resignet.

48. And since you are worthy to be compared not now with men but with heavenly beings, whose life you are living on earth, receive from the Lord the precepts you are to observe: Set Me as a signet upon your heart, and as a seal upon your arm; that clearer proofs of your prudence and actions may be set forth, in which Christ the Figure of God may shine, Who, equalling fully the nature of the Father, has expressed the whole which He took of the Father’s Godhead. Whence also the Apostle Paul says that we are sealed in the Spirit; Ephesians 1:13 since we have in the Son the image of the Father, and in the Spirit the seal of the Son. Let us, then, sealed by this Trinity, take more diligent heed, lest either levity of character or the deceit of any unfaithfulness unseal the pledge which we have received in our hearts.

49. Sed facessat hic sacris virginibus metus, quibus tanta praesidia tribuit primum Ecclesia, quae tenerae prolis sollicita successu, ipsa quasi murus abundantibus in modum turrium increscit uberibus, donec soluto obsidionis hostilis incursu, pacem validae iuventuti, maternae praesidio virtutis, acquirat (Cant. VIII, 10) . Unde et Propheta ait: Fiat pax in virtute tua, et abundantia in turribus tuis (Psal. CXXI, 7) .

49. But let fear secure this for the holy virgins, for whom the Church first provided such protection, who, anxious for the prosperity of her tender offspring, herself as a wall with breasts as many towers, increases her care for them, until, the fear of hostile attack being at an end, she obtains by the care of a mother’s love peace for her vigorous children. Wherefore the prophet says: Peace be on your virtue, and abundance in your towers.

50. Tum ipse pacis Dominus postquam validioribus brachiis commissa sibi vineta complexus, palmites suos gemmare conspexerit, vultu praesule, nascentibus fructibus auras temperat, sicut ipse testatur dicens: Vinea mea est in conspectu meo, mille Salomoni, et ducenti qui servant fructum eius (Cant. VIII, 12) .

50. Then the Lord of peace Himself, after having embraced in His strong arms the vineyards committed to Him, and beholding their shoots putting forth buds, with glad looks, tempers the breezes to the young fruits, as Himself testifies, saying: My vineyard is in My sight, a thousand for Solomon, and two hundred who keep the fruit thereof. Song of Songs 8:12

51. Supra ait: Sexaginta potentes in circumitu propaginis eius, strictis armatos ensibus, et eruditos praeliaribus disciplinis (Cant. III, 7, 8) ; hic mille et ducentos. Crevit numerus, ubi crevit et fructus; quia quo sanctior quisque, eo communitior. Sic Elisaeus propheta exercitus angelorum praesidia sibi adesse monstravit (IV Reg. VI, 17) : sic Iesus Nave ducem militiae coelestis agnovit (Iosue V, 14) . Possunt igitur fructum in nobis custodire, qui possunt etiam militare pro nobis. Vobis autem, virgines sanctae, speciale praesidium est, quae intemerato pudore sacrum Domini servatis cubile. Neque mirum si pro vobis angeli militant, quae angelorum moribus militatis. Meretur eorum praesidium castitas virginalis, quorum vitam meretur.

51. Above it is said: Sixty strong men round about its offspring, armed with drawn swords, and expert in warlike discipline, Song of Songs 3:7-8 here there are a thousand and two hundred. The number has increased, where the fruit has increased, for the more holy each is, the more is he guarded. So Elisha the prophet showed the hosts of angels who were present to guard him; so Joshua the Son of Nun recognized the Captain of the heavenly host. They, then, who are able also to fight for us are able to guard the fruit that is in us. And for you, holy virgins, there is a special guardianship, for you who with unspotted chastity keep the couch of the Lord holy. And no wonder if the angels fight for you who war with the mode of life of angels. Virginal chastity merits their guardianship whose life it attains to.

52. Et quid pluribus exsequar laudem castitatis? Castitas etiam angelos fecit. Qui eam servavit, angelus est: qui perdidit, diabolus. Hinc religio etiam nomen accepit. Virgo est, quae Deo nubit: meretrix, quae deos fecit. Nam de resurrectione quid dicam, cuius praemia iam tenetis? In resurrectione autem neque nubent, neque ducent uxores: sed erunt sicut angeli, inquit, in coelo (Matth. XXII, 30) . Quod nobis promittitur, vobis praesto est, votorumque nostrorum usus apud vos. De hoc mundo estis, et non estis in hoc mundo. Saeculum vos habere meruit, tenere non potuit.

52. Why should I continue the praise of chastity in more words? For chastity has made even angels. He who has preserved it is an angel; he who has lost it a devil. And hence has religion also gained its name. She is a virgin who is the bride of God, a harlot who makes gods for herself. What shall I say of the resurrection of which you already hold the rewards: For in the resurrection they will neither be given in marriage, nor marry, but shall be, He says, as the angels in heaven. Matthew 22:30 That which is promised to us is already present with you, and the object of your prayers is with you;

you are of this world, and yet not in this world. This age has held you, but has not been able to retain you.

53. Quam praeclarum autem angelos propter intemperantiam suam in saeculum cecidisse de coelo, virgines propter castimoniam in coelum transisse de saeculo? Beatae virgines, quas non illecebra sollicitat corporum, non colluvio praecipitat voluptatum! Cibus parcimoniae, potus abstinentiae docet vitia nescire, qui docet causas nescire vitiorum. Causa peccandi etiam iustos saepe decepit. Hinc populus Dei postquam sedit manducare et bibere, Deum negavit (Exod. XXXII, 6) . Hinc Loth concubitus filiarum ignoravit, et pertulit (Gen. XIX, 33) . Hinc inversis vestigiis filii Noe patris quondam pudenda texerunt (Gen. IX, 22) : quae procax vidit, modestus erubuit, pius texit, offensurus si et ipse vidisset. Quanta vini est vis, ut quem diluvia non nudaverunt, vina nudarent!

53. But what a great thing it is that angels because of incontinence fell from heaven into this world, that virgins because of chastity passed from the world into heaven. Blessed virgins, whom the delights of the flesh do not allure, nor the defilement of pleasures cast down. Sparing food and abstinence in drink train them in ignorance of vices, seeing they keep them from knowing the causes of vices. That which causes sin has often deceived even the just. In this way the people of God after they sat down to eat and drink denied God. Exodus 32:5 In this way, too, Lot knew not, and so endured his daughters' wickedness. Genesis 19:32-33 So, too, the sons of Noah going backward covered their father's nakedness, which he who was wanton saw, he who was modest blushed at and dutifully hid, fearful of offending if he too saw it. Genesis 9:22 How great is the power of wine, so that wine made him naked which the waters of the deluge could not.

CAPUT X.

ULTIMA VIRGINITATIS LAUS proponitur, avaritiae nimirum immunitas. Huius occasione sanctus Praesul sorori in mentem revocat, quanta sit illius felicitas quae non cogatur luxui atque vanitati, quibus nupturae mancipantur, morem gerere.

CHAPTER 10.

Finally, another glory of virginity is mentioned, that it is free from avarice. St. Ambrose, addressing his sister, reminds her of the great happiness of those who are free from those troubles as to luxury and vanity which come upon those who are about to marry.

What then? What happiness it is that no desire of possessions inflames you! The poor man demands what you have, he does not ask for what you have not. The fruit of your labour is a treasure for the needy, and two mites, if they be all one has, are wealth on the part of the giver.

54. Quid illud? Quantae felicitatis est, quod nulla vos habendi cupiditas inflammat? Pauper quod habes poscit, quod non habes non requirit. Fructus laboris tui thesaurus est inopi, et duo aera si sola sint, census est largientis.

54 . Audi ergo, soror, quantis careas. Nam cavere quid debeas, nec meum est docere, nec tuum discere; perfectae enim virtutis usus magisterium non desiderat, sed informat. Cernis ut pomparum ferculis similis incedat, quae se componit ut placeat, omnium in se vultus et ora convertens, eo ipso quo studet placere, deformior; prius enim populo displicet, quam placeat viro. At in vobis reiecta decoris cura plus decet: et hoc ipsum quod vos non ornatis, ornatus est.

54. Listen, then, my sister, from what you escape. For it is not for me to teach nor for you to learn what you ought to guard against, for the practice of perfect virtue does not require teaching, but instructs others. You see how like she is to the litters at processions, who lays herself out to please, attracting to herself the look and gaze of all; less beautiful is she because she strives to please, for she displeases the people before she pleases her husband. But in you the rejection of all care for splendour is far more becoming, and the very fact that you do not adorn yourselves is an ornament.

55. Cerne laceras vulneribus aures, et depressae onera miserare cervicis. Non sunt allevamenta poenarum discrimina metallorum. Hinc collum catena constringit, inde pedem compes includit. Nihil refert auro corpus oneretur an ferro. Sic cervix premitur, sic gravatur incessus. Nil pretium iuvat; nisi quod vos mulieres, ne pereat vobis poena, trepidatis. Quid interest, utrum aliena sententia, an vestra vos damnet? Hinc vos etiam miserabiliores quam qui publico iure damnantur, quod illi optant exui, vos ligari.

55. Look at the ears pierced with wounds, and pity the neck weighed down with burdens. That the metals are different does not lighten the suffering. In one case a chain binds the neck, in another a fetter encloses the foot. It makes no difference whether the body be loaded with gold or with iron. Thus the neck is weighed down and the steps are hindered. The price makes it no better, except that you women are afraid lest that which causes you suffering be lost. What is the difference whether the sentence of another or your own condemn you? Nay, you, even more wretched than those, are condemned by public justice, since they desire to be set free, you to be bound.

56. Quam vero miserabilis illa conditio, quod tamquam mancipii forma venalis, nuptura licitatur; ut qui pretio vicerit, emat. Tolerabilius tamen mancipia veneunt, quae saepe sibi dominos eligunt: virgo si eligat, crimen est; si non eligat, contumelia. Quae quamvis pulchra sit et decora, et timet et cupit videri: cupit, ut se charius vendat: timet, ne hoc ipsum dedeceat quod videtur. Quanta autem votorum ludibria, et ad procorum eventus suspecti metus, ne pauper illudat, ne dives fastidiat, ne pulcher irrideat, ne nobilis spernat!

56. But how wretched a position, that she who is marriageable is in a species of sale put up as it were to auction to be bid for, so that he who offers the highest price purchases her. Slaves are sold on more tolerable conditions, for they often choose their masters; if a maiden chooses it is an offense, if not it is an insult. And she, though she be beautiful and comely, both fears and wishes to be seen; she wishes it that she may sell herself for a better price; she fears lest the fact of her being seen should itself be unbecoming. But what absurdities of wishes and fears and suspicions are there as to how the suitors will turn out, lest a poor man may beguile her, or a rich one contemn her, lest a handsome suitor mock her, lest a noble one despise her.

CAPUT XI.

OBIICIENTIBUS FREQUENTIUM AMBROSII ad virginitatem exhortationum nullum fructum esse ut satisfaciat, adducit exempla cum aliarum virginum, tum Mauritanensium ac Bononiensium: sed harum imprimis virtutes ac propagandae virginitatis ardorem laudat.

CHAPTER 11.

St. Ambrose answers objections made to the uselessness of his exhortations in favour of virginity, and brings forward instances of virgins especially in various places he mentions, and speaks of their zeal in the cause.

57. Dicet aliquis: Tu nobis quotidie virginum canis laudes. Quid faciam qui eadem quotidie cantito, et proficio nihil? Sed non mea culpa. Denique de Placentino sacrandae virgines veniunt, de Bononiensi veniunt, de Mauritania veniunt, ut hic velentur. Magnam rem videtis. Hic tracto, et alibi persuadeo. Si ita est, alibi tractemus, ut vobis persuadeamus.

57. Some one may say, you are always singing the praises of virgins. What shall I do who am always singing them and have no success? But this is not my fault. Then, too, virgins come from Placentia to be consecrated, or from Bononia, and Mauritania, in order to receive the veil here. You see a striking thing here. I treat the matter here, and persuade those who are elsewhere. If this be so, let me treat the subject elsewhere, that I may persuade you.

58. Quid, quod etiam qui me non audiunt, sequuntur: qui audiunt, non sequuntur? Nam plerasque virgines cognovi velle, et prohiberi etiam prodire a matribus, et quod est gravius, viduis, cum quibus hic mihi sermo est.

Nempe si hominem vellent amare filiae vestrae, per leges possent eligere quem vellent. Quibus igitur hominem eligere licet, Deum non licet?

58. What is it, then, that even they who hear me not follow my teaching, and those who hear me follow me not? For I have known many virgins who had the desire, but were prevented from going forward by their mothers, and, which is more serious, mothers who were widows, to whom I will now address myself. For if your daughters desired to love a man, they could, by law, choose whom they would. Are they, then, who are allowed to choose a man not allowed to choose God?

59. Contuemini quam dulcis pudicitiae fructus sit, qui barbaricis quoque inolevit affectibus. Ex ultimis infra ultraque Mauritaniae partibus deductae virgines hic sacrari gestiunt; et cum sint omnes familiae in vinculis, pudicitia tamen nescit esse captiva. Profitetur regnum aeternitatis, quae moeret iniuriam servitutis.

59. Behold how sweet is the fruit of modesty, which has sprung up even in the affections of barbarians. Virgins coming from the most distant on this and that side of Mauritania desire to be consecrated here; and though all the families be in bonds, yet modesty cannot be bound. She who mourns over the hardship of slavery avows an eternal kingdom.

60. Nam quid de Bononiensibus virginibus loquar, fecundo pudoris agmine, quae mundanis se deliciis abdicantes, sacrarium virginitatis incolunt? Sine contubernali sexu, contubernali pudore provectae ad vicenarium numerum, et centenarium fructum, relictoque parentum hospitio, tendunt in tabernaculis Christi, indefessae milites castitatis: nunc canticis spiritalibus personant, nunc victum operibus exercent, liberalitati quoque subsidium manu quaerunt.

60. And what shall I say of the virgins of Bononia, a fertile band of chastity, who, forsaking worldly delights, inhabit the sanctuary of virginity? Not being of the sex which lives in common, attaining in their common chastity to the number of twenty, and fruit to an hundredfold, leaving their parents' dwelling they press into the houses of Christ, as soldiers of unwearied chastity; at one time singing spiritual songs, they provide their sustenance by labour, and seek with their hands supplies for their liberality.

61. Quod si investigandi virgines inoleverit odor (namque prae caeteris speculandi venatum pudoris explorant), totis curarum vestigiis praedam latentem usque ad ipsa cubilia persequuntur: aut si liberior alicuius volatus affulserit, totis omnes videas assurgere alis, concrepare pennis, emicare plausu; ut casto pudicitiae choro cingant volantem, donec albenti delectata comitatu, in plagas pudoris et indaginem castitatis domus patriae oblita, succedat.

61. But if the attraction of searching for virgins has grown strong (for they beyond others follow up the search and watch for purity), they follow up their hidden prey with the greatest perseverance to its very chambers; or, if the flight of any one shall have seemed more free, one may see them rise on the wing, hear the rustling of their feathers, and the bursting of applause; so as to surround the one on wing with a chaste band of modesty, until rejoicing in that fair companionship, forgetful of her father's house, she enters the regions of modesty and the fenced-in home of chastity.

CAPUT XII.

UT OPTABILE SIT virgini favere parentes suos, eam tamen laude maiori dignam esse, quam iis reluctantibus divinus amor ad hoc propositum instigaverit. Non timendam igitur nec vim parentum nec patrimonii iacturam; quod memorabili nobilis ac piae virginis facto confirmatur.

CHAPTER 12.

It is very desirable that parents should encourage the desire for the virgin life, but more praiseworthy when the love of God draws a maiden even against their will. The violence of parents and the loss of property are not to be feared, and an instance of this is related by St. Ambrose.

62. Bonum itaque si virgini studia parentum quasi flabra pudoris aspirent: sed illud gloriosius, si tenerae ignis aetatis etiam sine veteribus nutrimentis sponte se rapiat in fomitem castitatis. Dotem negabunt parentes: sed habes divitem sponsum cuius contenta thesauro, patriae successionis emolumenta non quaeras. Quanto dotalibus praestat compendiis casta paupertas!

62. It is a good thing, then, that the zeal of parents, like favouring gales, should aid a virgin; but it is more glorious if the fire of tender age even without the incitement of those older of its own self burst forth into the flame of chastity. Parents will refuse a dowry, but you have a wealthy Spouse, satisfied with Whose treasures you will not miss the revenues of a father’s inheritance. How much is poverty to chastity superior to bridal gifts!

63. Et tamen quam audistis aliquando propter studium integritatis, legitimae factam successionis extorrem? Contradicunt parentes: sed volunt vinci. Resistunt primo, quia credere timent: indignantur frequenter, ut discas

vincere: abdicationem minantur, ut tentent si potes damnum saeculi non timere: quaesitis blandiuntur illecebris, ut videant si variarum mollire te non queat blanditia voluptatum. Exerceris, virgo, dum cogeris. Et haec tibi prima certamina, anxia parentum vota proponunt. Vince prius, puella, pietatem. Si vincis domum, vincis saeculum.

63. And yet of whom have you heard as ever, because of her desire for chastity, having been deprived of her lawful inheritance? Parents speak against her, but are willing to be overcome. They resist at first because they are afraid to believe; they often are angry that one may learn to overcome; they threaten to disinherit to try whether one is able not to fear temporal loss; they caress with exquisite allurements to see if one cannot be softened by the inducement of various pleasures. You are being exercised, O virgin, while you are being urged. And the anxious entreaties of your parents are your first battles. Conquer your affection first, O maiden. If you conquer your home, you conquer the world.

64. Sed esto maneant vos damna patrimonii: nonne caducarum et fragilium dispendia facultatum futura coeli regna compensant? Quamquam si verbis coelestibus credimus, nemo est qui reliquerit domum, aut parentes, aut fratres, aut uxorem, aut filios, propter regnum Dei, et non recipiat septies tantum in hoc tempore: in saeculo autem venturo vitam aeternam possidebit (Matth. XIX, 29) . Crede fidem tuam Deo: quae homini pecuniam credis, fenerare Christo. Bonus depositae spei custos multiplicatis fidei tuae talentum solvit usuris. Non fallit veritas, non circumscribit iustitia, non decipit virtus. Quod si non creditis oraculo, vel exemplis credite.

64. But suppose that the loss of your patrimony awaits you; are not the future realms of heaven a compensation for perishable and frail possessions? For if we believe the heavenly message, there is no one who has forsaken house, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the

kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive sevenfold more in this present time, and in the world to come shall have everlasting life. Luke 18:29-30 Entrust your faith to God, who entrust your money to man; lend to Christ. The faithful keeper of the deposit of your hope pays the talent of your faith with manifold interest. The Truth does not deceive, Justice does not circumvent, Virtue does not deceive. But if you believe not God's word, at least believe instances.

65. Memoriae nostrae puella dudum nobilis in saeculo, nunc nobilior Deo, cum urgeretur ad nuptias a parentibus et propinquis, ad sacrosanctum altare confugit. Quo enim melius virgo, quam ubi sacrificium virginitatis offertur? Ne is quidem finis audaciae. Stabat ad aram Dei pudoris hostia, victima castitatis: nunc capiti dexteram sacerdotis imponens, precem poscens, nunc iustae impatiens morae, ac summum altari subiecta verticem. Num melius, inquit, maforte me quam altare velabit, quod sanctificat ipsa velamina? Plus talis decet flammeus, in quo caput omnium Christus quotidie consecratur. Quid agitis vos, propinqui? quid exquirendis adhuc nuptiis sollicitatis animum? Iamdudum provisas habeo. Sponsum offertis? Meliorem reperi. Quaslibet exaggerate divitias, iactate nobilitatem, praedicate potentiam: habeo eum cui nemo se comparet, divitem mundo, potentem imperio, nobilem coelo. Si talem habetis, non refuto optionem: si non reperitis, non providetis mihi, parentes, sed invidetis.

65. Within my memory a girl once noble in the world, now more noble in the sight of God, being urged to a marriage by her parents and kinsfolk, took refuge at the holy altar. Whither could a virgin better flee, than there where the Virgin Sacrifice is offered? Nor was even that the limit of her boldness. She, the oblation of modesty, the victim of chastity, was standing at the altar of God, now placing upon her head the right hand of the priest, asking his prayers, and now impatient at the righteous delay, placing the top

of her head under the altar. Can any better veil, she said, cover me better than the altar which consecrates the veils themselves? Such a bridal veil is most suitable on which Christ, the Head of all, is daily consecrated. What are you doing, my kinsfolk? Why do you still trouble my mind with seeking marriage? I have long since provided for that. Do you offer me a bridegroom? I have found a better. Make the most you can of my wealth, boast of his nobility, extol his power, I have Him with Whom no one can compare himself, rich in the world, powerful in empire, noble in heaven. If you have such an one, I do not reject the choice; if you do not find such, you do me not a kindness, my relatives, but an injury.

66. Silentibus caeteris, unus abruptius: Quid si, inquit, pater tuus viveret, innuptam te manere pateretur? Tum illa maiori religione, moderatiore pietate: Et ideo fortasse deficit, ne quis impedimentum possit afferre. Quod ille responsum de patre, de se oraculum, maturo sui probavit exitio. Ita caeteri eadem sibi quisque metuentes, favere coeperunt, qui impedire quaerebant: nec dispendium debitarum attulit virginitas facultatum, sed etiam emolumentum integritatis accepit. Habetis, puellae, devotionis praemium: parentes, cavete offensionis exemplum.

66. When the others were silent, one burst forth somewhat roughly: If, he said, your father were alive, would he suffer you to remain unmarried? Then she replied with more religion and more restrained piety: And perchance he is gone that no one may be able to hinder me. Which answer concerning her father, but warning as to himself, he made good by his own speedy death. So the others, each of them, fearing the same for himself, began to assist and not to hinder her as before, and her virginity involved not the loss of the property due to her, but also received the reward of her integrity. You see, maidens, the reward of devotion, and do you, parents, be warned by the example of transgression.

LIBER II

BOOK II.

CAPUT I.

AMBROSIUS HOC LIBRO virginum mores instituendos esse cum agnosceret, cur exemplorum viam sibi proposuerit, docet: inde praesumptionis invidia abs se quam modestissime derivata, cur scripto potius quam voce id aggressus sit, monet.

CHAPTER 1.

In this book St. Ambrose purposes to treat of the training of virgins, using examples rather than precepts, and explains why he does so in writing rather than by word of mouth.

1. Superiore libro quantum virginitatis munus sit, voluimus (non enim potuimus) explicare; ut per se coelestis gratia muneris invitet legentem. Secundo libro virginem institui decet, et tamquam competentium praeceptorum magisteriis erudiri.

1. In the former book I wished (though I was not able) to set forth how great is the gift of virginity, that the grace of the heavenly gift might of itself invite the reader. In the second book it is fitting that the virgin should be instructed and, as it were, be educated by the teaching of suitable precepts.

2. Sed quoniam nos infirmi ad monendum sumus, et impares ad docendum (debet enim is qui docet supra eum qui docetur excellere), ne vel susceptum deseruisse munus, vel nobis arrogasse amplius videremur, exemplis potius quam praeceptis putavimus imbuendam: licet amplius proficiatur exemplo; quoniam nec difficile quod iam factum est aestimatur, et utile quod probatum, et religiosum quod haereditario quodam paternae virtutis usu in nos est successione transfusum.

2. But, inasmuch as I am feeble in advising and unequal to teaching (for he who teaches ought to excel him who is taught), lest I should seem to have abandoned the task I have undertaken, or to have taken too much upon myself, I thought it better to instruct by examples than by precepts; for more progress may be made by means of an example, inasmuch as that which has been already done is considered to be not difficult, and that which has been tried to be expedient, and that which has been transmitted in succession to us by a kind of hereditary practice of ancestral virtue to be binding in religion.

3. Quod si quis nos praesumptionis arguit, arguat potius sedulitatis; quia rogantibus virginibus ne hoc quidem putavi negandum. Malui enim me in periculum deduci pudoris, quam non obsequi voluntati earum, quarum studiis etiam Deus noster placido se indulget assensu.

3. But if any one rebukes me for presumption, let him rather rebuke me for zeal, because I thought that I ought not to refuse even this to the virgins who asked it of me. For I preferred rather to run the risk of perilling my own modesty, than not to fulfil the wish of those whose pursuits even our God favours with kindly approbation.

4. Sed neque praesumptio notari potest, quoniam cum haberent unde discerent, affectum potius quam magisterium quaesiverunt meum: et excusari sedulitas; quoniam cum haberent auctoritatem martyris ad observantiam disciplinae, non superfluum iudicavi, si nostri sermonis blanditiam derivarem ad professionis illecebram. Ille docere facilis, qui severo vitia coercet affectu: nos qui docere non possumus, blandiamur.

4. Nor can the mark of presumption be set on my task, since, when they had those from whom they could learn, they sought my good-will rather than my teaching, and my zeal may be excused, since when they had the

guidance of a martyr for the observance of discipline, I did not think it superfluous if I could turn the persuasion of my discourse into an allurement to profession. He who teaches with facility restrains fault with severity; I, who cannot teach, entice.

5. Et quoniam pleraeque absentes nostri desiderabant sermonis usum, volumen hoc condidi: quo profectae ad se vocis meae munus tenentes, deesse non crederent, quem tenerent. Sed proposita persequamur.

5. And because many who were absent desired to have the use of my discourse, I compiled this book, in order that holding in their hands the substance of what my voice had uttered to them, they might not think that he whom they were holding failed them. But let us go on with our plan.

CAPUT II.

VIRGINIBUS EXEMPLUM MARIAE proponitur, cuius variae virtutes enumerantur, castitas, humilitas, vitae asperitas, secessus amor; quae quidem virtus ubi testimonio Evangelico probata est, inde etiam eius pietas erga propinquas, discendi sedulitas, atque adeundi templi studium commendatur. Narratur denique quemadmodum illa tot muneribus exornata, innumeris virginibus obviam ventura sit, nec sine magnifico triumpho ad thalamum Sponsi, et coelestia altaria quibus ob castitatem similes fuere, deductura.

CHAPTER 2.

The life of Mary is set before virgins as an example, and her many virtues are dwelt upon, her chastity, humility, hard life, love of retirement, and the like; then her kindness to others, her zeal in learning, and love of frequenting the temple. St. Ambrose then sets forth how she, adorned with all these virtues, will come to meet the numberless bands of virgins and lead them with great triumph to the bridal chamber of the Spouse.

6. Sit igitur vobis tamquam in imagine descripta virginitas vita Mariae, de qua velut speculo refulgeat species castitatis et forma virtutis. Hinc sumatis licet exempla vivendi, ubi tamquam in exemplari magisteria expressa probitatis, quid corrigere, quid effingere, quid tenere debeatis, ostendunt.

6. Let, then, the life of Mary be as it were virginity itself, set forth in a likeness, from which, as from a mirror, the appearance of chastity and the form of virtue is reflected. From this you may take your pattern of life, showing, as an example, the clear rules of virtue: what you have to correct, to effect, and to hold fast.

7. Primus discendi ardor nobilitas est magistri. Quid nobilius Dei matre? quid splendidius ea, quam Splendor elegit? quid castius ea quae corpus sine corporis contagione generavit? Nam de caeteris eius virtutibus quid loquar? Virgo erat (Cf. S. Aug. lib. IV de Doct. Christ. c. 21) non solum corpore, sed etiam mente, quae nullo doli ambitu sincerum adulteraret affectum: corde humilis, verbis gravis, animi prudens, loquendi parcior, legendi studiosior: non in incerto divitiarum, sed in prece pauperum spem reponens: intenta operi, verecunda sermone, arbitrum mentis solita non hominem, sed Deum quaerere: nullum laedere, bene velle omnibus, assurgere maioribus natu, aequalibus non invidere, fugere iactantiam, rationem sequi, amare virtutem. Quando ista vel vultu laesit parentes? quando dissensit a propinquis? quando fastidivit humilem? quando derisit debilem? quando vitavit inopem; eos solos solita coetus virorum invisere, quos misericordia non erubesceret, neque praeteriret verecundia? Nihil torvum in oculis, nihil in verbis procax, nihil in actu inverecundum: non gestus fractior, non incessus solutior, non vox petulantior; ut ipsa corporis species simulacrum fuerit mentis, figura probitatis. Bona quippe domus in ipso vestibulo debet agnosci, ac primo praetendat ingressu nihil intus latere tenebrarum; ut mens nostra nullis repagulis corporalibus impedita, tamquam lucernae lux intus posita foris luceat.

7. The first thing which kindles ardour in learning is the greatness of the teacher. What is greater than the Mother of God? What more glorious than she whom Glory Itself chose? What more chaste than she who bore a body without contact with another body? For why should I speak of her other virtues? She was a virgin not only in body but also in mind, who stained the sincerity of its disposition by no guile, who was humble in heart, grave in speech, prudent in mind, sparing of words, studious in reading, resting her hope not on uncertain riches, but on the prayer of the poor, intent on work, modest in discourse; wont to seek not man but God as the judge of her

thoughts, to injure no one, to have goodwill towards all, to rise up before her elders, not to envy her equals, to avoid boastfulness, to follow reason, to love virtue. When did she pain her parents even by a look? When did she disagree with her neighbours? When did she despise the lowly? When did she avoid the needy? Being wont only to go to such gatherings of men as mercy would not blush at, nor modesty pass by. There was nothing gloomy in her eyes, nothing forward in her words, nothing unseemly in her acts, there was not a silly movement, nor unrestrained step, nor was her voice petulant, that the very appearance of her outward being might be the image of her soul, the representation of what is approved. For a well-ordered house ought to be recognized on the very threshold, and should show at the very first entrance that no darkness is hidden within, as our soul hindered by no restraints of the body may shine abroad like a lamp placed within.

8. Quid ego exsequar ciborum parcimoniam, officiorum redundantiam: alterum ultra naturam superfuisse, alterum pene ipsi naturae defuisse: illic nulla intermissa tempora, hic congeminatos ieiunio dies? Et siquando reficiendi successisset voluntas, cibus plerumque obvius, qui mortem arceret, non delicias ministraret. Dormire non prius cupiditas quam necessitas fuit; et tamen cum quiesceret corpus, vigilaret animus: qui frequenter in somnis aut lecta repetit, aut somno interrupta continuat, aut disposita gerit, aut gerenda praenuntiat.

8. Why should I detail her spareness of food, her abundance of services — the one abounding beyond nature, the other almost insufficient for nature? And there were no seasons of slackness, but days of fasting, one upon the other. And if ever the desire for refreshment came, her food was generally what came to hand, taken to keep off death, not to minister to comfort. Necessity before inclination caused her to sleep, and yet when her body was sleeping her soul was awake, and often in sleep either went again through

what had been read, or went on with what had been interrupted by sleep, or carried out what had been designed, or foresaw what was to be carried out.

9. Prodire domo nescia, nisi cum ad Ecclesiam conveniret, et hoc ipsum cum parentibus, aut propinquis. Domestico operosa secreto, forensi stipata comitatu; nullo meliore tamen sui custode quam se ipsa: quae incessu affatuque venerabilis, non tam vestigium pedis tolleret, quam gradum virtutis attolleret. Ut tamen alios habeat virgo membrorum custodes suorum, morum autem suorum se habeat ipsa custodem: plures erunt de quibus discat, si ipsa se doceat quae virtutes magistras habet: quia quidquid egerit, disciplina est. Sic Maria intendebat omnibus, quasi a pluribus moneretur: sic omnia implebat virtutis officia, ut non tam disceret, quam doceret.

9. She was unaccustomed to go from home, except for divine service, and this with parents or kinsfolk. Busy in private at home, accompanied by others abroad, yet with no better guardian than herself, as she, inspiring respect by her gait and address, progressed not so much by the motion of her feet as by step upon step of virtue. But though the Virgin had other persons who were protectors of her body, she alone guarded her character; she can learn many points if she be her own teacher, who possesses the perfection of all virtues, for whatever she did is a lesson. Mary attended to everything as though she were warned by many, and fulfilled every obligation of virtue as though she were teaching rather than learning.

10. Talem hanc evangelista monstravit (Luc I, 27) , talem angelus reperit, talem Spiritus sanctus elegit. Quid enim in singulis morer, ut eam parentes dilexerint, extranei praedicaverint, quae digna fuit ex qua Dei Filius nasceretur? Haec ad ipsos ingressus angeli inventa domi in penetralibus, sine comite, ne quis intentionem abrumperet, ne quis obstreperet; neque enim comites feminas desiderabat, quae bonas cogitationes comites

habebat. Quin etiam tum sibi minus sola videbatur, cum sola esset. Nam quemadmodum sola, cui tot libri adessent; tot archangeli, tot prophetae?

10. Such has the Evangelist shown her, such did the angel find her, such did the Holy Spirit choose her. Why delay about details? How her parents loved her, strangers praised her, how worthy she was that the Son of God should be born of her. She, when the angel entered, was found at home in privacy, without a companion, that no one might interrupt her attention or disturb her; and she did not desire any women as companions, who had the companionship of good thoughts. Moreover, she seemed to herself to be less alone when she was alone. For how should she be alone, who had with her so many books, so many archangels, so many prophets?

11. Denique et Gabriel eam ubi revisere solebat, invenit: et angelum Maria quasi virum specie mota trepidavit, quasi non incognitum audito nomine recognovit (Ibid., 28 et seq.) . Ita peregrinata est in viro, quae non est peregrinata in Angelo; ut agnoscas aures religiosas, oculos verecundos. Denique salutata obmutuit, et appellata respondit: sed quae primo turbaverat affectum, postea promisit obsequium.

11. And so, too, when Gabriel visited her, Luke 1:28 did he find her, and Mary trembled, being disturbed, as though at the form of a man, but on hearing his name recognized him as one not unknown to her. And so she was a stranger as to men, but not as to the angel; that we might know that her ears were modest and her eyes bashful. Then when saluted she kept silence, and when addressed she answered, and she whose feelings were first troubled afterwards promised obedience.

12. Quam vero religiosa in propinquas fuerit, Scriptura divina significat (Ibid., 45) . Nam et humilior facta est, ubi se a Deo cognovit electam, et statim ad cognatam suam in montana processit: non utique ut exemplo

crederet, quae iam crediderat oraculo: Beata enim, inquit, quae credidisti (Ibid., 56) . Et tribus cum ea mensibus mansit. Tanti autem intervallo temporis non fides quaeritur, sed pietas exhibetur. Et hoc posteaquam in utero parentis exsiliens puer matrem Domini salutavit, prius compos devotionis, quam naturae.

12. And holy Scripture points out how modest she was towards her neighbours. For she became more humble when she knew herself to be chosen of God, and went immediately to her kinswoman in the hill country, not in order to gain belief by anything external, for she had believed the word of God. Blessed, she said, are you who believed. Luke 1:56 And she abode with her three months. Now in such an interval of time it is not that faith is being sought for, but kindness which is being shown. And this was after that the child, leaping in his mother's womb, had saluted the mother of the Lord, attaining to reason before birth.

13. Inde tot sequentibus signis, cum sterilis pareret, virgo conciperet, loqueretur mutus, adoraret magus, exspectaret Simeon, sidera nuntiarent, Maria mobilis ad introitum, immobilis ad miraculum: Conservabat, inquit, haec omnia in corde suo (Luc. II, 19) . Quamvis mater Domini, discere tamen praecepta Domini desiderabat: et quae Deum genuerat, Deum tamen scire cupiebat.

13. And then, in the many subsequent wonders, when the barren bore a son, the virgin conceived, the dumb spoke, the wise men worshipped, Simeon waited, the stars gave notice. Mary, who was moved by the angel's entrance, was unmoved by the miracles. Mary, it is said, kept all these things in her heart. Luke 2:19 Though she was the mother of the Lord, yet she desired to learn the precepts of the Lord, and she who brought forth God, yet desired to know God.

14. Quid, quod annis quoque omnibus ibat in Hierusalem solemni die paschae, et ibat cum Ioseph? (Ibid., 41.) Ubique in virgine comes singularum virtutum est pudor. Hic individuus debet esse virginitati, sine quo non potest esse virginitas. Nec ad templum igitur Maria sine pudoris sui custode processit.

14. And then, how she also went every year to Jerusalem at the solemn day of the passover, and went with Joseph. Everywhere is modesty the companion of her singular virtues in the Virgin. This, without which virginity cannot exist, must be the inseparable companion of virginity. And so Mary did not go even to the temple without the guardianship of her modesty.

15. Haec est imago virginitatis. Talis enim fuit Maria, ut eius unius vita omnium sit disciplina. Si igitur auctor non displicet, opus probemus; ut quaecumque sibi eius exoptat praemium, imitetur exemplum. Quantae in una virgine species virtutum emicant? Secretum verecundiae, vexillum fidei, devotionis obsequium: virgo intra domum, comes ad ministerium, mater ad templum.

15. This is the likeness of virginity. For Mary was such that her example alone is a lesson for all. If, then, the author displeases us not, let us make trial of the production, that whoever desires its reward for herself may imitate the pattern. How many kinds of virtues shine forth in one Virgin! The secret of modesty, the banner of faith, the service of devotion, the Virgin within the house, the companion for the ministry, the mother at the temple.

16. O quantis illa virginibus occurret, quantas complexa ad Dominum trahet, dicens: Haec thorum filii mei, haec thalamos nuptiales immaculato servavit pudore! Quemadmodum eas ipse Dominus commendabit Patri;

nimirum illud repetens suum: Pater sancte, istae sunt quas custodivi tibi, in quibus Filius hominis caput reclinans quievit; peto ut ubi ego sum, et ipsae sint mecum (Ioan XVII, 24) . Sed si non solis sibi debent prodesse, quae non solis vixerunt sibi: haec parentes, haec redimat fratres. Pater iuste, mundus me non cognovit, istae autem me cognoverunt, et mundum cognoscere noluerunt (Ibid., 25) .

16. Oh! How many virgins shall she meet, how many shall she embrace and bring to the Lord, and say: She has been faithful to her espousal, to my Son; she has kept her bridal couch with spotless modesty. How shall the Lord Himself commend them to His Father, repeating again those words of His: Holy Father, these are they whom I have kept for You, on whom the Son of Man leant His head and rested; I ask that where I am there they may be with Me. John 17:24 And if they ought to benefit not themselves only, who lived not for themselves alone, one virgin may redeem her parents, another her brothers. Holy Father, the world has not known Me, but these have known Me, and have willed not to know the world. John 17:25

17. Quae pompa illa, quanta angelorum laetitia plaudentium, quod habitare mereatur in coelo, quae coelesti vita vixit in saeculo! Tunc etiam Maria tympanum sumens, choros virginales excitabit cantantes Domino quod per mare saeculi sine saecularibus fluctibus transierunt (Exod. XV, 20) . Tunc unaquaeque exsultabit dicens: Et introibo ad altare Dei mei, et ad Deum qui laetificat iuventutem meam (Psal. XLII, 4) . Immolo Deo sacrificium laudis, et reddo Altissimo vota mea (Psal. XLIX, 14) .

17. What a procession shall that be, what joy of applauding angels when she is found worthy of dwelling in heaven who lived on earth a heavenly life! Then too Mary, taking her timbrel, shall stir up the choirs of virgins, singing to the Lord because they have passed through the sea of this world without suffering from the waves of this world. Exodus 15:20 Then each shall

rejoice, saying: I will go to the altar of God; to God Who makes my youth glad; and, I will offer unto God thanksgiving, and pay my vows unto the Most High.

18. Neque enim dubitaverim vobis patere altaria Dei, quarum mentes altaria confidenter dixerim, in quibus quotidie pro redemptione corporis Christus immolatur. Nam si corpus virginis Dei templum est, animus quid est, qui tamquam membrorum cineribus exagitatis, sacerdotis aeterni redopertus manu, vaporem divini ignis exhalat? Beatae virgines, quae tam immortali spiratis gratia, ut horti floribus, ut templa religione, ut altaria sacerdote!

18. Nor would I hesitate to admit you to the altars of God, whose souls I would without hesitation call altars, on which Christ is daily offered for the redemption of the body. For if the virgin's body be a temple of God, what is her soul, which, the ashes, as it were, of the body being shaken off, once more uncovered by the hand of the Eternal Priest, exhales the vapour of the divine fire. Blessed virgins, who emit a fragrance through divine grace as gardens do through flowers, temples through religion, altars through the priest.

CAPUT III.

UT MARIA VITAE informandae, sic Thecla mortis obeundae exemplar dicitur. Hanc a bestiis ad quas damnata fuerat, non solum nihil passam, sed e contrario cultam et adoratam esse. At ne quas superiora exempla deterreant, recentius quoddam narrandum proponitur.

CHAPTER 3.

St. Ambrose having set forth the Virgin Mary as a pattern for life, adduces Thecla as a model for learning how to die. Thecla suffered not from the beasts to whom she was condemned, but on the contrary received from them signs of reverence. He then proceeds to introduce a more recent example.

19. Ergo sancta Maria disciplinam vitae informet, Thecla doceat immolari: quae copulam fugiens nuptialem, et sponsi furore damnata, naturam etiam bestiarum virginitatis veneratione mutavit. Namque parata ad feras, cum aspectus quoque declinaret virorum, ac vitalia ipsa saevo offerret leoni, fecit ut qui impudicos detulerant oculos, pudicos referrent.

19. Let, then, holy Mary instruct you in the discipline of life, and Thecla teach you how to be offered, for she, avoiding nuptial intercourse, and condemned through her husband’s rage, changed even the disposition of wild beasts by their reverence for virginity. For being made ready for the wild beasts, when avoiding the gaze of men, she offered her vital parts to a fierce lion, caused those who had turned away their immodest looks to turn them back modestly.

20. Cernere erat lingentem pedes bestiam cubitare humi, muto testificantem sono quod sacrum virginis corpus violare non posset. Ergo adorabat

praedam suam bestia: et propriae oblita naturae, naturam induerat quam homines amiserant. Videres quadam naturae transfusione homines feritatem indutos, saevitiam imperare bestiae: bestiam exosculantem pedes virginis, docere quid homines deberent. Tantum habet virginitas admirationis, ut eam etiam leones mirentur. Non impastos cibus flexit, non citatos impetus rapuit, non stimulatos ira exasperavit, non usus decepit assuetos, non feros natura possedit. Docuerunt religionem dum adorant martyrem: docuerunt etiam castitatem, dum virgini nihil aliud nisi plantas exosculantur, demersis in terram oculis, tamquam verecundantibus, ne mas aliquis vel bestia virginem nudam videret.

20. The beast was to be seen lying on the ground, licking her feet, showing without a sound that it could not injure the sacred body of the virgin. So the beast reverenced his prey, and forgetful of his own nature, put on that nature which men had lost. One could see, as it were, by some transfusion of nature, men clothed with savageness, goading the beast to cruelty, and the beast kissing the feet of the virgin, teaching them what was due from men. Virginity has in itself so much that is admirable, that even lions admire it. Food did not induce them though kept without their meal; no impulse hurried them on when excited; anger did not exasperate them when stirred up, nor did their habits lead them blindly as they were wont, nor their own natural disposition possess them with fierceness. They set an example of piety when reverencing the martyr; and gave a lesson in favor of chastity when they did nothing but kiss the virgin’s feet, with their eyes turned to the ground, as though through modesty, fearing that any male, even a beast, should see the virgin naked.

21. Dicet aliquis: Cur exemplum attulisti Mariae, quasi reperiri queat matrem Domini quae possit imitari? Cur etiam Theclae, quam gentium Doctor instituit? Da huiuscemodi doctorem, si discipulam requiris.

Huiuscemodi recens vobis exemplum profero, ut intelligatis Apostolum non unius esse doctorem, sed omnium.

21. Some one will say: Why have you brought forward the example of Mary, as if any one could be found to imitate the Lord’s mother? And why that of Thecla, whom the Apostle of the Gentiles trained? Give us a teacher of our own sort if you wish for disciples. I will, therefore, set before you a recent example of this sort, that you may understand that the Apostle is the teacher, not of one only, but of all.

CAPUT IV.

ANTIOCHENA VIRGO, CUM sacrificare idolis recusaret, ad lupanar damnata, inde militis christiani opera, mutatis inter se vestibus, sine ullo pudoris damno evadit; at cum ille propterea duceretur ad supplicium, haec e vestigio rediens, constanter de palma cum eodem contendit, qua tandem uterque donati sunt.

CHAPTER 4.

A virgin at Antioch, having refused to sacrifice to idols, was condemned to a house of ill-fame, whence she escaped unharmed, having changed clothes with a Christian soldier. Then when he was condemned for this, she returned and the two contended for the prize of martyrdom, which was at last given to each.

22. Antiochiae nuper virgo quaedam fuit fugitans publici visus: sed quo magis virorum evitabat oculos, eo amplius incendebat. Pulchritudo enim audita nec visa plus desideratur, duobus stimulis cupiditatum, amoris et cognitionis: dum et nihil occurrit quod minus placeat, et plus putatur esse quod placeat, quod non iudex oculus explorat, sed animus amator exoptat. Itaque sancta virgo, ne diutius alerentur potiendi spe cupiditates, integritatem pudoris professa, sic restinxit improborum faces, ut non iam amaretur, sed proderetur.

22. There was lately at Antioch a virgin who avoided being seen in public, but the more she shrank from men’s eyes, the more they longed for her. For beauty which is heard of but not seen is more desired, there being two incentives to passion, love and knowledge — so long as nothing is met with which pleases less; and that which pleases is thought to be of more worth, because the eye is not in this case the judge by investigation, but the mind

inflamed with love is full of longing. And so the holy virgin, lest their passions should be longer fed by the desire of gaining her, professed her intention of preserving her chastity, and so quenched the fires of those wicked men, that she was no longer loved, but informed against.

23. Ecce persecutio. Puella fugere nescia, certe pavida, ne incideret insidiatores pudoris, animum ad virtutem paravit: tam religiosa, ut mortem non timeret: tam pudica, ut exspectaret. Venit coronae dies. Maxima omnium exspectatio. Producitur puella, duplex professa certamen, et castitatis, et religionis. Sed ubi viderunt constantiam professionis, metum pudoris, paratam ad cruciatus, erubescentem ad aspectus, excogitare coeperunt quemadmodum specie castitatis religionem tollerent; ut cum id abstulissent quod erat amplius, etiam id eriperent quod reliquerant. Aut sacrificare virginem, aut lupanari prostitui iubent. Quomodo deos suos colunt, qui sic vindicant: aut quemadmodum ipsi vivunt, qui ita iudicant?

23. So a persecution arose. The maiden, not knowing how to escape, and afraid lest she might fall into the hands of those who were plotting against her chastity, prepared her soul for heroic virtue, being so religious as not to fear death, so chaste as to expect it. The day of her crown arrived. The expectation of all was at its height. The maiden is brought forward, and makes her twofold profession, of religion and of chastity. But when they saw the constancy of her profession, her fear for her modesty, her readiness for tortures, and her blushes at being looked on, they began to consider how they might overcome her religion by setting chastity before her, so that, having deprived her of that which was the greatest, they might also deprive her of that which they had left. So the sentence was that she should either sacrifice, or be sent to a house of ill-fame. After what manner do they worship their gods who thus avenge them, or how do they live themselves who give sentence after this fashion?

24. Hic puella non quod de religione ambigeret; sed de pudore trepidaret, ipsa secum: Quid agimus? Hodie aut martyr, aut virgo: altera in nobis invidetur corona. Sed nec virginis nomen agnoscitur, ubi virginitatis auctor negatur. Nam quemadmodum virgo, si meretricem colas: quemadmodum virgo, si adulteros diligas, quemadmodum virgo, si amorem petas? Tolerabilius est (22, q. 5, cap. Tolerabilius) mentem virginem quam carnem habere. Utrumque bonum, si liceat: si non liceat, saltem non homini castae, sed Deo simus. Et Rahab meretrix fuit, sed postquam Deo credidit, salutem invenit. (Iosue II, 9 et seq.) . Et Iudith se, ut adultero placeret, ornavit (Iudith. IX, 1 et seq.) ; quae tamen quia hoc religione, non amore faciebat, nemo eam adulteram iudicavit. Bene successit exemplum. Nam si illa quae se commisit religioni, et pudorem servavit et patriam; fortassis et nos servando religionem, servabimus etiam castitatem. Quod si Iudith pudicitiam religioni praeferre voluisset, perdita patria, etiam pudicitiam perdidisset.

24. And the virgin, not hesitating about her religion, but fearful as to her chastity, began to reflect, What am I to do? Each crown, that of martyrdom and that of virginity, is grudged me today. But the name of virgin is not acknowledged where the Author of virginity is denied. How can one be a virgin who cherishes a harlot? How can one be a virgin who loves adulterers? How a virgin if she seeks for a lover? It is preferable to have a virgin mind than a virgin body. Each is good if each be possible; if it be not possible, let me be chaste, not to man but to God. Rahab, too, was a harlot, but after she believed in God, she found salvation. Joshua 2:9 And Judith adorned herself that she might please an adulterer, but because she did this for religion and not for love, no one considered her an adulteress. Judith x This instance turned out well. For if she who entrusted herself to religion both preserved her chastity and her country, perhaps I, by preserving my religion, shall also preserve my chastity. But if Judith had preferred her

chastity to her religion, when her country had been lost, she would also have lost her chastity.

25. Itaque talibus informata exemplis, simul animo tenens verba Domini, quibus ait: Quicumque perdiderit animam suam propter me, inveniet eam (Marc. X, 39); flevit, tacuit, ne eam vel loquentem adulter audiret: nec pudoris elegit iniuriam, sed Christi recusavit. Aestimate utrum adulterare potuerit corpus, quae nec vocem adulteravit.

25. And so, instructed by such examples, and at the same time bearing in mind the words of the Lord, where He says: Whosoever shall lose his life for My sake, shall find it, Matthew 10:39 she wept, and was silent, that the adulterer might not even hear her speaking, and she did not choose the wrong done to her modesty, but rejected wrong done to Christ. Consider whether it was possible for her to allow her body to be unchaste, who guarded even her speech.

26. Iamdudum verecundatur oratio mea, et quasi adire gestorum seriem criminosam atque explanare formidat. Claudite aurem, virgines. Ducitur puella Dei ad lupanar. Sed aperite aurem, virgines. Christi virgo prostitui potest, adulterari non potest. Ubicumque virgo Dei est, templum Dei est: nec lupanaria infamant castitatem, sed castitas etiam loci abolet infamiam.

26. For some time my words have been becoming bashful, and fear to laud on or describe the wicked series of what was done. Close your ears, you virgins! The Virgin of God is taken to a house of shame. But now unclose your ears, you virgins. The Virgin of Christ can be exposed to shame, but cannot be contaminated. Everywhere she is the Virgin of God, and the Temple of God, and houses of ill-fame cannot injure chastity, but chastity does away with the ill-fame of the place.

27. Fit ingens petulantium concursus ad fornicem. Discite martyrum miracula, sanctae virgines, dediscite locorum vocabula. Clauditur intus columba, strepunt accipitres foris: certant singuli, quis praedam primus invadat. At illa manibus ad coelum levatis, quasi ad domum venisset orationis, non ad libidinis diversorium: Christe, inquit, qui domuisti Danieli virgini feros leones (Dan. XIV, 39) , potes etiam domare hominum feras mentes. Chaldaeis roravit ignis (Dan. III, 50) , Iudaeis se unda suspendit (Exod. XIV, 21) , misericordia tua, non natura sua. Susanna ad supplicium genu fixit, et de adulteris triumphavit (Dan. XIII, 42) : aruit dextera quae templi tui dona violavit (III Reg. XIII, 4) : nunc templum ipsum attrectatur tuum; ne patiaris incestum sacrilegii, qui non passus es furtum. Benedicatur et nunc nomen tuum; ut quae ad adulterium veni, virgo discedam.

27. A great rush of wanton men is made to the place. Listen, you holy virgins, to the miracles of the martyr, forget the name of the place. The door is shut within, the hawks cry without; some are contending who shall first attack the prey. But she, with her hands raised to heaven, as though she had come to a house of prayer, not to a resort of lust, says: O Christ, Who tamed the fierce lions for the virgin Daniel, Daniel 6:22 You can also tame the fierce minds of men. Fire became as dew to the Hebrew children, the water stood up for the Jews, of Your mercy, not of its own nature. Exodus 14:22 Susanna knelt down for punishment and triumphed over her adulterous accusers, the right hand withered which violated the gifts of Your temple; and now your temple itself is violated; suffer not sacrilegious incest, You Who did not suffer theft. Let Your Name be now again glorified in that I who came here for shame, may go away a virgin!

28. Vix compleverat precem, et ecce vir militis specie terribilis irrupit. Quemadmodum eum virgo tremuit, cui populus tremens cessit? Sed non illa immemor lectionis: Et Daniel, inquit, supplicium Susannae spectaturus

advenerat: et quam populus damnavit, unus absolvit (Dan. XIII, 45 et seq.) . Potest et in hoc lupi habitu ovis latere. Habet et Christus milites suos, qui etiam legiones habet (Matth. XXVI, 53) . Aut fortasse percussor intravit. Ne vereare, anima, talis solet martyres facere. O virgo, fides tua te salvam fecit!

28. Scarcely had she finished her prayer, when, lo! A man with the aspect of a terrible warrior burst in. How the virgin trembled before him to whom the trembling people gave way. But she did not forget what she had read. Daniel, said she, had gone to see the punishment of Susanna, and alone pronounced her guiltless, whom the people had condemned. A sheep may be hidden in the shape of this wolf. Christ has His soldiers also, Who is Master of legions. Matthew 26:53 Or, perchance, an executioner has come in. Fear not, my soul, such an one makes martyrs. O Virgin! Your faith has saved you.

29. Cui miles: Ne, quaeso, paveas, soror. Frater huc veni salvare animam, non perdere. Serva me, ut ipsa serveris. Quasi adulter ingressus, si vis, martyr egrediar. Vestimenta mutemus; conveniunt mihi tua, et mea tibi: sed utraque Christo. Tua vestis me verum militem faciet, mea te virginem. Bene tu vestieris, ego melius exuar, ut me persecutor agnoscat. Sume habitum, qui abscondat feminam: trade, qui consecret martyrem. Induere chlamidem quae occultet membra virginis, servetque pudorem. Sume pileum quod tegat crines, abscondat ora. Solent erubescere qui lupanar intraverint. Sane cum egressa fueris, ne respicias retro, memor uxoris Loth quae naturam suam, quia impudicos licet castis oculis respexit, amisit (Gen. XIX, 26) . Nec vereare ne quid pereat sacrificio. Ego pro te hostiam Deo reddo, tu pro me militem Christo. Habes bonam militiam castitatis, quae stipendiis militat sempiternis: Ioricam iustitiae, quae spiritali munimine corpus includat: scutum fidei, quo vulnus repellas: galeam salutis; ibi enim est praesidium nostrae salutis, ubi Christus: quoniam mulieris caput vir, virginis Christus.

29. And the soldier said to her: Fear not, sister, I pray you. I, a brother, have come hither to save life, not to destroy it. Save me, that you yourself may be saved. I came in like an adulterer, to go forth, if you will, as a martyr. Let us change our attire, mine will fit you, and yours will fit me, and each for Christ. Your robe will make me a true soldier, mine will make you a virgin. You will be clothed well, I shall be unclothed even better that the persecutor may recognize me. Take the garment which will conceal the woman, give me that which shall consecrate me a martyr. Put on the cloak which will hide the limbs of a virgin, but preserve her modesty. Take the cap which will cover your hair and conceal your countenance. They who have entered houses of ill-fame are wont to blush. When you have gone forth, take care not to look back, remembering Lot's wife, Genesis 19:26 who lost her very nature because she looked back at what was unchaste, though with chaste eyes. And be not afraid lest any part of the sacrifice fail. I will offer the victim to God for you, do you offer the soldier to Christ for me. You have served the good service of chastity, the wages of which are everlasting life; you have the breastplate of righteousness, which protects the body with spiritual armour, the shield of faith with which to ward off wounds, and the helmet of salvation, Ephesians 6:14-17 for there is the defense of our salvation where Christ is, since the man is the head of the woman. and Christ of the virgin.

30. Et inter haec verba chlamydem exuit. Suspectus tamen adhuc habitus et persecutoris et adulteri. Virgo cervicem, chlamydem miles offerre. Quae pompa illa, quae gratia, cum in lupanari de martyrio certarent! Addantur personae, miles et virgo, hoc est, dissimiles inter se natura, sed Dei miseratione consimiles; ut compleatur oraculum: Tunc lupi et agni simul pascentur (Esai. LXV, 25) . Ecce agna et lupus non solum pascuntur simul, sed etiam immolantur. Quid plura? Mutato habitu, evolat puella de laqueo,

iam non suis alis, ut pote quae spiritalibus ferebatur: et (quod nulla umquam viderunt saecula) egreditur de lupanari virgo, sed Christi.

30. Whilst saying this he put off his cloak. This garment has been up to this time suspected of being that of a persecutor and adulterer. The virgin offered her neck, the soldier his cloak. What a spectacle that was, what a manifestation of grace when they were contending for martyrdom in a house of ill-fame! Let the characters be also considered, a soldier and a virgin, that is, persons unlike in natural disposition, but alike by the mercy of God, that the saying might be fulfilled: Then the wolves and the lambs shall feed together. Isaiah 65:25 Behold the lamb and the wolf not only feed together but are also offered together. Why should I say more? Having changed her garment, the maiden flies from the snare, not now with wings of her own, seeing she was borne on spiritual wings, and (a sight which the ages had never seen) she leaves the house of ill-fame a virgin, but a virgin of Christ.

31. At illi qui videbant oculis, et non videbant, ceu raptores ad agnam, ceu lupi fremere ad praedam. Unus qui erat immodestior, introivit. Sed ubi hausit oculis rei textum: Quid hoc, inquit, est? Puella ingressa est, vir videtur. Ecce non fabulosum illud cerva pro virgine, sed quod verum est, miles ex virgine. At etiam audieram et non credideram, quod aquam Christus in vinum convertit (Ioan. II, 9) : iam mutare coepit et sexus. Recedamus hinc, dum adhuc qui fuimus, sumus. Numquid et ipse mutatus sum, qui aliud cerno, quam credo? Ad lupanar veni, cerno vadimonium: et tamen mutatus egrediar, pudicus exibo, qui adulter intravi.

31. But they who were looking with their eyes, yet saw not, raged like robbers for prey, or wolves for a lamb. One who was more shameless went in. But when he took in the state of the matter with his eyes, he said, What is this? A maiden entered, now a man is to be seen here. This is not the old

fable of a hind instead of a maiden, but in truth a virgin become a soldier. I had heard but believed not that Christ changed water into wine; now He has begun also to change the sexes. Let us depart hence while we still are what we were. Am I too changed who see things differently from what I believe them to be? I came to a house of ill-fame, and see a surety. And yet I go forth changed, for I shall go out chaste who came in unchaste.

32. Indicio rei, quia debebatur tanto corona victori, damnatus est pro virgine, qui pro virgine comprehensus est. Ita de lupanari non solum virgo, sed etiam martyres exierunt. Fertur puella ad locum supplicii cucurrisse, certasse ambos de nece, cum ille diceret: Ego sum iussus occidi, te absolvit sententia, quando me tenuit. At illa clamare coepit: Non ego te mortis vadem elegi, sed praedem pudoris optavi. Si pudor quaeritur, manet sexus: si sanguis exposcitur, fideiussorem non desidero, habeo unde dissolvam. In me lata ista sententia, quae pro me lata est. Certe si pecuniae te fideiussorem dedissem; et absente me, iudex tuum censum feneratori adiudicasset; eadem me sententia convenires, meo patrimonio solverem tuos nexus. Si recusarem, quis me indignam indigna morte censeret? Quanto maior est capitis huius usura! Moriar innocens, ne moriar nocens. Nihil hic medium est: hodie aut rea ero tui sanguinis, aut martyr mei. Si cito redii, quis me audet excludere? Si moram feci, quis audet absolvere? Plus legibus debeo, rea non solum fugae meae, sed etiam caedis alienae. Sufficiunt membra morti, quae non sufficiebant iniuriae. Est in virgine vulneri locus, qui non erat contumeliae. Ego opprobrium declinavi, non martyrium. Tibi cessi vestem, non professionem mutavi. Quod si mihi praeripis mortem, non redemisti me, sed circumvenisti. Cave, quaeso, ne contendas, cave ne contradicere audeas. Noli eripere beneficium, quod dedisti. Dum mihi hanc sententiam negas, illam restituis superiorem. Sententia enim sententia superiore mutatur. Si posterior me non tenet, tenet superior. Possumus uterque satisfacere sententiae, si me prius patiaris

occidi. In te non habent aliam quam exerceant, poenam: in virgine obnoxius pudor est. Itaque gloriosior eris, si videaris de adultera martyrem fecisse, quam de martyre adulteram reddidisse.

32. When the affair was known, because a crown was due to such a conqueror, he was condemned for the virgin who was seized for the virgin, and so not only a virgin but a martyr came forth from the house of ill-fame. It is reported that the maiden ran to the place of punishment, and that they both contended for death. He said: I am condemned to death, the sentence let you go free when it retained me. And she replied: I did not choose you as my surety on pain of death, but as a guarantee for my chastity. If chastity be attacked, my sex remains; if blood is sought, I desire none to give bail for me, I have the means to pay. The sentence was pronounced on me, which was pronounced for me. Undoubtedly, if I had offered you as security for my debt, and in my absence the judge had assigned your property to the creditor, you would share the sentence with me, and I should pay your obligations with my patrimony. Were I to refuse, who would not judge me worthy of a shameful death? How much more am I bound where there is a question of death? Let me die innocent, that I may not die guilty. In this matter there is no middle course; today I shall either be guilty of your blood or a martyr in my own. If I came back quickly, who dares to shut me out? If I delayed, who dares acquit me? I owe a greater debt to the laws who am guilty not only of my own flight, but also of the death of another. My limbs are equal to death, which were not equal to dishonour. A virgin can accept a wound who could not accept contumely. I avoided disgrace, not martyrdom. I gave up my robe to you; I did not alter my profession. And if you deprive me of death, you will not have rescued but circumvented me. Beware, pray, of resisting, beware of venturing to contend with me. Take not away the kindness you have conferred on me. In denying me the execution of this sentence, you are setting up again the former one. For the sentence is

changed for a former one. If the latter binds me not, the former one does. We can each satisfy the sentence if you suffer me to be slain first. From you they can exact no other penalty, but her chastity is in danger with a virgin. And so you will be more glorious if you are seen to have made a martyr of an adulteress. than to have made again an adulteress of a martyr.

33. Quid exspectatis? Duo contenderunt, et ambo vicerunt: nec divisa est corona, sed addita. Ita sancti martyres invicem sibi beneficia conferentes, altera principium martyrio dedit, alter effectum.

33. What do you think was the end? The two contended, and both gained the victory, and the crown was not divided, but became two. So the holy martyrs, conferring benefits one on the other, gave the one the impulse and the other the result to their martyrdom.

CAPUT V.

AMICORUM DUORUM E secta Pythagorea memorabile factum cum laude recensetur; superiori tamen ostenditur esse postponendum: ubi etiam de Dionysii in spoliandis idolis irrisione, nec non de deorum in tolerandis illius sacrilegiis infirmitate disseritur, posita ex adverso quam Deus olim coepit de Ieroboam, severa ultione.

CHAPTER 5.

The story of the two Pythagorean friends, Damon and Pythias, is related by St. Ambrose, who points out that the case mentioned in the last chapter is more praiseworthy. A comparison is instituted between the treatment of their gods by heathen without any punishment, and Jeroboam's irreverence with its punishment.

34. At etiam philosophorum gymnasia Damonem et Pythiam Pythagoreos in coelum ferunt, quorum unus cum esset morti adiudicatus, commendandorum suorum tempus poposcit: tyrannus autem astutissimus, quod reperiri non posse existimaret, petivit ut sponsorem daret, qui pro se feriretur, si ipse faceret moram. Quid de duobus praeclarius, nescio. Utrumque praeclarum. Alter mortis vadem invenit, alter se obtulit. Itaque dum reus moram supplicio faceret, fideiussor vultu sereno mortem non recusavit. Cum duceretur, amicus revertitur, cervicem substituit, colla subiecit. Tunc admiratus tyrannus chariorem philosophis amicitiam quam vitam fuisse; petivit ut ipse ab his quos damnaverat, in amicitiam reciperetur. Tantam virtutis esse gratiam, ut et tyrannum inclinaret.

34. And the schools of the philosophers laud Damon and Pythias — the Pythagoreans — to the skies, of whom one, when condemned to death, asked for time to set his affairs in order, whereupon, the tyrant, in his

cunning, not supposing that such could be found, asked for a bondsman who should suffer the penalty if the other delayed his return. I do not know which act of the two was the more noble. The one found the bondsman, the other offered himself. And so while he who was condemned met with some delay, the bondsman with calm countenance did not refuse death. As he was being led forth his friend returned, and offered his neck to the axe. Then the tyrant, wondering that friendship was dearer to philosophers than life, asked himself to be received into friendship by those whom he had condemned. The grace of Virtue was so great that it moved even a tyrant.

35. Digna laude, sed minora nostris. Nam illic ambo viri; hic una virgo, quae primo etiam sexum vinceret: illi amici, isti incogniti: illi tyranno uni se obtulerunt, isti tyrannis pluribus, hoc etiam crudelioribus, quod ille pepercit, isti occiderunt: inter illos in uno obnoxia necessitas, in his amborum voluntas libera. Hoc quoque isti prudentiores, quod illis studii sui finis amicitiae gratia, istis corona martyrii; illi enim certaverunt hominibus, isti Deo.

35. These things are worthy of praise; but are inferior to our instance. For those two were men, with us one was a virgin, who had first to be superior to her sex; those were friends, these were unknown to each other; those offered themselves to one tyrant, these to many tyrants; and these more cruel, for in the former case the tyrant spared them, these slew them; with the former one was bound by necessity, with these the will of each was free. In this, too, the latter were the wiser, that with those the end of their zeal was the pleasure of friendship, with these the crown of martyrdom, for they strove for men, these for God.

36. Et quoniam rei istius fecimus mentionem, par est contexere quid de diis suis senserit, quo magis infirmos iudicetis, quos irrident sui. Namque is cum venisset in templum Iovis, amictum aureum quo operiebatur simulacrum

eius, detrahi iussit, imponi laneum, dicens aurum hyeme frigidum, aestate onerosum esse. Sic deum irrisit suum, ut nec onus ferre posse, nec frigus putaret. Idem cum Aesculapii barbam vidisset auream, tolli imperavit, incongruum esse appellans ut filius barbam haberet, patre non habente. Idem simulacris tenentibus aureas pateras ademit, allegans accipere se debere, quod dii darent: Quoniam haec sunt vota, inquit, hominum, ut a diis quae bona sunt, adipiscantur: nihil autem auro melius: quod tamen si malum est, habere deos non debere: si bonum est, habere magis homines debere, qui uti scirent.

36. And since we have mentioned that man who was condemned, it is fitting to add what he thought of his gods, that you may judge how weak they are whom their own followers deride. For he, having come into the temple of Jupiter, bade them take off the fillet of gold with which his image was crowned, and to put on one of wool instead, saying that the golden fillet was cold in winter and heavy in summer. So he derided his god as being unable to bear either a weight or cold. He, too, when he saw the golden beard of Æsculapius, bade them remove it, saying that it was not fit for the son to have a beard when the father had none. Again, he took away the golden bowls from the images which held them, saying that he ought to receive what the gods gave. For, said he, men make prayers to receive good things from the gods, and nothing is better than gold; if, however, gold be evil, the gods ought not to have it; if it be good, it is better that men should have it who know how to use it.

37. Ita ludibrio habiti sunt, ut neque Iupiter vestem suam defendere potuerit, nec barbam Aesculapius, nec Apollo pubescere adhuc coeperit, neque omnes qui dicuntur dii, retrahere potuerint pateras quas tenebant: non tam furti reatum timentes, quam sensum non habentes. Quis igitur eos colat, qui nec defendere se quasi dii, nec abscondere quasi homines possunt?

37. Such objects of ridicule were they, that neither could Jupiter defend his garment, nor Æsculapius his beard, for Apollo had not yet begun to grow one; nor could all those who are esteemed gods keep the golden bowls which they were holding, not fearing the charge of theft so much as not having any feeling. Who, then, would worship them, who can neither defend themselves as gods nor hide themselves as men?

38. At in templo Dei nostri cum Ieroboam, rex sceleratissimus, dona quae pater eius posuerat, auferret, ac super sanctum altare libaret idolis; nonne dextera eius quam tetendit, aruit, nec sua ei quae invocabat, idola profuerunt? Deinde conversus ad Dominum, rogavit veniam, statimque manus eius quae aruerat sacrilegio, sanata est religione (III Reg. XIII, 2 et seq.) . Tam maturum in uno et misericordiae divinae et indignationis exemplum exstitit, ut sacrificanti subito dextera adimeretur, poenitenti venia daretur.

38. But when in the temple of our God, that wicked king Jeroboam took away the gifts which his father had laid up, and offered to idols upon the holy altar, did not his right hand, which he stretched out, wither, and his idols, which he called upon, were not able to help him? Then, turning to the Lord, he asked for pardon, and at once his hand which had withered by sacrilege was healed by true religion. So complete an example was there set forth in one person, both of divine mercy and wrath when he who was sacrificing suddenly lost his right hand, but when penitent received forgiveness.

CAPUT VI.

LIBRI SECUNDI CONCLUSIO, qua testatur Auctor modestissimus, si quid hactenus boni scripserit, id totum in virginum merita referendum: sui autem officii fuisse asseverat, antequam severiora traderet praecepta, earam animos orationis atque exemplorum suavitate mulcere; quod et humano usu, et divinorum codicum auctoritate demonstrat.

CHAPTER 6.

St. Ambrose, in concluding the second book, ascribes any good there may be in it to the merits of the virgins, and sets forth that it was right before laying down any severe precepts to encourage them by examples, as is done both in human teaching and in holy Scripture.

39. Haec ego vobis, sanctae virgines, nondum triennalis sacerdos munuscula paravi, licet usu indoctus, sed vestris edoctus moribus. Quantus etenim adolescere usus potuit tam parva initiatae religionis aetate? Si quos hic flores cernitis, de vestrae vitae collectos legite sinu. Non sunt haec praecepta virginibus, sed de virginibus exempla. Vestrae virtutis effigiem nostra depinxit oratio, vestrae gravitatis imaginem quasi in speculo quodam sermonis istius cernitis refulgere. Vos si quam nostro gratiam inhalastis ingenio, vestrum est quidquid iste redolet liber. Et quoniam quot homines, tot sententiae: si quid defaecatum est in sermone nostro, omnes legant: si quid decoctum, maturiores probent: si quid modestum, pectoribus inhaereat, genas pingat: si quid florulentum, aetas florulenta non improbet.

39. I, who have been not yet three years a bishop, have prepared this offering for you, holy virgins, although untaught by my own experience, yet having learned much from your mode of life. For what experience could

have grown up in so short a time of being initiated in religion? If you find any flowers herein, gather them together in the bosom of your lives. These are not precepts for virgins, but instances taken from virgins. My words have sketched the likeness of your virtue, you may see the reflection of your gravity, as it were, in the mirror of this discourse. If you have received any pleasure from my ability, all the fragrance of this book is yours. And since there are as many opinions as there are persons, if there be anything simple in my treatise let all read it; if anything stronger, let the more mature prove it; if anything modest, let it cleave to the breast and tinge the cheeks; if there be anything flowery, let the flowery age of youth not disdain it.

40. Debuimus sponsae excitare amorem; scriptum est enim: Diliges Dominum Deum tuum (Deut. VI, 5) . Debuimus in nuptiis calamistris quibusdam crines saltem orationis ornare; scriptum est enim: Plaude manu, et percute pede (Ezech. XXI, 14) . Debuimus perpetuos spargere thalamos rosis. Etiam in his coniugiis temporalibus nubenti prius plauditur, quam imperatur; ne ante dura offendant imperia, quam blanditiis amor fotus inolescat.

40. We ought to stir up the love of the bride, for it is written: You shall love the Lord your God. Deuteronomy 6:5 At bridal feasts we ought to adorn the hair at least with some ornaments of prayer, for it is written: Smite the hands together, and strike with the foot. Ezekiel 21:14 We ought to scatter roses on those uninterrupted bridals. Even in these temporal marriages the bride is received with acclamation before she receives commands, lest hard commands should hurt her, before love cherished by kindness grows strong.

41. Equorum vis plausae sonitum discit amare cervicis, ne recuset iugum. Denique prius assuescitur verbo lasciviae, quam verbere disciplinae. Ast ubi colla subdiderit iugo; et habena constringit, et stimulus urget, et compares trahunt, et iugalis invitat. Sic etiam virgo nostra debuit prius amore pio

ludere, aurea thori coelestis fulcra mirari in ipso vestibulo nuptiarum, et postes frondium sertis cernere coronatos, et chori strepentis interius haurire delicias; ne se prius Dominico iugo timefacta subduceret, quam vocata inclinaret.

41. Horses learn to love the sound of patting their necks, that they may not refuse the yoke, and are first trained with words of enticement before the stripe of discipline. But when the horse has submitted its neck to the yoke, the rein pulls in, and the spur urges on, and its companions draw it, and the driver bids it. So, too, our virgin ought first to play with pious love, and admire the golden supports of the heavenly marriage couch on the very threshold of marriage, and to see the door-posts adorned with wreaths of leaves, and to taste the delight of the musicians playing within; that she may not through fear withdraw herself from the Lord's yoke, before she obeys His call.

42. Veni igitur huc a Libano, Sponsa, veni huc a Libano, transibis et pertransibis (Cant. IV, 8) . Saepius euim nobis iste versiculus recantandus est; ut vel Dominicis vocata verbis, sequatur, si qua non credit humanis. Hoc nos magisterium non invenimus, sed accepimus; sic instituit mystici carminis doctrina coelestis: Osculetur me ab osculis oris sui, quia ubera tua super vinum, et odor unguentorum tuorum super omnia aromata. Unguentum exinanitum est nomen tuum (Cant. I, 1, 2) . Totus iste deliciarum locus ludum sonat, plausum excitat, amorem provocat. Ideo, inquit, adolescentulae dilexerunt, et attraxerunt te: retro odorem unguentorum tuorum curramus: Induxit me Rex in tabernaculum suum (Ibid., 3) . Ab osculis coepit, ut ad tabernaculum perveniret.

42. Come, then, hither from Lebanon, My spouse, come hither from Lebanon, you shall pass and pass through. Song of Songs 4:8 This verse must be often repeated by us, that at least being called by the words of the

Lord, she may follow if there be any who will not trust the words of man. We have not formed this power for ourselves, but have received it; this is the heavenly teaching of the mystic song: Let Him kiss me with the kisses of His mouth, for Your breasts are better than wine, and the odor of Your ointments is above all spices. Your name is as ointment poured forth. Song of Songs 1:2-3 The whole of that place of delights sounds of sport, stirs up approval, calls forth love. Therefore, it continues, have the maidens loved You and have drawn You, let us run after the odour of Your ointments. The King has brought me into His chamber. Song of Songs 1:3-4 She began with kisses, and so attained to the chamber.

43. At illa tam patiens duri laboris, exercitataeque virtutis, ut aperiat manu claustra, in agrum exeat, in castellis maneat; in principio tamen retro odorem currit unguenti: mox cum in tabernaculum venerit unguentum mutatur a castellis. Denique quo vadit, vide: Si murus, inquit, est, aedificemus super eum turres argenteas (Cant. VIII, 9) . Quae ludebat osculis, iam turres erigit; ut pretiosis sanctorum turrita fastigiis, non solum hostiles frustretur incursus, verum etiam bonorum propugnacula struat tuta meritorum.

43. She, now so patient of hard toil, and of practised virtue, as to open the bars with her hand, go forth into the field, and abide in strongholds, at the beginning ran after the odour of the ointment; soon when she has come into the chamber the ointment is changed. And see whither she goes: If it be a wall, it is said, we will build upon it towers of silver. Song of Songs 8:9 She who sported with kisses now builds towers that, encircled with the precious battlements of the saints, she may not only render fruitless the attacks of the enemy, but also erect the safe defences of holy merits.

LIBER III

BOOK III.

CAPUT 1.

LIBERII MARCELLINAM DATO virginitatis velamine consecrantis refertur oratio: cuius exordium tum a frequentia confluentium ad illius Sponsi nuptias, a quo ipsos pascendos narrat, deducit: tum a convenientia diei quo ex virgine natus est Christus, ad cuius amorem eleganti perfectionum eius descriptione illam inflammat.

CHAPTER 1.

St. Ambrose now goes back to the address of Liberius when he gave the veil to Marcellina. Touching on the crowds pressing to the bridal feast of that Spouse Who feeds them all, he passes on to the fitness of her profession on the day on which Christ was born of a Virgin, and concludes with a fervent exhortation to love Him.

1. Quoniam quae habuimus superioribus duobus libris digessimus, tempus est, soror sancta, ea quae mecum conferre soles, beatae memoriae Liberii praecepta revolvere; ut quo vir sanctior, eo sermo accedat gratior. Namque is, cum Salvatoris natali ad apostolum Petrum virginitatis professionem vestis quoque mutatione signares, (quo enim melius die, quam quo virgo posteritatem acquisivit?) astantibus etiam puellis Dei compluribus quae certarent invicem de tua societate: Bonas, inquit, filia, nuptias desiderasti. Vides quantus ad natalem Sponsi tui populus convenerit, ut nemo impastus recedit? Hic est qui rogatus ad nuptias aquam in vina convertit (Ioan. II, 9) . In te quoque sincerum sacramentum conferet virginitatis, quae prius eras obnoxia vilibus naturae materialis elementis. Hic est qui quinque panibus et duobus piscibus quatuor millia populi in deserto pavit (Luc. IX, 13 et seq.) . Plures potuit, si plures iam tunc qui pascerentur, fuissent. Denique ad tuas

nuptias plures vocavit: sed iam non panis ex hordeo, sed corpus ministratur e coelo.

1. Inasmuch as I have digressed in what I have said in the two former hooks, it is now time, holy sister, to reconsider those precepts of Liberius of blessed memory which you used to talk over with me, as the holier the man the more pleasing is his discourse. For he, when on the Nativity of the Saviour in the Church of St. Peter you signified your profession of virginity by your change of attire (and what day could be better than that on which the Virgin received her child?) while many virgins were standing round and vying with each other for your companionship. You, said he, my daughter, have desired a good espousal. You see how great a crowd has come together for the birthday of your Spouse, and none has gone away without food. This is He, Who, when invited to the marriage feast, changed water into wine. John 2:9 He, too, will confer the pure sacrament of virginity on you who before were subject to the vile elements of material nature. This is He Who fed four thousand in the wilderness with five loaves and two fishes. Luke 9:13 He could have fed more; if more had been there to be fed, they would have been. And now He has called many to your espousal, but it is not now barley bread, but the Body from heaven which is supplied.

2. Hodie quidem secundum hominem homo natus ex virgine, sed ante omnia generatus ex Patre: qui matrem corpore, virtute referat patrem. Unigenitus in terris, unigenitus in coelo: Deus ex Deo, partus ex virgine: iustitia de Patre, virtus de potente, lumen ex lumine: non impar generantis, non potestate discretus: non Verbi extensione, aut prolatione confusus, ut cum Patre mixtus, sed ut a Patre generationis iure distinctus sit: ipse est fraternus tuus, sine quo nec coelestia, nec marina, nec terrestria, consistunt (Cant. V, 1) . Verbum Patris bonum, quod erat, inquit, in principio: habes eius aeternitatem. Et erat, inquit, apud Patrem (Ioan. I, 1 et seq.) : habes

indiscretam a Patre, inseparabilemque virtutem. Et Deus erat Verbum: habes ingenitam eius divinitatem; de compendio enim tibi fides est haurienda.

2. Today, indeed, He was born after the manner of men, of a Virgin, but was begotten of the Father before all things, resembling His mother in body, His Father in power. Only-begotten on earth, and Only-begotten in heaven. God of God, born of a Virgin, Righteousness from the Father, Power from the Mighty One, Light of Light, not unequal to His Father; nor separated in power, not confused by extension of the Word or enlargement as though mingled with the Father, but distinguished from the Father by virtue of His generation. He is your Brother, Song of Songs 5:1 without Whom neither things in heaven, nor things in the sea, nor things on earth consist. The good Word of the Father, Which was, it is said, in the beginning, John 1:1 here you have His eternity. And, it is said, the Word was with God. John 1:1 Here you have His power, undivided and inseparable from the Father. And the Word was God. John 1:1 Here you have His unbegotten Godhead, for your faith is to be drawn from the mutual relationship.

3. Hunc, filia, dilige, quia bonus est: Nemo enim bonus nisi unus Deus (Luc. XVIII, 19) . Si enim non dubitatur quia Deus Filius, Deus autem bonus est: utique non dubitatur, quia Deus bonus Filius. Hunc, inquam, dilige. Ipse est quem Pater genuit ante Luciferum, ut aeternum: ex utero generavit (Psal. CIX, 3) , ut Filium: ex corde eructavit (Psal. XLIV, 2) , ut Verbum. Ipse est in quo complacuit Pater (Matth. XVII, 5) : ipse est Patris brachium, quia creator est omnium: Patris sapientia (Coloss. II, 3) , quia ex Dei ore processit: Patris virtus (Cor. I, 30) , quia divinitatis in eo corporaliter habitat plenitudo. Quem Pater ita diligit, ut in sinu portet, ad dexteram locet, ut sapientiam discas, virtutem noveris.

3. Love him, my daughter, for He is good. For, None is good save God only. Luke 18:19 For if there be no doubt that the Son is God, and that God is

good, there is certainly no doubt that God the Son is good. Love Him I say. He it is Whom the Father begot before the morning star, as being eternal, He brought Him forth from the womb as the Son; He uttered him from His heart, as the Word. He it is in Whom the Father is well pleased; Matthew 17:5 He is the Arm of the Father, for He is Creator of all, and the Wisdom 1 Corinthians 1:30 of the Father, for He proceeded from the mouth of God; Wisdom 24:3 the Power of the Father, because the fullness of the Godhead dwells in Him bodily. Colossians 2:9 And the Father so loved Him, as to bear Him in His bosom, and place Him at His right hand, that you may learn His wisdom, and know His power.

4. Si igitur virtus Dei Christus, numquid aliquando sine virtute Deus? Numquid aliquando sine Filio Pater? Si semper ntique Pater, utique semper et Filius. Perfecti ergo patris perfectus est Filius. Nam qui virtuti derogat, ei derogat, cuius est virtus. Inaequalitatem non recipit perfecta divinitas. Dilige igitur, quem Pater diligit: honorifica, quem honorificat Pater: Qui enim non honorificat Filium, non honorificat Patrem. Et qui negat Filium, nec Patrem habet (Ioan. V, 23) . Haec quantum ad fidem.

4. If, then, Christ is the Power of God, was God ever without power? Was the Father ever without the Son? If the Father of a certainty always was, of a certainty the Son always was. So He is the perfect Son of a perfect Father. For he who derogates from the power, derogates from Him Whose is the power. The Perfection of the Godhead does not admit of inequality. Love, then, Him Whom the Father loves, honour Him Whom the Father honours, for he that honours not the Son, honours not the Father, John 5:23 and whoever denies the Son, has not the Father. 1 John 2:23 So much as to the faith.

CAPUT II.

VIRGINIS INSTITUTIONEM AGGREDITUR, quae in potu et cibo ratio servanda, et quo pacto motus animae cohibendi sint, praecipiens: qua occasione ubi fabulosam Hippolyti necem ac suscitationem retulit suggillavitque, postremo calidiores escas et convivia vitanda monet.

CHAPTER 2.

Touching next upon the training of a virgin, he speaks of moderation in food and drink, and of restraint upon the impulses of the mind, introducing some teaching upon the fable of the death and resurrection of Hippolytus, and advises the avoidance of certain meats.

5. Sed interdum etiam cum fides tuta sit, iuventus suspecta est. Modico itaque vino utere, ne infirmitatem corporis augeas, non ut voluptatem excites; incendunt enim pariter duo, vinum et adolescentia. Infrenent etiam teneram aetatem ieiunia, et parcimonia cibi retinaculis quibusdam indomitas cohibeat cupiditates. Ratio revocet, mitiget spes, restringat metus. Nam qui moderari nescit cupiditatibus, is sicut equis raptatus indomitis, volvitur, obteritur, laniatur, affligitur.

5. But sometimes even when faith is to be relied upon, youth is not trusted. Use wine, therefore, sparingly, in order that the weakness of the body may not increase, not for pleasurable excitement, for each alike kindles a flame, both wine and youth. Let fasts also put a bridle on tender age, and spare diet restrain the unsubdued appetites with a kind of rein. Let reason check, hope subdue, and fear curb them. For he who knows not how to govern his desires, like a man run away with by wild horses, is overthrown, bruised, torn, and injured.

6. Quod aliquando iuveni ob amorem Dianae contigisse proditur. Sed poeticis mendaciis coloratur fabula, ut Neptunus praelati rivalis dolore incitatus, equis dicatur furorem immisisse, quo eius magna potentia praedicetur, quod iuvenem non virtute vicit, sed fraude decepit. Unde etiam sacrificium quotannis instaurant Dianae, ut equus ad eius immoletur aras. Quam virginem dicunt, quae (id quod etiam meretrices erubescere solent) amare potuit non amantem. Sed habeant per me licet fabulae suae auctoritatem; quia licet scelestum utrumque, minus tamen sit iuvenem amore adulterae sic flagrasse ut periret, quam duos, ut ipsi dicunt, deos de adulterio certasse: Iovem autem dolorem scortantis filiae in medicum vindicasse adulteri, quod eius curarit vulnera, qui Dianam in silvis adulteraverit, venatricem sane optimam non ferarum, sed libidinum, sed ferarum etiam, ut nuda venaretur.

6. And this is said to have happened to a youth for his love of Diana. But the fable is colored with poet's tales, that Neptune, stirred with grief at his rival being preferred, sent madness upon his horses, whereby his great power might be set forth in that he overcame the youth, not by strength, but by fraud. And from this event a yearly sacrifice is celebrated for Diana, when a horse is offered at her altar. And they say that she was a virgin, and (of which even harlots would be ashamed) yet could love one who did not love her. But as far as I am concerned let their fables have authority, for though each be criminal, it is yet a less evil that a youth should have been so enamoured of an adulteress as to perish, than that two gods should, as they relate, contend for committing adultery, and that Jupiter avenged the grief of his daughter who played the harlot on the physician who cured the wound of him who had violated Diana in the woods, a most excellent huntress, no doubt, not of wild beasts, but of lust: yet also of wild beasts, so that she was worshipped naked.

7. Dent igitur Neptuno dominatum furoris, ut astruant crimen incesti amoris. Dent Dianae regnum in silvis quas incolebat, ut confirment adulterium quod gerebat. Dent Aesculapio quod mortuum reformaverit, dummodo profiteantur quod fulminatus ipse non evaserit. Dent etiam Iovi fulmina quae non habuit, ut testificentur quae habuit opprobria. Sed a fabulis ad propositum revertamur.

7. Let them ascribe, then, to Neptune the mastery over madness, in order to fix on him the crime of unchaste love. Let them ascribe to Diana the rule over the woods, wherein she dwelt, so as to establish the adultery which she practised. Let them ascribe to Æsculapius the restoration of the dead so long as they confess that when struck by lightning he himself escaped not. Let them also ascribe to Jupiter the thunderbolts which he did not possess, so that they witness to the disgrace with which he was laden.

8. Escis quoque omnibus quae gignant membris calorem, parce utendum puto; carnes enim etiam aquilas volantes deponunt. In vobis quoque ales interior illa, de qua legimus: Renovabitur sicut aquila iuventus tua (Psal. CII, 5) , sublime tenens, virgineo praepes volatu, superfluae carnis nesciat appetentiam. Conviviorum devitandae celebritates, fugiendae salutationes.

8. And I think that one should sparingly eat all kinds of food which cause heat to the limbs, for flesh drags down even eagles as they fly. But within you let that bird of which we read, Your youth shall be renewed like the eagle’s, holding its course on high, swift in its virgin flight, be ignorant of the desire for unnecessary food. The gathering of banquets and salutations must be avoided.

CAPUT III.

HORTATUR AD FUGIENDAS visitationes, ad servandum pudorem, nec non ad silentium exemplo Mariae per mysteriorum celebrationem praebendum: ea gratia ethnici adolescentis facto, et profani poetae dicto memoratis, sancti cuiusdam sacerdotis miraculum adiungit.

CHAPTER 3.

Virgins are exhorted to avoid visits, to observe modesty, to be silent during the celebration of the Mysteries after the example of Mary. Then after narrating the story of a heathen youth, and saying of a poet, St. Ambrose relates a miracle wrought by a holy priest.

9. Ipsas visitationes in iunioribus esse parciores volo, si forte deferendum sit parentibus aut aequalibus. Teritur enim officiis pudor, audacia emicat, risus subrepit, modestia solvitur, dum affectatur urbanitas: interroganti non respondere, infantia: respondere, fabula est. Deesse igitur sermonem virgini, quam superesse malim. Nam si mulieres etiam de rebus divinis in Ecclesia iubentur tacere, domi viros suos interrogare (I Cor. XIV, 34) : de virginibus quid cautum putamus, in quibus pudor ornat aetatem, taciturnitas commendat pudorem?

9. I will, too, that visits among the younger, except such as may be due to parents and those of like age, be few. For modesty is worn away by intercourse, and boldness breaks forth, laughter creeps in, and bashfulness is lessened, while politeness is studied. Not to answer one who asks a question is childishness, to answer is nonsense. I should prefer, therefore, that conversation should rather be wanting to a virgin, than abound. For if women are bidden to keep silence in churches, even about divine things,

and to ask their husbands at home, what do we think should be the caution of virgins, in whom modesty adorns their age, and silence commends their modesty.

10. An vero mediocre pudoris exemplum est, quod Rebecca cum veniret ad nuptias, et sponsum vidisset, velamen accepit (Gen. XXIV, 65) ; ne prius videretur, quam iungeretur? Et utique pulchra virgo non decori timuit, sed pudori. Quid Rachel; quemadmodum extorto osculo, flevit et gemuit: nec flere desisset, nisi proximum cognovisset (Gen. XXIX, 11, 12) ? Ita et pudoris servavit officium, et pietatis non omisit affectum. Quod si viro dicitur: Virginem ne consideres, ne quando scandalizet te (Eccli. IX, 5) ; quid dicendum est sacratae virgini, quae si amet, animo peccat, si amatur, et facto?

10. Was it a small sign of modesty that when Rebecca came to wed Isaac, and saw her bridegroom, she took a veil, Genesis 24:65 that she might not be seen before they were united? Certainly the fair virgin feared not for her beauty, but for her modesty. What of Rachel, how she, when Jacob’s kiss had been taken, Genesis 29:11 wept and groaned, and would not have ceased weeping had she not known him to be a kinsman? So she both observed what was due to modesty, and omitted not kindly affection. But if it is said to a man: Gaze not on a maid, lest she cause you to fall, Sirach 9:5 what is to be said to a consecrated virgin, who, if she loves, sins in mind; if she is loved, in act also?

11. Maxima est virtus tacendi, praesertim in Ecclesia. Nulla te divinarum sententia fugiet lectionum, si aurem admoveas, vocem premas. Nullum ex ore verbum quod revocare velis, proferas: sed parcior loquendi fiducia sit. Copiosum quippe in multiloquio peccatum. Homicidae dictum est: Peccasti, quiesce (Prov. X, 19) , ne peccaret amplius: sed virgini dicendum est: Quiesce, ne pecces. Conservabat enim Maria, ut legimus, omnia in corde

suo quae de Filio dicebantur (Luc. II, 19) : et tu cum legitur aliquid quo Christus aut venturus annuntiatur, aut venisse ostenditur; noli fabulando obstrepere, sed mentem admove. An quidquam est indignius, quam oracula divina circumstrepi, ne audiantur, ne credantur, ne revelentur: circumsonare sacramenta confusis vocibus, ut impediatur oratio pro salute deprompta omnium?

11. The virtue of silence, especially in Church, is very great. Let no sentence of the divine lessons escape you; if you give ear, restrain your voice, utter no word with your lips which you would wish to recall, but let your boldness to speak be sparing. For in truth in much speaking there is abundance of sin. Proverbs 10:19 To the murderer it was said: You have sinned, be silent, Genesis 4:7 that he might not sin more; but to the virgin it must be said, Be silent lest you sin. For Mary, as we read, kept in heart all things that were said concerning her Son, Luke 2:19 and do you, when any passage is read where Christ is announced as about to come, or is shown to have come, not make a noise by talking, but attend. Is anything more unbecoming than the divine words should be so drowned by talking, as not to be heard, believed, or made known, that the sacraments should be indistinctly heard through the sound of voices, that prayer should be hindered when offered for the salvation of all?

12. Gentiles idolis suis reverentiam tacendo deferunt. Unde illud exemplum proditur: Alexandro sacrificante Macedonum rege, puerulum barbarum qui ei lumen accenderet, excepisse ignem brachio, atque adusto corpore, mansisse immobilem, nec dolorem prodidisse gemitu, nec tacito poenam indicasse fletu. Tanta in puero barbaro fuit disciplina reverentiae, ut natura vinceretur. Atque ille non deos, qui nulli erant, sed regem timebat. Quid enim timeret eos, quos si idem ignis contigisset, arsissent?

12. The Gentiles pay respect to their idols by silence, of which this instance is given: As Alexander, the king of the Macedonians, was sacrificing, the sleeve of a barbarian lad who was lighting the lamp for him caught fire and burnt his body, yet he remained without moving and neither betrayed the pain by a groan, nor showed his suffering by silent tears. Such was the discipline of reverence in a barbarian lad that nature was subdued. Yet he feared not the gods, who were no gods, but the king. For why should he fear those who if the same fire had caught them would have burnt?

13. Quanto melius quod quidam in convivio patris adolescens iubetur ne meretricios amores indiciis insolentibus prodat? Et tu in mysterio, Dei virgo, gemitus, screatus, tussis, risus abstine. Quod ille in convivio potest, tu in mysterio non potes? Voce virginitas prima signetur, claudat ora pudor, debilitatem excludat religio, instituat consuetudo naturam. Virginem mihi prius gravitas sua nuntiet, pudore obvio, gradu sobrio, vultu modesto; et praenuntia integritatis anteeant signa virtutis. Non satis probabilis virgo est quae requiritur, cum videtur.

13. How much better still is it where a youth at his father’s banquet is bidden not to betray by coarse gestures his unchaste loves. And do you, holy virgin, abstain from groans, cries, coughing, and laughter at the Mystery. Can you not at the Mystery do what he did at a banquet? Let virginity be first marked by the voice, let modesty close the mouth, let religion remove weakness, and habit instruct nature. Let her gravity first announce a virgin to me, a modest approach, a sober gait, a bashful countenance, and let the march of virtue be preceded by the evidence of integrity. That virgin is not sufficiently worthy of approval who has to be enquired about when she is seen.

14. Frequens sermo est, cum plurima ranarum murmura religiosae auribus plebis obstreperent, sacerdotem Dei praecepisse ut conticescerent, ac

reverentiam sacrae deferrent orationi; tunc subito circumfusos strepitus quievisse. Silent igitur paludes, homines non silebunt? Et irrationabile animal per reverentiam recognoscit, quod per naturam ignorat: hominum tanta est immodestia, ut plerique deferre nesciant mentium religioni, quod deferunt aurium voluptati?

14. There is common story how, when the excessive croaking of frogs was resounding in the ears of the faithful people, the priest of God bade them be silent, and show reverence to the sacred words, and then at once the noise was stilled. Shall then the marshes keep silence and not the frogs? And shall irrational animals re-acknowledge by reverence what they know not by nature? While the shamelessness of men is such, that many care not to pay that respect to the religious feelings of their minds, which they do to the pleasure of their ears.

CAPUT IV.

RECITATA LIBERII EXHORTATIONE, sororis virtutes laudat Ambrosius, maxime vero ieiunium illius, quod tamen ut tantisper remittat, alternisque exercitiis mentem colat, hortatur, adductis in eam rem exemplis elegantissimis. Praeterea ipsam ad preces frequentandas, orationem Dominicam et psalmos noctu etiam repetendos, recitandumque antelucanis horis symbolum urget.

CHAPTER 4.

Having summed up the address of Liberius, St. Ambrose passes on to the virtues of his sister, especially her fasts, which however he advises her to moderate to some extent, and to exercise herself in other matters, after the example which he adduces. Especially he recommends the Lord's Prayer, and the repetition of Psalms by night, and the recitation of the Creed before daylight.

15. Haec tecum sanctae memoriae Liberius: quae apud alios maiora veris, apud te minora exemplis; ita omnem disciplinam non solum virtute adaequasti, sed etiam aemulatione vicisti. Namque ieiunium in praeceptis habemus, sed singulorum dierum: tu autem multiplicatis noctibus ac diebus, innumera tempora sine cibo transigis; et siquando rogaris ut cibum sumas, paulisper deponas codicem, respondes illico: Non in pane solo vivit homo, sed in omni verbo Dei (Matth. IV, 4) . Ipse epularum usus cibis obviis; ut edendi fastidio ieiunium desideretur: potus e fonte, fletus in prece, somnus in codice.

15. After such a fashion did Liberius of holy memory address you, in words beyond the reality of practice in most cases, but coming short of your performance, who have not only attained to the whole of discipline by your virtue, but have surpassed it in your zeal. For we are bidden to practise

fasting, but only for single days; but you, multiplying nights and days, pass untold periods without food, and if ever requested to partake of some, and to lay aside your book a little while, you at once answer: Man does not live by bread alone, but by every word of God. Matthew 4:4 Your very meals consisted but of what food came to hand, so that fasting is to be preferred to eating what was repugnant; your drink is from the spring, your weeping and prayer combine, your sleep is on your book.

16. Haec iunioribus convenere annis, donec mens aevi matura canesceret: ast ubi domiti trophaeum corporis virgo sustulerit, moderandum labori, ut magistra suppari servetur aetati. Cito fecundis onerata palmitibus emeritae aetatis vitis crepat, nisi aliquando reprimatur. Eadem tamen donec adolescit, exuberet, et inveterata putetur; ne silvescat sarmentis, aut fetu nimio exanimata moriatur. Bonus agricola optimam vitem et fotu terrae cohibet, et defendit a frigore, et ne meridiano sole uratur, explorat. Agrum quoque vicibus exercet: vel si non patitur otiosum, diversa alternat semina, mutatis ut fetibus arva requiescant. Tu quoque, virgo veterana, pectoris tui colles diversis saltem seminibus sere, nunc alimoniis mediocribus, nunc ieiuniis parcioribus, lectione, opere, prece; ut mutatio laboris induciae sint quietis.

16. These kings were suited to younger years, while he was ripening with the gray hairs of age; but when a virgin has gained the triumph over her subdued body, she should lessen her toil, that she may be preserved as teacher for a younger age. The vine laden with the fruitful branches of full growth soon breaks unless it be from time to time kept back. But while it is young let it grow rank, and as it grows older be pruned, so as not to grow into a forest of twigs, or die deprived of life by its exceptive produce. A good husbandman by tending the soil keeps the vine in excellent order, protects it from cold, and guards it from being parched by the mid-day sun. And he works his land by turns, or if he will not let it lie fallow, he

alternates his crops, so that the fields may rest through change of produce. Do you too, a veteran in virginity, at least sow the fields of your breast with different seeds, at one time with moderate sustenance, at another with sparing fasts, with reading, work, and prayer, that change of toil may be as a truce for rest.

17. Non totus messem generat ager. Hinc de collibus vineta consurgunt, illic purpurascentes cernas olivas, hic olentes rosas. Saepe etiam relictis aratris, ipse validus agricola digito solum scalpit, ut florum deponat radices: et asperis manibus quibus luctantes inter vineta flectit iuvencos, molliter ovium pressat ubera. Eo quippe melior ager est, quo numerosior fructus. Ergo et tu boni agricolae exemplum secuta, non perennibus ieiuniis tamquam depressis vomeribus humum tuam findas. Floreat in hortis tuis rosa pudoris, lilium mentis, et irriguum sacri sanguinis violaria bibant fontem. Vulgo hoc ferunt: Quod velis prolixe facere, aliquando ne feceris. Debet esse aliquid, quod Quadragesimae diebus addatur: sed ita, ut nihil ostentationis causa fiat, sed religionis.

17. The whole land does not produce the same harvest. On one side vines grow on the hills, on another you can see the purple olives, elsewhere the scented roses. And after leaving the plough, the strong husbandman with his fingers scrapes the soil to plant the roots of flowers, and with the rough hands wherewith he turns the bullocks striving among the vines, he gently presses the udders of the sheep. The land is the better the more numerous are its fruits. So do you, following the example of a good husbandman, avoid cleaving your soil with perpetual fastings as if with deep ploughings. Let the rose of modesty bloom in your garden, and the lily of the mind, and let the violet beds drink from the source of sacred blood. There is a common saying, What you wish to perform abundantly, sometimes do not

do at all. There ought to be something to add to the days of Lent, but so that nothing be done for the sake of ostentation, but of religion.

18. Oratio quoque nos Deo crebra commendet. Si enim propheta dicit: Septies in die laudem dixi tibi (Psal. CXVIII, 164) , qui regni erat necessitatibus occupatus; quid nos facere oportet, qui legimus: Vigilate et orate, ne intretis in tentationem (Matth. XXVI, 41) ? Certe solemnes orationes cum gratiarum actione sunt deferendae, cum e somno surgimus, cum prodimus, cum cibum paramus sumere, cum sumpserimus, et hora incensi, cum denique cubitum pergimus.

18. Frequent prayer also commends us to God. For if the prophet says, Seven times a day have I praised You, though he was busy with the affairs of a kingdom, what ought we to do, who read: Watch and pray that you enter not into temptation? Matthew 26:41 Certainly our customary prayers ought to be said with giving of thanks, when we rise from sleep, when we go forth, when we prepare to receive food, after receiving it, and at the hour of incense, when at last we are going to rest.

19. Sed etiam in ipso cubili volo psalmos cum oratione Dominica frequenti contexas vice, vel cum evigilaveris, vel antequam corpus sopor irriget; ut te in ipso quietis exordio rerum saecularium cura liberam, divina meditantem somnus inveniat. Denique etiam qui primus philosophiae ipsius nomen invenit, quotidie priusquam cubitum iret, tibicinem iubebat molliora canere, ut anxia curis saecularibus corda mulceret. Sed ille, sicut is qui laterem lavat, saecularia saecularibus frustra cupiebat abolere; magis enim se oblinibat luto, qui remedium a voluptate quaerebat: nos autem terrenorum vitiorum colluvione detersa, ab omni inquinamento carnis mentium interna mundemus.

19. And again in your bed-chamber itself, I would have you join psalms in frequent interchange with the Lord's prayer, either when you wake up, or before sleep bedews your body, so that at the very commencement of rest sleep may find you free from the care of worldly matters, meditating upon the things of God. And, indeed, he who first found out the name of Philosophy itself, every day before he went to rest, had the flute-player play softer melodies to soothe his mind disturbed by worldly cares. But he, like a man washing tiles, fruitlessly desired to drive away worldly things by worldly means, for he was, indeed, rather besmearing himself with fresh mud, in seeking a reward from pleasure, but let us, having wiped off the filth of earthly vices, purify our utmost souls from every defilement of the flesh.

20. Symbolum quoque specialiter debemus tamquam nostri signaculum cordis antelucanis horis quotidie recensere: quo etiam cum horremus aliquid, animo recurrendum est. Quando enim sine militiae sacramento, miles in tentorio, bellator in praelio?

20. We ought, also, specially to repeat the Creed, as a seal upon our hearts, daily, before light, and to recur to it in thought whenever we are in fear of anything. For when is the soldier in his tent or the warrior in battle without his military oath?

CAPUT V.

AD LACRYMAS FUNDENDAS hortatus Davidis versiculo, vocem lectum docet hic simpliciter accipi posse, vel figurate, ut corpus nostrum significet: quam acceptionem probat et confirmat. Quomodo Christus corpus doloris susceperit, stratumque versaverit in infirmitate? Omnia in honorem Christi referenda, et spiritali laetitia exsultandum, non autem illa, quae in conviviis insaniens Ioanni Baptistae mortem intulit.

CHAPTER 5.

St. Ambrose, speaking of tears, explains David's saying, Every night wash l my couch with my tears, and goes on to speak of Christ bearing our griefs and infirmities. Everything should be referred to His honour, and we ought to rejoice with spiritual joy, but not after a worldly fashion.

21. Iam illud quis non ad nostram institutionem dictum intelligat, quod ait sanctus Propheta: Lavabo per singulas noctes lectum meum, lacrymis meis stratum meum rigabo (Psal. VI, 7) ? Nam sive lectum iuxta litteram intelligas, tantam ubertatem ostendit profundi oportere lacrymarum; ut lavetur lectus, stratum rigetur fletibus obsecrantis: fletus enim praesentium, merces est futurorum; quoniam beati qui fletis, ipsi enim ridebitis (Luc. VI, 21) : sive pro corpore accipiamus propheticum dictum, delicta corporis poenitentiae lacrymis abluamus. Fecit enim sibi lectum Salomon ex lignis Libani, columnae eius erant argenteae, acclinatorium eius aureum, dorsum eius gemmatum stratum (Cant. III, 9, 10) . Quis est iste lectus, nisi nostri corporis species? Namque in gemmis aerii species fulgoris ostenditur, in auro ignis, aqua in argento, terra per lignum: ex quibus corpus humanum quatuor constat elementis, in quo nostra recubat anima; si non aspero montium, non humi arido expers quietis existat, sed sublimis a vitiis, ligno

fulta requiescat. Unde etiam David dicit: Dominus opem ferat illi super lectum doloris eius (Psal. XL, 4) . Nam lectus doloris esse qui potest, cum dolere non possit, qui non habeat sensum? Corpus autem doloris sicut corpus est mortis eius: Infelix ego homo, quis me liberabit de corpore mortis huius (Rom. VII, 24) ?

21. And who can now fail to understand that the holy prophet said for our instruction: Every night will I wash my couch and water my bed with my tears? For if you take it literally for his bed, he shows that such abundance of tears should be shed as to wash the bed and water it with tears, the couch of him who is praying, for weeping has to do with the present, rewards with the future, since it is said: Blessed are you that weep, for you shall laugh; Luke 6:21 or if we take the word of the prophet as applied to our bodies, we must wash away the offenses of the body with tears of penitence. For Solomon made himself a bed of wood from Lebanon, its pillars were of silver, its bottom of gold, its back strewn with gems. Song of Songs 3:6 What is that bed but the fashion of our body? For by gems is set forth the splendour of the brightness of the air, fire is set forth by the gold, water by silver, and earth by wood, of which four elements the human body consists, in which our soul rests, if it do not exist deprived of rest by the roughness of hills or the damp ground, but raised on high, above vices, supported by the wood. For which reason David also says: The Lord will send him help upon his bed of pain. For how can that be a bed of pain which cannot feel pain, and which has no feeling? But the body of pain is like the body of that death, of which it is said: O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death? Romans 7:24

22. Et quoniam versiculum induximus, in quo Dominici corporis fecimus mentionem; ne quem forte perturbet legentem quod Dominus corpus suscepit doloris, recordetur quia Lazari mortem et doluit et flevit (Ioan. XI,

35) , et in passione est vulneratus, atque ex vulnere sanguis et aqua exivit (Ioan. XIX, 34) , spiritumque exhalavit. Aqua ad lavacrum, sanguis ad potum, spiritus ad resurrectionem. Unus enim Christus est nobis spes, fides, charitas: spes in resurrectione, fides in lavacro, charitas in sacramento.

22. And since I have inserted a clause in which mention is made of the Lord's Body, lest any one should be troubled at reading that the Lord took a body of pain, let him remember that the Lord grieved and wept over the death of Lazarus, John 11:35 and was wounded in His passion, and that from the wound there went forth blood and water, John 19:34 and that He gave up His Spirit. Water for washing, Blood for drink, the Spirit for His rising again. For Christ alone is to us hope, faith, and love — hope in His resurrection, faith in the laver, and love in the sacrament.

23. Tamen ut corpus suscepit doloris, ita etiam stratum in infirmitate versavit (Ps. XL, 4) ; quia convertit in commodum carnis humanae. Nam passione infirmitas est soluta, mors resurrectione. Et tamen moerere pro saeculo, gaudere debetis in Domino: tristes ad poenitentiam, alacres ad gratiam; licet et flere cum flentibus, et gaudere cum gaudentibus oportere gentium Doctor salutari praeceptione praescripserit (Rom. XII, 15) .

23. And as He took a body of pain, so too He turned His bed in His weakness, for He converted it to the benefit of human flesh. For by His Passion weakness was ended, and death by His resurrection. And yet you ought to mourn for the world but to rejoice in the Lord, to be sad for penitence but joyful for grace, though, too, the teacher of the Gentiles by a wholesome precept has bidden to weep with them that weep, and to rejoice with them that do rejoice. Romans 12:15

24. Verum qui penitus enodare cicatricem omnem desiderat quaestionis, ad eumdem confugiat Apostolum: Omne, inquit, quodcumque facitis in verbo

aut in facto in nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi, gratias agentes Deo Patri per ipsum (Coloss. III, 17) . Omnia ergo dicta nostra factaque referamus ad Christum, qui vitam fecit ex morte, et lucem creavit ex tenebris. Namque ut corpus aegrotum nunc calidioribus fovetur, nunc frigidioribus temperatur; remediorumque mutatio, si iuxta praeceptum fiat medici, salutaris est: si contra mandatum usurpetur, languoris augmentum est; ita medico nostro quidquid penditur Christo, remedium est: quidquid usurpatur, incommodum.

24. But let him who desires to solve the whole difficulty of this question have recourse to the same Apostle. Whatsoever you do, says he, in word or deed, do all in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, giving thanks to God the Father by Him. Colossians 3:17 Let us then refer all our words and deeds to Christ, Who brought life out of death, and created light out of darkness. For as a sick body is at one time cherished by warmth, at another soothed by cool applications, and the variation of remedies, if carried out according to the direction of the physician, is healthful, but if done in opposition to his orders increases the sickness; so whatever is paid to Christ is a remedy, whatever is done by our own will is harmful.

25. Debet igitur bene consciae mentis esse laetitia, non inconditis comessationibus, non nuptialibus excitata symphoniis; ibi enim intuta verecundia, illecebra suspecta est, ubi comes deliciarum est extrema saltatio. Ab hac virgines Dei procul esse desidero. Nemo enim, ut dixit quidam saecularium doctor, saltat sobrius, nisi insanit. Quod si iuxta sapientiam saecularem, saltationis aut temulentia auctor est, aut amentia; quid divinarum Scripturarum cautum putamus exemplis cum Ioannes praenuntius Christi, saltatricis optione iugulatus, exemplo sit plus nocuisse saltationis illecebram, quam sacrilegi furoris amentiam?

25. There ought then to be the joy of the mind, conscious of right, not excited by unrestrained feasts, or nuptial concerts, for in such modesty is not safe, and temptation may be suspected where excessive dancing accompanies festivities. I desire that the virgins of God should be far from this. For as a certain teacher of this world has said: No one dances when sober unless he is mad. Now if, according to the wisdom of this world, either drunkenness or madness is the cause of dancing, what a warning is given to us among the instances mentioned in the Divine Scriptures, where John, the forerunner of Christ, being beheaded at the wish of a dancer, is an instance that the allurements of dancing did more harm than the madness of sacrilegious anger.

CAPUT VI.

MENTIONE SANCTI PRAECURSORIS inductus, omnia caedis eius adiuncta quam eloquentissime describit et amplificat, ut a saltatione impiorumque conviviis deterreat.

CHAPTER 6.

Having mentioned the Baptist, St. Ambrose enters into a description of the events concerning his death, and speaks against dancing and the festivities of the wicked.

26. Et quoniam talis viri non strictim praetereunda est recordatio, interest ut quis, et a quibus, et quam ob causam, quomodo, et quo tempore sit occisus, advertere debeamus. Ab adulteris iustus occiditur, et a reis in iudicem capitalis sceleris poena convertitur. Deinde praemium saltatricis mors est prophetae. Postremo (quod etiam omnes barbari horrere consueverunt) inter epulas atque convivia consummandae crudelitatis profertur edictum: et a convivio ad carcerem, de carcere ad convivium feralis flagitii circumfortur obsequium. Quanta in uno facinore sunt crimina!

26. And since we must not cursorily pass by the mention of so great a man, let us consider who he was, by whom, on what account, how, and at what time he was slain. A just man, he is put to death by adulterers, and the penalty of a capital crime is turned off by the guilty on to the judge. Again the reward of the dancer is the death of the prophet. Lastly (a matter of honour even to all barbarians), the cruel sentence is given in the midst of banqueting and festivities, and the news of the deadly crime is carried from the banquet to the prison, and then from the prison to the banquet. How many crimes are there in one wicked act!

27. Exstruitur regifico luxu ferale convivium, et explorato quando maior solito turba convenerit, reginae filia intimis mandata secretis, in conspectu virorum saltatura producitur (Marc. VI, 21) . Quid enim potuit de adultera discere, nisi damnum pudoris? An quidquam est tam pronum ad libidines, quam inconditis motibus ea quae vel natura abscondit, vel disciplina velavit, membrorum operta nudare, ludere oculis, rotare cervicem, comam spargere? Merito inde in iniuriam divinitatis proceditur. Quid enim ibi verecundiae potest esse, ubi saltatur, strepitur, concrepatur?

27. A banquet of death is set out with royal luxury, and when a larger concourse than usual had come together, the daughter of the queen, sent for from within the private apartments, is brought forth to dance in the sight of men. What could she have learned from an adulteress but loss of modesty? Is anything so conducive to lust as with unseemly movements thus to expose in nakedness those parts of the body which either nature has hidden or custom has veiled, to sport with the looks, to turn the neck, to loosen the hair? Fitly was the next step an offense against God. For what modesty can there be where there is dancing and noise and clapping of hands?

28. Tunc rex, inquit, delectatus, dixit puellae, ut peteret a rege quod vellet. Deinde iuravit quod vel dimidium regni, si petisset, concederet (Ibid., 22, 23) . Vide quemadmodum saeculares ipsi de saecularibus suis iudicant potestatibus, ut pro saltatione etiam regna donentur. Puella autem admonita a matre sua, poposcit afferri sibi in disco caput Ioannis. Quod dicit: Rex contristatus est (Ibid., 25 et seq.) ; non poenitentia regis, sed confessio iniquitatis est: quam divinae habet consuetudo sententiae, ut qui gesserunt impia, ipsi propria confessione se damnent. Sed propter discumbentes, inquit. Quid indignius quam ut homicidium fieri iuberet, ne discumbentibus displiceret? Et propter ius, inquit, iurandum. O religionem novam! Tolerabilius peierasset. Unde non immerito Dominus in Evangelio iubet non

esse iurandum, ne sit causa periurii; ne sit necessitas delinquendi. Itaque ne iusiurandum violaretur, percutitur innocens (Matth. V, 34) . Quid prius horrescam nescio. Tolerabiliora periuria, quam sacramenta sunt tyrannorum.

28. Then, it is said, the king being pleased, said to the damsel, that she should ask of the king whatsoever she would. Then he swore that if she asked he would give her even the half of his kingdom. Mark 6:22-23 See how worldly men themselves judge of their worldly power, so as to give even kingdoms for dancing. But the damsel, being taught by her mother, demanded that the head of John should be brought to her on a dish. That which is said that the king was sorry, is not repentance on the part of the king, but a confession of guilt, which is, according to the wont of the divine rule, that they who have done evil condemn themselves by their own confession. But for their sakes which sat with him, it is said. What is more base than that a murder should be committed in order not to displease those who sat at meat? And, it follows, for his oath's sake. What a new religion! He had better have forsworn himself. The Lord therefore in the Gospel bids us not to swear at all, Matthew 5:34 that there be no cause for perjury, and no need of offending. And so an innocent man is slain that an oath be not violated. I know which to have in the greatest horror. Perjury is more endurable than are the oaths of tyrants.

29. Quis non cum e convivio ad carcerem cursare videret, putaret prophetam iussum esse dimitti? Quis, inquam, cum audisset natalem esse Herodis, solemne convivium, puellae optionem eligendi quod vellet datam, missum ad Ioannis absolutionem non arbitraretur? Quid crudelitati cum deliciis? quid cum funeribus voluptati? Rapitur ad poenam propheta convivali tempore, convivali praecepto, quo non cuperet vel absolvi: perimitur gladio, caput eius affertur in disco (Marc. VI, 27 et seq.) . Hoc crudelitati ferculum debebatur, quo insatiata epulis feritas vesceretur.

29. Who would not think when he saw some one running from the banquet to the prison, Mark 6:27 that orders had been given to set the prophet free? Who, I say, having heard that it was Herod's birthday, and of the state banquet, and the choice given to the damsel of choosing whatever she wished, would not think that the man was sent to set John free? What has cruelty in common with delicacies? What have death and pleasure in common? The prophet is hurried to suffer at a festal time by a festal order, by which he would even wish to be set free; he is slain by the sword, and his head is brought on a platter. This dish was well suited to their cruelty, in order that their insatiate savageness might be feasted.

30. Intuere, rex acerbissime, tuo spectacula digna convivio. Porrige dexteram, ne quid saevitiae tuae desit; ut inter digitos tuos rivi defluant sancti cruoris. Et quoniam non exsaturari epulis fames, non restingui poculis potuit inauditae saevitiae sitis; bibe sanguinem scaturientibus adhuc venis exsecti capitis profluentem. Cerne oculos in ipsa morte sceleris tui testes, adversantes conspectum deliciarum. Clauduntur lumina non tam mortis necessitate, quam horrore luxuriae. Os aureum illud exsangue, cuius sententiam ferre non poteras, conticescit, et adhuc times. Lingua tamen, quae solet etiam post mortem officium servare viventis, palpitante licet motu, damnabat incestum. Portatur hoc caput ad Herodiadem: laetatur, exsultat, quasi crimen evaserit; quia iudicem trucidavit.

30. Look, most savage king, at the sights worthy of your feast. Stretch forth your right hand, that nothing be wanting to your cruelty, that streams of holy blood may pour down between your fingers. And since the hunger for such unheard-of cruelty could not be satisfied by banquets, nor the thirst by goblets, drink the blood pouring from the still flowing veins of the cut-off head. Behold those eyes, even in death, the witnesses of your crime, turning away from the sight of the delicacies. The eyes are closing, not so much

owing to death, as to horror of luxury. That bloodless golden mouth, whose sentence you could not endure, is silent, and yet you fear. Yet the tongue, which even after death is wont to observe its duty as when living, condemned, though with trembling motion, the incest. This head is borne to Herodias: she rejoices, she exults as though she had escaped from the crime, because she has slain her judge.

31. Quid dicitis vos, sanctae feminae? Videtis quid docere, quid etiam dedocere filias debeatis? Saltat, sed adulterae filia. Quae vero pudica, quae casta est, filias suas religionem doceat, non saltationem. Vos autem, graves et prudentes viri, discite detestabilium hominum epulas vitare. Si talia sunt convivia, qualia iudicia perfidorum?

31. What say you, holy women? Do you see what you ought to teach, and what also to unteach your daughters? She dances, but she is the daughter of an adulteress. But she who is modest, she who is chaste, let her teach her daughter religion, not dancing. And do you, grave and prudent men, learn to avoid the banquets of hateful men. If such are the banquets, what will be the judgment of the impious?

CAPUT VII.

QUAERENTI MARCELLINAE QUID sentiendum de illis, qui ne in persecutorum manus deveniant, sibi vim inferunt, respondet; eoque Pelagiae virginis, nec non eiusdem matris ac sororum exemplum oculis subiicit, singulari elegantia descriptum: quibus beatae Sotheris ex qua ipse cum Marcellina ducebant originem, martyrium adiicit.

CHAPTER 7.

In reply to Marcellina, who had asked what should be thought of those who to escape violence killed themselves, St. Ambrose replies by narrating the history of Pelagia, a virgin, with her mother and sister, and goes on to speak of the martyrdom of the blessed Sotheris, one of their own ancestors.

32. Iam ad finem orationis velapandenti bene suggeris, soror sancta, quid de earum meritis existimandum sit, quae se praecipitavere ex alto, vel in fluvium demerserunt, ne persecutorum inciderent manus; cum Scriptura divina vim sibi Christianam prohibeat inferre. Et quidem de virginibus in necessitate custodiae constitutis enodem habemus assertionem, cum martyrii exstet exemplum.

32. As I am drawing near the close of my address, you make a good suggestion, holy sister, that I should touch upon what we ought to think of the merits of those who have cast themselves down from a height, or have drowned themselves in a river, lest they should fall into the hands of persecutors, seeing that holy Scripture forbids a Christian to lay hands on himself. And indeed as regards virgins placed in the necessity of preserving their purity, we have a plain answer, seeing that there exists an instance of martyrdom.

33. Sancta Pelagia apud Antiochiam quondam fuit, annorum fere quindecim, soror virginum, et ipsa virgo. Haec primo domi classico persecutionis inclusa, cum se a praedonibus fidei vel pudoris circumsideri videret, absente matre et sororibus, vacua praesidio, sed Deo plenior: Quid agimus, inquit, nisi prospicias, captiva virginitatis? Et votum est, et metus est mori; quia mors non excipitur, sed adsciscitur. Moriamur si licet, vel si nolunt licere, moriamur. Deus remedio non offenditur, et facinus fides ablevat. Certe si vim ipsam nominis cogitemus, quae vis voluntaria? Illa magis est vis, mori velle, nec posse. Nec difficultatem veremur. Quis enim est qui vult mori, et non possit; cum sint ad mortem tam proclives viae? Iam enim sacrilegas aras praecipitata subvertam, et accensos focos cruore restinguam. Non timeo ne dextera deficiens non peragat ictum, ne pectus se dolore subducat. Nullum peccatum carni relinquam. Non verebor, ne desit gladius. Possumus mori nostris armis, possumus mori sine carnificis beneficio, matris in gremio.

33. Saint Pelagia lived formerly at Antioch, being about fifteen years old, a sister of virgins, and a virgin herself. She shut herself up at home at the first sound of persecution, seeing herself surrounded by those who would rob her of her faith and purity, in the absence of her mother and sisters, without any defense, but all the more filled with God. What are we to do, unless, says she to herself, you, a captive of virginity, takest thought? I both wish and fear to die, for I meet not death but seek it. Let us die if we are allowed, or if they will not allow it, still let us die. God is not offended by a remedy against evil, and faith permits the act. In truth, if we think of the real meaning of the word, how can what is voluntary be violence? It is rather violence to wish to die and not to be able. And we do not fear any difficulty. For who is there who wishes to die and is not able to do so, when there are so many easy ways to death? For I can now rush upon the sacrilegious altars and overthrow them, and quench with my blood the kindled fires. I am not

afraid that my right hand may fail to deliver the blow, or that my breast may shrink from the pain. I shall leave no sin to my flesh. I fear not that a sword will be wanting. I can die by my own weapons, I can die without the help of an executioner, in my mother's bosom.

34. Fertur ornasse caput, nuptialem induisse vestem; ut non ad mortem ire diceres, sed ad sponsum. Ast ubi detestandi persecutores ereptam sibi viderunt praedam pudoris, matrem et sorores coeperunt quaerere. Verum illae spiritali volatu iam campum castitatis tenebant, cum subito hinc persecutoribus imminentibus, inde torrente fluvio exclusae a fuga, inclusae ad coronam: Quid veremur, inquiunt? Ecce aqua, quis nos baptizari prohibet (Act. VIII, 36) ? Et hoc baptisma est, quo peccata donantur, regna quaeruntur. Et hoc baptisma est, post quod nemo delinquit. Excipiat nos aqua, quae regenerare consuevit. Excipiat nos aqua, quae virgines facit. Excipiat nos aqua, quae coelum aperit, infirmos tegit, mortem abscondit, martyres reddit. Te, rerum conditor, precamur, Deus, ne exanimata spiritu corpora vel unda dispergat; ne mors separet funera, quarum vitam non separavit affectus: sed sit una constantia, una mors, una etiam sepultura.

34. She is said to have adorned her head, and to have put on a bridal dress, so that one would say that she was going to a bridegroom, not to death. But when the hateful persecutors saw that they had lost the prey of her chastity, they began to seek her mother and sisters. But they, by a spiritual flight, already held the field of chastity, when, as on the one side, persecutors suddenly threatened them, and on the other, escape was shut off by an impetuous river, they said, what do we fear? See the water, what hinders us from being baptized? And this is the baptism whereby sins are forgiven, and kingdoms are sought. This is a baptism after which no one sins. Let the water receive us, which is wont to regenerate. Let the water receive us, which makes virgins. Let the water receive us, which opens heaven,

protects the weak, hides death, makes martyrs. We pray You, God, Creator of all things, let not the water scatter our bodies, deprived of the breath of life; let not death separate our obsequies, whose lives affection has always conjoined; but let our constancy be one, our death one, and our burial also be one.

35. Haec effatae, et suspenso paulum incinctum sinu, quo pudorem tegerent, nec gressum impedirent, consertis manibus tamquam choros ducerent, in medium progrediuntur alveum; ubi unda torrentior, ubi profundum abruptius, illo vestigium dirigentes. Nulla pedem retulit, nulla suspendit incessum, nulla tentavit ubi gressum figeret: anxiae cum terra occurreret, offensae vado, laetae profundo. Videres piam matrem stringentem nodo manus, gaudere de pignore, timere de casu, ne sibi filias vel fluctus auferret. Has tibi, inquit, hostias, Christe, immolo praesules castitatis, duces itineris, comites passionis.

35. Having said these words, and having slightly girded up the bosom of their dress, to veil their modesty without impeding their steps, joining hands as though to lead a dance, they went forward to the middle of the river bed, directing their steps to where the stream was more violent, and the depth more abrupt. No one drew back, no one ceased to go on, no one tried where to place her steps, they were anxious only when they felt the ground, grieved when the water was shallow, and glad when it was deep. One could see the pious mother tightening her grasp, rejoicing in her pledges, afraid of a fall lest even the stream should carry off her daughters from her. These victims, O Christ, said she, do I offer as leaders of chastity, guides on my journey, and companions of my sufferings.

36. Sed quis iure miretur tantam viventibus fuisse constantiam, cum etiam defunctae immobilem stationem corporum vindicaverint? Non cadaver unda nudavit, non rapidi cursus fluminis volutarunt. Quin etiam sancta mater licet

sensu carens, pietatis tamen adhuc servabat amplexum: et religiosum quem strinxerat, nodum nec in morte laxabat; ut quae religioni debitum solverat, pietate haerede moreretur. Nam quas ad martyrium iunxerat, usque ad tumulum vindicabat.

37. But who would have cause to wonder that they had such constancy while alive, seeing that even when dead they preserved the position of their bodies unmoved? The water did not lay bare their corpses, nor did the rapid course of the river roll them along. Moreover, the holy mother, though without sensation, still maintained her loving grasp, and held the sacred knot which she had tied, and loosed not her hold in death, that she who had paid her debt to religion might die leaving her piety as her heir. For those whom she had joined together with herself for martyrdom, she claimed even to the tomb.

37. Sed quid alienigenis apud te, soror, utor exemplis, quam haereditariae castitatis inspirata successio parentis infusione martyris erudivit? Unde enim didicisti, quae non habuisti unde disceres, constituta in agro, nulla socia virgine, nullo informata doctore? Non ergo discipulam, quod fieri sine magisterio non potest, sed haeredem virtutis egisti.

38. But why use instances of people of another race to you, my sister, whom the inspiration of hereditary chastity has taught by descent from a martyred ancestor? For whence have you learned who had no one from whom to learn, living in the country, with no virgin companion, instructed by no teacher? You have played the part then not of a disciple, for this cannot be done without teaching, but of an heir of virtue.

38. Qui enim fieri posset ut sancta Sotheris tibi non esset mentis auctor, cui auctor est generis? Quae persecutionis aetate, servilibus quoque contumeliis ad fastigium passionis evecta, etiam vultum ipsum qui inter cruciatus totius

corporis liber esse consuevit iniuriae, et spectare potius tormenta quam perpeti, carnifici dedit: tam fortis et patiens, ut cum teneras poenae offerret genas, prius carnifex caedendo defecerit, quam martyr iniuriae cederet. Non vultum inflexit, non ora convertit: non gemitum, non lacrymam dedit. Denique cum caetera poenarum genera vicisset, gladium quem quaerebat, invenit.

39. For how could it come to pass that holy Sotheris should not have been the originator of your purpose, who is an ancestor of your race? Who, in an age of persecution, borne to the heights of suffering by the insults of slaves, gave to the executioner even her face, which is usually free from injury when the whole body is tortured, and rather beholds than suffers torments; so brave and patient that when she offered her tender cheeks to punishment, the executioner failed in striking before the martyr yielded under the injuries. She moved not her face, she turned not away her countenance, she uttered not a groan or a tear. Lastly, when she had overcome other kinds of punishment, she found the sword which she desired.

Sermo contra Auxentium de basilicis tradendis (Sermon against Auxentius)

PROLOGO

[POPULI OB IMPERIALEM iussum sollicitudinem levaturus, responsum suum exponit, additque ad consistorium se non ivisse, quod basilicae traditionem esset veritus. Tum adversariis ad disceptandum in ecclesia provocatis, negat se armis exterreri: suoque de sacris vasis responso memorato, paratum se ad certamina esse testatur. Eludi non posse dei decretum, nec praesidium ipsius superari, sed in servis suis pati eumdem velle. Cum ipse antea non fuerit captus, liquere quam inaniter haeretici tumultuentur. Deinde ubi Nabuthae historiam, et Christi ingressum in Ierusalem rei praesenti accomodavit, Auxentii perstringit crudelem legem, solutisque Arianorum obiectionibus, libenter se coram populo disputaturum praedicat: Auxentium vero iam a paganis, quos in iudices elegerat, damnatum, sicut et a Paulo et Christo ipso. Quod idem haereticus ad Caesarem provocaret, eum oblitum anni superioris: et [Arianos], dum servis Christi conflant invidiam, multo peiores esse Iudaeis: ecclesiam enim non Caesaris, sed Christi praeferre imaginem. Sub quae ubi pauca de suo responso et hymnis adiecit, se non inoboedientem, at imperatorem ecclesiae filium, et Auxentium plusquam Iudaeum esse declarat.]

To calm the anxiety of the people over the imperial decree, he lays his answer before them, and adds that he did not go to the consistory, because he was afraid of losing the basilica. Then, first challenging his opponents to a discussion in the church, he says that he is not terrified at their weapons; and also, after recalling his answer on the subject of the sacred vessels, declares that he is ready for the contest. The will of God, he maintains, cannot be frustrated, nor can His protection be overcome, yet He is ready too to suffer in His servants. Since he has not already been taken before this, it is plain that the heretics are causing this disturbance for no reason whatever. Next, after applying Naboth's history and Christ's entry into Jerusalem to the present state of affairs, he censures Auxentius' cruel law, answers the Arians' objections, and states that he will gladly discuss the matter in the presence of the people. Auxentius, he adds, has been already condemned by the pagans, whom he had chosen to sit as judges, as he had been condemned by Paul and by Christ. The heretic had forgotten the year before, when he had made the same appeal to Cæsar; and the Arians, in stirring up ill-will against the servants of Christ, are much worse than the Jews: for the Church does not belong to Cæsar, but displays the image of Christ. Then adding to these a few more words on his answer and his hymns, he declares that he is not disobedient, that the Emperor is a son of the Church, and that Auxentius is worse than a Jew.

1. Video vos praeter solitum subito esse turbatos atque asservantes mei; miror quod hoc fit, nisi forte quia per tribunos me vidistis alii, audistis alii imperiali mandato esse conventum, ut quo vellem abirem hinc et si qui vellent sequendi potestatem haberent. Metuistis ergo ne ecclesiam desererem et dum saluti meae timeo vos relinquerem? Sed quid et ipse mandaverim potuistis advertere: deserendae ecclesiae mihi voluntatem subesse non posse, quia plus dominum mundi quam saeculi huius imperatorem timerem, sane si me vis aliqua abduceret ab ecclesia, carnem meam exturbari posse non mentem, paratum me esse, ut si ille faceret quod solet esse regiae potestatis, ego subirem quod sacerdotis esse consuevit.

1. I see that you are unusually disturbed, and that you are closely watching me. I wonder what the reason is? Is it that you saw or heard that I had received an imperial order at the hands of the tribunes, to the effect that I was to go hence, whither I would, and that all who wished might follow me? Were you afraid that I should desert the Church and forsake you in fear for my own safety? But you could note the message I sent, that the wish to desert the Church had never entered my mind; for I feared the Lord of the universe more than an earthly emperor; and if force were to drag me from the Church, my body indeed could be driven out, but not my mind. I was ready, if he were to do what royal power is wont to do, to undergo the fate a priest has to bear.

2. Quid ergo turbamini? Volens numquam vos deseram, coactus repugnare non novi. Dolere potero, potero flere, potero gemere; adversus arma milites Gothos quoque lacrimae meae arma sunt, talia enim munimenta sunt sacerdotis. Aliter nec debeo nec possum resistere. Fugere autem et relinquere ecclesiam non soleo, ne quis gravioris poenae metu factum interpretetur. Scitis et vos ipsi quod imperatoribus soleam deferre non cedere, suppliciis me libenter offerre nec metuere quae parantur.

2. Why, then, are you disturbed? I will never willingly desert you, though if force is used, I cannot meet it. I shall be able to grieve, to weep, to groan; against weapons, soldiers, Goths, my tears are my weapons, for these are a priest's defense. I ought not, I cannot resist in any other way; but to fly and forsake the Church is not my way; lest any one should suppose I did so from fear of some heavier punishment. You yourselves know that I am wont to show respect to our emperors, but not to yield to them, to offer myself freely to punishment, and not to fear what is prepared for me.

3. Utinam essem securus quod ecclesia haereticis minime traderetur! Ad palatium imperatoris irem libenter, si hoc congrueret sacerdotis officio, ut in palatio magis certarem quam in ecclesia. Sed in consistorio non reus solet Christus esse sed iudex. Causam fidei in ecclesia agendam quis abnuat? Si quis confidit, huc veniat; inclinatum iam vel imperatoris iudicium, quod lata lege patefecit, quod impugnat fidem, vel sperata ambientium quorundam studia non requirat. Non committo ut quisquam vendat iniuriam Christi.

3. Would that I were sure the Church would never be given over to heretics. Gladly would I go to the Emperor's palace, if this but fitted the office of a priest, and so hold our discussion in the palace rather than the church. But in the consistory Christ is not wont to be the accused but the judge. Who will deny that the cause of faith should be pleaded in the church? If any one has confidence let him come hither; let him not seek the judgment of the Emperor, which already shows its bias, which clearly proves by the law that is passed that he is against the faith; neither let him seek the expected goodwill of certain people who want to stand well with both sides. I will not act in such a way as to give any one the chance of making money out of a wrong to Christ.

4. Circumfusi milites, armorum crepitus, quibus vallata est ecclesia, fidem non terrent meam, sed mentem exagitant, ne dum me tenetis, perniciosum

aliquid vestrae oboriatur saluti. Ego enim iam didici non timere, sed vobis timere plus coepi. Sinite, quaeso, vestrum sacerdotem congredi; habemus adversarium qui lacessit, adversarius enim noster diabolus, sicut leo rugiens circuit quaerens quem devoret, ut apostolus dixit [I Pet. 5, 8]. Accepit sine dubio, accepit - non fallimur sed admonemur - temptandi huiusmodi potestatem, ne forte corporis mei vulneribus possim a fidei intentione revocari. Legistis et vos quia multis his temptavit sanctum Iob diabolus, ad postremum potestatem huiusmodi petiit et accepit, ut temptaret corpus eius, quod perfudit ulceribus.

4. The soldiers around, the clash of the arms wherewith the church is surrounded, do not alarm my faith, but they disquiet me from fear that in keeping me here you might meet with some danger to your lives. For I have learned by now not to be afraid, but I do begin to have more fear for you. Allow, I beg you, your bishop to meet his foes. We have an adversary who assails us, for our adversary the devil goes about, as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour, 1 Peter 5:8 as the Apostle said. He has received, no doubt, he has received (we are not deceived, but warned of this) the power to tempt in this wise, lest I might perhaps by the wounds of my body be drawn away from the earnestness of my faith. You have read how the devil tempted holy Job in these many ways, and how at last he sought and obtained power to try his body, which he covered with sores.

5. Cum esset propositum, ut ecclesiae vasa iam traderemus, hoc responsi reddidi: me si de meis aliquid posceretur, aut fundus aut domus aut aurum aut argentum, id quod mei iuris esset libenter offerre, templo dei nihil posse decerpere nec tradere illud quod custodiendum non tradendum acceperim; deinde consulere me etiam imperatoris saluti, quia nec mihi expediret tradere nec illi accipere; accipiat enim vocem liberi sacerdotis, si vult sibi esse consultum, recedat a Christi iniuria.

5. When it was suggested that I should give up the vessels of the Church, I gave the following answer: I will willingly give up whatever of my own property is demanded, whether it is estates, or house, or gold, or silver — anything, in fact, which is in my power. But I cannot take anything away from the temple of God; nor can I give up what I have received to guard and not to give up. In doing this I am acting for the Emperor's good, for it would neither be right for me to give it up, nor for him to receive it. Let him listen to the words of a free-spoken bishop, and if he wishes to do what is best for himself, let him cease to do wrong to Christ.

6. Haec plena humilitatis sunt et ut arbitror plena affectus eius quem imperatori debet sacerdos. Sed quia lucta nobis est non solum adversus carnem et sanguinem sed etiam quod gravius est adversus spiritalia nequitiae quae sunt in caelestibus [Ephes. 6, 12], temptator ille diabolus per ministros suos certamen auget et vulneribus corporis mei experiendum arbitratur. Scio, fratres, vulnera haec, quae pro Christo excipimus, non esse vulnera; quibus vita non amittitur sed propagatur. Sinite, quaeso, esse certamen, spectatores vos esse decet. Considerate quia si quem habet civitas vel athletam vel alterius nobilis artis peritum, optat offerre certamini. Cur in maioribus rebus repudiatis quod in minoribus velle consuestis? Non metuit arma, non barbaros, qui mortem non timet, qui nulla carnis voluptate retinetur.

6. These words are full of humility, and as I think of that spirit which a bishop ought to show towards the Emperor. But since our contest is not against flesh and blood, but also (which is worse) against spiritual wickedness in high places, Ephesians 6:12 that tempter the devil makes the struggle harder by means of his servants, and thinks to make trial of me by the wounds of my flesh. I know, my brethren, that these wounds which we receive for Christ's sake are not wounds that destroy life, but rather extend

it. Allow, I pray, the contest to take place. It is for you to be the spectators. Reflect that if a city has an athlete, or one skilled in some other noble art, it is eager to bring him forward for a contest. Why do you refuse to do in a more important matter what you are wont to wish in smaller affairs? He fears not weapons nor barbarians who fears not death, and is not held fast by any pleasures of the flesh.

7. Certe si dominus huic nos certamini deputavit, frustra pervigiles tot noctibus et diebus custodias exhibuistis, implebitur Christi voluntas. Omnipotens enim noster est dominus Iesus, haec est fides nostra; et ideo quod fieri mandat, implebitur nec convenit vos divinae obviare sententiae.

7. And indeed if the Lord has appointed me for this struggle, in vain have you kept sleepless watch so many nights and days. The will of Christ will be fulfilled. For our Lord Jesus is almighty, this is our faith: and so what He wills to be done will be fulfilled, and it is not for us to thwart the divine purpose.

8. Audistis quod hodie lectum sit: Pullum sibi asinae salvator per apostolos iussit adduci mandavitque, ut si quis resisteret diceretur: Dominus operam eius desiderat [Luc. 19, 35]. Quid si et nunc pullum istum asinae hoc est eius animalis quod gravem sarcinam portare consuevit, sicut est humana conditio, cui dicitur: Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis et ego vos reficiam, tollite iugum meum, quia leve est [Mt. 11, 28-30], quid si, inquam, pullum istum ad se modo iussit adduci missis apostolis illis, qui iam exuti corpore incomprehensibilem oculis nostris angelorum speciem gerunt? Nonne si ab aliquo resistatur dicent: Dominus operam eius desiderat? [Luc. 19, 31] Si resistat vel vitae huius cupiditas, si resistat caro et sanguis, si resistat conversatio corporalis, quia aliquibus forsitan grati videmur. Sed qui nos hic diligit, multo amplius diliget, si sinat fieri hostiam Christi, quia dissolvi et cum Christo esse multo melius, etsi manere in carne

magis necessarium propter vos [Phil. 1, 23sq.]. Nihil est ergo quod vereamini, fratres dilectissimi; scio enim quia quicquid passus fuero, pro Christo patiar. Et legi quod eos timere non debeam, qui possunt carnem occidere, et audivi dicentem: Qui perdiderit animam suam propter me inveniet eam [Mt. 10, 39].

8. You heard what was read today: The Saviour ordered that the foal of an ass should be brought to Him by the apostles, and bade them say, if any one withstood them: The Lord has need of him. Luke 19:35 What if now, too, He has commanded that foal of an ass, that is, the foal of that animal which is wont to bear a heavy burden, as man must, to whom is said: Come unto Me all you that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest; take My yoke upon you, for it is easy; what if, I say, He has commanded that foal to be brought to Him now, sending forth those apostles, who, having put off their body, wear the semblance of the angels unseen by our eyes? If withstood by any, will they not say: The Lord has need of him? If, for instance, love of this life, or flesh and blood, or earthly intercourse (for perhaps we seem pleasing to some), were to withstand them? But he who loves me here, would show his love much more if he would suffer me to become Christ's victim, for to depart and be with Christ is much better, though to abide in the flesh is more needful for you. Philippians 1:23 There is nothing therefore for you to fear, beloved brethren. For I know that whatever I may suffer, I shall suffer for Christ's sake. And I have read that I ought not to fear those that can kill the flesh. Matthew 10:28 And I have heard One Who says: He that loses his life for My sake shall find it. Matthew 10:39

9. Ergo si vult dominus certum est quod nullus obsistat. Quod si adhuc nostra differt certamina quid veremini? Servum Christi non custodia corporalis sed domini providentia saepire consuevit.

9. Wherefore if the Lord wills, surely no one will resist. And if as yet He delay my struggle, what do you fear? It is not bodily guardianship but the Lord's providence that is wont to fence in the servant of Christ.

10. Turbati estis quia apertas repperistis geminas fores, quas captus oculis quidam, dum hospitium proprium repetit, patefecisse memoratur. In quo cognoscite quod nihil suffragetur humana custodia. Ecce unus qui videndi munus amisit, solvit vestra universa munimina, et custodias lusit; dominus autem suae misericordiae custodiam non amisit. Nonne ante biduum, ut meministis, etiam illud repertum est quod a parte laeva basilicae ingressus quidam pervius fuit, quem putabatis clausum esse atque munitum? Saepserunt nempe armati basilicam, explorabant hos atque illos aditus; caecitate perfusi sunt, ut quod apertum erat videre non possent, itaque per plurimas noctes quod apertum fuerit non ignoratis. Desinite ergo sollicitari, quia hoc erit, quod Christus iubet, et quod esse expedit.

10. You are troubled because you have found the double doors open, which a blind man in seeking his chamber is said to have unfastened. In this you learn that human watchfulness is no defense. Behold! One who has lost the gift of sight has broken through all our defences, and escaped the notice of the guards. But the Lord has not lost the guard of His mercy. Was it not also discovered two days ago, as you remember, that a certain entrance on the left side of the basilica was open, which you thought had been shut and secured? Armed men surrounded the basilica, they tried this and the other entrance, but their eyes were blinded so that that could not see the one that was open. And you know well that it was open many nights. Cease, then, to be anxious; for that will take place which Christ commands and which is for the best.

11. Denique exempla vobis legis proferam. Helisaeus quaerebatur a rege Syriae, missus erat exercitus qui eum caperet, circumvallatus erat undique;

coepit timere eius servulus quia servulus erat, hoc est non erat liberae mentis et liberae potestatis. Petivit aperiri eius oculos sanctus propheta et ait: «Respice et vide quanto plures sint pro nobis quam contra nos.» Et respexit et vidit angelorum milia [cf. IV Reg. 6, 12-17]. Advertitis igitur quod servulos Christi hi magis custodiant qui non videntur quam qui videntur. Sed et illi si custodiunt vestris custodiunt orationibus advocati; legistis nempe eos ipsos qui Helisaeum quaerebant ingressos esse Samariam ad eum ipsum quem capere gestiebant, cui non solum non potuerunt nocere sed ipsius adversus quem venerant intercessione servati sunt [cf. IV Reg. 6, 18-23].

11. And now I will put before you examples from the Law. Eliseus was sought by the king of Syria; an army had been sent to capture him; and he was surrounded on all sides. His servant began to fear, for he was a servant, that is, he had not a free mind, nor had he free powers of action. The holy prophet sought to open his eyes, and said: Look and see how many more are on our side than there are against us. 2 Kings 6:16 And he beheld, and saw thousands of angels. Mark therefore that it is those that are not seen rather than those that are seen that guard the servants of Christ. But if they guard you, they do it in answer to your prayers: for you have read that those very men, who sought Eliseus, entered Samaria, and came to him whom they desired to take. Not only were they unable to harm him, but they were themselves preserved at the intercession of the man against whom they had come.

12. Petrus quoque apostolus utriusque rei vobis edat exemplum [cf. Act. 12, 3-10]. Nam ubi eum Herodes quaesivit et cepit, recepit in carcerem, non enim recesserat dei servulus sed steterat timoris ignarus; orabat pro eo ecclesia, sed apostolus in carcere quiescebat quod est indicium non

timentis; missus est angelus qui dormientem excitaret, per quem Petrus productus e carcere mortem ad tempus evasit.

12. The Apostle Peter also gives you an example of either case. For when Herod sought him and took him, he was put into prison. For the servant of God had not got away, but stood firm without a thought of fear. The Church prayed for him, but the Apostle slept in prison, a proof that he was not in fear. An angel was sent to rouse him as he slept, by whom Peter was led forth out of prison, and escaped death for a time.

13. Idem Petrus postea victo Simone, cum praecepta dei populo seminaret, doceret castimoniam, excitavit animos gentilium; quibus eum quaerentibus Christianae animae deprecatae sunt, ut paulisper cederet, et quamvis esset cupidus passionis tamen contemplatione populi precantis inflexus est; rogabatur enim ut ad instituendum et confirmandum populum se reservaret. Quid multa? Nocte muros egredi coepit et videns sibi in porta Christum occurrere urbemque ingredi ait: «Domine, quo venis?» Respondit Christus: «Venio iterum crucifigi» [cf. Actus Petri cum Simone vel Actus Vercellenses, ed. Lipsius-Bonnet I, 45-103]. Intellexit Petrus ad suam crucem divinum pertinere responsum; Christus enim non poterat iterum crucifigi, qui carnem passione susceptae mortis exuerat: quod enim mortuus est mortuus est semel, quod autem vivit vivit deo [Rom. 6, 10]. Intellexit ergo Petrus quod iterum Christus crucifigendus esset in servulo itaque sponte remeavit; interrogantibus Christianis responsum reddidit statimque correptus per crucem suam honorificavit dominum Iesum. [cf. Eus. hist. eccl. 2, 14sq.; Heges. hist. 3, 2]

13. And Peter again afterwards, when he had overcome Simon, in sowing the doctrine of God among the people, and in teaching chastity, stirred up the minds of the Gentiles. And when these sought him, the Christians begged that he would withdraw himself for a little while. And although he

was desirous to suffer, yet was he moved at the sight of the people praying, for they asked him to save himself for the instruction and strengthening of his people. Need I say more? At night he begins to leave the town, and seeing Christ coming to meet him at the gate, and entering the city, says: Lord, where are You going? Christ answers: I am coming to be crucified again. Peter understood the divine answer to refer to his own cross, for Christ could not be crucified a second time, for He had put off the flesh by the passion of the death which He had undergone; since: In that He died, He died unto sin once, but in that He lives, He lives unto God. Romans 6:10 So Peter understood that Christ was to be crucified again in the person of His servant. Therefore he willingly returned; and when the Christians questioned him, told them the reason. He was immediately seized, and glorified the Lord Jesus by his cross.

14. Videtis igitur quod in servulis suis pati velit Christus. Quid si et huic servulo dicit: Illum volo manere, tu autem me sequere [Ioh. 21, 22] et de hac arbore gustare vult fructum? Nam si illius cibus erat ut faceret voluntatem patris [Ioh. 4, 34], itidem cibus illius est ut nostris passionibus epuletur. Nonne ut de ipso domino sumamus exemplum, quando voluit passus est et cum quaereretur inventus est, quando autem hora non venerat passionis [cf. Ioh. 7, 30], per medium quaerentium transibat et videntes eum tenere non poterant? Quod utique evidenter ostendit quia quando dominus vult, unusquisque invenitur et capitur, quod autem differt, etiamsi quaerentium occurrat oculis, non tenetur.

14. You see, then, that Christ wills to suffer in His servants. And what if He says to this servant, I will that he tarry, you follow Me, John 21:22 and wishes to taste the fruit of this tree? For if His meat was to do the will of His Father, John 4:34 so also is it His meat to partake of our sufferings. Did He not, to take an example from our Lord Himself — did He not suffer

when He willed, and was He not found when He was sought? But when the hour of His passion had not yet come, He passed through the midst of those that sought Him, John 7:30 and though they saw Him they could not hold Him fast. This plainly shows us that when the Lord wills, each one is found and taken, but because the time is put off, he is not held fast, although he meets the eyes of those who seek him.

15. Ego ipse non cottidie vel visitandi gratia prodibam, vel pergebam ad martyres? Non regiam palatii praetexebam eundo atque redeundo? Et tamen nemo me tenuit, cum exturbandi me haberent, ut prodiderunt postea, voluntatem, dicentes: «Exi de civitate et vade quo vis». Exspectabam, fateor, magnum aliquid aut gladium pro Christi nomine aut incendium, at illi delicias mihi pro passionibus obtulerunt, sed athleta Christi non delicias sed passiones suas exigit. Nemo ergo vos turbet, quod aut carrum praeparaverunt aut dura, ut videbatur sibi, Auxentii ipsius, qui se dicit episcopum, ore iactata.

15. And did not I myself go forth daily to pay visits, or go to the tombs of the martyrs? Did I not pass by the royal palace both in going and returning? Yet no one laid hands on me, though they had the intention of driving me out, as they afterwards gave out, saying, Leave the city, and go where you will. I was, I own, looking for some great thing, either sword or fire for the Name of Christ, yet they offered me pleasant things instead of sufferings; but Christ's athlete needs not pleasant things but sufferings. Let no one, then, disturb you, because they have provided a carriage, or because hard words, as he thinks them, have been uttered by Auxentius, who calls himself bishop.

16. Plerique narrabant percussores praemissos, poenam mortis esse decretam. Nec illa timeo et ista non desero. Quo enim abibo, ubi non omnia plena gemitus sint atque lacrimarum, quando per ecclesias iubentur eici catholici

sacerdotes, resistentes gladio feriri, curiales proscribi omnes, nisi mandatum impleverint? Et haec episcopi manu scripta et ore dictata, qui se ut probaret doctissimum vetus non omisit exemplum; legimus enim in propheta quod viderit falcem volantem [cf. Zach. 5, 2]: hanc imitatus Auxentius gladium volantem per omnes urbes direxit. Et satanas transfigurat se in angelum lucis et in malum imitatur eius potentiam [II Cor. 11, 14].

16. Many stated that assassins had been dispatched, that the penalty of death had been decreed against me. I do not fear all that, nor am I going to desert my position here. Whither shall I go, when there is no spirit that is not filled with groans and tears; when throughout the Churches Catholic bishops are being expelled, or if they resist, are put to the sword, and every senator who does not obey the decree is proscribed. And these things were written by the hand and spoken by the mouth of a bishop who, that he might show himself to be most learned, omitted not an ancient warning. For we read in the prophet that he saw a flying sickle. Zechariah 5:1 Auxentius, to imitate this, sent a flying sword through all cities. But Satan, too, transforms himself into an angel of light, 2 Corinthians 11:14 and imitates his power for evil.

17. Tu, domine Iesu, uno momento mundum redemisti, Auxentius uno momento tot populos quod in ipso est trucidabit alios gladio, alios sacrilegio. Mihi basilicam petit cruento ore, sanguinolentis manibus. Cui bene praesens respondit lectio: Peccatori autem dixit deus: Quare tu enarras iustitias meas? [Ps. 49, 16] id est, non convenit paci et furori, non convenit Christo et Belial [cf. II Cor. 6, 15]. Meministis etiam quod lectum sit hodie Nabuthae sanctum virum possessorem vineae suae interpellatum petitione regia, ut vineam suam daret, ubi rex succisis vitibus holus vile sereret, eumque respondisse: Absit ut ego patrum meorum tradam hereditatem [III Reg. 21, 3]; regem contristatum esse, quod sibi esset alienum ius relatione

iusta negatum, sed muliebri consilio deceptum ⟨Nabuthae⟩ morte in agrum venisse; sancus enim Nabuthae vites suas vel proprio cruore defendit [cf. III Reg. 21, 1-13]. Si ille vineam non tradidit suam, nos trademus ecclesiam Christi?

17. You, Lord Jesus, have redeemed the world in one moment of time: shall Auxentius in one moment slay, as far as he can, so many peoples, some by the sword, others by sacrilege? He seeks my basilica with bloody lips and gory hands. Him today's chapter answers well: But unto the wicked said God: Wherefore do you declare My righteousness? That is, there is no union between peace and madness, there is no union between Christ and Belial. 2 Corinthians 6:15 You remember also that we read today of Naboth, a holy man who owned his own vineyard, being urged on the king's request to give it up. When the king after rooting up the vines intended to plant common herbs, he answered him: God forbid that I should give up the inheritance of my fathers. 1 Kings 21:3 The king was grieved, because what belonged by right to another had been refused him on fair grounds, but had been unfairly got by a woman's device. Naboth defended his vines with his own blood. And if he did not give up his vineyard, shall we give up the Church of Christ?

18. Quid igitur a me responsam est contumaciter? Dixi enim conventus: «Absit a me ut tradam Christi hereditatem.» Si ille patrum hereditatem non tradidit, ego tradam Christi hereditatem? Sed et hoc addidi: «Absit ut tradam hereditatem patrum hoc est hereditatem Dionysii [Dionysius episcopus Mediolanenis ab a. 351; qui a. 355 ab imperatore Valente una cum Eusebio episcopo Vercellensi in exilium expulsus est, quod in synodo Mediolanensi a. 355 habita Athanasii condemnationi subscribere recusavit] qui in exilio in causa fidei defunctus est, hereditatem Eustorgii confessoris [episcopus Mediolanensis a. 344 - ca. 350], hereditatem Mirocletis [hic a.

313 concilio Romano in causa Caeciliani interfuit], atque omnium retro fidelium episcoporum.» Respondi ego, quod sacerdotis est; quod imperatoris est faciat imperator. Prius est ut animam mihi quam fidem auferat.

18. Was the answer that I gave then contumacious? For when summoned I said: God forbid that I should give up the inheritance of Christ. If Naboth gave not up the inheritance of his fathers, shall I give up the inheritance of Christ? And I added further: God forbid that I shall give up the inheritance of my fathers, that is, the inheritance of Dionysius, who died in exile in the cause of the faith; the inheritance of the Confessor Eustorgius, the inheritance of Mysocles and of all the faithful bishops of bygone days. I answered as a bishop ought to answer: Let the Emperor act as an emperor ought to. He must take away my life rather than my faith.

19. Ac cui tradam? Praesens lectio evangelii docere nos debet quid petatur, a quibus petatur. Audistis nempe legi quod, cum Christus pullum asinae sederet, clamabant pueruli et moleste ferebant Iudaei [cf. Luc. 19, 35-45]. Denique interpellaverunt dominum Iesum dicentes ut faceret eos tacere; respondit: Si hi tacebunt, lapides clamabunt [ibid., 40]. Deinde ingressus templum eiecit nummularios et cathedras et columbas vendentes in templo dei. Lectio nempe ista nulla nostra dispositione recitata sed casu est, quae praesentibus bene aptatur temporibus. Semper ergo Christi laudes verbera perfidorum sunt. Et nunc cum laudatur Christus, dicunt haeretici quia seditio commovetur, dicunt haeretici quia his mors parabatur; et vere mortem habent in laudibus Christi. Quomodo enim laudes eius ferre possunt, cuius infirmitatem praedicant? Itaque et hodie cum laudatur Christus, Arrianorum amentia verberatur.

19. But to whom shall I give it up? Today’s lesson from the Gospel ought to teach us what is asked for and by whom it is asked. You have heard read

that when Christ Luke 19:35 sat upon the foal of an ass, the children cried aloud, and the Jews were vexed. At length they spoke to the Lord Jesus, bidding Him to silence them. He answered: If these should hold their peace, the stones will cry out. Luke 19:40 Then on entering the temple, He cast out the money-changers, and the tables, and those that sold doves in the temple of God. That passage was read by no arrangement of mine, but by chance; but it is well fitted to the present time. The praises of Christ are ever the scourges of the unfaithful. And now when Christ is praised, the heretics say that sedition is stirred up. The heretics say that death is being prepared for them, and truly they have their death in the praises of Christ. For how can they bear His praises, Whose weakness they maintain. And so today, when Christ is praised, the madness of the Arians is scourged.

20. Geraseni praesentiam Christi ferre non poterant [cf. Luc. 8, 37], isti peiores Gerasenis nec laudationem Christi sustinere possunt. Vident puerulos Christi gloriam concinentes, quia scriptum est: Ex ore infantium et lactantium perfecisti laudem [Ps. 8, 3]. Irrident istam aetatulam plenam fidei cum dicunt: Ecce quid clamant? Sed respondit his Christus: Si hi tacuerint lapides clamabunt [Luc. 19, 38], hoc est fortiores clamabunt, clamabunt et iuvenes, clamabunt et maturiores, clamabunt et senes, isti lapides ad illum iam solidati lapidem, de quo scriptum est: Lapidem quem reprobaverunt aedificantes hic factus est in caput anguli [Ps. 117, 22].

20. The Gerasenes could not bear the presence of Christ; Luke 8:37 these, worse than the Gerasenes, cannot endure the praises of Christ. They see boys singing of the glory of Christ, for it is written: Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings You have perfected praise. They mock at their tender age, so full of faith, and say: Behold, why do they cry out? But Christ answers them: If these should hold their peace, the stones will cry out, Luke 19:40 that is, the stronger will cry out, both youths and the more mature will

cry out, and old men will cry out; these stones now firmly laid upon that stone of which it is written: The stone which the builders rejected has become the head of the corner.

21. His igitur laudationibus invitatus templum suum Christus ingreditur et flagellum prendit et eicit de templo nummularios [cf. Ioh. 2, 15]. Non patitur enim in suo templo pecuniae esse vernaculos, non patitur in suo templo esse eos qui vendant cathedras. Quid sunt cathedrae nisi honores? Quid sunt columbae nisi simplices mentes vel animae fidem candidam et puram sequentes? Ego ergo inducam in templum quem Christus excludit? Iubetur enim exire qui dignitates vendit et honores, iubetur enim exire qui vendere vult simplices mentes fidelium.

21. Invited, then, by these praises, Christ enters His temple, John 2:15 and takes His scourge and drives the money-changers out of the temple. For He does not allow the slaves of money to be in His temple, nor does He allow those to be there who sell seats. What are seats but honours? What are the doves but simple minds or souls that follow a pure and clear faith? Shall I, then, bring into the temple him whom Christ shuts out? For he who sells dignities and honours will be bidden to go out. He will be bidden to go out who desires to sell the simple minds of the faithful.

22. Ergo Auxentius eicitur, Mercurinus excluditur. Unum portentum est duo nomina. Etenim ne cognosceretur quis esset, mutavit sibi vocabulum, ut quia hic fuerat Auxentius episcopus Arrianus, ad decipiendam plebem quam ille tenuerat se vocaret Auxentium. Mutavit ergo vocabulum, sed perfidiam non mutavit; exuit lupum et induit lupum. Nihil prodest quod mutavit nomen, quid sit agnoscitur. Alius in Scythiae partibus dicebatur, alius hic vocatur, nomina pro regionibus habet. Habet ergo iam duo nomina et si hinc alio perrexerit, habebit et tertium. Quomodo enim patietur ut maneat ei vocabulum ad tanti sceleris indicium? Minora fecit in Scythia et ita erubuit

ut mutaret vocabulum; sceleratiora hic ausus est et volet quocumque perrexerit nomine suo prodi? Tantorum populorum sanguinem manu sua scribet et poterit consistere animo?

22. Therefore, Auxentius is cast out. Mercurius is shut out. The portent is one, the names are two! That no one might know who he was, he changed his name so as to call himself Auxentius, because there had been here an Arian bishop, named Auxentius. He did this to deceive the people over whom the other had had power. He changed his name, but he did not change his falseness. He puts off the wolf, yet puts on the wolf again. It is no help to him that he has changed his name; whatever happens he is known. He is called by one name in the parts of Scythia, he is called by another here. He has a name for each country he lives in. He has two names already, and if he were to go elsewhere from here, he will have yet a third. For how will he endure to keep a name as a proof of such wickedness? He did less in Scythia, and was so ashamed that he changed his name. Here he has dared to do worse things, and will he be ready to be betrayed by his name wherever he goes? Shall he write the death warrant of so many people with his own hand, and yet be able to be unshaken in mind?

23. Paucos excludebat dominus Iesus de templo suo, Auxentius nullum reliquit. De templo suo Iesus flagello eicit, Auxentius gladio, Iesus flagello, Mercurinus securi. Pius dominus flagello exturbat sacrilegos, nequam persequitur pios ferro. De quo bene dixistis hodie: Leges suas secum ferat. Feret etiamsi nolit, feret conscientiam suam, etsi non fert cartulam, feret sanguine inscriptam animam suam, etsi atramento inscriptam epistolam non feret. Scripta est, Iuda, culpa tua graffio ferreo et ungue adamantino et scripta in pectore tuo [Ier. 17, 1], hoc est ibi scripta unde processit.

23. The Lord Jesus shut a few out of His temple, but Auxentius left none. Jesus with a scourge drove them out of His temple, Auxentius with a sword;

Jesus with a scourge, Mercurius with an axe. The holy Lord drives out the sacrilegious with a scourge; the impious man pursues the holy with a sword. Of him you have well said today: Let him take away his laws with him. He will take them, although he is unwilling; he will take with him his conscience, although he takes no writing; he will take with him his soul inscribed with blood although he will not take a letter inscribed with ink. It is written: Juda, your sin is written with a pen of iron and with the point of a diamond, and it is graven upon your heart, Jeremiah 17:1 that is, it is written there, whence it came forth.

24. Is mihi etiam audet mentionem facere tractandi, plenus sanguinis, plenus cruoris? Qui quos non potuerit sermone decipere, eos gladio putat esse feriendos, cruentas leges ore dictans, manu scribens et putans quod lex fidem possit hominibus imperare. Non audivit et id quod hodie dictum est: Quoniam non iustificatur homo ex operibus legis [Gal. II, 16], ait: Per legem legi mortuus sum ut deo vivam [ibid., 19], id est per legem spiritalem interpretationi legis est mortuus corporali. Et nos per legem domini nostri Iesu Christi moriamur huic legi, quae sancit decreta perfidiae. Non lex ecclesiam congregavit sed fides Christi, lex enim non est ex fide; iustus autem ex fide vivit [Gal. 3, 11]. Iustum ergo fides, non lex facit; quia non est per legem iustitia, sed per fidem Christi. Qui autem fidem repudiat, et legis iura praescribit, ipse se testatur iniustum, quia iustus ex fide vivit.

24. Does he, a man full of blood and full of murder, dare to make mention to me of a discussion? He who thinks that they whom he could not mislead by his words are to be slain with the sword, giving bloody laws with his mouth, writing them with his hand, and thinking that the law can order a faith for man to hold. He has not heard what was read today: That a man is not justified by the works of the law, Galatians 2:16 or I, through the law, am dead to the law, that I may live unto God, Galatians 2:19 that is, by the

spiritual law he is dead to the carnal interpretation of the law. And we, by the law of our Lord Jesus Christ, are dead to this law, which sanctions such perfidious decrees. The law did not gather the Church together, but the faith of Christ. For the law is not by faith, but the just man lives by faith. Galatians 3:11 Therefore, faith, not the law, makes a man just, for justice is not through the law, but through the faith of Christ. But he who casts aside his faith and pleads for that the claims of the law, bears witness that he is himself unjust; for the just man lives by faith.

25. Hanc ergo legem quisquam sequatur, qua firmatur Ariminense concilium, in quo creatura dictus est Christus? Sed aiunt: Misit deus filium suum factum ex muliere, factum sub lege [Gal. 4, 4]; ergo factum legunt hoc est creatum. Nonne hoc ipsum considerant quod proposuerunt, quia factus dicitur Christus sed ex muliere hoc est secundum partum virginis factus est, qui secundum divinam generationem ex patre natus est? Et legerunt et hodie quia Christus nos redemit de maledicto legis, factus pro nobis maledictum [Gal. 3, 13]. Numquid maledictum Christus secundum divinitatem est? Sed quare maledictum dicatur apostolus te docet dicens: Quia scriptum est: Maledictus omnis qui pependit in ligno [ibid.; Deut. 21, 23], hoc est qui in carne sua nostram carnem, in suo corpore nostras infirmitates et nostra maledicta suscepit ut crucifigeret; non enim ille maledictus sed in te maledictus. Denique habes alibi: Qui peccatum non cognovit sed pro nobis peccatum factus est, quia nostra peccata suscepit ut sacramento suae passionis aboleret [II Cor. 5, 21].

25. Shall any one, then, follow this law, whereby the Council of Ariminum is confirmed, wherein Christ was said to be a creature. But say they: God sent forth His Son, made of a woman, made under the law. Galatians 4:4 And so they say made, that is, created. Do they not consider these very words which they have brought forward; that Christ is said to have been

made, but of a woman; that is, He was made as regards his birth from a Virgin, Who was begotten of the Father as regards His divine generation? Have they read also today, that Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us? Galatians 3:13 Was Christ a curse in His Godhead? But why He is called a curse the Apostle tells us, saying that it is written: Cursed is every one that hangs on a tree, Galatians 3:13 that is, He Who in his flesh bore our flesh, in His body bore our infirmities and our curses, that He might crucify them; for He was not cursed Himself, but was cursed in you. So it is written elsewhere: Who knew no sin, but was made sin for us, for He bore our sins, 2 Corinthians 5:21 that he might destroy them by the Sacrament of His Passion.

26. Haec ego, fratres, coram ipso apud vos plenius disputarem, sed certus gnaros vos esse fidei vestrum refugit examen et gentiles quosdam quattuor aut quinque ferme homines elegit cognitores sibi, si tamen aliquos elegit: quos vellem adesse in coetu omnium, non ut de Christo iudicent sed ut maiestatem audiant Christi. Tamen illi iam de Auxentio pronuntiarunt cui tractanti cotidie non crediderunt. Quae maior eius condemnatio quam quod sine adversario apud iudices suos victus est? Ergo et ipsorum sententiam contra Auxentium iam tenemus.

26. These matters, my brethren, I would discuss more fully with him in your presence; but knowing that you are not ignorant of the faith, he has avoided a trial before you, and has chosen some four or five heathen to represent him, if that is he has chosen any, whom I should like to be present in our company, not to judge concerning Christ, but to hear the majesty of Christ. They, however, have already given their decision concerning Auxentius, to whom they gave no credence as he pleaded before them day by day. What can be more of a condemnation of him than the fact, that

without an adversary he was defeated before his own judges? So now we also have their opinion against Auxentius.

27. Et in eo quod gentes elegit iure damnandus est, quia apostoli praecepta dimisit cum apostolus dicat: Audet aliquis vestrum adversus alterum habens negotium iudicari apud iniquos et non apud sanctos? Aut nescitis quoniam sancti de hoc mundo iudicabunt? [I Cor. 6, 1sq.] Et infra ait: Sic non est inter vos sapiens quisquam qui possit iudicare inter fratres, sed frater cum fratre iudicio contendit et hoc apud infideles? [ibid. 5sq.] Vides quia quod ille obtulit contra auctoritatem apostoli sit. Vos eligite utrum Auxentium an Paulum sequi debeamus magistrum.

27. And that he has chosen heathen is rightly to be condemned; for he has disregarded the Apostle's command, where he says: Dare any of you, having a matter against another, go to law before the unjust and not before the saints? Do you not know the saints shall judge the world? 1 Corinthians 6:1-2 And below he says: Is it so, that there is not a wise man among you, who can judge between heathen? But brother goes to law with brother, and that before the unbelievers. 1 Corinthians 6:5 You see, then, that what he has introduced is against the Apostle's authority. Do you decide, then, whether we are to follow Auxentius or Paul as our master.

28. Sed quid dicam de apostolo, cum ipse dominus clamet per prophetam: Audite me, populus meus, qui scitis iudicium, quorum in corde lex mea est [Is. 51, 7]. Deus dicit: Audite me, populus meus, qui scitis iudicium, Auxentius dicit: «Nescitis iudicium». Videtis quia iam deum contemnit in vobis qui sententiam caelestis refutat oraculi? Audite me, inquit, populus meus, dicit dominus, non dicit: Audite, gentes, non dicit: Audite, Iudaei. Iam enim populus dei qui fuerat Iudaeorum quia populus erroris est factus, et qui populus erroris erat populus dei esse coepit quia in Christum credidit. Iste ergo populus iudicat cuius in corde lex divina est non humana, lex non

atramento scripta sed spiritu dei vivi, non in carta exarata, sed in corde signata, lex gratiae, non cruoris [II Cor. 3, 3]. Quis igitur vobis iniuriam facit, qui recusat vestram an qui eligit audientiam?

28. But why speak of the Apostle, when the Lord Himself cries through the prophet: Hearken unto Me, My people, you who know judgment, in whose heart is My law. Isaiah 51:7 God says: Hearken unto Me, My people, you that know judgment. Auxentius says: You know not judgment. Do you see how he condemns God in you, who rejects the voice of the heavenly oracle: Hearken unto Me, My people, says the Lord. He says not, Hearken, you Gentiles, nor does He say, Hearken, you Jews. For they who had been the people of the Lord have now become the people of error, and they who were the people of error have begun to be the people of God; for they have believed on Christ. That people then judges in whose heart is the divine, not the human law, the law not written in ink, but in the spirit of the living God; 2 Corinthians 3:3 not set down on paper, but stamped upon the heart. Who then, does you a wrong, he who refuses, or he who chooses to be heard by you?

29. Conclusus undique ad versutiam patrum suorum confugit. De imperatore vult invidiam commovere, dicens iudicare debere adolescentem catechuminum sacrae lectionis ignarum et in consistorio iudicare, quasi vero superiore anno quando ad palatium sum petitus, cum praesentibus primatibus ante consistorium tractaretur, cum imperator basilicam vellet eripere, ego tunc aulae contemplatione regalis infractus sim, constantiam non tenuerim sacerdotis aut imminuto iure discesserim? Nonne meminerunt quod ubi me cognovit populus palatium petisse ita irruit, ut vim eius ferre non possent, quando se comiti militari cum expeditis ad fugandam multitudinem egresso obtulerunt omnes se neci pro fide Christi? Non tunc rogatus sum, ut populum multo sermone mulcerem, sponderem fidem quod

basilicam ecclesiae nullus invaderet? Et cum pro beneficio meum sit officium postulatum, tamen quod populus ad palatium venisset mihi invidia commota est. In hanc igitur invidiam me redire desiderant.

29. Hemmed in on all sides, he betakes himself to the wiles of his fathers. He wants to stir up ill-will on the Emperor's side, saying that a youth, a catechumen ignorant of the sacred writings, ought to judge, and to judge in the consistory. As though last year when I was sent for to go to the palace, when in the presence of the chief men the matter was discussed before the consistory, when the Emperor wished to seize the basilica, I was cowed then at the sight of the royal court, and did not show the firmness a bishop should, or departed with diminished claims. Do they not remember that the people, when they knew I had gone to the palace, made such a rush that they could not resist its force; and all offered themselves to death for the faith of Christ as a military officer came out with some light troops to disperse the crowd? Was not I asked to calm the people with a long speech? Did I not pledge my word that no one should invade the basilica of the church? And though my services were asked for to do an act of kindness, yet the fact that the people came to the palace was used to bring ill-will upon me. They wish to bring me to this now again.

30. Revocavi populum et tamen invidiam non evasi; quam quidem invidiam ego temperandam arbitror non timendam. Quid enim timeamus pro Christi nomine? Nisi forte illud movere me debet quod aiunt: «Ergo non debet imperator unam basilicam accipere ad quam procedat, et plus vult Ambrosius posse quam imperator, ut imperatori prodeundi facultatem neget?» Quod cum dicunt apprehendere sermones nostros gestiunt, sicut Iudaei qui Christum versuto sermone temptabant dicentes: Magister, licet tributum dare Caesari an non? [Mt. 22, 17] Semperne de Caesare servulis dei invidia commovetur? Et hoc ad calumniam sibi arcessit impietas, ut

imperiale nomen obtendat? Et isti possunt dicere quod eorum non habeant sacrilegium quorum imitantur magisterium?

30. I recalled the people, and yet I did not escape their ill-will, which ill-will, however, I think we ought rather to tempt than fear. For why should we fear for the Name of Christ? Unless perchance I ought to be troubled because they say: Ought not the Emperor to have one basilica, to which to go, and Ambrose wants to have more power than the Emperor, and so refuses to the Emperor the opportunity of going forth to church? When they say this, they desire to lay hold of my words, as did the Jews who tried Christ with cunning words, saying: Master, is it lawful to give tribute to Cæsar or not? Matthew 22:17 Is ill-will always stirred up against the servants of God on Cæsar's account, and does impiety make use of this with a view to starting a slander, so as to shelter itself under the imperial name? And can they say that they do not share in the sacrilege of those whose advice they follow?

31. Et tamen videte quanto peiores Arriani sint, quam Iudaei. Illi quaerebant utrum solvendum putaret Caesari ius tributi, isti imperatori volunt dare ius ecclesiae. Sed ut perfidi suum sequuntur auctorem ita et nos quae nos dominus et auctor noster docuit respondeamus. Considerans enim Iesus dolum Iudaeorum [ibid., 18-21] dixit ad eos: Quid me temptatis, ostendite mihi denarium. Et cum dedissent dixit: Cuius imaginem habet et inscriptionem? Respondentes dixerunt: Caesaris. Et ait illis Iesus: Reddite quae sunt Caesaris Caesari et quae dei sunt deo. Ergo et ego dico illis qui mihi obiciunt: Ostendite mihi denarium. Iesus Caesaris denarium vidit et ait: Reddite Caesari quae Caesaris sunt et quae dei sunt deo. Numquid de ecclesiae basilicis occupandis possunt denarium offerre Caesaris?

31. See how much worse than the Jews the Arians are. They asked whether He thought that the right of tribute should be given to Cæsar; these want to

give to Cæsar the right of the Church. But as these faithless ones follow their author, so also let us answer as our Lord and Author has taught us. For Jesus seeing the wickedness of the Jews said to them: Why do you tempt Me? Show Me a penny. When they had given it, He said: Whose image and superscription has it? Matthew 22:18 They answered and said: Cæsar's. And Jesus says to them: Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's. Matthew 22:21 So, too, I say to these who oppose me: Show me a penny. Jesus sees Cæsar's penny and says: Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's. Can they in seizing the basilicas of the church offer Cæsar's penny?

32. Sed in ecclesia unam imaginem novi hoc est imaginem dei invisibilis de qua dixit deus: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram [Gen. 1, 26]; illam imaginem de qua scriptum est quia Christus splendor gloriae et imago substantiae eius [Hebr. 1, 3]. In ista imagine patrem cerno, sicut dixit ipse dominus Iesus: Qui me videt videt et patrem [Ioh. 14, 9]. Non enim haec imago a patre est separata, quae unitatem me docuit trinitatis dicens: Ego et pater unum sumus [Ioh. 10, 30], et infra: Omnia quaecumque habet pater mea sunt [Ioh. 16, 15]. Et de spiritu sancto dicens quia spiritus Christi sit et de Christo accepit sicut scriptum est: Ille de meo accipiet et annuntiabit vobis [ibid., 14].

32. But in the church I only know of one Image, that is the Image of the unseen God, of Which God has said: Let us make man in Our image and Our likeness; Genesis 1:26 that Image of Which it is written, that Christ is the Brightness of His glory and the Image of His Person. Hebrews 1:3 In that Image I perceive the Father, as the Lord Jesus Himself has said: He that sees Me sees the Father. John 14:9 For this Image is not separated from the Father, which indeed has taught me the unity of the Trinity, saying: I and My Father are One, John 10:30 and again: All things that the Father has are

Mine. John 16:15 Also of the Holy Spirit, saying that the Spirit is Christ's, and has received of Christ, as it is written: He shall receive of Mine, and shall declare it unto you. John 16:14

33. Quid igitur non humiliter responsum a nobis est? Si tributum petit non negamus. Agri ecclesiae solvunt tributum; si agros desiderat imperator, potestatem habet vindicandorum; nemo nostrum intervenit. Potest pauperibus collatio populi redundare, non faciant de agris invidiam, tollant eos si libitum est imperatori, non dono sed non nego. Aurum quaerunt, possum dicere: «Argentum et aurum non quaero», sed invidiam faciunt quia aurum erogatur. Nec ego hanc invidiam perhorresco. Habeo aerarios, aerarii mei pauperes Christi sunt, hunc novi congregare thesaurum. Utinam hoc mihi semper crimen ascribant, quia aurum pauperibus erogatur! Quod si obiciunt quod defensionem ab his requiram non nego sed etiam ambio. Habeo defensionem sed in orationibus pauperum. Caeci illi et claudi, debiles et senes robustis bellatoribus fortiores sunt. Denique munera pauperum deum obligant quia scriptum est: Qui largitur pauperi deo fenerat [Prov. 19, 17]. Praesidia bellatorum divinam saepe gratiam non merentur.

33. How, then, did we not answer humbly enough? If he demand tribute, we do not refuse it. The lands of the Church pay tribute. If the Emperor wants the lands, he has the power to claim them, none of us will interfere. The contributions of the people are amply sufficient for the poor. Do not stir up ill-will in the matter of the lands. Let them take them if it is the Emperor's will. I do not give them, but I do not refuse them. They ask for gold. I can say: Silver and gold I do not ask for. But they stir up ill-will because gold is spent. I am not afraid of such ill-will as this. I have dependents. My dependents are Christ's poor. I know how to collect this treasure. On that they may even charge me with this crime, that I have spent money on the poor! And if they make the charge that I seek for defense at their hands, I do

not deny it; nay, I solicit it. I have my defense, but it consists in the prayers of the poor. The blind and the lame, the weak and the old, are stronger than hardy warriors. Lastly, gifts to the poor make God indebted to us, for it is written: He that gives to the poor, lends to God. Proverbs 19:17 The guards of warriors often do not merit divine grace.

34. Hymnorum quoque meorum carminibus deceptum populum ferunt, plane nec hoc abnuo. Grande carmen istud est quo nihil potentius; quid enim potentius quam confessio trinitatis, quae cottidie totius populi ore celebratur? Certatim omnes student fidem fateri, patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum norunt versibus praedicare. Facti sunt igitur omnes magistri, qui vix poterant esse discipuli.

34. They declare also that the people have been led astray by the strains of my hymns. I certainly do not deny it. That is a lofty strain, and there is nothing more powerful than it. For what has more power than the confession of the Trinity which is daily celebrated by the mouth of the whole people? All eagerly vie one with the other in confessing the faith, and know how to praise in verse the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. So they all have become teachers, who scarcely could be disciples.

35. Quid igitur obaudientius potest esse quam ut Christi sequamur exemplum, qui specie inventus ut homo humiliavit semetipsum factus oboediens usque ad mortem? [Phil. 2, 7sq.] Denique omnes per oboedientiam liberavit: Sicut enim per inoboedientiam unius hominis peccatores constituti sunt plurimi ita et per unius oboedientiam iusti constituentur multi [Rom. 5, 19]. Si ergo ille oboediens, accipiant oboedientiae magisterium cui nos inhaeremus dicentes his qui nobis de imperatore invidiam faciunt: «Solvimus quae sunt Caesaris Caesari et quae sunt dei deo» [cf. Mt. 22, 21]. Tributum Caesaris est, non negatur, ecclesia

dei est, Caesari utique non debet addici, quia ius Caesaris esse non potest dei templum.

35. What could show greater obedience than that we should follow Christ's example, Who, being found in fashion as a man, humbled Himself and became obedient even unto death? Philippians 2:7-8 Accordingly He has freed all through His obedience. For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of One shall many be made righteous. Romans 5:19 If, then, He was obedient, let them receive the rule of obedience: to which we cling, saying to those who stir up ill-will against us on the Emperor's side: We pay to Cæsar what is Cæsar's, and to God what is God's. Tribute is due to Cæsar, we do not deny it. The Church belongs to God, therefore it ought not to be assigned to Cæsar. For the temple of God cannot be Cæsar's by right.

36. Quod cum honorificentia imperatoris dictum nemo potest negare. Quid enim honorificentius quam ut imperator ecclesiae filius esse dicatur? Quod cum dicitur sine peccato dicitur, cum gratia dicitur. Imperator enim intra ecclesiam non supra ecclesiam est; bonus enim imperator quaerit auxilium ecclesiae, non refutat. Haec ut humiliter dicimus ita constanter exponimus. Sed incendia aliqui, gladium deportationem minantur. Didicimus Christi servuli non timere, non timentibus numquam est gravis terror; denique scriptum est: Sagittae infantium factae sunt plagae eorum [Ps. 63, 8].

36. That this is said with respectful feeling for the Emperor, no one can deny. For what is more full of respect than that the Emperor should be called the son of the Church. As it is said, it is said without sin, since it is said with the divine favour. For the Emperor is within the Church, not above it. For a good emperor seeks the aid of the Church and does not refuse it. As I say this with all humility, so also I state it with firmness. Some threaten us with fire, sword, exile; we have learned as servants of

Christ not to fear. To those who have no fear, nothing is ever a serious cause of dread. Thus too is it written: Arrows of infants their blows have become.

37. Satis igitur propositis responsum videtur. Nunc illos interrogo quod Salvator interrogavit: Baptismum Iohannis de caelo est an ex hominibus? [Luc. 20, 4] et non potuerunt respondere ei Iudaei; si baptismum Iohannis non solverunt Iudaei, Auxentius solvit baptismum Christi? Non enim istud ex hominibus est baptismum sed de caelo, quod detulit nobis consilii magni angelus [cf. Is. 9, 6] ut iustificemur deo. Cur igitur rebaptizandos Auxentius fideles populos putat baptizatos in nomine trinitatis, cum apostolus dicat: Una fides unum baptisma [Eph. 4, 5], et se hominum dicit adversarium esse non Christi cum consilium dei spernat et condemnet baptismum, quod Christus nobis ad redimenda nostra peccata donavit [cf. Luc. 7, 30].

37. A sufficient answer, then, seems to have been given to their suggestion. Now I ask them, what the Saviour asked: The baptism of John, was it from heaven or men? Luke 20:4 The Jews could not answer Him. If the Jews did not make nothing of the baptism of John, does Auxentius make nothing of the baptism of Christ? For that is not a baptism of men, but from heaven, which the angel of great counsel Isaiah 9:6 has brought to us, that we might be justified to God. Wherefore, then, does Auxentius hold that the faithful ought to be rebaptized, when they have been baptized in the name of the Trinity, when the Apostle says: One faith, one baptism? Ephesians 4:5 And wherefore does he say that he is man’s enemy, not Christ’s, seeing that he despises the counsel of God and condemns the baptism which Christ has granted us to redeem our sins.

The Biographies

Florence, Tuscany — in 393 Ambrose relocated to Florence, where he remained until Eugenius withdrew from Milan to meet Theodosius in the Battle of the Frigidus in early September 394.

Portrait of Saint Ambrose by Paolo Veneziano, c. 14th century

Saint Ambrosius, Bishop of Milan (1911) by John Llewelyn Davies

From 'Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature'

St . Ambrosius, bp. of Milan (A.D. 374–397). The chief materials for his life are his own works, which include an important collection of letters. Another source is a *Life* by Paulinus, his *notarius* or secretary, who had been with him at his death and wrote at the suggestion of St. Augustine. This *Life* is full of prodigies, and adds hardly anything to what we learn from the works. The letters have been reduced to a chronological order with great care by the Benedictine editors of St. Ambrose, who have also digested the various particulars into a useful biography.

Ambrose's father, who bore the same name, was a Roman of the highest rank, and at the time of St. Ambrose's birth was prefect of the Galliae, a province which included Britain and Spain, and constituted one of the four great praetorian prefectures of the empire. The only datum for determining the year of Ambrose's birth is a passage in one of his letters in which he happens to mention that he is fifty-three years old, and at the same time contrasts the quiet of Campania with the commotions by which he was himself surrounded (*Ep.* lix. 3). There are two periods to which this description would apply, A.D. 387 or 393. If we assume, as seems most probable, that Ambrose was fifty-three years old in 393, we shall place his birth in 340.

After receiving a liberal education at Rome, Ambrose devoted himself to the profession of the law, which was then the usual path to the highest civil offices (see Gibbon, c. xvii.). He practised at the court of the praetorian

prefect of Italy, Probus, who appointed him "consular" magistrate of the provinces of Liguria and Aemilia. He made an admirable magistrate, and became known to the people of Milan, where he held his court, as a high-minded, conscientious, and religious man. Whilst he was discharging his office, Auxentius, whom the Arian party had foisted into the see of Milan, died. The Catholic party had now grown stronger, and a vehement strife arose as to the appointment of a successor to Auxentius. The consular came down to the church to keep the peace and was addressing the people in his character as a civil magistrate, when a cry (which tradition asserts to have been that of a child) was heard, "Ambrose for bishop!" In a moment it struck the whole multitude as a solution in which both parties might acquiesce without the sense of defeat, and a unanimous shout arose, "We will have Ambrose for bishop!" It was a singular choice, even for those rougher and more tumultuous times, for Ambrose was not yet so much as baptized. But he was an earnest Christian in his belief, and had only been kept from seeking baptism by a religious awe, of which there were then many examples. Such an one naturally shrank from being made bishop. With undoubted sincerity, he resisted this popular nomination. He was, he says, *raptus a tribunalibus ad sacerdotium de Officiis*, i. 4). He was baptized, passed summarily through the intermediate ecclesiastical stages, and on the eighth day was consecrated bp. of Milan. This was in the year 374 (a year after the death of Athanasius, and before the death of Valentinian I.), Ambrose being thirty-four years of age. The *vox populi* was never more thoroughly justified. The foundation of his excellence was laid in a singular and unsullied purity of character. In the see of Milan Ambrose had found precisely his place, and he laboured indefatigably as its bishop for twenty-three years till his death.

One of his first cares after his ordination was to divest himself of the charge of private property. As a member of a wealthy family he appears to

have possessed both money and lands. What he did not give away to the poor or the church or reserve as an income for his sister, he placed entirely under the management of a dearly loved brother named Satyrus. He was thus free to devote his whole energies to the work of his calling. His writings enable us to follow him in both his ordinary and his extraordinary occupations. He was wont to "celebrate the sacrifice" every day (*Ep.* xx. 15). Every Lord's Day he preached in the Basilica. His extant works consist mainly of addresses and expositions which had been first spoken in the church and were afterwards revised for publication. They bear traces of this mode of composition in their simplicity and naturalness, and also in their popular character and undigested form. Ambrose had to begin, as he ingenuously declares, to learn and to teach at the same time (*de Officiis*, lib. i. cap. i. 4.). In doctrine he followed reverently what was of best repute in the church in his time, carefully guarding his own and his people's orthodoxy from all heresy, and urging, but with wholesome, if not always consistent, qualifications, the ascetic religious perfection which the best Christians were then pursuing. The sacred books, for which he had a profound reverence, were to him — what pastoral and didactic theology has always tended to make them — verbal materials for edification, which was to be extracted from them by any and every kind of interpretation to which their letter could be subjected. His writings, therefore, or sermons, are chiefly of interest with reference to the history and character of their author; but they are lively and ingenuous, full of good practical advice, and interspersed with gnomic sentences of much felicity.

One of the secrets of Ambrose's influence over the people was his admission of them into all his interests and cares. He had nothing private from the congregation in the Basilica. The sister Marcellina and the brothers Satyrus and Ambrose (this was the order of their ages) were united together by a remarkable affection. The three loved one another too devotedly to

think of marrying. Marcellina became early a consecrated virgin, but continued to feel the keenest and tenderest concern in her brothers' lives. When Ambrose became a bishop, Satyrus appears to have given up an important appointment in order to come and live with his brother and take every secular care off his hands. These domestic virtues of Marcellina and Satyrus we learn from sermons of Ambrose. His discourses on virginity became famous, and attracted virgins from distant parts to receive consecration at his hands. These discourses, in the third year after his ordination, he digested into three books, *de Virginibus*, which were addressed in their new form to his sister, and which contain, besides much praise of Marcellina, the address made to her at her consecration by the bp. of Rome. A year or two later occurred the death of Satyrus, in the flower of his age. In the depth of his grief Ambrose pronounced a funeral discourse upon his brother (*de Excessu Satyri*), which was followed seven days after by a sermon upon the hope of a future life (*de Fide Res.*).

The bp. of Milan, exercising the authority of a patriarchate, and presiding over a city which was frequently the residence of the emperor, was a great dignitary. But we cannot fail to recognize the high reputation which Ambrose had won for himself personally and in a surprisingly short period, when we observe the deference paid to him by the emperors of his time. He was certainly fortunate in the sovereigns with whom he had to do. The youths Gratian and Valentinian II., and the great Theodosius, were singularly virtuous and religious princes. Gratian was a boy of sixteen when the death of his father placed him on the throne, and in the year 377, the third of Ambrose's episcopate, he was two years older. In that year he was preparing to go to the assistance of his uncle Valens against the barbarian invaders by whom he was hard pressed; and desiring to be fortified against the arguments of the Arians whom Valens was favouring at Constantinople, he wrote to Ambrose, and asked him to furnish him with a controversial

treatise in support of the orthodox faith. Ambrose complied with the pious youth's request by writing two books *de Fide*. In the following year Gratian wrote a letter, preserved with those of Ambrose, in which he requests another copy of that work, together with an additional argument upon the divinity of the Holy Spirit. In this letter he calls Ambrose *parens*. Ambrose amplified his former treatise by adding three books to the two he had already composed. This work *de Fide* was reckoned an important defence of the orthodox faith. The work *de Spiritu Sancto*, in three books, was written in the year 381.

The successes of the Goths which attended the defeat and death of Valens were the occasion of frightful calamities to the empire. From Illyricum and Thrace, especially, an immense number of captives were carried off by the barbarians, in ransoming whom the whole available resources of the church were exhausted by Ambrose; and when everything else had been taken, he did not scruple to break up and sell the sacramental vessels. He himself relates this fact with pride (*de Off.* lib. ii. 136, 138). We now see Ambrose zealous in the general affairs of the church, and the leading ecclesiastic of his time. Presiding in the council of Aquileia, 381, he questioned the two Arianizing prelates who were put on their trial before it. Several letters addressed to the emperor at this time in the name of the council of Aquileia or of the Italian episcopate on the general government of the church are preserved amongst Ambrose's letters (*Epp.* ix.–xii.). When Acholius died — the bp. of Thessalonica by whom Theodosius had been baptized — his death was formally announced to Ambrose by the clergy and people of his diocese; and we have two letters in reply, one written to the church and the other to Anysius the new bishop. The next two letters of the collection (xvii., xviii.) are addressed to the emperor Valentinian, after the death of Gratian, to exhort him not to comply with a request of Symmachus, prefect of the city, that he would replace the altar of Victory in

the Senate House, and restore the funds for certain heathen ceremonies. Ambrose, whose influence was invoked by the bp. of Rome, protested strongly against any such concessions to paganism; and Victory, as it was said, favoured in the result her enemy more than her champion.

The struggle between Ambrose and Justina, the mother of Valentinian II., which afterwards reached such a height at Milan, had been begun with a preliminary trial of strength about the appointment of a bishop at Sirmium. But when the usurpation of Maximus occurred (A.D. 383), and had been stained by the violent death of Gratian, Justina in her alarm had recourse to the great Catholic bishop, and persuaded him to go on an embassy to Maximus, to beg him to leave Italy untouched. Maximus had Theodosius to deal with behind the boy-emperor and his mother; and his first act, when Gaul had fallen into his hands, was to send to Theodosius and propose to him, instead of war, the partition of the empire. Theodosius was constrained by motives of policy to assent to the proposal; and Ambrose had the comfort of returning to Milan with the announcement that the new emperor would refrain from passing the boundary of the Alps. Allusions are made to this embassy in a letter of Ambrose (*Ep.* xxiv. 7) in which he reports the less successful issue of a later appeal to Maximus.

One of the chief glories of Ambrose is that St. Augustine ascribed to him his conversion, and sought Christian baptism at his hands. The circumstances of his intercourse with St. Ambrose (A.D. 383–387) are related by St. Augustine in his *Confessions*. He tells us of the singularly eminent position of St. Ambrose (vi. 3), of his reputation for eloquence (vi. 13), of the difficulty of getting an opportunity of conversing with him on account of his many engagements, and his habit of reading to himself when company was present (v. 3), and of his method of expounding the Old Testament by finding under the letter a spiritual or mystical sense (vi. 4).

It was during this period, in the years 385–6, that Ambrose defended the churches of Milan so stoutly against the intrusion of Arian worship. Justina, who patronized the languishing Arian party, was bent on obtaining one of the churches at Milan for the use of her friends. Ambrose was not likely to make the concession. How in this matter he resisted the violent efforts of Justina, and the authority of her son (at this time fifteen years of age), is described at length by Ambrose himself in letters to his sister Marcellina and to Valentinian, and in a sermon preached at the crisis of the struggle (*Epp.* xx. xxi., and the *Sermo de Basilicis Tradendis* which follows them). There appear to have been two churches at Milan, the one without, the other within, the walls. The former, as of less importance, was first asked for. This being refused, some persons of the court came to Ambrose, and begged him to concede — probably for partial use only — the newer and larger basilica, and to exert his influence to prevent any popular disturbance. For it is important to observe that throughout the struggle the people were on the Catholic side. Ambrose replied loftily that the temple of God could not be surrendered by His priest. The next day, which was Sunday, as Ambrose was officiating in the principal basilica, news came that police-agents had been sent from the palace, who were hanging on the Portian basilica the curtains which marked a building as claimed for the imperial treasury. A part of the multitude hastened thither; Ambrose remained to perform Mass. Then he heard that the people had seized on a certain Arian presbyter, whom they met on the way. Ambrose began to pray with bitter tears that the cause of the church might not be stained with blood; and sent presbyters and deacons, who succeeded in rescuing the prisoner unhurt. Justina, in her irritation, treated the rich men of the city as responsible for a tumult, and threw many of them into prison. The imperial authority was being dangerously strained. Politic officials came to Ambrose and entreated him to give way to the sovereign rights of the emperor;

Ambrose replied that the emperor had no rights over what belonged to God. A body of troops was sent to take possession of the basilica, and there was great fear of blood being shed; but after mutual appeals between their officers and Ambrose, the soldiers withdrew, and Ambrose remained all day in the church. At night he went home, and on coming out the next morning he found that the church (the Portian) was surrounded by soldiers. But the soldiers were in awe of Ambrose, and, learning that he had threatened them with excommunication, they began to crowd in, protesting that they came to pray and not to fight. Ambrose took the lesson for the day as the subject of a sermon, and whilst he was preaching he was told that the imperial curtains were taken down. The emperor was worsted by the bishop, and was naturally angry. He sent a secretary to reproach Ambrose, and ask if he meant to make himself a tyrant. Soldiers continued to surround the church, and Ambrose remained there singing psalms with the faithful. The next day the soldiers were withdrawn, and the merchants who had been imprisoned were released. The struggle was over; but Ambrose heard that the emperor had said bitterly to the soldiers, "If Ambrose orders you, you will give me up in chains." He records another saying, which drew from him a retort of characteristic felicity. The court chamberlain sent him a message: "Whilst I am alive, shall you despise Valentinian? I will take off your head." Ambrose answered: "May God grant you to fulfil what you threaten; for then my fate will be that of a bishop, your act will be that of a eunuch."

In the course of the following year the attempts of the Arian party, and of the emperor as at this time governed by that party, were renewed. Ambrose was asked to hold a discussion with Auxentius, an Arian bishop, before chosen judges in the presence of the court, or else to withdraw from Milan. He consulted such bishops and presbyters as were within reach, and in their name wrote a letter to the emperor (*Ep.* xxi.), declining the discussion. An alarm was spread amongst the people that he was going to be taken away

from Milan, and for some days, by night and by day, he was surrounded and watched by an immense concourse of his friends. He preached them a sermon (*de Basilicis Tradendis*), assuring them of his steadfastness, and encouraging them to confidence, and at the same time gave them hymns composed by himself to sing — hymns in honour of the Trinity — by which their fervour was greatly stimulated. Again the court party found themselves worsted, and gave way.

The singing of hymns, by which this remarkable occupation of the basilica was characterized, is described by St. Augustine as extremely moving (*Conf.* vi. 7), and is said by him to have been an imitation of Eastern customs, and to have been followed generally throughout the church. Paulinus also observes that at this time "antiphons, hymns, and vigils began to be performed in the church of Milan, and had spread thence amongst all the churches of the West" (*Vita*, 13). The reputation of St. Ambrose as a composer of hymns was such that many certainly not his have been attributed to him, and amongst them the *Te Deum*. The Benedictine edition gives twelve hymns, which there is some good authority for ascribing to Ambrose, the best known of which are those beginning *Aeterne rerum conditor, Deus creator omnium, Veni redemptor gentium*, and *O lux beata Trinitas*. They have a brightness and felicity which have reasonably made them favourites in the church to the present day.

We must take into account the state of mind brought about in the bishop and his flock by that protracted vigil in the basilica, when we read of the miracles into which their triumph over heresy blazed forth. We have a narrative from St. Ambrose's own pen, in a letter to Marcellina (*Ep.* xxii.), of the wonderful discovery of the remains of two martyrs, and of the cures wrought by them. A basilica was to be dedicated, and Ambrose was longing to find some relics of martyrs. A presage suddenly struck him. (This "presagium" is called a vision by St. Augustine, *Conf.* lx. 7, *de Civ. Dei*,

xxii. 8.) He caused the ground to be opened in the church that was consecrated by the remains of St. Felix and St. Nabor. Two bodies were found, of wonderful size *(ut prisca aetas ferebat)*, the heads severed from the shoulders, the tomb stained with blood. This discovery, so precious to a church "barren of martyrs," was welcomed with the wildest enthusiasm. Old men began to remember that they had heard formerly the names of these martyrs — Gervasius and Protasius — and had read the title on their grave. Miracles crowded thick upon one another. They were mostly cures of demoniacs, and of sickly persons; but one blind man received his sight. Ambrose himself, for once, eagerly and positively affirms the reality of the cure; and Augustine, who generally held that the age of miracles was past, also bears witness to the common acceptance of the fact at Milan. Gibbon has some excuse for his note, "I should recommend this miracle to our divines, if it did not prove the worship of relics, as well as the Nicene Creed." The Arians, as we learn from Ambrose and Paulinus, made light of the healing of demoniacs, and were sceptical about the blind man's history. The martyrs' bones were carried into the "Ambrosian" Basilica (now the church of St. Ambrogio), and deposited beneath the altar in a place which Ambrose had designed for his own remains.

The memory of this conflict did not restrain Justina and her son from asking help shortly after of Ambrose. It was evident that Maximus was preparing to invade Italy; and as Ambrose had apparently been successful in his former embassy, he was charged with another conciliatory appeal to the same ruler. The magnanimous bishop consented to go, but he was unfavourably received, and having given great offence by abstaining from communion with the bishops who were about Maximus, he was summarily ordered to return home. He reports the failure of his mission in a letter to Valentinian (*Ep.* xxiv.). It is worthy of remark that the punishment of heresy by death was so hateful to Ambrose that he declined communion with

bishops who had been accomplices in it ("qui aliquos, devios licet a fide, ad necem petebant," *ib.* 12). These bishops had prevailed on Maximus to put to death Priscillian — the first time that heresy was so punished. [Priscillianus.]

Maximus was not diverted from his project. He crossed the Alps, and Justina, with her son, fled to Theodosius. It was not long before the vigour and ability of Theodosius triumphed over Maximus, who perished in the conflict he had provoked. Ambrose, who withdrew from Milan when Maximus came to occupy it, appears to have been near Theodosius in the hour of victory, and used his influence with him in favour of moderation and clemency, which the emperor, according to his usual habit, displayed in an eminent degree (*Ep.* xl. 32). But Ambrose unhappily prevailed upon Theodosius to abandon a course which his stricter sense of his duty as a ruler had prompted him to take. In some obscure place in the East the Christians had been guilty of outrages, from which it had often been their lot to suffer. With the support of their bishop, they had demolished a Jewish synagogue and a meeting-house of certain Gnostic heretics. Theodosius, hearing of this violence, had ordered that the bishop should rebuild the synagogue at his own expense, and that the rioters, who were chiefly monks, should be punished at the discretion of the local governor. This order naturally affronted the party spirit of the Christians. Ambrose could not bear that his fellow-believers should be thus humiliated. He wrote a letter to the emperor (who was at Milan, Ambrose being for the moment at Aquileia), entreating him most earnestly to revoke the order. With much that Ambrose says we can sympathize; but he lays down a principle fruitful in disastrous issues: *Cedat oportet censura* (the functions of the civil ruler) *devotioni* (*Ep.* xl. 11). Shortly after, he had the opportunity of preaching before the emperor at Milan. In a letter to his sister he gives the sermon at length, with its conclusion, addressed directly to the emperor, and begging

of him the pardon of those who had been caught in a sin. When he came down from the pulpit, Theodosius said to him, *De nobis proposuisti*. "Only with a view to your advantage," replied Ambrose. "In truth," continued the emperor, "the order that the bishop should rebuild the synagogue was too hard. But that is amended. The monks commit many crimes." Then he remained silent for a while. At last Ambrose said, "Enable me to offer the sacrifice for thee with a clear conscience." The emperor sat down and nodded, but Ambrose would not be satisfied without extracting a solemn engagement that no further proceedings should be taken in the matter. After this he went up to the altar; "but I should not have gone," adds Ambrose, "unless he had given me his full promise" (*Ep.* xli. 28).

About two years later (A.D. 390) the lamentable massacre at Thessalonica gave occasion for a very grand act of spiritual discipline. The commander of the garrison at Thessalonica and several of his officers had been brutally murdered by a mob in that city. The indignation of the emperor was extreme; and after appearing to yield to gentler counsels, he sent orders, which were executed by an indiscriminate slaughter of at least 7,000 persons in Thessalonica. Ambrose protested against this in the name of God and of the church. He had always acted on the principle that "nothing was more dangerous before God or base amongst men than for a priest not to speak out his convictions freely," and his lofty disinterestedness (*non pro meis commodis faciebam*, Ep. lvii. 4) gave him great power over a religious and magnanimous mind like that of Theodosius. Ambrose now wrote him a letter (Ep. li.), which Gibbon most unjustly calls "a miserable rhapsody on a noble subject," but which most readers will feel to be worthy of its high purpose. With many protestations of respect and sympathy Ambrose urges his Emperor to a genuine repentance for the dreadful deed to which in an access of passion he had given his sanction. He intimates that he could not celebrate the Eucharist in

the presence of one so stained with blood. Gibbon represents the behaviour of Ambrose as marked by a prelatical pomposity, of which there is no trace whatever in the only documents on which we can rely. In his own letter the bishop is most considerate and tender, though evidently resolute. He and Paulinus record simply that the emperor performed public penance, stripping himself of his royal insignia, and praying for pardon with groans and tears; and that he never passed a day afterwards without grieving for his error (Paulinus, 24; Amb. *de Ob. Theod.* 34.).

In the course of the following year (391), Theodosius having returned to the East, the weak authority of Valentinian II. was overthrown by Arbogastes and his puppet Eugenius, and the unfortunate youth perished by the same fate as his brother. He was in Gaul at the time of his death, and Ambrose was at that moment crossing the Alps to visit him there, partly by the desire of the Italian magistrates, who wished Valentinian to return to Italy, and partly at the request of the emperor himself, who was anxious to be baptized by him. In the next year (392) a funeral oration was delivered at Milan by Ambrose *(de Obitu Valentiniani)*, in which he praises the piety as well as the many virtues of the departed. It appears that under the influence of Theodosius, Valentinian had learnt to regard Ambrose with the same reverence as his brother had done before him (Letter to Theodosius, *Ep.* liii. 2). He had died unbaptized; but Ambrose assures his sorrowing sisters that his desire was equivalent to the act of baptism, and that he had been washed in his piety as the martyrs in their blood (*de Ob. Val.* 51–53).

Eugenius held the sovereign power in the West for two or three years, and made friendly overtures to the great Italian prelate. But Ambrose for a time returned no answer; and when Eugenius came to Milan, he retired from that city. Shortly after this withdrawal, he wrote a respectful letter to Eugenius, explaining that the reason why he had refused to hold intercourse with him was that he had given permission, though himself a Christian, that

the altar of Victory should be restored — the boon which Symmachus had begged for in vain being yielded to the power of Arbogastes.

When the military genius and vigour of Theodosius had gained one more brilliant triumph by the rapid overthrow of Arbogastes and Eugenius, Ambrose, who had returned to Milan (Aug. A.D. 394), received there a letter from Theodosius requesting him to offer a public thanksgiving for his victory. Ambrose replies (*Ep.* lxi.) with enthusiastic congratulations. But the happiness thus secured did not last long. In the following year the great Theodosius died at Milan (Jan. 395), asking for Ambrose with his last breath (*de Obitu Theod.* 35). The bishop had the satisfaction of paying a cordial tribute to his memory in the funeral oration he delivered over his remains.

Ambrose himself had only two more years to live. The time was filled with busy labours of exposition, correspondence, and episcopal government; and, according to Paulinus, with various prodigies. Unhappily this biographer spoils with his childish miracles what is still a touching account of the good bishop's death. It became known that his strength was failing, and the count Stilicho, saying that the death of such a man threatened death to Italy itself, induced a number of the chief men of the city to go to him, and entreat him to pray to God that his life might be spared. Ambrose replied, "I have not so lived amongst you, that I should be ashamed to live; and I do not fear to die, because we have a good Lord." For some hours before his death he lay with his hands crossed, praying; as Paulinus could see by the movement of his lips, though he heard no voice. When the last moment was at hand, Honoratus, the bp. of Vercellae, who was lying down in another room, thought he heard himself thrice called, and came to Ambrose, and offered him the Body of the Lord; immediately after receiving which he breathed his last breath — a man, Paulinus says well, who for the fear of God had never feared to speak the truth to kings or any

powers. He died on Good Friday night, 397, and was buried in the Ambrosian Basilica, in the presence of a multitude of every rank and age, including even Jews and pagans.

By the weight of his character St. Ambrose gave a powerful support to the tendencies which he favoured. He held without misgivings that the church was the organ of God in the world, and that secular government had the choice of being either hostile or subservient to the Divine authority ruling in the church. To passages already quoted which express this conviction may be added a remark let fall by Ambrose at the council of Aquileia, "Sacerdotes de laicis judicare debent, non laici de sacerdotibus" (*Gesta Conc. Aqu.* 51). He was of strict Athanasian orthodoxy as against heresy of every colour. His views of the work of Christ in the Incarnation, the Passion, and the Resurrection, have in a marked degree the broad and universal character which belongs to the higher patristic theology on this subject. (For example, speaking of the resurrection of Christ, he says, "Resurrexit in eo mundus, resurrexit in eo coelum, resurrexit in eo terra," *de Fide Res.* 102.) With regard to religion and religious practices, he is emphatic in insisting that the worship of the heart is all-important ("Deo enim velle pro facto est," *de Fide Res.* 115; "Deus non sanguine sed pietate placatur," *ib.* 98; "Non pecuniam Deus sed fidem quaerit," *de Poen.* ii. ix.); but at the same time his language concerning the two Sacraments is often undeniably that of materializing theology. Attempts have been made, chiefly on this account, to call in question the Ambrosian authorship of the treatises *de Mysteriis* and *de Sacramentis*; but their expressions are supported by others to be found in undoubted works of Ambrose. He praises his brother Satyrus for having tied a portion of the consecrated elements in a napkin round his neck when he was shipwrecked, and adds, that having found the benefit of "the heavenly mystery" in this form, he was eager to receive it into his mouth— "quam majus putabat fusum in viscera,

quod tantum sibi tectum orario profuisset!" (*de Exc. Sat.* 43, 46). He argues for the daily reception of the Eucharist from the prayer, Give us this day our daily bread (*de Sacr.* v. 25). His frequent strong recommendations of virginity are based, not on a theory of self-denial, but rather on one of detachment from the cares of the world and the troubles inseparable from matrimony and parentage. According to him, marriage is the more painful state, as well as the less favourable to spiritual devotion. Nevertheless, he did not expect or desire a large number to embrace the life which he so highly eulogized. "Dicet aliquis: Ergo dissuades nuptias? ego vero suadeo, et eos damno qui dissuadere consuerunt. …Paucarum quippe hoc munus [virginity] est, illud omnium" (*de Virginibus*, I. vii.). He and his sister used to press Satyrus to marry, but Satyrus put it off through family affection—"ne a fratribus divelleretur" (*de Exc. Sat.* §§ 53, 59). Fasting is commended, not as self-torture pleasing to God, but as the means of making the body more wholesome and stronger. A keen sense of the restraints and temptations and annoyances which reside in the flesh is expressed in Ambrose's remarkable language concerning death. It is a great point with him that death is altogether to be desired. He argues this point very fully in the address *de Fide Resurrectionis* and in the essay *de Bono Mortis*. There are three kinds of death, he says the death *of* sin, death *to* sin, and the death of the body (*de B. M.* § 3). This last is the emancipation of the soul from the body. He appeals to the arguments of philosophers and to the analogies of nature, as well as to Scripture, to shew not only that such a deliverance may be hoped for, but that it must be a thing to be desired by all. The terrors of the future state almost entirely disappear. He admits now and then that punishment must be looked for by the wicked; but he affirms that even to the wicked death is a gain (*de B. M.* § 28). There are two reasons why the foolish fear death: one because they regard it as destruction; "altera, quod poenas reformident, poetarum scilicet fabulis territi, latratus Cerberi, et

Cocyti fluminis tristem voraginem, etc., etc. Haec plena sunt fabularum, nec tamen negaverim poenas esse post mortem" (*ib.* 33). "Qui infideles sunt, descendunt in infernum viventes; etsi nobiscum videntur vivere sed in inferno sunt" (*ib.* 56).

The see of Milan was in no way dependent upon that of Rome; but Ambrose always delighted to pay respect to the bp. of Rome, as representing more than any other the unity of the church. His feeling towards Rome is expressed in the apology with which he defends the custom of washing the feet in baptism — a custom which prevailed at Milan but not at Rome. "In omnibus cupio sequi Ecclesiam Romanam; sed tamen et nos homines sensum habemus; ideo quod alibi rectius servatur, et nos rectius custodimus. Ipsum sequimur apostolum Petrum, …qui sacredos fuit Ecclesiae Romanae" (*de Sacramentis*, III. §§ 5, 6).

As a writer, St. Ambrose left a multitude of works behind him, which show competent learning, a familiar acquaintance with Plato, Cicero, Vergil, and other classics, and much intellectual liveliness and industry. Their want of originality did not hinder them from obtaining for their author, through their popular and practical qualities, a distinguished reputation as a sound and edifying teacher. He is often mentioned with respect by his contemporaries, St. Jerome and St. Augustine (see especially the latter, *de Doctrina Christianâ*, iv. 46, 48, 50). He came to be joined with them and Gregory the Great as one of the four Latin doctors of the church. His writings may be classified under three heads, as (1) Expository, (2) Doctrinal or Didactic, and (3) Occasional.

(1) The first class contains a long list of expositions, delivered first as sermons, of many books of Scripture. They begin with the *Hexaemeron*, or commentary on the Creation. Of this work St. Jerome says, "Nuper S. Ambrosius sic Hexaemeron illius [Origenus] compilavit, ut magis Hippolyti sententias Basiliique sequeretur" (*E*). It is in a great part a literal translation

from St. Basil. St. Augustine was interested by the method of interpretation in which Ambrose followed Basil, Origen, and Philo Judaeus, finding a spiritual or mystical meaning latent under the natural or historical. The *Hexaemeron* (6 books) is followed by *de Paradiso, de Cain et Abel* (2), *de Noe et Arcâ, de Abraham* (2), *de Isaac et Animâ, de Bono Mortis, de Fugâ Saeculi, de Jacob et Beatâ Vitâ* (2), *de Joseph Patriarchâ, de Benedictionibus Patriarcharum, de Eliâ et Jejunio, de Nabuthe Jezraelitâ, de Tobiâ, de Interpellatione Job et David* (4), *Apologia Prophetae David, Apol. altera ib., Enarrationes in Psalmos* (12), *Expositio in Ps. cxviii., Expositio Evang. secundum Lucam* (10).

(2) The second class contains *de Officiis Ministrorum* (3 books), *de Virginibus* (3), *de Viduis, de Virginitate, Exhortatio Virginitatis, de Lapsu Virginis Consecratae, de Mysteriis, de Sacramentis* (6), *de Poenitentiâ* (2), *de Fide* (5), *de Spiritu Sancto* (3), *de Incarnationis Dominicae Sacramento*. Of these the books *de Officiis*, addressed to the clergy (imitated from Cicero), and those *de Fide*, mentioned above, are the most important.

(3) The occasional writings, which are biographically the most valuable, are the discourses *de Excessu Fratris sui Satyri* (2), *de Obitu Valentiniani Consolatio, de Obitu Theodosii Oratio*, and the *Epistles*, ninety-one in number, with the *Gesta Concilii Aquileiensis* inserted amongst them.

Various ecclesiastical writings have been attributed to Ambrose, which critical examination has determined to be spurious. [Ambrosiaster.] Most of these are given in the Benedictine edition; in that of Migne there is an additional appendix, containing some other compositions which have borne Ambrose's name, but are either manifestly spurious or have no sufficient title to be considered genuine. Some of his genuine works appear to have been lost, especially one, mentioned with high praise by St. Augustine (*Ep.* xxxi. 8), against those who alleged that our Lord had learnt from Plato.

Of the connexion of St. Ambrose with the liturgical arrangement which bears his name, we know nothing more than what has been quoted above from Paulinus. [See *D. C. A.*, arts. Liturgies; Ambrosian Music.]

There are three principal editions of Ambrose's works — that of Erasmus, the Roman, and the Benedictine. Erasmus's ed. was pub. at Basle, by Froben, in 1527. He divided the works into four tomes, with the titles, (1) *Ethica*, (2) *Polemica*, (3) *Orationes, Epistolae, et Conciones*, (4) *Explanationes Vet. et Novi Testamenti*. The great Roman edition was the work of many years' labour, undertaken by the desire of popes Pius IV. and Pius V., and begun by a monk who afterwards became pope with the name of Sixtus V. It was pub. in 5 vols. at Rome, in the years 1580–1–2–5. This edition superseded all others, until the publication of the excellent work of the Benedictines (du Frische and Le Nourry) at Paris, A.D. 1686 and 1690. A small revised ed. of the *de Officiis* and the *Hexaemeron* has been printed in the *Bibliotheca Pat. Eccl. Latin. Selecta* (Tauchnitz, Leipz.). Some of his works are reprinted in the Vienna *Corpus Ser. Eccl. Lat.*; and in the 10th vol. of the *Nic. and Post-Nic. Fathers* are English trans. of select works. An elaborate *Life* of St. Ambrose by Baronius, extracted from his *Annales*, is prefixed to the Roman edition; but improved upon by the more critical investigations of the Benedictine editors, who have laid the basis for all subsequent Lives. (Cf. Th. Forshaw, *Ambrose, Bp. of Milan*, 1884; a *Life* by the duc de Broglie in *Les Saints*, 1899 (Paris). A cheap popular *Life* by R. Thornton is pub. by S.P.C.K. in their *Fathers for Eng. Readers*.)

[J.LL.D.]

St. Ambrose (1913) by James Francis Loughlin

From 'Catholic Encyclopedia', Volume 1

CONTENTS

St. Ambrose
Bishop of Milan
His Daily Life
Ambrose and the Arians
Last Days of Ambrose
Editions of his Writings

St. Ambrose

BISHOP OF MILAN from 374 to 397; born probably 340, at Trier, Arles, or Lyons; died 4 April, 397. He was one of the most illustrious Fathers and Doctors of the Church, and fitly chosen, together with St. Augustine, St. John Chrysostom, and St. Athanasius, to uphold the venerable Chair of the Prince of the Apostles in the tribune of St. Peter's at Rome.

The materials for a biography of the Saint are chiefly to be found scattered through his writings, since the "Life" written after his death by his secretary, Paulinus, at the suggestion of St. Augustine, is extremely disappointing. Ambrose was descended from an ancient Roman family, which, at an early period had embraced Christianity, and numbered among its scions both Christian martyrs and high officials of State. At the time of his birth his father, likewise named Ambrosius, was Prefect of Gallia, and as such ruled the present territories of France, Britain, and Spain, together with Tingitana in Africa. It was one of the four great prefectures of the Empire, and the highest office that could be held by a subject. Trier, Arles, and Lyons, the three principal cities of the province, contend for the honour of having given birth to the Saint. He was the youngest of three children, being preceded by a sister, Marcellina, who become a nun, and a brother Satyrus, who, upon the unexpected appointment of Ambrose to the episcopate, resigned a prefecture in order to live with him and relieve him from temporal cares. About the year 354 Ambrosius, the father, died, whereupon the family removed to Rome. The saintly and accomplished widow was greatly assisted in the religious training of her two sons by the example and admonitions of her daughter, Marcellina, who was about ten

years older than Ambrose. Marcellina had already received the virginal veil from the hands of Liberius, the Roman Pontiff, and with another consecrated virgin lived in her mother's house. From her the Saint imbibed that enthusiastic love of virginity which became his distinguishing trait. His progress in secular knowledge kept equal pace with his growth in piety. It was of extreme advantage to himself and to the Church that he acquired a thorough mastery of the Greek language and literature, the lack of which is so painfully apparent in the intellectual equipment of St. Augustine and, in the succeeding age, of the great St. Leo. In all probability the Greek Schism would not have taken place had East and West continued to converse as intimately as did St. Ambrose and St. Basil. Upon the completion of his liberal education, the Saint devoted his attention to the study and practice of the law, and soon so distinguished himself by the eloquence and ability of his pleadings at the court of the praetorian prefect, Anicius Probus, that the latter took his into his council, and later obtained for him from the Emperor Valentinian the office of consular governor of Liguria and Æmilia, with residence in Milan. "Go", said the prefect, with unconscious prophecy, "conduct thyself not as a judge, but as bishop". We have no means of ascertaining how long he retained the civic government of his province; we know only that his upright and gently administration gained for him the universal love and esteem of his subjects, paving the way for that sudden revolution in his life which was soon to take place. This was the more remarkable, because the province, and especially the city of Milan, was in a state of religious chaos, owing to the persistent machinations of the Arian faction.

Bishop of Milan

EVER SINCE THE heroic Bishop Dionysius, in the year 355, had been dragged in chains to his place of exile in the distant East, the ancient chair of St. Barnabas had been occupied by the intruded Cappadocian, Auxentius, an Arian filled with bitter hatred of the Catholic Faith, ignorant of the Latin language, a wily and violent persecutor of his orthodox subjects. To the great relief of the Catholics, the death of the petty tyrant in 374 ended a bondage which had lasted nearly twenty years. The bishops of the province, dreading the inevitable tumults of a popular election, begged the Emperor Valentinian to appoint a successor by imperial edict; he, however, decided that the election must take place in the usual way. It devolved upon Ambrose, therefore, to maintain order in the city at this perilous juncture. Proceeding to the basilica in which the disunited clergy and people were assembled, he began a conciliatory discourse in the interest of peace and moderation, but was interrupted by a voice (according to Paulinus, the voice of an infant) crying, “Ambrose, Bishop”. The cry was instantly repeated by the entire assembly, and Ambrose, to his surprise and dismay, was unanimously pronounced elected. Quite apart from any supernatural intervention, he was the only logical candidate, known to the Catholics as a firm believer in the Nicene Creed, unobnoxious to the Arians, as one who had kept aloof from all theological controversies. The only difficulty was that of forcing the bewildered consular to accept an office for which his previous training nowise fitted him. Strange to say, like so many other believers of that age, from a misguided reverence for the sanctity of baptism, he was still only a catechumen, and by a wise provision of the

canons ineligible to the episcopate. That he was sincere in his repugnance to accepting the responsibilities of the sacred office, those only have doubted who have judged a great man by the standard of their own pettiness. Were Ambrose the worldly-minded, ambitious, and scheming individual they choose to paint him, he would have surely sought advancement in the career that lay wide open before him as a man of acknowledged ability and noble blood. It is difficult to believe that he resorted to the questionable expedients mentioned by his biographer as practised by him with a view to undermining his reputation with the populace. At any rate his efforts were unsuccessful. Valentinian, who was proud that his favourable opinion of Ambrose had been so fully ratified by the voice of clergy and people, confirmed the election and pronounced severe penalties against all who should abet him in his attempt to conceal himself. The Saint finally acquiesced, received baptism at the hands of a Catholic bishop, and eight day later, 7 December 374, the day on which East and West annually honour his memory, after the necessary preliminary degrees was consecrated bishop.

He was now in his thirty-fifth year, and was destined to edify the Church for the comparatively long space of twenty-three active years. From the very beginning he proved himself to be that which he has ever since remained in the estimation of the Christian world, the perfect model of a Christian bishop. There is some truth underlying the exaggerated eulogy of the chastened Theodosius, as reported by Theodoret (v, 18), “I know no bishop worthy of the name, except Ambrose”. In him the magnanimity of the Roman patrician was tempered by the meekness and charity of the Christian saint. His first act in the episcopate, imitated by many a saintly successor, was to divest himself of his worldly goods. His personal property he gave to the poor; he made over his landed possessions to the Church, making provision for the support of his beloved sister. The self-devotion of

his brother, Satyrus, relieved him from the care of the temporalities, and enabled him to attend exclusively to his spiritual duties. In order to supply the lack of an early theological training, he devoted himself assiduously to the study of Scripture and the Fathers, with a marked preference for Origen and St. Basil, traces of whose influence are repeatedly met with in his works. With a genius truly Roman, he, like Cicero, Virgil, and other classical authors, contented himself with thoroughly digesting and casting into a Latin mould the best fruits of Greek thought. His studies were of an eminently practical nature; he learned that he might teach. In the exordium of his treatise, "De Officiis", he complains that, owing to the suddenness of his transfer from the tribunal to the pulpit, he was compelled to learn and teach simultaneously. His piety, sound judgment, and genuine Catholic instinct preserved him from error, and his fame as an eloquent expounder of Catholic doctrine soon reached the ends of the earth. His power as an orator is attested not only by the repeated eulogies, but yet more by the conversion of the skilled rhetorician Augustine. His style is that of a man who is concerned with thoughts rather than words. We cannot imagine him wasting time in turning an elegant phrase. "He was one of those", says St. Augustine, "who speak the truth, and speak it well, judiciously, pointedly, and with beauty and power of expression" (De doct. christ., iv,21).

His Daily Life

THROUGH THE DOOR of his chamber, wide open the livelong day, and crossed unannounced by all, of whatever estate, who had any sort of business with him, we catch a clear glimpse of his daily life. In the promiscuous throng of his visitors, the high official who seeks his advice upon some weighty affair of state is elbowed by some anxious questioner who wishes to have his doubts removed, or some repentant sinner who comes to make a secret confession of his offenses, certain that the Saint "would reveal his sins to none but God alone" (Paulinus, Vita, xxxix). He ate but sparingly, dining only on Saturdays and Sundays and festivals of the more celebrated martyrs. His long nocturnal vigils were spent in prayer, in attending to his vast correspondence, and in penning down the thoughts that had occurred to him during the day in his oft- interrupted readings. His indefatigable industry and methodical habits explain how so busy a man found time to compose so many valuable books. Every day, he tells us, he offered up the Holy Sacrifice for his people (*pro quibus ego quotidie instauro sacrificium*). Every Sunday his eloquent discourses drew immense crowds to the Basilica. One favorite topic of his was the excellence of virginity, and so successful was he in persuading maidens to adopt the religious profession that many a mother refused to permit her daughters to listen to his words. The saint was forced to refute the charge that he was depopulating the empire, by quaintly appealing to the young men as to whether any of them experienced any difficulty in finding wives. He contends, and the experience of ages sustains his contention (De Virg., vii) that the population increases in direct proportion to the esteem in which

virginity is held. His sermons, as was to be expected, were intensely practical, replete with pithy rules of conduct which have remained as household words among Christians. In his method of biblical interpretation all the personages of Holy Writ, from Adam down, stand out before the people as living beings, bearing each his distinct message from God for the instruction of the present generation. He did not write his sermons, but spoke them from the abundance of his heart; and from notes taken during their delivery he compiled almost all the treatises of his that are extant.

Ambrose and the Arians

IT WAS BUT natural that a prelate so high-minded, so affable, so kind to the poor, so completely devoting his great gifts to the service of Christ and of humanity, should soon with the enthusiastic love of his people. Rarely, if ever, has a Christian bishop been so universally popular, in the best sense of that much abused term, as Ambrose of Milan. This popularity, conjoined with his intrepidity, was the secret of his success in routing enthroned iniquity. The heretical Empress Justina and her barbarian advisers would many a time fain have silenced him by exile or assassination, but, like Herod in the case of the Baptist, they "feared the multitude". His heroic struggles against the aggressions of the secular power have immortalized him as the model and forerunner of future Hildebrands, Beckets, and other champions of religious liberty. The elder Valentinian died suddenly in 375, the year following the consecration of Ambrose, leaving his Arian brother Valens to scourge the East, and his oldest son, Gratian, to rule the provinces formerly presided over by Ambrosius, with no provision for the government of Italy. The army seized the reins and proclaimed emperor the son of Valentinian by his second wife, Justina, a boy four years old. Gratian good-naturally acquiesced, and assigned to his half-brother the sovereignty of Italy, Illyricum, and Africa. Justina had prudently concealed her Arian view during the lifetime of her orthodox husband, but now, abetted by a powerful and mainly Gothic faction at court, proclaimed her determination to rear her child in that heresy, and once more attempt to Arianize the West. This of necessity brought her into direct collision with the Bishop of Milan, who had quenched the last embers of Arianism in his diocese. That heresy had

never been popular among the common people; it owed its artificial vitality to the intrigues of courtiers and sovereigns. As a preliminary to the impending contest, Ambrose, at the request of Gratian, who was about to lead an army to the relief of Valens, and wished to have at hand an antidote against Oriental sophistry, wrote his noble work, “De Fide ad Gratianum Augustum”, afterwards expanded, and extant in five books. The first passage at arms between Ambrose and the Empress was on the occasion of an episcopal election at Sirmium, the capital of Illyricum, and at the time the residence of Justina. Notwithstanding her efforts, Ambrose was successful in securing the election of a Catholic bishop. He followed up this victory by procuring, at the Council of Aquilein, (381), over which he presided, the deposition of the only remaining Arianizing prelates of the West, Palladius and Secundianus, both Illyrians. The battle royal between Ambrose and the Empress, in the years 385,386, has been graphically described by Cardinal Newman in his “Historical Sketches”. The question at issue was the surrender of one of the basilicas to the Arians for public worship. Throughout the long struggle Ambrose displayed in an eminent degree all the qualities of a great leader. His intrepidity in the moments of personal danger was equalled only by his admirable moderation; for, at certain critical stages of the drama one word from him would have hurled the Empress and her son from their throne. That word was never spoken. An enduring result of this great struggle with despotism was the rapid development during its course of the ecclesiastical chant, of which Ambrose laid the foundation. Unable to overcome the fortitude of the Bishop and the spirit of the people, the court finally desisted from its efforts. Ere long it was forced to call upon Ambrose to exert himself to save the imperilled throne.

Already he had been sent on an embassy to the court of the usurper, Maximus, who in the year 383 had defeated and slain Gratian, and now

ruled in his place. Largely through his efforts an understanding had been reached between Maximus and Theodosius, whom Gratian had appointed to rule the East. It provided that Maximus should content himself with his present possessions and respect the territory of Valentinian II. Three years later Maximus determined to cross the Alps. The tyrant received Ambrose unfavourably and, on the plea, very honourable to the Saint, that he refused to hold communion with the bishops who had compassed the death of Priscillian (the first instance of capital punishment inflicted for heresy by a Christian prince) dismissed him summarily from his court. Shortly after, Maximus invaded Italy. Valentinian and his mother fled to Theodosius, who took up their cause, defeated the usurper, and put him to death. At this time Justina died, and Valentinian, by the advice of Theodosius, abjured Arianism and placed himself under the guidance of Ambrose, to whom he became sincerely attached. It was during the prolonged stay of Theodosius in the West that one of most remarkable episodes in the history of the Church took place; the public penance inflicted by the Bishop and submitted to by the Emperor. The long-received story, set afoot by the distant Theodoret, which extols the Saint's firmness at the expense of his equally pronounced virtues of prudence and meekness - that Ambrose stopped the Emperor at the porch of the church and publicly upbraided and humiliated him - is shown by modern criticism to have been greatly exaggerated. The emergency called into action every episcopal virtue. When the news reached Milan that the seditious Thessalonians had killed the Emperor's officials, Ambrose and the council of bishops, over which he happened to be presiding at the time, made an apparently successful appeal to the clemency of Theodosius. Great was their horror, when, shortly after Theodosius, yielding to the suggestions of Rufinose and other courtiers, ordered an indiscriminate massacre of the citizens, in which seven thousand perished. In order to avoid meeting the blood-stained monarch or offering

up the Holy Sacrifice in his presence, and, moreover, to give him time to ponder the enormity of a deed so foreign to his character, the Saint, pleading ill-health, and sensible that he exposed himself to the charge of cowardice, retired to the country, whence he sent a noble letter "written with my own hand, that thou alone mayst read it", exhorting the Emperor to repair his crime by an exemplary penance. With "religious humility", says St. Augustine (DeCiv.Dei.,V,xxvi), Theodosius submitted; "and, being laid hold of by the discipline of the Church, did penance in such a way that the sight of his imperial loftiness prostrated made the people who were interceding for him weep more than the consciousness of offence had made them fear it when enraged". "Stripping himself of every emblem of royalty", says Ambrose in his funeral oration (c. 34), "he publicly in church bewailed his sin. That public penance, which private individuals shrink from, an Emperor was not ashamed to perform; nor was there afterwards a day on which he did not grieve for his mistake." This plain narrative, without theatrical setting, is much more honourable both to the Bishop and his sovereign.

Last Days of Ambrose

THE MURDER OF his youthful ward, Valentinian II, which happened in Gaul, May, 393, just as Ambrose was crossing the Alps to baptize him plunged the Saint into deep affliction. His eulogy delivered at Milan is singularly tender; he courageously described him as a martyr baptized in his own blood. The usurper Eugenius was, in fact, a heathen at heart, and openly proclaimed his resolution to restore paganism. He reopened the heathen temples, and ordered the famous altar of Victory, concerning which Ambrose and the prefect Symmachus had maintained a long and determined literary contest, to be again set up in the Roman senate chamber. This triumph of paganism was of short duration. Theodosius in the spring of 391 again lead his legions into the West, and in a brief campaign defeated and slew the tyrant. Roman heathenism perished with him. The Emperor recognized the merits of the great Bishop of Milan by announcing his victory on the evening of the battle and asking him to celebrate a solemn sacrifice of thanksgiving. Theodosius did not long survive his triumph; he died at Milan a few months later (January 395) with Ambrose at his bedside and the name of Ambrose on his lips. “Even while death was dissolving his body”, says the Saint, “he was more concerned about the welfare of the churches than about his personal danger”. “I loved him, and am confident that the Lord will hearken to the prayer I send up for his pious soul” (In obitu Theodosii, c. 35). Only two years elapsed before a kindly death reunited these two magnanimous souls. No human frame could long endure the incessant activity of an Ambrose. One instance, recorded by his secretary, of his extraordinary capacity for work is significant. He died on

Good Friday. The following day five bishops found difficulty in baptizing the crowd to which he had been accustomed to administer the sacrament unaided. When the news spread that he was seriously ill, Count Stilicho, "fearing that his death would involve the destruction of Italy", despatched an embassy, composed of the chief citizens, to implore him to pray God to prolong his days. The response of the Saint made a deep impression on St. Augustine: "I have not so lived amongst you, that I need be ashamed to live; nor do I fear to die, for we have a good Lord". For several hours before his death he lay with extended arms in imitation of his expiring Master, who also appeared to him in person. The Body of Christ was given him by the Bishop of Vercelli, and, "after swallowing It, he peacefully breathed his last". It was the fourth of April, 397. He was interred as he had desired, in his beloved basilica, by the side of the holy martyrs, Gervasius and Protasius, the discovery of whose relics, during his great struggle with Justina, had so consoled him and his faithful adherents. In the year 835 one of his successors, Angilbert II, placed the relics of the three saints in as porphyry sarcophagus under the altar, where they were found in 1864. The works of St. Ambrose were issued first from the press of Froben at Basle, 1527, under the supervision of Erasmus. A more elaborate edition was printed in Rome in the year 1580 and following. Cardinal Montalto was the chief editor until elevation to the papacy as Sixtus V. It is in five volumes and still retains a value owing to the prefixed "Life" of the Saint, composed by Baronius. Then came the excellent Maurist edition published in two volumes at Paris, in 1686 and 1690; reprinted by Migne in four volumes. The career of St. Ambrose occupies a prominent place in all histories, ecclesiastical and secular, of the fourth century. Tillemont's narrative, in the tenth volume of his "Memoirs", is particularly valuable. The question of the genuineness of the so-called eighteen Ambrosian Hymns is of secondary importance. The great merit of the Saint in the field of hymnology is that of

laying the foundations and showing posterity what ample scope there existed for future development.

Writings of Saint Ambrose

The special character and value of the writings of St. Ambrose are at once tangible in the title of Doctor of the Church, which from time immemorial he has shared in the West with St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory. He is an official witness to the teaching of the Catholic Church in his own time and in the preceding centuries. As such his writings have been constantly invoked by popes, councils and theologians; even in his own day it was felt that few could voice so clearly the true sense of the Scriptures and the teaching of the Church (St. Augustine, De doctrinâ christ.,IV,46,48,50). Ambrose is pre-eminently the ecclesiastical teacher, setting forth in a sound and edifying way, and with conscientious regularity, the deposit of faith as made known to him. He is not the philosophic scholar meditating in silence and retirement on the truths of the Christian Faith, but the strenuous administrator, bishop, and statesman, whose writings are only the mature expression of his official life and labours. Most of his writings are really homilies, spoken commentaries on the Old and New Testaments, taken down by his hearers, and afterwards reduced to their present form, though very few of these discourses have reached us exactly as they fell from the lips of the great bishop. In Ambrose the native Roman genius shines out with surpassing distinctness; he is clear, sober, practical, and aims always at persuading his hearers to act at once on the principles and arguments he has laid down, which affect nearly every phase of their religious or moral life. “He is a genuine Roman in whom the ethico-practical note is always dominant. He had neither time nor liking for philosophico-dogmatic speculations. In all his writings he follows some practical purpose. Hence he is often content to reproduce what has been already treated, to turn over for another harvest a field already worked. He

often draws abundantly from the ideas of some earlier writer, Christian or pagan, but adapts these thoughts with tact and intelligence to the larger public of his time and his people. In formal perfection his writings leave something to be desired; a fact that need not surprise us when we recall the demands on the time of such a busy man. His diction abounds in unconscious reminiscences of classical writers, Greek and Roman. He is especially conversant with the writings of Virgil. His style is in every way peculiar and personal. It is never wanting in a certain dignified reserve; when it appears more carefully studied than is usual with him, its characteristics are energetic brevity and bold originality. Those of his writings that are homiletic in origin and form betray naturally the great oratorical gifts of Ambrose; in them he rises occasionally to a noble height of poetical inspiration. His hymns are a sufficient evidence of the sure mastery that he possessed over the Latin language." (Bardenhewer, Les pères de l'église, Paris, 1898, 736 -737; cf. Pruner, Die Theologie des heil. Ambrosius, Eichstadt, 1864.) For convenience sake his extant writings may be divided into four classes: exegetical, dogmatic, ascetico-moral, and occasional. The exegetical writings, or scripture-commentaries deal with the story of Creation, the Old Testament figures of Cain and Abel, Noe, Abraham and the patriarchs, Elias, Tobias, David and the Psalms, and other subjects. Of his discourses on the New Testament only the lengthy commentary on St. Luke has reached us (Expositio in Lucam). He is not the author of the admirable commentary on the thirteen Epistles of St. Paul known as "Ambrosiaster". Altogether these Scripture commentaries make up more than one half of the writings of Ambrose. He delights in the allegorico-mystical interpretation of Scripture, i.e. while admitting the natural or literal sense he seeks everywhere a deeper mystic meaning that he converts into practical instruction for Christian life. In this, says St. Jerome (Ep.xli) "he was disciple of Origen, but after the modifications in that

master's manner due to St. Hippolytus of Rome and St. Basil the Great". He was also influenced in this direction by the Jewish writer Philo to such an extent that the much corrupted text of the latter can often be successfully corrected from the echoes and reminiscences met with in the works of Ambrose. It is to be noted, however, that in his use of non-Christian writers the great Doctor never abandons a strictly Christian attitude (cf. Kellner, Der heilige Ambrosius als Erklärer das Alten Testamentes, Ratisbon, 1893).

The most influential of his ascetico-moral writings is the work on the duties of Christian ecclesiastics (De officiis ministrorum). It is a manual of Christian morality, and in its order and disposition follows closely the homonymous work of Cicero. "Nevertheless", says Dr. Bardenhewer, "the antitheses between the philosophical morality of the pagan and the morality of the Christian ecclesiastic is acute and striking. In his exhortations, particularly, Ambrose betrays an irresistible spiritual power" (cf. R. Thamin, Saint Ambroise et la morale chrétienne at quatrième siècle, Paris, 1895). He wrote several works on virginity, or rather published a number of his discourses on that virtue, the most important of which is the treatise "On Virgins" addressed to his sister Marcellina, herself a virgin consecrated to the divine service. St. Jerome says (Ep. xxii) that he was the most eloquent and exhaustive of all the exponents of virginity, and his judgment expresses yet the opinion of the church. The genuineness of the touching little work "On the Fall of a Consecrated Virgin" (De lapsu virginis consecratæ) has been called in question, but without sufficient reason. Dom Germain Morin maintains that it is a real homily of Ambrose, but like so many more of his so-called "books", owes its actual form to some one of his auditors. His dogmatic writings deal mostly with the divinity of Jesus Christ and of the Holy Ghost, also with the Christian sacraments. At the request of the young Emperor Gratian (375-383) he composed a defence of the true divinity of Jesus Christ against the Arians, and another on the true divinity of the Holy

Ghost against the Macedonians; also a work on the Incarnation of Our Lord. His work “On Penance” was written in refutation of the rigoristic tenets of the Novatians and abounds in useful evidences of the power of the Church to forgive sins, the necessity of confession and the meritorious character of good works. A special work on Baptism (De sacramento regenerationis), often quoted by St. Augustine, has perished. We possess yet, however, his excellent treatise (De Mysteriis) on Baptism, Confirmation, and the Blessed Eucharist (P.L. XVI, 417-462), addressed to the newly baptized. Its genuineness has been called in doubt by opponents of Catholic teaching concerning the Eucharist, but without any good reason. It is highly probable that the work on the sacraments (De Sacramentis, ibid.) is identical with the preceding work; only, says Bardenhewer, “indiscreetly published by some hearer of Ambrose”. Its evidences to the sacrificial character of the Mass, and to the antiquity of the Roman Canon of the Mass are too well known to need more than a mention; some of them may easily be seen in any edition of the Roman Breviary (cf. Probst, Die Liturgie des vierten Jahrhunderts und deren Reform, Münster, 1893, 232-239). The correspondence of Ambrose includes but a few confidential or personal letters; most of his letters are official notes, memorials on public affairs, reports of councils held, and the like. Their historical value is, however, of the first order, and they exhibit him as a Roman administrator and statesman second to none in Church or State. If his personal letters are unimportant, his remaining discourses are of a very high order. His work on the death (378) of his brother Satyrus (De excessu fratris sui Satyri) contains his funeral sermon on his brother, one of the earliest of Christian panegryics and a model of the consolatory discourses that were henceforth to take the place of the cold and inept declamations of the Stoics. His funeral discourses on Valentinian II (392), and Theodosius the Great (395) are considered models of rhetorical composition; (cf. Villemain, De l’éloquence chrétienne, Paris, ed. 1891);

they are also historical documents of much importance. Such, also, are his discourse against the Arian intruder, Auxentius (Contra Auxentium de basilicis tradendis) and his two discourses on the finding of the bodies of the Milanese martyrs Gervasius and Protasius.

Not a few works have been falsely attributed to St. Ambrose; most of them are found in the Benedictine Edition of his writings (reprinted in Migne) and are discussed in the manuals of patrology(e.g. Bardenhewer). Some of his genuine works appear to have been lost, e.g. the already mentioned work on baptism. St. Augustine (E, 8) is loud in his praise of a (now lost) work of Ambrose written against those who asserted an intellectual dependency of Jesus Christ on Plato. It is not improbable that he is really the author of the Latin translation and paraphrase of Josephus (De Bello Judaico), known in the Middle Ages as Hegesippus or Egesippus, a distortion of the Greek name of the original author (*Iosepos*). Mommsen denies (1890) his authorship of the famous Roman law text known as the "Lex Dei, sive Mosaicarum et Romanarum Legum Collatio", an attempt to exhibit the law of Moses as the historical source whence Roman criminal jurisprudence drew its principal dispositions.

Editions of his Writings

THE LITERARY HISTORY of the editions of his writings is a long one and may be seen in the best lives of Ambrose. Erasmus edited them in four tomes at Basle (1527). A valuable Roman edition was brought out in 1580, in five volumes, the result of many years' labour; it was begun be Sixtus V, while yet the monk Felice Peretti. Prefixed to it is the life of St. Ambrose composed by Baronius for his Ecclesiastical Annals. The excellent Benedictine edition appeared at Paris (1686-90) in two folio volumes; it was twice reprinted at Venice (1748-51, and 1781-82). The latest edition of the writings of St. Ambrose is that of P.A. Ballerini (Milan, 1878) in six folio volumes; it has not rendered superfluous the Benedictine edition of du Frische and Le Nourry. Some writings of Ambrose have appeared in the Vienna series known as the "Corpus Scriptorum Classicorum Latinorum" (Vienna, 1897-1907). There is an English version of selected works of St. Ambrose by H. de Romestin in the tenth volume of the second series of the "Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers" (New York, 1896). A German version of selected writings in two volumes, executed by Fr. X. Schulte, is found in the "Bibliothek der Kirchenväter" (Kempten, 1871-77).

For exhaustive bibliographies see Chevalier, *Répertoire*, etc., *Bio-Bibliographie* (2d ed., *Paris,* 1905), 186-89; Bardenhewer, *Patrologie* (2d ed. Freiburg, 1901), 387-89. Da Broglie, *Les Saints, St. Ambroise* (Paris, 1899); Davies in *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.*, s.v., I, 91-99; BUTLER, *Lives of the Saints*, 7 Dec.; Förster, *Ambrosius, Bischof von Mailand* (Halle, 1884); Imm, *Studia Ambrosiana* (Leipzig, 1890); FERRARI, Introduction to *Ambrosiana*, a collection of learned studies published (Milan 1899) on

accasion of the fifteenth centenary of his death. The introduction mentioned is by CARDINAL FERRARI, Archbishop of Milan.

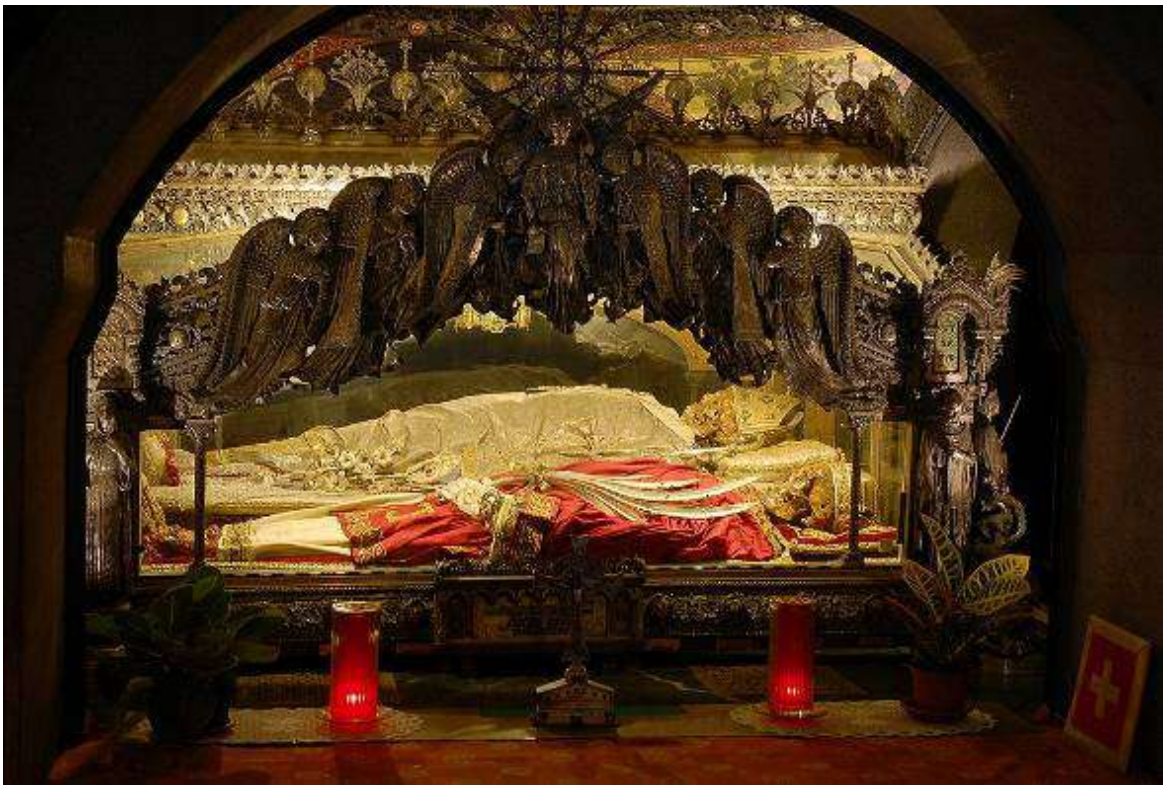
JAMES F. LOUGHLIN

Mediolanum, Roman Empire, modern day Milan — where Ambrose spent his final days

The Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio, a church in the centre of Milan — Ambrose's final resting place

The ciborium and the apse. The church houses the tomb of Emperor Louis II, who died in Lombardy in 875. The crypt, located under the high altar, was built in the ninth century to house the remains of three Saints: Ambrose, Gervasus and Protasus.

The Altar of Saint Ambrosius



Embossed silver urn with the body of Ambrose (with white vestments) in the crypt of Sant'Ambrose, with the skeletons of Gervase and Protase.